Strait-jackets or stepping stones? Exploring institutional ability to develop employability of young people

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Le doyen
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Résumé

Ce travail se concentre sur le rôle des institutions dans le développement de l'employabilité chez les jeunes défavorisés.
Lié aux nouveaux risques sociaux impactant particulièrement les nouvelles générations, le manque d'employabilité est visé par une vaste panoplie de mesures dans les systèmes de providence sociale et du marché du travail de nombreux pays Occidentaux.
L'intérêt de cette recherche émane de la position précaire des jeunes sur le marché de l'emploi, du risque associé à leurs premières transitions et des récentes réponses institutionnelles aux nouveaux risques sociaux. Ces défis ont stimulé l'élaboration d'un cadre théorique original qui combine l'approche par les Capacités et l'Approche des Marchés Transitionnels. La combinaison de ces deux cadres théoriques a permis de tenir compte à la fois des dimensions individuelle et institutionnelle, tout en développant l'analyse sur trois dimensions empiriques. Au niveau macro, la thèse évalue dans quelle mesure la coordination et la variété des institutions du marché de l'emploi et de la providence sociale contribuent à construire une structure d'opportunités capacitante qui sécurise les trajectoires des jeunes. Au niveau micro, l'analyse se penche sur la conception de l'idée d'employabilité (la base cognitive) et comment elle est la mise en œuvre auprès des jeunes sans emploi. La troisième dimension empirique de l'analyse se concentre sur les individus et sur les institutions, ainsi que sur les résultats des transitions des jeunes et le lien avec les mesures d'employabilité reçues. Le contexte de la Région de Bruxelles Capitale a été choisi comme étude de cas : des entretiens semi-structurés avec les intervenants de première ligne ont été menés dans un échantillon d'organisations d'assistance et d'assurance sociale, afin de dévoiler la dimension cognitive et la mise en œuvre des mesures en faveur de l'employabilité. L'analyse quantitative – à savoir l'analyse de survie, l'optimal matching, et les régressions – a été réalisée sur une base originale de données administratives longitudinales, qui tracent les trajectoires d'un échantillon représentatif des jeunes résidents dans la Région de Bruxelles Capitale.

Summary

In this dissertation I investigate the role played by institutions in the development of employability of disadvantaged young people. Associated to the new social risks namely for younger generations, the lack of employability has been targeted by a broad range of measures in most of the Western welfare and labour market systems. This research was triggered by the increasing awareness of young people's weak position in the labour market, the risk associated with first transitions and the institutional to the rise of new social risks. The elaboration of an original theoretical framework informed by the Capability Approach and the Transitional Labour Markets Approach allowed me to account for both individual and institutional perspectives and investigate three empirical dimensions of the institutional intervention. At the macro level, the dissertation looks at whether the variety and coordination of labour market and welfare institutions contribute to an enabling opportunity structure which secures young people's trajectories. At the micro-level, I investigate the way in which employability is conceived (cognitive underpinnings) and delivered (implementation arrangements) to young unemployed and inactive. The third empirical dimension focuses on the micro-individual and institutional level by assessing the outcomes of young people's transitions and their relationship with the types of employability measures. The Brussels Capital Region is used as case study and a mixed-methods research design is adopted. I conducted semi-structured interviews with street-level bureaucrats in a sample of social assistance and social insurance organisations so as to unveil the cognitive and implementation arrangements of delivering employability. Quantitative analysis – event history, optimal matching and regression analysis – was carried out on an original longitudinal administrative dataset tracing the trajectories of a representative sample of young people living in the Brussels Capital Region.

Dai gelidi recessi d'inverno

Ecco, docile il nembo
rosa, sospeso ai freschi
aquiloni azzurri,
annuncia mieli
di turbini ronzanti.

Profumi di primavera

Un'alba di pioggia silente
accoglie un bisogno di vuoto:
il vento leggero rimesta
di petali il manto disteso.

In risposta al mio pianto

Ma spuntano in capo ai rami fioriti
germogli di verde struggente.
Muta s'insinua una vita là dove
sfiniva nudo il calice cieco.

Un desiderio richiama

L'inerzia feconda attende
al più remoto rito
arcano: gli umili
resti dei fiori in mani
di foglia si sfrangiano.

In pregne mandorle femminee.

(Francesco Bussi 2016)

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"Every generation has its measure of outcasts. However, it doesn't happen often that the plight of being outcast may stretch to embrace a whole generation. Yet precisely that may be happening in Europe now"[1].
(Zygmunt Bauman, Sociologist)

"Investing in young people's employability is vital in order to preserve our economies and well-being."[2]
(Laszlo Andor, Former Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion)

Introduction

The aim of this dissertation is to understand whether and how activation policies are able to ease the inclusion in the labour market of young people unemployed or in social assistance.

Several reasons justify the choice of this topic and the formulation of this research question.

First of all, the economic situation of young people in the labour market which is still a topical and problematic issue in most European countries.

At the end of 2010, when this work started, youth unemployment was on the rise in most of the European countries, though with some notable exceptions. Since then, youth unemployment rates have reached dramatically high levels and, in addition to that, the rate of long-term unemployment among youth has been on rise. Some analysts have warned of a possible "lost generation" of young people who are not able to stay in the labour market or enter it and are at risk of losing their skills and have their human capital deteriorated (Scarpetta, Sonnet, and Manfredi 2010).

Youth unemployment does not have only economic consequences, but also heavy individual and societal negative side effects. Long spells of unemployment affect the present well-being but have also long-lasting effects on future labour market outcomes and job- satisfaction and career. Last but not least, unemployment is also associated with poor health and risk of social exclusion.

At the European level another youth indicator has gained relevance in recent years: the NEETs, young people not in Employment, Education or Training. This indicator has the merit of being calculated out of the whole young people population and, in contrast with the youth unemployment rate, it provides a more inclusive perspective of the youth population.

[1] Article appeared in the Guardian 31 May 2012, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/may/31/downward-mobility-europe-young-people
[2] Speech delivered at the Spanish Youth Council Madrid, 13 May 2013.

The NEETs rates, like unemployment, have been affected by the recent crisis, and in some countries like Italy, they reached 23% meaning that almost four young persons out of 10 are not in employment, education or training (Eurostat 2015).

High unemployment and NEETs rates triggered a wide range of European and national answers which translated, for instance, into reforms of the educational and training system and of welfare system.
In some countries there have been changes in the access to income support for young people with short work history in order to provide a temporary support to them and their households. In contrast, in other countries, there has been a restriction of access to unemployment benefits and the reduction of the time coverage of the benefits.

Young people with low education, who dropped out from school and presenting multiple disadvantages experienced a higher increase of unemployment and inactivity rates across Europe. Although this exponential rise was also due to the low skills sectors that were particularly affected by the economic crisis (e.g. construction sector), education and training have attracted even more attention as possible solutions for strengthening the position of young people who are in between school, training and the labour market.

The second reason, which flows directly from the previous, is the relevance of the institutional answer to this phenomenon.
Helping young people to get back to the labour market, gain or update their skills, making them more efficient in their job-search means "activating" them and fostering their "employability", i.e. promote a proactive attitude and make them able to keep, improve or gain a position on the labour market.
The need to quickly answer to changing labour market and economic situations requires a high degree of flexibility both at personal and institutional level.

Workers might be more easily dismissed, might need to change job or function in a short lapse of time. They might be asked to take time off to care for their family members or enrol in education or training.

Labour market and welfare institutions play an important role in favouring or hindering individual choices. For instance, the existence of formal rights to training and income support to take time off to invest in human capital might ease the individual decision to enrol in training or education.

The interest in understanding whether and how labour market and welfare institutions might foster or hinder individual decisions is not new and has produced a vast body of literature. In particular, activation measures, i.e. policies aiming fostering people's employability, have received great attention in the last 20 years (Chapter 1 and 3).

Activation measures have modified the relationship between the individual and the institution. The former is seen as increasingly autonomous and rational in her choice, and the latter is increasingly conceived as a supporting actor steering and triggering individual behaviour.

In policy terms, the focus has shifted from passive welfare policies, where individuals were perceived merely as recipients of an institutional action – e.g. receiving institutional support -, to more active welfare policies, where individuals are to be understood as reasoning individuals with clear personal goals.

Despite the fact that these "activation policies" have developed across all European countries and that they have been fostered by a generalised spread of new forms of governance of the public services (e.g. New Public Management, NMP), activation policies take different forms according to the national and local context.

Hence, the analysis of activation policies cannot be reduced to the acknowledgement of their existence. By adopting a cognitive approach to public policies analysis, it is necessary to investigate the normative underpinnings activation policies in order to unveil the type of relationship between the individual and institutions they promote and the goals they aim for.

This requires two tools: an angle of investigation and an analytical framework able to grasp differences across activation policies.

The analytical perspective adopted is based on the idea of "employability". This buzz word has entered international and national policies but it has no clear definition. I split the idea of employability into two components: active and passive empowerment (Chapter 2).

Active empowerment refers to how each person uses her material and immaterial resources to reach a valued goal, while the passive empowerment refers to the institutional structure of opportunities that institutions set up without the individual's active intervention.

In this work I concentrate on the role of passive empowerment which is unpacked into two main dimensions – cognitive and implementation – and several sub-dimensions.

The role of the analytical frameworks is to define these dimensions and to provide an interpretation of the empirical data collected. I decided to use a combination of an individual-centred and an institution-centred theoretical account: the first being the Capability Approach (Nussbaum and Sen 1993) and the latter being the Transitional Labour Markets Approach (Schmid and Gazier 2002; Schmid 2008).

The combination of these two theoretical frameworks allowed establishing a conceptualisation of employability where the relationship between the individual and institution is accounted for. Moreover, both the Capability Approach and the Transitional Labour Markets Approach are also prescriptive insofar as they suggest how to conceive the individual embedded in the society and how institutions should relate to individuals.

The Capability Approach helps investigate the non-homogeneity of the youth population. For instance the NEETs indicator includes a heterogeneous population ranging from young people with family duties, young discouraged, young unemployed, young people who are voluntarily out of the labour market. Labour market, welfare and education policy answers should account for this diversity of needs and personal situations.

The Transitional Labour Markets Approach argues that labour market institutions should be able to reduce the risk of transitions across the life course such as between school and the labour market, but also between unemployment/inactivity and the labour market. Their capacity of risk management, namely based on the institutional complementarity and empowerment of individuals, is crucial in the definition and acquisition of individual employability.

Based on the literature and on these combined prescriptive approaches, I established three ideal types of activation policies that I used as a benchmark to evaluate whether the measures investigated are able to reduce the risk of unemployment or inactivity of young people (Chapter 3).

The three ideal types are Work-First, Human Capital Development approach and the Capability and Transitional Labour Markets- friendly approach. The first is defined as promoting a "functional employability" because it is meant to answer mainly to labour market needs without accounting for individual's perspective.
The second promotes a "fostering employability" where the lack of individual employability is reduced to the mismatch between the human capital available and the human capital required by the market.
The last type is defined as "enabling employability" in which individuals seek for human flourishing and institutional empower them while reducing the risks of ending up in social exclusion.

Three hypotheses are formulated from the theoretical approaches and they refer to both the process and outcome dimensions of employability policies.
The first hypothesis looks at the processes in which the cognitive dimension of employability is implemented at the local level, where policies are interpreted and shaped. The hypothesis states that if the idea of employability adopted is closer to a Capability Approach and Transitional Labour Markets then institutions will be able to provide passive empowerment which accounts for individual needs.

The second hypothesis looks at the processes but at an aggregate level and investigates whether the exiting institutional arrangements are complementary in reducing the risk of exclusion of young people in transitions towards the labour market.

Building on the previous hypotheses, the third hypothesis investigates outcomes and analyses whether employability measures with a different level of passive empowerment are actually compensating for the vulnerability of certain young people.

This research design is applied to the case study of the Brussels Capital Region and its Public Employment Services (PES) and Public Centres for Social Aid (CPAS). The complex governance structure, the relevance of activation policies for the youth population and the local dimension allow going into depth on the interaction between individuals and institutions by adopting a mixed-methods model (Chapter 4).

The qualitative analysis will focus on the process of the implementation and highlight its normative stance. Interviews are carried out with front-line agents at the Public Employment Services and Social Assistance Institutions who are supposed to active young people (Chapter 5). The quantitative analysis will look at the aggregate institutional perspective (second hypothesis) by using an ad-hoc dataset drawn from administrative data. Optimal Matching, cluster analysis and transition matrices are used to bring the complexity of individual trajectories to light and investigate how institutions complement each other (Chapter 6). Event history analysis is used to answer to the third hypothesis looking at individual outcome dimension. Based on the analysis on different employability measures implemented at the PES and CPAS, it establishes to what extent they are able to compensate for difficulties of some groups of disadvantaged young people (Chapter 6).

In short, this dissertation develops from a topical societal issue, elaborates on policies, adopts an original combination of existing theoretical frameworks and provides empirical-based answers that are meant to bring research forward as well as stimulate policy-oriented reflections from an alternative normative perspective.

Chapter 1 - The rise of new social risks and the role of institutions

To answer the research question '*To what extent are institutions able to provide disadvantaged young people with employability?*", it is necessary to explain why this question becomes relevant and what are the institutional features. This Chapter starts by contextualising the rise of new social risks and their impact on the welfare and labour market systems. Further it explains why focusing on institutions and their capacity of reducing risks provides an appropriate approach to the analysis. It also discusses the refocusing of the institutional answer that followed the emergence of new social risks. In particular, this second part deals with the emergence of a new cognitive framework, namely individualisation and its ensued policy answers, i.e. contractualisation, activation and responsibilisation. The last part concentrates on the reorganisation of the institutional answer: the emergence and spread of new forms of governance and challenges to the implementation of labour market and welfare policies. Because labour market institutions targeting young people were chosen for the empirical investigation, a youth perspective complements each part.

New social risks, labour markets and the welfare state

Since the aftermath of the Second World War the social contract was based on three pillars: paid employment, family and national borders (Saraceno 2007). All these three pillars have been challenged and weakened: the lifetime dependent work has been replaced by more flexible working relationships; existing family structures and the composition of the population have been challenged by social evolution, aging and migration flows; while globalisation/technology progress and new forms of governance have contributed to shift the production of wealth from agriculture and labour-intensive activities towards services and technology-intense industry (Green 1999).
This shift has implied an increased relevance of skills and human capital availability rather than raw resources or industries. A higher availability of skilled jobs called, in turn, for a stronger demand of high skills (Cedefop 2010). At the same time, the globalised economy intensified the economic integration, the amount of competition and the opportunity to outsource work to lower-wage and less protected labour markets put more pressure on the existing labour market and welfare institutions of the advanced Western economies (Kalleberg 2009).

Investigating these aspects of change allows the investigator to uncover some relevant mechanisms that led to important changes within welfare and labour market institutions, and that will be the focus of the empirical part of this dissertation.

Changing the nature of paid employment

Employment relationships have transformed because labour markets underwent important transformations due to, firstly, a changing impact and perception of work on life - Paugam identifies it as the "intensification of work" – and, secondly, to the increased instability of employment (Paugam 2007: 380).

A new perception of work

Work is a fundamental component of the subject[3], of identity, of the image of oneself, herself-esteem; work is necessary to define the position of the individual in the community as well as her project of present and future life (Gallino 2008). Thus, work has clearly a substantial, intrinsic and developmental role in people's lives and can be considered as a non-instrumental source of well-being (Walsh 2007).
However, according to Paugam, the *intensification of work* has implied that individuals modify the satisfaction that they are able to draw from work. This is due to the fact that it is increasingly difficult to identify one's personal flourishing with one's own working activity (Paugam 2007). Workers suffer more and more from psychological pressure and stress stemming from the fear of not being able to reach performance goals and for not contributing to a common goal.

Finding satisfaction from the economic rewards of work is also increasingly challenged as the economic gain and working conditions might not always reflect the amount of responsibilities or the nature of tasks, particularly for the lower educated in low-wage jobs. This broadly refers in the literature to the phenomenon of 'working poor', i.e. people working in low-paid often low-skilled jobs whose salary does not make their living. These people live, despite being integrated in the labour market, with working revenues below the poverty line (Andress and Lohmann 2008).
Moreover, Duvoux explains that the lack of recognition from work mostly affects working poor, who – although being in employment – are psychologically and financially precarious and find themselves in that grey zone between unemployment/inactivity and precarious, often subsidised, employment (Duvoux 2012).

The thin frontier between working poor and welfare state recipients in terms of income and in terms of capacity of making long-term projects has dug the conflict between these two similarly vulnerable groups. In fact, the working poor can no longer profit from the security and stability of their work and, while strongly supporting the value of work, they are not able to overcome a situation of precariousness very similar of those who do not work but are helped by the social system (Duvoux 2012).

This is all the more true for young people that, as I argue in the next sections, are more at risk of being in precarious and low-paid employment and, because

[3] In this dissertation language is intended to be gender neutral.

of discontinuous working careers, less likely to be entitled to welfare benefits (Eurofound 2014).

The rise of precariousness

Precarious work is defined as being uncertain, unpredictable and risky from the point of view of the worker (Kalleberg 2009).
Aspects of precariousness are also associated with questions of housing, welfare provision, availability of time for building personal relations (Neilson and Rossiter 2008).
While precarious work is not new to society – and some authors have also argued that precariousness should be considered the norm while Fordism and Keynesianism are exceptions (Neilson and Rossiter 2008) -, Kalleberg affirms that its growth and its obviousness have increased the attention around this widely spread form of employment.
The rise in precariousness was triggered by the ideological shift that was followed by the deregulation and reorganisation of employment relations allowing the accumulation of capital; the shift from welfare to workfare services in the 1990s; the centrality of market and private initiatives and the weakness of the central state (Kalleberg 2009).

Precariousness refers both to employment and job precariousness. This implies that there is not only the proliferation of atypical contracts (job precariousness), which are in part replacing open-ended positions, but also a recurrent threat of unemployment risk even for long-term contracts that is caused by a rising pressure towards flexibility (employment precariousness) (Castel 2007). Duvoux also highlights that increased precariousness among the workforce was not accompanied by a reduction of long-term unemployment nor of the volume of unemployment, precariousness has thus increased the share of those finding themselves in between work and unemployment and inactivity and likely to need welfare support, namely for single parents and vulnerable groups (Duvoux 2012).

As a consequence, social integration in modern societies does not longer rhyme with having a permanent job and being protected by social rights, but also having prospects that one's career will evolve, having access to the means of ensuring employability through lifelong learning, and being able to participate fully in all relevant areas of social life (Schmid and Gazier 2002). Yet Paugam (Paugam 2007) argues that the capacity of individuals of enjoying social recognition via the product of their work has being fading out. While looking for economic gain, social recognition and personal satisfaction are supposed to coexist; they are increasingly challenged due to the increasing individualisation of the working relationship.

Hence, although being considered as a fast-track against social exclusion and as an element contributing to well-being, participation in the labour market does not always immune against an unfavourable integration (Strotmann and Volkert 2008). In fact, social integration and social exclusion are not exactly diametrically opposite conditions: being employed and having a sufficient income, it should avoid social exclusion but does not guarantee that a person

will be socially integrated (Gautié 2002; Schömann and O'Connell 2002). Moreover, the integration and cohesion that could have come via collective representation mediated via workers' organisations has been fading away: in a context of a market-led economy with an expansion of services and the multiplication of diverse, job positions have increased the heterogeneity of jobs and weakened the representation of workers in homogeneous organisations (Ebbinghaus 2003).

Rise in precariousness has also afftected young people. In his historical analysis, Pollock (1997) argues that the de-structuring of transitions into employment is due to a changing economy which is no longer able to sustain employment levels and to a set of policies targeting education (i.e. raising school leaving age but also the erosion of state support for further and higher education). The capacity of young people of predicting their employment situation has changed substantially both in terms of full-time employment due to an increasing share of work arrangements such as part-timers and self-employed.
While for some these jobs are temporary solutions during studying, for others these precarious arrangements will last longer and have important scarring effects in terms of well-being, earning and professional outcomes (Bell and Blanchflower 2011; Gregg and Tominey 2005; Loughlin and Barling 2001; Tumino 2009).

Forms of precarious employment also challenge traditional forms of representation and young people find it more difficult to have their voices heard. It has been shown that unemployed persons find it more difficult to organize and mobilize and that their actions are often unstructured (Lorenzini and Giugni 2012). Similarly, workers in non-standard employment are less likely to be represented in labour movements (Leschke and Vandaele 2015) whose strategies are repeatedly failing to be inclusive and responsive towards the issues at stake for young generations (Hodder and Kretsos 2015; Vandaele 2012).

Morevoer, precarious employment does not only increase insecurity under normal economic circumstances, but even more so during economic downturn. In the recent crisis the embedded fragility of temporary and precarious jobs has become apparent, namely for young people. Youth unemployment rates have increased exponentially in some countries at the very onset and left, as a result, a large share of young people out of the labour maket for long now (ETUI 2012, 2013, 2014).

Finally, an increase feeling of precariousness is also fuelled by the concern for increasing productivity and profit, which has led to the development of management techniques aiming at boosting individual performance.
Referring to the relevance of the individual achievement, Boltanski and Chiapello (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005) affirm that the 'New Spirit of Capitalism' emerged in the 1990s has changed the idea of job security of the 1960s, which involved a meritocratic approach based on the achievement of negotiated targets.

The new idea conceives careers as a series of fulfilled individual projects: "job security" is now predicated on the "employability" that a person develops as he

or she gains experience" (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005). I shall present in the second and third chapters how the idea of employability developed and operationalised.

Demographics changes

Several demographic changes have a direct and indirect impact on work relationships, among others, I decide to present the role of aging, skills developments, participation of women in the labour market and migration flows.

Aging population due to better living conditions that allow living and staying healthy longer implied that elderly people will represent an increasing share of the population. This is mainly. Longer life expectance is associated with an increasing strain on the welfare state, the need to make working lives longer and increase labour market participation of women to counterbalance the pressure of the aging society but also to respond to changing idea of the male breadwinner model (Saraceno 2007; Taylor-Gooby 2004; Valkenburg 2007). A higher share of aging working population also calls for new demands of skills up-training and retraining as the competencies of older workers become increasingly obsolescent (Green 1999).

Changing skills

Skills development are another important factor of demographic change. Cedefop claims that in most European countries the proportion of jobs requiring high skills will represent the lion's share in the coming decades, while middle – skilled professions are already gradually disappearing. At the same time, the share of low qualified jobs is not shrinking as fast as the middle-one because some low-skills professions are emerging as a consequence of population's needs for health and social care (Cedefop 2010)

In Europe, young people have higher educational attainment than the previous generation. The massification of higher education and increased participation in compulsory school age have, among others, reduced the share of early leavers from school and work (Maguire 2015). This goes hand in hand with an increase complexity of the skills required to enter the labour market (Felstead et al 2004).

However, although educational attainment of the younger generation and skill requirements follow similar upwards trends, this does not prevent young people from finding it difficult to enter the labour market.
The horizontal and vertical skill-mismatch is not only due to an insufficient adaptation of the education system to labour market needs as often claimed. It is also to the low availability of employers to provide training in the work place and the lack of entry jobs where to develop meaningful job-related skills still.

Moreover, the growing importance of formal educational attainments makes those who fail to stay in education, training or enter employment even more vulnerable and at risk of social and economic exclusion. A vast plethora of policies in most European countries has been recently deployed to outreach

these young people, though the lack of clear understanding of the heterogeneity of the group has challenged the success of these measures (Maguire 2015)

Women in the labour market

Another important demographic change is the higher participation of women in the labour market, which does not take place without problems: if, on the one side, the erosion of the traditional family has made intimate relations more flexible and boosted the number of one-person households (Valkenburg 2007); on the other side, labour market and welfare systems have not fully adapted their institutions in order to allow single parents – for the most part women – conciliating their family duties.
Women participation in the labour market should have brought along an increased economic independence of this group as well as strengthened the role of labour market participation as the fundamental pillar of citizenship (Saraceno 2007). However, these changes were not fully included in the same structure of stable lifetime jobs that were previously available to the male breadwinner, as women are then more often relegated in part-time and temporary working contracts.

Migration flows

Demographic changes are not only determined by national dynamics but also by migration flows. National borders were the third pillar constituting the social contract in the post Second World War society (Saraceno 2007) and have been challenged by increasing migration flows. From a labour market perspective, migration in- and outflows are relevant and they directly contribute to shaping the composition of the labour supply and putting in question the reach and the borders of national welfare systems.
To this regard, Duvoux explains that social citizenship linked to social rights, particularly in the Bismarkian welfare systems, was limited not only to the male breadwinner but also to nationals (Duvoux 2012), thus excluding migrants from the social protection.

The integration of migrant groups in the labour market has been widely investigated (Münz 2007; OECD Migration outlook, several years) and most of the research shows that natives are more likely to have better labour market integration compared to foreign-born, especially migrants born outside Europe. Moreover, international comparing studies have highlighted that in several European countries that this is true also for the first and second generations of young migrants who turn out to be less likely to achieve the same educational results than natives (OECD 2010b), thus also having less good opportunities in the labour market (Heath et al 2008; Ouali and Rea 1999; Reyneri 2004). This suggests that, although national borders are more easily crossed, nationality and being recognised as belonging to a community helps enter and stay longer in the labour market.

Globalisation and governance change

Changes in paid employment and in the population composition take place in a wider context of change, which is often identified with the broad term of globalisation.

Globalisation is characterised by a new spatial conception of the demand and the supply of work, i.e. a context of accelerated international flows of capital and labour (Green 1999). Globalisation scales up the pressure of competition passing from a local/national perspective to an international and global playfield via the use of new communication tools. The opening up of national – or area – markets comes together with an expanding service sector leading to a decreasing proportion of blue-collar and low-skilled jobs, but to an increased share of white-collar high/medium skilled jobs. Higher flexibility is required because of the stricter competition triggered by economic globalisation (Kalleberg 2009; Sennett 1998), technology changes and the emergence of new skills needs urge workers to constantly upgrade their competences (Garsten and Jacobsson 2004; Taylor-Gooby 2004). These exogenous pressures augmented the risk for workers of not being competitive enough, particularly in some crucial moment in their life, such as during maternity/paternity or their first entry in the labour market. Thus, if contracts are more flexible and even stable jobs are increasingly exposed to the risk of being broken, then the distinction between being employed and being unemployed becomes blurred and transitions more frequent.

The impact of globalisation on the welfare state is not clear cut in the literature and four stances can be found: some authors claim that globalisation triggers the expansion of the welfare state in order to counterbalance the level of insecurity caused by the increased economic interdependence; others claim that the welfare state retrenches as soon as the globalisation expands; a third group support the idea that at the initial stage welfare expands with globalisation but that advanced globalisation is not compatible with a far-reaching welfare state; finally the fourth group backs the idea that globalisation has no impact on the welfare state - or only under some particular circumstances (e.g. during crises) - while cultural, political, demographic aspects should be considered as the reasons for welfare change (Brady, Seeleib-Kaiser, and Jason 2005).
Despite this lack of clear-cut causal relationship between changes between economic openness of a country and the size of the welfare state, it seems reasonable to affirm that globalisation - understood more widely than economic globalisation but also as change in the organisation of work in advanced economies (Green 1999) – had an impact on welfare and employment policies. In particular, the increased competition and the need of more flexible and adequately skilled workforce were pushed in order to increase efficiency and efficacy, thus requiring to the workforce to be adaptable and mobile.

Parallel to the rise of the global market, new types of governance also came to light. In fact, similarly as in the economic context, policies and policy making took an international scope and the rise of international political bodies has become relevant in the welfare and employment literature (Scharpf and Schmidt 2000).

Most notably, the European Union (EU) modified the role and competences of national states on several matters linked directly and indirectly with welfare and labour market policies. Particularly, starting from the years 2000s when the Lisbon conference the goal for Europe was to become 'the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world'(European Council 2000), the EU sought to better plan growth and jobs in a context of well-designed social protection which would minimise social dependency by providing strong incentives to work, become mobile and risk-taker (Taylor-Gooby and Zinn 2006).The expansion of the European Union on welfare and labour market-related topics favoured the spread of concepts and ideas via 'soft methods of governance', because the EU has no competence of hard law on these fields (Borrás and Jacobsson 2004).Although there are different views about the actual relevance and transfer of ideas among Member States and the actual common trend in the implementation of EU policies, there is no doubt that the EU had, and still has, a considerable power in influencing policy discourses at the national level. Some examples, which will be developed in other parts of this work, are represented by the ideas of flexicurity (Burroni and Keune 2011) and employability (Garsten and Jacobsson 2004; Martín 2009), but also of governance models, such as those suggested for the organisation of public employment services (Weishaupt 2010).

Box 1: The EU and Youth Employment

The attention to youth (un)employment is not new at the European level. The Luxembourg Summit in 1997 already pointed out that youth unemployment was too high and young people needed to benefit from measures to improve their employability - one of the four pillars of the European Employment Strategy (EES) – namely by means of lifelong learning and training policy (Lahusen, Schulz, and Graziano 2013). The crisis and its dramatic impact on youth (un)employment rates, particularly until 2011, called for even more political attention and targeted policies dealing with the specific situation of young people. Therefore, youth policies were both developed as a dedicated policy initiative (European Youth Package) and integrated into education and training policy (e.g. Education and Training 2020). In addition, the crisis triggered the production of policy initiatives aiming at dealing with what has been identified as the main obstacles hindering a fast and sustainable integration of young people on the labour market, i.e. skills mismatch (European Commission 2012a), the lack of mobility (European Commission 2010), as well as the lack of flexibility of labour market setting and institutions.

The first ad-hoc initiative included as full component of the renewed Lisbon Strategy, called Europe 2020, was the "Youth on the Move" Initiative. This initiative already included the idea of a Youth Guarantee (European Commission 2010), which was later developed in the Youth Employment Package adopted in 2012 (European Commission 2012). The Youth Employment Package is more comprehensive includes several initiatives namely the Youth Guarantee, the Quality Framework for Traineeships and the European Alliance for Apprenticeship. Nevertheless, among these policies, the Youth Guarantee represents the most comprehensive response to youth unemployment.

The Council Recommendation, officially adopted in April 2013, the EU called on EU countries to establish a Youth Guarantee, ensures that '*all young people under the age of 25 years receive a good-quality offer of employment, continued education, apprenticeship or traineeship within a period of four months of becoming unemployed or leaving formal education*' (Council of the European Union 2013). The Recommendation provides policy guidelines on how to implement successfully such a scheme. Three main elements form the fundamental principles of the Youth Guarantee: building-up a partnership-based approach between all relevant stakeholders (be they public and private employment services, governmental authorities, education and training institutions, social partners, or youth organisations); ensuring early intervention and activation; and orienting services towards labour market integration. These principles were meant both to reduce youth unemployment in the short term and to drive labour-market structural reforms in the long run, by fostering systemic improvements in the school-to-work transition, creating of comprehensive information systems; reducing segmentation on the labour market; and easing access to employment for young people.

The Youth Guarantee has been implemented since 2014 in most of the Member States and its impact on youth unemployment and national active labour market policies still need sometimes to be fairly assessed.

Source: this box is heavily based on (Bussi et al 2015)

Welfare and employment policies policies developed at the national level are not only challenged by the rise of supranational policy making, but also by the emergence of the local level. As I shall present later in this chapter, welfare and labour market policies have been decentralised (Kazepov 2010; Newman 2007). The main underlying idea was that designing and delivering policies at a lower level and closer to beneficiary would allow stronger innovation (Giguère 2003; Greffe 2003a), better tailoring to the local labour market and local beneficiaries needs linked to individual risky situations.

New social risks

The challenges mentioned above are broadly linked with the major transformations establishing post-industrial economies and societies, and when accounting for these three areas of change, the implications for the welfare and the labour market systems are substantial.
In fact, these radical changes triggered the emergence of what have been classified as *new social risks* (Bonoli 2005; Esping-Andersen 2002; Koistinen et al 2009; Taylor-Gooby 2004).

New social risks challenge existing labour market and welfare institutions because they increase the variety of situations where individuals need support. The fragmentation of individual family and work life-cycle due to changes in family, labour market and migration opportunities; increased precariousness and changing nature of employment relationships; as well as strong emphasis on individual performances and competitiveness favoured the development of

an *individualised approach to the management of varieties of risks* (Berkel and Valkenburg 2007; Koistinen, Mósesdóttir, and Pascual 2009).
The modernisation of social systems is then associated with the capacity of stimulating and relying on the individual capacity of becoming risk-takers, while finding the right balance between the positive and negative sides of individual risks (Taylor-Gooby and Zinn 2006).

Research has also highlighted that particular attention should be paid to those groups of the population that are more affected by these new risks. They are mostly composed of young people, women, low-skilled workers and migrants, who are also less able to mobilise themselves in order to claim their rights (Bonoli 2005; Crespo and Serrano Pascual 2004).

In particular, young people find their first entry in the labour market more difficult not only due to their lack of experience, their initial low productivity, and - depending on the education and training system - their training needs (Gautié 2009); but also because age cohorts are no longer likely to make key transitions at the same ages and because work itself has become insecure and unpredictable and, thus, an unreliable source for sustaining individual identity.
The experience of "education and work has become individualized, changeable, and risky" (Vickerstaff 2006).
The unpredictability of work and first transitions also concerns young people who represent a high share of precarious jobs (Matsaganis, Rabemiafara, and Ward 2014)

In the European context, young people are employed massively in temporary employment, for the 16-24 years old it represented 42% of the employed in 2013 (Eurostat, figure for 2013)
While some of these contracts have a strong training component (e.g. apprenticeships), a large part short-term jobs has few possibilities of renewal and low career and training prospects.

Being in temporary employment can be a stepping stones for young people who start their work career. However, forms of precarious employment can also become a trap insofar as young people get stuck in "churning" processes, where they shift from one job to another. Moreover, employment precariousness can also lead to income precariousness and lack of social protection. In fact, young people are often entitled to low minimum wages and, because of their short period of work history, are less likely to qualify for social insurance (Matsaganis et al 2014)

The vulnerability of these contracts came out clearly during the crisis as precarious contracts were the first to disappear. The growing share of young people unemployed and not in education or training has become even more problematic insofar as the share of young people who spent more than 12 months out of the labour market has not stopped increasing. The crisis has exacerbated the risk of transition out of inactivity and towards employment, in particular for the low qualified and migrants (Galgóczi and Leschke 2015)

Because of the impact of these changes on youth trajectories, this work will specifically focus on this group and on how welfare and labour market institutions deal with new social risks.

This can be broadly investigated along two, overlapping, aspects: the *refocusing* of the institutional answer and the *reorganisation* of the institutional answer.
The first aims at reshaping labour market policies in order to modify individuals' behaviour by, for example, increasing independence, self-esteem, and improving skills. The purpose of the latter is revising the efficiency and efficacy so as to reduce the incidence of welfare recipients on welfare expenditure (Sabatinelli 2010).

Refocusing the institutional answer

The refocusing of the institutional answer in the context of welfare and employment policies includes what has been labelled as *individualisation*, a*ctivation*, *responsibilisation* (Berkel and Valkenburg 2007; Bonvin and Farvaque 2007a; Borghi and Berkel 2007b; Lindsay and Pascual Serrano 2009)

The next section will present these aspects in detail and contextualise them in welfare and labour market policies, the focus of this work. In fact, when dealing with a specific policy field, one can expect that the institutional answer is translated and shaped according to the specific institutional features and boundaries of the policy field. In this research, welfare and labour market are the policy fields under study and their institutional features and boundaries are to be included because new trends do not root themselves in virgin territory but do take place in an historical-bound context (Gualmini and Rizza 2011; Pierson 2004).

The emergence of individualisation in welfare and labour market policies

The process of individualisation and diversification of individual's trajectories that has taken place in family relationships and the labour market has intrinsically modified how the notion of risk was perceived in traditionally welfare systems. Individualisation is the product of several societal and economic transformations, which entails that each individual experiences greater range of choices or possibilities, and where individual or biographical characteristics play a significant role in determining the routes people take (Vickerstaff 2006). As choices entails risks, choices based or influenced by the combination of individual characters naturally lead to the emergence of individualised social risks.

This is also the case for the risk of becoming unemployed, which has passed from being a socially and economic conceived risk to an individual responsibility.

Historically, since the end of the 1930 crisis and until the new crisis of the 1970s, there was a fast growing society with high level of employment among the working population, although mainly among men. At that time the risk of

unemployment was conceived as a social risk independent from the personal willingness (Koistinen, Mósesdóttir, and Pascual 2009).

The basic dichotomous idea of being employable or not (i.e. healthy enough for work) developed into more elaborate statistics of employment, unemployment and poverty (Gazier 1999). Most importantly data on labour market and poverty helped make the distinction between concept of involuntary and voluntary unemployment (Koistinen, Mósesdóttir, and Pascual 2009).

These statistical tools were used by the State at a macro level and - because they mostly focused on an aggregate level rather than on the individual (Gazier 1999) -the State used them for regulating wages, unemployment insurance, pensions, i.e. the aggregate demand in a Keynesian perspective (Desrosières 2003).

Considered as an external event, the risk of unemployment was still seen as a temporary, and externally caused (Gualmini and Rizza 2011) and a risk to be corrected by society (Gautié 2002).
The collectivisation of risk was the equivalent of the collectivism of production, i.e. the idea of the work activity as a common achievement and not merely as a personal fulfilment. Moreover securing employment was seen as a key factor in supporting progress and growth, and that was a major role of the State and its welfare system (Koistinen, Mósesdóttir, and Pascual 2009).

The crisis of the 1970s and 1980s which affected most of the Western European countries was perceived in a different way from the one of the 1930s. It was not the untamed market that brought wealthy societies on the edge of collapse, but the undue and inappropriate expansion of the State both as a regulator of the market and as an insurance actor via the welfare system (Desrosières 2003).
The system appeared to become increasingly costly and not sustainable particularly when changes affecting family structures, paid employment and national borders, as explained above, put welfare finance under stress (Gautié 2002).

Firstly demographic changes and a higher need of pensions and health care for elderly people challenged the financing rule and sustainability of welfare insurance. Secondly the flexibility of working relationships and the amplified risk of unemployment for certain categories of workers increasingly defied the capacity of welfare states to identify -according to its administrative categories - and guarantee adequate coverage for atypical working careers.

Thirdly, in some European countries with a high share of non-natives workers, migration flows questioned the universal social rights embedded in the notion of citizenship often linked to a “national” idea of individual which no longer includes an increasingly important share of the population (Koistinen, Mósesdóttir, and Pascual 2009).

Moreover Gautié explains that the emergence of new social risks made the (statistical) category of unemployment no longer adequate as it was not capturing precarious working situations and new family dynamics (Gautié 2002).

At the same time, securing and regulating the employment by means of laws on dismissal, social security at unemployment, etc.… was increasingly considered as obsolete and substituted by the idea that it was the trajectory of the individual that should be at the core of new employment policies (Gautié 2002; Schmid and Gazier 2002). That is why the attention towards individuals increased as well as the expectancy towards their capacity of making up for the State inappropriateness.

To reduce unemployment which significantly rose after the crisis of the 1970s and 1980s, a heavy demand-side intervention, such as strong state investment and job creation, was no longer considered as viable. This rise of unemployment contributed to trigger a shift in the way the economic mechanisms and governance were conceived. Strongly and concretely supported by big political actors, such as Thatcher and Reagan, the new idea of competitive globalisation and the new – retrenched - role of state became the pillars of a new and pervasive economic approach denominated neo-liberalism (Peck and Tickell 2002). Less state, meant more room for individual entrepreneurship and responsibility, privatisation and deregulation (Maguire 2015). The free market was meant to be the main natural regulator of the economy and public services as much as possible.
As a consequence, more emphasis was given to the supply side and the individuals' capacity of being able to modify their trajectory by increasing their skills, improving their competences, making their job-search more effective, modifying their requests towards the job by, for instance, accepting flexible working time. The underpinning idea was that the level of employment depends on the supply side and this needs to be triggered and spurred, namely by activating it (Dang and Zajdela 2007); by the same token this brings about an underestimation of the macro-social reasons for unemployment (Sabatinelli 2010).

Activation was conceived as a way of both reducing welfare expenditure while combating high shares of unemployment, thus establishing a link between welfare and employment and labour market policies (Barbier 2002). This link went beyond the previous idea of welfare as insurance from temporary spells of unemployment in a context of full employment. Bonvin explains that the shift towards activation broadened the categories of population to which it referred and included also previously legitimacy non-active groups: such as too old, too young, disabled or single parents (Bonvin 2004).

When searching for efficient individualisation of these traditionally non-active groups, targeting becomes crucial. A well-designed targeting allows a better customisation of the services delivered and better responsiveness to customers' needs, which are very likely to differ across diverse categories.

Activation: an individual approach to labour market integration

Defining activation might be not so straightforward when looking at the literature. According to Barbier (Barbier 2006), 'activation' refers to the

normative dimension marking the transformation from a "Passive Welfare State" to an "Active Welfare State". The activation needs new justifications (i.e. the inappropriateness of sole income replacement to combat unemployment, the rigidities of the labour market, etc.) and new means of intervention (active and activation policies).

Hence, activation is an inclusive term that helps identifying a common normative trend across countries and classifying the regimes of activation, but it does not explicitly single out the differences that emerge in the design and implementation of related policies, which are influenced and mediated by historical and institutional traditions (Chevalier 2008).

The idea of activation takes shape in the implementation of Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs). Active labour market policies are conceived as opposite in nature compared to passive policies. The latter are defined by the OECD[4] (2001) as passive or income maintenance programmes, i.e. unemployment compensation and programmes for early retirement for labour market reasons (Calmfors 1994).

When defining active labour market policies, the OECD definition is the most widely used in international comparisons. The OECD defines active labour market policies as 'all social expenditure (other than education) which is aimed at the improvement of the beneficiaries' prospect of finding gainful employment or to otherwise increase their earnings capacity'[5](OECD 2007). This includes all expenses geared towards public employment services and administration, labour market training, labour market programmes providing or promoting employment for unemployed, but also special programmes for particular categories of unemployed that might find it more difficult to enter the labour market, such as youth in transition from school to work or the disabled.

Barbier makes a distinction between 'activation policies' and 'active policies' (Barbier 2002). On the one hand, activation policies focus on the individuals and include programmes targeting unemployed and inactive, those who are at risk of becoming unemployed and those who are employed but need training due to the likelihood of leaving their job (De Koning and Mosley 2002). The focus is then on the individual claimant and aims at modifying their behaviours and/or increasing their assets more likely to be employable (e.g. training).
On the other hand, 'active policies', as exposed above, have a broader scope and, in addition to activation policies, they include tax credits and social contribution cuts for employers aiming at creating jobs via incentives to employers or employees instead of compensating for lack of income, i.e. policies that modify the functioning of passive expenses by adding an activation element to them. Although they aim at modifying claimants' and employers' behaviours, they do not act directly on individual's characteristics, but rather by altering the institutional link between work and welfare.
Particularly in countries like Germany, Italy and France (Barbier 2002), but also Belgium, this group of policies is intermingled with active labour market

[4]Definitions of the Standardised categories and Sub-categories of Labour Market Programmes, OECD, 2001.
[5] An Interpretative Guide to the OECD Social Expenditure Database (SOCX), OECD, page 15
http://stats.oecd.org/OECDStatDownloadFiles/OECDSOCX2007InterpretativeGuide_En.pdf

policies. An example is the Belgian reduced unemployment benefits for those unemployed willing to take up some part-time activity (*allocation de garantie de revenus*)[6]. This is an example of active policy because it alters the relationship between welfare and employment and labour market policies (Barbier 2002) by promoting the idea that even part-time employment paying less than unemployment benefits is a valuable alternative to unemployment or inactivity.

Indeed, this distinction between activation and active policies is not clear-cut and is challenged by the complexity of national institutional settings. However, I introduced this distinction because I think that it highlights better how activation and active policies have an impact respectively on the cognitive dimension and inherent justification of the policy action; on individuals (measures designed for targeting single recipients); on institutions (the activation of some elements of labour market schemes). Moreover focusing on these dimensions allows understanding how this has challenged both the relationship between the state and the service providers, and the relationship between welfare claimants and institutions (Bonvin and Farvaque 2006; Dang and Zajdela 2007) and how policy instruments have been used.

Activation did not only respond to an economic need, but also it developed on the idea of an entrepreneurial self that is master of his/her own life (and work) trajectory (Périlleux 2005). Programmes helping the unemployed to re-integrate into the labour market are meant to foster both an active attitude of individuals towards job-search as well as the attention to their sellable qualities in the labour market.
In particular, activation policies for young people have been described by Serrano Pascual as pivoting around three main complementary ideas: 1. young people lack appropriate technical skills needed in the labour market; 2. Young people lack competencies and attitudinal competences for developing a sense of independence and setting personal targets and, finally, 3. Young people lack motivation and working ethics, which hinder their inclusion in the labour market (Serrano Pascual 2004).

In sum, on the one hand persons becoming unemployed continue to count on temporary income support, but on the other hand they become personally responsible for reintegrating the labour market as soon as possible after a period of passive benefits, which is nevertheless becoming shorter overtime in several European countries and increasingly conditional on individual's efforts for activation.

Responsibilisation

This leads to consider how and to what extent the responsibility of individuals is reshaped within this new institutional setting, where the calls for the modernisation of the social protection systems pass through the active involvement of individual claimants. It is important to disentangle and

[6]http://www.rva.be/frames/frameset.aspx?Language=FR&Path=D_opdracht_PT/&Items=3 last accessed on 3rd November 2013

understand how the idea of responsibility is conceived because it is likely to influence policy practices and outcomes.

Dean, by quoting Mead, affirms that the transition from the welfare state to the workfare state era has brought along the overruling of social obligations on social rights (Dean 2006). Similarly, Pascual claims that the shift towards activation triggers the transformation of the social and moral grounds on which the social contract builds: unemployment and social exclusion are seen as moral issues and, thus, disconnected from the political and economic context that caused them (Pascual 2006). In this way, the increased responsibilisation of individuals for their situation depoliticises the condition of being unemployed or socially excluded and reduces the risk of any political protest about the causes at root of work and social precariousness (Pascual 2006).

This new stance on the role of the welfare state and citizens implies that, because employment has become increasingly unattractive to their eyes, unemployed are thought being at risk of moral hazard insofar as they decide to live on benefits rather than going find their way back to the labour market (Muller, Barbier, and Bresson 2012).

Hence, in this context of individualisation of the policies, avoiding the poverty or inactivity trap means engaging and securing their commitment and cooperation.
Activating the behaviour of benefit claimants so that they can actively shape their trajectories means questioning the role of human agency and how this articulates with the institutional setting (Wright 2012).

What does this concretely imply in activation programmes?
A different sharing of the responsibilisation between recipients and the state. Rights to welfare (e.g. minimum income schemes or unemployment benefits) are coupled with more restrictive duties and conditionality, which claim to make people more responsible for a sound use of limited public resources. Stricter conditionality in activation programmes often translate into tightening work requirements, narrowing exemption criteria, introducing new punishable behaviours (Hasenfeld, Ghose, and Larson 2004).
The conceptions of the sharing of responsibilities between individual and institutions and the extent to which these stricter conditions are actually put into place not only vary across regimes, but also at different institutional levels.
Therefore, although it might be difficult and challenging, it becomes evident that identify the correct share of responsibility is a crucial question for welfare states that tend to reduce costs and aim at achieving full employment and growth with limited human and financial resources. The responsibility is defined by clearly spelling out rights and duties of both parties (the community/the State) and the recipients in order to ensure that it is possible to identify personal faults from unforeseeable and unwanted consequences.

Disentangling these approaches helps the authors to identify some “ideal types” of social justice and patterns of sharing responsibility. It will be used in Chapter 3 to benchmark the normative underpinning of active labour market policies in the study case of the Brussels Capital Region as well as practices (Chapter 4).

Make individuals responsible by using contracts

Stemming from an increased responsibilisation, the contractualisation of welfare programmes - and particularly of active labour market programmes – is used as a tool to translate the cognitive shift towards individualisation and responsibilisation into a new balance of right and duties (Hamilton 2014).

The increased responsibility and the willingness to clearly define to what extent the person is held responsible for her 'not being in employment' lead to the development of new contractual relationships between citizens and the State. For instance, Serrano Pascual (2007) built her typology of activation regimes on the type of contract and the balance of rights and duties between a community and its members (see Chapter 3). Indeed, the introduction of a new contract, or shifts in the existing one, goes hand in hand with the development of a stronger responsibilisation of welfare recipients.
'Signing contracts' between the state, or the administrative agency representing the state, and the citizen is probably the clearest example of policy tool that started to be widely used in active labour market programme.
'Contracts' are individual 'Action plans' or *projets professionnels*[7]in which the unemployed person promises to take some actions and the administration commits to paying welfare benefits, providing active labour market programmes or other integration measures.

The idea of contract is not only linked with rights and duties of the parties involved, but also with the idea of accountability of the institution towards the client. However, Brodkin (1997) explains that institutional accountability to welfare recipients is rarely challenged. It builds on the idea that welfare recipients are capable of self-advocacy and because welfare clients are often experiencing difficult personal and social situations, they very rarely question the quality of service they receive. In addition, the contract stipulated between the state and the single recipients cannot be enforced because it does not ensure the intended equality of the parties involved as often there are no 'exit' options for the recipients without sanctions (Brodkin, 1997:20).

The use of contract between welfare recipients and the state is not without consequences. Lascoumes and Le Galès argue that the choice of a policy tool is far from being without consequences: policy instruments reveal 'the theorisation of the relationship between the governing and the governed' (Lascoumes and Le Gales 2007). The use of contract is highly indicative of the normative shift underlying the drift towards an Active Welfare State.
The contract, or 'action plan', is not only a top-down instrument that regulates social relations between the State and citizens by establishing rights and duties; but also a policy instrument that aims at modifying the behaviour of the target population and strengthening a particular conception of citizens. The idea of citizen that is brought forward is that of persons able to choose, independent and self-regulating (Andersen 2007). It is only by promoting this conception of citizens that activation, stronger conditionality and responsibilisation can be

[7] The introduction of 'action plans' (projet professionnel) will be developed in Chapter 4 where the Belgian and Brussels Capital Region welfare system will be presented in detail.

justified. This distinction between the two-fold idea of the contract is sociologically explained by Andersen (2007).

Andersen argues that service administrations avoid speaking of their clients as a subject over whom they exert their power. Instead social services institutions offer contracts (action plans) and leave the citizens the 'choice' of signing and the 'freedom' of accepting the idea that, should the contract be signed, they would need to change their behaviour and commit to modify their habits and their attitudes.
Hence, in the end, the contract signed between the institution and the single person does not only regulate the top-down relation between State power and the citizen; but it also regulates citizens by directing their inner behaviours.
Recognising the double impact of contracts confirms the relevance of investigating instruments and their normative value.

The 'Projets professionnels' (action plans) have been increasingly used within activation policies for young people. The OECD (OECD 2005; OECD 2010a) and the European Union (European Commission 2012) has often called for these individual activation projects because they are primary tools of ensuring participation of the young person, esteemed to be more likely to drop out, and the compliance with mutual obligations. For instance, in Belgium, the use of personal action plans has been in the social assistance legislation for a long time (Dumont 2010), but not actually implemented. In the 2000s, both in social assistance and social insurance systems, the use of action plans has been made compulsory for young people. In an activation regime where sanctions and controls are still limited and less intense compared to other European examples, the introduction of compulsory action plans is a clear indication of how using contracts in welfare institutions is becoming a widely accepted policy tool even in the Belgian context.

For all above, one could say that the individualisation and the shift of responsibility towards the individual in employability policies entailed a 'cognitive' change in public policy. This means that public actors had to adopt other interpretative frameworks to understand and enact their actions (Bonvin 2004; Jobert 1992; Muller 2000a; Muller 2013; Surel 2000).

This new individual-oriented interpretative framework enacted by decentralised institutions and (semi)public autonomous agencies challenged, as I shall present in the next section, both the existing forms of organisation and the dynamics of implementation.
Before moving to the next section, I would like to draw the attention to the fact that the refocusing of the institutional answer mostly targeted the supply-side. It mostly aimed at modifying behaviours by making people more responsible and risk-taking without tackling the source of precariousness, modifying the intensity and or the extent of insecurity. Likewise, as I will present in the next section, the reorganising of the institutional structure follows the call for modifying individual behaviour through the adoption of new modes of governance and activating institutions themselves.

In other parts of this dissertation (Chapter 2 and 3) I will develop an original analytical tool that seeks to overcome this unbalance. I will do this by considering the opportunity structure built by ALMPs as including interventions on the demand-side.

Reorganising the institutional answer

The refocusing the institutional answer implied reshaping labour market policies in order to activate individuals by modifying their behaviours.
Similarly, the purpose of the refocusing of the institutional answer is "activating" institutions by intervening on social expenditure, which should shift from passive welfare policies (payments) to active expenditures (e.g. training programmes). The institutional answer is also activated by the implementation of new forms of governance – such as the New Public Management techniques - which try to modify and steer practices at the local level.

In this part and in this dissertation, I will concentrate in the latter and investigates the impact of governance on implementation and its spill over effects on the relationship between individual recipients and the institution.

In the 1980s, the attention and interest grew for management techniques of the private sector and spread over social policy because they were more output oriented and considered more performing but also because there was a general dissatisfaction with State-led services (Borghi and Berkel 2007b; Emery and Giauque 2005; Page 2005; Sandfort 2000; Varone and Bonvin 2004). This has pushed many countries to implement activation policies together with administrative and management reforms (Serrano Pascual 2007).
Moreover, the emergence of new forms of governance is not unconcerned by the new forms of interactions between an individualised conception of society and its risks. Evidence of that is found on two levels: on a conceptual level and on a more pragmatic one.

On a conceptual level, one could say that both individualisation and new forms of governance (mainly referring to the premises of the New Public Management) share a preference for coping with individuals rather than with a whole community of costumers or organisation (i.e. the whole staff) and its processes. Single individuals are understood here both as individual customers or clients with their own single requests and single staff members with their own performance capacity. This entails for example that there is more emphasis on the evaluation of individual's performance rather than overall assessment of an institution and its staff.

Similarly, on a pragmatic level, public services for unemployed no longer considered their "clients" as passive recipients, but they rather see them as active participants in the delivery of the services (Périlleux 2005). Clients can actively take part and improve the delivery of services because they can, supposedly, decide which kind of services they need, and their free choice can enhance competition and "race-to-the-top" of services available in the market. The expression "put the client in the driver's seat" colourfully reflects the centrality

that these approaches give to individuals (Osborne and Gaebler quoted in Borghi and Berkel 2007).

New forms of organisation

The idea of 'governance' was introduced to replace top-down approaches, referring to the idea of government, to organisation management, particularly concerning financial and human resource aspects. Osborne and Gaebler summarised this shift in ten principles: 1. Empower rather than serve; 2 steer rather than row; 3. Include competition in service provision; 4. Transform rule-driven government into a mission-driven organisation; 5. Promoting output-oriented approach; 6. Meet the needs of clients; 7. Promote a for-profit state rather than a spending state; 8. Adopt a preventing approach to issues; 9. Shift towards network rather than strict hierarchy; finally 10. Promote change towards the market rather than imposed top-down mission (Schmid 2008).

Because New Public Management tools aim at increasing efficiency and efficacy by shaping their organisation processes and thinking of their outputs in terms of their clients or customers, there has been a tendency to decentralising services towards staff at the lower level so as to be closer to the clients; particular attention was also paid to customers' satisfaction and clients' active inclusion (Bonvin and Farvaque 2006). Further, the introduction of incentives to performance for staff members as well as increased personal responsibilities puts single persons at the core of the organisational process, thus stimulating competitiveness and performance-oriented behaviours inside the organisation itself (Emery and Giauque 2005) by following the principle of 'making the managers manage' (Page 2005).

In this framework, the new requests for more activating services and an increased attention towards increase diversification of individual risks – ranging from lack of income to risks linked to long-term unemployment - pushed human services organisations to develop *new coordination and networks* with other related services. This has implied a growing number of different actors involved (Greffe 2003b). Looking at the US experience, Page (2005) explains that NPM put its root in organisations operating as specialised and hierarchical monopolies with rules and standard procedures (Page 2005), with staff specifically trained to deal with very specific aspects of the human service, with strong hierarchical inner structure. The new governance procedures made it clear that if welfare institutions wanted to aim at both efficiency and efficacy as well as adopting a more individualised approach, highly standardised procedures could not respond properly to increasingly peculiar individual trajectories and combat social exclusion.
The answer was the development of ad-hoc and customised services that called for a closer design and delivery of these services as well as an increasing number of expertise from other services, organised in integrated services (OECD 2003b). This amplified the importance of the local level agencies that were esteemed more suitable for identifying more relevant needs and most suitable answers for their clients (Sandfort 2000) and contribute to coherently solving

local problems in areas that fall in between policy fields (Greffe 2003b; OECD 2003b).

The decentralisation of labour market policies implies, according to the OECD (2003) three main features: the need for coordination among institutions, the capacity to match supply characteristics with the needs of the demand, and an increasing participation of civil servants but also of local civil society and business (OECD 2003).

If the main responsibility remains at the central level, it is reduced to delivering guidelines for organising and financing activation programmes (Sabatinelli 2010); OECD 2003). The local dimension is important both because it answers to the need of targeting more efficiently as well as because it provides a more individualised perspective on specific issues stemming from fragmented working lives (Gallino 2007), thus answering to the need of 'appropriateness' (OECD 2003). As Faure and Muller explained it, the local level has been experiencing an important renewal as regards its local identity and professionalism and the 'référentiel' (i.e. the normative idea underpinning a common vision) is not only shaped at the global (national) level, but rather defined also at the local one (Faure and Muller 2013).

Although the decentralisation of implementation is praised for being more efficient, the OECD (2003) warned about some possible challenges that can become drawbacks. Enforcing accountability of local agencies towards the central State can be difficult as there is a split between resources managed at the central level and services delivered at the local level; setting objectives can be a source of conflict as there might not be exact overlapping between centrally-driven and local goals; finally, partnerships and coordination among actors can be inefficient if there is a weak central government and might also entail issues of quality of the services delivered.

On the same line of thought, Peters stated that, because NPM features can be implemented only if public agencies are made increasingly autonomous and accountable for their actions, the fragmentation of the public sector led to conflicting programmes, gaps in service and inadequate coordination (Peters 2013). This has resulted in counter-tendencies restoring some aspects of hierarchical control in order to bring back improved consistency (Peters 2013); see the 'whole-of-government' approach described by (Christensen et al 2007).

While previous sections indicate that welfare and labour policies and their governance have "gone local", because of an increasing attention towards supply side labour market polices targeting unemployed and inactive people in order to reduce various labour market rigidities (Calmfors 1994), comparative research at the national level has encountered more interest and labour market and welfare dependency at the local level has received less attention (Dujardin, Selod, and Thomas 2008; Gustafsson 2012).
However, together with local economic determinants, local welfare-to-work and labour market policies play an important role in shaping (young) claimants' opportunities in the labour market. This is particularly true for cities characterised by striking disparities, where the core of the city urban area is

more deprived than the periphery (Dujardin et al 2008). This implies that people living in city centres are often more exposed to poverty and social exclusion and find it more difficult to integrate in the labour market. In particular, the neighbourhood can have an impact on the labour market outcomes: firs the neighbourhood's social composition can favour or hinder the acquisition of new skills and behaviours; this is particularly important when referring to job-search resources and techniques. Second the relative location of the neighbourhood to other important and more labour attractive places can have an impact on labour market opportunities (Musterd and Andersson 2006). Moreover the neighbourhood reputation – i.e. its degree of stigmatising effect - as well as the availability of services, in particular of schools and welfare service, has a long-term impact upon people's lives as they affect their opportunities (Mustard and Andersson 2006). These characteristics make people living in urban contexts more likely to be in need of welfare support.

A comprehensive perspective on the local dimension is then necessary as policy trends mentioned above might favour divergent approaches and might imply different individual's outcomes as well as institutional responses due to local socio-economic and policy specificities.

In this dissertation I will focus on the local level, the Brussels Capital Region (RBC), and try to spell out its peculiarities and divergence.

Challenges to implementation

The implementation of welfare services has been at the centre of debates which tried to disentangle the mechanisms of bureaucratic control and policy implementation (Meyers and Vorsanger 2007).
Investigating implementation is not straightforward. Meyers and Vorsanger report that in the literature there is no clear consensus about the role of street-level bureaucrats and the scope and the influence of their discretion in the policy implementation. This confirms the complex political, professional, organisational, community and socio-economic environment in which street-level bureaucrats operate (Meyers and Vorsanger 2007).

Moreover, understanding the implementation of policies is crucial insofar as the cognitive and organisational shifts previously mentioned are likely to have an impact on the service delivery as they aim at steering actions and modify behaviours of street-level implementers. In particular, in this dissertation, it will investigate to whether and to what extent the cognitive shift at the federal level took place at the local level in employability programmes for young people.

As mentioned above, the spread of NPM rules in welfare services refuelled the implications of front-line agents' discretionary power particularly because top-down imposed rules are often perceived by front-line agents as limits to the capacity of adapting and interpreting policies in line with the local context.

Although, in contrast with traditional highly structured and centrally controlled public welfare bureaucracy, NPM encouraged the decentralisation of social services, the introduction of performance indicators and accountability on

outcomes increased the pressure on the decentralised level. The decentralisation under the NPM is believed to have opened the way to a more discretionary power of local agents (Page 2005; Sandfort 2000: 734; (Hupe and Hill 2007; Meyers and Vorsanger 2007) in the design and implementation of services, though counterbalanced by a demand from the central State for higher performance (Brodkin 1997). Furthermore, the intersection of normative principles regulating the distribution of resources and instruments wanted to set a larger (or narrower) playground within which street-level bureaucrats find their own ways of: playing with the rules; managing their work; following their professional ideologies; and establishing a relationship with the people they act on (Hupe and Hill 2007; Lipsky 2010).

However, Brodkin (1997) also made clear that, although devolution of power is meant to increase efficiency and responsiveness of welfare agencies, the transfer of power often takes place in an institutional environment suffering from low funding and scarce human resources. This is particularly true for human services which do not operate under profit but rather aiming at intangible results (e.g. individual autonomy) which does not fuel into higher institutions returns right away. The lack of resources increase the risk of transforming accountability of welfare institutions towards clients and their compliance of the welfare contract into an empty word.

Together with organisational pressures, street-level welfare agents are also asked to rethink claimants in terms of clients, see them increasingly responsible and active part of new social contract (see previous section on activation and responsibilisation). In fact, street-level bureaucrats do not only deliver policies but are also in the position of actively defining and adapting rules, thus having an impact on the final – often intangible – policy outcomes (Lipsky 2010).

This implies that -when cognitive shift in policies take place - street-level bureaucrats might be asked adapt their former interpretation of the policies in order to comply with the new sense-making. Conflicts between what is externally imposed and the situated knowledge of front-line agents might arise (Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer 2002).
In this respect, Spillane et al. (2002) argue that 'cognitive frameworks'[8] are to be explored in three stages including: the individual cognition referring to personal previous knowledge and beliefs; the situated cognition, pertaining to the influence of the professional, socio-cultural and economic context in which the agent operates; and finally the role of representation, brought about by the introduction of new policies. Along a same line of thought, Hill warns that the often undefined meanings in the legislation and a vague guidance for practice lead the way to the necessity of font-line agents of interpreting policy goals before implementing them accordingly (Hill 2003).
In the current context of the emergence of new social risks, challenges to the implementation of welfare policies also arise from the promotion of an individualised approach as well as the multiplication of identities to which welfare institutions and their front-line agents are confronted. The plurality of categories of people/clients public agencies and actors are to deal with also calls

[8]The authors defined them as including 'basic information processing, the complexities and influences involved in the processing of information about abstract ideas' introduced by policy reforms (Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer 2002)

for a multiplication of answers that might undermine the idea of equal treatment, one of the premises of public services.

Contextualising the dissertation

To conclude, focusing on policy targeting young people will be revealing: if the conception of individual responsibility in social and labour market policies has changed and if the way of delivering welfare policies has been modified, I expect to find evidence of these changes among young people who are at the crossroad of several transitions.

One of the key aims of this dissertation is, contrary to most of the research on ALMPs, to go beyond silos approaches which look separately at policy impact (mostly in quantitative terms) – on the one hand - and at the cognitive dimension and implementation process of policies on the other hand.

The trends described in this chapter have made clear that lack of employability - "not being employable" - can be considered as a (new) social risk insofar as the capacity of gaining or staying in employment is central to meet the requirements of a changing and flexible labour market.

In light of this context, analysing how institutions deliver employability to young people cannot overlook the reorganisation and refocusing of the institutional answer. This means that the impact of institutions on young people's employability has to account for the policy implementation *and* expected outcomes.

In this thesis, I do so in several steps: first I build a theoretical framework that helps me to unpack the sense-making dimension of the implementation process in welfare policies and identify its implementation arrangements. This is particularly relevant because it helps understand under which normative premises the Belgian local welfare system – my case study (Chapter 4) - has developed its activation policies and how its public agents are implementing it. Focusing on the local level is necessary as ALMPs implies a street-level delivery and sense-making (Chapter 5).

The second step is to operationalise this theoretical framework around a chosen concept in order to have an analytical tool to interpret the empirical material. I chose to operationalise the idea of employability. This is developed in Chapter 2 and 3.

The third and last step is to analyse the quantitative outcomes of the policy and assess them against the normative underpinning and mode of delivery. This means that I will expect different outcomes according to the conception and delivery of ALMPs. This is developed in Chapter 7 and 8.

In the following chapter I develop the theoretical frameworks framing the empirical analysis.

Chapter 2 – Setting the theoretical backgrounds

This chapter presents the theoretical approaches that will structure the empirical analysis.
The first part shows how individualisation, contractualisation and responsibilisation converge on the idea of employability, a central driving concept of activation policies. The second and the third parts introduce the theoretical backgrounds – the Capability Approach (CA) and the Transitional Labour Markets (TLM) – that will shape the empirical contribution of this dissertation. The fourth and conclusive part investigates how the CA and the TLM can be used together to operationalise the idea of employability by introducing the concepts of *active and passive empowerment*. The idea of passive empowerment, i.e. the opportunity structure provided to individuals by institutions, is particularly important as it will be operationalised and tested in the empirical chapters.

Introduction

This is a central Chapter of the thesis because it sets the theoretical lenses that will be used to analyse the empirical material.

This Chapter also aims to contribute to the current research on employability policies by suggesting an original and holistic approach to the analysis of the institutional action on individuals' employability. This approach combines an institutional and individual perspective, accounts for the institutional context described in Chapter 1 and provides a benchmark against which individualisation of ALMPs can be tested.

The original theoretical contribution is based on the combination of the Transitional Labour Markets (TLM) and Capability Approach (CA).

The TLM, developed from labour market economics, provides the analytical tool to understand how institutions should function in order to secure individual transitions and reduce the risks associated with labour market changes in the life course. Individual choices, actions and circumstances are analysed from the institutional perspective insofar as this approach claims that institutions are to be varied and complementary enough to ensure individual's empowerment. Hence, the individual focus of the TLM remains functional to the design of institutions at an aggregate level.

It is the role of the CA to bring the individual as such at the core of the theoretical approach and to soften the labour market oriented approach of the TLM. It does so by elaborating on the concepts of individual resources and a variety of factors of conversion which are meant to provide individuals with the freedom to choose and become what they value. Further, the CA focuses at the very lower/micro level by assessing how information should be used within organisation in order to account for individual heterogeneity.

As I will explain further in the Chapter, the two approaches are necessary and complementary because the TLM brings a clear and elaborated perspective on the role of welfare and labour market institutions. In contrast the CA allows the researcher to investigate individual transitions across institutions without overlooking individual characteristics.
The link between the two dimensions is ensured by the original concept of *passive empowerment* which brings the institutional role and individual heterogeneity under a single analytical angle.
The remainder of this Chapter presents on which grounds the combination of TLM and CA is made by exploiting the concept of employability and how the idea of *passive empowerment functions* as an operational concept. Finally it lists the analytical advantages of the theoretical combination.

Converging on employability

The individualisation of (new) working and social risks, the idea that European labour markets can no longer secure employment (Gazier 1999), the subsequent spread of activation, the increasing responsibilisation of individuals on welfare benefits, the modified relationship between the state and its citizens were crystallised in a concise - though broad - concept: the concept of employability.

Employability is a very blur idea (Gazier 1999; Périlleux 2005) that was used in a variety of fields: to human resources literature (Forrier, Sels, Hootegem, Witte, and Steene 2002), organisational (Thijssen 2008) or educational research (Pool and Sewell 2007), and labour market research (Bonvin and Orton 2009; Garsten and Jacobsson 2004; Serrano Pascual 2004).
Although having received increased attention, the idea of employability is not new but got substantially modified over time. Gazier (1999) argues at least three periods can be identified in the development of the idea of employability since the beginning of the century.
Until the 1940s employability was used in its "dichotomous" meaning: people were either employed, able to integrate the labour market or not able to work due to their age, ability and family duties (Gazier 1999). Gazier explains that this definition was not a systematic way of classifying and ranking people, but rather a way of understanding who was afflicted by poverty and unemployment. Hence, it was still far from becoming a policy concept (Gazier 1999).
Changes in the definition and uses of the idea of employability came in the 1960s. The author explains that new versions of employability were closely connected with the emergence of new statistical tools and scientific progress that provided different and more elaborated explanation of the phenomenon of unemployment. Identifying explanation for being employable or not also made the definition of employability more attractive for policy makers, as it could allow a better targeting and design of policies. Definitions of employability are applied to different groups such as the unemployed, the disabled, but also to the demand-side ("flow employability", Gazier 1999) where employability indicated the capacity of the market of absorbing the workforce.
During this second wave, employability was conceived as an individual characteristic determined by contextual elements and defined as the relative condition of an individuals against others'.

The third one developed in the 1980's is particularly important for understanding the current idea of employability: it focuses not only on an aggregated perspective (unemployed vs. employed people; socially/medically not employable vs. employable workforce) but it also adopts an individual focus, while also including a dynamic perspective. Gazier explains that since the 1990s employability is developed in the idea of "expected labour market performance" both for those who are employed and those who are not employed. The idea that employability is a relational, i.e. influenced by external circumstances, and also relative to the mean employability of the population, gives way to another perspective conceiving employability as mostly as an individual responsibility.
This reflects the emergence of the individualisation trend I introduced in the previous chapter. Further, the "expected labour market performance" clearly disaggregates the idea of employability and reshapes it in micro-economics terms rather than in macro-economic terms. In a micro-economic perspective individual preferences and features matter in shaping individuals' choice, and the individual is thought as individually responsible for her choices for example concerning the domain/the quality/the length of education and training. The idea of employability is consistent with the individualisation of risks that were previously considered as externally-driven (Gualmini and Rizza 2011). This entails a stronger responsibilisation of the individuals as well as a renewed social contract with the community/State.

Looking at some attempts of defining employability, one will find that there are a large number of nuances and that employability often overlaps with the idea of 'activation', even if activation can be seen as a way of achieving employability.

Employability: a (political) concept

At the European level, Gazier (1999) highlights that in the European Employment Strategy[9] context employability is associated with dynamic and updated competencies and labour-market-oriented behaviour, which can be stimulated and improved by policy measures and incentives. In the broader EES framework, employability is functional to attaining the macro-economic objective of tackling unemployment and long-term unemployment. Thus, while a macro perspective of full employment and reducing unemployment are set as an overarching goal, the solution suggested lies at the micro-level as it is connected with the need of unemployed individuals to be provided with training, retraining and work practice and to actively engage in these activities. Moreover, active labour market policies (ALMPs) have mainly aimed at improving (a restricted view of) employability in order to reach higher rate of participation in the labour market especially from marginalised groups (young low-skilled workers, elderly and disabled persons…) and combating dependency on welfare benefits.

At national level, Hillage et al. (Hillage et al 1998), in their literature review of the main approaches to employability in the UK, came to the conclusion that employability is axed on four main components being: individual's assets (e.g. knowledge; skills; attitudes); the deployment of these assets (e.g. the capacity of managing individual's assets, such as career management and job search-skills); the

[9] European Employment Strategy (EES) launched in 1997 during the Luxembourg Jobs Summit officially introduced the concept of employability in labour market policies. The EES strategy was based on four main pillars, among them employability on which nine tenth of its measures were based on (Lefresne 1999).

presentation of one's own assets, and finally personal and labour market circumstances. Although they include an external personal and labour market situation affecting individual's employability, the authors report that most of the (UK) government action has been focused on the supply-side, thus acting on people, rather than promoting measures on the demand-side. This confirms that, at least in the UK context, becoming employable is firstly and foremost an individual ability that should be deployed not only when looking for a job but also for keeping it: it applies both to insiders (employed) and outsiders (unemployed). However, similar supply-side approaches to employability have also been recognised in other European contexts although in different form and at different degree: in Denmark where elements of social disciplining have received greater emphasis at the expenses of more social integration aspects (Larsen and Mailand 2007); in Germany where workfare policies have been strengthened after the Hartz IV labour market reform (Dingeldey 2007), or in Belgium, where work-first approach to job counselling have been implemented (Conter 2011).
Hence, it seems that employability has often been translated in a work-first approach to tackle unemployment and in a strong focus on a restricted view of employability, mainly associated with the capacity of the unemployed to be able to find any job right away and not always in line with the person's qualifications. In spite of still being a buzzy concept, being employable has become the main personal characteristic to be tackled and enhanced. Policies aimed at "activating" and switching on the employability-button, often adopting the "*carrot-and-stick*" method (Drilling 2010), or promote *self-regulation* as the route to social inclusion (Sharland 2006). Policies also promoted a strong focus on *self-management* and *adaptability* as the core issues of an "ethic of employability" (Worth 2003). This type of approach has, however, been shown to entail negative side effects, especially for youths at risk who face multiple types of deprivation, and in the case of unskilled young people the word employability has simply been used to re-label their problem of being trapped into temporary low quality jobs (Worth 2003).

When looking closer at working definitions, at European level, there are a least two definitions adopted. The first one conceives employability as "the person's capability of gaining employment. On the one hand a person's employability depends on the knowledge, skills and attitudes of this person. On the other hand labour market rules and institutions have significant impact on the ability of an individual to gain employment. Hence, a person with the same knowledge and skills characteristics might fare very differently in different national or regional labour markets (European Commission 2008). The second definition defines employability as "the combination of factors which enable individuals to progress towards or get into employment, to stay in employment and to progress during career". This definition also clarifies that employability "depends on personal attributes (including adequacy of knowledge and skills); how these personal attributes are presented on the labour market; the environmental and social contexts (i.e. incentives and opportunities offered to update and validate their knowledge and skills); and the economic context" (CEDEFOP 2008).
Thus on the one hand the definition by Hillage and Pollard (1998) puts a strong emphasis on individuals' willingness and ability of maintain her employment or get into employment, recalling the increased responsibilisation of recipients; on the other hand, although at the different degree, the definitions adopted at the European level

but also advanced by other researchers (McQuaid and Lindsay 2005) marry an idea of employability that includes both an internal and an external dimension.

Further, all definitions do not only address unemployed persons but also employees, who are supposed to remain 'attractive' and competitive within their workplace.
This implies that employability can be referring to employed or unemployed and can have a narrow (individual-focused) or broad (interaction between institutions and individuals) perspective.
When investigating employability and its implementation, the choice of the target group and the adoption of a broader or narrower definition have an impact on the scope of the research.

In this work, I will focus on employability of outsiders (unemployed and inactive) and I will adopt a broader definition of employability that is not limited to individual's characteristics, but that includes a broader social and economic perspective. I chose to adopt the broader idea of employability because it allows investigating how the different approaches to employability imply different involvement of actors and institutions (Gore 2005).

Employability is then considered here both a personal characteristic to be conquered ("being able to get a job and keep it", (Peck and Theodore 2000) and an institutional outcome (Serrano Pascual 2004); (Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2007). Understanding implementation of employability in labour market policies also opens to questions about how responsibilities between institutions and individuals are shared (Gazier and Gautie 2011; Schmid and Gazier 2002), especially when acknowledging changes in the relationship between the state as a welfare provider and citizens (i.e. contractualisation). Moreover, the multidimensionality of the disadvantage of (young) people in unemployment or social assistance benefits (Nicaise 1999) and uncertainties of labour market transitions makes the development of employability a major social and individual challenge, creating a responsibility for management of the risk of losing and/or re-acquiring it that is simultaneously individual and social. The investigation of employability in its broader definition also takes into account findings of research on labour market policies showing that, in spite of being considered as the fast-track against social exclusion, participation in the labour market (thus the being employable) does not always immune against an unfavourable integration as being employed and having a sufficient income might avoid social exclusion but does not guarantee that a person will be socially integrated (Schömann and O'Connell 2002).
The narrow individual-centred definition would have not allowed to deeply appreciate the interactions between these actors or to grasp the social dimension of employability.

Two theoretical approaches to operationalise the idea of employability

Two theoretical frameworks deriving from different areas of study - labour economics and development economics - are believed to offer a more comprehensive view of the kind of responses able to take simultaneous account of the insecurity inherent in transitions to the labour market, the multilevel dimensions of disadvantage as well as of the interactions of the constellation of actors involved in delivering employability. These frameworks are Transitional Labour Markets (TLM) and the Capability Approach (CA).
The Capability Approach (Nussbaum and Sen 1993) accounts for the relationship between individuals and the institutional, social and environmental structure they act in, thus shedding light on the relation between individuals and the welfare state that has dramatically changed (Evers, de Mooij, and van Vuuren 2008). Unveiling what kind of (socially constructed) idea of employability informs policy choices needs investigation on the institutional set-up (Larsen and Mailand 2007).
Building on the idea that employability has an individual and institutional component, the CA and the TLM, combined, are deemed able to provide a coherent and fruitful theoretical approach.

Employability is understood here as an empowering process and, in this process, institutional and individual responsibilities are intermingled. On the one hand, *active empowerment* presupposes active participation on the side of the individual; *passive empowerment*, on the other hand, is represented by the institutional empowering action[10].
The following sections will analyse the elements of TLM and of the CA that will be used to rephrase employability and introduce the concept of active and passive empowerment.

The Capability Approach

The short literature review that follows gives a first insight on the potential strengths of the Capability Approach applied to employment and welfare-related issues, but also other closely related disciplines such as education studies and poverty.
In particular, the Capability Approach provides: l) an individual perspective by focusing on individuals' capabilities, hence accounting for the individualisation focus that welfare policies adopted; 2) It provides a social justice perspective that helps investigate the underpinning normative idea of employability, therefore helping understand how responsibility and individualisation is actually embedded in the idea of employability; 3) It provides analytical tools that allow studying the interactions between individual actors' practices and institutional arrangements. This helps grasp the nature of the institutional answer and the nature of the contract between the citizen (in this case the young unemployed or social assistance beneficiary) and the State.

[10] As we shall see in the remainder of this chapter, the notions of active and passive empowerment are not used here in the sense of passive and active labour market policies. My concepts are rather to be referred to the interaction between individual action, the use of (material and immaterial) resources at their disposal (active empowerment) and the institutional structure that entitles and allows people to exercise their capabilities and the achievement of their valued functionings.

The Capability Approach and its implementations[11]

The Capability Approach, developed principally by Amartya Sen (Nussbaum and Sen 1993; Sen 1999a) and by other scholars like Martha Nussbaum (Nussbaum 2006; Nussbaum 2011), has provided an umbrella theoretical framework for empirical qualitative and quantitative operationalization of well-being and agency concepts as well as social justice topics on development economics, social and psychological research (Bussi and Dahmen 2012; Otto and Ziegler 2006). Moreover the wide range of scopes of analysis of capability-based research (individuals, policies, to communities) proves an original use of the Capability Approach concepts in diverse fields of knowledge

The Capability Approach was firstly introduced as an alternative perspective on human development in developing countries, and its first empirical translation was presented in the elaboration of the Human Development Index (HDI) used since 1990 in the UNDP Development Reports (UNDP 2011). This index aims at providing a 'beyond GDP' measure of social progress that includes material wealth (GDP per capita) but that also takes account of access to knowledge and the healthy life standard. Increasing interest on applications in developed countries context has been found since 2000. Social justice and economic issues have been explored through the Capability Approach perspective: Sen on unemployment in the EU (Sen 1997); human right and equality in terms of achievement and distribution of substantive freedoms and opportunities among individuals and groups have been recently conducted by Burchardt and Vizard in the United Kingdom (Burchardt and Vizard 2011); and Schneider and Volkert have explicitly referred to the Capability Approach when conceptualizing poverty in the OECD countries (Volkert and Schneider 2011). A similar use has been done by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress commissioned by the French government which advocates conceiving social progress in terms of 'substantive freedoms' (Stiglitz, Sen, and Fitoussi 2009).

If the Capability Approach has shown to be a good basis for developing new poverty measurement tools (at aggregate level in the UNDP reports) and individual level (Buchardt and Vizard 2011), it has also been widely used in social policies research as a normative framework for the design, implementation and evaluation of existing structures and policies (Salais and Villeneuve 2004).
Policy evaluation using the Capability Approach has been carried out in diverse policy fields, such as education, social work and employment policy. The central role of policies in determining what people are able to do and be has pushed scholars to use and operationalise the Capability Approach as a yardstick against which policies are assessed. Policy evaluation has been done on welfare-to-work policies in Switzerland (Galster, Rosenstein, and Bonvin 2009), France (Farvaque 2005), and the United Kingdom (Dean 2003). Scholars adopting the Capability Approach have also developed an interest in education because of its central role in the enhancement of opportunities of individuals (Nussbaum 2011): Walker and Unterhalter (Walker and Untheralter 2007) have investigated to what extent the Capability Approach could serve as a social justice assessment tool for higher education arrangement; Verhoeven

[11] This part is heavily based on the short article by Bussi, Margherita and Stephan Dahmen. 2012. "When ideas circulate. A walk across disciplines and different uses of the 'Capability Approach'." Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research 18:91-95.

et al. explored under a capability perspective education policies in Belgium (Verhoeven, Orianne, and Dupriez 2007), and Farvaque adopted an evaluative approach to assess young school leavers' capabilities in France (Farvaque, 2005).

The added value of the Capability Approach in policy evaluation has often been attributed to its social justice criteria, that go beyond efficiency and efficacy assessment criteria (Borghi 2011; Dean et al 2005; Orton 2011), and its flexibility in developing complementary analytical tools.
In the latter case, Salais (Salais 2010) and Bonvin et al. (Bonvin et al 2011) provide a good example: the notion of informational Basis of Justice (IBJJ) is introduced as an investigative tool able to unveil the underlying normativity of welfare and employment policies and indicators (for example, flexicurity and employment guidelines). The function of the IIBJ is to extract from, for example, front-line agents' practices, the normative idea that is behind the pieces of information used to implement their social intervention and the social justice argument that inform their choices. I shall explain this more in depth in the following section.
Authors have also been underlining the dynamics of the Capability Approach, not only in terms of complex inter-linkages of social, environmental, institutional and cultural aspects, but also in terms of time perspective. Comim states that capabilities change in evolving contexts (Comin 2003), and that people are active agents in the extension of their capabilities. Bartelheimer et al extend the use of the Capability Approach to life-course research, thus conceiving of individual trajectories as a set of functionings cumulated over time (Bartelheimer, Moncel, Verd, and Vero 2009).
The next section will present which are the main concepts on which the approach developed.

The Capability Approach and its building blocks

The Capability Approach is a set of ideas, methodological instructions and concepts. It is composed of a set of building blocks in the form of commodities/resources, conversion factors, capabilities, choices, and functionings (Goerne 2010). This section goes through them and in the fourth part of this chapter we explain how the CA building blocks are necessary to find a common theoretical ground between the TLM and the CA.

The capability set and functionings

It seems important to start introducing the idea of capabilities sets and functionings that are central to the Capability Approach. The concept of capability includes three fundamental dimensions: *capability as choice*, *capability as human flourishing* and *capability as functionings* (de Munck 2008)
De Munck explains that the idea of capability is strictly connected with the *idea of choice* and the freedom of the actor of making that choice and using her rationality in doing that. The freedom and the rationality of choice put the individual capability in the wider social context within which people act: both freedom and the use of individual rationality imply an *opportunity structure* and a *process dimension*. The first represents the range of possibilities the person can actually choose among, while the process dimension refers to actual freedom in making that choice (i.e. was the person free to make that choice autonomously? Was the person entitled to make that choice? and is the person's choice recognised?). The idea of capability as choice embraces the individual dimension as well as the relation between the individual and

the society within which the person makes her choices. As it will be explained in the following sections, this idea of freedom can be situated in a work-related framework and can be translated into the freedom to have decent employment, to choose if a part or full time job, or have access to training and opportunities of career development (Bonvin and Farvaque 2007b).

Capability conceived as *human flourishing* implies that the intrinsic freedom of capability of choice should be geared towards a human development and should not remain an end in itself. Human flourishing is identified with "reaching valuable doings and beings" that refer to the concepts of wellbeing and agency. Freedom of wellbeing represents the capability set of a person related to alternative personal dimensions of wellbeing (personal wellbeing but also more complex dimensions of wellbeing referring to sympathy towards others' wellbeing), while freedom of agency relates to the capability to act and to pursuit one's goals which are not only for the personal sake (e.g.: demonstrating in favour of others' people freedom) (Robeyns 2003). In a work-related perspective, an example of personal dimension of wellbeing would be job satisfaction (Lessmann and Bonvin 2011); another example would be the freedom of choosing to combine family or private activities with paid employment. The importance of the scope of freedom of choice (capability as choice), and the aim of this freedom (capability as human flourishing) is completed by the dimension of *real achievements*: *capability as functionings*. In fact the extent of freedom of choice (process dimensions and entitlement) and opportunity of choice (the opportunity structure) should be analysed conjunctly with person's real achievements, or functionings. This means that all the freedom of choice among valuable opportunities should be translated into valuable functionings (real achievements) by the individual in order to achieve human flourishing (the ultimate aim). The importance of translating possible choices into real accomplishments is at the heart of the Capability Approach to inequalities. Thus, it is crucial to evaluate whether institutional arrangements actually provide opportunity structures as well as conversion factors to individuals.
In a nutshell *capability as choice* refers to the bunch al alternative opportunities of choice that the person can freely make, this is often referred as the "capabilities set": what a person can do or can be – i.e., the ability to achieve. The capability as human flourishing summarise the intrinsic goal and capability as achievement embraces what people actually chose among the (valuable) choices they had.

Commodities, resources and factors of conversion

Choices can be made only if alternatives are available. The set of alternatives is determined by resources available. Commodities (material and immaterial resources that the person has control over, such as economic resources, technologies, educational qualifications) play an important role as "instruments" for human freedom (Robeyns 2005). However, these instruments can become empty boxes if their use is not possible and does not ensure people's capability to achieve the life they value. As Sen clearly states it, people can be equal in terms of means but not in terms of what they can achieve from these means, meaning that resources and commodities need to be transformed in valuable beings and doings to actually contribute to a certain idea of equality among people (Sen 1979; Sen 1990).

To this regard, Sen strongly criticises those theories that build their ethical and social justice arguments on information regarding *focal personal features* (Sen 1990). Focal personal features are, for instance, liberties and primary goods for Rawls (Rawls 1971) and resources for Dworkin (Dworkin 2002) that individuals can enjoy. They represent the building blocks used to set up a specific arrangement of social justice. In particular, Sen strongly argues that the mere possession of means (focal personal features) does not imply people's freedom and, as a results, approaches to social justice and freedom has been strongly based on individual utilities and maximisation (Sen 1990). Going beyond these approaches, Sen explains that primary resources or commodities over which people have control, should increase people's capability set and people should have adequate conversion factors to transform resources in valuable doings and beings (Sen 1990).
Analysis of conversion factors usually makes reference to the personal, social or institutional/environmental features that facilitate (or impede) the use of one's resources (Robeyns 2005)[12]. Personal conversion factors in our work-related context can be the knowledge of a particular ICT programme or a good knowledge of a foreign language, the latter being particularly needed for young people entering the labour market in the bilingual Brussels Capital Region. A (lacking) social conversion factor can be discrimination against workers with an immigrant background[13]. For instance if a young migrant could have all the personal requirements to get the job she likes but recruiting practices are discriminatory, then the potential choice she could make is no longer there: a social conversion factor represented by a social behaviour impedes the realisation of having the job.

I shall present the role of conversion factors from an institutional perspective in the fourth section as well as in the empirical chapter.

Agency and choice

Together with the use of conversion factors, choice and agency are also analysed. Confronted with a set of capabilities (set of possible beings and doings), individuals are expected to make use of their agency and to choose a combination of functionings (achieved beings and doings) that they have reason to value.

While the concept of making a choice is externally oriented as it primarily depends on the possible alternatives, the concept of agency includes an internal-external relational dimension. The person thus has to come to terms with her ability to achieve while taking external opportunities into consideration (Sen 2002 cited in Goerne 2010). The concept of agency should not be assimilated to the rational choice or happiness approaches. Sen argues that in the first the intrinsic value of action is underestimated and overruled by the idea that individual interest and personal satisfaction are embedded in any decisions (Gasper 2007; Leonardi 2009). The intrinsic value of agency refers to the value we attribute to actions which do not benefit ourselves

[12] Robeyns (2005) provides some examples of conversion factors: personal conversion factors are the metabolism, sex, intelligence, etc.; social conversion factors include public policies, power relations, gender roles, and discriminating practices, etc.; while environmental conversion factors can be identified, for instance, with the geographical location or the infrastructure facilities.
[13] As we shall see in the following chapter, in the Brussels capital region there is an ethnostrafication of the labour market, with migrants being mostly relegated in low-skilled and low-paid jobs, the role of institutional and personal conversion factors will be operationalised and investigated empirically in that section.

directly (does not modify our well-being) but that are coherent with our set of values (Robeyns 2005).

Therefore, Sen suggests seeing persons from the perspective of their capacity of achieving well-being *and* agency (Sen 1985). This leads to modify the terms of the evaluation of individual situations: not only well-being freedom and achievements are to be accounted for, but also agency achievements and freedom. Well-being achievements will be measured in terms of functionings, while well-being freedom will be represented by each person's capability set (i.e. a bundle of possible functionings the person has reason to value) (Robeyns 2005). The assessment of agency (achievement and freedom) and its intrinsic value becomes a criterion for assessment of the human condition and agency goals will function as benchmarks against which individuals' agency is investigated (Robeyns 2005). An agency goal is associated with actions implying aims that go beyond individual well-being, for instance demonstrating for human rights or engage in community work (Robeyns 2005) Besides, the notions of agency achievements and freedom are crucial as they add a relational and operational perspective, which is lacking in those theories of justice that limit themselves to resources and well-being achievements (e.g. individual maximisation).

Finally, in disagreement with happiness or resourcist economics, Sen also argues that the role of 'adaptive preferences', i.e. the resizing (lowering) of one's ambitions or needs to the reality of the situation, is overlooked (Gasper 2007). This process of adaptation plays an important role in the reproduction of social inequality as it fades away the likelihood of people claiming what they might be entitled to or what they would be aspiring at (Sen 2010). Adaptive preferences are found also among street-level bureaucrats and not only recipients. In public administration studies, public agents have individual agency goals and their achievement contributes to increase the satisfaction at work. However, as explained by Giauque et al, personal expectations do not always coincides with the organizational functioning. In this case, public agents may be pushed to review their expectations – i.e. resign – in order to find satisfaction at work and overcome the obstacle set, for instance, but red tape and procedures (Giauque, Ritz, Varone, and Anderfuhren-Biger 2012). Public agents will then be satisfied but resigned at the same time. In human services, this might happen when NPM rules impose performance objectives that might goes against the work-expectation or work-conception of front-line agents.

In our context of study, we found an example of adaptive preferences when social workers report how young social assistance beneficiaries with a migrant background internalise the reality of an ethnostratified regional labour market with hidden discriminatory practices and they reshape, lower and forget their aspirations, thus renouncing to their 'freedom to act and choose'.

The Transitional Labour Markets Approach

I present here a brief review of studies using the Transitional Labour Markets approach together with the introduction to some basic concepts of the TLM in order to understand how this approach can be useful for our analysis.
It is believed that TLM is particularly interesting because: l) it clearly indicates how institutional arrangements should work in order to function as a bridge for individuals transitions towards labour market and social integration, thus answering to the need of rethinking institutions and their role in mitigating social risks 2); it promotes principles relating to the empowering of individuals and supporting individual's capacity for choice and also a capacity to reverse their choices (Anxo and Erhel 2006), thus accounting for the individualisation of life trajectories; 3) it adopts a dynamic perspectives both of individuals' participation in the labour market and coordination of institutions by focusing on transitions rather than static positions, hence accounting for governance and implementation challenges.

The Transitional Labour Markets Approach and its implementations

The main components of the Capability Approach are shaped on an individual perspective and account for external elements (e.g. presence of entitlements, absence of discrimination) by evaluating to what extent they contribute to the achievement of individual's valuable functionings. The TLM does not develop from a micro-perspective, but rather starts from considerations at the aggregate level while developing an institutional approach to individual achievements.

The Transitional Labour Markets approach was developed in the mid-nineties by Günther Schmid and Peter Auer (Gazier and Gautié 2009) and aimed at making concrete reform proposals that would increase the functioning of European labour markets, which were showing more and more difficulties being 'inclusive labour markets' and were drifting apart from the objective of full employment[14] (Gazier and Gautié 2009).
Thus the TLM aims at encouraging policy-makers to address labour market transitions through institutional forms of regulation. These forms of regulation – called 'Transitional Labour Markets' – are provided by institutions designed to serve at critical stages of the life course such as the transition from education to employment, from homemaking to employment, or from part-time to full-time employment. Their aim, in the main, is to encourage risk-taking, while simultaneously providing workers with the prospect of relative economic security and employment satisfaction without confining them in dead-end jobs (Lassnigg 2005).

Contributions investigating the bridging capacity of labour market institutions have been numerous and developed in a European comparative perspective[15].

[14] Full employment is defined as an average of 30 hours per week throughout the working lives of individuals) (Lassnigg 2005; Schmid 2008)
[15] At the European level, two cooperative projects were developed: the TRANSLAM project and the TLM.net, brought forward much of the analytical, comparative and theoretical knowledge http://www.siswo.uva.nl/tlm/ (Gazier and Gautié 2009)

The TLM approach has found relevant policy applications particularly in the context of the European Employment Strategy and the increasing attention to the role of active labour market policies in facing increasing unemployment, but also within the 'flexicurity'[16] debate aiming at replicating the Dutch and Danish experience of ensuring flexibility of the workforce while guaranteeing its security. I do not go into details about these European contexts; however it is important to highlight that the European 'activation' debate, within which the TLM developed, can be fully ascribed to the trends in social and labour market policies introduced in the first chapter. Like activation, the flexicurity debate stems from the acknowledgement that job security – i.e. keeping the same job for life – is no longer a reality (Leschke, Schmid, and Griga 2006). This implies that people are exposed to an increasing number of job changes, and, most likely, unemployment spells or periods of inactivity. This translates into several transitions and higher risks of ending up in exclusionary transitions (Kruppe 2002).

The TLM, by emphasising the positive role of transitions between different labour market positions, tries to go beyond the idea of activation as a mere re-integration of the labour market and suggests how these transitions can be combined with personal and societal positive outcomes. The TLM, similarly to the more recent approach of flexicurity intends to include new institutional elements that do not overlook, for instance, the quality of work or the work-life balance.

In contrast with the mainstream approach to labour market promoted by international instances like the OECD (i.e. 'Make work pay'-motto), the TLM builds its premises on the dynamics of labour market relationships and on the institutional structures necessary to ensure high employment by managing risks (Schmid 2008; Schmid 2006).
In addition to several theoretical contributions that set the main pillars of the approach (Schmid 2002:151, Gazier 2002:196), we can roughly define contributions adopting a TLM in two categories: analytical and prescriptive.

Analytical approaches use the TLM as a theoretical framework allowing to understand individual labour market transitions and investigate their institutional determinants (Brzinsky-Fay 2010). Prescriptive approaches make use of the TLM principle in order to suggest policy developments and building institutional arrangements able to reduce individual risks while ensuring the achievements of collective goals (such as full employment).
Analytical contributions were often framed on the diagram showed in Figure 1 by Schmid and Gazier on possible labour market transitions and investigated whether institutional arrangements helped workers in particular 'risky' transitions and whether they promoted upwards transitions or rather ended up in worse-off positions (towards unemployment or inactivity with no combination of other social activity) (Schmid and Gazier 2002).

[16] Flexicurity was defined as 'a policy strategy that attempts, synchronically and in a deliberate way, to enhance the flexibility of labour markets, work organisation and labour relations on the one hand, and to enhance security – employment security and social security – notably for weaker groups in and outside the labour market, on the other hand' Wilthagen, Ton and Frank Tros. 2004. "The concept of 'flexicurity': a new approach to regulating employment and labour markets." Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research 10:166-186.

The examples that follow are considered illustrative for this research because of their methodology (using individual micro-data, Bothfeld and O'Reilly 2000), their focus on young people (Brzinsky-Fay 2007) and on social assistance to work transitions (Bijwaard and Veenman 2008). Finally, they provide concrete policy indications on how labour institutions should work for achieving upward transitions, thus setting up a concrete policy framework against which the study case will be tested in Chapter 5. Bothfeld and O'Reilly, using micro comparative data, explored the role of part-time in improving or worsening labour market transitions particularly of women in Great Britain and Germany (Bothfeld and O'Reilly 2000). Brzinksy-Fay by using European data, investigates whether the educational and labour market institutions are able to smooth transitions between school and the labour market, thus adopting a broader perspective on transition rather that one status change (Brzinsky-Fay 2007). Bijwaard and Veenman study whether, in a supposedly pro-active policy labour market environment like in the Netherlands, Transitional Labour Markets avoid migrants from having unequal chances of exiting unemployment, household care and disability (Bijwaard and Veenman 2008). Both contributions from Brzinsky-Fay and Bijwaard and Veenman are interesting for this project because they first shed lights on a particular target group – young people – while the latter focuses on the interaction between the institutional arrangements and individual features.

Among contributions aiming at providing policy recommendations, Hartlapp and Schmid deal with transitions to pensions and active-aging alternative institutional arrangements (Hartlapp and Schmid 2008). Adopting a gender dimension, Leschke and Jepsen define how transitional arrangements could mitigate gender inequality in the labour market linked to the women's role both as carers and workers (Leschke and Jepsen 2011). Considering the broader impact of new labour and social risks, Schmid (Schmid 2002) tries to identify how Transitional Labour Markets can help coordinate a new system of risk management that goes beyond passive social protection and gears towards employment protection. De Koning and Mosley investigate how active labour market policies can be more effective while contributing to the creation of Transitional Labour Markets (De Koning and Mosley 2002). They argue that, being regular employment the first objective, job creation programmes should be only temporary solutions; active labour market programmes would then act as bridges – Transitional Labour Markets – between unemployment and regular employment. This contribution is particularly interesting for this dissertation as we shall see in the next chapters.

The Transitional Labour Markets approach and its building blocks

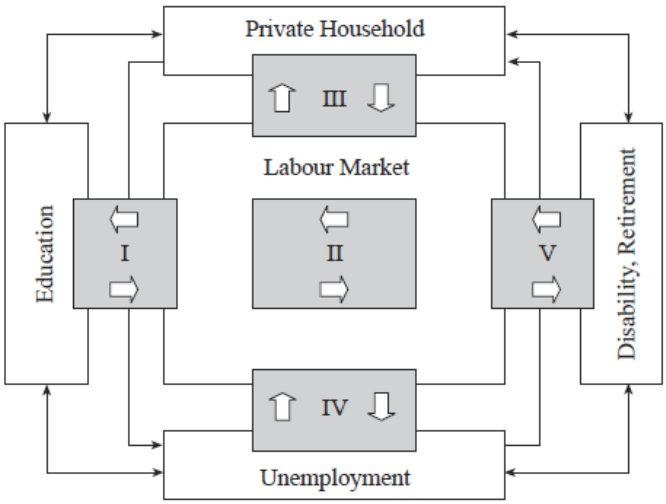
There are some basic concepts that are developed by the Transitional Labour Markets approach and that we shall introduce here as they will be used in the empirical analysis in Chapter 4 and 5.

Transitions

Having recognised that the era of fixed professional statuses and long-term job tenures had come to an end, the proponents of TLM shifted their attention to the sequences of "movements", or better "transitions", that individual workers face in their working lives (Brzinsky-Fay 2010). Policies and research studies focusing on *transitions* between different employment situations testify to the belief that it is possible to construct a perspective that is dynamic and yet offers long-term stability. This would

seem to be an ambitious and far-reaching goal, especially in relation to young people among whom the share of precarious and temporary jobs has significantly increased. Five main transitions have been identified by Schmid and Gazier (Schmid and Gazier 2002): 188) and these are represented in the diagram in Figure 1

Figure 1: Transitional labour markets transitions



Source: Schmid and Gazier (2002:188)

The main assumption is that it is not possible to concentrate only on the outflows from unemployment in order to reduce unemployment, but there is a need for a more comprehensive approach to all possible inflows and outflows across different types of transitions in different moments of the life-course (Anxo and Erhel 2006; Kruppe 2002). Although the TLM approach encourages a life-course perspective on transitions, Brzinsky-Fay in his literature survey on TLM contributions (2010) argues that most of TLM studies intend transitions as a mere change from one state to another while overlooking the interaction between transitions for single individuals. He advocates for a widespread use of more sophisticated techniques able to grasp transitions (or trajectories in life-course terminology) in their whole. Moreover, being in social assistance was not included as a separate category in this diagram; however - although for some countries being in social assistance can be roughly assimilated to being in unemployment - it can be argued that receiving social assistance (means-tested) often concerns people with less assets and endowment and who would be less able to make transitions back to the labour market.

The analysis developed in this dissertation partially answers to the need of developing a more comprehensive understanding of trajectories by using optimal matching analysis and as well as by focusing on less investigated transitions like those of young social assistance beneficiaries (Chapter 6).

Institutional management of risks

We already made clear how economic and societal changes have led to the increasing risky transitions (Schmid 2008). The conception of risk in Schmid mainly relates to labour market individual outcomes, i.e. transitions. He identifies the risk as linked to an increasing need for updated and IT knowledge, individual interest for job or

occupational mobility as well as change in the division of labour and strong globalisation (Schmid 2002).

To address the risk-taking and risk-averse perspective in evolving labour market situations, Schmid has introduced into some of his more recent works (2002: 238-240, 2008) a social risk management framework as an integrative framework for the building of TLMs (Lassnigg 2005). Schmid (2008) points out that social management should adopt a new normative basis, and it should refer to the most recent theories of social justice, including Rawls', Dworkin's and Sen's approaches, thus recognising not only an equality of resources but also an equality of opportunities. He recalls that changing status (from pupil to worker, from employed to unemployed or from worker to trainee, etc.) can entail a wide range of social risks that need to be managed. Schmid (2008) identifies five main risks that can characterise periods of transition: 1) insufficient or eroded human capital; 2) income volatility; 3) social obligation[17]; 4) insecure income; and 5) income incapacity due to disability, chronic illness or old age. Muffels reclassified these risks into three main categories: 1. Class risks due to the effect of globalisation and an increasing gap between highly skilled and low skilled workers, who are weaker in the labour force; 2. Life-course risks linked to employment precarious trajectories, and, finally 3. To intergenerational risks due to demographic changes (Muffels 2005).

The question of managing risks implies for Schmid a reflexion on the normative principles regulating the share of responsibilities between the individuals and the community. Schmid supports the idea that both individuals (supply side) as well as the demand-side should put forward strategies allowing reducing the risk of being trapped into inactivity or in non-valued social activities: for example people should invest in their training and in the acquisition of new knowledge in order to combat the obsolescence of skills. Firms should invest in training as well but not limiting to firm-oriented skills in order not to block the workforce from making transition across occupations and employment in order to find the better match. Public powers can also intervene to stimulate positive results from risk-taking by stimulating the consumption and supporting growth (Schmid 2008). Muffels (2005:6) grouped approaches to risk management under the labels of: economic approach focusing on incentives; institutional approach leading to the coordination of combined institutional effects[18]; the social contract approach pertaining to the revised relationship between individuals and the community; finally the social approach to the risk management accounting for social justice principles that should respected while building up institutional frameworks. These approaches to risk management reveal to what extent the TLM approach can be useful in this research that investigates the role of institutions from an individual perspective.

Institutional arrangements and their features

[17] Social obligations refer, for example, to child or elderly care that can limit income capacity. Schmid, G. 2009. "Transitional Labour Markets, from theory to policy application. Transitional Labour Markets and Flexicurity : Managing Social Risks over the Lifecourse." *Documents de travail du Centre d'Economie de la Sorbonne* 75.

[18] This approach refers to the capacity of existing institutions of coordinating for ensuring that individuals are taken in charge at any time risky situations kick in. For instance, as we shall see in other chapters, a well-functioning interaction between labour market policies and social security institutions is necessary to ease the transition from a situation of employment to situation of non-paid activity. This approach to risk management corresponds to the 'institutional complementarities 'enounced by Schmid.

In a TLM perspective, to respond to these risks, Schmid (2008) highlights four principles on which to base good institutional arrangements for risk management: 1) institutional diversity: institutions need to be able and prepared to cope with different (combinations of) risks as well as the need to combine paid employment with other useful social activities; 2) distinguishing between external and internal risks in order to attribute the right share of responsibility to individuals for their choice, and at the same time guaranteeing a system of unconditional social solidarity which helps all those people who are not able to face the risks that are challenging their lives; 3) foster flexibility on both the demand and the supply side coupled with new forms of security linked with flexible employment throughout a person's life, i.e. the provision of valid entitlements geared toward transitional choices; 4) effective coordination of the sub-systems involved (better coordinated reforms in different policy fields).

These principles can be verified by looking at the structure of entitlements and institutions that allow individuals to make use of these possibilities to smooth their (upward and valued) transitions. An example is the role played by employment top-up[19] which may allow welfare recipients to accept part-time jobs and re-enter the labour market while guaranteeing a full-time wage level and future entitlement to full benefits in case of unemployment.

Since the TLM is used also as a policy developer and a tool for policy evaluation, three criteria serve to distinguish favourable from unfavourable transitional arrangements: 1) the degree of empowerment of individuals; 2) the sustainability of financing arrangements (i.e. employment and replacement income); 3) a flexible coordination between levels of decision-making so as to facilitate the adjustment to individual needs and local circumstances, coupled with a cooperation in networks that capitalises on potential links across public and private actors (Schmid 1998).

With respect to this analysis, two principles seem especially relevant: the degree of empowerment of individuals and the flexible coordination between levels of decision-making as well as the cooperation in network. While the empowerment of individuals refers back to the idea that in a context of increased risks, individuals need to play an active role in securing their transitions by taking over more risks, duties and obligations (Schmid 2008:255), the principle of flexible coordination between levels of decision-making as well as the cooperation in network pertains to the idea that new forms of risk-sharing require new modes of organisation. These principles converge to the idea of an 'ensuring state' (Schmid 2008), where the idea of governance replaces that of government and where organisations include several actors (such as NGOs, private partners, local public institutions) in flexible arrangements so as to be able to respond to (individual) social new risks. This recalls the reorganisation of the institutional answers, and its strengths and weaknesses, described in the first chapter.

These two principles are relevant as they touch, respectively, upon two notions that are pivots in connecting the TLM and the Capability Approach: the empowerment of individuals in terms of their *employability*, and flexible coordination between levels of decision-making and the cooperation in network as touching upon *responsibility*

[19] As I will describe in the quantitative chapter, employment top-ups are those welfare benefits that are given to unemployed who chose to go back to the labour market with lower pay. Welfare top-up allow them to take up, for instance, part-time jobs while keeping previous wage level.

shared among different institutional and individual actors and their capacity of creating the opportunity structure.
Firstly, the notion of employability is crucial as it provides the conceptual link between the institutional perspective of the TLM and the individual approach of the CA. When including "the degree of empowerment of individuals", the TLM framework inevitably opens to an individual perspective. However, despite providing an individual perspective, the TLM is primarily a theoretical background that help researchers empirically analyse individual labour market transitions; investigate institutional determinants of transitions or develop policies in order to enhance transitions (Brzinsky-Fay 2010). The individual perspective is investigated not from the point of view of the person that has to make a choice, but rather from the institutional perspective of aiming at creating the right mix of policies able to cope with individual choices. In the framework of risk management individuals' behaviour should be considered as it will have an impact on their participation in the labour market, and inadequate or not responsive labour market institutions might be an obstacle to people's choice to enter the labour market or, even worse, contribute to increase their risk of social exclusion (Schmid 2006).

Secondly, the empowerment of individuals, the flexible coordination between levels of decision-making and the cooperation in network involve the idea of responsibility. The first between individuals and institutions about people's capacity of going back or staying in employment, while the latter two refer to the responsibility shared among different institutional actors in design and implementing coordinated transition measures.
Thus the complex relationship that is established between single individuals and institutions can be fruitfully informed by other theoretical approaches. The flexibility of the TLM is underlined by Brzinsky-Fay who argues that the TLM can be linked with other theoretical approaches as it allows room for applications originally used in other disciplines. It can thus be characterized as a meta-theory (Brzinsky -Fay 2010). In his latest book, Schmid explores more into detail the link between the concept of employability, the role of risk-sharing and its related social justice approaches to risk management. He articulates his argument by referring also to the Capability Approach and its idea of social justice based on the empowerment of people and the shift from 'freedom from want' to a 'freedom to act' (Schmid 2008). I will present in the next session how the TLM and the CA converge on the idea of employability and how their contributions, taken together, provide an evaluative framework for welfare and labour market institutional arrangements.

TLM and CA on employability

This section takes stock of some contributions on employability in TLM and CA studies in order to build upon them in the following section and to introduce the concept of active and passive empowerment that allow the operationalization of employability.

Bringing together the CA and the TLM means acknowledging their differences and strengthening their complementarities. For this reason, before exploring the grounds on which the CA and TLM converge, I recall two aspects that differentiate these two approaches and that I try to conciliate in the next sections.

The previous sections made clear that the two theoretical approaches are born from different traditions and have different aims. On the one hand the Transitional Labour Markets Approach was developed to grasp and improve the dynamics of the labour markets following the awareness that employment stability was no longer granted. Hence, the TLM was developed with a clear focus and policy orientation towards the labour market.
On the other hand, the Capability Approach developed from the need of elaborating a new theory of social justice that could overcome the deficiencies of approaches solely based on resources or on mental states (e.g. happiness).

The fact that the TLM and the CA have two goals which lay at different level - the first being restricted to labour market and welfare dynamics; the latter embracing a larger goal – is a first challenge to their combination.
The challenge is even more difficult when one refers to the work of some advocates of the TLM who adopted a TLM closer to the idea of flexicurity. These flexicurity-oriented contributions conceive the aims of TLM narrowly confined to the achievement of full-employment, economic efficiency and social cohesion via labour market participation (see the Conclusions of the thesis for a concise discussion on this approach).

My combination overcomes this normative gap by extending some of the most recent works by Schmid, who along the years has been influenced by the work of other economists that explored the added value of the CA applied to social policies like Robert Salais (Salais and Villeneuve 2004; Salais 2011). Schmid's recent works mention the contribution of the Capability Approach (Schmid 2008), yet more as a path for reflection than a systematic integration of the CA with the TLM. However, the fact that Schmid acknowledges and contextualises the CA within the TLM gives an important normative leverage for extending and elaborating the labour market oriented goal of the TLM. This is particularly true for the conception of employability which is presented in the next section.

Next, an important point of divergence which stems from the labour market oriented approach of the TLM is the high reliance on human capital which is partially in opposition with the Capability Approach. Human Capital embedded in the educational attainment and skills acquisition is mostly associated in the TLM with an economic return through an increased employability. Enrolling on training and enhancing labour-market specific skills is considered as functional to integrate the labour market and reduce the risk of being cut out.
On the contrary, the CA broadens the aim of employment and welfare policies by aiming at enlarged individual freedoms (Bonvin et al 2011) and at a conception of education and skills freed from its economic dimension as it primarily contributes to an overall flourishing of the individual before being an instrument of economic integration. This point will also be developed further in the following sections.

To conclude this brief introduction, the combination of these two theoretical accounts operates two types of transformation to overcome their different traditions and perspectives: firstly it allows the CA to enlarge the narrowly conceived labour market and welfare perspective of the TLM while elaborating on the complexity of individual situation and heterogeneity of needs and choices. Secondly it allows the TLM to provide the analytical tools for defining and assessing the role of welfare and institutions in building the opportunity structure, which is too broad and difficult to operationalise solely within the CA.

The reminder of this Chapter explains in details how the TLM and CA complement, overlap and opposite each other and what advantaged their combination brings to the analysis of activation policies.

Looking at individual employability from an institutional perspective: the contribution of the Transitional Labour Markets Approach

From a Transitional Labour Markets perspective Schmid, in one of his latest contributions (2008), analyses employability from a capability perspective and offers his interpretation of the CA. By referring to Gazier's historical analysis of employability (Gazier 1999), Schmid argues that Sen's capability concept applies to the last three conceptualisations emerged in the last decades, i.e. "labour market performance employability", "initiative employability" and "interactive employability". They suggest an expansion of the concept of employability within three dimensions: sustainability, autonomy and embeddedness.

In relation to *sustainability*, Schmid stresses the need, through education and (continuous) training, to enhance skills and competences through the whole of the life course. Sustainability thus entails reference, in this case, to the potential of individual knowledge to cope with unexpected consequences and unstable market conditions. The author goes on to suggest the notion of s*ustainable employability*, meaning creating a balance between personal and employment objectives.

In speaking of *autonomy*, Schmid refers to capacity of acting (or not) against the restrictions of individual agency that may, in the course of a lifetime, affect the *capability of working*. These restrictions may stem from a person's physical condition, from social obligations (caring for children or other dependent people), and there is a need to deal with or offset them (for example through increased childcare facilities). Autonomy affects f*unctioning employability* (recalling Sen's concept of functioning/valuable achievement), i.e. the capability to take action, and to act as a relatively independent agent on one's own behalf.

Finally, with regard to *embeddedness,* Schmid acknowledges how individual choice, external circumstances, and individual and collective capacities to act are becoming increasingly intermingled. Schmid argues that it is not sufficient, as suggested by advocates of the 'third way', 'shareholder capitalism' or the 'social investment state', to endow everybody with the necessary resources and to allow market forces free play. The notion of *embedded employability* thus goes further by addressing the need to establish functioning opportunity structures to guarantee meaningful and decent employment over the life course. A functioning opportunity structure could be defined

only as the effective interplay between private, social and public partners, mediated by proper institutions and laws. An example is provided by Corteel and Zimmermann (2007) who describe the lack of real opportunities for employees to access to training in two French enterprises. They report that, in spite of providing the formal opportunity, employees do not have the same access to training, and this might be heavily dependent not on their skills but on recruitment and internal company discriminatory practices. This example shows an unsuccessful interaction between different actors which does contribute to the creation of real opportunities.
Schmid agrees with Sen's in making clear that only if enhanced individual capacity is promoted will people be in a position to bear increased responsibility (Sen 2010).
While the ideas of autonomy, enhancing human material and immaterial resources as well as the scope of opportunities are fundamental elements in a capability perspective, it seems that neither the *ability to convert resources/opportunities*, whether internal or external (personal, contextual or institutional), nor the *process dimension* receive sufficient stress. This last point, already stressed by Conter and Orianne (Conter and Orianne 2011), refers to the opportunities enjoyed by individuals to play an active part in the decision-making processes that are supposed to determine their (life)/employment trajectory.

Going beyond human capital approach

Another critical point, from a capability perspective, of this employability conceptualization is the fact that a central theory playing an important role across most of the studies that employ a TLM approach is *human capital theory* (Bonvin, Moachon, and Vero 2011; Brzinsky-Fay 2010).

This can be inferred mainly from the strong (economic) emphasis placed by Schmid and others on training and lifelong learning (Schömann and O'Connell 2002). Since education has been seen as a major transition, the transition between the education system and the labour market obviously constitutes a main focus of the TLM concept. The analyses carried out on the basis of a human capital approach have a strong economic focus, emphasizing as they do the role played by education in making people more productive. Human capital theorists argue that human capital accumulation is a dynamic process and that skills acquired at one stage are bound to exert a strong influence on current as well as future learning opportunities and abilities. The OECD has extensively presented the added valued of education in both employment rates and private economic return (OECD Education at a glance, several years), in terms of wage premium (Carneiro and Heckman 2003), thus stressing the rational (economic) thinking behind the choice of pursuing higher education. This is also at the core of Transitional Labour Markets which aim at setting up institutions which reduce the risk of investing in human capital (e.g. leave up jobs for more training) or wasting human capital (e.g. taking time off from the labour market). The main idea is that at any stage of the life-course the person is able to maintain, improve and reinforce her skills.

While not denying the impact of education on productivity and on human beings, Sen argues that the human Capability Approach goes further than the human capital view of education as a mere means of increasing productivity (Saito 2003; Sen 1997). He agrees with Adam Smith (Sen 1997) that education and skill formation is at the heart of human capabilities in the conducting of a meaningful life. The human Capability

Approach seems then to provide a more comprehensive vision of the impact of education and training, one that goes beyond the wage premium or the increased quality of production.
Another difference between these two approaches that is stressed by Sen is a diverse identification of means and ends (Sen 1997). Economic growth is sought *per se* in a human capital approach, thus becoming the end, while it is regarded as a means in the CA. In the latter case, the focus is on all those factors that can contribute to the expansion of human freedom to live the lives that people value.
Moreover human capital conveys a reduced role of institutions in shaping human capital development (Leonardi 2009) as most of the responsibility falls upon the individual's shoulders.

Hence, moving away from a human capital approach means conceiving all human activities and choices as valuable in themselves and not necessarily oriented to utility gains, as the rational choice approach would affirm. In the context of welfare programmes, the adoption of a more human capital approach or a Capability Approach towards education and training by social workers or job-search counsellors might result in a different use of available measures. As we will see in the empirical part, conceiving educational attainment as a mere booster for economic gain could prevent social workers for allowing low-achievers youth to engage in long-term higher educational studies, as they would not value the intrinsic role of education. I shall develop operationalise these ideas in Chapter 3.

Bringing the individual back in: contribution of the Capability Approach to the concept of employability

By combining a broader perspective on individual reason for action and choice with the underlying idea of capability as freedom to choose (de Munck 2008), other significant contributions have introduced the concept of '*capability for work*' (Bonvin and Farvaque 2007a) as well as explored common features shared by the CA and the TLM (Bonvin and Galster 2010).

The capability for work and opportunity and process freedom

The idea of 'capability for work' is developed as the freedom to choose the job one has reason to value, and at the same time, this real freedom should imply the possibility not to work at an affordable cost. This concept does not seem compatible with a 'pure' human capital perspective of competences and skills development, where (economic) productiveness should be the main goal of labour output. Nonetheless, the idea of *capability for work* is compatible with the TLM concepts that – despite their labour-oriented perspective – acknowledge and support individual choices not "economically" rational (e.g. staying at home for growing up children).

Capability for work is described as being made up of two main components: *opportunity freedom* and *process freedom*. Enhanced and developed competences and qualifications belong to the former as they are fundamental insofar as they can make workers attractive to employers. Opportunity freedom also entails the need for valid opportunities among which people can choose. In capability terms this means that the quality of freedom to achieve valuable functionings ("what I value being and doing")

is highly dependent on possibilities among which one can choose: if no quality jobs (decent level of remuneration, level of health and safety guaranteed, employment/job security) are available, then individuals are not able to make free and valid choices.

However, human capital enhancement should be backed by non-discriminatory practices which allow fair participation of people in the labour market. To this regard, Bonvin and Galster stress the importance of sharing scarce opportunities among all people, and this is possible only if 'process freedom' is guaranteed (Bonvin and Galster 2010). Not only does the process freedom (freedom to take part in the decision-making process: for example the young person in the contractualisation of her professional project) represent an individual *capability of voice*, but it also includes a collective dimension of democratic deliberation (Bonvin and Farvaque 2007a). This means that beneficiaries should not be regarded as passive recipients of public actions but rather as active players in the definition of collective rules and norms.
Public reasoning is in fact at the heart of a fair distribution of opportunities. An example of lack of (individual) capability for voice frequently is found in activation programmes where recipients tend to experience power asymmetry (to their detriment) in their relations with administrative personnel, thus raising the issue of being able to stake a claim for the quality and efficacy of the services provided (Sen 1999a). An example of lack of process freedom as collective deliberative dimension is the absence of workers' or beneficiaries of social integration programmes from the policy and implementation design, or that local actors –who are the street-level agents- are kept out, or strongly limited by New Public Management practices, in the process of implementation.

The importance of formal rights

These two elements of capability for work should be completed and underpinned by entitlement and rights which assure that even those people who are not directly or indirectly involved in the definition of their own rights can also benefit from existing opportunities. In spite of this closeness between TLM employability and human capabilities normative concepts, Bonvin and Galster underline that the view of TLM employability fails to consider the crucial role played by unconditional social rights and entitlements (Bonvin and Galster 2010).
This problem seems to have been tackled in Schmid by establishing social rights within and beyond employment in order to ensure a life-course orientation as an essential element of modern employment policy (Schmid 2008).

Finally, Walthéry and Vielle made some other relevant suggestions to further develop the CA perspective on employability (Walthéry and Vielle 2004). They argue that effective achievement of full social and/or professional participation, which could be considered a basic capability, would require *combined capabilities* (Nussbaum 2000). Accordingly, social policy aims should not be limited solely to the development of internal capabilities (i.e. employability as lack of individual adaptation to market needs), but should include institutional capabilities which could provide an enabling environment such as to facilitate their effective application[20]. Moreover, maintaining

[20] We will try to investigate the combined capabilities by using interactions effects between institutional arrangement and socio-demographic characteristics in the quantitative contribution of this dissertation.

and strengthening workers' collective capacity for negotiation and deliberation (in particular that of flexible workers) in the area of labour law and social security would appear to be a decisive element in *combined capabilities*.
The fact that they consider *social and/or professional participation* as a basic capability opens up a twofold analysis: on the one hand, the development of those individual capabilities which are needed to be and to feel integrated in the society; on the other hand, this means analysing and developing those collective and institutional capabilities that enable people to actively participate in the economic and social growth of their community. These assumptions seem to recall the embeddedness employability described by Schmid, while adding the important relational dimension of the capability construction and expansion.

Complementarities between an individual and institutional approach to employability

To summarise the main points highlighted above it may be argued that the use of the CA in conceiving the development of employability in the framework of the TLM requires not only the identification of individuals' resources and internal capabilities, but also the conversion factors (internal, social and environmental) available. On the one hand the normative belief underpinning this theoretical challenge is the idea that the CA can provide an individual perspective on mechanisms and quality of transitions, and contribute to the development of an '*empowering employability*'; while on the other hand the TLM places the accent on the *aggregation of individuals' employability* which together can achieve full employment.
If the development of employability is conceived as a process of capability acquisition it clearly has dynamic character: it implies back-and-forth movements and blurred distinctions between what is a resource and what is a conversion factor. What is a resource today can become a conversion factor at a later date: quality basic education may be considered a resource in an early stage but a conversion factor if it is used in applying for a job. Similarly, an adequate income is at the same time a basic resource but also a means of conversion when used to gain access to other resources or services.

There is thus a time perspective that should be taken into consideration as it is crucial when dealing with young workers experiencing problems of social integration: social resources (understood as social capital in Bourdieu's terms) might not be considered necessary in work-first oriented policy, but are instead a key element if a time perspective is adopted. Good social integration may not be a resource needed in the present moment to obtain a temporary low-skilled job, but might be an important personal conversion factor if the person is subsequently dismissed and needs to mobilise her/his personal resources to find another job. This holistic and time-dependent perspective entails a role for the labour market, together with institutions like education and training, in preventing and combating social exclusion or, better, in promoting social integration. In fact, social exclusion and lack of social integration are the result of capabilities deprivation, understood as the impossibility of choosing and achieving those functionings (forms of being and doing) that a person has reason to value. When dealing with vulnerable young people who are entering the labour market for the first time or who have already experienced spells of unemployment, it is important to consider not only their distance from the labour market but also the reasons why they are so far removed from it.

Besides, the strong accent of embeddedness, empowering and autonomy of action and freedom of choice also needs the identification of the interactions and institutions/individuals responsible for making these interactions work.

How do interactions between institutions and individuals work?

In the field of public (social) policy, public actors and individuals' interactions take place in an institutionalised environment which develops on founding principles and builds on formally and informally recognised rules and existing structures. Within this shared framework of action, individuals and public actors are to an equal or unequal extent accountable for their actions and they have to bear their responsibilities to a certain degree. In order to unveil how these interactions take place two dimensions should then be considered: firstly considering *on which information are institutions built on*; secondly investigate *the impact of the institutional structure* on the scope of public actions and, consequently, of responsibility of public actors and individuals.

The role of the Informational Basis of Judgement in Justice

To understand the information informing (institutional) action, the *informational basis of judgement in justice (IBJJ),* as developed by Sen (1990), can be a useful analytical instrument in disentangling the principles of justice from which interactions develop. Sen has defined the IBJJ as the factual territory of justice, i.e. the selection, implicitly or explicitly, of certain types of information used to assess people (Sen 1990 quoted in Bonvin and Farvaque 2007). As Sen puts it:

"In each evaluative structure, some types of factual matters are taken to be important in themselves (. . .). The former variables, which reflect the basic ends in that specific evaluative system, constitute the 'informational basis' of evaluative judgements in that system" (Sen 1991).

The IBJJ thus represents the information used to ground ethical judgements on people's lives and – from a social policy perspective - it is the way through which public action expresses itself and acts on individuals' lives.

According to the principles of justice they are informed by, information gathered is substantially different. Sen classifies information used in evaluating people's lives in two broad categories: first are the focal personal features, and second the principles combining these features (1990). Sen gives the example of the utilitarianism principle: it relays on people's utility as focal personal features and on the summation of individual utilities as combining rule.

Being the tangible translation of the underlying principle of justice, the IBJJ is also crucial in the interpersonal comparison (Sen 1990) as it allows – in a social policy framework- to identify the relative position of a recipient compared to another.

The IBJJ also has a prescriptive dimension when the Capability Approach with its focal personal characteristic and combining principles are used as an evaluative yardstick for social arrangements (Salais 2011). The assessment would then answer to the question: to what extent are social arrangements "capability-friendly"? To what

extent are they able to ensure both opportunity and process freedom? For instance, are young people entitled to economic support when making their first transition in the labour market (e.g. are there entry jobs available? Are they economically supported in case of need? Do they have access to training? Are they entitled and allowed to take part to decisions concerning their transition opportunities (e.g. are their concerns taken into consideration when the action plan is negotiated in the framework of active labour market policies, can they modify or contribute to the evaluation criteria used by public powers)?

Sen affirms that in order to build a fair and legitimate system, a participatory method to reach common decisions on the factual information to be gathered should be adopted by a community. This democratic exercise, at the heart of the CA, is the fairest pathway to list those capabilities and functionings that are considered relevant and to include a contextualised conception of the good that will otherwise be missing (Salais 2009a).
This aspect is of no less importance: "*informational bases of judgement are not merely sets of empirical data; they are first and foremost the product of national states and communities, which historically have been assigned the task (in a specific way by each country) of producing public knowledge of the common good so that concrete action can be taken to achieve it" (Salais 2009a).*

In this view, employability would be understood as a shared and legitimised personal and social objective that is gradually achieved by an aggregated and individual path, and it is not the result of a top-down process (Schmid 2008).

The informational basis has a crucial role to play: firstly it has an operational role because it significantly contributes to determining the scope of freedom of choice that is guaranteed to people via the inclusion (and the omission) of certain information used to interpret and describe the reality (Sen 1980).
Secondly, it is an analytical tool when it is used to investigate those underlying principles informing the choice of information used for public action; finally it serves as a yardstick for assessing social arrangements when the CA is used as an evaluative tool. An example of how the informational basis of justice is used under these three aspects is provided by Bonvin and Farvaque (Bonvin and Farvaque 2005). The authors assess how public actors evaluate recipients in workfare programmes; in particular, they explore what are the pieces of information welfare agents are supposed to use and/or voluntary adopt – depending on their room for manoeuvre – to evaluate the needs of claimants and whether their approach assesses individual resources, personal wellbeing and people's satisfaction in line with the CA. If the informational basis to evaluate welfare claimants only assesses their availability to work, then the pieces of information sought by local public actors will be functional to this assessment and will probably overlook the individual dimensions of well-being and valued functioning that are not strictly connected with going back to work.

A multidimensional idea of employability

Considering the achievement of employability not only as an individual goal but as the result of combined capabilities relating to individuals and institutions as well as a personal condition which brings about both personal and social positive spill-overs

and innovation implies an interactive perspective the role of institutions and society at large.
For example, people taking part in labour market/social activities (understood as any marketable or non-marketable activities implying intellectual or physical effort) that are recognised and valued by the society, are likely to be actively involved in participatory activities (e.g. trade unions, civil society organisations) and democratic practices.
This understanding of employability could also lead to defining employability *both as an individual and social good (Schmid 2008)*. As in the case of education, this can be deliberated through a process of democratic decision-making aimed at establishing the knowledge of the common good. This means that a *territory of justice* will be created and policies will be designed, implemented and evaluated against this new commonly agreed benchmark (Salais 2009).

Therefore 'being employable' means that you are able to obtain some kinds of private return (monetary or non-monetary depending on one's activity), while, on the other hand, there are clear economic and social returns stemming from one's activities for society at large. This implies that responsibility for interventions intended to achieve, improve and sustain an employability-acquisition process should be also taken by public powers, since the rationale of the market is associated with private goods and not public goods (Sen 1999).

This is already the case, for instance, with education and training, which play a fundamental part of 'being employable'. Schmid (2008) underlines how lifelong learning is crucial in bridging transitions and how it should be supported by labour market institutions. If it is not, a lot of workers without enough resources to enter training programmes will not obtain any subsidy from market-driven institutions (insurances, banks) since education and training economic returns are very uncertain. Moreover, when conceiving employability as also a social process and semi-public good, the acquisition of an employability could be partially detached from the conception of an individual's fault and responsibility for not being in employment. Instead, by being listed among the basic (and semi-public) components of capability for work, not only would it be legitimised as a fair public intervention but it would also bring with it a right to recognition. If employability is considered as a semi-public good, this will imply a different commitment on the part of institutions and, consequently, a different basis of judgment together with non-excluding practices.

The public policies, as it will be argued later, should then create an area of opportunities and or "capacitations" (de Munck and Ferreras 2004), which allows the realization of individuals' employability.
When referring to the epistemological assumptions of the CA, employability is a sort of process of empowerment whereby individuals, through their resources (over which they have control), factors of conversion, and the society (institutions), interact together so as to make the individual able to exercise her capability for work. Abilities and aspirations are then achieved thanks to entitlements, formal rights, public policies and actions which turn the employability into capability for work.

Insofar as resources and factors of conversion are both external and internal to the person, employability is a mix of *passive (externally provided) and active (internally driven) empowerment*[21].

Employability as active and passive empowerment

The contribution of Robert Salais (Salais 2009b) sheds important insight on the role of public policies in creating capability-friendly environments. Salais spells out two ways in which real freedom can be provided to individuals: on the one hand, institutions can award people the "simple" power to make an individual choice; on the other hand, they can operate to promote the common good. In this sense individuals are (indirectly) free from making a choice and are enabled to reach a valuable form of doing or being without having to choose it.
In this respect Sen takes the example of environmental policies (Sen 1985). If the government policy promotes a healthy environment, 1) it will have freed individuals from choosing between leaving to find a better place or staying in an unhealthy place and 2) it will, at the same time, have given to everyone the possibility to live in a good place in spite of the inequality of different resources possessed (e.g. having enough money to choose a healthy place to live).
Salais underlines the significant difference that exists between these two forms of public action both aimed at real freedom of choice.
The idea that public powers can, through their policies, free the individual from making a choice and at the same time allow her to be even more free to choose without being constrained by her resources can be linked with a contribution by A.G. Cohen in the collective volume 'The Quality of Life' (Cohen 1993).

Cohen raises an important normative issue concerning the use and the conceptualization of capabilities, functionings and welfare measurement in Sen's work. He clarifies the extent to which Sen's contribution opens up a new and original perspective on welfare assessment: the CA does not consider an equal amount of resources to be sufficient since people do not have similar factors of conversion; and it esteems that utility is not a sustainable guide to policy because a person may adjust her expectations to her condition.
In Cohen's view, what Sen pleads for is a measure of wellbeing represented by something that lies between primary good and utility. This intermediate result which considers what goods can do for people – and not just their possession people's mental reaction to them – is called by Cohen '*midfare*'.

The role of Midfare

Midfare is described as a heterogeneous collocation; this means that goods can do different things for people: 1) goods endow people with capabilities (understood in its basic meaning of being able to do) which people may decide to use or not; 2) through people's activities (i.e. exercise of their capabilities) goods contribute to the performance of valuable activities and the achievement of desirable states; 3) goods cause further desirable states directly without any exercise of capability on the part of people.

[21] See footnote 10

The author explains that babies achieve and enjoy warmth and protection because their parents dress them, even though babies did not exercise any capability. In such a case it may be argued that there is no relevant agency (i.e. exercise of capability) by the beneficiary.
The need to distinguish between capabilities and *midfare* seems to be quite important in analysing employability and its relational role between the individual and her achievements, between individuals and the labour market, as well as individuals and the society at large.

In fact, this distinction helps in enriching and shaping the concept as well as in the implementation of employability: if 'passive consumption' (Cohen 1993) is also considered under achievement of the life the one has reason to value, then institutions and society acquire an important role in providing 'objects/situations/goods' that individuals can passively consume. For example, providing support against discrimination at hiring to all people independently from them asking for it is both an entitlement and 'a passive consumption' of a service: all people can enjoy it without using personal resources (e.g. individual disposition of asking for help; individual ability of expressing a need) or need for activating particular institutional arrangements (e.g. create ad hoc services that need special mandate). Therefore, institutionalising *midfare* contributes to setting up the opportunity structure needed for achieving both individual and common goals.
Since the distinction between midfare and capabilities is not always straightforward, sharp definition of the responsibility of individuals in achieving valuable goals (through an 'athletic effort') and of institutions in providing passive empowerment is no easy task. It can, nonetheless, be performed thanks to the institutional perspective provided by the TLM.
If we consider employability as a status of midfare, this will allow the distinction to be made between capability and midfare and between individual decision and passive consumption.

Midfare as passive empowerment: the role of institutions in reducing risk

Midfare is what goods/situations/services can do for individuals without their intervention, e.g. opportunities for training, varied job opportunities. This collocation is defined as *passive empowerment*: it represents what is provided by the institutional and social environment, e.g. resources, conversion factors as well as real opportunities to actually take advantage of converted resources.

Passive empowerment can be also termed as *capability to work*, which is attained before *capability for work*, which includes both the exercise of individual agency (the choice of one's own job), and passive entitlements and instrumental freedoms provided by institutional actions or, simply, institutional existence.
If, for instance, a young student has been provided with the best education and has succeeded in developing skills to a high level but then finds no opportunities on the labour market to fulfil her potential, then the passive empowerment did not, in this case, fully take place since the institutional arrangement failed to contribute to an increased private and public return. Another example is the quality of training provided: young people who need to enhance their skills can take training courses organised in the framework of active labour market policies. The quality of education

and training provided is not something that is actively achieved or modified by the student, but is provided independently by the institution. This institutional action can accordingly be regarded as equivalent to the parents' action described in Cohen's example, where the child enjoyed warmth without actively asking for it (as she would have not been able to).

The concept passive empowerment can also be easily extended to other areas related to job quality, for example maintaining and promoting health and well-being of workers. If we consider employability as a semi-public good and as basic capability that should be promoted and enhanced, then ensuring healthy working conditions (which is one of the job quality dimension listed by Eurofound 2002) can be compared with the public health policies against malaria described above; or even this institutional action can be also read as that parents' action describe in Cohen's example, but from an employment-related perspective.

The *exercise of capability is defined here as active empowerment*. This refers to the active role played by the person through the control and selection of resources through internal and external factors of conversion in order to reach valuable outputs. The person has an active role in shaping her own characteristics in order to reach the desired goal. It should be underlined here that this is not meant to re-open the door on the kind of 'initiative employability' that was suggested by advocates of the Third Way. On the contrary, it is intended to stress the active and critical and strategic role of the empowered person who has acquired basic and fundamental skills ranging through basic, professional, moral and critical thinking skills (Lanzi 2007).

A fair balance of active and passive empowerment is essential so as not to fall into the trap of a work-first approach and blaming the unemployed for their situation or adopting a paternalistic attitude as can easily happen in relation to young people (Serrano Pascual 2004).
This combination of *active* and p*assive empowerment* is partially found also in Schmid's framework for management of risks that has been introduced above (see section on management of risks and institutional arrangements).

Employability, empowerment and disadvantage young people

Considering the employability of vulnerable young people at risk can be a challenging issue. As described at the beginning, the uncertainty of transitions and the multidimensional nature of disadvantage need to be tackled simultaneously. Thus, it is not only the lack of – or a poor – individual human capital stock that prevents vulnerable young people from entering the labour market, but a capability deprivation that also includes poor knowledge and insufficient skills. Active labour market policies have often tackled these problems separately, not conceiving employability as the result of an exchange of internal and external capabilities, but mostly tackling labour-market-related individual "flaws" (technical abilities, lack of methodological and attitudinal competencies, lack of motivation and labour ethics (Serrano Pascual 2004). Generally speaking, struggling to uphold traditions of support and empowerment for vulnerable young people have entailed a strong disciplinary approach, promoting normative self-regulation where possible or coercion where not (Sharland 2006).

Only rarely have employability programmes been able to give young people a feeling of control over their own future, and this is particularly important for disadvantaged young people since it entails the aspect of empowerment (agency freedom). This feeling of having control over one's resources should also go together with the possibility for the young to actively intervene in the design of their individual professional project, as existing in several European countries (e.g. Denmark and Belgium).

Nevertheless, highly individualised policies (Bonvin and Farvaque 2007a; Franssen 2003) may also turn out to be a double-edged weapon. An increasing pressure on individuals can demand that they cater for their own training needs, insofar as they are expected to make use of their autonomy, often by bearing the costs as well as choosing what is most appropriate. An extended form of autonomy should actually entail an increased freedom to choose, which does not mean only the provision of supply-side measures, but also demand-side programmes in a fair sharing of responsibility between individuals and institutions (an in-depth analysis of active labour market policies is developed in Chapter 3).

Overcome risks through empowerment and incentives

Effectively and fairly regulating the share of responsibility between individuals and institutions becomes even more challenging when risk is involved, for instance in jobless periods when the risk of reduced well-being and increased social exclusion can modify individual's perception of risk and, thus, her behaviour. In a welfare perspective, Sen (1999: 131) recognises, as does Schmid also (2008), which issues stemming from incentives are difficult to overcome. In this regard, Sen argues that a possible way of reducing negative effects or misuse of incentives (like unemployment benefits) lies in the assessment of both individual functioning and situated capabilities. He adds that there should be a shift from an income-based or only-functionings-based approach toward a deprivation-of-basic-capabilities-informational basis. By this Sen means that a fair informational basis, combined with real freedom of choice as well as with an equal distribution of resources and opportunities, is likely to lead people naturally towards a public service that they value, and this positive matching is likely to make that service efficient and accountable for its responsibility towards citizens. The problem of incentives is tackled also by Schmid: the author does not deal only with misuse of incentives, but also goes deeper in explaining the positive role of incentives and employment and

unemployment benefits to overcome moral hazard and make people less risk-averse during unstable situations, namely transitions.

Empowering individuals through institutions

Together with the moral hazard incentive, the public good feature of employability can give much scope for sound public interventions.
That is why public policies and institutional interventions need to be implemented in order to ensure that *midfare* has been democratically defined and made available for all. In this way, not only will people be freed from choosing a valuable functioning instead of another, but they will also be equally treated in that they will benefit from the same opportunity (e.g. quality vocational training or access to special measures) in spite of their diverse commodity baskets.

Thus, if sufficiently empowered, individuals will be more likely to take some "risky" decisions, like starting a family, or investing in social capital, or embarking on training activities that might not be immediately usable on the labour market but would allow them the time to find jobs that best match their abilities (Nicaise), or taking part in social activities of advantage for strengthening their social integration. This means going beyond the current idea of welfare protection thought in separate building blocks and tackling specific moments, while moving towards an idea of institutional insurance over the life course.

This idea has been recently developed further by Schmid, who calls for an employment insurance that intervenes not only in specific jobless periods, but also at any time each individuals face a trade-off, and a risk, between two statutes (Schmid 2013). In this way, the fragmented social protection aimed at reducing the risk would cover individuals during a variety of transitions over their life course and transitions between different statutes would take place within a stable employment relationship (Schmid 2013). The idea of employment insurance refers back to the concept of passive empowerment where formal universal social rights and an opportunitystructure reducing risk are provided and aim at expanding, in Sen's terms, the range of individual set of capability

Main features of this conceptualisation

The central idea is to understand employability as a process of empowerment, as a process that not only considers an equal (re)distribution of resources, but calls also for the enhancement of internal and external conversion factors to be used for choosing among a varied range of valuable opportunities. This empowerment is a process of acquisition of capabilities (ability to choose and achieve valuable forms of doing and being) which is shared among actors and which leads from a capability to work to a capability for work (Bonvin and Farvaque 2006).

Employability is a tool box containing a development process whereby different internal capabilities (combined basic capabilities: practical reasoning, emotions, control over one's environment, affiliation, Nussbaum 2000 and Walthéry and Vielle 2004) can be combined with external opportunities. As we discussed it already, an individualisation of the activation policies has taken place in the last decade, which

means that institutions are considered able to identify which capabilities are actually lacking and which need to be reinforced. This empowering process of achieving employability is more than a top-down process (employability understood as mere activation, Serrano Pascual 2004; Fransess 2003).

On the contrary, this definition of employability and of its development aims at putting in place conciliation policies and targeting employability in the context of a capability perspective geared towards 'human flourishing'. The latter is seen as simultaneously a personal attainment and a prerequisite for innovation and social change, i.e. social innovation that is brought about through the efforts of empowered, informed and conscious citizens, thereby combining the individualizing tendencies in our societies with collective solidarities and social achievements (Schmid and Gazier 2002).

Therefore, if this approach to employability is introduced as an informational basis to evaluate employability in designing Transitional Labour Markets for people in transition, it will entail:

1) Unveiling power relationships among actors in the process of acquiring employability, thus revealing more clearly to what extent relations of power are even more relevant when dealing with young people employability as they do not have bargaining power stemming from their working experience or competences, especially if they are low-skilled.
2) Defining employability as a basic component of capability for work (and, by the same token, a lack of employability as a capability deprivation);
3) adopting a relational view of employability as the result of internal and external actions: this multi-dimensional and network perspective is given by the interactive definition and development of capabilities (not a linear or 'chronological' process but a continuous exchange between actors at different levels), and their embeddedness in the social context.
4) Stressing and enhancing the role of public policies which provide tools to kick off, feed and enhance this process (*midfare dimension-passive empowerment*); with the attempt to better define both the borders of midfare and its intermingling of relationships between the responsibilities of individuals and external intervening actors.
5) 5) Including a time perspective that is necessary to avoid a short-time intervention and reduce the emergence of future life risk (e.g. securing employment by managing social risks). This is also consistent with the fact that preferences and individual factors are not stable as they are not facts (De Muck and Ferreras 2004). Instead they are likely to be changed and reversed. This seems to find a good operationalization not only in the dynamic process of the Capability Approach, but more concretely in the TLM approach that is strictly dependent on (voluntary and involuntary) individual choices and their reversibility (Anxo and Ehrel 2009).
6) Finally, promoting multidimensional outcomes: employability as a basic capability to achieve not only labour market outputs but also social outcomes. Employability ideally leading to employment security, thus, initially, to labour market integration as well as personal development (including realization of a work/life balance, (Hobson and Fahlén 2009) and engagement as well as social improvement and innovation.

In the following chapters I will describe the study case – the Brussels Capital Region – and operationalise the idea of employability in this institutional context by using the implications of thinking employability as active and passive empowerment. I will also account for the combined contributions of the Transitional Labour Markets and Capability Approach when unveiling the normative foundations in implementing employability policies as well as the outcomes of them when quantitatively analysing youth transitions in the labour market.

The focus will be put on activation policies and institutional arrangements targeting young people. This choice is justified by the weak position of young people when they make their first transitions in the labour market. Young people often lack material and immaterial resources as well as factor of conversions for ensuring their transitions in the labour market. Besides, their young age positions them at the cross-road of several systems – education, labour market and welfare – which need to be coordinated. Their poor knowledge of formal and informal rules in relation to the labour market associated with increasing precarious working environments make them one of the groups in the population for whom the institutional passive empowerment is expected to be more relevant. Hence, the impact of the opportunity structure provided by institution is believed to be more easy to grasp.

Chapter 3 The operationalisation of employability

Building on the conceptualisation of employability presented in the previous Chapter, this part elaborates on the idea of *passive empowerment* in active labour market policies. To this end, an analytical grid for employability policies is developed. Its elaboration is done in three steps: firstly, by using the idea of *référentiel* by Muller (2013), I identified the cognitive dimensions of active labour market policies to be investigated. Secondly, by taking into account the boundaries set by the cognitive dimensions, I focus on the patterns of implementation which contribute to the creation of the *midfare/passive empowerment* available to claimants. Thirdly, the different cognitive and implementation dimensions of the three ideal types are operationalised by referring to the literature and relevant features of passive empowerment presented in Chapter 2 in the context of ALMPs. These three ideal types are expected to follow a different idea of employability and, as a result, promote a different type of passive empowerment. The originality of this grid lies on its holistic approach to policy analysis – including normative grounding and implementation dynamics - and on the flexibility of its approach. Incoherent or mixed approaches to employability can be easily unveiled. The flexibility of the grid makes it also suitable for cross-country and cross-institutional analysis.

Introduction

The risk of unemployment and inactivity particularly for the younger generation seems to have increased significantly also as a result of a shorter life-cycle of companies. The role of active labour market policies (ALMPs) is to answer to the need of managing the increasing risks of experiencing unemployment or inactivity, in particular for some groups which are more at-risk of going through repeated and prolonged spells of unemployment (De Koning and Mosley 2002).

However, as I will show shortly in the literature review, there is no a single way of conceiving employability and organising its delivery via ALMPs.

The contribution of this Chapter builds on the combination of the TLM and CA and on the shift in the institutional answer ensued from the rise of new social risks. It develops an original analytical tool in order to investigate employability based on the idea of *active* and *passive empowerment*. Active empowerment is defined as the exercise of the capability owned by a person and the use of her power and control over available resources via the factors of conversion at her disposal. Passive empowerment includes resources, factors of conversion, formal rights and real opportunities that the institutions and the social environment provide to individuals.

The grid goes beyond the current analytical approaches to ALMPs because it accounts for the potential incoherence between the normative stance and the

implementation practices. The grid also functions as a benchmarking for evaluating the capacity of tackling the heterogeneity of needs while building an enabling opportunity structure for the recipients. Hence it unveils how active labour market policies should be designed and implemented to provide claimants with the right *passive empowerment* allowing a fair and capability-friendly combination of active and passive empowerment. A right combination would aim at building Transitional Labour Markets able to secure safe transitions and reduce individual risks (Schmid 2008).

How to grasp the interactions between passive and active empowerment

The array of possibilities of delivering *passive empowerment* has an impact on the expected *active empowerment* (i.e. use of capability) individuals are held responsible for if they want to achieve a desired goal (e.g. integrating the labour market or leaving welfare benefits).

As a consequence, this affects two main aspects of ALMPs.
Firstly, different types of *passive empowerment* lead to different balance of the active and passive empowerment, i.e. to a different conceptualisation of the individual and collective responsibility, and to different types of passive empowerment that lead to different conceptions of employability.

Identifying the type of passive empowerment provided and the associated idea of employability implies *investigating the relevant dimensions that allow one to distinguish a type of passive empowerment from another and, as a result, identify the type of employability sought.*
By using the idea of *référentiel* by Muller (Muller 2000a; Muller 2013), I identified the cognitive dimensions of ALMPs to be investigated.

Secondly, by taking into account the boundaries set by the cognitive dimensions, the focus is geared towards the patterns of implementation which contribute to the creation of the *midfare/passive empowerment* available to claimants. These are expected to be different depending on the normative approach to employability adopted.

Thirdly, I investigated whether these dimensions – cognitive and of implementation – are declined differently in the two types of active labour market policies surveyed in the literature (Work-First and Human Capital Development – see next section). A third prescriptive type is added by including the relevant features of passive empowerment laid down by the combination of TLM and CA as presented in Chapter 2.

The three ideal types will be included in a grid that will be used in the empirical part of this work in order to test what type of passive empowerment the welfare institutions of the case study deliver and whether they support an idea of 'enabling' passive empowerment needed for the creation of Transitional Labour Markets institutions.

Activation regimes: a survey of the literature

Although the normative concept of activation widely spread across Europe, it does not univocally translate into commonly agreed definitions nor in identical systems (Barbier and Ludwig-Mayerhofer 2004). That's why international comparative research classifies different *regimes of activation*.

I present here two ways of classifying regimes of activation, the first investigating the *idea of activation* underpinning active labour market policies, thus more theoretical; the second *privileging a classification of the measures and practices* adopted.

Classifying activation regimes on their underlying narratives

Dean (Dean 2006), Serrano Pascual (Serrano Pascual 2007) and Barbier (Barbier 2002) propose a classification of activation regimes based on underlying narratives.
While acknowledging the value of previous classifications of welfare and activation regimes, Serrano Pascual suggests a clustering of activation regimes by looking at two criteria: the modes of 'managing individuals' and the 'nature of the social contract' stipulated between individuals and the State. Managing individuals is based on the premise that the persons should be autonomous. This can result in considering that individuals are intrinsically passive and they are reluctant to recognise and take their responsibility. The ultimate goal of this regime become the fight against moral hazard and the rational thinking of 'bad unemployed', who decided to stop working as it would be less advantageous than living on benefits.
Another approach of managing individuals develops from the idea that unemployed lost their jobs because of personal failures, for instance lack of skills, and that activation programmes should help unemployed to overcome their lacks. Although being based on the ultimate goal of making unemployed responsible and autonomous, those two approaches justify unemployment differently and deploy different means to reach a similar goal.

The second classifying factor is the 'nature of the social contract' between individual citizens and the State (Serrano Pascual 2007). The author argues that there are at least three different ways of balancing rights and duties of unemployed: a first model is characterised by an excessive focus on the duties of the unemployed compared to the rights she might be entitled to. The second type of contract suggests a more balanced sharing of rights and duties between the community and single individuals facing the risk of social exclusion. The third type of contract is similar to the first and second one, but with an overall higher involvement of the community and higher expectations towards each of its members.

The combination of these types of 'managing individuals' and the nature of the social contract results in five activation regimes: 'the economic spring-board regime' mainly - found in the liberal welfare regimes - adopts work-first policies addressing autonomous individuals likely to be easy victims of moral hazard

and puts most of the emphasis on individual's duties. The 'civic contractualism regime', mainly present in the Netherlands, puts a strong emphasis on ensuring that recipients comply with their duties and the State commits itself extensively in guaranteeing that citizens can enjoy their rights, meaning that there is a higher overall commitment of the community but also higher expectation towards each individual. A third regime ('autonomous citizens' regime') is found where both the community and the citizens are hold equally responsible, but also where autonomy and self-determination are two core values. This approach to the idea of social contract is coupled with the idea that unemployed need to compensate for some (personal) lacks that make them unemployable. An example is the Swedish system. The 'fragmented provision regime' (found mostly in Spain) and the 'minimalist disciplinary regime' (e.g. Portugal and the Czech Republic) share a similar vision of the social contract, i.e. a low commitment of both the community (limited resources are spent on welfare services) but also less pressure on compliance for the unemployed or welfare recipients. However, their way of managing individuals differs: the "fragmented provision regime" favours an approach to individuals based on the idea that beneficiaries are autonomous but need support particularly in terms of skills and better adapt them to the labour market. The minimalist approach is rather close to an idea of management of individuals which tends to modify their behaviour and instil new working ethics.

The classification of activation regimes suggested by Dean follows a similar line of thought as he bases his classification on the normative underpinning of active labour market programmes. However he focuses on institutions themselves rather than on the relationship between individuals and institutions. Dean suggested looking at premises (egalitarian v. authoritarian) and purposes (competitive v. inclusive) of the welfare state. He distinguished four categories: human capital development (egalitarian and competitive), active job creation (egalitarian and inclusive), coercive work-first (competitive and authoritarian) and insertion/right to work (authoritarian and inclusive)(Dean 2006).

Dean refers to human capital development regimes on the one hand because of their emphasis on skills development for being competitive and reduce the likelihood of being a welfare claimant (competitive); on the other hand, because of the accessibility of services for job-seekers (egalitarian). Inclusive and egalitarian regimes tend to concentrate on active job creation, while regimes based on promoting work-first policies tend to stress the obligation aspect and impose any jobs or working activity in order to systematically reduce the number of beneficiaries. Finally, the last type of regimes identified by Dean is defined both authoritarian and egalitarian, where reintegrating the labour market is conceived as right and implemented as a duty (authoritarianism).

Another taxonomy suggested by (Barbier 2002) includes two models of activation regimes. Although based on the Three Worlds of Welfare by Esping-Andersen (1990), he limited his typologies to the liberal and the universalistic socio-democratic regimes and analyses them along two dimensions. On the one hand the societal coherence (*cohérence societale*), which is defined as the set of norms and values adopted by the political community that regulate and articulate the role of the labour market, of the State but also of other actors of the welfare

system and of the family. On the other hand, the characteristics of active labour market policies, which include, among others, the type of programme and services, the target group, the type of allowances and rights and sanctions but also the role of public employment and social services (Barbier 2002). According to Barbier, the liberal regime is constructed on a 'societal coherence' informed by the primacy of the market in regulating the trajectories of jobless individuals: getting back to the primary labour market is a way of replacing welfare dependency.
In contrast, the universalistic socio-democratic regime is geared towards well-being combined with economic objectives and the role of the labour market is downsized compared to the liberal regime. In this regime active labour market policies do not have as primary goal the fast reintegration in the primary labour market, but rather they try to adapt to individuals' needs to labour market requests.

Classifying activation regimes on their policy tools

A second type of classification consists of looking at current active labour market policies and their concrete measures and practices.

Most of the recent contributions adopted a dualistic typology (Bonoli 2010; Duvoux 2012): on the one hand, the workfare or welfare-to-work approach based on quick and cost-effective reintegration in the labour market (Bruttel and Sol 2006; Nicaise 2002; Peck and Theodore 2000), and, on the other hand, a human capital development oriented approach, known for its emphasis on education and training aiming at developing people's capacity to go back to work (Bruttel and Sol 2006; Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2007; Lodemel and Trickey 2000; Peck and Theodore 2000).

Bruttel and Sol (2006) make clear that the rationale behind a human capital development oriented approach rests on a longer term perspective of developing jobseekers' capacity to get back to the labour market. The focus on education, training and, more broadly, on the general life situation of welfare recipients is therefore central in these policies as they represent the domains where investment is needed to further develop and improve vocational skills of the unemployed (Lindsay and Pascual Serrano 2009). The programme organisation requires a closer collaboration of different public and private actors who contribute with their expertise on training, education or health, often under the direction of public bodies or pool of institutions (Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2008). On the other hand, the work-first approach rationale lays on the conviction that jobseekers, who have not completely lost their contacts with the labour market, are mostly in need of an intense job-seeking activity and short labour market oriented training.
Thus, more expensive vocational trainings and job-coaching programmes are offered to those who are judged no longer able to stick to the "rules of the game" of job-seeking activity (e.g. being unable to carry out job search by using, for instance, new technologies; or lacking substantial vocational skills, being unable to show and keep a certain working ethics in the workplace,…).

The literature on ALMPs adopting an international comparison clearly spelled out the divergence and similarities of activation policies across countries.
Irene Dingeldey explores active labour market policies for unemployed people in Germany, UK and Denmark, and investigates their tendency towards more "enabling" or "workfare" policies (Dingeldey 2007). She lists job placements, the coordination with family policies, among the enabling policies. Workfare policies refer to reduction of unemployment benefits, stronger conditionality of benefits mainly sealed via individual action plans. She argues that it is the intensity of the enabling and workfare dimension that needs to be investigated in order to understand whether there are converging or diverging trends across countries. She concludes that, although there is a common trend towards the establishment of an activating approach, the mix of welfare and enabling elements varies widely across the three countries investigated (Dingeldey 2007).

Trickey (Trickey 2001) investigated the new mix of rights and duties in social assistance across countries and, similarly to Dingeldey, makes clear that, although the concern of high social expenditure is high in all the seven investigated countries, there are clear differences in the extent to which justifications are applied and brought forward. She points out two major justifications widely used and prioritised: "combat dependency" and "combat social exclusion" (Trickey 2001:253). While the first looks at misbehaviour of welfare recipients, the latter consider social assistant claimants as "side effect" of skill mismatch between demand and supply. Starting from these two different approaches, national workfare regimes have implemented different mixes of duties and rights. She identifies two opposite aims in the workfare systems (integrative v. preventive) and two opposite strategies of developing active labour market programmes (human development v. labour market attachment). Integrative workfare measures focus on structural problems and reinforce claimants' right, while preventive approaches tend to tackle dependency first while stressing recipients' responsibilities.
By the same token, human capital development approach programmes tries to compensate for system deficiency between supply and demand, while a labour market attachment approach promotes a prompt return in the labour market in order to actively reduce unemployment, inactivity and expenditure. She summaries these findings of some major social assistance programmes across six European countries and the US in a typology of workfare systems also including their administrative framework (decentralised and discretionary/centralised and codified). She classifies as the most integrative system, the French one, while putting at the other end of the spectrum (preventive) the US system. As for the active labour market programmes adopted, she classifies the Danish system as being human resources oriented, while the US example as being more labour markets attachment-driven. However, none of the case studies can be clearly attributed in all dimensions to an ideal-type or the other, thus underlying the blur frontier of classification and policy implementation.

Sirovátka (Sirovátka 2007) also adopts a dichotomous typology of activation building on several previous contributions: workfare (liberal) and the social inclusion (universalistic) approach. Sirovátka claims that, while the literature on welfare and in particular on unemployment regimes, is very much developed,

research on activation strategies is less elaborated and mainly limited to the analysis of goals, principles and methods of activation. In his classification the author suggests splitting the analysis into two dimensions: the first looking at goals and principles, the second focusing on instruments and policies. Therefore, he tries to take stock both of cognitive and normative understanding behind the elaboration of policies and their translation into policy instruments.

The contribution from Eichhorst and Konle-Seidl (2008) suggests a comparative analysis of activation policies in some European countries and in the US by looking at their basic principles, instruments, target groups and governance and questions the validity of the typology opposing 'enabling' and 'demanding' activation policies (ibidem: 7). They argue that the two typologies no longer fit the analysis because of the convergence of national activation measures across the dimensions investigated. They conclude that the convergence, in contrast with some of the contributions presented above, is rather gearing towards stronger emphasis on work-first policies in countries with training traditions, although work-first policies are insufficient to guarantee sustainable inclusion in the labour market.

A fragmented approach to active labour market policies: the added value of TLM and CA

Coercive vs. enabling, preventing vs. offensive, work-first vs. human capital development all these labels point out that there are different ways in which ALMPs shape individuals' and institutional relationship.
Dang and Zajdela (Dang and Zajdela 2007), Bonvin and Farvaque (Bonvin and Farvaque 2006) and Sabatinelli (Sabatinelli 2010) remind us that labour market programmes built around activation and individualisation have challenged the relationship between the state and the service providers as well as the relationship between welfare claimants and institutions and stimulated different answers across the different activation regimes.

Nonetheless, these classifications illustrate which are the main differences across active labour market policies practices but tend to overlook the need of looking at, simultaneously, both the cognitive foundations *and* (local) implementation practices in order to grasp the role played by institutions in creating an enabling *passive empowerment*. This aspect seems crucial in so far as the reorganisation of the institutional structure, the decentralisation and the multiplication of actors have revived the relevance of the implementation process and practices in determining the actual outcome of policies (see Chapter 1).

Moreover, while the normative underpinning remains crucial in distinguishing the typology of labour market and welfare policies, the choice and the

combination of policy instruments adopted might contradict, nuance or strengthen a classification based on cognitive premises. For this reason, disconnecting the investigation of the cognitive stance from the analysis of the policy tools adopted seems to limit the analysis.

Finally, the current approaches often do not provide an ideal benchmark against which they can be compared, assessed and, potentially, modified. They are rather presented in opposition to one another. The classification of active labour market policies developed in this Chapter and the analytical tools associated to investigate the case study aim at answering to these shortcomings. It does that by building on the literature reviewed while incorporating the CA and TLM principles.

Both the TLM and the CA have a three-fold potential that justify their use. They both can be (Alkire 2008; Schmid 2014):

1. Normative frameworks: the TLM brings about a new social dimension of labour markets by concentrating on more equitable risk reduction and risk sharing ex-ante and ex-post labour market changes. The CA establishes institutional arrangements allowing individuals to reach equality of capability.
2. Analytical tools as they allow setting benchmarks (i.e. capability freedom and effective risk management labour market institutions) against which systems and institutions can be assessed.
3. Prescriptive frameworks because they advocate for principles on which future policy measures can be designed in order to be consistent with heir normative underpinnings.

Stemming from these features of the TLM and CA, several added values can be identified.

The taxonomy allows a holistic approach to policy analysis because it includes both cognitive and implementation perspectives. This aspect is relevant insofar as – as presented in the literature above – the current typologies of ALMPs tend to focus either on the principles governing the regime or on their practices.

Tackling both aspects leads to an additional added-value of this taxonomy: its flexibility. The flexibility of the grid is meant to unveil the cognitive and normative dynamics influencing the policy delivery. In fact, it is important to stress that even though the ideal-types are built with an internal coherence, the grid allows the researcher to test whether this coherence is found in the empirical case or if there is – as it is often the case – a gap between the normative underpinning and the implementation practices.

Therefore, I argue that the analytical lenses provided by the grid allow the researcher to unfold the complexity of the normative angle and identify those systems that cannot be fully ascribed to one ideal-model or another. Several combinations are possible between the cognitive stances and implementation procedures.

The grid also entails the overcoming of a unilateral understanding of the institutional impact on aggregated or individual outcomes. It rather promotes a relational perspective of the interaction between individuals and the welfare institutions which is modified by the rise of new social risks and new modes of governance (see Chapter 1). The choice of the sub-dimensions - described in the

remainder of this Chapter – is also thought to account for the current trends towards cross-sectorial policies which include a variety of actors.
Further, because claimants are not seen as an aggregated and unique category, the grid includes the quality of individualisation which is assessed in terms of the capacity of answering to the heterogeneity of individual needs. This is ensured by the scope of the informational basis of judgement in justice.

Finally, the time dimension of policies included in the grid is extremely important though overlooked by the current typologies. Its relevance is deeply linked with the objectives of the ALMPs as well as with the behaviours that the welfare subject is supposed to comply with. Besides, it is not only important to take into account when measuring quantitative outcomes on the labour market, but also during the delivery of the policy as it actively shapes the scope of the intervention on the individual.

In the following sections I will justify the choice of the selection analytical dimensions; I will discuss how the work-first (hereinafter WF) and human capital (hereinafter HCD) approach to active labour market policies develop around these dimensions and what the CA and the TLM would suggest adding instead.

An analytical tool for investigating passive empowerment

The contribution of cognitive approach to public policies

The first part of our analytical grid (see Table 1 at page 89) is structured around the idea of *référentiel* and it develops its four components (Muller 2000a; Muller 2013).

The concept of *référentiel* is developed within the cognitive analysis of public policies mainly attributable to Pierre Muller and Bruno Jobert (Jobert and Muller 1987; Muller 2010). Pierre Muller explains that public policies are no longer only meant to solve issues, but also to provide interpretative frameworks that help understand the world as well as define normative models of action (Muller 2000a; Muller 2010).
Indeed, in the 1980s the shift towards an Active Welfare State in most of the mature Western democracies introduced a new (common) cognitive model within which each country developed its own approach to new 'active' social policies.

Some important elements supported the choice for this approach to the analysis.
Firstly, the choice is inspired by the merit of this approach of combining two complementary dimensions of public policies – i.e. their empirical and measurable outcomes (*dispositifs institués*) and their contribution to the definition of the social reality (*dispositifs instituants*) (Nahrath 2010).
Secondly, «*l'approche par les référentiels* » advocates for the necessity of including the analysis of both structures and actors. This is supported because it allows grasping the interaction between: 1. the influence of the structure and the scope for manoeuvre of actors; 2. the *référentiels* summarising the structural limit and their cognitive interpretations (Muller 2005). These aspects are of particular importance because they allow focusing on macro to micro levels of analysis, thus accounting for the decentralisation process of welfare policies and for the supposedly more prominent role of front-line managers in the – indirect - interpretation and definition of the cognitive borders of active labour market policies. Finally, as we shall see in

the following sections, the constitutive elements of the *référentiel* open to the investigation of both the cognitive and the implementation processes and the use of specific policy tools; this is particularly evident in the definition of "algorithms" which refer to the causal relationships tracing the scope of the public action and sketching the possible policy tools.

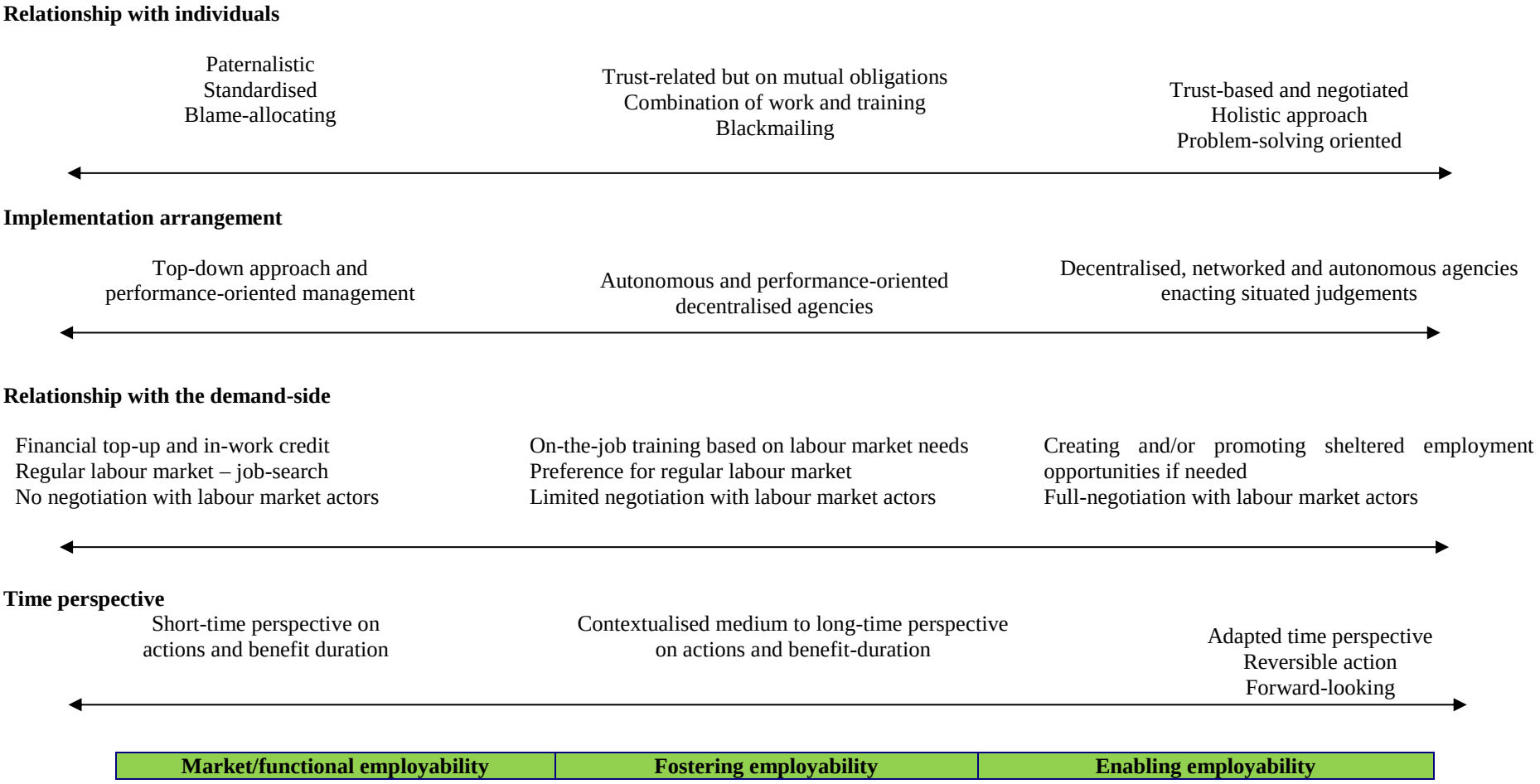
The *référentiel* is composed by *values, norms, algorithms and images*.
Muller explains that *values* represent what is good and what is bad in the broader context of policy development (Muller 2013) and define what the objectives of the policy are. *Norms* define what exists and what should exist instead, therefore norms measure the distance between what it is desirable and what is currently achieved. They are usually formulated into statements implying an obligation.
Algorithms are used for depicting causal relationships explaining the reasons why a phenomenon took place and justifying why a particular public action was taken. They are usually presented in the form of "if…, then…" statements. They represent the core of the public policy and make the link between the effect and the cause, in this way they make the link between the cognitive/normative and the implementation dimension (*théorie de l'action*)(Colomb 2007). The definition of algorithms leads to the identification of the share of responsibility that it is attributed to one subject rather than another. As a consequence, the category of algorithms will be used to spell out the choice of policy tools and implementation practices adopted and that derive from the causality relationships drawn within algorithms.
Finally, the *référentiel* also includes the idea of *images* which represent "silent" values embedded in the collective language that make sense and convey a message that is understood by a large majority.

The second part of the grid goes through the implementation challenges. The literature on (social) policy implementation has highlighted that the implementation process has to be considered because policies can be fully, partially, correctly or wrongly implemented by street-level implementers (Bonvin and Farvaque 2006; Lipsky 2010; Meyers, Glaser, and Donald 1998).
Divergence in implementation is likely to be amplified by the decentralisation that accompanied the introduction of new social policies aiming at bringing public action closer to target population in order to better respond to (contextualised) needs and increase efficiency in service provisions (Bonvin and Conter 2006; Finn 2000; Hamzaoui 2003; Kazepov 2010; Pauwel et al 2012). Further, the introduction of managerial organisational approaches embedded in the refocusing of the institutional answer can also have an impact on the delivery of services (Considine and Lewis 2010; Evers et al 2008; Finn 2000).

Table 1: Three ideal-types of employability

	WF	HCD	TLM/CA
Values **"**ALMPs **aim at…"**	Efficiency of the welfare system by relying on individual autonomy and high employment rate.	Redistribution and social cohesion based on an economic understanding of social differences.	Empowering individual agency and wellbeing freedom Achieving valuable functionings in a context of equality of capability and reduced risked over the life-course.
Rationale / Norms **"**ALMPs **should…"**	**Macro** Lower the number of benefits recipients and optimise cost-benefit efficient interventions	**Macro** Reduce the mismatch between skills supplied and demanded by adapting individual's skills and increase aggregated employability	**Macro** Target social justice objectives from an inter-individual perspective and achieve and social cohesion
	Micro Lead claimants as quick as possible back in the regular labour market as any job is a an upwards transition	**Micro** Contribute to the economic return of participants by improving skills, health and personal development.	**Micro** Improve personal, professional and social integration by favourable transitions accounting for heterogeneity of needs and aspirations. Account for heterogeneity of needs and aspirations. Quality jobs should account for the job satisfaction, avoid adaptive preferences and provide real opportunities
Conception of the welfare subject / Images **"**ALMPs **conceive individuals as …"**	Maximising utility in the short term Considering work as a disutility Likely to be victim of moral hazard Passive recipients	Maximising utility in the longer term from increased skills Valuing education and training in a logic of life-long learning Rational and informed actors Suffering from multiple causes leading to welfare dependence	Aiming at valuable doings and beings with an elaborated conception of the good Capable of practical reasoning/embodied worker Valuing intrinsic and instrumental role of work and of education.

Algorithms - Intervention hypothesis – they are the **link** between the cognitive/normative and the implementation dimension *(théorie de l'action*).



Source: own elaboration from (Becker 2009; Bonvin and Orton 2009; Bruttel and Sol 2006; Crespo and Serrano Pascual 2004; Dif-Pradalier, Rosenstein, and Bonvin 2012; Farvaque and Oliveau 2004; Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2007; Lodemel and Trickey 2000; Peck and Theodore 2000; Pohl and Walther 2007; Schmid 2014; Schmid and Gazier 2002; Sirovátka 2007; Wright 2012).

Cognitive and normative dimensions – Le référentiel

Values

The *référentiel* of the new Welfare State which gained a foothold after the Golden Age of the Welfare State is strictly connected with the trends towards individualisation, which became the pillar of welfare capitalist regimes (Borghi and Berkel 2007a). The value of collective nature of the social property embedded in the construction of welfare is challenged by the surge of an individualisation process that is new because it involves both private and public organisations in the creation of individuals capable of action and guided by internal reasons (Borghi and Berkel 2007a).
The leading values of the Golden Age were mainly "redistribution and protection from risks" while the Active Welfare State has opposed to that the value of "activating individual capacity" in order to achieve "individual autonomy" via labour market participation (Borghi and Berkel 2007a; Busilacchi 2006).

Looking at the literature on activation regimes in the previous section, one could claim that there are normative and cognitive differences in the *référentiel* of activation policies across countries. Values differentiating one regime from another are not clear cut as they often coexist to a different extent. However one could say that, on the one hand, values underpinning liberal activation regimes refer to the "efficiency of welfare system, reducing benefit expenditure, improving individual autonomy while increasing employment" (Wright 2012). On the other hand values underlying the social-democratic regime are "redistribution and social cohesion"; where social cohesion is actually based on an economic understanding of social differences. Social differences are then reduced to technical (lack of specific knowledge) and individual and moral differences (capacity of dealing with changes, internal motivation) (Crespo and Serrano Pascual 2004). Hence, human being are seen as 'productive beings' (Dean, Bonvin, Vielle, and Farvaque 2005).

Further, I argue that the values of an activation regime built on the Capability and the Transitional Labour Markets approaches would be based on "individual agency and wellbeing freedom" and thus on "empowering individuals by providing equality of capability" (Salais 2004a). Furthermore, as stated by Schmid, active labour market policies should free individuals from basic needs ('freeing from want') while ensuring that that individuals enjoy freedom to determine their life (freedom to act)(Schmid 2014). The Transitional Labour Markets also recalls that these values go together with achieving a policy environment which ensures reduced risks over the life-course (Schmid 2011).
Liberal activation regimes translate into Work-First (WF) employability policies, while social-democratic regimes tend to promote Human Capital Development approach (HCD) to employability policies. Activation regimes based on the premises of the Capability and Transitional Labour Markets Approach (CA/TLM) would translate in different employability policies as I shall present in details in the next sections.

Norms

The three ideal models have different rationales supporting their cognitive understanding of the issue at stake and definition of the structure within which actors can operate. This means

that they have different *norms* (what should be attained compared to what is currently present).

Norms refer to the macro-economic and the micro-economic context. The macro-economic dimension of norms of WF policies focuses on aggregate quantitative objectives, namely the reduction of the number of recipients in order to reduce the burden on the welfare expenditure ("the number of unemployed beneficiaries should be reduced"; "the number of young people in social assistance benefits should be reduced"). As it will be explained in the section dealing with algorithms, it is an economic rationale imposed by scarce human and financial resources available to social services and by the search for the most efficient costs/benefits ratio. The norm of WF dealing with the micro-economic dimension is coherent with the macro-economic objective but it relates to claimants' individual objectives, i.e. the prompt return of beneficiaries into the regular labour market, also in spite of the quality (Peck and Theodore 2000).

The Human Capital Development (HCD) approach adopts a macro-oriented norm which translates into the reduction the mismatch between skills supplied and demanded, while ensuring better and long lasting employment opportunities. This represents a step towards a more individualised conception of labour market outcomes because it includes an individual perspective on the economic and physical return of skills reduction by means of training (Becker 2009). At the micro-level, the value underpinning the HCD approach supports individual training achievement towards those skills that are most needed in the labour market. However, the provision of training and the micro-level objective of acquiring skills are not always a synonym of up-skilling. In fact, the skill-mismatch between what it is required in the labour market and what is available in the workforce can be either vertical (i.e. labour force is over(under)skilled) or horizontal (i.e. the type of skills available at the same level of complexity but on a different sector/field). Therefore, the type of training, its quality and its intrinsic value also depend on the (local) skill equilibrium of the labour market.

The macro-dimension of norms of the référentiel of ALMPs informed by the TLM and CA conjugates macro-economic and social justice objectives: "equality of capability" (Sen 1979), inter-individual equality of real opportunities and social cohesion (Farvaque and Oliveau 2004; Schmid 2014). Social justice and social cohesion are achieved also, but not necessarily, through employment participation, and mainly by freeing individuals and making them able to choose and reach what they value. This is only attained if the micro-dimension of norms targets agency and well-being achievements and freedoms while accounting for the heterogeneity of individual needs, risks and lack of conversion factors (Schmid 2011; see Chapter 2 – section on the CA, Schmid 2014). Moreover, the Capability Approach (CA) imposes an intrinsic value to the acquisition of skills which goes beyond the economic return of labour market integration (Robeyns 2006; Saito 2003).

Individualisation and the idea of the welfare subject - image

The third cognitive dimension of the *référentiel* is the conception of the welfare subject, which can be assimilated with what Muller identified as the *images* component of the *référentiel*. The image is put forward in the context of the policy and concentrates in it values, norms and sometimes also hypotheses of intervention linked to that.

If in the past social benefits were granted to an impersonal category of "deviant" people outside the system of production (the unemployed, the disabled, etc.)(Gazier 1999), in the active welfare state interventions bring the individual back at the heart of the social action (Franssen

2003). Although all the three approaches to employability are an answer to the individualisation of welfare policies, they adopt divergent images of the welfare recipient.

Images are strongly associated with the idea defining the target of the policy. As argued by Schneider and Ingram, the way in which the « welfare subject » is defined is of crucial importance in the design and implementation of policies because it has a direct impact on how welfare interventions are designed, what (and who) is seen as a problem, and how these problems should be treated. Furthermore, the construction of the welfare subject underpinning a specific policy has implications for the extent of responsibility that is attributed and demanded from the recipient (Schneider and Ingram 1993).

WF policies assume that individuals maximise their utility as rational thinkers who avoid disutility (i.e. work). Therefore, they are seen as victims of moral hazard as living on (generous) benefits can be economically more convenient than working. Beneficiaries are mainly seen as "recipients" of a policy measure and not really as participants. Moreover, claimants are often pictured as lacking motivation and working ethics and not being able to assimilate and stick to the rules of the labour market. Sharon Wright argues that this is due to the adoption of hypothetical models of individual agency based on the assumed economic rationality of actors that is far from the agency grounded on lived experience (Wright 2012)

In contrast, the HCD approach conceives individuals as interested in maximising their employment opportunities in the long term through sound investments in skills development and training, in spite of the fact that the reward might not come immediately. The economic understanding of education and training is adopted by the welfare subject who is interested in increasing the economic return of the investment in education. A wider perspective on general well-being is necessary as skills development can take place when the general personal situation is positive. Furthermore, the person is seen as an informed actor able to evaluate possible alternatives and think rationally of what skills are needed in the market and which opportunities are more economically rewarding than others.

From a CA/TLM perspective the welfare subject is not seen as unidimensional but rather conceived as a person with "thick needs", where "thick needs" are defined as needs to be satisfied to truly flourish and not only for satisfying basic needs for survival (Dean, Bonvin, Vielle, and Farvaque 2005). Further, welfare claimants are represented as citizens able of practical reasoning and willing to express their conception of the individual and common good (Dean, Bonvin, Vielle, and Farvaque 2005). For instance, the TLM advocates for supporting individual decisions of engaging in 'gainful non-market activities' such as family care or voluntary activities that contribute to social cohesion (Schmid 2002). This is also consistent with the idea of agency freedom developed by the CA (see previous Chapter) where freedom of agency refers to the value we attribute to actions which do not benefit ourselves directly.
Hence, the TLM/CA approach to ALMPs argues that public actions can only genuinely back individual biographies by taking into account empirical individuals (and not hypothetical), with (self)-interpretations, motives, aspirations, but also emotional, practical, and cognitive competences (Ziegler 2011).

Connecting the cognitive dimension with policy implementation – the role of algorithms

Colomb explains that *algorithms* convey a specific perspective over the reality and set the rules for policy development (Colomb 2007).

Algorithms – also defined as intervention hypotheses (Warin 2009) - define what the causal relationships of the issue at stake are and, as a consequence, they define the frontiers within which public action can evolve and suggest the most suitable policy instruments (Muller 2005)[22].
For their capacity of connecting the normative and cognitive underpinnings with the public action, algorithms are used here as linking elements between the cognitive dimensions (values, norms and images) and the implementation dimensions (the continuums) of the analysis. The internal coherence of the idea-type imposes that there is a coherence between, for instance, the WF policies and the right-hand positions in the continuums on the implementation practices. However, the flexibility of the analytical grid will allow to discover whether, in the case study, the implementation practices follow the stated values or not.

Another property of the algorithms is that they identify who the actors involved in the issue are, how they are supposed to act and, as a result, how the responsibility is shared among them. Indeed we would expect that these different approaches to the welfare subject and their related images differently shape the extent to which individuals and public institutions are held responsible.

As presented in first Chapter, the shift of responsibility from a collective body to the single individuals is one of the characteristics of the Active Welfare State. The extent to which this is put into place in the different employability policies establishes the watershed among ideal types.
Clearly defining the (fair) share of responsibility was tackled by several authors mainly questioning the social justice implications of sharing responsibility.

Two contributions help define what types of causal statement are embedded in the different *référentiels* on which the three employability policies are grounded.
Dang and Zajdela try to make the missing link between the transformations of the Welfare State and the debates on sharing responsibility between individual and collective subjects (Dang and Zajdela 2007). In particular, they argue that theories of social justice developed by Rawls and Dworkin can actually help disentangle the inner idea of responsibility around which activation policies are constructed (Dang and Zajdela 2007).

Rawls argues that when designing unemployment insurance system, all individuals should show common sense, self-respect and actively contributing to the common good. These moral qualities will protect them from 'bad luck' in the field of employment, thus unemployment insurance becomes a residual mechanism for accidental and unforeseeable situations.
Rawls suggests that equal access to fundamental resources (primary goods) should be given thus allowing persons to realise acceptable conceptions of a good life. The core idea is that resources and fundamental liberties are to be guaranteed and equally accessible, while individual outcomes should not need to be equalised because they are the results of individual choices and tastes, which might be "cheaper" or more "expensive". Preferences, taste, personal objectives are intrinsically personal and only single individuals can be held responsible for them.

Similarly, Dworkin elaborates on Rawls's approach and add the concept of individual freedom of choice to equal treatment (i.e. providing the same amount of primary resources). According

[22] An example of algorithm is provided by Muller and says "if policy against social exclusion are decentralised to local authorities, them thy will be more effective as they will be better shaped on local needs" (Muller 2013).

to Dworkin this leads to the identification of 'circumstances' and 'ambitions': the first do not depend on individuals because they refer to social and individual resources; while the latter include taste, preferences and ambitions that can be ascribed to individual's choice. Public policies should then be developed in such a way that individuals pays for their (wrong) choices or freely enjoy their (positive) outcomes. Dworkin suggests that a system of insurance should be put into place so that people with excessive life styles or risky behaviours can voluntarily and at their expenses ensure themselves against unsuccessful outcomes. Public authorities should consider ex-post redistribution and progressive taxes in order to buffer inequality among individuals that are linked to their natural endowments. Further, individuals should be able to assess to what extent they need to be covered by insurance because of their lack of internal resources or their behaviours and preferences. That is why Dworkin considers untenable a system of unemployment insure that gives benefits without knowing whether the person is committed in find a job. However, he also claims that employment and jobs should also be valuable and decent otherwise no contract between the State and the individual is possible as individual aspirations and preferences cannot be met.

Both Rwals and Dworkin deem 'self-reliance' to be a crucial moral attribute indispensable as the role of the State cannot be but subsidiary. For instance, a causal statement would be "if the welfare benefits are distributed accounting for expensive tastes, then individuals with expensive tastes will be asked to privately contribute to their insurance against unemployment or social exclusion (for instance by means of accepting any type of jobs). Again, algorithms associated with these theories of justice in a welfare context would be: "if individuals are provided with the right skills to answer to the changing labour market needs, then they will be able to find a job".

Dang and Zadjela argue that these two approaches to social justice have much in common with the mid-nineties the OECD 'Making Work Pay' initiative in 1994 and the European Employment Strategy in 1997. Both pushed forward the idea that a highly generous welfare system that did not allow distinguishing between those who have expensive tastes and decided to leave on (generous) benefits and those who are really victims of unfortunate circumstances. These ideas supported by European and international organisms found fertile soil in the liberal welfare regime in UK where, in the 1997, the Third Way promoted by Blair wanted to conjugate the conservative approach of reducing the welfare generosity, which caused dependency and moral hazard, while guaranteeing support to those showing good will, like in the charity traditional approach.

Further analysis on the role of responsibility is developed by Dean (2006). Presenting the UK active welfare system, he explains that the main idea is no longer the redistribution of resources but the mitigation of risk and the opportunity structure that take them out from exclusion (Dean 2006:5). People are meant to be autonomous, taking care of themselves under all circumstances because opportunities are offered to them. They should show prudentialism, self-responsibility and self-management and civic-responsibility. This means that situations of poverty, welfare dependency, forms of exclusions and precariousness – the

new social risks - are the results of a lack of or failing self-management and individual responsibility.
In different extent, d these redefinitions of responsibility inform WF and HCD approaches to a different extent.

According to WF policies it is individuals who have to cater for their low competiveness caused by their lack of motivation, working ethics and meaningful working experience (Dif-Pradalier, Rosenstein, and Bonvin 2012). Rights to welfare (e.g. minimum income schemes or unemployment benefits) are then coupled with more restrictive duties and conditionality, which claim to make people more responsible for a sound use of limited public resources. However, Crespo and Serrano Pascual argue that supporting the idea that subjects are autonomous while adopting a strong conditionality of benefits actually reveals that there is an implicit distrust in the subjects' motives and autonomy, and the discourses on autonomy become discourses of culpability (Crespo and Serrano Pascual 2004)

Although adopting a wider perspective on possible obstacles to the labour market including family duties and health, the HCD approach also reiterates the responsibility of individuals to improves their skills and address their barriers to work (Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2007).

Going beyond these positions, the CA/TLM stresses the importance to have recipients entitled to formal rights, equipped with enough resources and factors of conversion before considering them accountable for their choices (Salais 2004b). This is achieved when individuals are thought as *embedded* in the economic and social context, where decisions do not stem only from (ir)rational preferences but are instead actively shaped by the opportunity structure (Schmid 2008). This distinguishes HCD and WF from the CA/TLM because the latter does not account individuals responsible for what they cannot control, when they are not empowered. Thus the CA/TLM does not shift a macro-economic problem (e.g. lack of jobs, macro-economic downturn) into an individual problem (Crespo and Serrano Pascual 2004) by putting labour market and welfare institutions at the centre of individual transitions over their life-course.

The implementation – connecting the référentiel with the structure

From a CA perspective, public institutions are meant to increase the space of capabilities and eliminate or, at least, reduce those barriers to the achievements of freedoms (enabling/empowering State) (Farvaque 2002). In the same vein, the TLM prescribes that labour market institutions should be able to reduce and better share ex-ante risks associated with voluntary and involuntary transitions in or outside the labour market (Schmid 2014).

Both goals can been achieved via the creation of "instrumental freedoms" that are freedoms which function as conversion factors of material and immaterial resources (Sen 1999b), such as access to income support, accessible social services, support economic growth which allow the achievement of valuable doings and beings (Farvaque 2010). In a nutshell, it means the creation of an "area of opportunities or 'capacitation' (Salais 2004a) that in the case of employability policies is achieved by the complementarity of labour market and welfare institutions as argued by the TLM. I define this enabling structure as as *passive empowerment*. Defining the boundaries of passive empowerment means accounting for the cognitive dimension of the policy implemented but also for the implementation practices and challenges that stems from new trends in welfare policies (i.e. the adoption of management techniques) and the institutional path dependency (i.e. existing structures and practices).

I argue that the connection between the cognitive and normative dimension has to be concretely translated into organisational, financial, human and juridical forms.
Creating services or providing benefits and resources, which are usually scarce, involve regulations of access requirements and the definition of possible acceptable scenarios.

Further, the definition of what kind of information is asked and used is embedded and shaped by the four dimensions of the référentiel which are supposed to function as a 'territory of the possible' by setting the frontiers within which the public action can take place.
In the case of human service organisations and welfare programmes, this is possible only if these four dimensions can be translated into pieces of information that street-level bureaucrats, and more generally policy implementers can collect and interpret. These pieces of information represent what I presented in the second Chapter – the in*formational basis of judgment in justice* (IBJJ)(Sen 1990).

The role played by the IBJJ is important as it defines the factual territory of justice (Bonvin and Farvaque 2005) and the scope of freedom of choice that is guaranteed to people as well as the way in which implementing actors will use these pieces of information. This means that in the IBJJ of street-level bureaucrats – in this case job-search counsellors –I would expect to find information that fall into the cognitive référentiel of the policies.
Nonetheless, as argued by Muller, the référentiel is not something unique and homogenous; it is rather a heterogeneous element with some predominant features.
In addition, one should argue that other professional référentiel might be clashing with the dominant one at the local level. And this would lead to a nuanced or modified implementation of the cognitive framework prevalent at the sectoral level or even at the global (Lipsky 2010).

In the next section I investigate several aspects of the implementation stemming from the capability and Transitional Labour Markets approach that contribute under different angles to define the type of passive empowerment and highlight how the three ideal models of employability translate their *référentiel* into concrete public actions. The dimensions are the following:

1) the *relationship with individuals.* It stems from the idea that, strengthened by decentralisation, street-level bureaucrats tend to 'play' with the rules by using policy tools according to their (discretionary) power (Lipsky 2010). Indeed, this has an impact on the way the cognitive approach to employability is implemented in practice.
2) *The implementation arrangement*. This dimension wants to account for the organisational rules within which the normative and cognitive underpinnings are translated. This dimension aims at considering the role played by the introduction of new forms of governance (see Chapter 1) within agencies and among several institutions (May and Winter 2009). Moreover, this is relevant from a TLM perspective as it calls for the coordination of different actors and institutions in order to answer to the heterogeneity of individual needs at different life-course risky transitions (Schmid 2008). Therefore, this dimension sheds light on the involvement of other (social) actors and on the opportunity structure created. The opportunity structure from which a beneficiary can benefit does not only lie on individual's ability and resources but also on what the institutional environment is able to offer.
3) *The relationship with demand-side* contributes to understanding to what extent ALMPs practices have an influence on the demand-side and to what extent the motto 'equipping

the labour market for individuals' (Schmid 2008) is adopted or overlooked by ALMPs. Finally,

4) The *time perspective* is considered crucial by the capability and Transitional Labour Markets approach because of two main reasons: individuals might need time to be able to capitalise on their resources and skill and reverse their life and working choices (Anxo and Erhel 2006); the duration of benefits or allowances clearly shape the feasibility of individual's objectives and institutional actions, moreover the sustainability of benefits is crucial for allowing individuals to take risky decisions.

All these dimensions are interconnected and influence each other and, because of their nature, not all cross-continuum combinations can be possible. I would in fact expect that an implementation arrangement that is based on a strong top-down approach with strict and well-defined performance objectives is not compatible with a relationship with individuals that is based on a trust-based and negotiated approach. On the contrary, it might be possible to find practices adopting a time-flexible and reversible action plans within a context of ALMPs strongly focused on training and labour market needs.

This conceptualisation also accounts for two different levels of activation: the activation of individuals via the use, for example of contractualised action plans and compulsory training activities, as well as the activation of street-level bureaucrats. The latter takes place via NPM techniques that link front-line agents' performance with financing and managing issues.

The relationships with individuals

The dimension of the relationship with individuals refers to the strategies for implementation of individualised employability programmes.

Based on the idea that the welfare subject lacks motivation and often does not know work-rules or that she could fall into a dependency trap, Work-First programmes tend to adopt a paternalistic stand (Eichhorst and Konle-Seidl 2008). Front-line workers often confront recipients to the labour market reality and their limits in order to redirect and reorient individual's aspirations and expectations and this is reflected in action plans rather limited in scope and in content as the most important aspect is the availability of the recipient to work.

This is done with the aim of better and more quickly matching between what is expected from the recipient and what the recipient can immediately offer. Lowering the costs for these policies is also sought via a high standardisation of practices and procedures that limit front-line agents' discretionary power, this can be done via performance objectives linked with funding at the institutions or at the individual job-counsellor level. The implementation approach as well as the organisational structure of institutions delivering these services recalls the top-down management approach presented in the first Chapter, where managing is done by setting objectives and incentives in order to steer at distance and making lower level of policy implementers more accountable for their output, although this has been proved to be challenging (Brodkin 2008).

The strong conditionality of benefits in WF activation programmes often translate into tightening work requirements (i.e. a broad definition of 'suitable job'), narrowing exemption criteria, introducing new sanctionable behaviours (Hasenfeld et al 2004). Sanctions are expected to be more often used in WF as means for recalling the important role of responsibility

of individuals towards the institution. This is in line with the idea that there is a high risk of moral hazard and that work becomes a disutility.

Looking for a fair balance between responsibilisation and sanctions, HCD programmes tend to build the relationship between recipients and the institution based on trust (Lindsay et al 2007). The use of ICT is mainly confined to the need of objectively measuring individual's progression towards the labour market rather than sanctioning non-compliance as the ultimate aim is to promote the sustainable integration into the labour market. This is achieved by providing formal entitlements supporting long-term training together with strong individual job-coaching (mainly through job search and personal action plans) in order to repair to (temporary) lack of adequate or poor job-search skills. The distribution of services and resources to welfare claimants is done by the formal assessment of skills and job-search capacity. Pieces of information identifying individual's distance to the labour market in terms of skills or capacity of adaptation are often chosen as factual evidence, including formal qualification received, the type of school, time flexibility and availability to work. If individual preferences and aspirations are included in the assessment, they tend to be overruled by working requirements for maintaining welfare rights. This is also reflected in the definition of 'suitable job' that set the limit of accepting and refusing a job offer: while being quite limited in a first moment (i.e. allowing the job-seeker to refuse a job offer according to longer list of reasons), the criteria for declining a job offer become shorter.
The 'factual' assessment of these pieces of evidence is done by using ICT tools which monitor progress done towards the labour market and give little room for including extra more qualitative information.

The CA/TLM approach includes some of the aspects of the HCD approach while going beyond that by adopting a holistic approach the individual's situation. From a CA perspective the institutional challenge consists of accounting for individual preferences in the implementation of welfare policies without trying to modify or conforming them to the external requirements (Bonvin and Farvaque 2005). This is possible because the Capability Approach puts emphasis on the "capability for voice" (Bonvin and Farvaque 2005; Bonvin and Farvaque 2007a). Speak up one's preferences and make them heard can be expressed, in employability programmes, through the "capability for voice". This is the ability of recipients to express their concerns and make them heard (Bonvin and Farvaque 2007a; Bonvin and Orton 2009). As specified in Bonvin and Orton (2009) the "capability for voice" applies both to local agents and beneficiaries: the first need to have enjoys freedom to better assess the individual situation and provide a tailor-made and holistic approach; the latter need to have formal and concrete entitlements that allows to actively contributing to their re-activation while respecting individual's expectations. Similarly, from a TLM perspective, every individual should be free to choose to withdraw from the labour market, for instance, in order to purse her goals without being penalised (Schmid 2008).
Because of relaxed management procedures and a strong reliance on decentralisation and proximity of services, local agents implementing will enjoy some margin for manoeuvre in order to interpretation and design tailor-made interventions by providing situated judgement accounting for personal, environmental and social circumstances thus deploying innovative and adapted answers (Bonvin and Orton 2009).

Hence, not only will the information gathered to assess recipient's situation be more extensive, but the value attributed to individual preferences will be assessed against the set of functionings that the individual has reasons to value. Further, both the Capability Approach and the Transitional Labour Markets approach promote an "embodied worker" perspective: this means

that the individual (both men and women) is expected to develop strategy to reconcile work and life (Hobson and Fahlén 2009; Schmid 2008). The CA/TLM allows accounting for differences in situated agency in terms of means and resources available to the person (Hobson and Falhén, 2009). This means that it also supports more flexible and adaptable structures accounting for the person's situated needs (Salais 2004b).

The table below shows how the different levels of the dimensions are elaborated (Table 2).

Table 2: Relationship with individuals

Paternalistic
Standardised
Blame-allocating

Trust-related but on mutual obligations
Combination of work and training
Blackmailing

Trust-related and negotiated
Holistic approach
Problem-solved oriented

Sub-dimension	*WF*	*HCD*	*CA/TLM*
Degree of standardisation	Strictly factual information, limited and collected via IT. Profiling based on statistical tools.	Information collected via IT and emphasis on competences and skills	Factual information with qualitative data. IT systems as support but not steering
	Pre-defined categories. Difficult to adapt job counselling rules to individual's needs.	Client-centred approach. Standardised job-counselling rules but adaptable to a certain extent.	Person-based approach, counselling rules adapted to the person's needs. Limited workload
	Sanctions are automatically put into place, very limited scope for tolerance. Few reasons for no-show are accepted.	Sanctions for non-compliance and lack of commitment, but negotiable.	Sanctions rarely used and mostly avoid thanks to communication.
Attitude towards the individual	Standardised paths for young people according to their "at-risk" profile	Stressing activation, good-will and commitment	Young beneficiaries can voice their concerns.
	One-sided commitment from the part of the young person. No exit option.	Mutual obligations. Possible to voice concerns, but no exit option.	Mutual commitment
	Modify unsuitable working ethics and behaviours. Combating moral hazard and poverty trap.	Strong accent on the responsibilisation and showing benefits of the training.	Help the claimant understand how to acquire and use resources and factors of conversion
Focus of the intervention	Make autonomous and encourage adopting collaborative behaviour.	Make individual autonomous but also accompany them in their path to retraining.	Make the person aware of alternative paths and able to choose

Source: own elaboration based on (Anxo and Erhel 2006; Bonvin and Farvaque 2006; Bonvin and Farvaque 2007a; Bruttel and Sol 2006; Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2007; Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2008; McQuaid and Lindsay 2005; Peck and Theodore 2000; Schmid 2008; Schmid and Gazier 2002; Schmid 2006; Sirovátka 2007; Theodore 2001

The implementation arrangement

The relationship with the individual does not develop and take place in a vacuum as it is shaped by the organisational environment.

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, the institutional factors - such performance indicators, resources constraints, huge caseloads, internal organisation and fragmentation but also contradictory legislation - have an impact on the implementation of welfare policy.

The seminal work of Lipsky investigates and systematises the nature and the role of different influences and the dilemmas experienced by street-level bureaucrats (Evans and Harris 2004). According to Lipsky, street-level bureaucrats essentially contribute to the process of co-policy-making because of two characteristics of their work: they enjoy a relative high degree of discretion and they have a relative autonomy from organisational authority (Hupe and Hill 2007). However, their discretion and their autonomy are challenged by the need of public authorities of controlling their behaviour in order to ensure that their daily work complies with the agency's objectives.

This can take place through "accountability", i.e. institutionalised practices of account giving. Traditionally accountability is conceived as a top-down process and as a part of rational decision-making process in which street-level bureaucrats are part (Hupe and Hill 2007). However, accountability should probably be seen in a broader manner, as "public accountability" (Meijer and Bovens 2005) insofar as there are several sets of norms and expectations stemming from the organisational accountability, the professional accountability, the legal, political and administrative accountability (Hupe and Hill 2007). Accountability is than defined in general terms as "a social relationship in which an actor feels an obligation to explain and justify her conduct to some significant other" (Bovens 1998, in Hupe and Hill 2007).

The idea of a "public accountability" matches better with the notion of governance and management because they are "blurrier" compared to the idea of government and administration.
Furthermore, the rise of the New Public Management (NPM) tools (see Chapter 1) and its focus on increased efficiency and efficacy of public agencies called for a stronger accountability of street-level workers. Although aiming at a different type of "account giving", Hupe and Hill suggest that the accountability established by the NMP is similar to the political and legal accountability because of its vertical orientation.

However, securing accountability is, according to Lipsky, virtually impossible because street-level bureaucrats have an important marge for manoeuvre and that qualitative aspects are central to their work (Lipsky 2010). For a bureaucratic accountability policy to work, Lipsky mentions four conditions: there should be a clear idea of what the street-level bureaucrats are supposed to do; there should be ways of measuring workers' performance; comparisons among workers should be feasible and used; and incentives and sanctions should be available for modifying workers' behaviours. Front-line agents in human services are held accountable to their "clients" and to their agency preferences. Depending on the type and the degree of accountability set up, street-level bureaucrats can react differently. Further, it is important to consider that street-level bureaucrats are likely to be the primary source of information for their accountability, as their work with clients takes place at closed doors and under the deontological

rules of their profession. The source and the quality of the information are crucial insofar as the process of account giving is based on that information.
Even though holding front-line agent is highly challenging, and probably not advisable according to Lipsky, accountability policies, namely under the premises of the NPM, exert an influence on street-level bureaucrats by reducing (enlarging) their discretionary power or/and modifying their coping behaviours with (coherent) contradictory objectives.

WF, HCD and CA/TLM employability policies have different implementation arrangements organising the delivery of services.
WF mostly rely on performance objectives linked with funding at the institutions or at the individual job-counsellor level in order to steer street-level bureaucrats and ensure their accountability. The implementation approach as well as the organisational structure of institutions delivering these services recalls the top-down management approach presented in the first Chapter, where managing is done by setting objectives and incentives in order to steer at distance and making lower level of policy implementers more accountable for their output, although this has been proved to be challenging (Brodkin 2008).

HCD approach to employability policies is likely to adopt decentralised agencies but centralised steering so as to keep a relatively strict control on implementation at the lowest level. This is also achieved by performance objectives, which are not be set at level of each individual job-search counsellor, but at the organisation level so as not to shift the accountability for performance to single individual, but rather to contextualised it within the local organisation. This reduces the pressure on single street-level bureaucrats but keeping a central control over resources and implementation practices via indirect control.
The need of collecting more qualitative and holistic information on (young) beneficiaries calls for a wider cooperation among institutions dealing with different aspects hindering labour market participation. Agencies establish partnerships and create networks in order to provide a wider range of labour market-related services.

CA/TLM approach goes even further in the decentralisation of welfare agencies. The primary aim is to ensure that local agencies are able to deliver contextualised and adapted help to recipients. This implies granting autonomy in the way agencies are organised and the tools and services they deliver. Central steering is only imposed on basic provisions in order to guarantee a common approach across the country. Moreover, NPM features are not used in a punitive way, nor for agencies or individual workers, but rather to monitor the system needs.
Finally, creation of networks is flexible and managed by the single local agencies which need to establish new additional services ranging from labour market to social and health issues.

Table 3: Implementation arrangement

Top-down approach and performance-oriented management

Autonomous and performance-oriented decentralised agencies

Decentralised, networked and autonomous agencies enacting situated judgements

Sub-dimension	*WF*	*HCD*	*CA/TLM*
Type of management	There is a highly centralised structured which imposes objectives, performance and manage funding	Decentralised agencies but centrally regulated by standard procedure.	Decentralised and largely autonomous actors.
	The achievement of performance objective (reducing the number of beneficiaries) is linked with the financing of the structure, rewards and incentives try to boost the system and individual job-counsellor's performance	Aggregated performance objectives are set at the agency level.	Performance objectives are used to monitor the system needs. No individual performance objectives, if existing not used punitively.
Type of organisation	Isolated agencies or little cooperation – highly hierarchized	Network cooperation with actors largely pre-determined at the central level	Flexible networks which can be modified and set up according to in-context assessments – complementary features.

Source: own elaboration based on (Anxo and Erhel 2006; Bonvin and Farvaque 2006; Bonvin and Farvaque 2007a; Bruttel and Sol 2006; Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2007; Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2008; McQuaid and Lindsay 2005; Peck and Theodore 2000; Schmid 2008; Schmid and Gazier 2002; Schmid 2006; Sirovátka 2007; Theodore 2001

The relationship with the demand side

These three different approaches also establish different relationships with the demand side. In research dealing with active labour market policies, this dimension is often overlooked or dealt rather from a macro labour market analysis. However, when introducing an ideal-type of active labour market policies informed by the CA and TLM, the relationship with the demand side and other institutions becomes crucial for two reasons.

Firstly, the TLM adopts the motto 'equip people for the labour market' – meaning that providing individuals with assets is not enough – but there is a need for collective regulations and local institutional arrangements in order to activate these assets (Gautié 2005). This means that the relationship between the demand and the supply side is no longer considered as one-directional, going from demand imposing changing the workforce, but rather bi-directional, thus promoting the adaptation of the labour market in order to increase individuals' potential. Secondly, the CA advocates for a holistic approach accounting for individual aspects that might not be directly linked to labour market participation, but that tap into the multidimensional idea of capability deprivation. Similarly, the TLM calls for the better coordination of labour market institutions aiming at reducing risk and ensuring that individuals make their (risky) choices in a stable environment (Schmid 2008). Hence, both approaches suggest gearing the analysis and the assessment also towards to the institutions and the role of the demand side.

HCD and CA/TLM approaches to employability programmes tend to build partnerships with other welfare or civil society actors that can help recipients tackle peculiar aspects (health, psychological) that reduce individual well-being and agency freedom.

Interagency cooperation based on trust and common objectives is then put into place (Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2007; Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2008). Partnerships with more socially-oriented third parties are limited in the work-first approach as complementary information on beneficiaries' life might be overlooked.

The WF tends, in fact, to promote a complete adaptation of the workforce to labour demand requirements. This means that measures targets the supply side rather than modifying labour market institutions. Moreover it aims at making transitions into work more attractive than staying on benefit mainly adopting an economic perspective (as individuals are considered to seek for maximising their gains): financial top-ups are used to make even low salaries in the regular market more attractive for welfare beneficiaries. Short-term and ready applicable skills are targeted and shaped according to the short-term market needs particularly in shortage occupations. Integrated welfare policies and exemptions from being available to work are rarely granted. Further, WF policies tend to focus on short-training and intense job-search because of the lower unit cost of these interventions compared to long-term qualifying training and because the main focus is the rapid integration of claimants in the labour market (Peck and Theodore 2000).

The HCD approach privileges the focus on training even if the kind of training that is suggested is shaped on market's needs rather than on recipients' competences and aspirations. Integration in the primary labour market is preferred to sheltered and protected employment schemes. Again, the demand side is given for unchangeable; for instance training course are not thought considering the needs and the aspirations of the workforce but rather organised around the short-term economic perspective of companies.

For both the WF and the HCD, direct job creation is not considered as a viable alternative, particularly in the long run. To this regards, Bonoli reports that the share of GDP spent on job creation has been declining in the last 30 years since active labour market policies have institutionalised in Western European countries (Bonoli 2012).

From a CA/TLM perspective, the public action and public institutions should not only act on the supply side but also on the demand side, for example mediating with employers (formally or informally) whose requirements are inappropriate and contribute to negative hiring practices (tendency to ask for overqualified young people so as to avoid people from migrant background) or by also involving employers' and employees' associations as well as the recipients themselves in the design and delivery of training since it is a shared social commitment that should be built. Again, by stimulating job-creation and by setting public employment schemes if needed. In CA/TLM based employability programme, the wider or narrower informational basis of what recipients need and the rationale of the programme contribute to the definition of partnerships welfare institutions decide to build. The relationship with external institutions would be based on the common objective of pursuing individuals' well-being and agency functionings. The enlarged and varied network cooperation answers to the imperative of facing the multidimensionality of causes leading to individuals to welfare programme by building an opportunity structure for people to overcome these difficulties (see network cooperation in Chapter 2, (Schmid and Gazier 2002). Being not the only main objective, integration in the labour market can be replaced by kind of 'social activation' schemes that activate while accounting for individuals' difficulties in integrating the labour market (Van Oorschot 2002).

Table 4:Relationship with the demand-side

Financial top-up and in-work credit Regular labour market – job-search No negotiation with labour market actors	On-the-job training based on labour market needs Preference for regular labour market Limited negotiation with labour market actors	Creating and/or promoting sheltered employment opportunities if needed Full-negotiation with labour market actors

Sub-dimension	*WF*	*HCD*	*CA/TLM*
Type and hierarchy of programmes promoted	Independent job-search prevails Any type of job takes is preferred to training Broad definition of 'suitable job'. Regular market contracts strongly encouraged, also via financial top-up and in-work credit. Training is only for specific target group unable to make the transition	Job-search is promoted together or after training. Qualifying training takes precedence over short-term jobs. But any working experience is valued. Regular market contracts, especially with a training component are preferred. Training is based on labour market needs Financial incentives for on-the-job training	Job-search, training and holistic approach. Priorities based on individual situated needs. Definition of suitable jobs accounts for work and life balance. Creating and/or promoting subsidised or sheltered employment opportunities if necessary Training answers to individual's needs and aspirations. Negotiations with employers
Type of (labour market and welfare) institutions	Lack of institutional structure accounting for transition from school to work/first transitions.	Institutional provisions exist but not necessarily account for the young person's situation. Mostly conditional on participation in ALMPs, ad hoc and not complementary with other institutions.	Complementary risk-reducing institutions accounting for young people's transitional situation.

Source: own elaboration based on (Anxo and Erhel 2006; Bonvin and Farvaque 2006; Bonvin and Farvaque 2007a; Bruttel and Sol 2006; Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2007; Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2008; McQuaid and Lindsay 2005; Peck and Theodore 2000; Schmid 2008; Schmid and Gazier 2002; Schmid 2006; Sirovátka 2007; Theodore 2001

The time perspective

Activation policies based on economic rationales of risk-management are based on a traditional idea of life-cycle approach. This approach extends overtime the standard conception of the rational choice actor who aims at maximising profit. This is in contrast with the idea of "life-course" promoted in the TLM and CA, where individuals are socially situated and bounded, and where their decisions are not taken for optimising present choice but might be projected in the future while being bound in past and current positions (Gazier and Gautié 2009).

This implies that time becomes important for making choices. Although being closely related to the "relationship with individual" dimension, the time perspective was tackled separately because it specifically assesses the prospective dimension of policies. While the relationship with individual is mostly limited to current interactions, the time dimension looks at the time horizon of the action in order to spot its short-sight or forward-looking approach not only in terms of expected outcomes but also targeted values.
Two *dimensions of time* are relevant when analysing employability programmes: a first one deals with the reversibility of the actions taken, the second one refers to the time-frame within the action plan and its measures are scheduled. WF approach privileges a prompt integration in the labour market, this means that the time perspective adopted is necessarily short and limited and there is no time enough for revising medium/long term action plans. This is also imposed by granting short-time and strongly decreasing unemployment or social assistance benefits based on the idea that this increase job take-up and exits from welfare (Røed and Zhang 2003). The HCD embraces a medium to long time perspective mainly in line with the time-frame needed for acquiring new skills and competences. The same goes for benefits duration which is decreasing but a slower pace than in WF policies. The forward-looking time dimension in HDC can however be shortened or very limited if the acquisition of skills required in the labour market actually does not require important investments. This might be the case of low-skill equilibrium labour markets that affects those unemployed who have higher skills compared to those asked in the labour market. Depending on the demand side and how it is considered as modifiable (see previous section), the HCD approach can be narrowed down to a WF approach, where, because of a lack of suitable jobs, medium to highly skilled unemployed do not improve their skills and capacity, but rather have to limit themselves to answer to labour market needs. This implies that individual action plans are also reversible, that objectives and forms of intervention can be modified according to situated judgements.

The CA promotes broader projects that might touch upon other aspects (health, education, socialization) that need different time horizons as well as the possibility of reversing the order of steps of the activation programmes. The reversibility of life and professional plans is particularly relevant when the social situation is instable, and, from a Transitional Labour Markets perspective, can also favour a better matching and higher returns in terms of productivity (Anxo and Erhel 2006). Similarly, rights to benefits cannot be lost easily and alternative safety nets exit to avoid entering the vicious cycle of economic and social exclusion. This time dimension of welfare benefits is also relevant from a TLM perspective as it ensures that individuals are supported with adequate income during their transitions in order to be able to make upward transitions (Schmid 1998). Coherently, sanctions rarely apply since the very first moment to the entire amount of benefits but they are gradually implemented, particularly in safety net arrangements.

Table 5: Time dimension

Short-time perspective on actions and benefit duration → Contextualised medium to long-time perspective on actions and benefit-duration → Adapted time perspective Reversible action Forward-looking

Sub-dimension	*WF*	*HCD*	*CA/TLM*
Reversibility of the action plan	No possible revision of the action plan established at the beginning even in light of changed life-course	Action plan can be changed, but respecting some conditions.	Possible revision of the action plan and ensure capability for voice
Time horizon of the action plan	Short-term perspective on individual's objectives. No long-term project but building on existing – even limited - skills	Medium to long time perspective linked to the training objectives set.	Forward-looking – the action plan is intended to develop further the opportunity structure and expand capabilities
Time horizon of benefits	Short duration and low replacement rate – strict eligibility criteria	Medium duration but adaptable when admitted training is concerned.	Long-duration and sustainable replacement rate allowing a decent living and choices.

Source: own elaboration based on (Anxo and Erhel 2006; Bonvin and Farvaque 2006; Bonvin and Farvaque 2007a; Bruttel and Sol 2006; Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2007; Lindsay, McQuaid, and Dutton 2008; McQuaid and Lindsay 2005; Peck and Theodore 2000; Schmid 2008; Schmid and Gazier 2002; Schmid 2006; Sirovátka 2007; Theodore 2001

Conclusions - What employability?

It can be said that the WF approach aims at reaching "*functional employability*": meaning an employability that is meant to ensure a return to the labour market – put it a bit bluntly - no matter in what way. Individual employability is thus functional either to respond to market needs either to help public organisations to comply with their performance objectives. The HCD approach would instead promote a "*fostering employability*" meaning that it aims at providing people with basic resources (training, skills) that are meant to increase people chances to improve their job and employment positions. The CA is targeting an "*enabling employability*", this means that the public institutions involved in the delivery of employability policies will provide both resources and factors of conversion (thus create the social, and environmental arrangements) that make the set of opportunities available to individuals valuable and possible. Individuals would then be able to make the choices they value and see their risk of transitions reduced within an enabling passive empowerment context.
To conclude, the added value of this three-step analysis and the inclusion of the TLM and the CA is three-fold: 1. Providing an evaluative instrument that ultimately assesses whether employability policies are able to create an opportunity structure (e.g. providing passive empowerment) and of what type. 2. Providing a complete analytical tool that not only goes into depth to unveil the underlying normative aspects of employability (Borghi and Berkel 2007a), but it also accounts for the complexity of the implementation process, the need to better introduce the idea of discretion and the need to look at local level and the role of decentralisation. 3. These two first advantages contribute to a third positive aspect: this analytical approach does not overlook the policy trends (e.g. individualisation; decentralisation; responsibilisation) which have shape ALMPs policies in the last 20 years, but it fully includes them in the analysis.

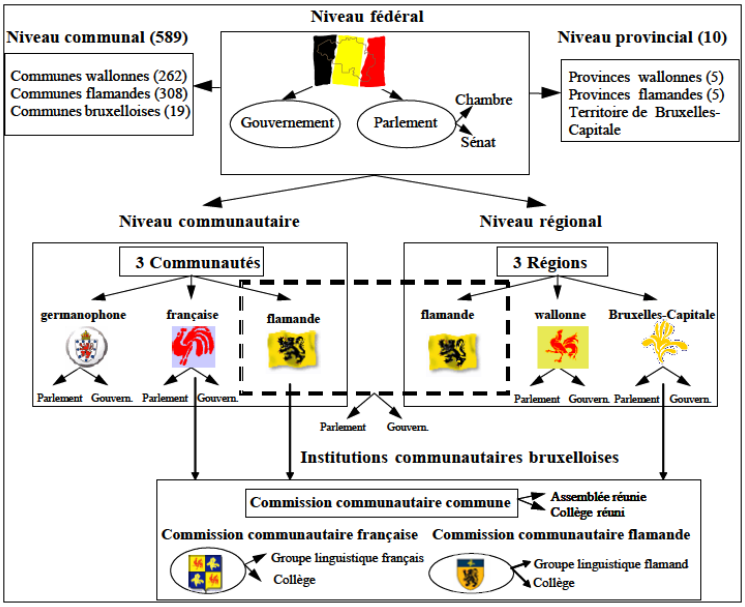
Chapter 4 - Refocusing and reorganising the institutional answer in Belgium and in the Brussels Capital Region

This Chapter provides a description of the institutional and the historical framework of the case study – the Brussels Capital Region – and its national context. The aim is to set the institutional context in light of the dynamics of refocusing and reorganisation of the institutional answer, presented in the first Chapter. Data on young people in social insurance, social assistance and in the labour market in the urban area of the Capital Region confirm the interest of focusing in the youth population This Chapter is functional to the empirical analysis which will focus on the institutions described in this section and will build on the context of the case study for formulating the hypotheses. For this reason it is presented before the Chapter dealing with the research design – Chapter 5 – where the choice of the case study will be both justified and elaborated further.

The Brussels Capital Region: a challenging socio-economic and institutional context

The Brussels Capital Region (RBC) is, together with the Flemish and the Walloon regions, one of the three regions of the Belgian federal state. In addition to the regional institutions, two communities - the French-speaking and the Dutch-speaking community - operate in the RBC and are responsible for person-related competences (e.g. family allowances, education, training, etc.…). Furthermore, the RBC is composed of 19 municipalities. The Brussels region has around 1 million inhabitants in an area of 163 km^2 (Dujardin, Selod, and Thomas 2008). French and Dutch are the official languages and Brussels is a bilingual area. The following sections briefly present the socio-economic context of the RBC, focusing on the youth population.

Figure 2: Belgian Federal State and its entities

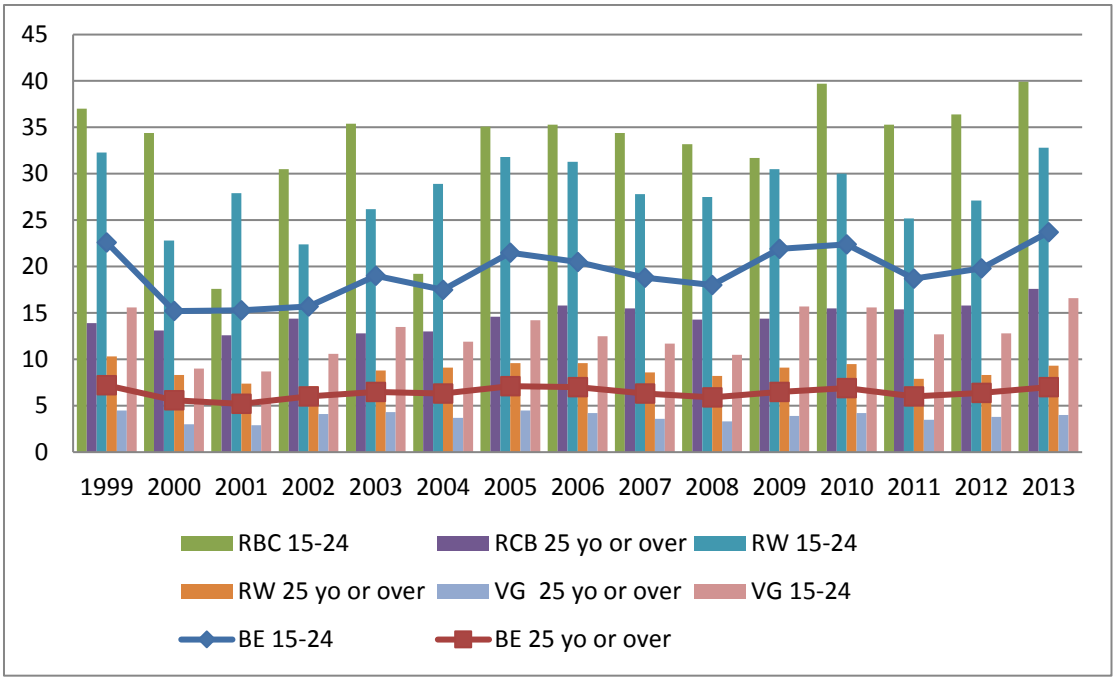


Source:http://www.centre-craig.org/medias/pdf-benoit/Note-politique---Accords-institutionnelles-6eme-reforme-%282%29.pdf, last accessed on 21st October 2013

Socio-economic tensions

Figure 3 shows that since 1999, in Belgium, the evolution of youth unemployment[23] compared to the unemployment rates of the adults and it confirms that rates for young people are more volatile and highly influenced by the business cycle.

Figure 3: Rate of unemployment among young people (15-24) and adults (25 or over) in Belgium, by region (1999-2013) yearly data



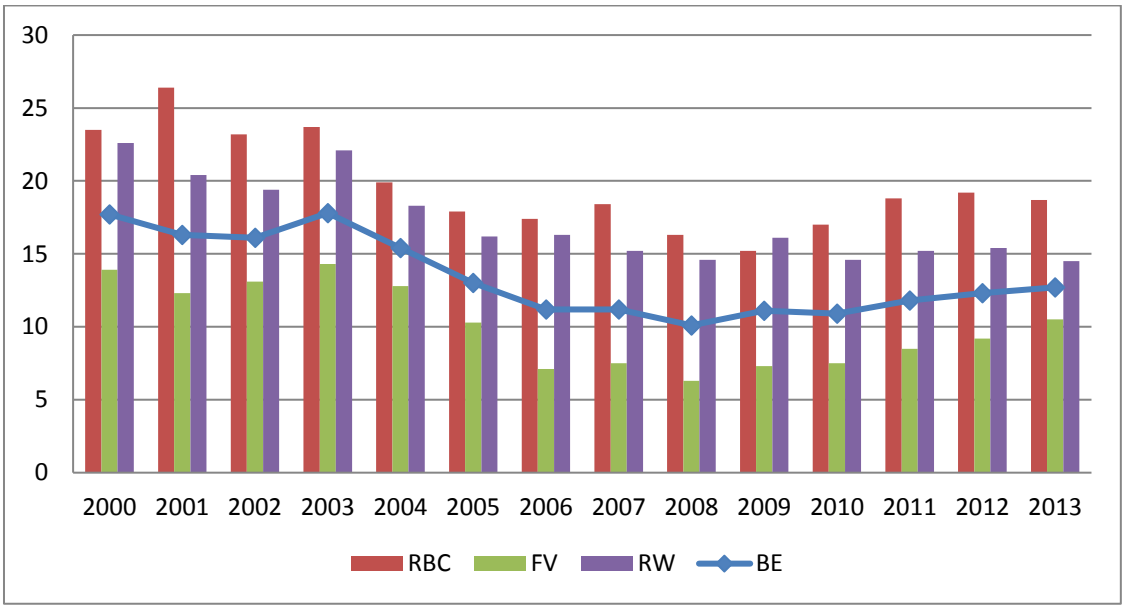
Source: Eurostat – Labour Force Survey

At the federal level, in contrast to pretty stable adult rates, the rates for the younger generation show a general upward trend during the last 12 years with some peaks in 2005 and 2009/2010 as a reaction to economic downturns. At the regional level, the RBC has the highest and the most fluctuating rate of youth unemployment. In RBC, youth unemployment rarely went below 20% and has stayed, for the last 14 years, over 30%, with skyrocketing figures almost reaching 40% in 2010 and 2013. The second highest rates are found in the Wallonia Region, where young people's unemployment has fluctuated between 25 and 30% since 1999, with some higher rates in 2005 and at the onset of the current crisis (2009).
Although following a similar pattern, the Flemish Region has very lower youth unemployment rates compared to the rest of the country.
Being the smallest administrative entity of the country, the RBC has lower absolute numbers unemployed compared to the other two Regions; however, for both young people and adults, unemployment has been higher in this Region at almost any moment in time.

Figure 4 shows the NEETs indicator. It represents all young people who are Not in Education, Employment or Training (NEETs) and thus more at risk of being unemployed or remaining inactive in the future.

[23] Young people are considered as aged between 15 and 24 years old.

Figure 4: Rate of NEETs in Belgium, by region – yearly data

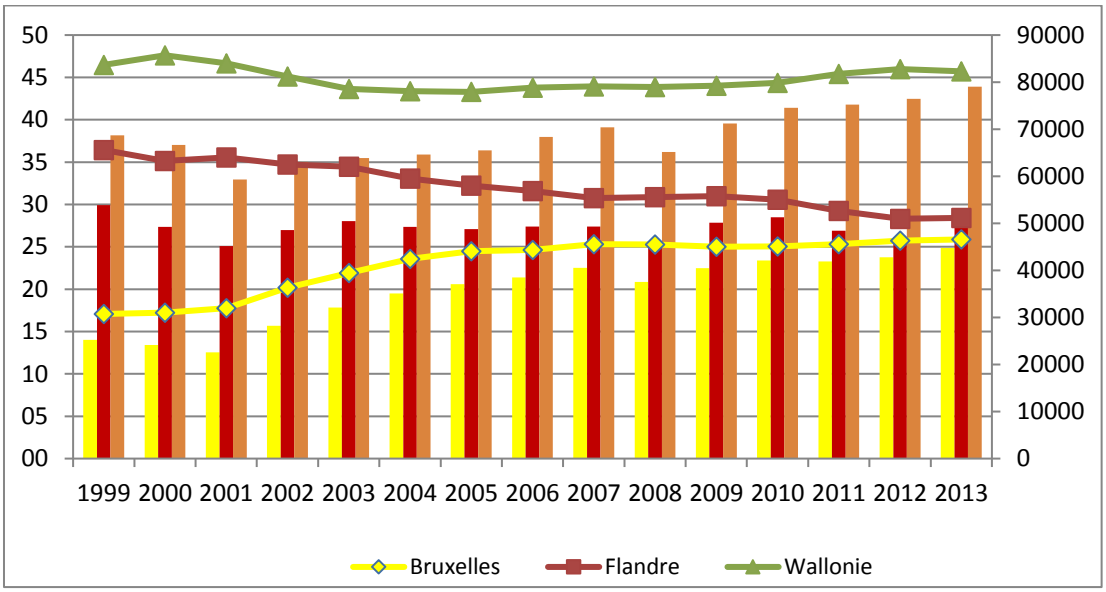


Source: Eurostat (2014) – Education and Training

The term 'NEET' appeared in the 1980s in the Anglo-Saxon context. Young NEETs are more likely to face difficulties finding work or may drop out of the labour force altogether due to discouragement or other unspecified reasons. The NEET rates in the Belgian regions reflect the regional unemployment trends. In spite of important reductions, the share of NEETs in the RBC has remained the highest since the year 2000, while the Flemish Region still presented the lowest rates.

Figure 8 shows data from the Ministry of Social Inclusion about the population receiving any kind of financial help or labour market measure delivered by the CPAS (DIS – "droit à l'intégration sociale" - right to social inclusion). The Wallonia Region counts for around 45% of the all DIS recipients. The share of the Flemish region went down from more than 35% to less than 30% between 1999 and 2013. In a reverse trend, the share of social assistance claimants in RBC grew constantly in the last 14 years and caught up – in absolute numbers - with the Flemish Region even though the RBC is significantly less populated. This means that there has been a significant increase in the number of people eligible for the last safety net of the social security.
In figure 8, the share of DIS in RBC increased steeply in 2002, when the law was modified and legally opened the access to the social assistance support for young people aged between 18 and 24.

Figure 5: Rate of social assistance (DIS) recipients in Belgium, by region - 1999-2013



Source: SPF – MI-IS
Note: the right axis refers to lines (percentages). The left axis shows thousands and refers to bars (absolute numbers).

Brussels and its socio-economic background

Since 1990 the Brussels metropolitan area has experienced an economic revival: the employment and the added value production have grown faster than the national mean, although more in the outskirts of the Capital than in the Brussels region as such (Hamme, Wertz, and Biot 2011). However, this economic revival has not led to an improvement of the social situation. On the contrary, Brussels has the highest inequality of all metropolitan areas, with a Gini coefficient of 0.47 in 2006 (Hamme, Wertz, and Biot 2011). Moreover, it had the biggest increase of the Gini coefficient over the period 1985-2006 suggesting processes of social polarisation.
The Brussels region has also the highest relative poverty rate of the three regions. In 2008, the share of the population at risk of poverty was 27.8% compared to 10.1% in the Flemish region and 18.4% in the Walloon region. In the same year, 32.89% of young people under 18 years old were living in a jobless household.[24]

[24] Data reported in the text mainly refer to the period 2006-2010 because this is the timespan covered by the quantitative part. Graphs also span over most recent years in order to provide a more complete picture.

Figure 6: Share of the population at risk of poverty by region

Taux de risque de pauvreté (et intervalles de confiance à 95%) par région et en Belgique, revenus 2004-2011, %

	2004	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**
Seuil de risque de pauvreté pour un isolé	**€ 822**	**€ 860**	**€ 878**	**€ 899**	**€ 966**	**€ 973**	**€ 1,000**	**€ 1,014**
Région bruxelloise	29,6 (22,5-36,7)	25,9 (15,0-36,8)	28,2 (16,3-40,1)	26,3 (12,6-40,0)	27,8 (22,6-33,0)	28,3 (21,3-35,3)	33,7 (27,2-40,2)	32,7 (26,4-39,0)
Flandres	10,7 (9,0-12,4)	11,4 (9,5-13,3)	10,9 (9,1-12,7)	10,1 (8,3-11,9)	10,1 (8,00-12,2)	10,4 (8,4-12,4)	9,8 (7,4-12,2)	11,0 (9,7-12,3)
Wallonie	17,5 (15,0-20,0)	17,0 (14,3-19,7)	18,8 (16,1-21,5)	19,5 (15,7-23,3)	18,4 (15,6-21,2)	17,7 (15,0-20,4)	19,2 (13,4-25,1)	17,4 (14,5-20,3)
Belgique	*14,7 (13,2-16,2)*	*14,7 (12,9-16,5)*	*15,2 (13,5-16,9)*	*14,7 (13,3-16,1)*	*14,6 (13,2-16,0)*	*14,6 (13,3-15,9)*	*15,3 (12,1-18,5)*	*15,3 (14,1-16,5)*

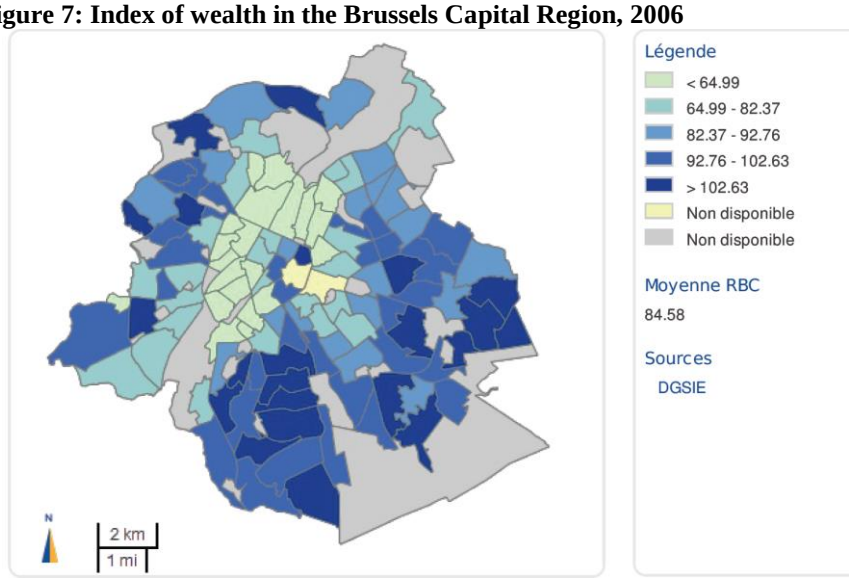
Source: Direction générale Statistique - Statistics Belgium, EU-SILC 2005-2012

Source: Observatoire de la Santé et du Social de Bruxelles-Capitale

The Brussels region also suffers from huge disparities at the neighbourhood level. The main deprived area of Brussels is its heart: Deboosere and Willaerts identified a group of neighbourhoods as the '*croissant pauvre'* (2005). It can be easily recognised on the map below, with shows the area of Brussels with different nuances according to the index of wealth[25] in RBC. The heart of Brussels is dramatically poor compared to its southern and eastern areas, where the index is higher or equal to the country median income (dark areas). In the city centre, the "croissant"-shaped area has a median income 18 to 25 percentage points lower than the country mean income. The income distribution is connected with the population density and composition, namely in terms of age, labour market status and nationality.

[25] The index of wealth shown is the one used in the empirical analysis in Chapter 6. It is calculated by the Treasury and it compares the median income per capita across Belgium. The median income for Belgium is set at 100. In 2006, the median income in the Brussels region was 85.58 meaning that the median income per capita in the capital region was 16.5% lower than the national median income (106 for Flanders and 94 for the Wallonia region). Data does not include low income and EU civil servants as they are both not taxable. http://www.monitoringdesquartiers.irisnet.be/maps/revenus/revenus-fiscaux/indice-de-richesse/1/2006/#

Figure 7: Index of wealth in the Brussels Capital Region, 2006



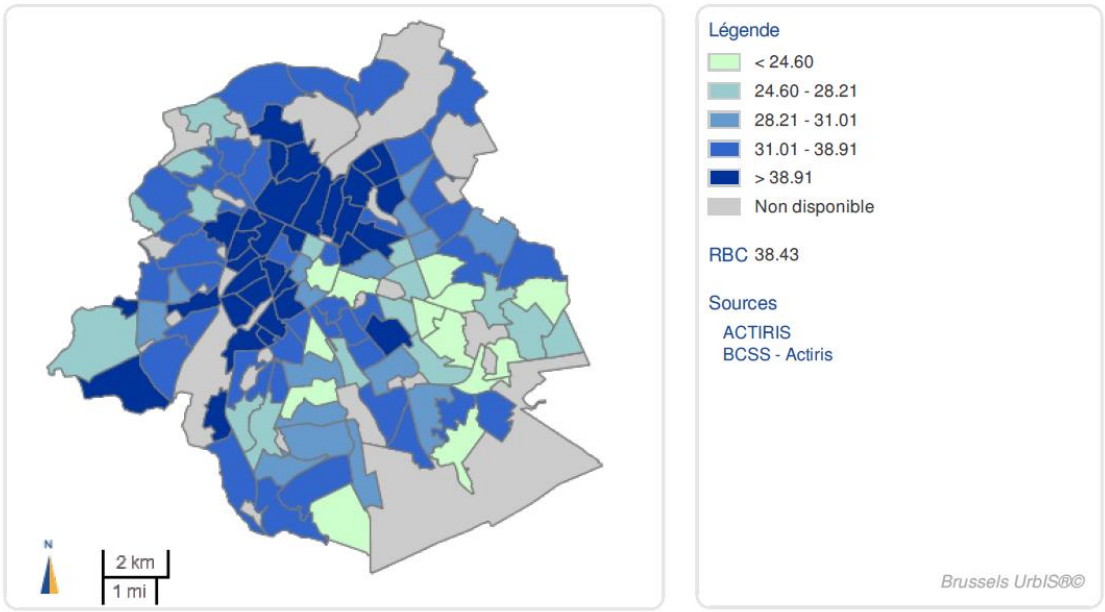
Source: IBSA

A strong presence of 'at-risk' groups

Furthermore, the RBC is characterised by a young population structure. The whole population under 25 represents 30% of the total Brussels population (Devleeshouwer and Rea 2009). In 2010 young people between 18 and 29 years represent 17.7% of the population, higher than the national average (15%). Their socio-economic position is precarious insofar as 7.4% of those aged 18 to 25 were receiving social assistance in January 2007, while 10.0% were receiving unemployment benefits (Observatoire de la Santé et du Social Bruxelles 2008).

The maps below show the unemployment rate among young people aged 18-24 at the neighbourhood level and the share of recipients aged 18-64 receiving the social assistance allowance at the borough level (i.e. commune - higher administrative capacity).

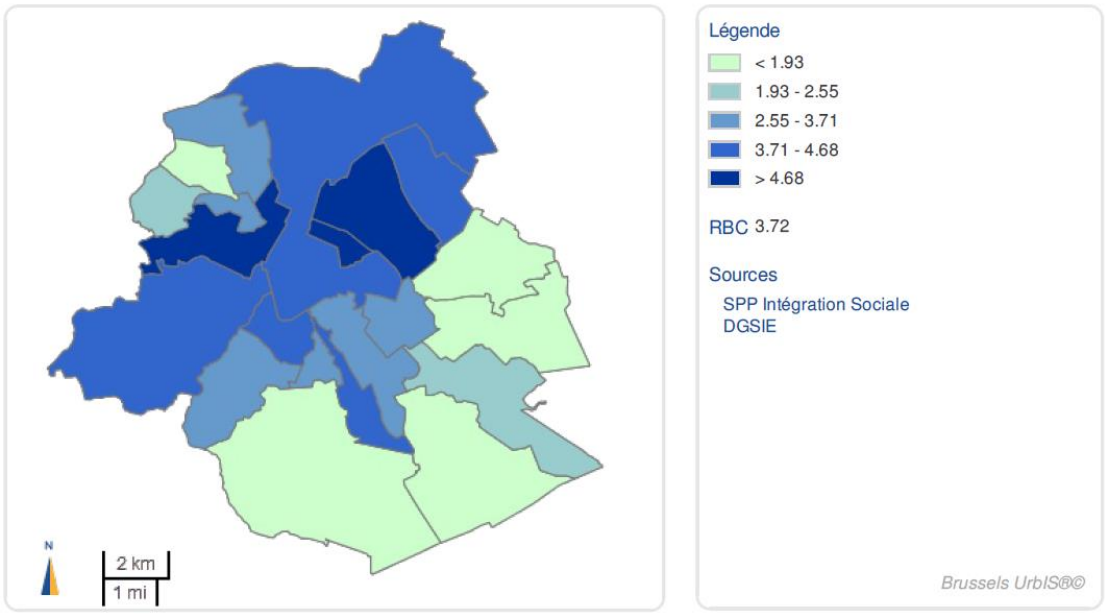
Figure 8 : Unemployment rate of young people (18-24) in the Brussels Capital Region by neighbourhood - 2009



Source: monitoring des quartiers https://monitoringdesquartiers.irisnet.be/

Figure 8 reflects Figure 7 because the level of the neighbourhood wealth is inversely correlated with the level of unemployment. The inner part of Brussels is affected by high unemployment rate among young people, which reached more than 39% in 2009. **Error! Not a valid bookmark self-reference.** shows very similar trends for the share of social assistance recipients, but at a higher geographical level.

Figure 9: Share of social assistance allowance recipients (18-64) in the Brussels - Capital Region by borough - 2009



Source: monitoring des quartiers https://monitoringdesquartiers.irisnet.be/

The role of migration in contributing to the emergence of new groups at risk of social exclusion is particularly clear in the RBC. The region is characterised by a great ethnic diversity and, in 2007, 27.5% did not have the Belgian nationality (Observatoire de la santé et du social Bruxelles 2008) and this percentage is very high compared to the 8.5% at the national level. In addition, the diversity is reflected in spatial segregation patterns. Although no good comparable data exist on the degree of segregation between various European metropolises, the segregation index calculated by Muster indicates that the segregation in Brussels is high in comparison to other European cities (Musterd 2005). A high concentration of young people with a migrant background (i.e. naturalised) or with a non-European nationality in poor neighbourhood is also found in our data (see Methodological Annex).

The country of origin is an important predictor for the labour market position. High unemployment and social benefits rates and the segregation in low-paid jobs for non-nationals confirm the *ethnostratification* of the Brussels labour market (Martens, Ouali, Vertommen, Van de maele, Dryon, and Verhoeven 2005; Observatoire bruxellois de la santé et du social 2012).

In addition, educational outcomes in the Brussels region are poorer than in the rest of the country. The Eurostat indicator for early leavers from school and training confirms that in 2006 19.8% of young people aged between 18 and 24 left school with at most lower secondary education. This rate is significantly higher compared to Flanders (10%) and Wallonia (14.8%). The education system characterised by high competition and strong selection mechanisms has produced disparities in educational attainments and has fuelled forms of social inequality (Jacobs, Rea, Teney, Callier, and Lothaire 2009). For instance, children living in households

with a weak socio-economic background have worse outcomes on their reading and math scores according to the PISA-tests in the schools of both communities (Jacobs and Rea 2011).

The high rates of youth unemployment, particularly in certain neighbourhoods, a strong presence of migrant population as well as a relative high share of household with weak socio-economic background give unemployment and social assistance systems a central role in policies tackling poverty, labour market and social exclusion.

The following sections shortly retrace the evolution of unemployment and social assistance and present how they are organised at the national level and how the cooperation of federal entities is shaped around these issues.
The aim is two-fold: firstly, setting the institutional landscape in order to understand and better interpret quantitative analysis; secondly, identify the relevant institutional and organisational dimensions that allow me to investigate the hypotheses concerning the idea of employability and its implementation at the lower level.

The evolution of the Belgian welfare system and its answer to the emergence of new social risks

The Belgian welfare system belongs to the continental type (Bonoli 2007), also defined as Bismarkian (Eichhorst and Marx 2010; Reman and Pochet 2005) or corporatist (Esping-Andersen 1990). Historically, this implied that the role of the market and the idea of efficiency were reduced to a very marginal role in the provision of welfare services, but also that some groups of the population were completely excluded from the welfare protection because family was primarily seen as the best carer (Bonoli 2007; Esping-Andersen 1990).
However, Reman and Pochet argue that the corporatist and conservative definition are not fully appropriate for Belgium. The Belgian model is not entirely corporatist because it is rather shaped according to an 'inter-professional' criterion and not on a corporatist approach, meaning that the social security is designed following economic sectors rather than corporations. Moreover, the Belgian system includes also some elements of social democracy. In particular, there is a main overall objective of ensuring workers' income via both a horizontal and vertical redistribution. The horizontal redistribution of income accounts for individual risks (i.e. looking at transversal groups in the society); while the vertical redistribution consists of redistributive rules based on previous income. Furthermore, the mix of Bismarkian and social-democratic features of the system are to be attributed to the co-existence of the 'contributive' and solidarity principles underpinning rights to welfare protection (Reman and Pochet 2005). This is particularly clear for young people that, in spite not having a work history, are entitled to unemployment benefits and are eligible for basic income as soon as they come of age.
Between 1960 and 1975, the Belgian welfare state experienced an important expanding period during which the Bismarkian and social-democratic features of the system were developed.

The 1970s economic crisis and new targeting – refocusing the institutional answer

The economic crisis of the second half of the 1970s led to an increasing reliance on the insurance aspect of the welfare system. In fact, even though a basic income scheme was established in 1974, several reforms reshaped and reinforced the individual contribution. For instance, in the health sector individuals were asked to contribute for services which were previously entirely paid by the health insurance. Moreover, the huge inflow of unemployed triggered harsher controls. However, the high discretion of the regional offices of the ONEm

(Organisme National pour l'Emploi - the federal agency in charge of the implementing the labour and unemployment policies) resulted in important asymmetries in the implementation of sanctions across the country and showed to what extent the complex plethora of sanctioning instruments could be differently applied without taking into account the local labour market (Dumont 2010)
The universal coverage of the unemployed benefits was also modified and the categories eligible for unemployment benefits were redefined so as to point out different degrees of "risk" and adapt the intervention of the State (Reman and Pochet 2005). These broad categories, currently in place, are based on the household position of the unemployment claimant and the household composition.
Following these first changes, Reman and Pochet described the first years of 1980s as a pivotal period for the Belgian welfare state. According to the authors, there was a clear willingness of strengthening the selectivity as well as performance objectives of the welfare system (Reman and Pochet 2005).

The reorganisation of the institution answer: decentralising competences

In the year 1980, a new law on the competences of Regions and the federal State reorganised the institutional setting. Since 1944, the ONEm had been in charge of the placement of job-seekers, of their training but also of their control (Dumont 2010). However, during 1980, the controlling task of the ONEm was made independent from the job placement services, i.e. the Public Employment Services. This reform made employment policies a shared competence of the Federal Government and the Regions[26] (Simar 2013)(8 août 1980, *Moniteur Belge*, 15 août 1980). In the new structure the newly-created Regions were in charge of job-seekers placements and their integration in the labour market; while Communities, created ten years earlier, were in charge of vocational education and training of job-seekers (see Figure 2).

Dumont attributes this reorganisation of unemployment system both to the framework of a progressive evolution from a unitary to a federal state and to the need of clearly define the competences of public and local actors. These organisational and institutional changes were implemented also with the aim of increasing the efficiency of the system and were accompanied: 1. the redistribution of jobs to across job-seekers who were considered the most vulnerable; 2. a better defined profiling procedure of the job-seekers and their different needs according to their professional and household position and 3. the softening of the conditionality of unemployment benefits due to a higher selectivity in the access (Dumont 2010: 277). Reman and Pochet associated these changes with the better definition of individual risks and rights and important reduction of social security contributions for boosting competitiveness.

The full responsibility of the Regions of delivering placement for job-seekers called for the creation of ad-hoc regional institutions that replaced the decentralised local agencies of the ONEm. Since 1989 the three regions (Flanders, Brussels Capital Region, Wallonia) plus the German community[27] - have been competent for managing job-placements and the re-integration of job-seekers in the labour market (Simar 2013). These include all services dealing with job-seekers' guidance both delivered by private and public actors.

[26] http://www.crisp.be/wallonie/fr/competences/emploi_et_travail.html last accessed on 21st October 2013; Constitution, art. 39 et art. 139 ; LSRI 8/08/1980.
[27] http://www.crisp.be/wallonie/fr/competences/emploi_et_travail.html; the Wallonia Region devolved its competences on employment to the German community to be implemented in the German-speaking part of the country.

According to Palsterman, the split of competences between the federal state and the Regions responded to the need of guaranteeing that regional public employment services and community training institutions were free to support job-seekers both in their job search and training without the trust relationship being poisoned by punitive mechanisms (Palsterman 2007). However, this has implied different organisational and managing practices of regional actors concerning public employment services and their core business, such as job-seekers placement (Pochet and Reman 2006; Struyven and Parys 2009)

Moreover, during the 1980s, the share of GDP allocated to social security was significantly reduced in order to answer to the increasing financial pressure on government expenses. The priority was to adapt social expenses to funding available rather than the other way around (Reman and Pochet 2005).
In this context, the economic recession of the first years of 1990 was tackled by means of retrenchment of the welfare expenditure (refocusing of the institutional answer), an increasing selectivity and targeting (refocusing of the institutional answer), stronger emphasis on the link between employment and right to welfare and new territorial arrangements (reorganisation of the institutional answer.

The 1990s – pivotal years for the Belgian (Active) Welfare State

1999 is often considered as the birth year of the Belgian Active Welfare State when the Minister for Social Affairs, Frank Vandenbroucke, mentioned it in his speech[28] as the objective of the social-democratic party at the government at that time.
In the speech by Vandenbroucke, there is a clear reference to the triggering causes of the emergence of new social risks, and to the refocusing and the reorganising of the institutional answer.
Vandenbroucke mentions the shift towards a more individualised approach to society, the risk of individual vulnerability linked to the welfare dependency, the aging of the population, the increasing presence of women in the labour market as well as the pressure exerted by the globalisation and the shift towards more service-oriented and skill-intensive economy as imminent challenges to the existing welfare system (Vandenbroucke 1999).

He further illustrates how the refocusing and the reorganising of the institutional answer can deal with the emergence of new social risks.

The *refocusing of the institutional answer* should primarily be done in order to rebalance working and private life and combine training and work; two missions that had been overlooked until then. The individualisation of risks and vulnerability is acknowledged and activation is put forward as key concept that should go hand in hand with a preventive and controlling role of the state vis-à-vis new social risks and dependency traps. The fair attribution of responsibility between the society and the individual is considered as crucial because the institutional answer has to be shaped exactly on this new redefinition of the respective responsibility (Vandenbroucke 1999).

[28] http://oud.frankvandenbroucke.be/html/soc/ZT-991213.htm, last accessed 6 March 2014

The *reorganisation of the institutional answer*, with its preventive and controlling approach, is linked with the individualisation and customisation of services. A better targeting and steering 'at a distance' are supposed to increase efficiency. They do so by allowing professionals to do their work and use their competences within centrally-established guidelines. Decentralisation (i.e. regionalisation in the Belgian context) is put forward as a means to open the way to rapid investments, personalised intervention and locally adapted initiatives (Vandenbroucke 1999). These suggestions were developed particularly with regards to youth, a group highly affected by unemployment at the time[29].

This project of the Minister was to gear towards a welfare state which is '*actif entreprenant*', and targets an increased active participation of its citizens. Participation, and activation for those who are not the unemployed and the inactive, is considered as the key to reduction of the risk of social exclusion and poverty.

When making reference to Rawls and – indirectly to Dworkin -, he calls for accounting for the exertion of individual free will, of natural endowments and personal behaviours that can be ascribed to personal tastes and decisions when responsibilities are to be attributed. Finally, as highlighted by Reman and Pochet, Vandenbroucke makes clear the closer and closer link between competitiveness and employment, on one hand, and social security and social justice on the other hand. A link at the basis of the new activation paradigm (Barbier 2002).

A hybrid system

Although this speech can be considered as a policy agenda for the introduction of active welfare state, the Active Welfare State did not subvert the existing principles. Reman and Pochet claim that the solidarity and insurance principles continued to underpin the system although it was recognised that they should have been extended to those individuals exposed to the so-called new social risks (see Chapter 1) (2005).
From quantitative perspective, this is also confirmed by Bonoli (2007). The author found that in Belgium the average expenditure on new social risk policies between 1997 and 2001 was still lower in relation to the proportion of GDP spent on industrial social policies (i.e. traditional compensatory policies for industrial-related risks), compared to two similar Welfare State regimes (France and Germany).

Bonoli argues that the continental welfare states did not have an initial setup that could account for the emergence of new social risks (Bonoli 2007). The adoption of new social risk policies implies that policies are no longer shaped on the side effects of industrialisation and on the (un)able-to-work population, but rather on problems dealing with new social transformations (i.e. family relationships, precariousness, national borders, deindustrialisation see Chapter 1) and on different target groups (e.g. migrants, young people, women).

Bonoli claims that another reason that hindering the full inclusion of the activation paradigm can be identified in the institutional setup (Bonoli 2007). Like in France, unemployment benefits are managed by the social partners as well as Public Employment Services, whose board is a tripartite body (Reman and Pochet 2005)[30]. According to Bonoli, this might have

[29] Eurostat data show that in 1999 youth unemployment (15-24 years old) hit 22.6%, the highest rate since 1986 (Source – Belgian Statistics http://statbel.fgov.be/fr/statistiques/chiffres/travailvie/emploi/).
[30] The 'Ordonnance portant sur l'organisation et le fonctionnement de l'Office régional brxuellois de l'emploi' (Moniteur Belge 18 Janvier 2001) established that the Orbem (renamed ACTIRIS since 2006) was a Type-B para-regional public-interest institution (according to the Law of 16 March 1954 for the governance of public-interest institutions). Institutions of type B are classified as federal bodies of public interest ». According to their categories they have greater or narrower autonomy.

reduced the capacity of the Government of fully implementing the policies that would have answered to new social risks. Bonoli also argues that in those countries where the transition to post-industrial societies took place more recently, the introduction of new social risks policies encountered more ideological barriers.

Furthermore, the author claims that the late and partial adoption of new social risk policies is due to the influence of Christian democratic parties, which had been hindering the expansion of policies replacing family activities. This can arguably be the case in Belgium, where the Christian-democratic party registered the first severe defeat in 1999 for the first time since 1958. The coalition composed of six parties (liberal, socialist and green party for both official languages), led by Guy Verhofstadt, included in its programme the implementation of ALMPs in the framework of the Active Welfare State.

Although the underlying principles regulating the Belgian Welfare System did not change, the emphasis on the need to achieve financial stabilisation and the identification of new target groups in employment policies reflected the increasing attention to groups at risk and new instruments for ensuring the welfare provision.
The definition of target group is not irrelevant. As argued by Schneider and Ingram (Schneider and Ingram 1993) the social construction of target groups become embedded in policy under the form of messages that are later 'absorbed by citizens' (1993: 334). Policies aim at changing people's behaviour identify target populations which are socially recognised and whose behaviour needs to be changed. Moreover, Schneider and Ingram also recall that each target population is also connoted by positive or negative values that have an important influence in the definition of reward and punishment embedded in policies.

The following sections will present how new measures and targeting approaches were put in place and to what extent these changes answer to an increased individualisation, contractualisation and activation of the welfare provisions namely for young people.

Actiris belongs to the category that foresees a managing body (Comité de Gestion) and it is entrusted by the Ministry of Labour for the Brussels Capital Region.
This means that ACTIRIS is self-managed with an administrative committee and board of directors, and the committee is ruled by a both employers' and employees' representing bodies.

Individualisation, activation and contractualisation of welfare policies for young people

The case of the unemployment insurance system and PES

At the federal level

The idea of individualising the delivery of services, redistributing the responsibility between the State and individuals as well as the redefinition of the contract between claimants and the State were gradually included in most of welfare and labour market policies, particularly those targeting youth.

In 1993, at the federal level, the government introduced the 'plan for supporting the unemployed' (*Plan d'Accompagnement des Chômeurs*) with stricter control (Cockx, Defourny, Dejemeppe, and Linden 2007; Orianne 2005). Although promoting control, the measure could not be called preventive as the first intervention took place after 10 months of unemployment.

This first attempt to provide guidance to job-seekers brought about some important changes: the focus on providing information and modifying behaviours (i.e. the unemployed does not know how to 'play the game'); intensify the control and evaluate individual interviews and action plans. Despite this intensification, targeting was still very large (under 46) and mainly based on age and (low) educational attainment (Cockx, Defourny, Dejemeppe, and Linden 2007), thus not really addressing specific populations at-risk.
The implementation of the European Employment Strategy (Luxembourg 1997) strengthened, via its Employment guidelines[31], the attention towards young people. That same year the funding from the European Social Funds were linked to the implementation of projects aiming at integrating young unemployed (Cockx at 2007). Similarly, in 1999 the Employment Guidelines reiterated their focus on youth at risk and on the individualisation of practices in order to better respond to individual needs and stimulates individual and autonomous projects. In Belgium, this was translated into the programme called '*parcours d'insertion*' (pathways to integration), which replaced the previous "*Plan d'Accompagement des Chômeurs*". These "pathways to integration" targeted low-qualified young people under 25 three months after they left school. This measure led to the adoption of the "Rosetta Plan", or "*convention de premier emploi*" in 2000. This plan clearly reflected the policy context of the Active Welfare State because it emphasised the mutual obligations both of young people - who might lose their benefits if they refuse to take part in the 'integration pathway' - and employers, who are obliged to hire young unemployed (Nicaise 2001).
Nicaise argues that the Rosetta Plan represents the shift towards a more balanced sharing of responsibilities: it gets away from the 'work-fare' and 'learn-fare' approach towards young people - respectively found in Anglo-Saxon and the Danish and Dutch contexts (Nicaise 2001) - and mostly imposing work or training shifting the burden of activation towards the unemployed. Moreover, the Rosetta Plan also foresaw the adoption of individual action plans for young people involved in the integration paths, thus sealing the mutual obligations with an individual project.

[31] The Employment Guidelines are part of the European Employment Strategy launched in 1992 and meant to coordinate national employment strategies. The guidelines set priorities and targets for each member states in order to reach commonly agreed aggregated targets. http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=101&langId=en

The Rosetta Plan opened the way to federal plan '*Plan d'Accompagnement et Suivi des Chômeurs (PAS)*' approved in 2004 during the second mandate of Verhofstadt (Cockx et al 2007). The PAS became the new framework of the following regulations on the unemployment system: pushing towards the refocusing and the reorganisation of the institutional answer to the unemployment.
The PAS established for the first time that all unemployed receiving unemployment benefits had their benefits reduced or suspended if their job search efforts were *not sufficiently active* (Dermine, Dumont, and Neven 2012; Dumont 2010). This was also an answer to the critiques about the unlimited unemployment benefits expressed at the international level, for instance by the OECD, considered as a trap to inactivity (OECD 2003a). Within the framework of the PAS the unemployed are first warned with letter that they should actively look for jobs. They are later called in after 7, if under 25, or 13 months of unemployment, if older, for a first control with a "facilitateur" of the ONEm (Cockx et al 2007), who will evaluate the job-search effort of the claimants. If the evaluation is negative, then the unemployed is invited to sing a contract with clear job-search commitment to be achieved before the following evaluation. Job-seekers who received these contracts are sent back to the PES, which have to help and monitor the job-seeker efforts. If the second interview with the ONEm is still considered as not enough, then a second more stringent and demanding contract is signed. Finally, if the third interview still results in a negative assessment of the job-search efforts, then the job-seekers is definitely excluded from benefits.
With the implementation of this procedure national authority took back at the central level not only the full administrative task of sanctioning, but also some aspects of control, which were previously considered a prerogative of the regional Public Employment Services. However, the regional PES offices still play a crucial role as they are fully in charge of orienting and guiding job-seekers. As it will be presented in the empirical section, the role of the regional PES and the ONEm were designed for working together and be complementary – the first the support, the latter the sanction and the monitoring – but this created some tensions which were also found the interviews with job-search counsellors.

The law triggered several critiques among the third sector, some political parties, but also scholars, who denounced the conditionality of social rights and the shift of responsibility for the lack of jobs from labour market mechanisms to the unemployed (Dumont 2010). Moreover, the contractualisation of unemployment benefits was perceived as a retrenchment of the social protection particularly because it obliged the unemployed person to comply with the rules of public authorities without actually getting additional opportunities (Dermine, Dumont, and Neven 2012).
Finally, the introduction of the PAS not only raised questions on the role of the Welfare State and individuals, but also deeply influenced the relationships between the federal and the regional entities mainly for two reasons: firstly, the split of competences for the support and control of unemployed increased the problem of fragmentation and coordination between the two levels of government (see Chapter 5). Secondly, financial controversies between the federal level and the boroughs ("communes") were raised as soon as sanctioning seemed to increase the number of sanctioned unemployed who asked for social assistance to the local CPAS (Cherenti 2010).

The local level – the Brussels Capital Region

Patterns of individualisation, contractualisation, increased responsibilisation and decentraslisation can be identified at the local level, where institutions are free to develop their

own instruments in order to comply with the federal and international rules and requests, but also to account for local needs.

The implementation of the *Plan d'Accompagnement et Suivi des Chômeurs (PAS)* did not only geared towards the "refocusing" of the institutional answer, but also promoted its "reorganisation".
Under the impulsion of the Accord de government of 2004 (PAS), the regional PES and the Government of the Brussels Capital Region signed the first "*Contrat de Gestion*" (Gouvernement de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale Office Régional Bruxellois de l'Emploi (ORBEm) 2006). It set the objectives to achieve and the priorities to follow until 2010[32]. The four pillars of the first *Contrat de Gestion* were: "the client approach", the "decentralisation", the simplification of the internal organisation for better efficiency, and a more proactive communication strategy (Gouvernement de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale Office Régional Bruxellois de l'Emploi (ORBEm) 2006). The "approach to the client" and the "decentralisation" are particularly interesting for this work.

The "approach to the client" referred to both clients of the PES: the unemployed and the employers. Following the adoption of the PAS, the Regional Public Employment Service (Actiris[33]) implemented the '*Contrat de projet professionnel*' (CPP), i.e. an action plan with the aim of providing an individualised support to unemployed in their job-search and action plans. The CPP also answered to the 8th Employment Guidelines approved in 2005 aiming at achieving full employment in the Member States, namely via the inclusion of disadvantaged groups, investment in human resources and the adaptation of the education and training systems[34].
The CPP established standardised and regulated the guidance practices, particularly targeting young people; it was meant to be a mutually agreed project between the unemployed and the job-search counsellor and it represented a formalised mutual engagement (Observatoire bruxellois du Marché du Travail et des Qualifications/ENIAC 2006). The CPP and the structure of the guidance for the unemployed was meant contribute to the achievement of set in the *Contrat de Gestion* and placed Actiris as coordinator of the implementation of the Federal and Regional employment policy.

As I shall present in the following section, in June 2010 the CPP become compulsory for all unemployed aged between 18 and 49 years old (Observatoire Bruxellois de l'Emploi 2011) and it established clearer rules for the delivery and timing of the interviews, the so-called *"Procédure d'objetctivation"*. The degree of standardisation increased and led to a lower room for manoeuvre of job-search counsellors for adapting their actions towards the job-seekers (see Chapter 5).
The commitment of Actiris towards employers was also renewed and strengthened insofar as Actiris aimed at centralising most of the existing job offers in the region but also improving its service as a recruiter. The development of an internal service (*Direction des Employeurs*) and a new role "*Gestionnaire d'offres*" - who were supposed to communicate with the demand-side

[32] The *Contrat de Gestion* was renewed in 2013 for the period 2013-2017.
[33]The objective of achieving greater visibility and improving the external communication translated also into a new name for the Orbem (now Actiris). The name Actiris is a compound noun of « Actif » and « Iris ». « Actif » makes reference to the « path leading to active life », « rapidity of service delivery », « dynamic relationship with clients » and "IT development". Iris is the symbol of the RBC. http://www.actiris.be/apropos/tabid/259/language/fr-BE/Historique.aspx
[34] Décision 2005/600/CE du Conseil du 12 juillet 2005 relative aux lignes directrices pour les politiques de l'emploi des États membres. – The more relevant guideline are 18, 19, 20 and 21 respectively on the reduction of youth unemployment, the preventive approach, supporting training, favouring transitions between education and work.

and select the most suitable job-seekers according to the offers – testify the willingness of improving the match between the supply and the demand side
Although being the two services targeting the two "complementary" clients of Actiris, the services appeared to be disconnected and with poor internal communication (Chapter 6).

The "decentralisation" took place right after the signature of the *Contrat de Gestion*. The decentralised local PES offices were meant to become fully-operational and provide all type of primary guidance services to job-seekers, including the CPP. All other services – included those for employers – were still centralised at the PES headquarters. Starting from 2006, decentralised PES offices started to open in the boroughs of the RBC. At the moment of conducting the field work, the process of decentralisation was not fully completed yet as 18 out of 19 boroughs of the region had a decentralised PES office. They are currently organised in small, medium and big branches. The size of the PES is established according to the number of job-seekers registered in the borough[35] and the economic and human resources are allocated to each decentralised office accordingly. The 2003 the decree regulating private employment agencies also contributed to modify the role of Actiris and opened the job-seekers' guidance to private agencies[36]. The role of Actiris became that of orienting, organising and managing the guidance and skill-matching and rarely providing services itself. This changed the role of the job-search counsellors, who were no longer "*placeurs*" (literally "placing unemployed people in a vacancy"), but rather orienting and steering both the job-seekers and the partners from whom Actiris bought its specialised guidance services.

Box 1: Recent developments

Some major reforms have been recently implemented after the government led by Elio di Rupo came into power in 2011. The government passed the sixth reform of the State, which modifies the current division of competences. The *Sixième réforme de l'Etat* mainly touched upon constitutional aspects, among others the division of competences and financing of Regions and the Federal Government and the institutional reorganisation of the Brussels Capital Region, the rules establishing the financing of Brussels (CRISP 2012: 2).
The most relevant aspects are the devolution of competences towards the Regions concerning labour market policies, family allowances, justice, mobility and health care[37].
As for labour market competences, the availability to work of job-seekers will no longer be controlled and assessed by the National Office for Employment (ONEm), the Regions will have full competence on this matter.
Regions will also be entitled to autonomously decide what trainings job-seekers are allowed to follow while keeping the right to their unemployment allowances. After this devolution of competences, Regions will be responsible for funds allocated to the lifelong learning.

[35] A small PES has less than 2500 registered job-seekers; a medium PES has between 2500 and 5000, while a big one counts more than 5000.
[36] Ordonnance du 26 juin 2003 relative à la gestion mixte du marché de l'emploi dans la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale
[37] http://opleidingen.kluwer.be/event/newgouvernement/docs/ReformeEtat-Legalworld.pdf, http://www.belgium.be/fr/la_belgique/connaitre_le_pays/histoire/la_belgique_a_partir_de_1830/constitution_de_l_etat_federal/sixieme_reforme_etat/ last accessed 21st October 2013

This change in the distribution of competences between Regions and the Federal State will mostly affect the definition of target groups, services delivered to job-seekers and labour market measures (Simar 2013).
Conversely the normative framework and well as laws regulating job-search activities, the definition of "decent work" (*emploi convenable*) and the implementation of the sanctions for unemployment will remain under the federal competences (Joos 2013).
The devolution of competences on labour market and employment measures is coupled with a new model of financing that might increase the responsibility of Regions for the success of their employment policies: their revenues will in fact depend on the increased participation in employment.
The stated motto of the reform is the reinforcement of the responsibility of Regions and Communities[38] that goes hand in hand with a reinforced fiscal and funding autonomy of the federal entities. Concerning labour market policies, an increased role of Regions and Communities in the delivery of these policies points to the willingness of closing the gap between those elaborating the policies and the territory where these are implemented, but also reducing the current institutional fragmentation.
Another important change, affecting primarily young people, affected the "*stage d'attente*". The *stage d'attente* was the "waiting period" preceding the unemployment benefits for young people under 30 with no working history. During this waiting period – which varied according to the person's age and level of education - young people were supposed to actively find a job. If, after the end on the "stage d'attente", the person was still not at work, she was entitled to unlimited pseudo-unemployment allowances (*allocations d'attente*). The "stage d'attente" was modified in 2012 and since then it is called "stage d'insertion professionnelle", it lasts 12 months for all categories of young people and access to the unemployment allowances for young people without social contribution conditional upon job-search efforts during the 12-month waiting time. Moreover, the allowances are no longer unlimited, but capped at three years.

The case of the social assistance and the CPAS

Federal change and local management

Belgium was one of the first European countries which established an unconditional basic income (*minimex*) which was meant to harmonise the existent support to the poor and make it less arbitrary. Since the very beginning, the involvement of the local actors was already a reality as the minimum income scheme was born from the locally organised poverty alleviation institutions. Therefore, while the federal state chipped in 50% of the minimum income scheme, each borough was in meant to deliver part of the allocations and the services associated to it (Dumont 2010:116).
In 1976, the *Centres Publics d'Aide Sociale* (CPAS) were created in each borough and managed by an appointed council including members chosen from the elected candidates every six years. The CPAS were meant to provide the "aid due to the community to the individual" and without it being conditional on previous contributions. The Belgian social assistance regime took shape and shift towards a universalistic approach (Dumont 2010)

[38] Speech of the Prime Minister Elio di Rupo, 9th July 2013, http://premier.fgov.be/fr/6%C3%A8me-r%C3%A9forme-de-l%E2%80%99etat-accord-sur-l%E2%80%99ensemble-des-textes-juridiques last accessed on 21st October 2013.

As for their organisation, I shall present in Chapter 6 that the presence of appointed members with clear political orientation together with the power to decide on benefits attribution reinforced the discretion of CPAS at the local level also on the type of social help to be provided and on the individualisation of the social action.

The beginning of the years 2000s were crucial also for the social assistance system as the 1974 law was replaced by the 2002 law on social inclusion (*Droit à l'intégration sociale,* loi du 26 mai 2002). Its introduction was justified by the need of better adapting the existing safety net to the new risks and socio-economic challenges (Dumont 2010). Dumont (2010) and other commentators argue that this new law clearly belongs to the will of moving towards an active welfare state (Kluwer 2007; Michel 2009).
Several reasons support this position, for instance on a more formal level, the name of the CPAS – the decentralised institutions at the local level meant to provide social assistance – changed from "Centre Public d'Aide Sociale" (public centre for social aid) to "*Centre Public d'Action Sociale*" (public centre for social *action*), thus reinforcing the idea of activation rather than "unconditional help".

Targeting, individualising and activating

While 2002 marked the most important change in the legislation, some first signs of change took place already in 1993, when the "*Programme d'Urgence pour une Société plus Solidaire*" introduced the contractualisation of the benefits via an action plan (PIIS: *projet individualisé d'intégration sociale*) which was voluntary for those older than 25 and compulsory for younger claimants. As for the introduction of stricter conditions for young unemployed (see above), the 1993 law wanted to tackle the possible increase of young people claiming social assistance due to the lowering of the age of majority which granted the right to the under 21 some years before.

The action plan (PIIS) was a contract between the recipient and the institution, explicating the mutual obligations of both in aiming at the integration of the claimant in the labour market. The non-compliance with the action plan can be sanctioned with a reduction or suspension of the grant for maximum 1 month.
While being compelled to equal treatment and no discrimination, the CPAS analyses every request individually. The type of help provided depends on the individualised assessment of the social worker, who should base her judgement on the recipient's needs (i.e. ranging from the identification of obstacles to labour market to trainings, lack of basic skills or the integration in regular labour market through sheltered employment or federal programmes).

The 1993 law left the signing of the action plan voluntary and, in practice, was very rarely adopted at the local level[39]. In 2002, the new law made the benefits fully conditional on the person's availability in the labour market proved with the inscription of the beneficiary as job-seeker at the Public Employment Service. The social assistance benefits are thus considered a sort of help among others.
Furthermore, the significant increase of the share of young people aged under 25 among the claimants (from 10 to 25%) at the end of 1990s drew the attention again towards this age group (Damont 2010). The activation specifically designed for young people allowed the CPAS to entitled young recipients to social assistance while studying full-time or promote their social inclusion via the labour market integration (a job opportunity within three months, loi 6 mai 2002) while reinforcing the idea of the contracutalisation – i.e. action plan – as the best way to proceed (see box below).

[39] http://www.luttepauvrete.be/publications/RGP10ans/aide_socialeFR.pdf

The refocusing of the institutional structure took place insofar as the 1993 and 2002 laws shifted its focus and modified the instruments available to local social assistance institutions. They also extended their attention towards those subjects who are easier to activate (young people) and for whom it was less acceptable to be long on benefits and who are closely accompanied towards employment. Moreover, the stronger conditionality of benefits sealed by the signature of a contractualised action plan and the identification of the financial benefits not as right *per se* but as a means towards labour market integration led to an increased responsibilisation of recipients in exchange of social inclusion ("*insertion sociale*" and "s*olidarité responsable*", Dumont 2010).

The reorganisation of the institutional answer did not take place in the same manner as the social insurance benefits. The CPAS were already decentralised and the local institutions at the heart of the implementation and the delivery. However, some changes did take place namely in terms of cooperation with the Public Employment Services with the aim of better coordinating the follow up of social assistance beneficiaries identified as able to join the labour market as well as concentrating the effort towards targeting groups at-risk such as young people. This cooperation, although still underdeveloped, did impose changes in the organisation of the institutional answer namely with the setup of quantitative objectives (see Chapter 5).

It is important to recall that the CPAS acts in the framework of the federal law but as no stringent guidelines are provided, the marge of manoeuvre is dependent on the local policy, and the extent of the socio-economic integration is defined according to the priority of the local policy and of the local committee. The leeway granted to the CPAS in carrying out its mission - especially in assessing the availability in the labour market (Dumont 2010: 137) -gives to the organisation an important freedom to adapt the *informational basis of judgement in justice* (i.e. on which basis individuals are evaluated).
As I shall present in the next chapter, the evolution of the social assistance law together with the discretion of local bodies can result in multiple local practices: front-line agents' judgements and practices are rooted on the situated local level rather than on imposed administrative procedures (Farvaque 2002).

Chapter 5 - The research design

This Chapter clarifies the research design. It justifies the methods used in relation to the research question and formulates and contextualises the hypotheses in relation to the theoretical backgrounds and the case study. It also elaborates on limits of mixed-methods used.

The structure of the analysis

The research question - "*To what extent are institutions able to provide disadvantaged young people with employability?*" – implies looking at both *processes* and *outcomes*.
Processes are relevant because one needs to unveil how institutional passive empowerment is defined by institutional actors as this has an impact on the type of opportunity structure institutions are able to deliver.
Processes are understood, at an aggregate level, as the functioning of the institutional structure in which employability policies are delivered, and, at a lower level, as the implementation mechanisms.
Outcomes are understood as the impact of employability programmes on individual results in the labour market.

The hypotheses cover these two dimensions – process and outcome – as follows.

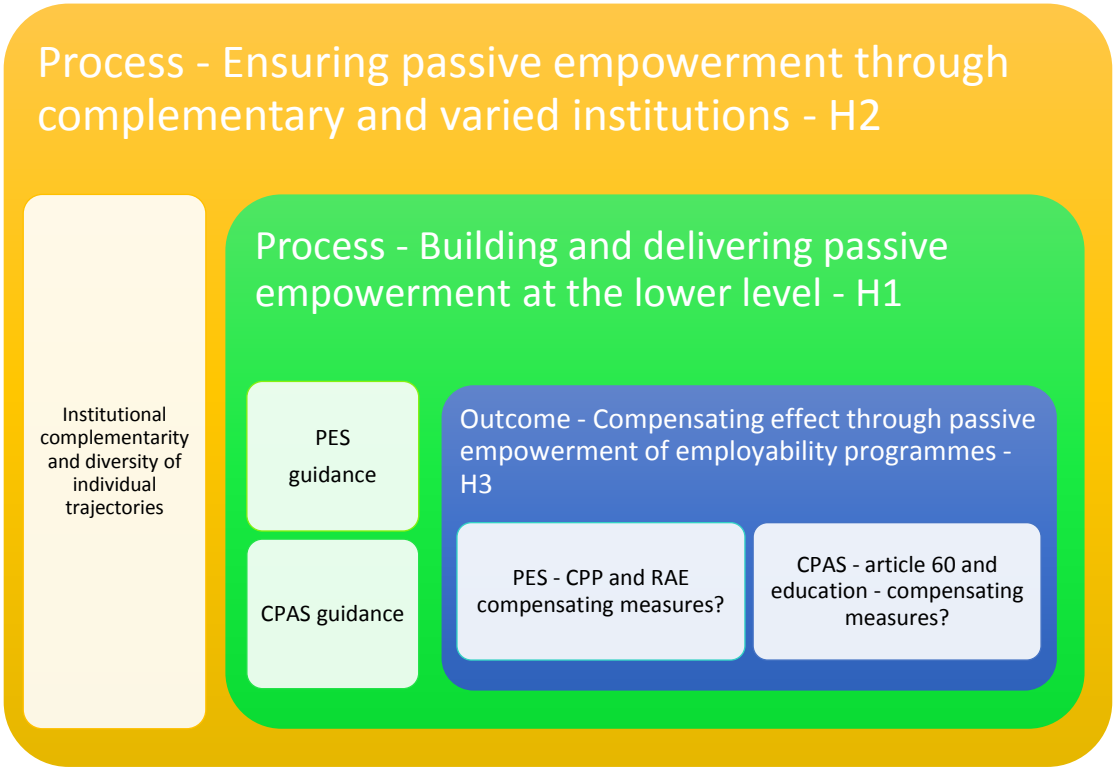
Firstly, passive empowerment – operationalised through the concept of employability - was broken down into the cognitive dimension and the process of implementation of employability. The analysis is carried out in Chapter 6 which investigates the guidance provided to young people in social assistance (CPAS) and social insurance (PES) institutions in the Brussels Capital Region as a major vector of passive empowerment.

The findings of this part hint to the type of outcomes that the opportunity structure built by the institutions is expected to deliver.
These expectations will be tested empirically in Chapter 7 and 8 at two different levels.

The first level of analysis is the quality of the complementarity of institutions at an aggregate level (Chapter 7), within which the street-level implementation operates. The focus is then shifted from street-level process of building the opportunity structure towards a higher perspective, i.e. by looking at the institutional complementarity.
The institutional complementarity is tested by using individual trajectories as unit of analysis.

The second level of analysis capitalises on previous results and provides empirical evidence of the effect of the guidance provided by social assistance and social insurance institutions on young people's labour market outcomes. The units of analysis are the employability programmes and their effects are measured in terms of successful individual transitions.

Figure 10: The structure of the thesis and the articulation of hypotheses



Source: own elaboration

The advantage of combining outcomes and processes is that the individual and institutional perspective can be tackled together. This choice calls for a mixed-methods approach.

The following sections formulate the hypotheses, explain the methods used, justify the methodological choices and make their limitations clear.

Formulating the hypotheses

The first hypothesis refers to the process of building up empowerment through the delivery of employability policies. It goes into depth about *what* type of passive empowerment is provided. It answers to the need of understanding what *informational basis of judgment in justice* (IBJJ) is used to shape the idea of employability and what *référentiel* of 'employability' is implemented.

In my case study - for both institutions (CPAS and PES) in the Brussels Capital Region – I focus on the overall type and structure of the guidance that is put into place for young people.
This because PES and CPAS are meant to be complementary in supporting the transitions of young people into the labour market (see Chapter 4).
Moreover, looking at job-seekers' guidance represents the litmus test of the nature of activation regime in place (Erhel 2012) which is why it is relevant in my investigation because I focus on the idea of employability embedded in the passive empowerment provided by activation regimes.

In light of historical and political development and the institutional structure (see Chapter 4), I would expect that:

H1: Favoured by common normative trends as well as by similar challenges facing their claimants, PES and CPAS in the Brussels Capital Region are expected to converge towards an approach of employability which is closer to a Human Capital Development approach.

This means that the opportunity structure that these institutions will build will adopt a "fostering employability" approach – both at the cognitive and implementation level (see Chapter 3 for an in-depth discussion of the dimensions).
This convergence hypothesis will be tested using the operationalization of the WF-HCD- CA/TLM approach developed in Chapter 3. Qualitative analysis is adopted.

Processes and outcomes: investigating institutions via individual trajectories and transitions

Once (youth) employability has been defined in discourses (Schmidt 2002), the CA in combination with the TLM is used to assess the capacity of active labour market policies arrangements of guaranteeing rights and entitlements, providing resources and creating the enabling and diversified conditions allowing young people to take good transitions into the labour market (Sen 1999; Schmid 2008). Hence, it explains whether the implementation of welfare-to-work arrangements accounts for the diversity of needs/risks, and deploys genuine individualised and contextualised solutions for (young) people to achieve employability (Goerne 2010; Verd and Matin López 2011).

While the first hypothesis tested the similarity of the approach to employability adopted by the social assistance and the social insurance organisations, the second hypothesis takes a step back and looks at the institutions and how they coordinate at an aggregate level.

From a system perspective, it investigates to what extent the institutional complementarity and role in preventing social exclusion favours labour market participation.
The complementarity between social assistance and social insurance is given by the legal arrangements and practices. For instance, the young unemployed can ask for a top-up help if they do not have the minimum resources to make a living; or the young social assistance recipient is asked to register at the PES when available for jobs in order to have access to the supporting services of both institutions. Or a young person on social assistance will re-gain the eligibility for the unemployment benefits after a certain period of sheltered employment provided within the framework of social assistance. Moreover, the possibility of financing full-time education while receiving benefits gives young people the opportunity to gain employability and improve their likelihood of being in employment while being unemployed or in social assistance.
As for the unemployment insurance young people have access to unemployment benefits even when they have not worked yet (see also quantitative and qualitative chapters for more details).

This configuration of complementary allowances and support seems, and is meant, to create bridging labour market institutions able to favour upwards labour market transitions. The hypothesis is thus formulated as follows:

H2: V*aried and complementary labour and welfare market institutions favour individual integrative trajectories into the labour market.*

The third hypothesis looks at outcomes and adopts an individual perspective insofar as it investigates the relationship between the type of empowerment provided by the selected activation policies and the transitions of disadvantaged young people.
The passive empowerment of labour market measures is meant to provide an opportunity structure functioning as bridge and compensating for individual risks. This means that they compensate for the personal risk associated both with their condition (being a welfare claimant) and their personal endowments.

Indeed, individual risks that have an impact on labour market transitions are numerous and are only partially grasped by socio-demographic variables. For instance, motivation and self-confidence are crucial for the unemployed, however they are also difficult to measure (McDonald and Marston 2008). Further, disadvantage is not linked to a single factor but to several ones that are interlinked.
The table below shows some socio-demographic characteristics, the transition risk associated to them and the variable used in the analysis.

Table 6: The multidimensionality of disadvantage

Dimension of risk/Source of transitional skills	Type of risk	Variables used
Educational attainment	Low education – skills attainment	ISCED
Gender	Being female has been proved to be a disadvantage namely because of family duties	Gender
Age	Lack of work experience – bad signals in the labour market because of expected lower productivity	Age
Immigration background	Lack of country-specific knowledge, often associated with lower educational level.	First nationality (EU, BE, non EU) and naturalisation
Household composition	Being single parent increases the risk of being out of the labour market – because of family duties but also lower income	Position in the household
Neighbourhood	More likely to have low income, poor health, poor social networks and less likely to be socially integrated	Index of wealth

Source: own elaboration

With the limits imposed by the quality of available variables, passive empowerment is thus operationalised as "being able to compensate for young people's lack of personal material and immaterial resources".

I will compare to what extent participation in labour market measures (ALMPs) reduces time spent in social assistance and unemployment of the "at-risk group" compared to non at- risk groups in the same programmes.
The hypothesis is formulated as follows:

H3: ALMPs adopting an "enabling employability" approach will function more as a bridge leading to upwards transition into employment, compensate for lack of personal material and immaterial resources and serve as factors of conversion.

This last hypothesis builds on the findings of the first hypothesis, the information collected from the interviews and documentary analysis because I expect that the type of employability promoted by labour market measures is related with the capacity of opportunity structure of reducing the risks of disadvantaged young people.

More specifically for the PES, I focus on the Contrat/Construction du projet professionnel (CPP); for the CPAS on Projet Individuel d'intégration sociale (PIIS) (see Chapter 4 institutional details on the measures used and Chapter 8 on more practical information)

The choice of the case study

There are different reasons that pushed me to choose a case study method.
These reasons were sequential: firstly I opted for the advantages of the case study for tackling methods and processes. Secondly I decided to focus on the local level to account for the trends in the reorganisation and refocusing of the institutional answer in the field of employability policies mentioned in Chapter 1. Finally I had to select a specific case study which could bring testable and interesting institutional and socio-demographic features.

Advantages of the method

The main reason for choosing the case study is the need of an in-depth investigation of the institutional context to grasp the cognitive perspective ("what employability?" – descriptive approach) and implementation practices at the lower lever ("how is it implemented? How it translates into labour market outcomes?" – explanatory approach) (Yin 2011).

In this thesis, I chose to adopt a single case study with multiple embedded units of analysis where there is a single institutional context (Belgium/Brussels) but the analysis is carried out in both the social assistance (CPAS) and the social insurance cases (PES)(Yin 2011) .

This approach to the study of the phenomenon comes closer to a process-tracing approach, which is better tackled in a case study (Gerring 2004) where the comparison is limited to a single institutional context but where the variety is ensured by the heterogeneity of the (local) institutional context itself.

Focusing on a single case study and looking at the local level allows me to better grasp the complementarity of institutions and their impact on a variety of social groups, known for their diverse active empowerment. Furthermore, investigating the role

played by labour market and welfare institutions in transition advocates for a large perspective, i.e. a longer time period over which interactions between institutions are analysed via individual trajectories. This is possible insofar as the case study allows the researcher to exploit several data sources, in what has been defined as an "intensive approach" (Swanborn 2010).

The most common critique to the case study is the generalisation of the results due to lack of comparative units (not issued by different contexts) and the restricted number of units analysed (Gerring 2004; Swanborn 2010).
The generalisation of the results is of a less importance in this work insofar as the generalization is not statistical but analytical (Yin 2011). In fact, in this thesis, I am not aiming to generalise the results, for instance, to all the urban contexts presenting a high level of youth unemployment and a welfare state that has similar characteristics to the Belgian system.

The aim is, on the contrary, to develop a transferable analytical grid for activation policies. The case study is functional to test the original theory built on the combination of the TLM and CA and the choice of empirical methods.

Going locally: the perks of looking at the tiny bits

Although comparing country-specific features has encountered more interest at the international level, labour market outcomes and welfare dependency at the local level have also been investigated, somewhat less though (Dujardin, Selod, and Thomas 2008; Gustafsson 2012).
However, there are at least two reasons why the local dimension of young people's labour market should deserve more in-depth analysis.
Firstly, the local dimension is not homogeneous and most cities are characterised by striking disparities, where the core of the urban area is more deprived than the periphery (Dujardin et al 2008). This implies that people living in city centres are often more exposed to poverty and social exclusion and find it more difficult to integrate the labour market. In particular, the neighbourhood can have an impact on labour market individual's outcome. The neighbourhood social composition can favour or hinder the acquisition of new skills and behaviours; this is particularly important when referring to job-search resources and techniques.
Moreover, the relative location of the neighbourhood to other important and more labour attractive places can have an impact on labour market opportunities (Musterd and Andersson 2006). Besides the neighbourhood reputation – thus its degree of stigmatisation - as well as its availability of services, in particular of schools and welfare, have a long-term impact upon people's lives as they affect their opportunities (Mustard and Andersson 2006).
Secondly, the local dimension is relevant because labour policies and their governance have "gone local". Together with local economic determinants, welfare-to-work and labour market policies play an important role in shaping young people's opportunities in the labour market.

The Brussels Capital Region and youth labour market transitions

After choosing the method, I had to select a case study that could present an interesting welfare and labour market institutional and historical perspective which could function as litmus test for my hypothesis.

Activation policies in the Belgium and Brussels Capital Region have become increasingly important with the rise of youth unemployment in the last years and they have enjoyed political attention as they have been at the core of important welfare policies in the last decades (see Chapter 5). Following King et al (1994), the societal relevance of an issue constitutes a valid reason for choosing it as research question.

What is also interesting is that, despite the reforms, the incomplete transformation of the welfare system into an active welfare state makes Belgium and the Brussels Capital Region difficult to categorise in "WF" of "HCD" like, respectively, the UK or Finland/Denmark which are more easily associated with specific welfare regimes (see Chapter 5) (Clasen and Clegg 2007). This hybrid position makes it more interesting to define and investigate.

Another reason is that the decentralisation and local delivery of services for unemployment -at the regional level- and for social assistance -at the municipal level- is likely to increase the challenge of implementing social services across local entities. Similarly, the system faces the heterogeneity of the target population, which is particularly marked in the Brussels Capital Region.
The in-depth analysis is meant to enlighten processes and outcomes of this institutional setting.

Further, from an international perspective, Belgium is rarely included in international comparisons because it is often associated with Continental Europe systems and because, particularly in activation policies, the language, cultural and administrative divide create a great diversity within the national case.

The target population, young people, and its challenges also justify the choice of the case study. Young people are more at risk of being "not employable" as they are likely to suffer from unemployment and inactivity due to their little working experience. Their first experiences in the labour market can have a significant impact on young people future's trajectories (Brzinsky-Fay 2006) particularly because first transitions into the labour market have become longer, less stable and potentially exclusionary. Young people often experience several transitions before starting a stable working career (Brzinsky-Fay 2006; Ghignoni and Pappadà 2009), and the volatility and precariousness of their first working years as well as the quality of their jobs have important long-term effects on different dimensions including wage earnings, career prospects but also health, well-being and happiness (Scarpetta et al. 2010).

These challenges are often exacerbated in urban environments, where young people face multiple challenges and are more likely to fall into the social exclusion trap. In the RBC, the share of young people unemployed and in social assistance is particularly high, especially among young people with a migrant background (see Chapter 7).

For these reasons, activation measures improving employability targeting young people have a crucial "passive empowerment" role to play.

The objective will be to evaluate whether the institutional setting functions as an enabling configuration for young people who are more at risk.

The methods, the units of analysis and the link between hypotheses

The following sections clarify the selection strategy and the methodologies chosen. I also discuss how they are related.

Qualitative analysis: what kind of passive empowerment is delivered at the street level

Sampling welfare agencies

The interviews[40] carried out for this research at the PES mainly concentrate on the job-counselling at the decentralised offices of Actiris, where the backbone of the guidance takes place.
There are currently 18 decentralised offices of Actiris (PES) in the Brussels Capital Region, approximately one in each of the 19 municipalities of the Region. The interviews were conducted in 5 different PES: 1 ("small-size") in a borough with a wealth index[41] of 115% (2010) compared to the national mean and with an overall share of unemployed of 12% (18-64 years old); 1 ("medium-size") in a borough with a wealth index of 86% (2010) and with rate of unemployed 18.5% in 2012; 3 ("big-size") in more disadvantaged municipalities with an index of wealth between 60 and 70 % of the country average and unemployment rates between 28.3 and 22.7% (2012).

The Brussels Capital Region shows a high degree of socio-economic diversity in its boroughs. The decentralisation of Public Employment Services is meant to increase the quality and the degree of proximity of welfare services and, as a result, their individualised approach[42].

For each of the PES selected, two semi-structured interviews were conducted: with a job-search counsellor and the middle-manager in charge of managing the PES office. The 10 interviews were complemented with 4 interviews: two middle managers working in agencies providing related services for the unemployed (Missions Locales) as well as to 2 managers in charge, respectively, of the job-guidance and the partnership services at the central (regional) PES level.

Similarly, for the CPAS, semi-structured interviews were carried out with front-line agents and middle-managers. The same sampling procedure as for the PES was adopted.

There are 19 CPAS in the Brussels Capital Region, one in each borough. The interviews were conducted in: 1 CPAS in a borough with a wealth index of 70% compared to the national mean (2010) and with a share of recipients on social assistance higher than 5% (2009); 2 CPAS in boroughs with a wealth index between 70 and 80% and with rate of

[40] Interviews were conducted between end 2011 and July 2013. Some policies changes took place during this time. However, most of these policies took a long time before implementation and did not influence job-counsellor's daily work.
[41]The wealth index and its methodology are available at https://monitoringdesquartiers.irisnet.be/indicators/
[42] Cerexhe, Benoît. 2010. "Etude de la satisfaction des clients d'ACTIRIS Intervention du Ministre Benoît Cerexhe."

claimants between 3.5 and 4.6%; 2 CPAS in a borough with a wealth index between 85 and 105% and a poor population rate between 1.90 and 2.55%, and finally a CPAS in a borough with the highest wealth rate (more than 106%) and the lowest rate of social assistance recipients (less than 1.9%).

The 15 interviews were carried out with 19 employees of 6 CPAS who are in charge of the socio-professional integration service and/or social assistance service and in 2 cases also with the president of the CPAS (see Chapter 5 for more details). Interviews with the representative of all the CPAS in a Brussels-based association and with the Director General of the Ministry for Social Inclusion were also conducted. I took also part in a workshop for the exchange of good practices organised by the Ministry of Social Inclusion.

The analysis focuses on the broad (individualised) actions geared towards the activation of the young (18-25 years old) social benefit/basic income recipients put in place by the CPAS within the framework of the PIIS: namely short trainings organised by the CPAS or its partners, job-searching activities, sheltered employments, and access to full-time education or qualified trainings.

The idea informing this sampling strategy was to have a representative sample of diverse social and environmental contexts in which front-line agents of the PES and CPAS work[43]

[43] Interviews were all conducted in French and transcribed by a French-speaking friend and by myself. All translations in the manuscript are mine as well as possible mistranslation or misinterpretation...

The interview guide

The extended analytical grid (see Chapter 3) was used to analyse documentary and empirical material collected from the analysis of the guidance programme.

Questions asked to the selected interviewees followed the cognitive and implementation dimensions identified in the operationalization of the concept of employability. Data from the interviews were also complemented by information collected via desk research, secondary data analysis and document analysis. The table below summarises the questions I directly or indirectly asked to the interviewees and what documentary sources complement the semi-structured interviews.

Figure 11: Dimensions, questions and sources used for hypothesis testing

Dimensions	Sources	Questions
Values	Political declarations Legal provisions Interviews	What is the ultimate the aim of the service provided? What function does the welfare service have in the whole system?
Norms	Political declarations Legal provisions Interviews with middle-managers and job-counsellors/welfare agents	What is the system supposed to achieve? What is the welfare service supposed to achieve?
Images	Interviews with middle-managers and job-counsellors/welfare agents Political declarations	What are the main obstacles to the labour market integration of young people? What are the expectations of the young claimants? Are there differences between the old and young claimants? What are your expectations towards young beneficiaries?
Relationship with the individuals	Legal provisions Interviews Internal organisational documents	What kind of information do you need, collect and use for assessing young people's needs? How are interviews scheduled and how do they take place (tools)? Are there specific paths to labour market integration that young people should follow? How is the relationship between the individual and the institution regulated?
Implementation arrangement	Interviews Legal documents Internal documents	What kind of contacts do you have with the other labour market agencies working on similar issues? What type of and how information is exchanged between (federal) agencies? Is your worked assessed? How? How are welfare agencies financed?
Relationship with the demand-side	Legal documents Interviews	How are contacts with employers or mediators dealing with employers? Is it possible to establish new agreements with partners that you consider as useful for your public?

		What type of training is provided? What types of programmes are offered and how are they prioritised?
Time dimension	Interviews Legal documents Written internal provisions Secondary data	What role do sanctions play in your work? When are they applied? Can action plans be modified? When and by whom? How long do unemployment benefits last? Which are the conditions for eligibility?

For a general understanding of the role of the welfare system, I looked into documentary sources, namely reforms implemented by the federal governments in office since 1999. More precisely, I look at the *Déclarations de politique générale*[44] setting the broader political guidelines at the federal level (2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008), regional political documents level concerning economic and social policies (Contrat pour l'Economie et l'Emploi à Bruxelles 2005).

As for the documentary sources informing the analysis on the PES, because of the relevance of the and regional level, I referred to the "*accord de coopération sur l'accompagement et le suivi des chômeurs*" setting the framework for the cooperation at the federal and regional level, the *Contrat de Gestion* of the regional PES (Actiris) and some internal unpublished documents provided during the interviews.

Specifically for the analysis on CPAS, I make reference to the federal law "*Loi du 12 janvier 1993 contenant un Programme d'Urgence pour une Société plus Solidaire*", the "*Loi du 26 mai 2002 concernant le droit à l'intégration sociale"* and its royal decree and a related federal circular[45]. I also included explanatory documents produced by the local organisation representing the position of the CPAS in regional and federal policy arenas.

The analysis

Content analysis was adopted for investigating the cognitive and implementation dimensions of the *référentiel* (employability) and its sub-dimensions.

Content analysis was considered the most suitable approach to interview analysis because it is a research method "for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (quoted from (o).
Following Hsieh and Shannon, I applied directed content analysis because I based my coding on a well-defined theoretical framework and its operationalization. Another reason for choosing content analysis is validating or extending a theoretical framework or a theory (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). This is consistent with the theoretical effort of expanding the dichotomous approach opposing Work First and Human Capital Development approach to active labour market policies.

[44]These declarations are presented by the Prime Minister every year in occasion of the state opening of the parliamentary year. They include the priorities of the budgetary year as well as the position of the Government on some topical societal issues. The declaration is accompanied by the financial law.
[45] Circulated in 2002, it was meant to explain how the CPAS had to implement the new 2002 Law on Social Integration.

Once the cognitive and implementation dimensions defined, these are used as codes for examining the text. Coding takes place after reading the transcripts and the internal document several times. Codes created in MaxQDA11 were used to identify parts or whole sentences that could be easily ascribed to similar meanings and which expressed an idea falling in a clear category (Weber 1990).
For the cognitive level, norms and images were the more easily recognisable codes in the interviews. This is likely to be due to the nature of the job of job-search counsellors and social workers who are asked to translate individual difficulties into labour market weaknesses that need to be treated (Orianne 2006). This implies that they are more likely to spell out their images of young people and the advisable behaviours young people should adopt. It was more difficult to find clearly spelt out "algorithms"/or intervention hypotheses under the form indicated by Muller (if….then…). They often expressed what actions should be taken and instruments to be used (e.g. being more persuasive, encouraging undertaking training).
However, the task of creating no-overlapping categories was not easy because sub-dimensions in the operationalisation do overlap, particularly in the implementation. For instance, the use of sanctions can be both understood as informing the "relationship with the individual" but also the "time dimension" and the scope for the reversibility of the action plan. I tried to be as consistent as possible in the coding and amended when re-reading.
All those bits of text that were not clear since the beginning were classified in a later stage.

As in any other choice of methods, there are some pitfalls: Hsieh and Shannon (2005) argue that examining the data using theoretically informed categories might lead more easily to the findings the researcher expected beforehand and to an over-theorization of the phenomenon without always appropriate contextual analysis. A combined use of different research methods and the need of contextualising the institutional setting of the case study may help limit this risk in this research project.
Finally, while content analysis can be also "quantitative" with coded data described using statistics (Hsieh and Shannon 2005), I do not develop my content analysis approach that far.

Investigating institutional complementarity and outcomes: the quantitative analysis

The selection of the unit of analysis, the data and the methodologies

The second and third hypotheses are tested on a custom-made dataset of register-based data covering the period extending from 2005 to 2010. Data come from different federal and regional institutions including: the National Register of Population (Registre National); the National Office for Employment (ONEm); the Federal Service for the Social Integration (Service Fédéral de l'Intégration Sociale); the Regional Employment Offices (PES), and the National Office for family allowances (ONAFTS).
All the data were collected and harmonised by the Banque Carrefour de Sécurité Sociale (BCSS)[46] which manages the databases and create some derived variables available to researchers.
Access to the data was more cumbersome at the time of the request (2011) than it currently is. The codebooks available in the internet counted thousands of pages and there were no pre-

[46] The *Banque Carrefour de Sécurité Sociale* gathers data from numerous public institutions and centralises data for supporting, improving and favouring e-government. It also delivers integrated statistical information to politicians and researchers in order to support social policy. https://www.ksz.fgov.be/en/international/home/index.html

printed forms for data request. The format of the variables available (e.g. continuous or categorical) was not always clear and was highly dependent of the degree of confidentiality of the whole dataset.
I had more than 30-hour discussion with the person in charge of dealing data requests for researchers[47]. Long hours of discussion were necessary both for my first lack of familiarity with the statistical office and statistical techniques as well as for the long procedure for getting the data. My request was first approved by the Sectorial Committee of the "*Banque Carrefour*" (BCSS), it then went through the Commission for the Privacy (*Commission pour la Protection de la Vie Privée*). The request was finally accepted in November 2011 and the database was received, in several tranches, between late December 2011 and April 2012.

The sample represents 50% of the whole population of young people aged between 15 and 30 years old, who were in contact with the PES or CPAS at least once during the year 2005 and who were resident in the RBC (Brussels Capital Region) on the 31st December 2004. More than 37000 observations drawn from the whole population are followed for 6 years, from 2005 to 2010. Labour market data are delivered at four points in time (at each quarter). Two other independent samples were drawn for the year 2006 and 2007 in order to ensure the maximum representativeness. In total, the pooled databases count more than 80000 observations.
The dataset includes main personal characteristics including: gender, age, the position of the person in the household, the educational attainment, the current nationality, the naturalisation and the previous nationality.

The choice of statistical methods

If the life-course perspective of the TLM/CA approach is taken seriously, then research adopting this framework should consider the whole sequence of all transitions from one state to another during the life of an individual. This overall approach to individual trajectories is needed insofar as one should expect the system of institutions to work as an opportunity structure in a coherent and sequential manner for each type of different risk that may arise.

At the same time, there is a need to understand what determines the time spent in a specific state prior to the transition to another state (Abbott 1995). Hence, from an understanding of sequences as a whole unit, one needs to go down to the analysis of one single transition. By doing this, the risk is investigated in a step-by-step method, i.e. when there is a need of a fairly deep understanding of the relationship between the time spent in a (labour market) position and the subsequent state toward which the person goes (Abbott 1995, Haplin 2010).

In contextualising the use of these techniques within the scope of this research, I argue that analysing both trajectories *and* transitions allows me to test whether the existence of "varied and complementary" welfare and labour market institutions enables trajectories with a low degree of risk. It also allows me to test whether an empowering approach to transitions favours this complementarity by making individuals *able* – and not only responsible – *to make a safe transition*. This is argued because the cumulative and subsequent reduction of risk in (single) transitions should provide the reduction of risk on a longer temporal level – i.e. in trajectories.

[47] I'm particularly grateful to Chris Brijs of the BCSS, who made my access to data and to the complex Belgian Social Security System much easier and answered to my several questions.

Two set of quantitative techniques are then required. To investigate the capacity of functioning as bridges also implies to look to what extent are young people able to modify their pathways without getting trapped into "failure trajectories". For doing this, I chose to use *transitional matrices* and *sequence analysis* combined with *cluster analysis and multinomial logistic regression* (more details on the methods are presented in Chapter 6).

To establish whether labour market policies are able to function as bridges for sustainable labour market transitions (single events) I proceeded in two steps: firstly I defined the degree of passive empowerment of the activation measures I could test for with the help of the pieces of information collected in the interviews and document analysis. Secondly, I ran *discrete-time event history analysis, more specifically competing risks*, to test whether the selected activation measures are able to provide the adequate degree of passive empowerment to reduce the opportunity gap between the more and less disadvantaged young people.

Analysing trajectories

The central idea of Sequence Analysis is to treat sequences of statuses as units and compare them holistically. This means that sequences are longitudinal and they give a snapshot of the whole trajectory (Halpin 2007).
Comparing sequences implies that it is possible to identify and measure their dissimilarities.

There are various methods to carry out dissimilarity-based analysis and each of them has implications in terms of what the researcher wants to account for, namely timing, sequencing and duration (Studer and Ritschard 2015). "Edit distances" are an example of measuring dissimilarity. By edit distance, one intends a measure that reports the cost of the operations necessary to transform one sequence into another (Studer and Ritschard 2014).
In this analysis, I chose to use Optimal Matching analysis, which is just one example of edit distance (Studer and Ritschard 2015). It was firstly developed in biology and the OM algorithm became popular in computer science in the 1970s. Its use increased in the social sciences because of its capacity of searching for patterns and was popularised by Abbott (Abbott 1995; Abbott and Tsay 2000).

OM measures the dissimilarity between two sequences (pairwise comparison) – i.e. the succession of labour market position – as the minimum cost that is necessary to transform one sequence into the other. Three basic operations determine the cost: insertion, deletion and substitution (Abbott 1995, Halpin, 2010; Brzinsky-Fay et al 2006).
Setting the costs is very flexible and leaves a large marge for manoeuvre to the researcher. However, cost-setting can follow different logics and, as a result, also emphasise some aspects of dissimilarity rather than others. Discussion on the choice the substitution costs is presented in Chapter 7.

OM was run on a random sub-sample of 3000 individuals whose trajectories were compared pairwise by using STATA12 and its user-written plugin (SQ, Brzinsky-Fay, Kohler, and Luniak 2006). In a second moment, I run cluster analysis by using a Ward's hierarchical linkage in order to maximise the degree of similarity and maximising the differences among clusters.

These analyses allow identifying the main characteristics of the identified groups according to some explanatory variables referring to institutional arrangements (i.e. social assistance or

social insurance programmes) and personal and social endowments (i.e. educational attainment; household position; geographical-socio-economic-environment).

Within these clusters of similar trajectories, three criteria – volatility, integrative capability and the degree of risk – are assessed (See Chapter 7). Regression analysis shows whether some individual characteristics are more likely to be associated with a particular trajectory patterns.
The relevance of labour market and welfare institutions for each of the different cluster of trajectories is investigated by using transition probability matrices.
Transition probabilities matrices have been often used in research adopting the Transitional Labour Markets approach (Leschke 2006; Schmid 2008). Leschke (2006) used transition probabilities matrices to assess whether non-standard employees were more likely to make transition to unemployment or inactivity compared to workers with standard work contracts (2006:145). With a similar aim, transition probability across positive and negative labour market positions over the period under observation are performed for each cluster in order to see whether being unemployed or in social assistance in the different cluster implies the same probability of leaving unemployment or inactivity towards employment or education.

Analysing transitions and the passive empowerment of activation measures

Once established the role and relevance of welfare and labour market institutions work at the aggregate level and on the longer term (trajectories) and what individual characteristics are more often associated with trajectories with a high degree of exclusionary risk, the focus is shifted towards the passive empowerment provided by single activation measures.

Based on the information collected in the interviews concerning the young people more at risk of facing lack of employability (e.g. "What are the main obstacles to the labour market integration of young people?" see table above) and on the findings of the analysis on trajectories, I identified the most vulnerable group on which the compensation effect of activation measures is tested.
As shown in the description of the case study and in the Annex, in Brussels young people with a migrant background[48] have been found more at risk of cumulating disadvantages (Martens et al. 2005), the migrant background was mostly indirectly mentioned (lack of language skills, lack of recognised diplomas etc.) as a major obstacle to the labour market.

Hence, the transition outcome of young people with a migrant background who received an activation measure will be compared to their young native peers who received the same activation support.

The analysis is run separately for social assistance and young people unemployed.
Social assistance benefits are the last safety net of the Belgian welfare system. This means that they are expected to function as a bridge towards either unemployment or - preferably - the labour market. For instance, as I shall explain in the coming chapters, in social assistance supported employment is a preferred option for young people and this historically and practically leads to unemployment. This exit is considered as a positive outcome as it brings the young person closer to the labour market. Indeed, this is not the case for young people in unemployment who are mostly geared towards un-supported employment.

[48] I intend here both naturalised and non-naturalised young people, i.e. who did get the nationality in a later stage or who did not. For more details on how the variable of origin was used in the analysis, see Chapter 7.

Therefore while in the social assistance there are institutional and consolidated bridges leading towards unemployment, this is not the case for unemployment towards social assistance. Evaluating the sole capacity of leading towards employment or education would then be inappropriate.
Moreover, although the political discourses tend to emphasise the role of work experience, young people in social assistance and in unemployment receive benefits based on different criteria. The main difference is the means-tested conditionality for CPAS and the work history or qualification requirement for the PES. Young people in the two systems also receive access to different providers.
In my data, except for the activation measures, I cannot control for any other organisational factor affecting the capacity of the PES or CPAS to compensate for young people's lack of transitional skills. Moreover, beside basic individual characteristics, I cannot control for individual financial resources which would be a very important factor.
While it does not seem appropriate to compare the two systems, it seems relevant to investigate whether each organisation is able to compensate for their most vulnerable young claimants. Hence, based on the qualitative results, I will test if their capacity is linked with the employability approach identified in the qualitative analysis.

To carry out this analysis I use event history analysis, which is widely used in several fields ranging from the social sciences to engineering (Box-Steffensmeier and Jones 2004). What is interesting about this analysis is its implicit interest in risk: using event history models allows us to answer initial and general questions: "is the event under investigation going to take place? If so, when?" (Singer and Willett 2003). And "under these circumstances and rules, who is going to survive?" (Box-Steffensmeier and Jones 2004).

The 'rules and the conditions' I am interested in are the conversion factors embedded in the idea of employability. The dichotomous, yet interactive, approach of *passive* and *active empowerment* helps understand to what extent individuals' characteristics, institutional and environmental factors interact and what results they produce on transitions (see Chapter 2).
Because I am interested in understanding where young people in social assistance and social insurance who received (or not) an activation measures were more likely to end up, I opted for a specific type of event history analysis called "competing risks".

Competing risks analysis compares the probability of making transition towards – mutually exclusive – destinations. In this analysis it is important to distinguish the type of exit from social assistance and social insurance because any leaving benefits cannot be considered as positive if, for instance, the young person goes from unemployment to social assistance.

Overarching desk research and informal exchange

The empirical material was supported by desk research on secondary data and documents (e.g. legislations, internal documents, reports). This helped me draw the institutional context and its governance and identify the actors to be interviewed. I also had the chance to take part in a European-funded project called YouhtLab led by the Facultés Universitaires Saint-Louis which dealt with youth transitions in the Brussels context. In the framework of this project I was rapporteur of a focus group of representatives of training and labour market organisations of the Brussels Capital Region.
The empirical material for this project was not used and coded as the interviews I conducted. However, participating in expert groups, seminar and conference allowed me to gain a better

understanding of the regional welfare system and its challenges. Several informal exchanges took place in this framework where I also presented some first results of my research.

Table 12: Passive empowerment, levels of analysis, hypotheses and methods

Dimension of Analysis	Objectives and Hypotheses	Methods	Unit of analysis	Comparative dimensions
Processes	Looking at cognitive basis and implementation arrangements in welfare institutions and conception of employability *H1: Favoured by common normative trends as well as by similar challenges facing their claimants, PES and CPAS in the Brussels Capital Region are expected to converge towards an approach of employability which is closer to a Human Capital Development approach.*	Content analysis, documentary analysis	Guidance understood as the opportunity structured developed by the PES and CPAS around the young claimant	Comparing the guidance provided by PES and CPAS under their cognitive and implementation arrangements.
	Looking at how institutions shape individual trajectories *H2: Varied and complementary labour and welfare market institutions favour individual integrative trajectories into the labour market.*	Optimal matching analysis, Cluster analysis, Regression models, Transition matrices	Labour market and welfare institutions	Comparing complementarity of welfare and labour market institutions by looking at the degree of risk associated with different clusters of individual trajectories.
Outcomes	Looking at the impact of single welfare and LM institutions on individual trajectories *H3: ALMPs adopting an "enabling employability" approach will function more as a bridge leading to upwards transition into employment, compensate for lack of personal material and immaterial resources and serve as factors of conversion.*	Event history analysis (competing risks models)	CPAS: education and supported employment PES: job-search support, action plans and related measures	Within institution comparison of outcomes of natives and young people with a migrant background according to the degree of expected passive empowerment of selected employability programmes.

Why a mixed-methods approach?

There are long-standing opponent traditions between those supporting qualitative and quantitative research methods (King et al. 1994). The opposition of purists of the two approaches mainly lays on the assumptions that quantitative is superior to qualitative because the de-contextualisation of facts makes the identification of causes more reliable, thus validity can be reached. The more social sciences approach to natural sciences, the more this will be reliable (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004).
In contrasts, advocates of qualitative research refuse to adopt any methods relying on positive assumptions. They rather support the idea that there are a multiply realities and that any de-contextualisation is not suitable as it empties the meaning of reality itself (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004).
While disputes about what it is the best method continues still today, there is an important and developed literature exploiting the advantages of both quantitative and qualitative methods (King, Keohane et al. 1994; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Johnson et al. 2007).I decided to follow this literature and adopt a mixed methods approach to my research.

The use mixed methods in this research is not dictated by the need to have an additional perspective on the topic under investigation, although a supplementary perspective comes out naturally from using mixed-methods (Bergman 2011). Nor is the choice of mixed methods induced by the need of compensate for qualitative or quantitative shortcomings. The reasons are justified by the nature of my research questions and, in particular, the theoretical backgrounds elaborated in Chapter 2 and 3. This choice answers to the need of using mixed methods research when "the nexus of contingences in a situation, in relation to one's research question(s), suggests that mixed methods research is likely to provide superior research findings and outcomes" (Johnson et al. 2007).

The core of the mix-method approach in this research informs the definition of the hypotheses, the research design, the data collection and, finally, the data analysis (including sampling[49] strategy and the interpretation of findings) (Bergman 2011; Blanchard 2013). The purpose of the mixed methods approach as intended here is that of "complementarity" (Johnson et al 2007). This means that the use of quantitative and qualitative seek to enhance, illustrate the results obtained in one method with the ones obtained in the other.
As illustrated above, on the one hand, the quantitative methods provide information on the institutional processes but focusing on their impact on individual trajectories. On the other hand (processes and outcome), interviews with front-line agents qualitatively reveal the underpinning normative and cognitive framework leading welfare intervention on young claimants (processes).

This means that each method is used to test a different but complementary aspect of the answer to the research question. The first hypothesis investigating the the cognitive and implementation dimension of employability in the CPAS and PES should be considered as preliminary to second and third hypotheses insofar as it geared the expectation in relation to the impact of welfare and labour market institutions from an aggregate (clusters of trajectories) and individual perspective (transitions).

[49] The sampling strategy of welfare agencies to interviews were based on the need of grasping the diversity of socio-economic context of the Brussels Capital Region. The same concern also informed the choice of asking for a neighbourhood variable, which could provide a link, although weak (unfortunately – Methodological Annex), with the quantitative analysis.

The empirical link between the first and the other two hypothesis lies on the pieces of information collected on the coordination across organisations, on the expected role of activation policies and on the definition of population at risks.

Bringing the results together and some limits of the analysis

This section answers to some doubts or questioning that the reader might rise while reading this chapter.

A first question can refer to the definition of the levels of the analysis and the attribution of the process and outcome dimensions. They come from a personal choice and, indeed, they can be read differently.

For instance, investigating individual trajectories and their sequences of labour market position in order to understand the variety and complementarity of welfare institutions can be considered as an outcome rather than as a process.
Nonetheless the idea of optimal matching and transition matrices was to highlight the dynamic processes of trajectories and the place of institutions within these trajectories. In fact optimal matching and transition matrices do not allow to statistically establishing a relationship between the time spent in a labour market position and the trajectories. They rather provide an important overview of the overall process and suggest some possible role of labour market and welfare institutions on individual trajectories.

The outcome-based hypothesis uses event history analysis and, although not establishing a causal relationship between a status and the following position, it shows a statistical relationship between the time spent in unemployment or social assistance, socio-demographic characteristics and labour market measure.

Another question that might rise is why there is no outcome-based hypothesis looking at the type of intervention provided to young people unemployed and social assistance recipients which is investigated by using qualitative data, such as individual action plans.
Unfortunately, this was not possible to obtain. The action plans are personal and cannot be given. Being able to categorise the type of outcome by persons or vulnerable grouped would have helped to better interpret the results of the quantitative part. However, there are two major obstacles in addition to the access to these action plans.
Firstly, there are some specific training or job-search guidance for young people who lack skills or need more intense guidance but the criteria do not follow any disadvantaged category expect for very large for young people at the PES with low education and short work history (see Chapter 5). This means that is very difficult to making the link between a specific approach to guidance and a specific group of young people as there is no discontinuity between possible different groups. In addition, the quantitative data referring to very specific measures which might target some groups of young people were not of good quality and I was advised not to use them.

Hence, I should mention that an important limitation of the qualitative and quantitative data is that they refer to a different period and some of the measures used by the interviewees were slightly different in the period covered by the data. The first was requested in 2011 but the latest data available dated back to 2010. Interviews were carried out between 2011 and 2013. During this timeframe several political changes took place at the federal and local level.

For these reasons I opted for two more macro approaches looking at the definition of employability at the street-level via the interactions between front-line agents and looking at the role of institution by grasping individual trajectories.
These two macro focuses establish the environment within which transitions take place and point to the most vulnerable population. Analysis on transitions establishes and investigates the role of employability measure.

Chapter 6 - What type of employability? The case of Public Employment Services and Social Assistance Institutions in the Brussels Capital Region

This Chapter compares the approach to employability of front-line agents[50] and middle-mangers of PES and CPAS in the Brussels Capital Region. The analysis builds on the combined theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2 and on the operationalization of employability developed in Chapter 3 and 5. Findings show that in PES the main cognitive underpinnings refer to the Human Capital Development Approach, but that, at the implementation level, some practices are closer to a TLM/CA approach. For the CPAS, the cognitive approach is close to the CA/TLM with a recent shift towards more human capital. Similarly, at the implementation level the approach is in line with CA/TLM with some practices closer to a Human Capital Approach. For both the PES and CPAS, the Work First appears only sporadically and is not cognitively adopted or practically followed.

Looking at ALMPs practices of implementation: the hypothesis and the analysis

The leading hypothesis of this chapter goes into depth about what type of passive empowerment is provided and whether this is able to account for individual vulnerability through the comparison of the two main welfare institutions in charge of activating young people.

The hypothesis is formulated as followed:

H1: Favoured by common normative trends as well as by similar challenges facing their claimants, PES and CPAS in the Brussels Capital Region are expected to converge towards an approach of employability which is closer to a Human Capital Development approach.

This means investigating the choices and practices of front-line agents while accounting for the underpinning cognitive dimensions of policies in both institutions.
The quality and extent of the passive empowerment will be assessed using the reformulated ideal types presented in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5.

The institutional description presented in the previous chapter highlighted that in both social assistance and social insurance agencies young people are targeted with more intensive job-search guidance and with stronger contractualisation of action plans. Moreover, the decentralisation, the stricter definition of the youth target population and the increased interagency cooperation make the overall guidance set up in Actiris (PES) and in CPAS (social assistance) two interesting systems to study the type and quality of passive empowerment. In the table below they go under the "reasons".
The last column, "expected outcome", summarises what I expect from the analysis of the institutional setting based on the analytical grid developed in Chapter 5.

Table 7: Reasons and assumptions for the case study

[50] Job-search counsellors, front-line agents, street-level bureaucrats and work advisors are used as synonyms. Similarly, middle-managers and local managers refer to the person in charge of one decentralised PES office. For the CPAS, social workers, front-line agents and agents d'insertion are used.

Institution	**Reasons for choosing the measure**	**Expected outcomes**
Guidance for young unemployed ACTIRIS (PES)	- Target - Intensity and individualisation - Contractualised - Networked - Localised	- Converging towards a HCD - Room of manoeuvre for front-line agent due to loose organisational setting
Guidance for young social assistance beneficiaries CPAS	- Target - Intensity and individualisation - Holistic approach - Localised - Networked - Contractualised	

As described in Chapter 5, content analysis on semi-structured interviews with front-line agents and middle-managers was performed. Interviews were coded according to a set of theory-driven codes derived by the operationalization of the analytical grid.
Not all texts were "rich" or relevant for all the dimensions, nor – as one could expect, all the interviews covered all the sub-dimensions.

Values represent what is good and what is bad, which shape the debates (Colomb 2007; Muller 2010). Values were mostly driven from political declarations; however, indirectly, some values could be also identified in the interviews.
Messages expressed within the framework of political communication play an important role because, in these fora, politicians express their conception of the social reality (Muller 2000b) and justify their choices in terms of policies.
Because values mainly refer to macro-systems within which reality is built and through which reality is constructed, they are sometimes too far from the daily work of front-line agents. In fact, front-line agents who are in charge of implementing policies or reforms have to make sense of the values expressed by policy makers. Their sense-making has an important impact on the final implementation of policies (Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer 2002).

Norms and images are treated at two different levels: in political and legal documents and in the interviews, which represent images and the sense-making of the implementers. Similarly, images are easily found in the interviews because they are not formulated as long statements or declaration, but rather as condensed and straightforward commonly shared representation of the reality (Muller 2010).

The implementation dimension is mostly based on the empirical material coming from the interviews and internal documents. This dimension aims at understanding how the idea of employability is actually put into practice, transmitted to young beneficiaries and how it shapes the opportunity structure. Interviews with PES middle-managers and job-search counsellors focused on two different levels.
For middle-managers, the focus was on procedures and practices within the agencies – i.e. referring to the implementation arrangement and the relationship with the demand side. For the latter, the questions mostly focused on the relationship with the individuals and the time intervention.

In both cases, questions relating to norms, values and images came out naturally as these more cognitive aspects are embedded in what has been defined as algorithms, i.e. the causal relationship between images/values/norms and actions. Algorithms help identify which information is deemed important by the labour market actor (middle-manager or job-search counsellors) and how she intends to proceed in establishing her (non)intervention on the individual and/or in the labour market.

Table 8 gathers the codes used in the chapter to indicate for each quote the institution, the role and the size of the organisation in which the interview works.

Table 8: Interview acronyms used in the text by PES and CPAS

Interviewee	Size of the institution	Function	Acronym
Interviewee 1	CPAS representative institutions	Representative	1mCPAS
Interviewee 2	Small	Agent d'insertion	2cCPAS
Interviewee 3	Small	President	3mCPAS
Interviewee 4	Big	Agent d'insertion	4cCPAS
Interviewee 5	Big	Social worker	5cCPAS
Interviewee 6	Big	President	6mCPAS
Interviewee 7[51]	Big	Secretary[52]	7mCPAS
Interviewee 8	Big	Social worker	8cCPAS
Interviewee 9	Small	Social worker	9cCPAS
Interviewee 10[53]	Small	Social worker	10cCPAS
Interviewee 11	Big	Agent d'insertion	11cCPAS
Interviewee 12	Big	Social worker with managerial function	12mCPAS
Interviewee 13	Big	Agent d'insertion	13cCPAS
Interviewee 14	Big	Social worker with managerial function	14mCPAS
Interviewee 15	Federal	Federal representative of the ministry	15mCPAS
Interviewee 16	Big	Social worker	16cCPAS
Interviewee 17	Big	Social worker	17cCPAS
Interviewee 18	Big	Agent d'insertion	18cCPAS
Interviewee 19	Big	Agent d'insertion with managerial functions	19mCPAS
Interviewee 20	Big	Social worker with managerial functions	20mCPAS
Interviewee 21	Small	Agent d'insertion	21cCPAS

Interviewee	Size of the institution	Function	Acronym
Interviewee 1	Big	Job-counsellor	1cPES
Interviewee 2[54]	Big	Decentralised PES Manager	2mPES

[51] These persons were interviewed together.
[52] The Secretary is a non-appointed manager of the CPAS who attends without right to vote to the Conseil de l'Action Sociale and she is in charge of drafting the budget.
[53] Interviewees 6 and 7 and 21 were interviewed together.
[54]Interviews 1/2 and 15/16 were carried out simultaneously

Interviewee 3	Big	Job-counsellor	3cPES
Interviewee 4	Big	Decentralised PES Manager	4mPES
Interviewee 5	Big	Job-counsellor	5cPES
Interviewee 6	Big	Decentralised PES Manager	6mPES
Interviewee 7	Big	Job-counsellor	7cPES
Interviewee 8	Big	Decentralised PES Manager	8mPES
Interviewee 9	Small	Job-counsellor	9cPES
Interviewee 10	Small	Job-counsellor with managerial function	10cPES
Interviewee 11	Small	Manager for small PES	11mPES
Interviewee 12	HQ	Manager in charge of dpt for Job-seekers	12mhPES
Interviewee 13	HQ	Manager in charge of dpt for partnership	13mhPES
Interviewee 14	Mission Locale	Manager	14mPES
Interviewee 15	Mission Locale	Manager	15mPES
Interviewee 16	Mission Locale	Social worker	16cPES

Legend: C = job-search counsellor if associated with PES or social worker/*agent d'insertion* if associated with CPAS; M= middle-manager; PES: public employment service / mission locale; CPAS: social assistance; M: manger in the headquarters or federal level or representative of the CPAS at the federal or regional level.

In the following sections I will investigate the cognitive and implementation dimensions both in PES and the CPAS. Each dimension is hence split into two and compares both institutions. At the end of each section a table summarises the findings.

Values and norms

Overall values changes of the Federal Welfare System

As previously discussed (Chapter 4), Frank Vandenbroucke, minister of Social Affairs and Pensions between 1999 and 2003, played a crucial role in setting up the framework for the reforms pleading for the Active Welfare State. His speech delivered in 1999 will feed into later pivotal pieces of legislation. In his contribution, the values, the objectives and the policy structure underpinning the Active Welfare State are clearly mentioned.

The Active Welfare State is conceived as an evolution of the "old" Welfare State, which was mainly based on ex-post intervention and did not provide valuable exits towards work to jobless people.

[…]l'Etat social actif est un Etat de personnes actives qui se fixe pour objectif la participation active de tous <u>et</u> la protection sociale. (Frank Vandenbroucke 1999, emphasis in the original text)

While not discarding the value of guaranteeing (ex-post) social protection, the minister advocates for the inclusion of broader values, namely *work and life* and *work and training*

balance[55]. The value of *activation* is strongly associated with these values as it shares the conception of active and entrepreneur individuals, who aim at ensuring their participation in the labour market. Participating in the labour market is, in turn, a value *per se* insofar as it protects against *social vulnerability.*

Another important value refers to the role of the State. The State is no longer governing but setting up "incentives" in order to lead and align the attitudes of public and private actors with the government's objectives. This contributes to setting up the political and institutional framework of labour market and welfare policies within which actors are supposed to act[56]. It translates not only into employment incentives for employers for hiring vulnerable groups, but also into decentralised policies and cooperation agreements.

Skills acquisitions v. decent living: two converging means of labour market integration?

While the normative basis for an Active Welfare State was explicitly set in 1999, the concrete reforms of the unemployment insurance and guidance to the job-seekers were approved during the two mandates of Guy Verhofstadt between 2003 and 2007.
In 2004 and in the following years, a reinforced focus on the value of education and training associated with growth and prosperity were widely expressed in the *Déclaration gouvernamentale*[57] (2005, 2006, 2007, 2008).

Likewise, at the regional level, the value of social cohesion is accompanied by the urgent need of achieving economic growth and higher employment participation, while respecting the economic, financial and environmental sustainability of policies.
Further, the value of education and training is clearly stated as it contributes to the achievement of broader and better labour market participation, particularly for some groups like young people, and the viability of the growth system. A well-functioning economy based on the alignment of education and training with labour market needs stands out as another central value (*Déclaration de politique générale de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale 2004*).

Values underpinning the newly conceived Active Welfare State for unemployed individuals do not force out the existing ones, but rather aim at completing them: protection and activation; economic feasibility and social prosperity; sustainable employment and higher employment participation[58]. The quality and sustainability of employment also come out as values, although in a weaker position compared to the emphasis placed on the economic viable welfare and growth systems.

While being influence on the same federal context, the core value underpinning the social assistance regime states that the role of the CPAS is to ensure "that individuals live their lives in human dignity" and that families and individuals in need receive the aid "due to them by the society" (Loi 1976). Similarly, the aim of the *Loi Instaurant le Minimum de Moyens*

[55] L'Etat social traditionnel ne répond pas correctement au nouveau besoin qui consiste à combiner vie familiale, travail et formation.
[56] Pas de dirigisme, mais des incitants. (Vandenbroucke 1999)
[57] Les décisions que nous avons prises […] s'inscrivent […] dans la même philosophie, à savoir : maintenir au travail davantage de personnes.
[58] « Le travail est en effet le meilleur moyen de sortir quelqu'un de la pauvreté et de lui procurer un revenu » (Déclaration de politique générale – 2008)

d'Existence (1974) was to ensure that no person was left behind and at the margins of the society. This was mainly done via financial support – *minimex* (social allowances) - and material help – such as medical or housing help.

However - similarly to the shift which took place in the activation of the unemployed-the CA/TLM approach to values established in the 70s and based on a solidaristic approach of the last safety net was replaced, in the first years of the 1990s, by a more individualised approach to poverty.

One of the first most important reforms – namely concerning young people under 25- was carried out in 1993 (*Programme d'Urgence pour une Société plus Solidaire*) which introduced new values and raised some contradictions.

The reform introduced the conditionality of the social aid so as to reduce the welfare dependence of young people and the risk of feeding the "culture of dependency"[59]. At the same time, the reform was to go beyond the idea of providing monetary support, while ensuring that the CPAS provides the right activating instruments to claimants so as to foster their participation (in the labour market) as soon as possible.

This individualisation of the responsibility was not only directed to beneficiaries, but also to the CPAS itself that did not have to aim at a mere economic integration without providing alternatives for genuine "second opportunity". The role of the CPAS in actively contributing to the social integration of beneficiaries was clearly set in 2002 with the introduction of the new law on "social inclusion".

As argued in the "*Exposé des motifs*" preceding the adoption of the 2002 law, the new social assistance system had to refocus its values and aim at social integration no longer by conceiving the risk of poverty as a lack of financial means, but rather as a lack of social inclusion and individual fulfilment. The right to "live in dignity" is coupled with the "*right to personal emancipation*" and "*right to employment*". (Chambre des Représentants de Belgique 2002).

Employment has become central and the synonym of a "serious" guarantee against social exclusion (*"Avoir un emploi constitue en outre la meilleure protection contre l'exclusion, la pauvreté et la précarité »*. 2003 Accord de Gouvernement)[60].

Further, social inclusion achieved via labour market participation is, for young claimants, presented as – at least in principle – the only possible form of receiving support. This because the idea of young people dependent on social assistance is not compatible with the idea of society, which is increasingly characterised by a growing cleavage between employed and inactive/unemployed (Chambre des Représentants de Belgique 2002).

« *Pour les jeunes […] il s'agit même en principe de la leur forme sous laquelle le doit à l'intégration sociale peut être octroyé »* (Administration de l'Intégration Sociale 2002)

[59]« Il faut éviter qu'un nombre important de jeunes s'installent dans le circuit de l'aide sociale ». « Il s'agit d'éviter que le minimex soit pour eux un mode de vie » et de « casser le schéma culturel de [la] dépendance » (Ministry Laurette Onkelinx, quoted in Dumont 2010, p. 147).

[60] Accord de Gouvernement is an official document agreed by those parties which are going to be part of the Government and it established the main political objectives of the (possible) mandate. The Déclarations Gouvernamentalesare inspired by the Accord de Gouvernement.

Another example comes from an official document circulated among CPAS by the Ministry stating that the main goal of the reform is to allow the person "to live her life autonomously and better taking part in the social life"[61]. The idea of being autonomous is a positivized version of the goal of breaking the vicious cycle of dependency, where autonomy – an individual achievement – rhymes with the exit from social assistance.

In line with this goal, the *Accord de Gouvernement* also highlighted the necessity of strengthening the cooperation across actors and suggesting the need to a closer, more equally accessible and individualised follow up. It pointed to the need of rethinking the organisation and the refocusing of the institutional answer.

The individualisation of the right to social inclusion and the increased focus on certain target groups seem to have shifted the core values of the law from "human dignity" to "social inclusion" and from a "global approach to society", to an idea of fair society based on the aggregation of individual achievements of autonomy and personal fulfilment.

Although values appear less in interviews, when mentioned, they are close to the official statements. The ultimate aim is "social inclusion" via "sustainable" and "suitable[62]" jobs as it implies a longer time perspective built on the potential of the individual (19mCPAS) and it aims at breaking the cycle of welfare dependence.

« Le but est qu'on ne les retrouve pas dans une salle d'attente plus tard» (15mCPAS).

However, despite the fact that labour market integration should be the preferred path, the CPAS front-line workers declare education, skills acquisition and training often on top of the values and actions. Gaining skills is often considered as more suitable for their young claimants as they ensure equal opportunities to young people (20mCPAS).

The difference with the PES approach is the values attributed to education that seems to be broader for the CPAS: education is not only personal achievement - *"Pour nous la scolarité reste l'instrument d'émancipation sociale plus important »* (3mCPAS).Training and education also become a societal investment feeding into the idea of the knowledge society (19mCPAS)(Accord de government 2003 "*Les connaissances constituent du reste notre principale matière première. »*)

At the local level, the societal function of the CPAS and social assistance system is not completely overwritten by an *ad-hoc* and individually-oriented perspective: *"le CPAS reste un instrument de proximité et de retisser le lien social"* (3mCPAS). However, this is considered possible if the passive attitude of the social services is modified ("*la logique du mister cash*").

To summarise, the general stance of the role of the Welfare State mirrors a clearly human capital oriented shift of a more universalistic approach. Unemployed individuals, namely the younger, are both the targets and the actors of the changing approach to social security, where their skills acquisition is centrally promoted and individually implemented.

However, it is important to note that, in spite of the fact that both social assistance and social insurance underwent important shifts towards a more active approach to benefits, the political,

[61]Circulaire du Service Juridique de l'Administration de l'Intégration sociale aux président(es) de CPAS– Mission de mise à l'emploi du centre public d'aide sociale dans le cadre de la loi du 26 mai.
[62] Suitable job is the translation chosen for « emploi adaptés ».

societal and historical roots of the social assistance and CPAS have prevented a complete shift towards a HCD approach. Values of social assistance are in between a CA/TLM approach and Human Capital Approach. On the one hand, human dignity is linked to an overall approach to individual life and autonomy; on the other hand, the action of the CPAS is seen redistributive insofar as it provides access to work. Moreover, this hybrid position on values is also reflected into the values of education and training – while being considered as an achievement per se and being allowed by law – they are also conceived as a privileged instrument to labour market integration.

Norms

The "ranking" of the values and their relative importance can be seized when looking at the norms associated and the actors called up for pursuing them. The norm – the rational of the policy (Chapter 4 and 5) – highlights what it should be reached as opposed to what the current practice is.
The following sections compare the norms regulating the PES and CPAS.

Similar norms but CPAS conceived as a more responsible institution

At the federal level, the implementation of the law of the *Accord de coopération pour l'accompagnement et le suivi des chômeurs* (PAS) (Arrêté royal du 4 juillet 2004) established new and stricter rules and competences for the guidance and follow-up of job-seekers and it provides some important normative indications.

It highlights the reinforced responsibility of individuals of activating themselves and the conditionality of benefits; while public institutions have the responsibility of ensuring the right to welfare and job-search support.

«[…] les Régions et les Communautés s'engagent à organiser les parcours de manière efficiente de sorte que la disponibilité pour le marché du travail et la recherche d'un emploi soient maximalisées »

«[…]L'Etat Fédéral associe le droit aux allocations de chômage à l'obligation pour les chômeurs de chercher activement du travail et de collaborer à toutes les actions qui peuvent renforcer leur position sur le marché du travail»

These quotations are clearly prescriptive. Not only do they set the framework for the PES services that will be implemented later on, but also give clear indications on the acceptable behaviours of unemployed (i.e. cooperative, active, being available).

In other political documents, other complementary norms are spelled out: there is the need to ensure that work is more attractive than welfare and education and training are better matched with labour market needs:

« […]nous devons diminuer le coût (de l'emploi) et nous devons faire plus en matière de formation » (Déclaration de politique générale 2003)(notamment concernant les jeunes)

« Il faut investir massivement dans l'éducation et la formation, notamment dans la connaissance des langues » (Déclaration de politique générale – RBC – 2004)

Moreover, these norms come together with a different approach to the relationship between the State and individuals as well as the service delivery in terms of decentralization, performance indicators, and on the refocusing of welfare policies towards an increased individualization.

« Une troisième caractéristique de l'Etat social actif est qu'il doit faire du sur mesure afin de réaliser ses objectifs » (Frank Vandenbroucke 1999)

« La définition d'objectifs quantifiable et évaluables ainsi que la contractualisation constitueront le socle de notre démarche » (Déclaration de politique générale – RBC – 2004)

These legal and political documents suggest that the overall general position of the federal and regional government is, on the one hand, to see the activation as a means of achieving a larger participation of the workforce in the labour market which is necessary to guarantee the existing social security and its redistributive function. On the other hand, the activation is a value *per se* because it is the expression of the individual responsibility towards oneself and the society as a whole.

In pointing at the need for activation (i.e. proactive behaviour in looking for jobs but also preventing the risk) of both of the job-seekers and the institutions, the value of the overall policy approach can be summarised in the creation of "productive and responsible beings". Achieving productive and responsible individuals taps into the development of skills, training and education in line with labour market needs and ensuring a higher and more sustainable and flexible participation of the workforce in the labour market (Hauss 2014)

CPAS: a hybrid approach

Compared to the PES, the CPAS present a more hybrid approach to norms, which reflects the hybrid approach to values. While at macro level social assistance legislation aims at achieving increased social inclusion, foster social cohesion and overcoming new forms of risks linked to societal change (Chambre des Représentants de Belgique 2002), at the micro level the influence of a Human Capital approach is more clear.

Already in 1993, young people had to be made more responsible and responsive towards the institution and the community at large, namely by entering employment. Young people were meant to show commitment, being "cooperative" and contribute to the achievement of their autonomy according to their abilities.

Passive attitudes feeding the growing gap between the active and inactive had to be rather transformed into positive dynamics. These are triggered and ensured by solidarity which is no longer unconditional and based on need, but rather on needs *and* (individual) behaviour.

« La solidarité responsable, garante de la cohésion sociale de notre société, doit être dynamique ; elle ne peut être synonyme de résignation impuissante » (Chambre des Représentants de Belgique 2002)

Social workers interviewed and (middle) managers share similar set of norms reflecting the official direction of the law. The CPAS and social assistance system should make people

autonomous and commit them to a (realistic) project in the long run. Reaching this goal implies providing young people with a socially accepted life "structure" (7mCPAS) which is conveyed via *activation sociale* (social activation) (19mCPAS).

Although these norms hint to a more HCD approach, where policy should aim at making (young) beneficiaries more responsible and foster their labour market integration, there are elements that nuance this position, namely concerning the central role of the CPAS.

At the micro level, activation of the (young) claimant should be followed by proactive attitude of the CPAS. The CPAS should actively contribute to find a job; thus suggesting a fairer distribution of responsibility between the institution and the individual.

« *L'attitude des CPAS qui se contentaient d'exiger du demandeur des attestations d'employeurs ne rencontre plus les objectifs de la nouvelle loi. Le CPAS doit aussi aider les demandeurs à trouver un emploi. Désormais, la charge de la preuve de la disposition au travail ne repose plus sur le seul demandeur* » (Loi 2002)

Moreover, the law also explicitly mentions the duty of contextualising the aid to the beneficiaries and, in particular, on the attitudes and aspirations of the (young) person, thus promoting a situated assessment of the young person's situation and her embeddedness in a specific context.

"Le projet individualisé doit s'appuyer sur les aspirations et les aptitudes du demandeur et veiller à respecter une juste proportionnalité entre les exigences formulées à l'égard de l'intéressé et l'aide octroyée. » (Loi 2002)

The following section compares how interviewees from the two institutions expressed, directly or indirectly, the norms.

The norms in the interviews

In the case of the PES, normative statements mostly relate to the concrete actions of local institutions and the advisable behaviour of (young) job-seekers.

The values they identified mainly echoed those stated at the political level as they referred to the *access to quality education* and *vocational education and training* in favouring labour market integration for youth and a better matching of supply and demand.
Moreover, the *quality job* and the lack of it - particularly for (low qualified) young people in their first transitions – was also mentioned as a value to be pursued but also highly challenging today. Similarly, *equality of access to employment* for young people is increasingly difficult, particularly for some disadvantaged groups such as (young) people with a migrant background, not only because of poor education and poverty but also because of discriminatory hiring practices.

Job-search counsellors and local managers also express tensions between the values of participating in the labour market at any price, being activated and acquiring skills, being informed coherently translate into contradictory norms and coping strategies.

This is particularly clear with young unemployed without any formal educational qualification. At the micro-level, job-search counsellors express tensions between norms embedded in the

service ("*l'objectif c'est l'emploi"*) and more realistic norms that they feel more suitable to pursue based on the (young) beneficiaries' needs.

Therefore, the norm "*bringing people back to work*" is rather replaced by a "*leading people closer to the labour market*"; "*making young people aware of their professional project*" or even "*if the person ends up in training, then I would consider it as a success*" (1cPES). They consider skills acquisition as a way of ensuring higher chances; but at the same time any type of working experience is also valued because it improves the positive signals the young person gives to labour market actors.

This means that front-line agents adapt their expectations, and thus their actions, to the reality and needs of young beneficiaries and the labour market context. They tend to give priority to getting knowledge, experience, "suitable" behaviours and skills rather and pursuing labour market participation as the solely possible objective.

As reported by front-line agents at the CPAS, a global (18cCPAS) and objective approach (8cCPAS) should be adopted in order to fully grasp the social situation of the young person.
The legal duty of making them autonomous also implies that young people should be made "ready" and they should be provided with the necessary tools to face the labour market and their integration. (2cCPAS)

A widely used tool for achieving autonomy for young people is education and training. Together with work experience, they are expected to provide the resources – i.e. material (income) and immaterial (recognition) (Administration de l'Intégration sociale 2002) - needed to avoid social exclusion. All front-line agents – independently from the size or type of neighbourhood and although aiming at labour market integration - are stressing the importance of education. Education and the acquisition of skills are associated with social emancipation, but also as a means of protecting the person from being excluded in the labour market in the long run.

" […] Le 1er objectif c'est qu'on doit permettre à ces jeunes de terminer le cycle scolaire pour éviter qu'ils soient considérés comme, en plus, infra scolarisés » (18cCPAS)

Therefore, the need and willingness to account for the heterogeneity of the individual situations, the situated judgement on beneficiaries and the role played by education and training in favouring young people's emancipation and social inclusion make the norms expressed closer to the CA/TLM approach. However, the central role of work experience as well as the emphasis on the responsibility of the individual nuanced the norms towards a more HCD-oriented approach.

In contrast, the norms of the PES at the macro level can be ascribed to a HCD approach - where the distance from the labour market is just seen as a matter of gaining the right skills.
However, at the micro-level norms are nuanced and influenced by individuals' reality and expectations, making the norms informing the PES action closer to a CA and TLM perspective, namely when it comes to readapt the expectation towards young people according to more situated judgements. In the latter, the success does not boil down to labour market integration or skills acquisition, but it also includes the awareness of one's projects.

Images

Images are not only important because they implicitly convey norms, value and sometimes also algorithms. They are also important because, in CA-terms, they help point out the presence (or absence) of certain conversion factors (institutional, social or personal) necessary to create the opportunity structure and achieve valuable functionings.
Moreover, from a TLM perspective, images allow understanding how transitions are conceived and what institutions are better suited for functioning as bridges, thus reducing the risks of downwards transitions. As a result, they give hints on the most adapted services to deliver.

Political declarations often offer good examples of images. For instance, the following quotation referring to the Active Welfare State:

« L'Etat social actif entreprenant est proactif, il investit dans les personnes, il travaille sur mesure et il donne davantage de responsabilité à tous les acteurs ». (Vandenbroucke 1999)

This humanisation of the Active Welfare State not only gives the image of a state that is active and dynamic, but also mentions norms (investing in people and tailoring its services) and values (shared responsibility) underpinning the revised conceptualisation of the Welfare State.

This section presents images collected in the interviews and internal documents referring to the welfare subject contributing to set the boundaries within which street-level bureaucrats conceive their roles and actions and the impact these actions have – or are supposed to have - on the target population. These boundaries have, in turn, an impact on the relationship with the individuals, as I shall present in the next sections.

The young welfare subject at the PES and CPAS: ideal individuals v. individuals in context

At the political level, the images of young unemployed people denote the vulnerability of this group in the labour market[63], and the causes are attributed to an ill-functioning system which does not make them « attractive » for employers and does not provide them with the right competences for being ready in the labour market.
The focus is then put on individual skills and competences, which are meant to allow a safe transition in the labour market inasmuch as these skills are valued and are in line with labour market needs.

In the interviews with job-search counsellors, images are often used to explain the category of (young) unemployed to whom specific services will be delivered. They convey the idea of the welfare subject the PES expects to be confronted with or that it wants to achieve.
Referring to independent job-search programmes, a middle-manager defines the boundaries of autonomy of the welfare subject.

« Ça peut être quelqu'un qui est prêt à chercher du travail, c'est à dire que soit il sait ce qu'il veut, et il a les compétences ou l'expérience ou les connaissances pour ». (8mPES)

This is associated with a person with a clear project and with the adequate competences and knowledge.

[63] « […] les jeunes sont à l'heure actuelle souvent les premières victimes de la crise économique » (Déclaration gouvernementale 2003)

The image of "good" young job-seekers that front-line agents would like to achieve is rather someone willing to work on her work attitudes and accepting even short-term offers, as any working experience sends a positive image to the employer[64].

Furthermore, the image job-search counsellors have of youth is strongly associated with lack of formal qualifications and with being impatient of experimenting financial autonomy by integrating the labour market.

« Parfois ils arrivent sans projet, mais tout ce qu'ils veulent, c'est travailler, parce qu'ils veulent avoir de l'argent. Pour s'acheter encore des baskets, se dire: je peux être un peu indépendant, m'acheter des trucs… » (1cPES)

« […]je pense que les jeunes recherchent aujourd'hui un peu la satisfaction immédiate » (6mPES)

Moreover, they are also described as unaware of the economic reality (e.g. in terms of working hours, salaries), and generally low responsive towards the services delivered. *("c'est un public peu captif"*, 11mPES; "*le public jeune est déjà difficilement accaparable* » 14mPES)

However, the young person is rarely assimilated to a rational actor waiting strategically for the unemployment allowances[65] and trying to unduly benefit from the system. Rarely was the culture of the dependency associated with young people without qualifications and living in jobless households.
Furthermore, considering the strong emphasis that is put on training and its adequacy to the labour market at the political level, job-search counsellors tend to expect a positive attitude of the young unemployed towards training and work. However, work advisors do report that young people seem to value work, but for the wrong reasons because of their unrealistic perceptions of the labour market – and, in turn, they do not value education enough:

« Ils croient que le travail c'est mieux que les études, mais parfois… » (1cPES)

The vulnerability of young people in the labour market is not only associated with their unrealistic expectations and behaviours, but it is also defined by factual characteristics such as low educational attainments and coming from another region or country (5cPES). By the same token, the idea of an autonomous young unemployed implies that a young person is responsible for herself, shows interest and willingness and does not oblige the PES to use punitive actions[66].

However, the representations of young people are not the same in all the boroughs. Images are also driven by the context in which job-search counsellors operate. The marked diversity in terms of socio-economic background across boroughs also modifies the expectations that job-search counsellors have towards their young beneficiaries. In the wealthier neighbourhood

[64] « […]Et en même temps pour l'employeur, ils montrent qu'ils sont occupés, qu'ils ont toujours cette discipline de se lever le matin, aller travailler et tout ça ». (5c)

[65] In particular the « allocation d'attente » awarded when the young person has no working history. Currently the name for this allowance is "allocation d'intertion professionnelle" and it is no longer unlimited and is conditional on job-search activity.

[66] « […] ceux qui sont autonomes, donc ça veut dire qui savent se prendre en charge, ils n'ont pas besoin d'être pris en charge par un partenaire. Ils vont venir régulièrement ils vont venir ici, ils vont répondre aux convocations, ce sont des personnes qui sont organisées, qui ont leur recherche d'emploi, […] ». (5cPES)

front-line workers report that young people are more autonomous and more proactive in activating themselves and follow front-line agents' advice[67]. This is seen positively because young people comply with PES rules and reproduce desired behaviours which are considered successful in favouring the integration in the labour market.

Differences and similarities between the PES and the CPAS

One of the main difference between the CPAS and PES is that social workers portray the young welfare subject under multiple perspectives. Young social assistance beneficiaries are always identified as more fragile compared to their peers in unemployment benefits.

This is linked to the fact that, at the CPAS, images of the welfare subjects are not limited to their attitudes, but also contextualised in the broader social and economic environment in which they live.
As I shall present later, even though social workers in charge of the integration into the labour market or education (*agents d'insertion*) are not directly dealing with the social situation, they tend to be aware social problems that might hinder the path towards integration.
Hence, images of young people are both individual and in a relation to the context: the first mainly linked with young people's attitudes; the latter dealing with young people and their environment, particularly their families and neighbourhood.

The family situation is the most mentioned as it is often associated with the culture of dependency and the lack of positive examples that can help emancipate the young person. In contrast, in smaller and most advantaged CPAS, the image of the family might differ insofar as young claimants evolve in lower social distress.

« Les parents dépendent essentiellement de la sécurité sociale et ils (les jeunes) n'ont pas vraiment une vision des parents qui travaillent et qui se lèvent pour aller au travail.»(5cCPAS)
« On a un public relativement favorisé à ce niveau-là. Ce sont des jeunes qui ont quand même évolués à la base dans des milieux quand même sociaux, très...fin plutôt favorisés, il y a pas de jeunes de la rue » (21cCPAS)

Young people conceived in their individuality are also pictured as lacking self-confidence and self-esteem, hindering their being able to project themselves in the future (18cCPAS; 2cCPAS)

The image of the young person is not only that of a young individual vulnerable and at a loss concerning the complex institutional architecture; she is often unrealistic and not well-informed concerning the labour market and the type of skills needed. As for the job-search counsellors at the PES, young people are seen welfare subjects with wrong expectations namely, in terms of the quality, sustainability of the job and their capacity to work throughout a personal professional project.

"Et c'est vrai que ce sont des attentes… un peu élevées par rapport à… parce qu'il [the young person] n'y a rien à proposer souvent» (13cCPAS)

[67] « Donc ici c'est vrai qu'on a déjà à la base un profil qui est plus autonome, je trouve. À Bruxelles, parfois il y avait des personnes qui ne faisaient aucunes démarches. Et donc, avancer, c'est très compliqué. Donc je ne dis pas, il y a aussi un pourcentage de personnes ici… mais j'ai l'impression que c'est moins. Ils sont plus débrouillards. C'est mon impression pour l'instant, seulement en 3 mois. Donc c'est encore assez court pour parler d'une idée générale » (10cPES)

Although young people are described as being willing to enter the labour market too quickly at the expense of more long-term solutions, social workers also acknowledge the limit of the labour market. The labour market is often unable to integrate young people in a sustainable way, also because the education system was not able to compensate for their lack of skills. In this way, social workers try to contextualise their welfare subject within the broader economic and social context.

It is interesting to note that a social worker dealing with young people outside the CPAS main headquarters provides additional elements to the picture, namely of newly arrived migrant, pointing at the lack of mobility and the fear of quitting the safe close environment, where most of other members of the (ethnic) community are living. This hinders, according to the social worker, not only the possibility of getting in contact with peers of different backgrounds but also to access other types of services which are not often available in deprived areas (17cCPAS).

Images brought forward by the social workers include a wider and more holistic perspective on the young person because it includes the community, the family and the socio-economic context. Some divergence on connotations of the welfare subject is found across smaller and bigger CPAS, with the bigger CPAS being closer to a work-first perspective were young people are victim of a culture of dependency.

While the overall approach to the welfare subject seem to be closer to the CA/TLM where individual is embedded into a wider context and not deemed the sole responsible, the tendency to shape the welfare subject according to labour market needs in order to ensure her exist hints towards a Human Capital Approach.

The contrary could be said for the PES where a human capital approach is the most dominant and legally enforced while, at the micro-level, a more TLM/CA approach is found in the daily understanding of job-search counsellors.

Intervention hypotheses or "Algorithms"

Algorithms link images, values and define actions to be taken, i.e. they can also be defined as "intervention hypotheses" (Warin 2009). While connecting the two cognitive/normative and implementation dimensions, they implicitly identify the role of institutions, actors and their respective responsibility. Algorithms often, but not only, are expressed with the "if …then…" - formula and help define the role of the institution (Muller 2010).
The intervention hypotheses are often found in internal guidelines and they make the connection between what is underpinning the action and how this should take place.

At the federal level, they are found in some of the relevant political documents.
For instance, as stated by F. Vandenbroucke, increasing the number of active individuals goes through the reduction of welfare dependency and the activation of benefits recipients:

« La dépendance croissante n'est pas une loi de la nature, mais une conséquence de changements socio-économiques ; donc, elle est elle-même susceptible de subir une intervention 'humaine' ». (Vandenbroucke 1999)

The following sections are based on documents and interviews and present the intervention hypothesis at the PES and CPAS.

The algorithms defining the theory of action at the PES

Algorithms rationalise the reality in order to harmonise the action of job-search counsellors towards an expected objective.
For instance, the internal guidelines for the implementation of the *"procédure d'objectivation"* state that:

"*Si le déroulement des entretiens suppose une relation personnalisée, où le chercheur d'emploi est étroitement associé, il implique aussi une grande rigueur de la part du conseiller emploi quant au respect du cadre juridique et règlementaire dans lequel Actiris s'inscrit et plus précisément quant aux droits et devoirs du CE* » (Actiris – document interne - Procédure d'objectivation 2011)

This algorithm clearly reports the type of the relationship between the welfare recipient and the PES institution. It defines a personalised trust-related relationship based on the idea of the welfare beneficiary as active co-producer in the activation process at large, and on the role of mutual obligations. Similarly, the following statement includes a clear indication about the focus of the intervention that job-search counsellors are meant to adopt towards young unemployed.

« Si vous ne trouvez pas de travail, il va falloir se préparer tous les outils » (1cPES)

Preparing the young person with suitable tools and information conveys the image of young unemployed people lacking knowledge and instruments (a precise list of "conventional" job-search instruments (CV, cover letter and training) for successfully enter the labour market.

Another causal relationship mentioned in the interviews is:

« […] il y a beaucoup de jeunes qui sortent des études sans avoir leur diplôme, et donc là, le grand défi, c'est d'assurer cette correspondance entre l'offre et la demande et à un moment donné dire: si vous voulez rester à Bruxelles, la réalité c'est celle-là. » (1cPES)

The theory of action included in this algorithm refers to confronting the young person to the reality of the labour market, on the one hand, and with the reality of her limited resources (i.e. lack of sufficient educational attainment) hindering the "matching" between the labour market and her skills, on the other hand. Unrealistic projects need to be reshaped:

"Si le chercheur d'emploi se fixe un objectif professionnel que le conseiller emploi estime irréaliste […] le conseiller emploi exerce son rôle d'information, de conseil et de confrontation dans le but de faire évoluer le projet vers un objectif réalisable » (Procédure d'objectivation 2011)

The information that job-search counsellors use for organising the institutional answer is embedded in the algorithm. The capacity of clearly speaking out their projects and coherently implementing it inform either a proactive or reactive action of work advisors. In the first case, the welfare agent tries to interpret the young person's project, on the second case her reactive answer aims at reducing the incoherence of the young person's project to a feasible plan.

Although the responsibility of being unemployed is not fully attributed to the individual, like it could be from a Work-First perspective, the approach to responsibility adopted by PES suggests that there is limited effort of contextualising the obstacles that the person faces in a the broader socio-economic environment. Besides, the attribution of the responsibility is deduced from the scope and intensity of the institutional intervention.

« Mais moi je me dis, la personne, je lui donne… après, c'est sa responsabilité aussi » (1cPES)

Therefore, limiting young people's difficulties to the lack of job-search capacity and lack of information and formal education places the PES in the role of information and training provider. This implies that, once the PES has complied with this task, the responsibility lies on the individual.

The algorithms defining the theory of action at the CPAS

As one could expect from the values and norms presented above, the implementers of the social assistance law have beeninclined to adopt a more human capital development approach where the young person has to integrate the labour market. The quotation that follows reflects the tension between an increasing reliability on work as a source of integration and the role of the CPAS of providing a larger idea of inclusion.

« […] il faut éviter que les gens ne s'enlisent dans le système d'assistance. Et donc, ce n'était pas uniquement la mise à l'emploi. C'est sûr que financièrement par exemple, s'ils font une mise à l'emploi d'un jeune, l'intervention de notre ministère est plus importante, de manière à ce que ce soit d'abord pris en considération si c'est possible » (15mCPAS)

This intervention hypothesis echoes the values and norms presented above, which are not far from the values expressed for the social insurance system: employment remains the privileged option, but not the exclusive one.

Algorithms also hint to the definition of responsibility of parties involved in the service delivery. Young people are supposed to demonstrate to be cooperative, willing to show motivation and do what the person is able to:

« S'ils veulent l'aide financière, nous on peut quand même les sanctionner et ils ne peuvent pas avoir d'aide financière s'ils ne font pas le nécessaire, le minimum que tu es capable de faire aussi » (4cCPAS)

As shown by norms, in the legislation, the share of responsibility of the CPAS is conceived as more important than for the PES. In fact, even though the commitment shown by young people conditions the actions of the CPAS (e.g. the use of sanctions), by law, the CPAS is obliged to find an employment to the young person with a strict timeframe. As mentioned in the comments by the Ministry to the law, the CPAS should concretely help find an employment to claimants and guide them towards the most suitable path leading to social integration.

« Lorsqu'il apparaît, à la suite d'une évaluation, que la personne acquit les aptitudes nécessaires pour commencer à travailler, le centre lui procure un emploi adapté sans un délai raisonnable. » (Arrêté 11 juillet 2002)

Indeed, this refers to an obligation of *means* for the CPAS – i.e. putting everything in place in order to find a job, for instance providing training or access to education – and not of *results* – i.e. providing by all means an employment (Loi 2002[68]). However, this should imply a more proactive involvement in the implementation of employability programmes namely in the relationship with the demand side.
At more operational level, the algorithms found in the interviews reveal some similarities with the ones found at the PES, most likely because the *agents d'insertion* deal with the integration in the labour market and are less in charge of the global social situation.
For instance, the need of confronting young people with the labour market in order to reframe exaggerated expectations and favouring the participation in (basic) training is also central to the CPAS.
More in line with CA/TLM-friendly values and norms, the algorithms also indicate that the CPAS should building up sustainable transitions and reduce the possible "revolving doors" effect (Musterd, Ostendorf, and De Vos 2003) - where young claimants go back to social assistance after short spell of activity or unemployment – by namely providing basic skills.

> *« Qu'on ne peut pas mettre un jeune au travail sans une structure derrière et bon maintenant on te met à l'emploi et dans trois mois tu vas revenir.»* (5cCPAS)

> *« C'est pour ça qu'aujourd'hui envoyer un jeune qui est infra-qualifié et qui n'a pas son secondaire et de l'envoyer "tiens vas chercher de l'emploi". C'est illusoire de dire...dans 4 ans il est encore-là ».* (19mCPAS)

The role of the CPAS and young claimant expressed in the algorithms bring the cognitive dimension closer to the CA/TLM towards a theory of action meant to involve young people as much as possible while accounting for their heterogeneity. At the same time, fostering the rationality of the welfare subject and the need of reshaping young people's expectations according to criteria for entering the labour market hints to a Human Capital perspective, where the focus is not on the individual economic return but rather on the exit from financial dependency.

Conclusions – What cognitive stance?

These first sub-dimensions formally set the boarders and the rules within which front-line agents will implement employability programmes.

At the federal level, the values traditionally underpinning the Belgian Welfare State - based on redistribution, protection, social prosperity – are not abandoned, but rather completed with an increased attention to employment participation and financial sustainability. The welfare subject is expected to value education and training, be fully informed on the current labour market needs and make the most of her competences and skills. Legislative documents conveying the image of young people in social assistance also highlight the importance of making them autonomous, primarily but not exclusively, via the labour market.

For the social insurance and at the PES level, the analysis reveals that the overall is closer to the HCD approach to employability. Job-search counsellors at the PES give special attention to the role of investing in human capital and ensuring a better matching between the supply

[68] Comments on the Loi 2002 published by the Ministry of Social Integration, available at http://www.mi-is.be/sites/default/files/doc/Gids%20voor%20het%20OCMW%20FR.pdf

and the demand. The State is expected to increase investments and foster employment participation in order to ensure overall prosperity; while at the micro level, individuals should be active and invest in their skills.
Coherently, images of young unemployed conveyed by job-search counsellors are heavily influenced by the daily contact with young people and they might see to divert from the general HDC approach. They are often described as having attitudes incompatible with the labour market rules, short-term expectations and maximisation of utility mostly linked with unrealistic economic return and a passive attitude towards activation. These descriptions bring images close to the way the WF represents the welfare subject.
However, young people are also seen as able to express dreams and aspirations and their values go beyond the maximisation of short-term utility insofar as their projects would require investment and long-term perspective. Hence, the images informed by the WF seem to be motivated by a common perception of the young urban generation rather than a problem of welfare subjects.

In contrast, the cognitive dimension identified for the social assistance system can be both ascribed to a CA/TLM and HCD approach. The position of the CPAS is, in fact, more nuanced: matching the demand with the supply comes after taking care of the social situation of the young person. Although the integration in the labour market is the final – and hoped - target, priority is given to a global improvement of the young person life situation.
At the CAPS, social workers express images that include a wider perspective of young people's situation, namely including the role of the family. While some young claimants are pictured as non-cooperative, the prevalent image is of a young person disconnected, unsecure, and not ready for entering the labour market particularly when lacking basic competences.

Finally, the algorithms – expressing the reasons and the directions of the intervention – anticipate the main approach at the implementation level.

For the PES, this is likely to be close to the HCD, where the *'fostering employability'* means encouraging young people to modify their behaviours and reasoning rationally, value education for its potential of smoothing the transition into the labour market (e.g. training for in-short supply occupations) and get as much information as possible to overcome information asymmetries. Moreover, the responsibility for lacking competences, information and autonomy is rarely attributed to external institutional, social and economic factors. They are mostly taken for granted and no responsibility is sought. Similarly, the lack of autonomy in job-search activities is also referable to a lack of knowledge stemming from their little experience rather than from intentionally bad-will.
Therefore, these values, norms, images and algorithms already set a clear HDC-oriented framework within which I expect front-line agents to comply with.

For the CPAS, some of the algorithms do recall the "theory of actions" expressed by the PES, where young people are supposed to show their motivation and commitment for quickly find their way out of social assistance. Being responsible for increasing her employability is expected by the young beneficiaries when other social problems hindering the integration are solved and the person is "*able to defend her place in the labour market*" (19mCPAS).
Moreover, the role of getting the right information, knowledge and self-consciousness via labour market experiences are also crucial for empowering the young person. The cognitive dimension developed at the CPAS seems closer to the CA/TLM approach, i.e. closer to an "*empowering employability*"; even though some elements – like the primary role of work and skills acquisition as social inclusion - can suggest some cognitive proximity with to the HCD.

The following section will explore the actual implementation practices at the CPAS and PES and investigate whether practices follow this cognitive stance.

Table 9: Visualising the findings for the cognitive part – where findings can be included

	WF	HCD	TLM/CA
Values **"**ALMPs **aim at…"**	Efficiency of the welfare system by strengthening individual autonomy and high employment rate.	**PES:** Redistribution and social cohesion based on an economic understanding of social differences – mainly conceived as a lower capacity of certain groups (young people) of integrating the labour markets.	**CPAS:** reaching social integration and participation.
Rationale / Norms **"**ALMPs **should…"**		**Macro** **PES:** Reduce the mismatch between skills supplied and demanded by adapting individual's skills and increase aggregated employability	**Macro** **CPAS**: creating job opportunities that are able to bridge young people in the labour market and favouring their social inclusion
		Micro **PES:** Contribute to the economic return of participants by improving skills, health and personal development.	**Micro** **CPAS:** Improve personal, professional and social integration by favourable transitions in and outside the labour market. Accounting for heterogeneity of needs and aspirations. Jobs should be adapted to individual's needs and aspiration
Conception of the welfare subject / Images **"**ALMPs **conceive individuals as …"**	**PES:** Maximising utility in the short term (for young people, but mostly linked to a generational problem rather than a welfare recipient problem) **CPAS:** Culture of dependency transmitted across generations, lack of good examples in the family	**PES:** Maximising utility in the longer term from increased skills **CPAS/PES:** Valuing education and training Rational and Informed actors able to overcome asymmetries **CPAS/PES** Suffering from multiple socio-economic causes leading to welfare dependence	**CPAS:** education as a means of social and economic emancipation. Being autonomous and fully contributing to the society.

Looking at the implementation

Each of the following dimensions determines the quality and scope of the information used for assessing young people's lack of resources and factors of conversion preventing them for reaching what they value.

The cognitive analysis revealed the underpinning approach to employability at the PES and CAPS; would it also be the case of the implementation processes? If not, how is this different and why?

The implementation arrangement

The dimension labelled "the implementation arrangement" in Chapter 3 has been operationalised in two dimensions: the horizontal and vertical organisation. The features of the horizontal and vertical set up have a direct impact on the relationship with the individual insofar as they contribute at defining the type of information provided and the marge of manoeuvre the local level.

The multiple natures of the influences and pressures on the work of street-level bureaucrats stemming both from their accountability to agency and the clients would require a more extensive work, which is outside the scope of this research.
Therefore, in this section, I restrict the analysis to those accountability practices at the agency level which have a direct impact on the relationship between street-level bureaucrats and their clients, on the idea of employability and the role of institutions in shaping it.
The analysis of the interviews is structured along the two sub-dimensions identified in Chapter 3: the type of management and the type of organisation.

On the one hand, *the type of management* captures what are the direct pressures and organisational limits shaping the work of job-search counsellors and social workers. On the other hand, looking at the *type of organisation* aims to understand to what extent the opportunity structure can be developed and diversified in order to account for the diversity of young people's needs, as suggested by the TLM and CA approaches.

PES: highly centralised and locally standardised

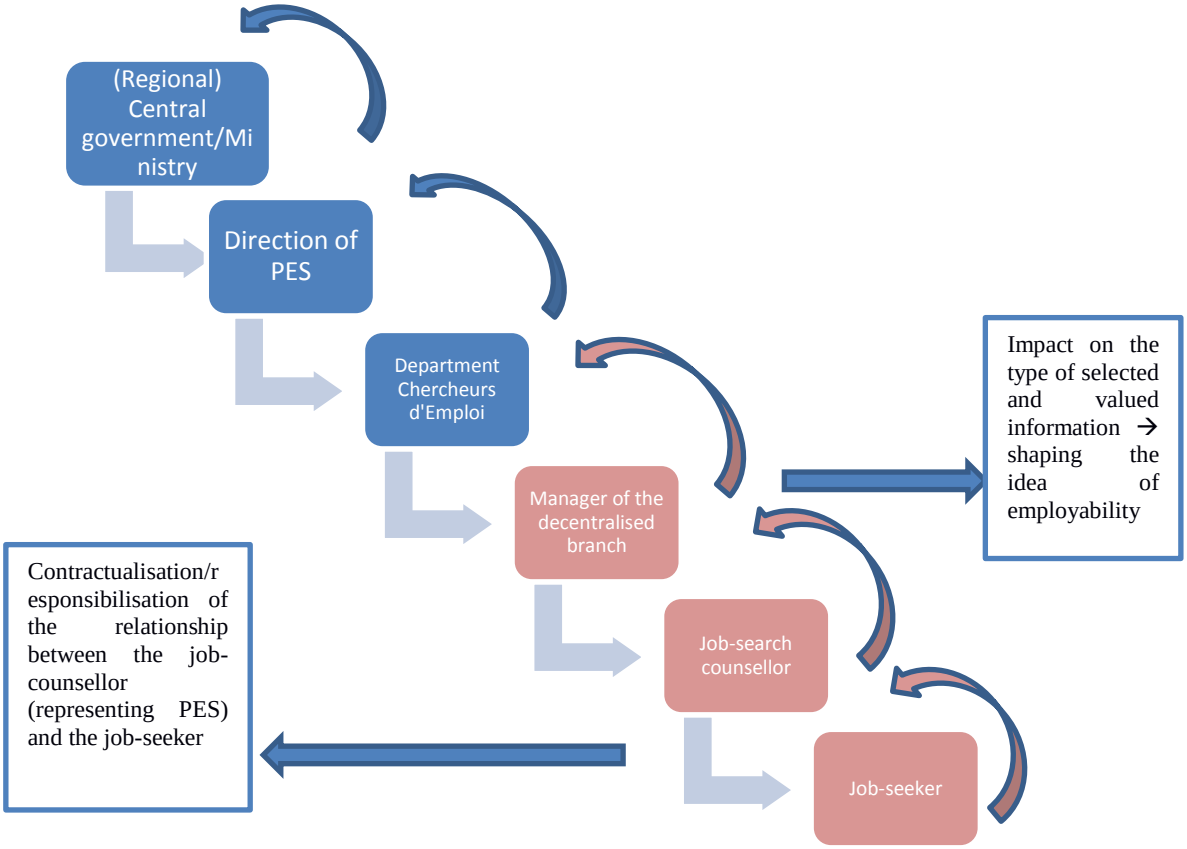
The following sections investigate where the PES can be positioned in the continuum for the type management presented in previous chapters.

Figure 13 schematises top-down power relations (downwards arrows) and bottom-up accountability (upwards arrows) and identifies the actors on whom I focused for investigating the dimensions of the implementation.

There are many influences coming from different levels of governments, ministries, regional institutions working on employment and training issues, but also other internal departments which have an impact on the PES actions.
At the higher level the federal and regional authorities steer the overall policy by establishing the financing, implementing the sanctions to unemployed people and setting the direction of employment policies at the federal and regional level (these remits have changed recently as

regions have become the sole responsible for implementing employment policies). At the meso-level, the General Direction of PES – in this case Actiris – with its Departments plays an important role as they contribute to the organisational design of the PES and ensure its correct daily functioning.
At the lower level, managers of the decentralised PES Offices and work coaches function as the first direct link between the unemployed claimants and the institutions (i.e. reddish boxes in the Figure 13). This means that they are the place where institutional cognitive frameworks and implementation arrangements are interpreted and shaped.
Hence, while not ignoring the complexity of the relationships I described and the power influences triggered by them, I will restrict my analysis to the job-search counsellors and the PES managers.

Figure 13: Simplified "accountability chain" of the regional PES Actiris



Source: own elaboration from Actiris organisation chart and interviews. The red boxes indicate the levels on which I focus.

The type of management

The role of the manager within the decentralised PES offices: steering, making suggestions but with little autonomy

In the 2006 *Contrat de Gestion*, the decentralisation of the PES services was meant to be fully operational in the 3 following years. The aim was to "*develop services closer to citizens and account for local needs…in order to provide the most complete services to the clients of the PES in their borough*" (Gouvernement de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale Office Régional Bruxellois de l'Emploi (ORBEm) 2006). The "decentralisation of services is often associated

with the New Public Management principles where the mid- /lower- level public sector administrators are supposed to run their unit or offices in a more entrepreneurial way (Minas and Øverbye 2010); but also because they are considered more transparent, more accountable towards citizens.
At Actiris, the decentralisation involved all services targeting job-seekers, which are currently provided only at the decentralised PES offices.

However, at the time of the interviews (July 2011- July 2013), the decentralisation had not been fully implemented and there were still several procedures at a trial stage (e.g. the implementation of the compulsory action plans for young people) and the appointment of the new board was only recently done (mid-2011). Each big and medium decentralised branch had its own manager[69], while small decentralised PES (7) had a single manager based at the headquarters and a job-search counsellor with coordinating tasks at the decentralised premises. All managers communicated with the person in charge of coordinating and making the link between the decentralised offices and the headquarters and their direct contacts with the central hierarchy were limited.

Middle-managers described their main tasks as *coordinating, managing and supervising* the delivery of the decentralised services (e.g. reception, registration, and coaching) as well as the human resources at their disposal. While enjoying some freedom for the internal organisation of human resources and services, decentralised PES are fully dependent on the headquarters for procedures, indicators of performance and objectives, human resources and available partnerships.
Moreover, they do not have any financial autonomy as they do not manage any budget linked to the services they provide. Middle-managers rarely talked about their freedom of organising their job, they rather mentioned their capacity of adjusting, playing with the rules and suggesting alternatives for complying with the framework imposed.

« Ça me plaît beaucoup parce que, même si je n'ai pas beaucoup le choix, je suis ici en tant qu'exécutant [...] mais en même temps j'ai une certaine liberté de… pas de créer mais de proposer. On est une force de proposition. Ça c'est clair." (4mPES)

This limited flexibility in defining their function is, for instance, reflected in the capacity of testing new ways of adapting their services to the local target population or of bringing up suggestions to modify procedures at the monthly meetings with the liaison officer.

How standardised are procedures?

There are four types of interview with job-seekers formalised in 2011 with the *"procédure d'objectivation"*: information meeting ("*job info*"), an interview meant to clarify and update the case file (*entretien de clarification*), *entretien de diagnostique* (defining the action plan) and the follow-up (*entretien de suivi*).

Since the introduction of this procedure, the working day (7 hours and 36 minutes) of the job-search counsellor has been counted in minutes: 80 minutes a day should be used for administrative work including the management of case files. The remainder of the time - which corresponds more or less to the opening hours of the PES office – should be used for carrying out one-to-one interviews with job-seekers.

[69] As in the other chapters of the thesis, the pronoun « she » is meant to be gender neutral.

Each conducted interview represents a certain amount of minutes[70] and it is recorded in the IT system by the work advisor. Being the whole working hours (minus the 80 minutes) 100%, 15% of their working day can belong to the category "other", i.e. "not identified as a recordable action" in the IT database. This is an important quantitative indicator every manager reports every three months, together with the waiting lists for each type of interview.
These indicators are to monitor whether the PES is working towards the 15 centrally-imposed priorities - mainly establishing which category of job-seekers should be treated - and if resources are used efficiently.
Indicators on the time used by job-search counsellors are used by mangers as an internal organising tool as well as a negotiating tool on human resource management. This entails two types of relationship built around the indicators: between the manger and the headquarters and between the manager and the job-search counsellors.

The role of indicators: the accountability between the middle managers and the headquarters

Based on precise top-down imposed quantitative process indicators, middle managers have to justify the performance of indicators of their PES office to the headquarters. The report is based on internal data also available to the central hierarchy and it is meant to show whether middle-managers are targeting the right priorities, but also whether the use of human resources at their disposal is efficient.

In the quarterly report, each manager organises the information in the most suitable way in order to justify her job[71]. In the report, the manager clarifies the reasons explaining the current situations and indicates her strategy for allocating time and human resources.

The impact of these indicators is not in terms of direct financing, but rather in terms of human resources management.
Using the percentage of the category "other" of the time allocation of PES office, the hierarchy can evaluate whether there is a need of giving (taking away) temporary staff support or hire further job-search counsellors on a permanent basis.
The golden rule is that if 15% of front-line agents' time is spent on "other" activities than face-to-face contact with the job-seekers, then the PES is maximising its human resources. In contrast, if the percentage of the "other" category is lower than 15% during that trimester, then the staff might have been under pressure and overloaded.
However, this does not imply that that there is an effective use of human resources.
The database could still show that a high number of job-seekers have not received any follow-up interview or established an action plan within the established time-frame.

If the percentage exceeds 15% then the PES staff is considered underutilised or not well allocated to answer to the inflow of job-seekers. As explained by the managers, this is not true insofar as an exceeding percentage could be due to temporary (unforeseeable) staff absence, exceptional or seasonal inflows of job-seekers, but also new internal working methods or longer time spent in one-to-one interactions. Any possible reasons should be specified in the report.

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[70] Managers reported that: 20 minutes for a job-info (very short and ad hoc questions) or "entretien de clarification" (interview for modifying or updating personal data); 40 to 50 minutes for "entretien de diagnostic" (the first a most important interview opening the action plan)

[71] Middle-managers reported that there was no standard way of drafting the report. A 4-page quarterly report was provided by one of the managers.

Indicators allow middle-managers voicing out their concerns, negotiating their human resources and suggesting organisational solutions.
For instance, when the PES office is overloaded, the indicator allows the manager to use a piece of black-on-white evidence showing that the targets cannot be reached because of too few front-line agents and unbearable workloads.

« *[…] Pour pouvoir respecter ce nombre de minutes*[72] *par personne, on devrait être plus. Et donc en fonction de ces indicateurs là, ça permet de dire si oui ou non nous aurions besoin de plus de personnel […]. À ça nous servent nos indicateurs, et ils sont parfois très utiles*. » (2mPES)

For this reason, asking for additional staff can be more problematic when there are reasons that cannot be fully explained by using quantitative indicators.

Coping with indicators and objectives, managing the workload

The (long) centrally-established list of priorities (15) and the scarce resources naturally limit the possibility of fully respecting the centrally-set and locally-identified objectives, particularly for the understaffed big PES.
However, having several broad priorities and performance indicators - which do not have a direct impact on financial resources - can give the manger room for manoeuvre.

This becomes evident when centrally-established priorities are perceived as being in contradiction with one another and go against what it is considered as a core objective of the service.
With the aim of finding the best way of comply with both, a manager explains how she manages to conciliate centrally imposed priorities and local needs:

« Si dans mes objectifs je dois d'abord convoquer les gens dans le cadre de leur suivi, etc. je dois à un certain moment laisser tomber le job info. Ça c'est la façon, on va dire cartésienne de faire. Mais comme on travaille avec des gens qui ont besoin de nous, et qu'on a quand-même une responsabilité, on essaie de jongler avec les deux. Et c'est là qu'intervient mon rôle de faire des propositions[73] *»* (4mPES)

While managers recognise the difficulty of complying with all the priorities, the existence of the indicators was not questioned by any of them and some of them reported their utility in understanding how the work is carried out and how it can be improved.

« [..] Donc, oui, moi je trouve intéressant malgré tout d'avoir un objectif à atteindre à cet endroit-là, parce qu'il permet d'orienter en tout cas une direction du travail, et de vérifier, oui, d'amener du changement s'il y a lieu d'en amener ». (11mPES)

They also point out at the role of indicators and the internal database on time and human resources management also help managers redistribute work more efficiently within the office

72 The interviewee is talking about the minutes allocated for each interview by the standardisation procedure.
73 She tried to implement an experimental service in order to conciliate the management requests of reducing the "job info" while responding to local job-seekers' need of getting this service. She delegated some tasks to a newly created front-line agent role in charge of the job-info and thus reduced the administrative burden of work advisors, who had more time to dedicate to face-to-face in-depth interviews.

in order to ensure a bearable workload and, as a result, ensuring quality of the service delivery (6mPES).

At the same time, the type of indicators adopted are considered uncompleted insofar as they do not provide any information about the quality of the services provided by the front-line agents nor about the actual outcomes of young people in the labour market and similar reactions were found among job-search counsellors.

« (…) c'est des choses qu'on réclame depuis longtemps, d'avoir un retour sur le qualitatif, parce que c'est ça qui est compliqué aussi, parce que, en même temps, pour nous, ce n'est pas uniquement la mise à l'emploi. Ça peut être une entrée en formation qui est un succès aussi. » (8mPES)

Questioning the nature of the indicators revealed two requests coming from the field: the need for job-counsellors of being aware of the impact of their daily work on job-seekers, i.e. allowing job-search counsellors to "be part" of the successful exit of their case files; but also the need of enlarging the idea of successful exit to training and not exclusively to job.

What use of indicators?

As underlined by Lipsky (Lipsky 2010), street-level bureaucrats are often the direct source of information for their own accountability as an IT database, on top of being slow and ill-functioning, cannot grasp the complexity of the face-to-face relationship.

This seems to be partially taken into account by two of the managers who reported that when collecting information for the quarterly report, they also talk with their front-line agents, either privately or during office meetings, about the indicators and possible solutions for tackling existing problems or preventing overloads (4mPES and 11mPES).

The use of performance indicators should be, according to Lipsky, able to measure workers' performance and allowing comparisons in order to establish what it is the good or bad practice. Before 2011, indicators for each work advisor were published individually and, even if indirectly, they put pressure and stimulated competition among job-search counsellors. The use of indicators on the time management of job-search counsellors has changed since the appointment of the new direction.
A job-search counsellor reported:

« Ça (i.e. fostering comparison among employees) *directement, ce n'était pas fait, mais c'est vrai qu'ils avaient accroché dans la cuisine une fois les indicateurs de tous les conseillers et de tous les agents inscription/attestation*[74]*, […] tout le monde le voyait. Et donc s'ils avaient 5% « d'autres », et chez les conseillers il y en avait 20, la seule conclusion qu'on pouvait en sortir(…). Maintenant c'est mieux utilisé, le format qu'on reçoit, c'est pas uniquement les manques, c'est aussi ce qui se présente aux convocations, comment est-ce qu'on peut ajuster pour la suite, c'est indicatif. »* (9cPES)

Since 2011, the current general direction asked to report on the office performance at the aggregate level. Individual statistics can still be obtained upon request by job-search

[74] The « agents inscription » are employees who are in charge of registering the job-seekers for the first time. They do not carry out any in-depth interviews with clients.

counsellors and the manger can decide whether to share indicators among the small PES offices.

Another tool used for assessing quality of the job done by front-line agents is the so-called "*listings*". The "*listings*" are delivered individually to front-line agents and their managers and they produced by an internal quality control service of the regional PES. They are meant to inform job-search counsellors on delays for interviews, file cases that have wrong information, missed telephone calls, etc. The "listings" monthly lead the work of the front-line agents as their priorities are reviewed in order to correct mistakes or reduce delays. Listings are received individually but are also accessible to other job-search counsellors; however, these listings do not seem to stir any competition as most of the front-line agents face similar problems.

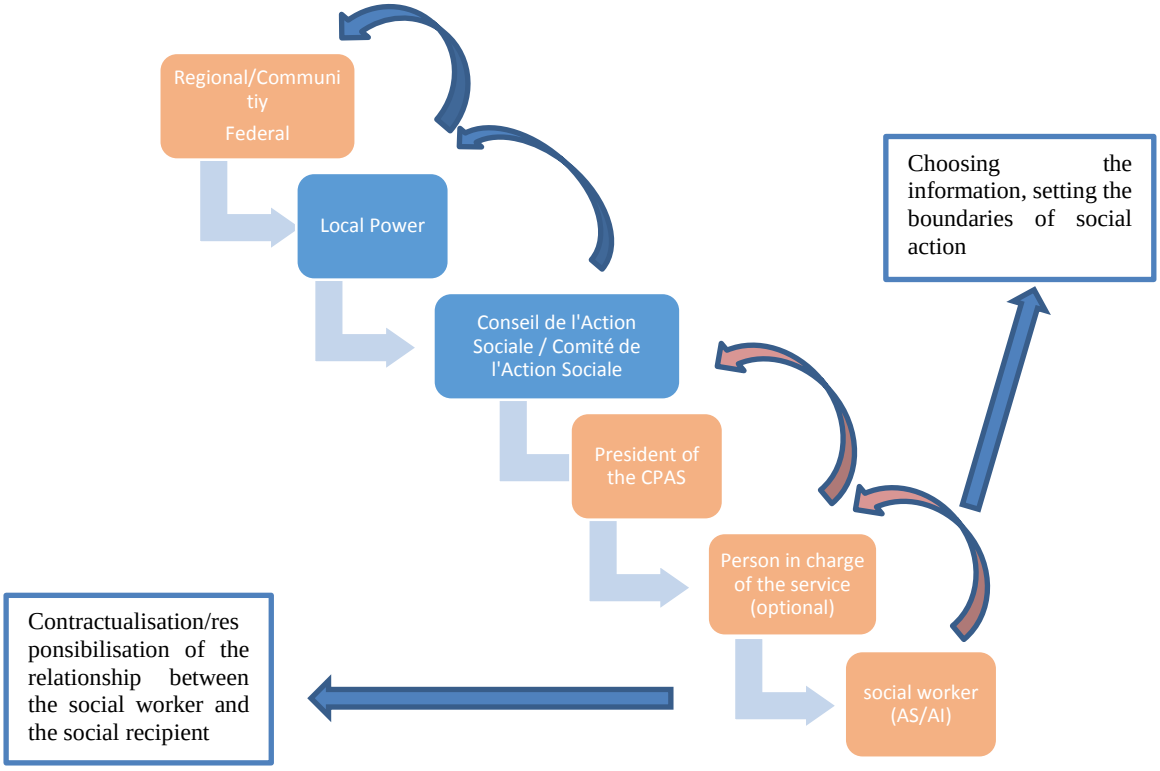
CPAS: long-standing decentralisation and loosely centralised steering

The implementation arrangement of the CPAS is different from the implementation arrangement of the PES described above firstly because the high decentralisation of the social assistance has not the same origin as that of Actiris. The role of local CPAS goes back to charity organisation (Dumont 2010) and the creation of local social assistance centres in 1976. This is not a case of decentralisation encouraged by NPM principles, but rather a long process aiming at establishing human services close to the territory where they were most needed (see Chapter 4 for the socio-economic description of the Brussels Capital Region).

Any CPAS has a minimum structure involving the Council of the Social Action whose members are appointed every six years by the borough council at each election. The Council of the Social Action manages the CPAS and it elects the President of the CPAS, who cannot take any decision without the agreement of the Council. In general, the Council delegates its powers to the Comité de l'Action Sociale (Committee of the Social Action) which is a smaller group composed by the President and some representatives of the Council of the Social Action. The Committee decides on each individual files and takes its decision based on the reports presented by social workers[75].
This long-standing decentralisation towards the local bodies (boroughs) results in a different "accountability chain" compared to the PES as it is highly influenced by the local political context along with the regional and federal political environment.

[75] Information retrieved from. http://www.ocmw-info-cpas.be/images/uploads_x/FV_le_cpas__Fr_.pdf (last access June 2015)

Figure 14: Simplified "accountability chain" of CPAS in the Brussels Capital Region



Source: own elaboration from interviews and information on the http://www.ocmw-info-cpas.be/.
The red coloured boxes represent those levels of analysis on which I concentrate.

The federal level is much more relevant for the CPAS because it is still the sole responsible for providing direct funds to local CPAS and deciding the overall guidelines (see section on the Type of Management). At the same time the local level, for historical reasons, plays a very relevant role as the CPAS are run by elected members of the local council.
As for the analysis on the PES, I concentrate on those actors that function as interpreters and implementers of the policies at the lower level and who have a direct interaction with claimants. Therefore, I concentrate mainly on social workers (AS – *assistants sociaux*), "*agents d'insertion*"[76] (AI) and on Presidents. In total, I carried out the interviews in 6 CPAS; I also interviewed the representative of the CPAS in the Brussels Region - who is meant to represent the interests of the CPAS by the regional and federal institutions – and the representative of the Federal Ministry for Social Integration in charge of the CPAS (see Chapter 4 for more details on the sampling)[77]. These interviews provided a broader overview which complemented the very local perspective of CPAS, because, in contrast with the PES, there is not a closely steering centralised institution as it happens in PES.
Like I did for the analysis on the development of the idea of employability at the PES, I considered that the direct relationship established by the social workers and "*agents d'insertion*" with the recipients and the role of the president - and middle-managers where

[76] The difference between the two is that the first are normally in charge of the social aspect of the aid; while the latter are usually dealing with the labour market and professional integration of the social recipients and they work in the ISP service (Insertion Socio-Professionnelle). Not all CPAS have a person who manages the ISP or the Social Service, this is highly dependent on the size of the CPAS (all CPAS in the Brussels Region have it)
[77] I was able to reach only two Presidents (for one small and one big CPAS) out of the 6 CPAS; the others were not reachable (3) or refused by written communication (1).

possible - were the most important to describe the boundaries within which employability is shaped.

Type of management

Steering and encouraging: the role of the federal government

A first major important difference with the PES offices is that - while working within a federal framework of values and norms, regional and local constraints - each CPAS has a legal personality and organisational autonomy.
This implies that each CPAS enjoys significant freedom concerning the organisation of the services and the measures to be adopted compared to the decentralised PES offices operating in the same borough.

Concerning the financing, each CPAS receives the financial support from the Region by 7% of the budget granted to the 19 governmental bodies of the boroughs[78] and this money is managed locally by the local authorities (i.e. the governmental body in charge of the CPAS).
The total amount received by each CPAS is at least equal to the previous budget year and the criteria for granting the funding to the boroughs follow regional regulations.
It is interesting to note that for the Brussels Capital Region 30% of the funding depends on the percentage of young unemployed under 25 (15%) and the number of young people living in the borough (15%)[79], suggesting that already at the end of the 1990s – when the rules were established - the rate of youth unemployment was a major concern also for social assistance institutions.

An important role is also played by the Federal Ministry for Social Integration. The federal government intervenes directly financing up to 65% of the social assistance allowances depending on the number of beneficiaries registered at local CPAS.
There is no negotiation with local authorities about the federal budget on these reimbursements because it follows the demand for social assistance allowances (15mCPAS)

Since 2002, the shift towards a stronger activation of the recipients was also translated into different financing rules: the federal state chips in with additional funding - *subvention majorée*[80]- according to the type of activation programmes signed by the beneficiaries (Chambre des Représentants de Belgique 2002).

In particular, the activation of young people entails higher additional funds for the CPAS: 10% higher reimbursement, for instance, is provided for each young claimants who signed an action plan leading to full-time education; 25% additional reimbursement if the young person under 25 has been hired by the CPAS itself under a sheltered contract (i.e. the article 60, which will

[78] http://www.pouvoirslocaux.irisnet.be/fr/theme/soutien-regional/dotations-aux-communes
[79] Arrêté du 23 avril 1998 du Collège réuni de la Commission communautaire commune de Bruxelles-Capitale fixant les règles de répartition du Fonds spécial de l'aide sociale destiné aux centres publics d'aide sociale, available at http://www.ejustice.just.fgov.be/cgi_loi/change_lg.pl?language=fr&la=F&cn=1998042357&table_name=loi
[80] Service Public Fédéral de programmation intégration social, lutte contre la pauvreté et économie sociale – Arrêté ministériel établissant la liste des villes et communes dont les CPAS peuvent bénéficier d'une subvention majorée de l'Etat pour des initiatives spécifiques.

be investigated in depth in Chapter 6). Other sources can contribute to developing services, namely the European Social Fund.

Although the financing of the CPAS – both at the Regional and Ministerial level - is not linked to their performance on employment integration of recipients, still the federal representative confirmed the preference of the Ministry to bring recipients back to work.

« Je pense qu'il faut leur laisser une certaine autonomie aussi au niveau local, même si nous préférerions évidemment qu'ils privilégient ce [primary labour market with federal subsidies or ESF programmes] type de mise à l'emploi. » (15mCPAS)

Some additional, and limited, funds supporting special initiatives organised by boroughs and aiming at "social inclusion" do foresee quantitative objectives and are agreed annually with big CPAS and clusters of small CPAS. This additional funding is granted according to the performance of the former year in terms of employment inclusion, but negotiated with the local authorities and CPAS.

Encouraging the use of supported employment, subsidies to employment and education and the harmonisation of practices – like for instance promoting summer jobs for full-time students receiving social assistance allowances - is also done via seminars, exchange of best practices and working groups organised by the Federal Ministry.

« C'est à dire qu'on essaie quand-même de dégager des lignes, à la fois sur l'interprétation de la réglementation, en même temps sur ce qu'on veut stimuler… » (15mCPAS)

Informal meetings are organised twice a year in the provinces and the regional associations representing CPAS are financed to promote exchanges within their regions.
Therefore, the Federal Ministry acts on decentralised and autonomous CPAS in two ways. It exerts technical monitoring on the respect of the federal regulations for granting rules in order to guaranteeing similar treatments across the country. It also influences the local approach to social inclusion mostly via targeted funds (*subvention majorée*) and "soft" governance methods encouraging formal and informal exchange.

More locally, the influence of local political preferences is clearly reported and varies according to the CPAS, and it is more pressing right before the elections.
For instance, two *agents d'insertion* from the same CPAS reported that the *Conseil de l'Action Sociale* strongly encourages labour market integration and this puts pressure on social workers who tend to push claimants towards labour market too early. (11cCPAS, 8cCPAS)

« Ce sont les AS qui décident d'envoyer (au service insertion professionnelle). Idem suivant la pression politique ça va de plus en plus vite. On arrive presque avec certains qui ne sont pas encore acceptés à l'aide qui sont déjà envoyés ici c'est qui peut apparaître fou mais bon voilà... » (8cCPAS)

Political preferences at the local level also translate into ad-hoc requests of exploring new services or provide additional information on service performance.

« […] mais il faut bien savoir que chaque homme politique a un peu son agenda personnel, et que par moments, on a des demandes un peu particulières […] quand ils ont une demande, il faut y répondre immédiatement.» (20mCPAS)

Limited pressure from reaching quantitative objectives

At the local level, none of the *social workers* and *agents d'insertion* interviewed mentioned the use of performance objective; an aspect that clearly distinguish the PES from the CPAS[81].

At the federal level, the achievement of some quantitative objectives is asked for the extra funding that big and small CPAS in clusters receive to promote social inclusion (*Subventions majorées pour les Grandes Villes et le Plan Clusters*).
Although the yearly financing is reshaped if the quantitative objectives of the previous year are not reached, the objectives set by this extra funding are not different from the core missions of the CPAS. Thus no different strategies have to be defined.
At the time of the field work, the federal Government was establishing an indicator for benchmarking the capacity of the CPAS of work inclusion.
Although the indicator is not meant to classify best and worst performing CPAS (15mCPAS) the indicator allows, and is likely to stimulate, comparison across the board.

The workload is very different across CPAS confirming the high variability of the socio-economic conditions of the boroughs and the impact of the crisis which has substantially increased the number of case-files.
This has also an impact on the time front-line agents can spend on each young person and on their capacity of following up young claimants (see section "Relationship with individuals" below). In big CPAS the number of case files is around 150, while in smaller CPAS this is lower, between 40 and 90.

The use of IT at the CPAS has often been seen as imposed by external partners (e.g. federal, FES, Actiris…) and not always useful to social work (Burton, Laurent, and Lobert-Maris 2007). However, keeping track on actions is necessary particularly in big and fragmented services:

« Qu'un travailleur social puisse aller voir le rapport que j'ai fait dans mon secteur sur une personne qu'il suivait, moi je trouve plutôt positif en soi, c'est justement il faut éviter les malentendus » (8cCPAS)

The use of IT has become more intense particularly because the CPAS tend to have their own internal IT programmes, another IT interface for communicating with the central government on budget and reimbursement as well as the RPE, the shared database between the CPAS and Actiris.

[81] However, as I shall explain later, for CPAS the cooperation with Actiris still implies some quantitative outcomes to be achieved.

Type of organisation

The type of organisation looks at the role and the management of the PES and CPAS how decentralised PES and local CPAS and other actors are working together.

Understanding what type of relationship there is between Actiris and CPAS and their partners is important to understand what kind of opportunity structure they are likely to provide to young people and, as a results, what employability is actually promoted.

The presence of diversified and customised services and the freedom of choice job-seekers are beneficial insofar as these actors are accessible; they reproduce a CA/TLM approach to employability programme and answer to the diversity of needs of job-seekers.

The following sections explore this dimensions in the two institutions.

PES: centralising and managing external partners

Actiris plays a central role in the implementation of the regional employment policy because it is the first institutions job-seekers are in contact with and it centralises several services. However, since the come into force of the regional decree on private employment agencies[82]in 2003, the number of private and third sector partners increased and this pushed to the reorganisation of department Actiris dedicated to the creation and management of partnerships (*Department Parternariats et Réseau* within the *Direction Partenariats et Programmes d'Emploi*). Therefore Actiris passed from being the only guarantor of the good functioning of the labour market to an actor among other offering services but also coordinating the most important employment incentives (Observatoire Bruxellois de l'Emploi 2009)
The differentiation of the actors involved in the service delivery and the competition among them is one of the features of the New Public Management (Jacob and Genard 2011).
Jacob and Genard (2011) investigated the role of the New Public Management (NPM) in the employment policies of the Brussels Capital Region. They highlighted that the implementation of NPM principles in the employment policy of the region particularly related to the cooperation of different actors and the decentralisation is hindered by the excessive pluralism. An incremental number of policy and programmes targeting different populations also contributes to a low transparency of the mechanisms regulating the intervention of the different actors.
To similar conclusions were also arrived Ouali and Rea (1994) when they commented the increasing participation of the third sector in employment policies and the difficulty of clearly determine the role of the different institutions.

Further definition of the role of Actiris was provided by the *Contrat de Gestion* in 2006, which initiated the reorganisation of the PES, the decentralisation of services, and the externalisation of the intense guidance to specialised external partners. It also modified the relationship between Actiris and job-seekers and between Actiris and its partners. This was mainly due to the use of contracts: on the one hand the CPP for the job-seekers and, on the other, a series of new contracts for the partners (Observatoire Bruxellois de l'Emploi 2009).

[82] Gestion mixte du marché du travail legally introduced in 2003.

A complementary perspective to the previous researches is provided by the interviews. It comes out that this '*flou institutonnel*'[83] (Ouali and Rea 1994), a centralised monitoring of the partners and the prevalence of third sectors and social actors bring the system of cooperation with partners closer to subsidised system of partnership rather a market-regulated system. The sections below highlight some of feature of the system.

The role of partners and the methods for choosing them

The role of the partners is to provide the "secondary care" (*service de deuxième ligne*), while Actiris and its job-search counsellors ensure the coherence and the overall monitoring of the individual action plan (e.g. through the "*entretien de suivi"* and the *"entretien de bilan"* which is carried out after one year of guidance).
The role of backbone in the individualised follow-up of the person and the central role in regulating the partnerships of Actiris takes the shape of 'call for projects' (Struyven and Parys 2009). As explained by the authors, two reasons were pointed out for preferring the 'appel à projets' instead of procurements: the calls for projects impose specific criteria and experience for the services to deliver and the imposed price for the project hinders the competition on price. Both reasons reduce the participation of for-profit labour market actors.

On what information are the calls for projects based?

The informational basis on which the calls for projects – and as a result the services available to job-seekers – is also important for understanding the logics behind the institutional action. Does this information come from the labour market itself? Does it imply an exchange among actors? Or is it imposed by the PES? If so how, is this built up?

The manager at the headquarters and in charge of preparing the '*appels à projets*' explained the sources they use.
The preliminary analysis of the needs of the job-seekers registered at the PES is carried out by the Department itself in order to design the call for projects and the contract documents and attract the most suitable partners. The analysis of needs is based on several inputs, namely political priorities (e.g. *accords de gouvernement*, regional employment policies, Europe2020 strategy,…), analyses of the internal research and statistics department (Observatoire Bruxellois de l'Emploi), and annual reports of other regional public actors (e.g. Bruxelles Formation) and private partners, round tables with the other two Departments in charge of the Job-seekers' guidance and of the relationship with the Employers, but also previous experience. As reported by the manger, "*the identification of needs is not negotiated with the other internal Departments*" (13mPES) but elaborated by the sub-department itself on the inputs received of the other Departments of Actiris (for instance Job-seekers and Employers).

Once all the local needs identified, the Department prepares a two-year strategic plans including priorities and budgets. The calls for proposals are based on this strategic plan and they also include contract documents for future partners. The manager reported that this procedure based on a central identification of needs was previously based on bottom-up

[83] In recent years, with the aim of overcoming the fragmentation and the multiplication of similar services at the local level, Actiris has been putting in place the "Maisons de l'Emploi et de la Formation ". While partnerships are agreed on a regional level, the Maisons de l'Emploi et de la Formation aim at a better coordination of local partners by gather them in the same building when possible (e.g. in the borough of Bruxelles-ville) or virtually. At the moment of the interviews, the Maisons de l'Emploi et de la Formation were still at an early stage, however a job-search counsellor reported that communication and coordination among services increased (1cPES).

initiatives of the third sectors organisations, which proposed specific services. The PES evaluated the projects and checked whether it was coherent with its priorities.
Since 2008, the PES plays a more central role in establishing shaping the offer.
However, Actiris has long-established partnerships with local third sector organisations (e.g. Missions Locales) and public welfare institutions (e.g. CPAS); hence there are some core long-lasting partnerships that have not been modified after the implementation of this new procedure. The manager of a local no-profit organisation – Mission Locale – confirmed that after the new procedure for establishing partnerships they did not substantially change their methodologies for complying with new outcomes required by the *cahier des charges* (i.e. contract documents) established for each project (15mPES).
This was also confirmed by the PES central manager, who underlined that partners have to achieve some specific results but can use, in most cases, the methodology they prefer. The flexibility of the approach leaves the no-profit organisations free to organise their services; however it is also important to note that the actors interviewed are traditional partners of Actiris and their methods have been already accepted and validated long ago.

Cooperation, competition or distrust?

All partners are linked with Actiris and its decentralised offices via the RPE (*Réseau Plateformes Locales pour l'Emploi*), an IT platform collecting all actions and measures taken by job-seekers who are followed both by Actiris and one – or more – partners in order not coordinate the actions. The list of partners also available to job-search counsellors who consult it in order to find the best service providers for the job-seekers needs.
However, work advisors tend to be keener to direct job-seekers towards well-known partners, thus already operating a selection.

Actiris and its local private partners feed the data on job-seekers and the programmes they attended. The use of IT is fundamental insofar as job-search counsellors at Actiris need to monitor the progression of the job-seeker toward the labour market by having an overview of all the steps taken and avoid overlapping interventions.

Although the RPE is meant to improve the service and the communication among actors and reduce the mismatch between the supply and the demand[84], the managers of the Missions Locales (15mPES) and the CPAS point at the fact that the IT increased the administrative workload of social workers and this has an impact on the time they can spend with beneficiaries. Moreover, there is also often mistrust among external partners concerning the accessibility of information on job-seekers registered in the shared IT system (RPE) to the sanctioning federal authority. This distrust does not help foster a clear coordination particularly on that shared target population – e.g. young people who are both at the CAPS and the PES (e.g. case filedo not report full information on the precise actions the person went through).
In fact, job-search counsellors reported that better coordination is achieved when both Actiris and partners share the same overall objectives and vision of institutional intervention on job-seekers' path (10cPES; 7cPES).

Choosing partners

Local partnerships are thus mostly conceived and established at the central level, although there are exchanges at the headquarters between different departments and the attention is geared

[84] http://www.febisp.be/view/fr/FeBISP/Mandats/ComiteSuiviRPE.html

towards the geographical presence of partners also in function of the needs of the boroughs (13mPES).
While most middle-managers esteemed the variety of partners and available services is broad, two of them also reported that they do not hesitate to establish informal partnerships with local third sectors organisation which are not official partners of Actiris but that better answer to job-seekers' users (i.e. not receiving funds for one or several services and have not necessarily a job-coaching methodology validated by Actiris):

« Puis il y a les autres partenaires qui n'ont pas de conventions de partenariat […] mais quand même qui connaissent l'antenne et qui ont quand même une utilité pour le public et donc nous on orientons aussi vers ces gens. Donc ce sont parfois des services qui sont peut-être moins vers l'emploi mais qui sont des services, aussi qui peuvent prendre en considération d'autres services comme par exemple des gens qui cherchent un logement, des gens qui ont des problèmes psycho-sociaux… » (6mPES)

In the interviews, the effectiveness of partnerships between the local PES and the local partners is often identified in the geographical and methodological proximity of these services. The geographical proximity plays an important role in establishing good relationships between the partners because small conflicts or issues can be solved immediately and face-to-face.

The internal cooperation – gaps in the communication and asymmetries in the informational basis of judgement in justice

The internal cooperation among the services dealing with job-seekers has also an impact on the type of institutional action.
Unemployed do not only have in-depth interviews with their job-search counsellors but also get in contacts with the "*gestionnaires d'offres*", i.e. those employees working at the centre level and managing job offers. Their role is to find the best match between what employers require and the profiles of the job-seekers.
Although both services deal with job-seekers, job-search counsellors and "gestionnaires d'offres" belong to two different Departments: the first to the Job-seekers Dept., the latter to the Employers Dept.

Therefore, their "clients" are different insofar the first prepare job-seekers and the latter deal with job-seekers but from an employer perspective. Hence, their logics and approach to job-matching are sometimes tense.
In the daily practice, the *gestionnaires d'offres* do not have any – or very limited - direct contact with job-search counsellors. No meetings are organised between these two front-line services and contacts are mainly over the phone or via email and for ad hoc questions on specific job-offers.
This organisational gap limits the intervention of job-search counsellors to the achievement of individual's standardised goals (e.g. increase their skills, improve their working attitudes, increase their autonomy) as most of their knowledge of the labour market is based on common perceptions rather than direct experience of recruitment or strong connection with the services in charge of matching the supply and the demand.
Moreover, the lack of appropriate IT support for sharing more qualitative information on job-seekers skills might downsize the profile of the unemployed to a standardised model and does not necessarily value the more specific or transversal competences of the person (see next section).

Another important level of cooperation is the relationship with the federal authority (ONEm). The 2004 *Accord de coopération sur l'Accompagnement et le Suivi des Chômeurs (PAS)* established that the regional PES cannot sanction by removing unemployment benefits as they are paid at the central level. However, the regional PES still operates a first control insofar as they have to report whether job-seekers respect the mutual obligation of getting activated, carried out job-search, answer to the calls of the PES.
Contacts between Actiris and the ONEm take place mainly via IT tools. Actiris has to send via mail all guidance measures offered to the recipient; it also has to report whether the unemployed did not show up and whether she was stricken off or if she received a job offer and if she refused to take it (*procédure d'objectivation*).
Although the institutions have in principle two different roles, i.e. sanctioning and guiding, their tasks are somewhat overlapping. In fact, Actiris is meant to guide and support job-seekers but at the same time it has to evaluate by sending information to the ONEm on the job-seekers' reactions. At the same time, the ONEm imposes "action plans" to job-seekers during the monitoring of their job-search efforts foreseen in the *PAS* at the federal level (see section on the institutional description).
At the local level, this overlapping of competences can create tensions. In a yearly report on the implemented measures, the Observatoire Bruxellois pour l'Emploi highlighted:

Le suivi des chômeurs de longue durée effectué par l'ONEM interfère toujours dans la méthodologie de l'accompagnement définie par Actiris. En effet, les actions prescrites par les facilitateurs ne correspondent pas toujours au plan d'action défini entre le chercheur d'emploi et son conseiller référent chez Actiris. Les rencontres régulières entre les représentants des deux organismes, l'amélioration des transferts de données ainsi que la réforme du dispositif CPP, devenu systématique, tendent à diminuer ces divergences. (Observatoire Bruxellois de l'Emploi 2011)

Similar declarations were done by job-search counsellors at the PES but also by social workers at partner organisations. They reported that they try to get in contact directly with the person in charge at the federal office in order to negotiate or revise the action plan for the job-seeker if this this considered too demanding but the negotiation with the ONEm can be unsuccessful (14mPES).

CPAS: Adapting the partnerships to the local context

In addition to the basic services in the CPAS which are of direct interest for this research are the social service (*service social*) and the *service ISP* (*Insertion Socio-Professionnelle,* i.e. labour market integration), the CPAS can develop local partnership with other external organisations that complement or support the missions of the CPAS

The decentralisation of the CPAS is not only different from the PES for its long-standing tradition, but also because there are important features that makes the CPAS more locally rooted and influence. For instance, the local financial responsibility contributes to explain the strong influence of local powers on the type of services and on the internal organisations of the CPAS. It also helps explain the complex organisational structure as each CPAS can decide to reshuffle core services and distribute tasks differently.

For instance, the basic structure has been adapted in the local urban context of the RBC where boroughs can stretch far from the CPAS headquarters and hinder the access to people living remote areas.
Each CPAS has then decided whether to decentralise its social services.

« […] Or X c'est quand même une partie importante de la superficie de la commune et vous voyez il y a une très grande diversification entre les différents quartiers et c'est pour ça aussi qu'on travaille par quartier entre autre au niveau du travail sociale » (14mCPAS)

This was not possible for Actiris that only have one PES in each borough and local agencies cannot decide unilaterally to expand their services in other locations without a centrally – regional – decision.

Moreover, beyond minimum criteria, each CPAS is free to develop other services meant to answer the need of the local population; however, this capacity of developing local-based projects or services is dependent on the financial and administrative capacity of each centre. An example is provided by one big CPAS in one of the poorest area of the RBC, which created the "*cellule prévention agressivité*" and the *cellule screening* with specialised social workers. The first for coping with difficult behaviours and the latter for supporting social workers in the definition of individual action plans.

"Étant donné que nous avions de plus en plus de situations d'agressivité au sein du CPAS on a mis en place une cellule avec deux éducateurs spécialisés et une psychologique pour pouvoir intervenir en cas de violence, débriefer avec le travailleurs sociaux" (14mCPAS)

Moreover, several CPAS also created the *cellule étudiants* (student service) for full-time students receiving social assistance (16cCPAS). This was an organisational answer to the 2002 law, which introduced the right to young people aged 18 to 25 to receive social integration allowances under the conditions of activation. Other CPAS decided to include both young people in regular studies and training under the same service (9cCPAS).

The distribution of tasks can be done because of administrative capacity but also because there is a clear idea of activation. For example, in one of the big CPAS, a special service composed of social workers called "*facilitateurs de projets*"[85] is in charge of drafting the action plans with all claimants.

« […]pour tout ce qui est vérifier les attentes et les projets ce sont ce qu'on appelle les facilitateurs de projets et ce sont des gens qui ne font que ça et donc leur boulot c'est justement d'investiguer et de rechercher et d'arriver à un accord avec la personne […]donc eux ils vont partir sur les éléments objectifs et de voir un petit peu comme le projet, la capacité de la personne de faire son projet » (19mCPAS)

Although drafting an action plan is legally obligatory only for young people, the quote above refers to all claimants because this big CPAS has decided to make the PIIS (action plan) obligatory for everyone. This policy choice denotes once again the freedom of local CPAS.
Moreover, the creation of this ad-hoc service highlights the relevance of the contracts and "factual-based" profiling in establishing the relationship between the institutions and the beneficiary beyond the legal financial reward.

[85] The role of « facilitateur de projet » does not exist in other CPAS.

Internal communication – working with similar objectives?

Another relevant structural difference with PES is that the CPAS is in charge of both the payment of social allowances as well as the activation of the recipients.
The fact that both services are controlled by the same institution allows, on the one hand, a better adaptation of the sanctions as the CPAS has access to the whole picture of the individual situation, also extended to family members.

On the other hand – similarly as in the PES and more likely in the big CPAS - there are still some misunderstandings between social workers in charge of drafting the first PIIS on social integration (if people are under 25) and the *agents d'insertion*, who are in charge of training or full-time education or employment programmes. The two services seem to answer to different logics and the means of communication do not seem to go beyond one-to-one communication on single case files.

« Donc si jamais je vois que l'aide n'allait que jusqu'au mois de juin. Alors à ce moment-là j'essaie de contacter l'AS ou je lui envoie un mail en demandant "est-ce que cette personne va être continué à être aidée ou pas ? […] Et je demande de me tenir au courant. Si maintenant je n'ai pas de réponse qui arrive, de temps en temps au bout de trois mois je fais une suppression de mon dossier » (8cCPAS)

The different logics are sometimes linked to judgement on the cooperative behaviour of the young claimants: while social workers might be more prone to sanctions, *agents d'insertion* tend to see unexpected sanctions as an obstacle to their work towards inclusion as economically precarious young people find it more difficult to pursue in their action plan.

Differences in decisions between the social workers and the *agents d'insertion* has been reported in the biggest CPAS, while small and not decentralised services seem to be better coordinated or to have more informal occasions for discussion about case files.
In spite the fact that there might be a positive cooperation between the AI and the AS or at least an ease way to communicate, there is sometimes the feeling of fragmented services and an excessive number of front-line workers dealing with recipients for different reasons. This fragmentation together with a high turnover of front-line agents is likely to hinder a coherent guidance

External Cooperation

In contrast with Actiris, the CPAS usually set up several services of guidance which are carried out internally and the cooperation of external members can vary: some CPAS report to actively cooperate with the Missions Locales or with external services, which are not able to provide internally but are considered as needed for the beneficiaries (like trainings). This is the case of a small CPAS where psychological help, for instance, is not directly available but needed particularly for young people at a loss (2cCPAS). In big CPAS, the existence of highly decentralised and locally rooted services foster transversal cooperation with local associations, hence ensuring easier access for CPAS claimants to – often overcharged- services (17cCPAS).

One of the most important external cooperation common to all CPAS is with Actiris. The cooperation between Actiris and the CPAS in the RBC was established back in 1992[86]. The main aim was to increasing the chances of get out from social marginalisation of people receiving social benefits and slowly starting to assimilate social assistance to social insurance recipients. The partnership established that the CPAS could hire, by using the PES regional money and the European Social Funds, additional trained staff to guide these recipients back to the labour market or vocational training. Ideally, these social assistance recipients should register to the PES and get closer to the "primary" labour market. These yearly agreements targeted only those social assistance recipients who voluntarily chose to start a reintegration project towards the labour market. The idea of voluntariness has disappeared since the introduction of the 2002 for young people, as they are obliged to show their availability in the labour market by registering at the PES if they are not exempted by "equity reasons" (e.g. enrolling in education).
The partnership has been revised in 2008 with the introduction of the new ESF programme running from 2007 to 2013. While the final aim of the partnership did not change – i.e. "allowing social assistance recipients to integrate the labour market via individualised and structured path" – the framework became stricter with 1000 people that should be registered per year by CPAS (Observatoire Bruxellois de l'Emploi2012). The number of people registered to put pressure on *agents d'insertion* who also admit to see less and less the advantaged of this partnership for their recipients.

« Ce partenariat a quelque part perdu un peu de sens pour nous puisque ce sont les chiffres qui parlent» (4cCPAS)

This is also confirmed by a recent opinion expressed by a consultative organ on employment and education which called for a better coordination between the two institutions. (CCFEE)
Hence, despite the long-standing formal cooperation with Actiris, no real and collaborative interaction is reported by the CPAS ("*une cooperation avec Actiris c'est un gros mot*"). This is also due to a perceived inadequateness of the integration steps established by the agreement that beneficiaries should actually follow (11cCPAS). However the CPAS keep, with respect to this agreement, an important marge of manoeuvre that they shape according to their political and organisational preferences (Actiris 2012). Moreover, to avoid an extra burden in terms of data coding, some CPAS has also decided to delegate the registration to the common database (RPE) by administrative people who are not in charge of the activation.

Conclusions – Similar types of implementation arrangements?

From the literature, we learn that neither a strong hierarchical model or a market-led organisation would comply with a capability friendly perspective (Bonvin 2008).
Instead, a capability-oriented approach would be based on the cooperation of central administration and local agents in the implementation of employability policies. The incompleteness of objectives, the interpretability of policies and guidelines coupled with the monitoring by the central administration better allows local agents the 'means and the freedom to act responsibly' ensuring a genuine tailoring of the policies (Bonvin 2008). Therefore, management by objectives, top-down controlled actors and no room for manoeuvre at the local

[86]Arrêté de l'Exécutif de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale du 27 juin 1991 autorisant l'Office régional bruxellois de l'Emploi (ORBEM) à conclure des conventions de partenariat en vue d'accroître les chances de certains demandeurs d'emploi de trouver ou de retrouver du travail dans le cadre de dispositifs coordonnés d'insertion socio-professionnelle.

level brought about a managerial approach that cannot be conjugated with a TLM/CA approach to employability policies.

The analyses of the PES reveal that there are several hierarchically imposed aspects in the organisation and management of the decentralised PES. If the decentralisation allowed bringing the services closer to the individual and setting them in the context of the neighbourhood, most for the important procedures (type of interviews, timing, target groups, services provided at the local PES, etc.) and the indicators of performance are all decided at the central level and very little is negotiated at the lower level.
Moreover, local PES offices have no financial autonomy and are dependent on the central level for the management of their human resources. The decentralised agencies are not free to organise their services as it is most convenient for their users. Neighbourhoods with high density of young unemployed migrants do have the same rules in terms of minutes for interviews of performance objectives to reach. Hence, although young people with a migrant background or poor educational attainment might need additional time for support, indicators do not change. The time pressure – and, as a consequence, the pressure coming from indicators – is less important in small PES where young people are usually more qualified.

In contrast, the analysis shows that the implementation arrangement of CPAS is closer to a CA/TLM approach in most of its dimensions. CPAS are locally rooted and strongly decentralised, they enjoyed important autonomy in the organisation of their services, although this is dependent on the external financing coming from the boroughs, the federal state and European funds.
At the same time, the diversification of services, namely in the big CPAS, has caused some fragmentation and, in the cases analysed, it reduced the coordination across social workers and *agents d'insertion*.
Moreover, there is no stringent performance pressure coming from performance objectives established internally or externally. Pressure on social workers rather comes from a high number of claimants, particularly in big CPAS and from reduced overall budget for decentralised bodies.

Despite the predominant HCD model, in the PES there is also a new way of looking at indicators which seem to reflect a TLM/CA approach. The performance indicators are no (longer) used for pointing at individual mistakes, there are no wage-related incentives for job-seekers or for the overall PES based on the outcome of measures that would indicate a WF approach. I do not find, in fact, stringent performance rules applying to case managers or payment by results as it has been recently implemented in the UK in welfare-to-work programmes where work-first approach is widely adopted and recognised (Maguire 2015; Foster et al 2014). This goes in the same direction of the findings from Jacob and Genard (2011) which found that "pure" NPM principles were not actually implemented in labour policies in the region.

Similarly, the type of organisation is closer to a HCD conception of the institutional intervention with one particular aspect recalling the CA/TLM approach.
HCD features are mostly found in the centrally-determined network cooperation, which is put in place for providing a diversified and broad choice of services to job-seekers but that is not shaped according to the very specificities of each – very diverse – borough- but rather looking at the overall priorities for the region. Moreover, there is little coordination among the decentralised PES and some important internal services, like the "matching service". This

organisational obstacle leads to siloed "WF" organisation, moreover some communication channels should be put into place for exchanging practices internally.

Furthermore, work coaches and middle-managers can gear the unemployed towards partners that have not signed an agreement with Actiris if they think that this better answer to the needs of their claimants. However, the flexibility and the variety of the network are however hindered, particularly concerning training, by the low availability of places that does not satisfy a growing request for services.
This is also what is happening at the CPAS where, in addition to the centrally agreed cooperation with Actiris, the CPAS can decide to better build their partnerships with local actors thus potentially better answering to the needs of their population.

I conclude that for the PES there is a strong coherence between the cognitive level and the implementation arrangement as the prevalent approach is close to the HCD. If in the daily practices, some CA/TLM hints can also be identified.
For the CPAS, on the contrary, the local implementation and the type of organisation are closer to a CA/TLM approach.

Table 10: Visualising the Intervention model of PES and CPAS by ideal type

Top-down approach and performance-oriented management ⟷ Autonomous and performance-oriented decentralised agencies ⟷ Decentralised, networked and autonomous agencies enacting situated judgements

Sub-dimension	*WF*	*HCD*	*CA/TLM*
Type of management	----	**PES:** Decentralised agencies but centrally regulated by standard procedure.	**CPAS**: decentralised with not strict federally imposed procedures. Procedures are almost completely decided at the local level.
	----	**PES:** Aggregated performance objectives are set at the agency level.	**PES:** Performance objectives are used to monitor the system needs. No individual performance objectives, if existing not used punitively. **CPAS**: performance indicators exist for some types of funding but do not have an impact on social workers.
Type of organisation	----	**PES:** Network cooperation with actors largely pre-determined at the central level **CPAS**: an "imposed" cooperation with Actiris	**PES:** Flexible networks which can be modified and set up according to in-context assessments – complementary features. **CPAS**: cooperation with local partners is organised locally

Relationship with the individual and its tensions

The relationship with the individuals was operationalised in three sub-dimensions: *degree of standardisation, attitudes towards the individual* and *focus of the intervention*.
The following sections deal with these sub-dimensions separately and highlight their tensions.

The degree of standardisation

The *degree of standardisation* refers to all those practices allowing reducing of the complexity of the reality. They shape the type of information collected, used and valued by job-search counsellors for assessing the job-seekers and planning the institutional intervention, i.e. *the informational basis of judgement in justice* (see Chapter 2 on the theoretical backgrounds).
They usually consist in checklists, procedures, categories, forms, documents and IT tools that work coaches use in their daily activities. On the one hand, these practices allow street-level bureaucrats of the public human services to ensure equal treatment to those groups belonging to the same categories; on the other hand, they might reduce their room for manoeuvre in adapting the support they provide.

The following sections present to what extent services and procedures are standardised, to what extent they are able to grasp individual needs and how the differ across the institutions under study.

Assessing employability at the PES: "Construction du project professionnel" and standardisation of practices

The *Construction du project professionnel* (CPP or action plan) constitutes the backbone of the whole guidance of young people in Actiris as every young job-seeker is obliged to sign an action plan and receive the minimum guidance service.
The CPP was firstly introduced in June 2005. It was optional and job-search counsellors were free to offer the unemployed to sign it if they deemed that a more intensive guidance was necessary. In 2010, it became compulsory for young people and the introduction of the "*procédure d'objectivation*" contributed to standardise the guidance and the monitoring process[87].

From the internal document detailing the procedure, a reinforced emphasis on "rights and duties" of the job-seekers comes out clearly compared to the previous approach within the non-compulsory CPP (see Annex 1).
The definition of the target group and the associated type of priority is based on age, educational attainment and work experience.
This categorisation represents the first assessment of the vulnerabilities of young unemployed that are identified through the lenses of the labour market. The core of the intervention and the actions to be included in the CPP are the same regardless the category, what changes is the timing and the frequency of interviews.

[87] The field work was carried out between 2011 and 2013 when the compulsory procedure was already in place. However, the empirical data cover the previous period (2006-2010), when the CPP was not compulsory (for a comparison of the two CPP, see Annex 1)

Young people belonging to the category B+ - at their first inscription, with less than 25 years old and with at most upper secondary education - are considered the most vulnerable and in need of an intensive guidance (see Tables in the Annex 1).

The guidance procedures: interviews, frequencies and coping strategies

The first interview – "*entretien de clarification*" – is meant to collect "factual" data and inform the unemployed about their rights and duties, i.e. what they can expect from Actiris and what she is expected to do. During the registration, everyone is supposed to spell out the type of job they want and can do (Actiris 2011). This means that the job-search counsellor has to verify whether she has the necessary competences and the right attitudes for it.

The most important interview in which the action plan is agreed is the *entretien de diagnostic*. It is used for collecting information about work experience, formal education qualifications and both general and job-specific competences.
In this interview the young person should have a clear idea of her profession. It is normally supposed to last 40 minutes (the minutes are counted in the IT time management system – see section on the intervention mode at the PES).
Although there is an IT control on the work planning, work advisors report certain flexibility in taking the time to go in-depth with young people who might need more time.
The size of the PES plays a role in the possibility of adapting the time spent for this first in-depth interview: in small PES work advisors have more time to provide more detailed and complete information.

The standardisation practices also go through a rationalisation and organisation of the data the PES collects. To monitor progress and improve matching, the PES uses data collected during the interviews, i.e. data are mostly self-declared.
The introduction of IT at the street level has important consequences. As explained by Bovens and Zouridis (2002), using IT can substantially reduce human interactions between street-level bureaucrats and transform street-level bureaucracy into 'system-level' bureaucracies.
If this might be the case in some domains linked with administrative sanctions, it is less likely in human processing services. However, the introduction of IT does change the interaction between the work advisor and the job-seekers insofar as actions taken are based on collected data. The adequacy of the IT system is then crucial, even when IT play more a supportive than a leading role (Bovens and Zouridis 2002).

In my case study, job-search counsellors report that the IT tool is not always adapted to really grasp and value the complexity of the richness of individual experiences.
For instance, the database only allows including formal competences and informal competences can be only added as a side comment not always visible or used by other services, like the *gestionnaires d'offres*.

« …Qui [informal competences] ne sont pas reprises dedans. Alors on note, en remarque, mais est-ce que ces remarques seront lues par nos collègues qui s'occupent des offres d'emploi, je ne suis pas sûre et certaine. » (9cCPAS)

Moreover, several new or more specific professions are not available and competences associated to some occupations are outdated or not relevant hence hindering a coherent profiling of the person. These limited and not flexible aspects of the profiling tools push job-

counsellors to find solutions in order to circumvent the leading role of IT during the interviews for favouring a more qualitative approach.

A job-search counsellor reports:

« […]je garde un petit dossier avec le CV de la personne, je mets plus du qualitatif par rapport à: je sais que la personne a des difficultés de santé, […] des choses qui sont quand-même importantes pour que la personne sache qu'on s'intéresse à elle, et pas simplement…» (3cPES)

This strategy allows the front-line agent to have a more holistic perspective of the person's needs but at the same time increases the amount of information that she has to account for when coaching.

The degree of standardisation is also embedded in the frequency of interviews. The timing and the type of the interviews (see Annex 1) cannot be modified according to the person's needs: for instance job-counsellors report that sometimes it would not be necessary to schedule the interviews so early because the situation has not changed. This is due to the fact that, particularly in big PES, notifications for interviews are sent out automatically by the system or by other services than job-search counsellors.

*« […] je leur dit, c'est voilà, je vois bien que vous êtes autonomes, vous ferez le point dans un mois et puis après je suis un peu gênée. Je suis gênée, et en même temps, j'applique le cadre que je ne maîtrise pas. […] Mais parfois il y en a certains que je retiens, où je les laisse de côté un peu… parce que je sais [..] qu'il bosse tout le temps, donc lui, je retarde un peu l'échéance, en me disant tant pis, son suivi aura du retard… je fais les autres. Mais bon, j'en retiens peut-être deux ou trois personnes sur, je ne sais pas combien. » (*10cPES*)*

While there is no, in principle, flexibility for scheduling the interviews, job-search advisors of big PES report that is difficult to stick to the standard timing because of high numbers but also because of the high level of absenteeism at the first interviews, particularly among young people.
This obliges rescheduling; it destabilizes the daily programming and has an impact on the individual performance indicator for job-search advisors (see section on the intervention mode).
Adapting schedules is not only in favour of more autonomous young people, but also for the low-skilled who might need longer time to have their project defined but need not to be bad signalled in the IT system (7cPES).

CPAS: the Project Individuel d'Intégration Sociale (PIIS)

Like I did for the PES, this section investigates the quality and the extent of individualisation and standardisation of practices used for assessing young claimants. I also analyse the type of information used and the practices adopted for promoting the acquisition of employability and the exit from social assistance.
What follows is based on the interviews, legal documents and internal documents.

As already pointed out, the CPAS works within a more flexible federal and regional framework compared to the decentralised office of the PES. This means that CPAS are free to develop different approaches and do not have to use the same IT and guidance procedures, excepted for

the rules imposed by law or common internal regulations. I will present in the following section the different approaches to drafting the young person's trajectory.

A low standardised action plan – Assessing individuals at the CPAS

The PIIS (action plan) is defined in broad guidelines by the federal law, meaning that in the whole country some basic common facts have to be included so as to make it acceptable for the Ministry of Social Inclusion and allow the CPAS to get 10% of the social assistance allowance back (e.g. in the case of students, where there is federal financial intervention).
These facts are *rights and obligations* of the two parties, the evaluation procedure and the duration of the "contract" (Arrêté 11 juillet 2002).

The content of the action plan - On what information does the PIIS built?

Differently from the PES, in all CPAS - particularly in those who split the services between social workers and *agents d'insertion* in charge of training and labour market inclusion - different PIIS[88] with different aims have been designed and they can be combined.

The PIIS should in principle be drafted within the three months from the acceptance of the young person as beneficiary and it is based on "aspirations, skills, the qualifications and the needs of the person as well as on the capacities of the centre" (Loi 2002).

Most of the social workers stressed the importance of paying attention to any aspect that might reveal a social or health fragility hindering the realisation of the action plan. Being aware of the social situation of the person via a direct knowledge of the family or via internal communication and IT tools allows the *agents d'insertion* to get a broader overview of the young person situation and reconsider the first assessment.

A major tension reported by counsellors is between assessing equally, fairly and objectively, and deciding how to better shape the individualised project. The starting points are often the qualifications and competences obtained, not only via formal education but also via work experience (even undeclared work) and informal learning. Moreover, because the action plan is not only limited to the short term but also forward-looking, the social worker starts out by investigating the motivation and the involvement of the young person in carrying out the project.

« Quel est son état d'esprit, où elle en est dans son projet, et donc sa motivation...et donc ces trois éléments-là qui vont faire que finalement c'est un projet » (19cCPAS)

Most of the CPAS do not use a detailed approach to the PIIS, but they include broad guidelines and milestones to be reached at each evaluation.
Two empty templates of the PIIS provided by a big CPAS show that, in the PIIS for full-time studies, everything is already pre-printed, namely in terms of duties and obligations and – very roughly – the frequency of the evaluation.
The PIIS on social integration gives room to more individualised actions and it is more comprehensive as it touches upon several aspects ranging from health to housing. The template

[88]The regional association representing the CPAS at the regional level talks about four types of PIIS: aiming at training, socially oriented, leading employment and for full-time education

form also includes an amendment section that, as I shall present in the "time dimension" section further below, allows the reversibility of the action plan.

The degree of adaptability of the profiling tool (PIIS) is also in its follow up. The PIIS report few standard elements (11cCPAS) as social workers put the minimum, in order not to restrict too much the adaptability of the action plan.
The monitoring seems to be more adaptable to individual situation in small CPAS where the caseload is less important and social workers can take the time they esteem necessary.

« Et nous on a le temps de recevoir les gens on a le temps de leur chercher une formation on a le temps de …Ecouter la personne ce n'est pas un quart d'heure par personne. […] elles prennent le temps qu'elles veulent, il y a des gens qui ont besoin de 5 minutes et des personnes avec qui ça va prendre 2h ou un après-midi. Parce qu'ils ont besoin de parler c'est pour ça qu'on a un CPAS privilégié mais je pense que grâce à ça on arrive à obtenir de bons résultats » (2cCPAS)

However, even in big CPAS, time spent with recipients is loosely imposed to social workers and rather dictated by the large numbers of recipients.

The usefulness of the tool is expressed differently even among social workers and *agents d'insertion* working in the same CPAS. For some, the PIIS is necessary for setting the rules, establishing the mutual engagements particularly with those young people who are esteemed to be in need of a clear framework within which evolving, but also protecting and guaranteeing them that their long-term project will be supported throughout (17cCPAS).
For others, it only represents a formal administrative tool useful for getting the additional reimbursement or providing a follow up and coordination with the other services.

«Bon je pense que les PIIS de toute façon c'est une obligation légale pour les jeunes qui sont bénéficiaires du RIS et qui ont entre 18 et 25 ans et la loi nous impose de conclure un projet individualisé d'intégration sociale. Au-delà de l'obligation légale, ben ça permet une récupération de subsides plus importante pour les CPAS (14mCPAS)

Attitudes

PES - Attitudes towards the individual: Building trust and the idea of "individual job-search counsellor"

As a part of individualisation of the PES services, much emphasis has been put on the role of the "*conseiller emploi référent*" (individual job-search counsellor). The aim of assigning an individual work coach is meant to foster a trust-based relationship with the individual. The goal was also to stimulate trust and a collaborative relationship that goes beyond the idea of claimant as a client and aim at considering (young) unemployed, at least in a first moment, on an equal footing.

« Oui disons que c'est de commun accord. Disons que dans un premier temps qu'il y a pas de prescriptions, c'est-à-dire qu'on n'impose rien dans un premier temps c'est-à-dire qu'on essaie d'établir la relation de confiance et de dire qu'il y a des outils spécifiques pour les jeunes. » (7cPES)

The role of individual job-search counsellors consists also in reducing the complexity of dealing with multiple services insofar as all questions of the job-seeker will be answered by her. Moreover, the idea of a personalised relationship is also seen as functional to the guidance. However, some organisational practices hinder this personal relationship, for instance the high turnover (both internal and external), but also the lack of clarity concerning the different types of interviews leading to contradictory pieces of advice and information given to the claimants. This results in tensions between job-search counsellors having different attitudes towards the individuals and favouring some actions rather than others.

The implementation of the compulsory CPP and the *procédure d'objectivation* has implied a shift from mutual commitments towards mutual obligations. As a result, there is a stronger focus on the responsibilisation of (young) job-seekers and on the role played by the information and reframing individual projects and expectations within a realistic and feasible framework.

Attitudes: protecting, discussing, confronting with the reality

For the CPAS, social workers adopt different attitudes which range from supporting to a more paternalistic stance, which are mostly associated with different situations and obstacles the young person might find during the integration path.

While at the PES, young people are liaising with mostly with a single work coach, at the CPAS there are several intervening counsellors according to the issue at stage (e.g. social inclusion, labour market integration, housing, full-time education, health, …).
The attitude of towards the young claimants is influenced by the role of the social work, for instance whether they are in charge of sanctioning or whether attending the service is compulsory or voluntary.
Moreover the variety of attitudes is also closely linked with values, norms and images presented above where the primary goal of the system is to make the person autonomous and able to live in dignity, and the means to reach is - at the end of the day -the integration in the labour market. Both attitudes are present across interviews and do not seem to relate to the size of the neighbourhood but rather to the role of the social worker and the conception of her work.

This diversity of attitudes can be defined as in between an HC and CA/TLM approach.
On the one hand social workers stress the importance of investing in skills, its returns in the long-run and the duty to show a cooperative behaviour during the activation. On the other hand, social workers adopt a more supportive role when health and family problems intervene or when young people need to be encouraged to go forward. They try to help them to make the most of their being on welfare benefits.

The strategies adopted for making young people more responsible and aware of possible outcomes their behaviours – e.g. not showing up at appointments or giving up training too early - and choices – i.e. going to the labour market too fast and take up any available jobs – are two-fold: the use or threat of sanctions and negotiations and discussions.

Discussions are often based on a "back-to reality" approach particularly when contextualising their action plans and projects not only within the reality of the labour market but also of the legal constraints.

« Je me méfie un peu parce quelqu'un qui va faire n'importe quoi c'est pas pour n'importe quoi qu'il va être motivé par n'importe quoi. […] Mais il faut essayer de discussions » (8cCPAS)

« Et je dis au jeune : on essaie de travailler dans ce cadre-là avec ce que tu auras envie de faire. Il faut que ce soit… aussi défendable au niveau du comité. J'essaie toujours d'aller dans le sens du jeune, de voir un peu, est-ce qu'il a réfléchi, etc. et voir ce qui est possible. Je dis : je vais travailler avec ce que tu me dis, à partir de là, on va voir ce qui est possible. » (18cCPAS)

Negotiating the action plan with the young person is also a way of granting her voice to express her concerns and wishes. The proximity of the service delivered and of the deciding body on benefits as well as the legal framework (art. 20, Loi 2002) seems to favour the *capability for voice* of young people at the CPAS.
Once young people agreed on their action plan (PIIS) with the social worker, the PIIS has to be formally approved by the Comité. Social workers report that young people can be invited to present their project in order to support their action plan and provide counter arguments if the Comité voted against. Although this procedure does not seem to be massively exploited (see one of the very rare annual reports available online of a CPAS, Molenbeek), the social workers report that this practice allows young people to express their motivation and bring new elements that can help the Comité modify its initial position.

« Ou ça peut être un jeune qui doit fréquenter le département emploi pour avoir un suivi intensif en matière de recherche emploi et qui fait épreuve d'une manque de collaboration et on décide de lui retirer l'aide. et là il peut aussi être entendu et se faire auditionner et exposer son point de vue. [pour vérifier] la motivation ou des éléments complémentaires , parfois que la personne peut apporter, que le travailleur social n'a pas recueilli ou que la manière dont le travailleur social l'indique dans le rapport est sujet à interprétation ...et donc parfois on se rend compte en audition que quand la personne amène les choses elle-même, on le perçoit autrement qu'au travers la lecture du rapport et donc ça permet aussi aux membres de comité de se repositionner par rapport à une décision qu'ils ont pris. » (14mCPAS)

The "voice" of claimants is also used when agreeing or not on being registered in the common database with Actiris (PES). The beneficiary is supposed to provide her agreement, however it happens that this is done automatically – also under the pressure of reaching the number of registrations needed for the subsidies – without really accounting for the person willingness to be in that register (18cCPAS)

As for the PES, trust is a central element in the relationship with the individual, particularly because the social worker plays both the claimant's and the Comité's advocate. Building trust also goes through the protection that social workers can provide by informing the young person on sanctions or negative outcomes of integration plans. The control of work availability, the respect of the rules on attending appointments, changes in the family and economic situation but also the lack of alternatives after the supported employment are some topics that social workers warn about. The aim is to make the young person aware of her duty and obligations but also inviting her to better make use of the possibility of building her own path.

Sanctions – steering behaviours

The role of the sanctions is crucial in activation policies when behavioural change is sought (Hasenfeld, Ghose, and Larson 2004).
The strictness and the degree of flexibility of sanctions are linked with the idea of the welfare subject but also the role and the aim attributed to the welfare policies.

PES - The role of information and sanctions

As explained in institutional description (Chapter 3), the federal authority (ONEm) is in charge of sanctioning and Actiris must report only the "factual" reactions of unemployed to the notifications to attend, which will be later evaluated by the federal office (Actiris, 2011). Data on attendance are sent regularly to the federal authority which will decide on how to proceed accordingly. Although indirectly, sanctions do play a role in the daily activities of front-line agents.

Feedback is sent whenever the person does not show up, or the job-counsellors was not able to fix an appointed or the person does not provide an acceptable reason for her absence.
The list of acceptable reasons for no-show includes: being sick[89], having found a job (also self-employed), be on training[90], being exempted (decided by the federal authority), being a full-time student. These acceptable reasons do not account for any family duty or any absence that cannot be ascribed to job-search or improving employability.
The calling procedure foresees only one reminder before the unemployed is stricken off the register. However, the delays in answering are quite long as 28 days elapse before a formal exclusion is sent to the federal office paying unemployment benefits.

The process of defining the action plan was described as a cooperative process based on the skills and aspirations of the young person; however, this form of *capability for voice*, i.e. capability of participating effectively on the definition of the action plan (Bonvin and Farvaque 2007) can be guaranteed only when the person agrees on cooperating.
Hence, any refuse to respect the action plan agreed between the work advisor and the young claimant (i.e. "non-cooperative behaviour") is usually dealt with internally in a more informal way: the job-search counsellor is supposed to involve the manager of the PES local agency for an informal discussion with the job-seeker.
However, job-search counsellors reported that very rarely they resorted to the manager's intervention as this is the last step before striking off someone from the PES register – with clear consequences for unemployment allowances.

The fact that the sanctioning institution is at the federal level while the PES is in charge of delivering supportive activities creates tensions in the relationship with the individuals.
Informing on sanctioning procedures is used and perceived in three different ways. Firstly protecting young people from possible sanctioning: informing job-seekers of their rights and duties is seen as a way of providing them with all the knowledge for better developing their job-search, reduce their exclusion from the labour market, prevent them from being refused unemployment benefits (10cPES)..
Secondly, activate and make them responsible: informing job-seekers of their rights and duties is also a leverage for steering job-seekers response. It also becomes a means of responsibilisation of the individual, who is supposed to be accountable towards the institution by showing her commitment and proactive behaviour (5cPES). Thirdly, informing on sanctioning is also a way of ensuring the credibility of the PES vis-à-vis the federal authority as the local level is supposed to contribute to the overall objective of increasing employment participation (12mPES).

Sanctioning: obligation of means not of results

[89] A medical certificate is not enough – the health insurance should produce a certificate.
[90] The training should be at least 20h in 4 weeks and in recognised institution.

Sanctioning in the context of the CPAS can have much direr consequences than sanctioning within the social insurance framework. The sanctions can become stronger for recidivism but, because it is the last safety net of the welfare system, the person cannot be excluded forever if the means-test and nationality/residence conditions are met. Sanctioning can be due to fraudulent omission of useful information and for non-respecting the contract signed with the CPAS.

The latter was the most mentioned and discussed by the interviewees as it refers to the behaviour of young people. The sanction for the non-respect of the PIIS can go from one month up to three months and they can be adapted to the young person situation, e.g. reduce the social assistance allowance every month by a certain amount.

There are different approaches to sanctioning and the procedures might change slightly according to the service, the social worker and the type of activation.
Moreover, the fact that in some CPAS are stricter and in other they are not does not seem to be linked with the size of the CPAS and there are no clear rules established at the federal level ensuring similar decisions.
More importantly, there is no higher non-juridical authority deciding on sanction, like it is for the federal agency of employment, and all decisions should be contested to the Labour Court.

« Chacun essaie de travailler… il n'y a pas vraiment un schéma type [i.e. de sanction...] ça dépend des cas. Est-ce que c'est un jeune où déjà il y a eu des antécédents, [etc…] à ce moment-là, le comité peut demander : évaluation dans 3 mois. [..]A ce moment-là, évidemment, si la personne ne vient pas, on est tenu de prévenir l'assistante sociale [...] Et si moi maintenant je dis : il n'est pas venu une fois, je laisse ça comme ça, au bout de 3 mois, je dis : il a raté un rendez-vous, moi aussi quelque part, je n'ai pas bien fait mon boulot, parce que je n'ai pas suivi le cas, ne pas essayer de recontacter » (13cCPAS)

Sanctions for not showing up or refusing to bring an action plan forward are the most quoted situations for young people. The number of times of no-show leading to a sanction is decided informally and internally and also adapted by each social worker.

« Et est-ce que les jeunes peuvent refuser ? S'ils refusent un article 60, « moi je ne veux pas faire ça », est-ce qu'ils sont sanctionnés ? Pas la 1° fois, surtout si l'emploi ne correspond pas à leur profil. On ne va pas les sanctionner pour une fois. Il faut argumenter, il faut voir. On ne fait pas ça… on ne sanctionne pas pour une foi. On analyse la situation.[…] il faut prendre les choses globalement. » (18cCPAS)

Despite different approaches to sanctions, they seem to be rarely used, particularly in the small CPAS because denying income for even a month destabilises and makes the situation of the young person even more fragile and less able to reach autonomy (10cCPAS)

The focus of the intervention

The focus of the intervention can be understood by looking at the objectives and values stated and via the role played by job-search counsellors.

Focus of the intervention: aiming at autonomy

When looking at the action plan implemented at the PES, its actions are conceived as a pathway towards employment and the main objective is that, at the end of one-year guidance, the person becomes "independent".
Being independent is defined as having a clear project, having the necessary skills and competences, a CV and cover letter and knowing how to search for a job. This is seen as reducing the gap between young unemployed and labour market.

This ideal welfare subject is close to the HCD approach presented in the cognitive part as the young person must be an informed and "equipped" ("*outillé*") actor and choose rationally by working on herself. This idea welfare subject is used as a benchmark against which personal situations are assessed.

Although there is no predefined/imposed path for young job-seeker profiles, the overall approach is that young people should complete a series of steps in order to reduce the gap with the labour market.
This progression is assessed in the *entretien de suivi* and any progress should be recorded in the IT system, which is used with some flexibility and it is not used for strictly determine the type of guidance.

"Bring the job-seekers closer to the labour market" or "making them autonomous" passes through the definition of the professional project of the young person.

« Le diagnostic, c'est voir avec la personne, d'abord si c'est bien… si c'est ce travail-là qu'on peut lui proposer, est-ce qu'elle a d'autres projets que ça. Elle a mis un travail, mais est-ce bien ça qu'elle veut faire? Est-ce qu'elle veut de l'aide? » (3cPES)

This process starts from what the young person declares and voices as concern. The job-search counsellors tries to find coherence between what the young person states as a project and what she is (attitudes) and has (competences) and what she would like to become (aspirations).

However, while the informational basis of judgement in justice seems to account for the personal situation and aspiration, the assessment of the project is often reduced to confronting young people with the reality of the labour market and "cooling out" or reshape expectations whenever they are far away from what it is considered feasible and reasonable.

« […] donc c'est vraiment les refléter comme un miroir en disant "beh le marché de l'emploi qu'est-ce que tu as, qu'est-ce qu'eux ils proposent et on compare » (5cPES)

Hence, the focus of the intervention can be seen as assessing the feasibility of the project and understanding the distance between the labour market and the current situation of the job-seekers in order to plan the coaching.

It also implies trying to build on the personal project and valuing the motivation of the person, while at the same time ensuring that the person actually works towards the objective.

« Mais ça dépend du type de projet, [..] Je peux difficilement dire aux gens: écoutez, ça va pas ce projet, revenez avec un autre, quand les gens sont convaincus, je veux dire, alors… moi je dis aussi: on travaille sur des deadlines. Donc à partir du moment où en tout cas le projet, il y a soit des formations vers lesquelles ils peuvent s'orienter, et qu'il y a des possibilités pour

pouvoir se former pour arriver à ce projet, soit… voilà. Forcément, si ils veulent faire médecin, et qu'ils n'ont pas fini les humanités, je ne vais pas… on est d'accord ». (10cPES)

The focus of the intervention also involves shaping attitudes and behaviours which are considered as counterproductive in reaching an effective positioning of the person in the labour market:

« C'est vraiment au cas par cas avec ce que le jeune apporte aussi. Il y a des jeunes, parfois c'est très dur pour avoir quelques phrases, quelques mots, ils ne savent pas du tout où ils en sont, donc on va devoir vraiment tirer… il y en a d'autres qui partent dans tous les sens, il faut recanaliser » (1cPES)

Once the project set, the job-search counsellor takes stock of the material and immaterial resources (e.g. competences and attitude) the person has. They try to transform what they are and have into something - they deem - it will be valued in the labour market; thus, mediating between the feature of the supply-side and the requests of the demand-side.

« […] surtout en leur ne les culpabilisant pas par rapport à leur manque de qualifications et de valoriser les expériences extra-scolaires et extra-professionnelles et donc on insiste pas trop sur l'interruption d'un cycle d'études et on voit comment remédier à ces lacunes et comment valider ces compétences et comment faire des formations qualifiantes et reprendre des études et on essaie de le refaire prendre confiance en eux et ça c'est vraiment le vecteur principal. » (7cPES)

The mutual obligations imply monitoring and following the progression of the person overtime based on information brought by the job-seekers, work advisors re-elaborate the piece of information by using the glasses of the labour market. As explained by a job-search counsellor:

« Mais on va discuter aussi quels sont les besoins qu'ils pensent avoir, ou quelles sont les difficultés qu'ils ressentent, et en fonction de ce qu'ils vont apporter, on va leur dire: pour telle ou telle chose, on a éventuellement une solution qu'on peut mettre en place, et ainsi de suite. C'est toujours sur ce que le demandeur d'emploi va apporter. » (1cPES)

The focus of the intervention: providing information, make aware and autonomous in choices

Like for the young unemployed, social workers and *agents d'insertion* stress the importance of providing all the necessary information both on the labour market and on the rules regulating social assistance. Make young people informed is considered as the first step for drafting a "realistic" plan, particularly for those young people who have low qualifications.

« […] en général on dit regardez autour de vous à Bruxelles qu'est-ce que vous voyez ? » « Essentiellement des bureaux. » effectivement les emplois à Bruxelles sont fortement qualifiés et donc on essaye de les convaincre qu'il y a des formations professionnelles qualifiantes qui sont abordables» (4cCPAS)

While this first confrontation with reality – often leading to training or education for the low educated - is very much similar to the PES focus of employability policies; there seems to be more proactive role of the social workers when it comes to guide and support the young person particularly because the frequency of the follow up is established by the social worker herself.

"On voit que ce sont des personnes proactives, qui savent se débrouiller, on les revoit… moi en général… ça dépend de quel mois, je peux les revoir 3 semaines, un mois plus tard. Mais à des personnes qui n'ont pas fait des recherches, qui disent : je ne sais pas comment aller là, etc. Là, il faut faire un suivi plus rapproché » (13cCPAS)

The focus of the intervention is broader at the CPAS insofar as the social situation is known and accounted for when the action plan is draft. This seems more the case with social workers that are decentralised and more in contact with young people.

"Je sanctionne très rarement, puisque j'ai déjà une plus grande latitude par rapport aux entretiens. Donc forcément, un jeune qui ne vient pas, je l'appelle, et puis il ne revient pas, je le rerappelle. Et le jour où je le vois je lui dit : écoutez, clairement, c'est dangereux ce que vous faites. Et puis parfois, le fait d'être venu quelque fois, ça fait que parfois le jeune accroche. » (17cCPAS)

Conclusions

For the PES, in the "relationship with the individual", it becomes more complex and less attributable to one ideal type or another, although most features can be referred to the HDC (see summarising Table below).
Formally, the standardisation of practices consists of factual information rather than a holistic approach and the job-counselling rules are, in principle, not adaptable to personal needs.
For instance, the frequency of interviews is the only clear difference between the group of young (disadvantaged) unemployed and adults. Understandably, the concern of the PES is to ensure that all job-seekers get the same type of guidance; however this seems to crush with the aim of individualising practices and answer to the young person's needs[91].
Further, the collection of factual data clashes with the need of grasping the person in her complexity and multidimensionality. Similarly, the need of having a precise work project might clash with the instability and uncertainty of young people's work projects. In addition, the use of large categories based on socio-demographic characteristics and the use of standardised interview schedules can hinder the possibility of adapting the guidance to the person's needs and expectations.

However, local practices demonstrate that, whenever possible, job-counsellors try to include more qualitative information enabling a fairer situated judgement and adapt interview frequencies and control (i.e. CA/TLM).
This seems more feasible in small local agencies where the workload is lighter and job-search counsellors are also more in charge of their time management. In big PES local agencies, the interview scheduling is done automatically and this reduces the marge of manoeuvre (WF).

[91]« La procédure d'objectivation c'est vraiment dans le mot objectivation il y a le mot objectivable c'est vraiment le donné le même parcours procédurier à tout le monde et essaie vraiment de donner le même de nouveau, le même service avec la même qualité mais aussi les même contraintes à toute les personnes avec le même profile. Donc c'est ce souci que l'administration ne veut pas favoriser un segment par rapport à un autre, ou c'est vraiment d'essayer d'être le plus égal possible. Ça veut dire que toutes les personnes qui seront dans ces critères par exemple seront convoquées de la même manière en séance collectives, celles qui sont dans ce segment vont suivre ce chemin » (12mPES)

When sanctions for no-show are automatically done and there is little scope for negotiating at least at the PES level (WF). More flexible approach is applied when negotiating the action plan as non-cooperative behaviours are treated first internally (CA).
The attitude towards the individual avoids blaming and rather aims at making young people autonomous and responsible for their choices. This passes through an emphasis on the role of training, gaining relevant skills and developing job-search skills (HCD). Although the PES adopts a more labour market centred approach to the action plans, the initial information on which the plan is developed also includes aspirations and long-term plans of the young person (CA/TLM) even though there are often tested against the "labour market reality check".

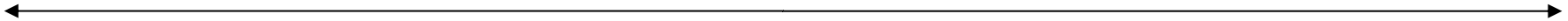
Again, following on the previous results, the relationship with the individuals at the CPASis closer to a CA/TLM stance. This is mainly due to the legal role, the aim and the room of manoeuvre granted to this institution.
Being the last safety net of the welfare system, the use of sanctions is limited and less punitive than in the PES case, namely because of the adaptability of the sanctions according to the person's situation and the impossibility of definitive exclusion of claimants who meet the eligibility criteria.
Moreover, the approach to activation of young beneficiaries and the definition of their action plans is still highly determined by the professional and deontological rules of social work.
While some standardisation has been implemented with the introduction of the PIIS, most of the social workers report that the information included in the PIIS functions as a guideline rather than a stringent commitment because the PIIS should be flexible enough to adapt to precarious life situation.
Finally, the holistic approach is established by law, hence allowing the CPAS to have a broader and situated perspective of the young person situation before and during her activation towards autonomy. This is also ensured via the possibility young people have to address the Comité in order to bring other – more qualitative- elements that can complement the informational basis of judgement in justice on which decisions are taken.
Nonetheless, some cases of fragmented internal communication and a high workload might hinder a higher personalisation of the services.

Relationship with individuals

Paternalistic
Standardised
Blame-allocating

Trust-related but on mutual obligations
Combination of work and training
Blackmailing

Trust-related and negotiated
Holistic approach
Problem-solved oriented



Sub-dimension	*WF*	*HCD*	*CA/TLM*
Degree of standardisation		**PES:** Information collected via IT and emphasis on competences and skills	**PES:** Factual information with qualitative data but collected on personal initiative. Adaptive counselling rules when possible
	PES/CPAS: Important workload for work advisors in big PES	**PES:** Client-centred approach. Standardised counselling procedures but adaptable to a certain extent.	**CPAS:** holistic approach extending to the social/family situation **CPAS:** IT use as support and ensuring follow up
	PES: Sanctions are automatically put into place, very limited scope for tolerance. Few reasons for no-show are accepted.		**PES:** Sanctions for non-cooperative behaviour are dealt internally **CPAS:** Sanctions for non-cooperative behaviours or fraudulent behaviours are decided internally, each social worker has scope to decide when requesting sanction
Attitude towards the individual	**PES:** Standardised paths for young people according to their "at-risk" profile	**PES/CPAS:** Stressing activation, good-will and commitment	**CPAS:** mutual obligations and stronger capability for voice when being heard by the Comité
		PES: Mutual obligations. Possible to voice concerns, but no exit option.	
		PES: Strong accent on the responsibilisation and showing benefits of the training.	**PES:** Help the claimant understand how to acquire and use resources and factors of conversion
Focus of the intervention		**PES:** Make individual autonomous but also accompany them in their path to retraining. Limited possibility to choose	

Relationship with the demand side

The relationship with the labour market aims at understanding how public institutions position their actions within the labour market. This means looking at any indications about the type of employability programmes or paths which are prioritised and how institutions complement each other.

An overall complementary structure of welfare benefits

The opportunity structure is not only created by front-line agents looking for the most suitable training or employment contract, but also by the interaction of welfare institutions.
It is interesting to see that the overall labour market institutional setting suggests a CA and TLM approach to young people transitions.
As I shall present it quantitatively in the following chapter, labour market institutions are meant to function as bridges and accounting for a variety of situation in which young people can find themselves.

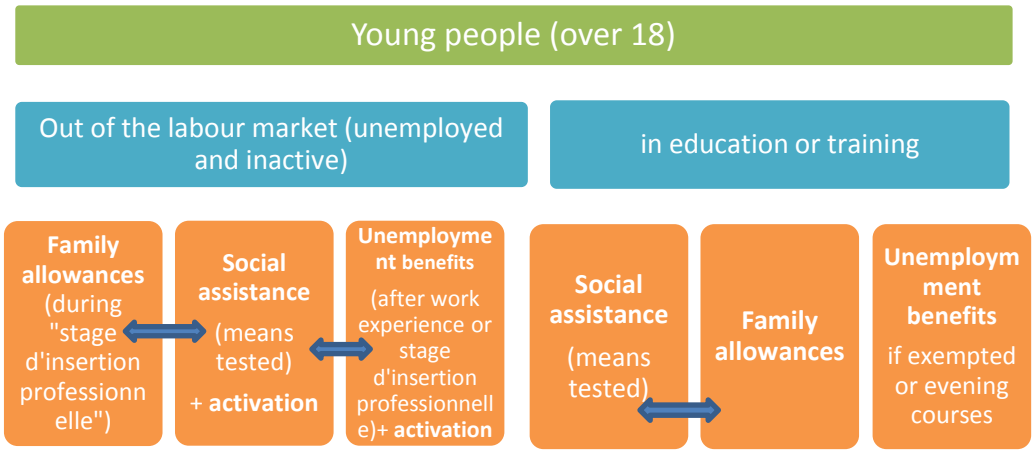
Figure 15 shows that young people enjoy different type of financial support (benefits) in their transitions from school-to-work.
Once left school (they at least having attended upper secondary education), young people with no working experience but with at most an upper secondary education degree can claim (pseudo)-unemployment benefits (*allocations d'attente*) after a waiting period called "*stage d'attente*" until 2012, and "*stage d'insertion professionnelle*" afterwards. During this period young people have to register at the PES and go through the activation process described in the following sections.

The *allocations d'attente* have become "*allocations d'insertion professionnelle*" and they are not granted automatically after the waiting period. Instead, they are dependent on the assessment of job-search efforts of young people in their 7th and 11th month. Moreover, the *allocations d'insertion professionnelles* are limited to three years.

Furthermore, unemployed young people who do not have enough income for ensuring a decent living can claim social assistance allowances (basic income) to the CPAS in order to top up unemployment benefits or *allocations d'insertion professionnelle*And under certain conditions,they can also cumulated it with family allowances.

When unemployed or on social assistance, young people can attend training or enrol in full-time education while being supported financially. This allows young people to enjoy a certain financial stability which helps them envisage longer term project. This system of welfare and labour market institutions answers to the TLM institutional complementarity advocated by G. Schmid (Schmid 2008), where the institutional structure allows individuals to "take the risk" of investing in human capital by ensuring that income support during that period. Acquiring both general and job-specific skills is particularly important for young people in their early stage of their work career.

Figure 15: complementary labour market institutions



Note: the arrows indicate that those financial supports can be granted together if criteria are met.

How organisations build the opportunity structure

In the previous dimensions, the interviews and the internal documents reveals that the PES offices tend to adopt a HDC approach. In the relationship with the demand side this would imply that job-search is promoted together or after training; that qualifying training takes precedence over short-term jobs, but also that any work experience is valued insofar as it removes those obstacles identified in job-seekers from a labour market perspective.

Getting the right skills to maximise one's chances – the role of training

Interviews confirm that the hierarchy adopted is close to this approach.

The role of training and education is seen as functional to labour market integration of (young) unemployed because of its indirect role in influencing the economic production. As argued by Sen (Sen 1999), the role of education in a human Capability Approach perspective goes beyond its role in the economic production – supported by a human capital approach – because it includes its direct relevance to the well-being and freedom of people and its indirect role through influencing social change. Instead, in the interviews, the relevance of training and education programmes is mostly associated with its capacity of filling the gap between existing skills in the supply side and the required skills in the demand side. For instance, being exempted from searching for a job is almost surely granted for job-shortage training programmes, while for any other training the selection criteria are always not clear (7cPES).

Training has priority over gaining work experience only if the training is recognised by the federal authority and lasts more than 20h/week. For any other type of training, the person has to remain available in the labour market - "*la priorité est la recherché d'emploi*" (6mPES) – because short-time training are not considered as much activating as getting into employment. In these cases, work advisors suggest to enrol in evening courses in order to reconcile job-search and training needs.

« Je sais bien que vous cherchez quelque chose de beaucoup plus stable, mais acceptez-le quand-même en 1º travail, car ça fait une expérience en plus, et voyez également si c'est le métier que vous voulez. » (5cPES)

These formal rights to training are not easily transformed into actual achievements because of the lack of institutional (lack of places) and personal (basic skills) conversion factors.
In fact, getting access to training turns out to be particularly difficult to those young people who lack basic skills as vocational training often require minimum criteria for being admitted. Besides, lack of places and long waiting lists slow down the progression towards the labour market even though the overall compulsory duration of the coaching is limited at one year.

Faster into the swing – the role of work experience

Together with training, gaining work experience is considered one of the most effective ways of getting into work ethics while absorbing work-specific skills.

Work experience in the regular labour market is considered more stable and valuable for young people. When employment incentives could possibly help young people to get easier access to the labour market, they are encouraged to use them because it is more likely that employers will see the advantaged to hire them. However, work advisors, although praising the possibility of a quick entry in employment; they also warn young people about the possible misuse of incentives by employers as they rarely lead to permanent jobs.

The role of work advisor is not only to gather information from job-seekers but also to collect labour market information allowing them to steer the young persons' path. Information on occupations with labour–supply shortages and agreements agreed with some big local companies steer their guidance insofar as they propose young people to apply in order to increase their chances of getting into employment.

It also indicates that young people are steered in their choices not just starting from their competences and aspirations but also from a labour market perspective. This is valid both for job-search and training guidance.

« Notre rôle est également de leur transmettre des infos générales sur l'insertion professionnelle aussi bien au niveau des emplois en pénurie et également au niveau de formation qui donnent accès à ces emploi en pénurie. » (7cPES)

Similar practices were also found in one of the external partners providing training. The creation of new training is fully based on the needs of the market and oriented to create a straight access to employment for young people. At the same time, local partners, who normally have a closer link with the local realities, are also able to establish more direct contacts with local potential employers and support young people's project by providing them with the opportunity of trying out occupations.

[…] ces métiers qui sortent un peu…comme horticulteur…et on va téléphoner on va prospecter avec la personne pour que la personne puisse trouver un stage d'observation dans ce milieu, […] c'est clair nous on a déjà des contacts avec ces entreprises dans le cadre de l'orientation professionnelle pour leur permettre de rebondir. Mais si on n'a pas de contact, voilà on téléphone aussi…Les filières…nous on est là aussi pour faire les filières de prospection, c'est pour avoir des contacts avec les employeurs…c'est-à-dire mettre en pied des formations innovantes. (14mPES)

Getting it right – the definition of a suitable job

The role work experience is highly relevant in the context of unemployment where young people are considered to be unaware of important transversal and work-related skills. However, as argued in Chapter 1, not all entries in the labour market can be described as positive. The quality of job is important. However, because (young) unemployed are meant to find a job there are rules establishing to what extent they can have set too strict criteria in choosing it.

The legal definition of "decent job" are an important tool that job-search counsellor have in order to stir young unemployed job search as they can sanction if the young person refuses to enlarge her job-search.

Hence, looking at the notion of *emploi convenable* provides some indications about the role of work and training and their role in the guidance. The notion of *emploi convenable* is defined at the federal level[92] and normally translated into the CPP and the *procédure d'objectivation*.
It states that during the first six months, unemployed are free to look for the job they desire corresponding to their competences and skills. If they have not found a job after 6 months, they are obliged to expand their search and include any other job with a similar classification and requiring the same level of qualifications.
However, the notion of decent work was rarely mentioned in the interviews and the need of enlarging the scope of the job-search is rather linked with reducing unemployment duration rather than complying with the idea of *emploi convenable.*

« Non, c'est vrai, je ne parle pas beaucoup de ça [emploi convenable]. *Maintenant, s'ils me demandent, ça dépend depuis combien de temps ils cherchent. Si ça fait 4 ans qu'ils sont au chômage, voilà, donc il faut un peu sévir, mais alors moi j'essaie de comprendre pourquoi ça fait 4 ans qu'ils sont au chômage. Maintenant, si ce sont les 6 premiers mois, on ne les ennuie pas trop par rapport à ça, moi je leur dis: c'est important de pouvoir justement faire quelque chose qui pourrait vous convenir… Je suis moins à pousser sur ça, je me dis, il faut prendre les offres vraiment… pour lesquelles vous voulez et il faut postuler.»*(10cPES)

Two other interviewees rather provided a personal idea of *emploi convenbale*. This suggests that the federal definition has not been translated into real practices at the local level, but it has rather remained a federal competence in the framework of the monitoring of the unemployed.

The relationship with the demand side at the CPAS: creating employment and fostering skills

The relationship with the demand side was more relevant in the interviews with front-line agents at the CPAS than at the PES. This is due to the active role that the CPAS plays in job-creation, namely via the "article 60" (see box), but also in allowing young people up to 25[93] to enrol in full-time education or training.
These two activation strategies are the mostly used for young people, particularly education and training as the article 60 is normally used for those claimants who need to be eligible again

[92] The boundaries of the definition are not well-defined because the ONEm wants to be able to judge on other and contextual criteria for assessing whether the job is "decent". The large categories are: being coherent or very similar to the last occupation, respecting the pay scale, including social protection, respecting working conditions, being at no more than 4 hour commuting time (or 12 hours in total) and working during asocial hours.

[93] Young people who are aged 25 or more can enrol in full-time education but the rules applicable for the other type of Projet Individuel d'Intégration Sociale (Document loi 2002, MI-IS)

for unemployment benefits. For this reason, they will be also investigated in depth in Chapter 6.

Box 2: The CPAS and the demand-side: creating jobs

According to the 1976 law and subsequent decrees, the CPAS can create a job position for an eligible person no longer in the labour market and finds it difficult to integrate it.
There are two types of employment programmes available for beneficiaries at the CPAS: those subsidised but in the "regular market", and those where the CPAS is the direct employer or it is strongly involved in providing the training and the guidance to the young beneficiary.
An example of the latter is the Article 60. The "article 60", which takes its name from the article 60§7 of the 1976 law, is the most used employment programme at the CPAS and it foresees that the CPAS will remain the direct employer and receives for the whole duration of the contract financial support and its exempted from paying social security contributions. The CPAS can also allow a third party (mostly private, sometimes public) to indirectly employ the person, while remaining the legal and principle employer (i.e. a kind of subcontracting). The article 60 is a kind of supported employment[94].
The Article 61 is a similar type of contract and it also implies a reimbursement by the ministry of social inclusion to the CPAS; but in this case the person is employed directly by the CPAS, but the CPAS should normally provide guidance via tutoring.
When introduced for the first time in 1976 the article 60 was considered primarily as a way to bring people back in the insurance system which was considered a step closer to the labour market. That is why the duration of the contract depends on the number of days the person needs to be eligible for unemployment benefits. However, after the introduction of the 2002 law, the aim was also to provide a valuable work experience.
The other employment subsidies (*Activa, Interim d'insertion*, SINE, *Programme de transition profesionnelle*) financed by the federal employment agency (ONEm) are targeting people at-risk including long-term unemployed. They are less used and their use varies across regions.

After the 6th Reform of the State (*Réforme de l'Etat*) all competences will be transferred to the regions.

Sources: http://www.mi-is.be/be-fr/cpas/cpas, Loi 26 mai 2002, Loi 1976, Arrêté 11 juillet 2002

[94]The definition of supported employment is more often associated with specific employment programmes for people with disabilities. I decided to use the term "supported" because sheltered is even more associated with vulnerable groups with specific disabilities and subsidized employment is rather associated with employment promoted or provided to unemployed other than youth and disabled and it does not convey and idea of vulnerability, which is often implied for social assistance beneficiaries. (OECD 2001, https://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=2598, Kregel, John and David H Dean. 2002. "Sheltered vs. Supported Employment: A Direct Comparison of Long-Term Earnings Outcomes for Individuals with Cognitive Disabilities." In Achievements and Challenges in Employment Services for People with Disabilities: The Longitudinal Impact of Workplace")

Full-time education and training: privileged paths for young people

Since 2002, enrolment in full-time education and training is considered as a valuable and accepted path increasing the opportunities of entering employment for those young people who, at the moment of claiming the benefits, are not able to enter the labour market within the 3 months established by law.

In line with the image of low qualified young claimants presented above, the *agents d'insertion* and social workers report that education and training are usually the most promoted alternatives. They tend to purse this road also in spite of the fact that young people might be willing to start working immediately as this project is often considered short-lived and leading to temporary autonomy.

« On privilégie les études, tout le temps, tout le temps, tout le temps…" (2cCPAS)

The CPAS can also reduce the barriers to participation in education by, for instance, paying school fees or finding solutions for family obligations. In some CPAS, the *agents d'insertion* hey also enjoy autonomy when taking decisions involving up to a certain amount of money.

« […] ça c'est une caractéristique du service ISP, on peut donner des soutiens financiers […] Donc on va essayer de le mette dans un contexte favorable qui les prédispose à aller en formation ou aller vers les études» (4cCPAS)

« Ici on a une autonomie de gestion aussi tout c'est qui est moins de 125 euros, formation de moins de 125 euros je peux moi payer de mon autorité. De 125 à 250 j'ai besoin de l'accord de mon chef de service et au-dessus de 250 là sa passe au comité » (8cCPAS)

The choice of the type and level of education is not clearly mentioned in the law expected for the fact that it has to increase the likelihood of getting back to the labour market. This leaves the CPAS the discretion to choose and put limits on eligible fields of study.
As for the age limit, the law establishes that for young people up to 25 years old full-time education should be considered as an acceptable option. Beyond this age, enrolling in education is possible but regulated by general provisions.

What comes out from the interviews reveals that several CPAS consider that, after a certain age, work and shorter training that should prevail as the person is expected to contribute to the society in the near future[95]. Internal informal rules have also been established:

« On a la règle qu'on entame pas un cursus universitaire de type long ou universitaire à 23 ans, non, en règle générale…et on dit vous orientez plutôt vers quelque chose de supérieur de type court » (3mCPAS)

Further, some fields of studies are not considered as leading to the labour market and not easily approved by the Comité (13cCPAS). Hence, although the young person is in principle free to choose, it is only after the negotiations with the CPAS that the educational project can be validated and this also dependent on the general approach of the CPAS to the studies.

[95]« […] des gens qui ont plus de 25 ans, et qui sont toujours pour moi des jeunes, qui ont moins de 30 ans, et voilà. C'est vrai qu'en général le comité refuse quand c'est des personnes plus âgées.
-Refuse le retour à la formation ?
-Oui. Parce qu'ils estiment qu'on a assez perdu de temps, il faut qu'elle travaille, parce que c'est la priorité. »

« Chez nous on a un système qui permet de faire plutôt l'enseignement professionnel éventuellement des formations professionnelles d'un ans ou 2 ans si nécessaire, mais on peut aussi proposer de s'engager dans des graduats éventuellement dans des master si... (19mCPAS)

While some CPAS might be keener on letting the young person choose her educational path, the attention is nonetheless geared towards the *sectuers porteurs*. The most valued training are those which directly lead to employment and for those person potentially able to enter the labour market without further training, the CPAS tends to impose to find a job.

In a big CPAS :
« Une fois qu'ils ont obtenu un diplôme ils doivent aller travailler parce que on pourrait imaginer quelqu'un qui fait des études d'assistant social et peut facilement trouver un travail et dit « non je vais maintenant faire une licence...et après je vais faire un doctorat.... » […] ça ne va pas. Donc dès qu'ils ont un diplôme qui leur permet d'aller travailler ils doivent aller travailler et quitter le CPAS. » (6mCPAS)

And similarly in a small CPAS:

« Au moment où ils ont atteint par exemple 21-22 on va peut-être les pousser aux études, mais on leur mettant quand même une limite aussi en disant à votre âge maintenant il faut peut-être non plus entamer un master par exemple » (10cCPAS)

Enrolling in education and training exempts from being available in the labour market. However, the law suggests that during summer, the young person should be available for short student jobs if there are no "reasons of equity and health impeding it" (Arrêté 11 juillet). The blur rule leaves, again, scope for discretion at the CPAS which can be tolerant or strict in imposing a close monitoring of the job-search efforts. Three approaches presented below, from big CPAS with a relative high share of young students, show different degrees of adaptability of the rule.

«Il y a pas d'obligation. il y a rien d'obligatoire...l'idée c'est plutôt que vraiment c'est déjà pas évident de s'investir dans les études […] et après ils ratent les examens parce qu'ils n'ont pas pu étudier et donc l'idée c'est de se dire si c'est possible c'est possible et tout étudiant...si c'est possible de travailler pour faire des sous...donc on a pas une obligation comme dans certains CPAS où c'est l'aide est suspendu automatiquement... » (19mCPAS)

« En fait c'est imposé par la loi et nous en fait on impose aussi... » (5cCPAS)

« Oui, dans le PIIS on note: l'étudiant est censé travailler, doit mettre tout en œuvre pour aller travailler dans les périodes compatibles avec ses horaires, donc le mot compatible est ouvert. On demande que, les 2 mois de vacances… après, il y a des nuances, mais les 2 mois de vacances, si c'est vraiment des vacances et qu'il n'y a pas de seconde session, un des deux mois doit être consacré au travail. » (16cCPAS)

Despite the recognised emancipating value of education, the idea conveyed by the law and CPAS remains that allowing to enrol in education and training remains an exception that the CPAS allows to young people. Job-search and availability in the labour market are still necessary to prove one's genuine effort to exit social assistance and become autonomous.

Supported employment: not only a way to unemployment but hindered by jobs availability

Article 60 is the privileged employment programme used by the CPAS. As explained by the Federal Representative, Article 60 has the advantage of being less costly for the CPAS but, more importantly, to allow its high involvement in guidance and monitoring.

There are important aspects that actively shape the idea of employability via the article 60, namely the aim and the quality of supported job, the fields and the role played by the CPAS.

While the first aim is to provide a first and new experience in the labour market, Article 60 remains a bridge towards unemployment and this is confirmed by the fact that the contract ends as soon as the number of days allow to receive unemployment benefits. Therefore, for a part of the CPAS population with a certain previous work experience, Article 60 is only a financial bridge.
On the other hand, Article 60 represents a work experience for some. However, although some CPAS are trying to create new partnerships with the private sector for guarantee a stable job after the article 60, there is with little possibility of long-term employment.

« Ça leur permet, du côté positif, d'avoir une expérience professionnelle, le couac, c'est qu'on ne garde pas les personnes ». (18cCPAS)

Moreover, when not used for bridging towards unemployment benefits, the use of the Article 60 can differ across CPAS namely because of the room of manoeuvre left to CPAS.
Some interviewees report that supported employment is mostly used for those claimants who are less likely to find their way into the regular market; while others report that - being the most visible result to externals – the most motivated beneficiaries are selected.
Two different logics seem to oppose here: on the one hand Article 60 used to compensate for temporary inability of getting back to the primary labour market; on the other hand Article 60 is used for those who are closer to the labour market and more likely to quickly absorb labour market rules.

As for the field of contracts, most of the CPAS have already established partnership with some other services of the CPAS or a (limited) number of private employers. This means that, most of the time, the typology of jobs available under supported contract does not depend on the profile of the young person but rather on the availability of jobs. Even though *agents d'insertion* try to find the best match between individual competences and job requirements, most of the jobs available are for blue-collar and low qualified positions, with some middle positions in supply-shortage occupations.

If the opportunity structure built by the use of the article 60 tends to answer to the logics of filling the demand needs by training the supply side and functions as a bridge towards unemployment, there is also a more enabling perspective that should be ensured by the CPAS.

The CPAS has a central role in the article 60 and 61 as it is the legal employer. This means that the CPAS should guarantee that there is an adequate access to training, in particular for young people, and that job tasks are in line with the individual action plan.

« pour les jeunes, on va essayer souvent que pendant l'article 60 de l'encourager, pour autant qu'il soit preneur, à suivre en parallèle une formation » (14mCPAS)

Moreover, the CPAS ensures that the employer is rightly considering the job as a social inclusion path and not as a regular market job and that guidance is provided. For instance, the CPAS - in its role as employer – can decide to break the contract with the third party hiring the person if the job description or the work practices do not comply with what was agreed (12mCPAS).
The protecting role of the CPAS seems to guarantee that young beneficiaries are not let alone to negotiate, but empowered with their support. Something that is not possible when the person is employed in the regular market.

However, it is not worth noting that - even though there is a push towards entering the labour market and extra-financing was set in 2003 for fostering specific actions to include claimants in sustainable employment - the article 60 is still not widely used for young people.

The complementarity

Being the authority granting the financial aid and access to employment and education programme, the CPAS is also able to coordinate and make its programmes complementary in order to build a sustainable path. For instance, after finishing training, the CPAS can provide the young person with a supported employment in that area. However, this seems to happen for a limited number of cases and for specific employment domains where the CPAS can put in place a supported employment more easily.

"Il y a souvent des centres de formation qui font déjà un cv dès leur sortie de la formation et donc on les informations sur les bourses à l'emploi, sur les plans d'embauche et c'est vrai que si ça donne rien alors on leur propose un contrat un article 60...ça arrive aussi. (4cCPAS)

Conclusions -Two different approaches within a macro enabling institutional structure

As I shall present in more detail in the quantitative chapter, welfare and labour market institutions can be said to be coherently coordinated in providing an opportunity structure supporting young people in their transitions from unemployment, inactivity or education/training to the labour market, both ensuring an income support and the possibility to take up training. This complementarity would rather be close to a CA/TLM institutional approach which account for the risk of the first transitions in the labour market.

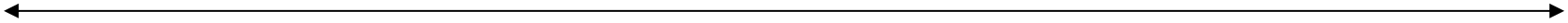
At the same time at the lower levels and in terms of practices,the interviews suggest that the approach of job-search counsellors at the OES and the priority given to employability programmes is closer to the HDC.
The role of training is highly valued and encouraged; however, this has to be assimilated to work in terms of hours in order to exempt the young person from looking for a job. Moreover, training on supply-shortage occupations is often promoted because it increases the likelihood of leaving unemployment and the training courses are shaped on labour market needs. Integration in regular labour market is preferred, even though subsidised employment is not discarded.
In addition, the local relationships that partners are able to establish with some employers as well as the role of Actiris in intervening for reducing exaggerated selection criteria asked by employers denote practices that are closer to the CA/TLM. However, this approach is not predominant.

The relationship with the demand-side established at the CPAS level is different than for the PES.
The legal right the CPAS has to create supported employment and allow young people to enrol in full-time education makes the CPAS a central actor in shaping the recipients' trajectories.
Moreover, although the discretion granted to the CPAS to establish the rule for acceding to full-time education and the obligation to be available during the summer, CPAS seem to generally privilege training over a swift return to the labour market for young people with poor skills and low qualifications.
The mediating role played by the CPAS for Article 60 also seems to ensure that the young social assistance claimants receive adequate guidance and that both the education and the work experience comply with the values underpinning the "*emploi adapté*".

To conclude, though, this CA-TLM friendly approach consisting of negotiation, job creation and skills development in the long-run is to some extent downsized by the focus on low-skilled supported jobs and on training courses built mostly on supply-side shortage areas, thus answering more to the needs of the market rather than a genuine bottom-up request from claimants.

Relationship with the demand-side

Financial top-up and in-work credit Regular labour market – job-search No negotiation with labour market actors	On-the-job training based on labour market needs Preference for regular labour market Limited negotiation with labour market actors	Creating and/or promoting sheltered employment opportunities if needed Full-negotiation with labour market actors



Relationship with the demand side			
Type and hierarchy of programmes promoted		**PES:** Job-search is promoted together or after training. **PES:** Qualifying training takes precedence over short-term jobs. But any working experience is valued. **PES:** Regular market contracts, especially with a training component are preferred. **PES/CPAS:** Training is based on labour market needs, for CPAS (informal) age limit for full-time education. **CPAS:** low variety of Article 60 mostly low skilled	**CPAS:** creating and promoting supported employment **CPAS:** holistic approach when proposing "emploi adapté" **CPAS:** Direct control of CPAS on adaptability of supported employment to the person needs **CPAS:** possibility to enrol in full-time education
Type of (labour market and welfare) institutions			**PES/CPAS:** Complementary risk-reducing institutions accounting for young people's transitional situation.

Time

The time dimension is made up of three sub-dimensions: *the reversibility of the action plan, the time horizon of the action plan* and *the time horizon of benefits*.
The first two dimensions are shaped at the street-level, while the third is regulated by the overall set of institutional laws.

The *reversibility of the action plan* seems crucial for young people insofar as they as often described as not having a clear idea of labour market mechanisms, of skills and competence required but also attitude and behaviours. This more capability and TLM friendly approach is mainly based on the idea of leaving enough time to young people to make their own experiences, but also to reverse their choices if necessary.

Time at the PES: two coexisting time horizons, but short-term prevails

The time horizon of the action plan reveals to what extent a quick integration in the labour market is valued and promoted and whether this can be reconciled with a long-term perspective. This dimension also provides a perspective over the (non)evolutionary approach to the young person's situation.

In both dimensions, I found tensions when analysing the interviews.

Firstly, the possibility of changing the action plan and modify its targets clashes with the need of ensuring the coherence and the efficacy of the action plan. Job-search counsellors report that the progression towards the labour market has been thought by the PES as sequences of steps[96]. This linear progression towards the labour market is actually often modified and reversed. In fact, young people often choose to enter labour market first in order to answer to their need of experiencing financial autonomy, but often come back to training once they realised they made the wrong decision or they lack some specific skills. These reverse paths are not hindered by job-search counsellors who try to find the best solution for answering to what young people's concerns despite their opposite judgement:

« En même temps, il faut leur permettre de passer par cette étape- là [working in low qualified jobs] *parce que, ça les fait réfléchir et puis à un moment ils peuvent se rendre compte, que dans le fond, non c'est pas ça que je veux faire, c'est pas si chouette, c'est très précaire, je ne suis pas autant payé, c'est stressant…* » (1mPES)

Allowing young people to reverse the linear progression towards the labour market is perceived as almost a pedagogical experience because it allows young people to get closer to at the ideal of the HCD welfare subject who acknowledges the importance of training and skills acquisition, but who also has a good knowledge of labour market rules and working ethics.
Hence, the public action of leaving the time and helping define a project seems to act as a provider of conversion factors (information, access to training) needed to the young person to create their own conception of a valued job. However, these instruments (information, type of training) are also very much in line with the idea that young people's preferences are considered more successful when they answer to labour market needs.

[96] The definition of the professional project, getting into training programme for acquiring the right skills, guided job-search, independent job-search and eventually getting some work experience

Moreover - once defined - the reversibility of the action plan is also allowed; however, this is limited insofar as the change is in line with the previous project and can be coherently framed within a broader action plan.

« C'est important de voir tout ce qu'il en est. En même temps, c'est une cohérence, je leur dit. Voilà, ils prennent une offre, puis ils changent d'avis… si d'une manière générale, il y a une continuité régulière dans le cadre de leur recherche d'emploi, je pense qu'il n'y a aucun souci. » (10cPES)

The *time horizon* of the action plan also contributes to the definition of the institutional action towards the acquisition of a certain type of employability. The internal document the "*procédure d'objectivation*" explicitly mentions that the short-term professional project of getting back to does not prevent the definition of a long-term project implying several actions and commitment to be achieved. The work advisor is also able to encode both projects in the IT database, thus the long-term project has – at least on first moment – considered as important as the short-term one.

This two–track approach to individual professional projects is also found in the interviews. Work advisors promote the adoption of a short-term professional project based on the current skills, attitudes and expectations of the young person, but also invite young people to develop a more comprehensive and long-term project with forward-looking approach.

« Disons qu'on met en évidence le fait qu'il y a l'emploi alimentaire à court terme, et qu'il est intéressant aussi de développer un projet à plus long terme, pour accéder à un emploi plus motivant, et plus valorisant. On essaie de les aider à travailler sur 2 tableaux en même temps. » (7cPES)

However, several tensions stem from this two-track approach. Firstly, administrative time-constraints. Although young people can request an on-demand coaching after one year of compulsory follow-up, job-search counsellors admit that the standardised time-frame is not always suitable neither for reaching the ultimate goal ("getting back to the labour market") nor for providing all the necessary tools to the person for realising her long-term project.

« Parce qu'après je me dis: on arrive au bout de l'année, où la personne a pris conscience de ce qu'était le marché de l'emploi, pour se rendre compte que de fait, ça va être très compliqué, et après un an on dit: il n'y a plus d'accompagnement! Donc à la demande. Donc c'est un peu les abandonner aussi après un an. C'est compliqué je trouve » (3cPES)

Time-constraints are also imposed by the long waiting lists for getting into training or any other "secondary care" service, which slowed down and discouraged young people from pursuing their project. Further, job-search counsellors also reported that the standard time—table for the realisation of the action plan often clashed with the time perspective and need of young people.

"Disons qu'ils y vont mais parfois pas tout de suite…ça leur prends du temps avant d'enclencher le …l'activation… et ça prend du temps parfois de s'activer […] mais ils y vont. Ils n'ont pas encore cette discipline d'organiser leur journée de travail finalement et de recherche d'emploi parce que…. » (7cPES)

Secondly, the tension stems from the aim of activating the young person as soon as possible within her short-term professional project. In fact, while supporting long-term projects, work

advisors also report that all young people should not stay too long without engaging in the realisation of their personal project.
If the administrative timing to get into training is preventing them from getting involved in their projects, they should find alternative solutions and being proactive, for example by continuing their job-search.
Although a longer term project is allowed and encouraged, the short-term project has priority over the other one insofar as integrating the labour market has the priority over the training.

The time dimension of unemployment benefits and *allocations d'attente* ensured that young people had time enough for developing a personal project while receiving income support or top-up from the social assistance if necessary.
Indeed, the limitation to 3 years of the *allocations d'attente* (now *allocations d'insertion professionnelle*) reduced the time horizon; however the most important change has been the conditionality of the right to these benefits on the activation of young people.

Time perspective at CPAS: long-term horizon and reversible choice

The most important aspects of the time dimensions expressed by the interviews refer to the reversibility and the forward-looking dimension of the action plans signed between the young claimants and the CPAS.

The long-term perspective on gaining employability is justified by the overall goals of the CPAS: aiming at labour market integration and autonomy implies a longer time horizon particularly when young people face multiple disadvantages.

The forward-looking attitude of social workers is revealed when drafting the action plan and, contrary to the action plans at the PES, the long-term perspective seems to prevail. The "suitable job" is not only representing what the young beneficiaries are able to do right now, but it is rather shaped on current and future skills and motivation, even though the success of the long-term planning is never guarantee (19cCPAS).

"C'est l'emploi qui semble adapter" et donc on va vérifier les compétences et rien empêche qu'on parle d'une acquisition de compétences et c'est là qu'on rentre dans cette logique de trajectoire et de parcours: on va faire ensemble des étapes. » (4cCPAS)

Furthermore, to concretely target a sustainable inclusion path, social workers often reported that they put into question the short-time perspective of young people – particularly with low skills – who want to go back to the labour market as soon as possible. They confront these wishes by highlighting the poor quality of their labour market inclusion and the lack of sustainability of this choice.

« Mais moi j'essaie de dire : sur le long terme. Il faut voir sur le long terme. Faire des petits boulots tout le temps, est-ce que ça mène vraiment quelque part sur le long terme ? Donc là…on essaie de voir une formation »(13cCPAS)

Suggesting more sustainable results in the medium and long run is also an argument used by social workers and *agents d'insertion* when they submit their case file to the final approval of the *Comité d'Action Sociale.* A strong potential of exiting from social assistance without the risk of getting back is better accepted as it does not challenge the overall values and norms.

For instance, as explained in the previous paragraph, the role of training and jobs in supply shortages areas are often offered as a better solution in terms of social inclusion, even though the young person has already a project.

« […] bah esthétique c'est indépendant, c'est des risque énormes, il y a pas forcement beaucoup de demande d'emploi, donc là le comité n'aime pas de partir dans ce projet et il dira non déjà en principe parce que c'est l'esthétique. Mais s'il est un projet qui est construit, il y a moyen tjrs de le défendre, par exemple on va devoir argumenter beaucoup plus, on va vraiment devoir se battre. » (11cCPAS)

Another important aspect of the time dimension is the reversibility. The role of the CPAS of granting the aid, providing the guidance, organising programmes for social inclusion as well as sanctioning allows social workers to be more flexible in reframing the project and reorienting its goals.

This is particularly interesting in the case of young people as they are more likely to need time to try and figure out different paths and need to discuss several time before starting the project they wish.

« C'est vrai que quand on discute avec les personnes, parfois ils changent des projets et parfois on réalise le Bilan Socio-Professionnel et on se rend compte que au départ ils voulaient un emploi administratif mais ils n'ont pas les compétences en matière d'informatique et alors ils réajustent leur demande ou ils s'orientent vers une formation.» (12mCPAS)

Action plans cannot be changed endlessly and age limits are imposed. The reversibility of the action plan is subject to the feasibility of the action plan and the evaluation of the capacity to reach it. This is justified not only by the need of integrating the young person, but also avoiding her dropping out because of repeated failing projects.

Moreover, any change of action plans, namely if radical, should be presented and justified at the Comité. This is particularly the case for full-time students who want to change type of education or failed to pass and need the approval for re-enrolling.
A social worker reports that family and health problems are the most used to justify an unsuccessful school year and accepted by the Comité as not being directly linked to the poor willingness and commitment of the person, but that can be rather ascribed to external or not controllable events.
The responsibility of the young person is then shifted in order to avoid sanctions.
Indeed, this does not mean that young people can easily fail school exams without being sanctioned at some point. As presented before, the guidance of young people in full-time education is quite strict.

Moreover, a long-term time perspective is also meant to transmit a feeling of security to young claimants who might be confronted to several uncertainties linked with precarious life situations:

« Si le CPAS a donné son accord, vous avez la certitude d'aller au bout de votre parcours, vous ne devrez pas vous poser la question : est-ce que l'année prochaine, je pourrai le faire, non, c'est ok jusqu'à la fin. » (17cCPAS)

Finally, the institutional dimension of time guarantee by the allowances is also forward-looking mainly because it is the last safety net of the social security. This impedes a too fast exclusion from – in principle unlimited – social assistance allowances.

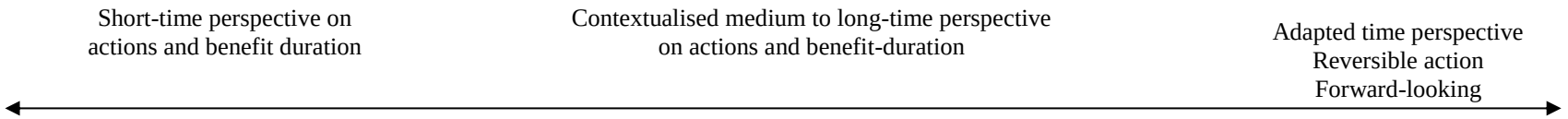
Conclusions

At the PES, the time dimension of actions and decision contributing to the construction of employability shows similar patterns to the other dimensions analysed so far. While the reversibility of the action plan and the possibility of having both a short-term and forward-looking projects would rather suggest an approach that is closer to an 'enabling employability' (CA/TLM approach), the priority given to the short-term project and the need to ensure at any time a coherence with a short-term labour market perspective make the approach closer to the HDC approach. Moreover, the tensions between the individual time of gaining awareness and competences, but also the administrative obstacles hindering the access to young people suggest that there is still room for better adapt the institutional intervention to the individual situated needs.

At the CPAS, the time dimension of employability is closer to a CA/TLM perspective where the action plan is meant to reach sustainable goals and builds - not only on current skills - but also on prospective competences. Furthermore, even though the reversibility is not unlimited, it seems that young people are allowed to reframe their choices, namely after some unsuccessful results. The forward-looking attitude of the action plans is facilitated by the overview that social workers have of the situation of the young people. In fact, being aware of possible obstacles to gaining employability makes social workers conscious of the difficulties ahead. The unlimited financial support of the CPAS also contributes to provide a more stable financial framework within which developing a more sustainable employability.

In the following conclusive section, I summarise the results for the two case studies and fill in the table to visualise possible divergence between the different dimensions of the policy implementation.

Time perspective



Time			
Reversibility of the action plan		**PES:** Action plan can be changed, but respecting some conditions. **CPAS:** reversibility of the action plan, although not endless as it has to be approved by the Comité for major changes	
Time horizon of the action plan		**PES:** Medium to long time perspective linked to the training objectives set.	**PES:** Forward-looking plan associated with the short-term. One year but possibility of further coaching afterwards. **CPAS**: forward-looking and duration depending on the project itself.
Time horizon of benefits		**PES:** Medium duration but adaptable when admitted training is concerned.	**PES:** Long-term duration and sustainable replacement rate allowing a decent living and choices. **CPAS:** long-term duration and additional financial or in-kind benefit for ensuring decent living.

Conclusions: two approaches to employability in spite of overlaps

The aim of this qualitative analysis was to test whether - *the CPAS (social assistance) approach to employability is expected to be closer to a CA/TLM approach, adopt a broader and more empowering approach to employability compared to the PES's.*

The results show that the hypothesis is verified: social assistance institutions do show an approach to employability which is closer to a CA/TLM approach.
However, the answer is not clear cut and the CPAS does not present a coherently CA/TLM in all its dimensions.
Even more so if one considers that the shift towards activation, which took place since the mid-1990s, promoted the convergence between two statuses: being unemployed and being in social assistance.

On the one hand, the refocusing of the institutional answer geared both for the insurance and social assistance systems towards the promotion of work experience and training, an increasing attention towards young people and a higher contractualisation of the relationship via compulsory action plans. On the other hand, the reorganisation of the institutional answer led to an increased decentralisation and the creation of new partnerships namely to bring closer services addressing social assistance and social insurance recipients.
Bringing the services closer for the two types of recipients created some overlaps between the two ideas of employability, particularly the centrality of work and availability to work brought the CPAS closer to a HCD approach.

Both at the PES and CPAS there is the willingness of avoiding poor social inclusion, and in both approaches the tool for avoiding a low quality and precarious integration is fought via improving skills and educational attainments. However, developing employability to reach social inclusion via the labour market is not unproblematic. The labour markets do not work perfectly and, alone, do not ensure the social inclusion of the workforce (Hickey and Du Toit 2007). In both institutions the problematic inclusion in the labour market is mainly done by playing with the same rules regulating the labour market, e.g. promoting higher the qualifications so as to get higher chances of finding a good job; the young people able to use conventional job-search tools and adopt suitable behaviours will be find a job more easily

Despite these similar trends and the limit of this approach to employability and social inclusion, the CPAS seems be able to partially go beyond this logic by adopting a more holistic and enabling approach to employability.

In most of the cognitive and implementation dimensions, the approach to employability adopted by the CPAS is closer to the CA/TLM, i.e. an *empowering employability*. This stems directly from the legislation and its underpinning values, norms and algorithms. Being the last safety net of the welfare system, the role of the institution in protecting the individual gains in importance compared to the role of the PES as the perceived fragility of the social assistance recipients is higher. The CPAS has a more active and compensating role towards the individual. This is possible thanks to the flexibility of practices and the possibility for the CPAS of intervening, although limited, on the demand-side to ease the transition for some recipients. Further, the possibility of entering full-time education or training, the long-term individual action plans, the capability for voice of young people and the holistic approach to the individual

allow to better account for obstacles – be they linked to the individual herself or her environment - and individuals' needs.

The interviews and the internal documents tell a different story about the approach to employability of the PES. The idea of '*fostering employability*' is clearly adopted and spelt out at the cognitive level where values, norms and images can be attributed to the 'human capital development approach'. However, the analysis of the interviews and internal documents reveals that there is not a full coherence between the cognitive dimension and the implementation process, confirming the need of accounting for both.

Some practices get closer to a CA/TLM approach namely when it comes the use of performance objectives, profiling of young people, the time dimension and the institutional structure potentially allowing the reduction of risk in the first transitions from inactivity/unemployment to work/education. However, practices allowing a more holistic approach to the person, adapting the guidance to the young person's needs are mostly the results of job-search counsellors playing with the non-stringent rules. This is possible insofar as the degree of standardisation is flexible enough, the implementation arrangement not punitive or strictly designed. Very few aspects can be referred to a Work-First approach and they mostly recall the idea of efficiency of the public action and the standardisation of measures based on the risk profile of young people, which do not impose however strict limits.

To conclude, the hypothesis at the beginning of the chapter stated that employability policies adopted by the CPAS were expected to be informed by the CA/TLM; thus favouring an individualisation respecting the heterogeneity of individual needs. This is confirmed insofar as the informational basis of judgement in justice used at the CPAS level is broad, adaptable and situated. Moreover, the regulations and the institutional and organisational structure allow to shape an enabling opportunity structure that goes from intervening on the demand-side, adopting a long-term and reversible perspective, leave the social workers free to organise their work according to the young person's needs.
This implies that the CPAS is expected to better perform when "compensating" for lack of material and immaterial resources and factors of conversion of more vulnerable young people in social assistance.

In the following chapter, this first qualitative assessment of the overall approach to employability of the PES and CPAS will be tested quantitatively. The aim is to investigate whether specific employability programmes - known to have a higher degree of empowerment and being closer to a CA/TLM approach - will be able to compensate for vulnerable young unemployed and social assistance recipients compared to their less vulnerable peers.

Table 11: CPAS and PES ideas of employability

	WF	HCD	TLM/CA
Values **"**ALMPs **aim at…"**	PES: Efficiency of the welfare system by strengthening individual autonomy and high employment rate.	**PES:** Redistribution and social cohesion based on an economic understanding of social differences – mainly conceived as a lower capacity of certain groups (young people) of integrating the labour markets.	**CPAS:** reaching social integration and participation.
Rationale / Norms **"**ALMPs **should…"**		**Macro** **PES:** Reduce the mismatch between skills supplied and demanded by adapting individual's skills and increase aggregated employability **Micro** **PES:** Contribute to the economic return of participants by improving skills, health and personal development.	**Macro** **CPAS**: creating job opportunities that are able to bridge young people in the labour market and favouring young people autonomy **Micro** **CPAS:** Improve personal, professional and social integration by favourable transitions in and outside the labour market. Accounting for heterogeneity of needs and aspirations. Jobs should be adapted to individual's needs and aspiration
Conception of the welfare subject / Images **"**ALMPs **conceive individuals as …"**	**PES:** Maximising utility in the short term (for young people, but mostly linked to a generational problem rather than a welfare recipient problem) **CPAS:** Culture of dependency transmitted across generations, lack of good examples in the family	**PES:** Maximising utility in the longer term from increased skills **CPAS/PES:** Valuing education and training Rational and Informed actors able to overcome asymmetries **CPAS/PES** Suffering from multiple socio-economic causes leading to welfare dependence	**CPAS:** education as a means of social and economic emancipation. Becoming autonomous and fully contributing to the society.
Type of management	---- ----	PES: Decentralised agencies but centrally regulated by standard procedure. PES: Aggregated performance objectives are set at the agency level.	CPAS: decentralised with not strict federally imposed procedures. Procedures are almost completely decided at the local level. PES: Performance objectives are used to monitor the system needs. No individual performance objectives, if existing not used punitively.

Type of organisation	----	**PES**: Network cooperation with actors largely pre-determined at the central level **CPAS**: an "imposed" cooperation with Actiris	**CPAS**: performance indicators exist for some types of funding but do not have an impact on social workers. **PES**: Flexible networks which can be modified and set up according to in-context assessments – complementary features. **CPAS**: cooperation with local partners is organised locally
Relationship with the individual			
Degree of standardisation		**PES**: Information collected via IT and emphasis on competences and skills	**PES**: Factual information with qualitative data but collected on personal initiative. Adaptive counselling rules when possible
	PES/CPAS: Important workload for work advisors in big PES	**PES**: Client-centred approach. Standardised counselling procedures but adaptable to a certain extent.	**CPAS**: holistic approach extending to the social/family situation **CPAS**: IT use as support and ensuring follow up
	PES: Sanctions are automatically put into place, very limited scope for tolerance. Few reasons for no-show are accepted.		**PES**: Sanctions for non-cooperative behaviour are dealt internally **CPAS**: Sanctions for non-cooperative behaviours or fraudulent behaviours are decided internally, each social worker has scope to decide when requesting sanction
Attitude towards the individual	**PES:** Standardised paths for young people according to their "at-risk" profile	**PES/CPAS**: Stressing activation, good-will and commitment	**CPAS**: mutual obligations and stronger capability for voice when being heard by the Comité
		PES: Mutual obligations. Possible to voice concerns, but no exit option.	
		PES: Strong accent on the responsibilisation and showing benefits of the training.	**PES**: Help the claimant understand how to acquire and use resources and factors of conversion
Focus of the intervention		**PES**: Make individual autonomous but also accompany them in their path to retraining. Limited possibility to choose	
Relationship with the demand side			
Type and hierarchy of programmes promoted		**PES**: Job-search is promoted together or after training.	**CPAS**: creating and promoting supported employment **CPAS**: holistic approach when proposing "emploi adapté"

		PES: Qualifying training takes precedence over short-term jobs. But any working experience is valued. **PES**: Regular market contracts, especially with a training component are preferred. **PES/CPAS:** Training is based on labour market needs, for CPAS (informal) age limit for full-time education. **CPAS**: low variety of Article 60 mostly low skilled	**CPAS**: Direct control of CPAS on adaptability of supported employment to the person needs **CPAS**: possibility to enrol in full-time education
Type of (labour market and welfare) institutions			**PES/CPAS**: Complementary risk-reducing institutions accounting for young people's transitional situation.
Time			
Reversibility of the action plan		**PES**: Action plan can be changed, but respecting some conditions. **CPAS**: reversibility of the action plan, although not endless as it has to be approved by the Comité for major changes	
Time horizon of the action plan		**PES**: Medium to long time perspective linked to the training objectives set.	**PES**: Forward-looking plan associated with the short-term. One year but possibility of further coaching afterwards. **CPAS**: forward-looking and duration depending on the project itself.
Time horizon of benefits		**PES**: Medium duration but adaptable when admitted training is concerned.	PES: Long-term duration and sustainable replacement rate allowing a decent living and choices. **CPAS**: long-term duration and additional financial or in-kind benefit for ensuring decent living.

Source: own compilation

Chapter 7 - Young people's labour market trajectories and the relevance of welfare and labour market institutions

Chapter 7 aims to test if the diversity and institutional complementary of the Belgian labour markets and social assistance systems are able to prevent negative trajectories (Hypothesis 2). Moreover, the analysis investigates if there are groups of young people who are more likely to benefit from this complementarity. Optimal matching, cluster analysis, regression analysis and transitions matrices are used to test this hypothesis. The original contribution of the Chapter lies on the use of different statistical techniques which have rarely been used together within the theoretical backgrounds of TLM and CA.

Introduction

The previous Chapter used qualitative analysis to identify what idea of employability front-line agents in the social assistance and insurance institutions (CPAS and PES) conveyed to young people. The analysis of the interviews revealed that the cooperation between front-line agents at PES and the CPAS is not as developed as it could be even though steps were taken to improve it (Chapter 4 and 6).
Further, and most importantly, the analysis highlighted that – although recent reforms and common ideological trends expressed have brought these approaches closer a Human Capital Approach - the two institutional approaches to employability remain distinct.
Yet both the PES and the CPAS are legally meant to promote training of basic and more job-specific skills, meaning that they contribute to reduce the risk of erosion and deterioration of human capital (Schmid 2002). They support the acquisition and strengthening of employability because they provide job-search support and work experience in order to overcome negative signalising to employers while helping young claimants define their own conception of a valued job. Although adopting different approaches to employability, they play an important role in empowering unemployed or inactive[97] young people.

Moreover, both PES and CPAS provide a basic level of income insurance independent of actual work histories, which is a feature claimed by Schmid as reducing risks associated with transitions (Schmid 2008).

Because the case study showed that a considerable share of young people in RBC is unemployed, inactive or living in poverty, this means that social assistance and social insurance institutions play a central role in shaping and potentially reducing the risk of young people's first transitions into the labour market (see Chapter 4 and 5).

[97] In the economic and statistical definitions, the category of "inactive" also includes students as they do not have any income and are not – in principle – part of the work force. In this section, "inactive" does not include students.

The table graphically summarises the existing institutions and their role in reducing each specific risks in the Belgian context.

Table 12: Risks and corresponding welfare and labour market institutions in the Belgian context

Dimension of risk	Type of risk	How it is measured	Welfare or labour market institutions
Human capital	Eroded or insufficient human capital	Educational attainment (ISCED – self-declared)	Education/training Provided and accessible in the framework of activation policies. Financial support is provided when attending training or education by unemployment or social assistance system or family allowances.
Income	Insecure income, insufficient income; instable income	Receiving unemployment or social assistance benefits, employment top-ups	Unemployment allowances or social assistance benefits both for an unlimited duration. For young people without working experience, *allocations d'attente* - waiting benefits- were until 2012 unlimited in time as well. During the waiting period before getting *allocations d'attente,* the young person can receive family allowances (or her mother)
Lower Age/ Lack Work experience	Low attractiveness for the labour market	Age, number of quarters worked in the previous year	Unemployment after studies coupled with activation Employment incentives reducing social contributions in order to reduce the gap between the expected productivity (i.e. subsidised employment) Employment top-up when exiting unemployment for low-income jobs.

Source: own elaboration

Therefore, imperfect as they may be, I argue that welfare and labour market institutions in Belgium still provide answers to a variety of risks that young people can face in their first transitions. This means that young people can enjoy different institutional supports and social rights for which they are not supposed to act[98] (i.e. they are close to an idea of *midfare*, thus of passive empowerment).

This Chapter and the next complement the qualitative analysis because they investigate if the complementarity of the overall institutional structure translates into individual trajectories with lower risks despite the poor cooperation within practices of counselling observed in the qualitative analysis. Further, they unveil how the different approaches to employability identified in Chapter 6 secure individual transitions.

[98] The analysis goes until 2010. All changes towards a stricter conditionality of benefits and activation are not included in the quantitative analysis as they took place later.

In empirical terms, this means accounting both for individual *trajectories and transitions.* Focusing on trajectories and transitions provides two time perspectives: the first unveils the role of institutions over a longer time span, and the latter investigates the relationship between two statuses and the role of single activation interventions.

The focus on trajectories is adopted in this Chapter, while a closer investigation on the relation between activation policies and transitions is developed in Chapter 8.

What trajectories and what role for welfare and labour market systems in the Brussels context?

Based on these two principles advocated by the TLM, empowering individuals and the coordination of institutions in reducing individual risks, and the interaction with the CA, the leading hypothesis of this first part of the chapter is formulated as follows:

H2: *Varied and complementary labour and welfare market institutions favour individual integrative trajectories into the labour market.*

This hypothesis could that being unemployed, or in stage d'attente or in social assistance does not turn out to be a dead-end but rather an enabling – or at least not risk-entailing – experience for young people's trajectories. This is strictly related to Transitional Labour Markets, where labour market and welfare institutions are able to bridge and empower individuals during risky transitions.
Further it is reasonable to investigate whether the institutional complementarity is relevant for the trajectories of young people with some socio-economic features which can lead to some form of disadvantage – like for instance low educational attainment, poor neighbourhood environment or a migrant background.
Again, this angle of analysis is to provide insights about the capacity of institutions of addressing individual lack of active empowerment. This aspect will be investigated further in the next Chapter.

The sample, the variables and the statistical methods adopted

The sample

I used a sub-sample randomly drawn from the bigger sample available. This sub-sample counts 3000 young people aged between 15 and 29 years old in 2005 and I followed all of them for 24 quarters, from March 2005 to December 2010, in order to understand their trajectories. Thus the dataset includes 72000 person-period observations (i.e. 3000 young people *24 quarters).

As for the available covariates, the dataset[99] includes: gender, age, the position of the person in the household, the educational attainment, the current nationality, the naturalisation – i.e. whether the young person acquired the Belgian nationality at a later stage (see Box 4) – and the type of neighbourhood. The two variables describing the type of neighbourhood are the index of wealth and the variable FEDER and they are not collected by the Federal Statistical Office, but rather by the Brussels Regional

[99] All variables and their related limitations are included in the Methodological Annex

Agency.[100] The FEDER variable is a dummy variable indicating whether the neighbourhood is the target of public investments[101]. Living in a target area for public investment policies might be considered as a proxy, of the risk of being discriminated on the basis of residence as well as a proxy for the lack of institutional, social and environmental conversion factors available to young people living in that area (Tovar and Bourdeau-Lepage 2012)[102].

The structure of the analysis

To understand the relevance of the institutional complementarity for young people's trajectories it is necessary to reduce the high heterogeneity of all existing individual trajectories. This is done in several steps and using different methods (for a more in-depth discussion on the statistical methods used, see Methodological Annex).

First, I use Optimal Matching as a preliminary analysis to grasp the diversity of young people's trajectories. Next, cluster analysis was chosen to understand the relevance of institutions in each group and level of risk associated with each cluster.
Regression analysis reveals the socio-economic characteristics that better predict the membership to the different clusters.
Finally, transitions matrices are used to assess whether the degree of risk of the trajectories is also associated with a higher or lower probability of getting out from unemployment or social assistance (negative positions) towards education or employment (positive position in the labour market). Transition matrices shift the focus from trajectories to transitions and serve as a link to Chapter 8 where single event transitions and their relationship with employability approaches are investigated.

The results from the multinomial logistic regression will be used as the basis of for Chapter 8 as the most vulnerable population identified in this chapter will be investigated further in light of the activation programmes.

In the next sessions I will define how I constructed the quality index of trajectories, defined the positions in the labour market for running sequence analysis. The results of the analyses will follow.

[100] A limitation of this indicator as well as for all the other personal characteristic indicators is that they were only asked for the year 2005, the year when the sample was drawn. Thus no time-varying personal characteristic is in the dataset.
[101] The variable FEDER indicates whether the neighbourhood is classified as "Objective 2" in the European regulations for the eligibility of the European Structural Funds. In particular, the report on FEDER areas in Brussels describes these areas as places where investments have already been done in the past but that several socio-economic challenges still need to be met Région de Bruxelles-Capitale. 2007. "Objectif 2013 investissons ensemble dans le développement urbain - Programme opérationnel proposé par la Région de Bruxelles Capitale au titre e l'Objectif « compétitivité et emploi » pour la période 2007-2013 "..
[102] It was not possible to link our observations with other interesting indicators of the socio-economic context available for neighbourhoods in Brussels. However, the statistical chi-square test run at the aggregate level between neighbourhoods confirms that there is a strong correlation between the index of wealth and some relevant indicators about the situation and quality of living, such as the youth unemployment rate; the (standardised) perceived health; the square meters by inhabitants. Chi-square analyses are in the Methodological Annex.

Defining labour market positions

The databases used for determining the labour market position come from different institutions but are centralised and treated by the Banque Carrefour de Sécurité Sociale (BCSS) [103] which also provides access to the data. The most reliable data are those referring to the last day of the quarter included in the derived variable "nomenclature" - NOMENC) created by the BCSS, which gathers step by step all the data from the different institutions.
Because there are different institutions with different timing of collecting and transmitting the data, there are some databases were in a monthly basis others in a quarterly basis (e.g. Ministry for Social Inclusion- i.e. data coming from the CPAS were on a monthly basis).
Because I did not have reliable information at the monthly level for all the employment positions, I decided to use quarterly data and trust the derived variable "nomenc" created by BCSS. The nomenc variable was adapted to my analysis as described in the reminder of this section and in the Methodological Annex.

It is possible to investigate sequences of elements when states to investigate are clearly defined. In this research, I identified 6 possible labour market positions (plus an undefined position) and position which was closer to the labour market was retained in case of double states.

1. employed – including self-employment
2. employed with top-up or with employment incentives[104]
3. unemployed – including being in unemployment after studies
4. in the waiting period (*stage d'attente*) before getting unemployment benefits based on educational attainments and no work history
5. in education (this variable is derived from family allocations and age) or training (unemployed but attending training course and being exempted from looking for a job)
6. in social assistance (receiving financial support from social assistance institutions, but also being a student and receiving social assistance or being activated while receiving social assistance)
7. other[105]

Box 3: The "other" category - a problematic status

The category "other" is unfortunately very large. It is identified by the BCSS after having checked all the sources at the last day of the quarter. This means that this category is highly heterogeneous as it can represent several positions in and outside the labour market.

[103] https://www.bcss.fgov.be/ In the following tables I will only mentioned BCSS as source.
[104] In this category I included young people who are employed under an activation programme of the PES (e.g. "Activa" – a social contribution reduction programme for employers hiring young people) but also those young unemployed who went back to the labour market but are receiving a top-up for their salaries. Those who were in social assistance but were also in supported employment are considered as being in social assistance.
[105] For instance, in this category young people who do not work, nor receive any kind of welfare transfer are included, but also young people living in Belgium but working in a neighbouring country (more details in the Methodological Annex and Box 3).

In this category, there are also individuals that might have been registered at the PES at some point or might have worked some days during the quarter, but their position is not known on the last day of the quarter. The BCSS states that in this category several categories of people might be included such as: employees in bordering countries, people working and living in Brussels but not paying their taxes in Belgium, people at home, sanctioned unemployed, those who worked during the quarter but not the last day of the quarter.
When cross-checking the "other" category with the category of unemployed provided by the PES, there are several young people who are registered as unemployed but not receiving unemployment benefits. This might mean that during the quarter, they were registered at some point, but were not employed on the last day nor receiving benefits. Moreover, when running the OMA, there are trajectories that include the sequence "unemployment – other – unemployment", suggesting that the young person might have been in employment or not registered for some weeks. For these reasons, I decided to assimilate "being other" to "being registered at the PES" when both positions appear, even if this might not refer exactly to the last day of the month.

Source: BCSS, https://www.bcss.fgov.be/fr/dwh/dwh_page/content/websites/datawarehouse/others/indexes_data.html

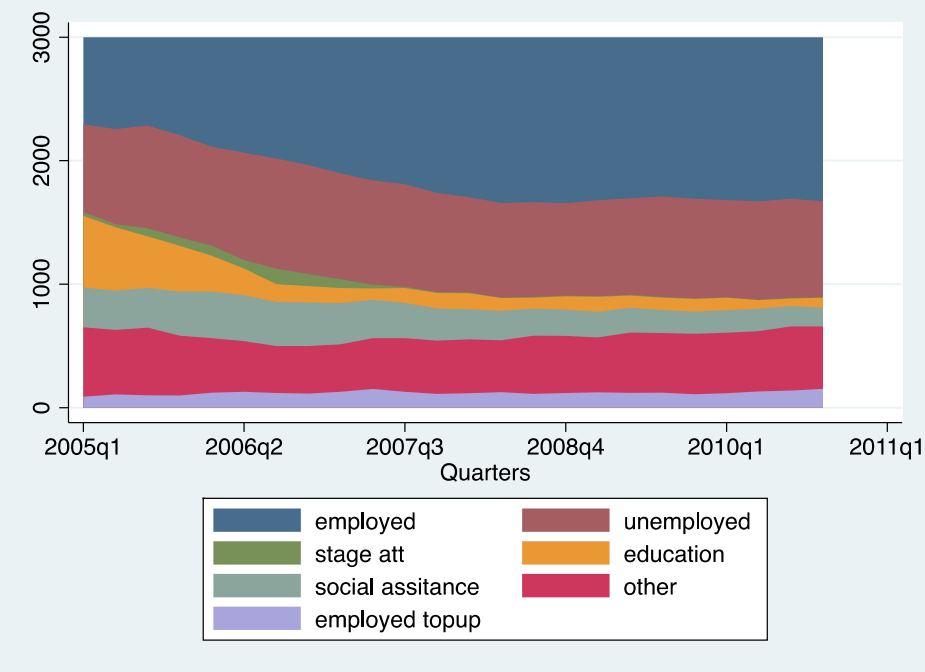
The sample: positions, episodes and cluster of trajectories

The chronogram presents the changing shares of young people in different labour market positions who are included in the random representative sample of 3000 individuals used for Optimal Matching Analysis (Figure 16)

The figure shows that at the beginning of the observation period, March 2005, the share of young people in employment represented 23% and it was as numerous as the share of young people unemployed. Young people in education counted for 19% of the sample, while one a small fraction (3%) was employed in subsidised employment. By the end of the observation period, December 2010, more than 60% of the population was at least 27 years old. This implies a much lower fraction of young people in education (2.73%). The share of young social assistance recipients also declined from 11% to 5% but the share of young people unemployed actually remained constant and reached 26%. Compared to the first quarter in 2005, young people in employment almost doubled their size and they represent 44% of the work force (50% when including young people with employment subsidies), which is not a high rate if a young group of people aged between 23 and 33 years old.

This section provides some interesting first insights and features on the most frequent kinds of sequences (i.e. trajectories) in the dataset (Brzinsky-Fay et al 2006).

Figure 16: Chronogram for the whole sub-sample of 3000 individuals



Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

The chronogram provides a longitudinal picture of the share of young people in the different labour market statuses. However, it does not distinguish between individual across the years.

This is what I am going to investigate by using Optimal Matching Analysis (OMA). OMA with costs derived from transition probabilities (Rohwer and Pötter 2005) is performed here on 24 labour market events (4 quarters per year) between 2005 and 2010. There are several methods for setting substitution costs (Studer and Ritschard 2014; Martin et al 2008), I decided to derive them from transition probabilities because I did not have to account for the time structure of the sequences and I preferred to "let the data speak" and do not impose the costs theoretically. This choice is however not without implications. These are discussed in the Methodological Annex.

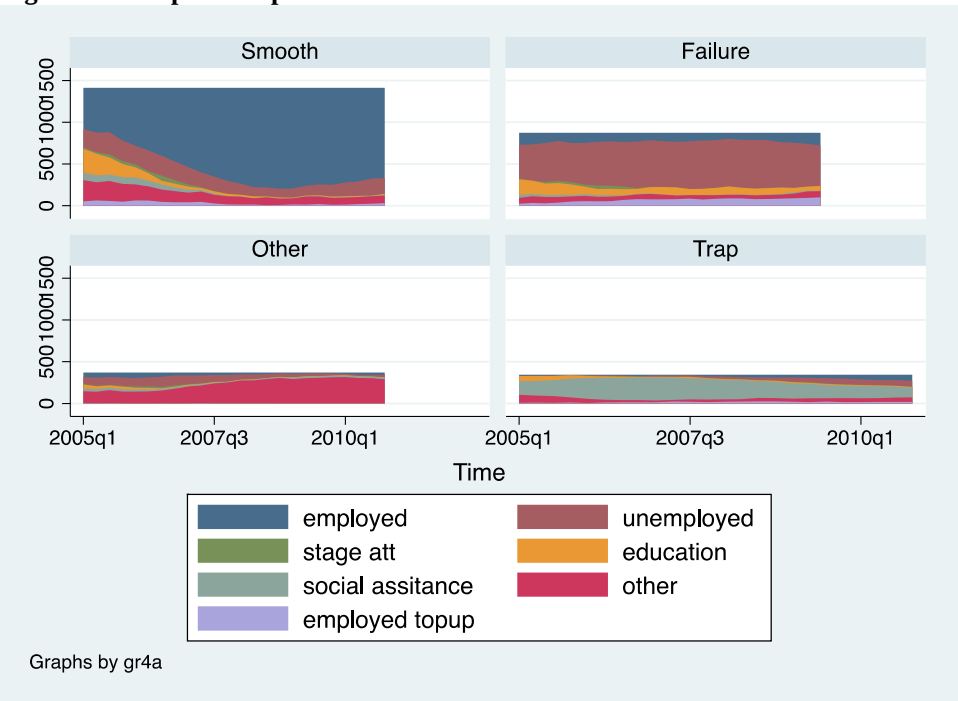
In sequence analysis, with seven elements and a sequence length of 24, one can form 7^{24} sequences (Brzinsky-Fay et al 2006). First insights on the trajectories reveal that sample is not homogeneous because there are a high number of unique trajectories: 83% of the observations of the 3000 are unique recalling the high individualisation of trajectories (Aisenbray and Fasang 2010)(data not shown).

After performing Optimal Matching using STATA12 and its user-written plugin (SQ, Brzinsky-Fay et al 2006), hierarchical cluster analysis was carried out with Ward's linkage. This clustering technique was chosen because it tends to bring together most similar sequences and tends to create homogeneous groups (Studer 2013; Scherer 2001) and seemed to provide reasonable results for my analysis. By taking into account the number of observations as well as their graphical representation, 8 groups were initially explored. The final choice was for 4 clusters as it was both suggested by tests of

quality[106] and the sense-making of the clusters as the clusters showed both coherence and enough observations to be meaningful and conduct further analysis.

The four clusters presented below are mainly characterised by a predominant colour, representing employment for cluster 1 (Smooth), unemployment for cluster 2 (*Failure*), other for cluster 3 (Other) and social assistance for cluster 4 (Social assistance).

Figure 17: Graphical representation of clusters



Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

[106] More information in the Annex. I'm grateful to Prof. Ritschard for precious support in testing the quality of the clusters I found. The statistical tests presented in the Methodological Annex were performed by him.

Table 13: Clusters observations frequency

Cluster	*Freq.*	*Percent*	*Cum.*
Smooth	1,413	47.1	47.1
Failure	873	29.10	76.20
Other	370	12.33	88.53
Trap	344	11.47	100
Total	3,000	100	

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

Cluster 1, which I labelled "Smooth", represents 47 % of the whole sample (1413 individuals). The chronogram shows that at the beginning of the observation period only slightly more than a third was in employment and 20% of young people in education. While the share of young people in education becomes almost negligible at the end of 2010, the share of young people employed reached more than 76%.

Cluster 2, labelled "Failure", shows that for 29% of the sample (873 individuals) the trajectories over the 6 years are less successful. The last day of March 2005 more than 46% of young people are unemployed, 21% in education while only 16% in employment. By the end of 2010, the share of young people unemployed is 10 percentage points higher and the share of employed increased only because of the increase of young people in subsidised employment.

Cluster 4 has been defined as "Trap" because the share of young people in social assistance is high and remains important throughout the whole period. Young social beneficiaries represent 47% in March 2005 and still 34% in 2010. The share of young people unemployed increases across the years as much as the share of young people in employment.

Finally, I decided not to report the cluster labelled as "Other" because of the poor information I have on this status. However, calculations do include it.

Describing the cluster

The clusters appear to represent different populations with different trajectories. However, in order to establish the quality of the clusters, it is important to understand the quality of trajectories they represent.

Table 14 below reports the characteristics of the clusters in terms of (average) number and length of episodes.
Episodes are defined as period of time during which the person is known to be in the same position. Episodes can last one quarter up to 24 quarters, i.e. the whole period of observation.
Moreover, the average of the number of different positions, episodes and the index of volatility are also defined.

Table 14 : Average number of episodes by type of position in the labour market and cluster

Cluster	*N. of individuals*	*Employment*	*Unemployment*	*Stage d'attente*	*Education*	*Social assistance*	*Other*	*Employment with top-up*	*Ratio between positive and negative*
Smooth	1413	2.04	1.12	0.13	0.40	0.17	0.98	0.26	1.12
Failure	873	1.26	2.56	0.12	0.72	0.16	0.99	0.55	0.66
Trap	344	0.65	0.66	0.11	0.46	1.79	1.20	0.57	0.45

Table 15: Average length of episodes by type of position in the labour market and cluster

Cluster	*N. of individuals*	*Employment*	*Unemployment*	*Stage d'attente*	*Education*	*Social assistance*	*Other*	*Employment with top-up*
Smooth	1413	16.52	3.05	0.22	1.03	0.49	2.15	0.54
Failure	873	2.95	14.48	0.28	2.47	0.33	1.56	1.92
Trap	344	1.90	2.13	0.19	1.26	14.32	3.05	1.17

Table 16 : Averages and volatility index by cluster

Cluster	*N. of individuals*	*Average number of different labour market positions*	*Average number of different episodes*	***Index of volatility (n of sd from mean volatility)***
Smooth	1413	2.99	5.12	**-0.79**
Failure	873	3.30	6.36	**1.68**
Trap	344	3.36	5.44	**-0.15**

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

The Smooth cluster is characterised by high frequency of employment spells (consecutive or not) with a high mean duration of the length is 16 quarters out of 24. The second cluster (Failure) has an overrepresentation of unemployment spells (average length is around 14.48 quarters, i.e. 3 years and a half). The Trap cluster is dominated by the position "being in social assistance", which weights the most (on average 14.32 quarters spent in social assistance).

The indicator on the average number of different episodes (i.e. number of spell of changes in labour market position) illustrates the high or low instability of trajectories. The Failure cluster clearly has the highest number of changes in the labour market over the 6-year period: on average more than 6.36 different episodes, the lower being the smooth cluster (5.12). The Trap cluster has also a high volatility with 5.44 episode change on average and 3.36 types of different positions in the labour market. The volatility index standardises these differences and it is presented in the last column of Table 8.

For all clusters, there is a higher probability of staying in a negative position than making a transition into a positive position the following quarter. However, when compared, trajectories in the Smooth cluster show a higher capacity of integrating young people from a negative to a positive position, compared to the capacity of the clusters (index of integrative capacity higher than 0). Nonetheless, even for this cluster, the probability of a positive transition in 3-month time is not high (28%)

Overall, the three clusters show a relative low probability of making a transition towards a better labour market position with the Trap cluster showing the lower (6.33) and the Smooth cluster with the higher (28.09).
The reverse proportion is true for negative transitions: young people who are in employment or in education are much more likely to end up in unemployment or social assistance if they are in the Trap and Failure clusters, the probability is three times lower for those in the Smooth cluster.
The three clusters also show a relative high stability across positive and negative positions. In the Smooth cluster young people in employment or education have 92% probability of being in the same position the following quarter. A similar percentage is found for young people who are in social assistance or unemployment in the Trap cluster.

Table 17: Transition matrices by cluster

	Positive	Negative	Total
Smooth			
Positive	92.03	7.97	100
Negative	28.09	71.91	100
Total	**75.93**	**24.07**	**100**
Failure			**Total**
Positive	75.35	24.65	100
Negative	10.43	89.57	100
Total	**29.85**	**70.15**	**100**
Trap			**Total**
Positive	71.47	28.53	100
Negative	6.33	93.67	100
Total	**17.66**	**82.34**	**100**

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

How to read: "the transition probability of being in positive/negative position the following quarter given that the fact of being in X in the current quarter" (the other cluster is shown in the Methodological Annex) Positive positions include: employment, self-employment, education/training and employment with top-ups. Negative positions include: stage d'attente, other, social assistance, unemployment.

Table 18: relative risks of being in a favourable labour market position, by cluster

Clusters	**relative risk of going to a positive position compared to the risk of staying in a negative position**	**number of standard deviations from the mean relative risk of the sample**
Smooth	0.391	1.80
Failure	0.116	-0.17
Trap	0.068	-0.52

Source: BCSS, own calculations

The table below classifies the clusters. Looking at the volatility and integrative capacity indicators, it comes out that Smooth cluster is highly volatile but mainly across positive positions. This is not the case for the Failure cluster where the high volatility is actually associated with a lower-than-average integrative capacity. A situation of stagnation is found in the Trap clusters where it seems less likely to experience favourable labour market transitions over the period[107]. Because of its negative stability, the Trap cluster seems to represent the most unfavourable cluster where welfare institutions (i.e. social assistance) do not seem to function as bridges towards better positions.

Table 19: Degree of risk by cluster

Type of risk		**Integrative capacity** **high**	**low**
Volatility	**high**	positive mobility *Smooth*	negative mobility *Failure*
	low	positive stability	Trapped *Trap*

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

Transition probabilities – bringing institutions over the years

In order to complete the analysis, I present the transition probabilities from one position to another in order to spell out the probabilities of making a transition into employment or education while being in unemployment or social assistance in *t-1*. This will allow singling out at the aggregate cluster level to what extent labour and welfare institutions work as bridges. Transition probabilities matrices have been often used in research adopting the Transitional Labour Markets approach (Leschke 2006; Schmid 2008). Leschke (2006) used transition probabilities matrices to assess whether non-standard employees were more likely to make transition to unemployment or inactivity compared to workers with standard work contracts (2006:145). With a similar aim, the tables below assess the transition probability across positive and negative labour market positions over the period under observation[108].

Table 20: Transition matrices by cluster

Smooth	*Employment*	*Unemployment*	*Stage d'attente*	*Education*	*Social assistance*	*Other*	*Employment with top-up*	*Total*
Employment	92.16	3.44	0.18	0.4	0.11	3.17	0.52	100
Unemployment	23.26	66.03	0.02	2.94	0.29	5.76	1.7	100
Stage d'attente	34.92	10.48	40.95	3.17	0.95	9.21	0.32	100
Education	17.83	7.49	4.65	61.42	1.25	6.73	0.62	100
Social assistance	8.18	5.11	0.44	1.75	65.11	5.99	13.43	100

[107] I recall here that in the social assistance cluster I also included young people who are studying but also receiving social assistance and those who are under "article 60", i.e. supported employment. For their being social assistance recipients, I considered them primarily as in social assistance.

[108] Transition matrices between two points in time (in two different years) are presented in the Methodological Annex.

Other	26.98	11.98	2.04	0.92	1.73	55.89	0.48	100
Employment with top-up	29.25	7.07	0.14	0.54	5.99	2.18	54.83	100
Total	70.15	12.65	0.94	3.58	1.87	8.62	2.2	100

Failure	*Employment*	*Unemployment*	*Stage d'attente*	*Education*	*Social assistance*	*Other*	*Employment with top-up*	*Total*
Employment	60.32	26.59	0.44	1.58	0.22	6.7	4.16	100
Unemployment	4.89	85.62	0	2.52	0.42	4.17	2.37	100
Stage d'attente	8.26	21.49	55.37	7.85	1.65	5.37	0	100
Education	3.76	14.99	3.38	72.98	0.71	3.33	0.86	100
Social assistance	2.14	28.93	0.71	6.07	52.86	3.57	5.71	100
Other	8.38	44.3	1.16	3.96	1.47	38.4	2.33	100
Employment with top-up	9.44	11.27	0	0.19	0.44	2.47	76.19	100
Total	11.71	61.28	1.16	9.87	1.25	6.46	8.28	100

Trap	*Employment*	*Unemployment*	*Stage d'attente*	*Education*	*Social assistance*	*Other*	*Employment with top-up*	*Total*
Employment	74.12	7.22	0.53	1.41	2.82	11.8	2.11	100
Unemployment	5.93	76.6	0.15	2.13	4.56	7.29	3.34	100
Stage d'attente	12.31	13.85	40	3.08	18.46	12.31	0	100
Education	2.36	3.07	2.83	64.86	20.05	5.66	1.18	100
Social assistance	1.08	1.87	0.19	1.06	89.66	3.2	2.93	100
Other	5.92	5.62	1.1	1.61	20.78	64.06	0.9	100
Employment with top-up	11.78	3.93	0.52	0.26	26.7	3.14	53.66	100
Total	8.03	9.22	0.81	4.65	60.28	12.04	4.99	100

Unemployment benefits and activation: working for the better off [109]

The matrix for the *Failure* cluster, the one with predominance of spells in unemployment, tells that young people unemployed at time *t* have 86% probability of being again in unemployment the following quarter. The same young unemployed have only around 7% probability of being in employment (calculating by summing 4.89 and 2.37 probabilities of being in employment or employment with top-up). The fact that the transitions towards an even more fragile situation (i.e. in social assistance) are very low (0.42%) is probably due to the fact that unemployment benefits for young people with and without work history were unlimited at that time. Being in unemployment and receiving unemployment benefits and, in principle, activation does not seem to work as

[109] The results are very similar. Whole-period transition matrices on the whole period were chosen because otherwise transition probabilities were calculated on low number of cases. The transition matrices between two points in time are shown in the Methodological Annex.

stepping stone towards more favourable transitions for these young people of the *Failure* cluster. However, they still seem to reduce even further down transitions into means-tested schemes (i.e. social assistance).
In the *Smooth* cluster, young unemployed have 66% of probability of staying unemployment the following quarter. Again, figures are high; however, the probability of young unemployed of exiting unemployment is much higher than for the other two clusters: 25% (23.26% employment plus 1.7% for employment top-up) of probability of being employed.
For the Trap cluster moving from social assistance, the dominant state, to unemployment can be considered as first step out of the benefits system. However, it is also important to note that (young) social assistant claimants are entitled to unemployment benefits if they work a sufficient amount of hours. This does not ensure that the person will have surmounted other possible obstacles to the labour market. By the same token, but on the opposite direction, one could also say that young people in the social assistance cluster are much more similar to unemployed than means-tested claimants. This could support the findings which show a slightly higher probability of getting into employment and employment top-up when they are unemployed as compared to the Failure cluster.

Being in social assistance: getting trapped?

The probability for young social assistance recipients to remain in social assistance the following quarter is very high, 90%, in the *Trap* cluster while the probability of finding a job is extremely low (4%). Being in social assistance and belonging to the *Smooth* cluster still means almost 65% of probability of being in social assistance the following quarter. In the *Failure* cluster, the probability of staying on social assistance is also high (55%) but also transitions to unemployment represent an important share (29%). The role of social assistance as a stepping stone towards employment and unemployment (with the aim of receiving more job-oriented activation and having overcome a situation of economic need) is clearer in the *Failure* cluster and in the *Smooth* clusters. In the *Smooth* cluster, young people in social assistance have more than 20% probabilities of being employed three months after. These probabilities are still low but much higher than for the *Failure* and *Trap* cluster.

The role of stage d'attente: bridging towards low quality transitions?

The stage d'attente was meant to make young people eligible for unemployment benefits (after studies) but also to provide them the PES support in order to avoid their entry in unemployment and strengthening their labour market job-search skills. In the Methodological Annex I included the transition probabilities matrices during one year (Sept 2006-Sept 2007) period for young people who were not in *stage d'attente* in Dec 2005.
Results indicate that young people who entered the *stage d'attente* are likely to be in employment the following quarter if they belong to the Smooth cluster (42%). The share of transitions into employment drops significantly for young people in the other clusters (10% for the Failure cluster and 15% for the Trap cluster). Because the cluster description and the multinomial logistic regression will show that the clusters have a different composition, this suggests that the stage d'attente does not work similarly for young people with different characteristics and with different degree of "active empowerment".

Results show that both the *Failure* and the *Trap* cluster include particularly risky transitions as being unemployed, in stage d'attente and in social assistance means a higher probability of ending up in unemployment or social assistance. Even those who were in employment in the first quarter of 2005 have 27% of probabilities of being unemployment in the following quarter. For this cluster, the welfare institutions seem to work poorly as bridges towards employment or education in a meaningful way. Moreover, although the Trap cluster presents as a high persistency of young people in social assistance, the probability of staying in employment the following quarter is actually high (70%) and the probability of moving into unemployment or social assistance quite low.

To conclude, the labour market and welfare institutions investigated which are supposed to work as bridges and provide employability do not seem to keep their promises for those who are likely to be more vulnerable.

Once established the type of trajectories and their quality, the following step, which feeds into the second the chapter, seeks to investigate the type of young people belonging to each cluster.

What impact on different group of young people?

When institutions are varied and work in a complementary way, even young people who present some socio-economic characteristics that might turn out to be a disadvantaged – such as migrant background, the quality of the deprived neighbourhoods and low educational attainment – will still be able to have smooth trajectories.

Hence, it is important to not only to acknowledge the existence of certain trajectory patterns but also to understand what other variables dictate the pattern (Abbott and Tsay 2000). For this reason, I run a multinomial logistic regression in order to identify the main characteristics of each cluster groups according to some explanatory variables referring to personal and social endowments (i.e. educational attainment; household position; geographical-socio-economic-environment).

Box 4 : The variable for origin

The variable for origin was received in a later stage and included as an important predictor in the analysis. The table below summarises how the variable has been constructed and what it represents.

Current nationality	Former nationality	Definition and acronym
Belgian	Belgian	Native. Young people born in Belgium with at least one parent with the Belgian nationality. This does not exclude a migrant background because young people with naturalised parents got the Belgian nationality. **Coded as BE or Belgian**

Non- European[110]	Non-European	Young people with non-European nationality and not born in Belgium. However it can also include non-Europeans who are born in Belgium from non –European parents but who decided not to apply for the naturalisation (fewer cases). In both cases the migrant background is a strong component. **Coded as non-EU or Non-Naturalised**
European	European	Young people with European nationality and not born in Belgium. However it can also include Europeans who are born in Belgium from foreign parents but who decided not to apply for the naturalisation (fewer cases). In both cases the migrant background is a strong component. **Coded as EU or Non-Naturalised**
Belgian	Non-European	Young people got the Belgian nationality because of prolonged residence (at least 3 years) or because they were born in Belgium but from parents who had a non-European nationality. The migrant background is a strong component. **Coded as no-EU-BE or Naturalised**
Belgian	European	Young people got the Belgian nationality because of prolonged residence or because they were born in Belgium but from parents who had a European nationality. The migrant background is a strong component. **Coded as EU-BE or Naturalised**

Source: own elaboration

The variable is not perfectly representing clear groups; however, it represents the best approximation for nationality which was available at the time of the analysis. This variable becomes particularly relevant in Chapter 8 where it is interacted with the variable for activation programmes.

Who is in the different clusters?

Before presenting the results of the multinomial logistic regression, I will briefly show who is represented in the clusters.

Young women are overrepresented in the *Trap* and *Failure* clusters, similarly to young people with a low educational degree. In the Trap cluster there are more non-Europeans, while Belgians with non-European origins are mostly present in the Failure cluster.

[110] More information about the country covered by European and non-European is available in the Methodological Annex

In the Failure cluster young people living in very poor neighbourhoods represent a high percentage; while young people living alone seem to be more at risk of ending up in the Trap cluster, i.e. experiencing a high number of spells in social assistance. The Failure and Trap clusters seem to concentrate most of young people with possible multiple disadvantages[111].

Table 21: Clusters characteristics

	Smooth	***Failure***	***Trap***
Gender			
male	52.09	46.28	40.99
female	47.91	53.72	59.01
ISCED			
unknown	41.61	4.47	16.86
low	24.35	54.07	51.74
medium	20.31	31.62	19.48
high	13.73	9.85	11.92
Nationality			
Belgian	44.3	30.36	18.9
no EU	12.74	10.88	40.12
EU	9.34	6.64	8.43
no EU - BE	29.09	49.14	29.65
EU - BE	4.53	2.98	2.91
Type of neighbourhood			
very poor	29.44	41.47	38.37
poor	23.99	28.29	31.4
on average	17.62	11.68	12.5
wealthy	18.12	11.57	11.34
very wealthy	10.83	6.99	6.4
Position in the household			
living alone	25.41	28.18	39.53
living with parent	39.49	33.79	25
in couple w/ ch	10.33	17.87	6.4
in couple w/o ch	16.63	8.71	6.69
single parent	2.76	8.36	13.66
other	46.91	3.09	18.52

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

[111] As explained in different occasions, socio-demographic and environmental predictors included as covariates are time-invariant (referring to 2005). This means that they might be imprecise if changes take place over the years. This is namely the case for household position and neighbourhood. Variables refer to 2005, some changes over 6 years are then plausible, this problem is smaller for the ISCED because this variable is available starting from 2007.

Determining who is more likely to get trapped

Multinomial logistic regression analysis assumes that young people can have one of the different possible trajectories, and that the outcomes are unordered, i.e. a hierarchical order among cluster cannot be made (Quintini and Manfredi 2009)[112]. An important limitation of regressing the membership to a cluster is that one ignores the variability and heterogeneity within the clusters, which is high in my case as shown in the Methodological Annex.

Table 22: Multinomial logistic regression on clusters, base outcome "being in the Smooth cluster", relative risk ratios

	Failure	*p*	*se*	***Trap***	*p*	*se*
Gender (Ref: male)						
female	1.28	0.016**	(0.134)	1.44	0.013*	(0.209)
Nationality (Ref: Belgian)						
non-EU	0.73	0.062*	(0.122)	7.52	0.000***	(1.497)
EU	0.91	0.638	(0.176)	2.56	0.000***	(0.675)
non-EU-BE	1.67	0.000***	(0.202)	2.65	0.000***	(0.506)
EU-BE	0.96	0.887	(0.262)	1.77	0.151	(0.7)
Type of household (Ref: living alone)						
ch living in single parent's	0.82	0.254	(0.142)	0.39	0.000***	(0.089)
ch living with parents	0.62	0.001***	(0.089)	0.13	0.000***	(0.029)
in couple w/ ch	1.09	0.603	(0.179)	0.33	0.000***	(0.089)
in couple w/o ch	0.50	0.000***	(0.087)	0.20	0.000***	(0.053)
single parent	1.84	0.013**	(0.447)	2.64	0.000***	(0.726)
other	0.54	0.019**	(0.141)	0.67	0.141	(0.181)
Type of neighbourhood (Ref: poor)						
medium	0.67	0.007***	(0.099)	0.79	0.248	(0.162)
wealthy	0.75	0.023**	(0.095)	0.76	0.124	(0.136)
Education (Ref: low)						
unknown	0.06	0.000***	(0.01)	0.31	0.000***	(0.057)
medium	0.71	0.004***	(0.084)	0.72	0.071*	(0.131)
high	0.40	0.000***	(0.066)	1.04	0.851	(0.237)
Age (Ref: 22-23)						
18-19	1.54	0.034*	(0.315)	4.61	0.000***	(1.177)
20-21	0.90	0.534	(0.156)	2.12	0.001***	(0.472)
24-25	0.94	0.697	(0.146)	0.49	0.003***	(0.116)
26-27	0.93	0.629	(0.146)	0.40	0.000***	(0.095)
28-29	1.21	0.264	(0.202)	0.48	0.003***	(0.117)
Constant	1.33	0.116	(0.238)	0.29	0.000***	(0.076)
Number of observations	3000					

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data. Note: the variable FEDER was not included because it did not improve the model Relative risk ratios are reported on the table below and stars indicate their statistical significance at 0.10% (*), 0.05% (**) and at 0.01% (***).

Table 22 reports the relative risk ratios for the different clusters (the Smooth cluster is the base outcome). They represent the ratio of the relative probability that – all other things being equal - a young person with that particular personal characteristic has that

[112] Because all the covariates used are time-invariant, the regression analysis was carried out without longitudinal techniques.

specific trajectory compared to the base category[113] (Quintini and Manfredi 2009). The base category chosen here is the most frequent cluster of trajectories, the Smooth cluster. A relative risk ratio smaller than one means that the covariate actually reduces the probability of belonging to that cluster compared to the baseline cluster (Quintini and Manfredi 2009).

Young women are more likely than their male peers to be in the *Failure* and in the *Trap* clusters (respectively by a factor of 1.28 and 1.44); hence they are more likely to get stuck into unfavourable trajectories.

The position in the household is also important. As previous studies have shown, some categories are more exposed than others to the risk of exclusion (Cantillon 2011): being married increases the relative probability of belonging to the 'Smooth-path'; while being a single parent significantly increases the relative likelihood of having an unemployment or social assistance- dominated trajectory (Quintini and Manfredi 2009).

Education is indeed a central predictor of labour market trajectories: it is a personal factor that - with its instrumental and intrinsic value (Saito 2003) - plays an important role in allowing people to increase their capability for work (Bonvin and Farvaque 2006) as well as their capability of making informed choices during their professional careers.
In this regression, all other variables being constant, holding a medium or high educational attainment decreases the conditional relative odds of belonging to the *Trap* or *Failure* clusters. Reversely, the risk is higher for those young people with lower education.

Another important factor is age. One of the major barrier young people find in their first entry in the labour market is 'age discrimination'. Age is considered as an indicator of lack of working experience and it is bad signal to employers during the job-search (Gautié 2009). A year increase in age implies that young people are less likely to being in *Trap* clusters. However, this is not significant for the Failure cluster.

Finally, because of the important share of young people with a migrant background and the relative easy procedure for naturalisation (until 2012; see Chapter 4), it seems important to draw the attention to the role played by the national background and naturalisation in predicting the quality of the trajectory.
Interestingly and against the statistics for the overall population (De Keyser et al 2012), young non-Europeans are *not* more likely than Belgian to be in the Failure cluster, all other things being equal.

[113] In more statistical terms, the exponentiated coefficients showed in the table are relative risk ratio or conditional odds ratio. Relative risks are the probability of having an outcome compared to the probability of experiencing a base outcome. For relative risk ratios, the ratio of two relative risks is calculated. For example, they represent the ratio of the relative risk for non-Belgian to the relative risk of Belgians (http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/stata/library/sg124.pdf)

While not being more likely to have trajectories dominated by long spells of unemployment, young non-Europeans are more likely to be in the *Trap* cluster, i.e. of being trapped into social assistance, by a factor of 7.52 compared to their native peers. Naturalisation was found to position young people in the labour market in a same what middle position between natives and foreign-born who did not acquire the nationality. Naturalisation was meant to reduce the discrimination foreign-born people undergo even though they had lived in the country for years (Martens et al 2005); but aolso provide them with better access to some public sectors which are normally reserved to nationals. My data partially confirms the "prime de naturalisation" (De Keyser et al 2012) insofar as young non-European who got naturalised are less likely than non-Europeans to be in the *Trap* cluster. Yet even though they have the Belgian nationality, young people with a non-European origin or background are still less likely than natives to avoid unemployment dominated trajectories.

Although these disadvantaged are not accounted simultaneously, results strongly hint that young people with less material and immaterial resources as well as factors of conversion are less able to have their positions into the labour market secured and enjoy favourable trajectories. Against the expectations formulated in my hypothesis and supported by the institutional analysis, the complementarity and the variety of the Belgian welfare system does not avoid that more disadvantaged young people are more at risk of getting into unemployment or welfare benefits-dominated trajectories.

Conclusions

The institutional analysis of the Belgian welfare state appeared to answer to a variety of individual challenges and needs (Chapter 4 and 5).
From a benefits perspective, i.e. the financial level, social insurance and social assistance institutions are complementarity insofar as young people can receive various top-up and can move across the institutions according to their specific needs (see Chapter 5 on the complementarity of institutions). Furthermore, although not as developed as it could be, the institutional complementarity takes place also in the implementation level across front-line agents of the two institutions but also across a variety of third-sector actors.
This is in line with the TLM and CA claim that labour market institutions should be varied and complementary in order to function as bridges, as presented in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5.
Therefore, being in social assistance, in unemployment or in stage d'attente should not represent a dead-end state but rather a temporary position.

This seems to be the case for a large part of my sample: almost a half of young people have trajectories with a positive mobility, i.e. they experience a higher than average number of different labour market positions but they are also more likely than the rest of the sample to move out from negative position towards positive states (i.e. education or employment). They are represented in the Smooth cluster.

However, there is more than a third of the population (Trap and Failure clusters) for whom the volatility is associated with a higher than average probability of staying in a negative position (Failure) or a very low volatility is accompanied by a low capacity of exiting a negative state (Trap).

In these clusters there is a concentration of young people who are most likely to experience multiple disadvantages.

Firstly, the role of the neighbourhood – as a proxy for a series of factors of conversion - is not negligible in predicting the membership to the *Failure* cluster, dominated by longer spells of unemployment. This goes in the same direction as previous results for Brussels where young people living in deprived areas of the Capital Region are likely to experience unemployment (Dujardin et al 2008). In an opposite manner, in wealthier neighbourhoods material and immaterial resources as well as institutional support and better economic opportunities are more available and accessible to young people.

Similarly, young people who have family duties (i.e. single parents, who are almost exclusively young women) are highly at risk of experiencing failing trajectories. In contrast, young people with medium to high educational attainments find it easier to have linear trajectories, with high but positive volatility.
Moreover, young people with a migrant background are not more likely to have trajectories dominated by unemployment compared to their Belgian peers. Interestingly, and in contrast with some previous results, the only category of young people facing a higher probability of having an unemployment-dominated trajectory are young Belgians who had a non-European nationality. This seems to partially contradict the strength of the comparative advantage of nationality and the "prime of naturalisation" (De Keyer et al 2012; Martens et al 2005) which is associated with a country-specific human capital considered as crucial for the integration of migrants (OECD 2012).

As previously explained, these predictors do not grasp directly the 'active empowerment' as they are not the results of people's deliberate choices. They rather take stock of the involuntary conditions often associated with disadvantage and vulnerability in the labour market.
This reasoning can also be applied to a certain extent to the educational attainments which are often considered as individual choices. In Brussels, individual educational attainment is also strictly linked with a process of educational and geographical segregation (Rea et al 2009).
Therefore, one might raise the doubt that educational attainment is actually the result of a genuine process of choice, thus being an example of active empowerment.

The inconsistency between the institutional setting and its mixed results in terms of bridging capacity calls for a more detailed investigation on the capacity of institutions to function as empowering processes in single event transitions. This means going back to a lower level of analysis and reconciling the results from the qualitative analysis on the implementation with the individual outcomes. This will be tackled in Chapter 8.

To conclude, I would like to highlight some original aspects of this contribution.
A first overall added value of this analysis is that it unveils an important variance of labour market trajectories at the local level, which is often overlooked in international comparisons as country specific characteristics prevail. Local divergence and individual heterogeneity are relevant in the context of individualised active labour market policies as they claim to answer to specific and individual needs and they are locally delivered.

Moreover, concerning the theoretical approach adopted, the added value of reading these personal characteristics as lacking (material and immaterial) 'conversion factors' (Sen 1999) is that it helps rethink young people's disadvantage less as personal 'disabilities', but rather as the result of institutional, social, environmental and economic settings. This take helps move the focus away from the individuals and favour a broader contextualisation of social problems. It also favours a critical understanding of whether institutions are (un)able to provide the right framework for endowing and empowering young people in their first transitions. In order to reduce the impact of these personal characteristics on labour market outcomes and young peoples' trajectories, the role of welfare and labour market institutions should be to compensate for them and allow a smooth entry in the labour market. This part, only briefly mentioned here, will be developed in the next Chapter.

Concerning the added value linked to the specific data and the methodology used, I would like to highlight the originality of the data and their combination with a measure of quality of the neighbourhood (see Annex for more details on the construction of the variable), which are relevant namely for sound local policy design and delivery.
Method-wise, the chapter combines different quantitative techniques that go beyond the transition matrices used to assess the complementarity of labour market and welfare institutions in the TLM literature (Schmid and Gazier 2002) and provide a much larger overview of trends across time.

Finally, the development of an indicator for the degree of risk, easy to understand and reproduce, brings the existing indicator of the quality of trajectories further (Brzinsky-Fay 2006) and helps the researcher classify trajectories and groups, which are at risk, and compare clusters on the basis of similar characteristics, potentially also at different points in time

Chapter 8 - Investigating transitions and the role of passive empowerment

This Chapter deals with the third hypothesis investigating whether ALMPs promoting *an "enabling employability"* are able to compensate for the individual lack of active empowerment and favour positive transitions. Hence, the focus is shifted from the institutional structure (Chapter 7) to single individual transitions. Informed by the findings of the qualitative and quantitative Chapters, the original contribution of this last section lays on the operationalization of passive empowerment applied to both the CPAS and PES activation programmes and their interactions with disadvantaged groups. Because of the multidimensionality of disadvantage and in light of the results from Chapter 7, I chose to focus on young people with a migrant background. I use discrete event history analysis on the original longitudinal database to investigate the quality of transitions and their association with activation programmes.

Introduction

In Chapter 2 I explained how the two theoretical frameworks are complementary in conceptualising and investigating the capacity of labour market and welfare institutions of reducing individual risk. This is done by looking at how institutions provide the "passive empowerment" that is needed to compensate for the lack of individual "active empowerment" (Chapter 3).

Previous results from the qualitative Chapter 6 showed that the CPAS tends to offer a more "empowering employability" while the PES follows rather a "fostering employability" approach. Although at CPAS the holistic approach and the situated assessment of individual needs are challenged by the internal fragmentation (see Chapter 5), young people can have access to different services which potentially help them transform their material (e.g. allowances) and immaterial resources (e.g. social/psychological support, access to health care) into valued outcomes, namely make them leave benefits. Therefore I expected the measures of the CPAS to be more empowering for young people with a disadvantaged background.

Yet, findings from Chapter 7 showed that this enabling capacity of the social assistance institution does not seem to translate into positively mobile trajectories for an important share of young people. This is also true for young people in unemployment.
The *Trap and Failure* clusters revealed that young people can experience long periods of social assistance and unemployment, which can potentially lead to social exclusion. The analysis also provided insights about the relevance of personal (conversion) factors, such as education, position in the household, the neighbourhood and work experience (proxied by age) in predicting the quality of trajectories.

The aim of this Chapter is to go deeper in investigating the impact of employability policies and unveil whether – despite the overall approach to employability and the poor results at the aggregate level – single employability programmes compensate for individual lack of active empowerment and if this depends on their different degree of passive empowerment.

Therefore I want to further check whether the previous results which focussed on processes (the implementation and the institutional complementarity across institutions) are supported by the analysis of outcomes at the micro-level.

The research question underpinning this part of the analysis is: *to what extent is the institutional set up at the local level able to compensate for lack of individual active empowerment*?

and the leading hypothesis is formulated as follows:

H3: ALMPs adopting an "enabling employability" approach will function more as a bridge leading to upwards transition into employment, compensate for lack of personal material and immaterial resources and serve as factors of conversion.

It is important to recall here that the analysis is conducted separately for young people in CPAS and in PES. As explained in Chapter 5, there are various reasons behind this choice; namely the institutional structure itself, the type of exits young people in the two systems can aspire to[114] and the available variables (see Chapter 5).

This chapter includes an introduction to the methods and two sections: one on young people in social assistance, and the other on young people in unemployment benefits.

Defining the vulnerable group in the case study

As argued in previous parts of this thesis, the focus is put here on the role of labour market and welfare institutions. In fact, active empowerment cannot be directly measured insofar as the use of material and immaterial resources by the individual implies looking at the decisions – for instance concerning education – that young people made over their educational and work careers. On top of being out of the scope of this research, this is also not possible to grasp with the administrative data available.

Hence, with the help of the literature, the findings from the qualitative analysis and the variables available in the dataset, I identify what personal characteristics might be an obstacle, i.e. an indication of low active empowerment, and whether labour market and welfare institutions actually eliminate or reduce them.

For instance, young people holding higher educational degree or living in less disadvantaged neighbourhoods tend to have higher "transitional skills" (Bijwaard and Veenman 2008) and will find fewer obstacles in the labour market. As a consequence, the role of the welfare and labour market institutions is supposed to be less intensive than for those young people presenting personal characteristics which are less valued in the labour market.

[114] A pratical demonstration of this will shown later in the chpater: more than 24% of young people in social assistance leave for unemployment while only 9% of young people in unemployment move to social assistance. Further employment with topup represent 19% of exit for social asssitnace claimants, but only 7% for young unemployed. These differences are not just due to personal characteristics but are instead largely determined by access criteria to employment with top-up and unemployment.

Young people's vulnerabilities in the labour market

In his cross-country comparison, Brzinsky-Fay shows that Belgium has an important share of "return" trajectories among its school leavers - where young people go back to education after a period of inactivity or unemployment (Brzinsky-Fay 2006) - but also a low share of integrative transitions – i.e. transitions in the labour market. Høj attributes a high level of youth unemployment in Belgium to the "study first then work" institutional structure, which does not allow gaining work experience while studying (Høj 2013).

In coherence with the international literature, in Belgium and in particularly in the Brussels Capital Region, low-educated young people are more likely to be unemployed, inactive or in social assistance. Moreover, their expected number of years spent in employment during the five years after school is also lower compared to middle-skilled and highly skilled youth (Cockx 2013; Høj 2013).

The spatial segregation found in Belgium and in particular in Wallonia and Brussels Capital Region (RBC) has also an important impact on the access of more disadvantaged young people to quality education (Kesteloot and Mistiaen 1998). Using OECD PISA data, Jacobs et al (2013) found that the school level counts for more than 50% of the variance of literacy scores among pupils in the Wallonia Region and RBC. This implies that the school segregation is strong and low achieving pupils tend to go to the same schools, thus reinforcing their disadvantage. This early educational disadvantage leads more easily to higher dropout rates, lower educational achievements, high rates of school retention and poorer labour market outcomes.
Similarly, the role played by the family background is also crucial insofar as it has a direct impact on school choices, but also on social network and the social capital the young person can count on (Dujardin, Selod, and Thomas 2004; Jacobs et al 2013).
These socio-economic factors are often treated and presented singularly. Nonetheless the multidimensionality of disadvantage consists exactly in complex linkages between all these different aspects, which are difficult to disentangle. Baert and Cockx (2012) tried to establish a dynamic link between the young person's background and the educational and labour market outcomes in the Flemish context. They found that in the Flemish Region young people with a migrant background are more exposed first to lower educational attainments which later translate into worse labour market outcomes. The qualification gap is also linked with the underdevelopment of VET and the fact that it is mostly associated with low-achievement and, as a result, its attractiveness is low (Hoj 2011)

The migrant background as a proxy for lack of active empowerment

While all the dimensions mentioned above are relevant, to investigate the compensation effect of employability policies I need to identify an operational dimension of vulnerability.

I decide to concentrate on the migrant background. This choice is dictated by several reasons: in RBC migrants born outside the country represent 40% of the population of the region. While a large part are expats working in international institutions, there are

also an important number of people coming from Europe (mostly France, Italy and Spain) and outside Europe (Turkey, Morocco and Congo) (De Keyser et al 2012).
In Brussels young people with a migrant background[115] are more at risk of cumulating disadvantage (Martens et al. 2005) and also in the interviews the migrant background was mentioned – though indirectly i.e. lack of language skills, lack of recognised diplomas etc. - as a major obstacle to the labour market.

On top of deficiencies of the education system and poor environment which mostly affect disadvantaged young people with a migrant background, the literature also makes clear that discriminatory practices are common in the RBC labour market (Rea et al 2009).

Furthermore, several contributions have highlighted that not only young migrants are mostly overrepresented in low paid and low skills jobs; but also that the hiring practices often penalise people with a migrant background and this affects up to 34% of the hires in the Brussels Capital Region (Rea et al 2009). Another issue affecting labour market opportunities of young people is the level of residential segregation which concentrates disadvantaged families in poverty areas. Although the segregation of ethnic minorities in the urban area does not keep them away from jobs, these are not accessible to the minority groups or to natives but with foreign background (Dujardin et al 2008).

This is also exacerbated by the fact that Brussels has a very pronounced mismatch between the jobs offered and the skills available. Most of the vacancies are for higher or specific profiles while most of the resident unemployed are lower educated. The skills mismatch is also worsened by the geographic mobility of the Flemish and Walloon workforce which takes most of the jobs in the Brussels Capital Region (Van Dooren et al 2014)

In 2000 a national law, scrapped in 2012, eased the procedure for naturalisation and the number of persons born abroad who acquired the Belgian nationality increased significantly. The intention was to give an easier and faster access to the labour market, reduce the impact of discrimination at hiring and compensating for the lack of country specific human capital which is crucial in ensuring labour market and social integration of foreign-born (OECD 2012).

However, in the case of Brussels and Belgium in general, previous research has found that naturalised Turkish and Moroccan maintained both traditional lifestyles and very close relationship with immigrant community (Manço 2004). Manço also pointed out that for young people coming from a migrant background there are also psychological factors that kick in: young people often lack positive parental example on the labour market and they fear to betray their community by achieving occupational success that is associated with another culture. Young people who have been naturalised and most likely undertaken school in Belgium are still more at risk of unemployment compared to their native peers. Manço also reported that naturalised persons had still not access to civil servant positions (Manço 2004) in line with an ethnostratification of the labour market as found by Martens et al (Martens et al. 2005).

[115] I intend here both naturalised and non-naturalised young people.

On a more practical level, the availability of the variables reporting the current nationality, the previous nationality and the naturalisation allows me to account for this dimension of disadvantage.
Indeed, though relying on this variable, I am fully aware that this is just an approximation of the intersectionality of risks and that it still leaves out a great bunch of unobserved heterogeneity.
Moreover, there is another important limitation to mention: the only variable which establishes the migrant background is naturalisation, i.e. those young people who stayed at least 3 years in Belgium and changed their previous nationality into the Belgian (see Box 4 in Chapter 7). This implies that young people with Belgian nationality might have a migrant background but still be born in Belgium. The profiles of these categories might be less far from each other and, as a result, might provide less clear cut results.

Testing the passive empowerment of employability measures on disadvantaged youth

The leading hypothesis of this part needs to be assessed in separately for two aspects: on the one hand, the role of institutions in bridging young peoples' transitions towards the labour market; on the other hand, the role of *passive empowerment* – embedded in institutional arrangements – that compensates for young people's lack of material/immaterial resources or conversion factors allowing to make safe transitions in the labour market.

The first assumption is tested by looking at the likelihood of making upward transitions when taking part in employability measures. This is tested by running competing risks models while controlling for individual and institutional covariates.

The second assumption of the "compensating effect" of passive empowerment assumes that, despite having less favourable main effects, the hazard function for disadvantaged young people is not statistically different from those who are known to be less disadvantaged.
This means that in the fitted model, when controlling for all other variables, the probability of being in employment should be the same (or higher for the disadvantaged) when undertaking employability measures.

Questions underpinning event history analyses refer to time spent in 'risky position' and on factors (independent variables) that accelerate, reduce or prevent this event.
In my research the main interest is to understand to what extent welfare and labour market institutions are able to provide 'passive empowerment' that, by interacting with personal characteristics (indirect measure of active empowerment), allows young people to exit from social assistance rand enter the labour market in a sustainable way.

This means that the person becomes 'at risk' once she enters social assistance because, from that very moment, she can experience the 'exit', either as successful exit – i.e. entering the labour market - or exclusionary exit - i.e. unemployment.

This implies that, similarly for OMA, I had to identify change in the labour market position. This is a crucial step in event history analysis because there should be a relative sharp disjunction between what comes first and what follows (Allison 1984).

This is the first challenge of this statistical technique because in reality people tend to cumulate statuses such as being a student, being registered at the public employment service and receiving family allowances. The identification of the statuses under investigation is explained in the following section and in the Methodological Annex.

Next, I defined the interactions between the employability and the origin variables. The table below summarises how the hypotheses in the analysis are formulated. For instance, when comparing the likelihood of upwards transitions of young non-Naturalised and Naturalised compared to their native peers, the effect of the employability measures will be compensatory of the disadvantage when the main effects of nationality are significantly negative, but the interaction is positive and significant.

A further example is represented by the favouring effect. If the main effect of origin, i.e. the simple comparison between origins in terms of probability of upward transition, is not statistically significant it means that- all other things being equal- young non-natives have no statistically different probability of exiting social assistance or unemployment. However, if the interaction between the origin variable and the employment measure results in a statistically significant and higher likelihood, then one could argue that the employability measure had a favouring effect for the non-natives.

In line with the theoretical frameworks, the hypothesis is that, the more the measure is enabling the more it will have a *compensating or favouring effect.*

To test use the variables on employability and differentiate their degree of passive empowerment, I created ordinal variables according to their degree of intensity in passive empowerment derived from documentation analysis and the interviews.

Finally, to differentiate the quality of exits I applied discrete-time competing risks analysis which is a development of event history analysis. This means comparing pairwise all the possible exits and establishes the likelihood a person has to exit social assistance or unemployment benefits while controlling for a series of personal and institutional factors (for instance participation in supported employment). Different types of exits and presented in the following sections were created.

Table 23: Comparing Belgian to Naturalised and non-Naturalised

	Main effects of origin	**Interaction** Origin*Employability measure	**Effects of institutions on young people**
Likelihood of an upwards transition "Naturalised or non-Naturalised compared to Belgian"	Statistically significant and less likely	More likely	**Compensating**
	Statistically significant and more likely	Less likely	**Hindering**
	Statistically significant and more/less likely	Not significant	**No effect**
	Not statistically significant	Less likely	**Hindering**
	Not statistically significant	More likely	**Favouring**
	Not statistically significant	Not significant	**No effect**

Source: own elaboration

For each sample – one for young people in social assistance and young people in unemployment benefits – I carry out separate analyses for each of the employability measures available.

Being in social assistance – are employability measures reducing the risk of downwards transitions?

In this section dealing with labour market institutions and individuals in *social assistance*, two institutional covariates are tested: *being in supported employment (article 60) and being in education*.

These two variables summarise most of the activation measures used by local CPAS and which are reliably reported in the data. These variables report those measures where financial flux is involved (e.g. between the federal states and the local institutions); however, they do not grasp the variety of support provided at the local level by social workers which is not recorded in harmonised dataset across the regions or the country.

The supported employment includes mainly the article 60 but also some other less used activation measures (see Box 5). This measure mainly consists of work experience but it can also provide an active social support and coaching provided by the social workers, which is not reported in the data (for education supported by the CPAS see Box 6)

Table 24: Type of institutional variables investigated

Institutions	Reasons	Assumptions
CPAS		
Supported employment	Allowing acquiring experience in protected environment, normally characterised by lower competition Making eligible for funding Reversibility option	Efficiently working as bridge for young people at risk but high probability of leading towards unemployment *Compensating, favouring* effect – see previous table)
Education / Training	Improving individual's resources Long-term perspective Empowering in a broad way	Reducing individual's risk by the acquisition of human capital *Compensating, favouring* effect – see previous table)

Source: own elaboration

Both measures are considered as enabling measures insofar as they allow young beneficiaries to upgrade their skills and competences (education) and strengthen their work experience and acquire transversal skills that send positive signals to employers (see Chapter 5 on the CPAS case study).

Like for Optimal Matching Analysis, the data used come from different sources and the definition of the position in the labour market is done hierarchically. Nine positions were initially identified:

1. Employed
2. Self-employed

3. Unemployed
4. *Stage d'attente*
5. Unemployment after studies
6. Education
7. Social assistance
8. Other
9. Employed with top-ups

Some labour market positions were later merged together: being in unemployment included also being in *stage d'attente* and in unemployment after studies; being in employment also included being self-employed[116].

Who is represented in the sample?

The subsample used includes people aged between 18 and 29 years old at the moment of entering social assistance. When setting up the dataset for event history, I had to impose that observations were not in social assistance for at least 4 trimesters before entering. This aims at avoiding the problem of 'left-censoring', i.e. that observations are already in the risk set before the observation period started[117].

Table 25 shows the distribution across the most relevant institutional and personal dimensions.

Table 25 : Sample description - young people in social assistance

Variable	Categories	*Percentages*
Gender	**women**	54.4
	men	45,6
Nationality	**Belgian**	25,48
	non-EU	30,02
	EU	9,15
	non-EU naturalised	32,90
	EU naturalised	2,46
Index of wealth	**very poor**	40,86
	poor	26,37
	on average	13,07
	wealthy	13,72
	very wealthy	5,98
Position in the household	**person with family**	12,49
	single	32,40
	living with others	47,82
	single parent	7,30
Educational attainment	**unknown**	16,84
	low	57,18
	medium	19,42
	high	6,45

[116] This was due to reduce the complexity of the interpretation and because of low numbers for some categories of exits in the competing risks models. The implications of this hierarchical definition of statuses were discussed in the previous part. Definition of article 60 and in education is presented in the Methodological Annex.

[117] However, this is less of a problem as I am looking at young people who might have not been entitled to social assistance 2 or more years before becoming social assistance. I am thus treating all young people equally, implying that all other non-observed variables are similarly across groups.

Work intensity in the year bf entering	**no activity**	72,07
	25%-50%	17,37
	75%-100%	10,57
Number of observations		**4031**

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data.

Table 26: Type of exits and CPAS activation measures

		Frequencies	**Percentages**
In education for at least 1 quarter		580	14.39
Employed in art60 for at least 1 quarter		329	8.16
Event	**censored - survived**	583	18.1
	exiting	3448	81.9
Type of exit	**survival censored**	583	18.1
	sustainable employment	272	2.9
	employment	119	5.3
	unemployment	958	23.1
	education	306	7.4
	other	1.034	24.9
	employed with top-up	759	18.3

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data.

Young people with non-European origins – both naturalised and not – represent around 60% of the two samples, confirming that the migrant background is a factor of vulnerability. The educational attainments percentages also reveal that a large share of young people in social assistance has a lower education degree. For slightly less than a fifth of the sample, I do not have any indications of education. More than 70% of young people for whom I do not have any indication on the educational attainment are non-Europeans or non-Europeans who have been naturalised.

Young women are more numerous compared to young men, in a significant way compared to proportion in the population. As for the type of neighbourhood, the great majority live in poor neighbourhoods, while a slight minority lives in the wealthy boroughs of Brussels.

The percentages of types of exits gives some hints about the distribution of exits towards upwards (employment, sustainable employment, education, employment with top-ups) or downwards (unemployment) transitions. Exits towards unemployment represent more than a quarter of the sample. This is also due to institutional structure as social assistance is meant to bring claimants closer to the labour market also by integrating them into the unemployment insurance system. Positive transitions towards employment, sustainable employment and employment with top-ups constitute 26% of the exits.

The number of young people in education or in article 60 is relatively low; they respectively represent 14% and 8% of the sample[118]. Very few observations cumulate both, education and article 60. The vast majority of the sample is either receiving social assistance or its equivalent (*aide financière*)[119].

Article 60 and education represent the most used activation instruments used by the CPAS, also when dealing with young beneficiaries. However, although in the law the availability to work and the integration measures are clearly mentioned and promoted, the data show only a small proportion of the youth population is engaging in activation measures. It is not entirely clear if this gives a true picture or is an artefact due to data deficiencies. Activities such as training, information sessions, social counselling, that are provided and organised by the social assistance institutions are not always reported in the national database (Raeymaeckers et al. 2009). In fact, the data that the CPAS are obliged to send to the central administration are linked with the financial transfers between the federal and the local level. Hence, the information on payments is more complete compared to the additional information on the measures proposed to the recipients.

A first rough way of investigating the data from an event history analysis perspective is to plot life tables. Life tables show how the "event" under investigation, i.e. exit from social assistance, takes place over the observation period and what are the changes in the sample.

[118] The number of students out of the young people aged between 18 and 24 years old receiving social assistance (RIS, not including *aide financière*) in the sample is slightly lower (32%) than the official statistics reported (36.11%) by the Institute for Sustainable Development (accessed on 14th March 2015 http://www.iddweb.eu/docs/etudiants.pdf). This is due to several reasons: first my data are by trimester thus data do not measure the flow or the average of the trimester but they rather represent a picture of the end of the last day of the trimester. Moreover the official data elaborated by institute, the only available comparing students and are from October to December 2011, a time period not covered by my observation period. An increase in the number of students was recorded since the onset of the crisis. When comparing with other statistics (De Wilde et al 2010 http://www.mi-is.be/sites/default/files/doc/rapport_de_recherche_etudiants_et_aide_sociale.pdf) the gender distribution is also similar.

[119] The *aide financière* is granted to those persons who do not meet the criteria of receiving the "regular" social assistance benefit (nationality, residence, age, being available to work, have no enough personal financial resources, having no longer right to any other financial support), however they receive the same amount of benefits

Table 27: Life table - young people in social assistance

Interval	*Total*	*Deaths (event)*	*Lost (censored)*	*Survival*	*Error*	*[95% Conf. Int.]*
1 2	4031	0	77	1	0	. .
2 3	3954	1147	38	0.7085	0.0072	0.6940 0.7224
3 4	2769	557	33	0.5651	0.0079	0.5494 0.5805
4 5	2179	315	27	0.4829	0.008	0.4671 0.4985
5 6	1837	309	26	0.4011	0.0079	0.3856 0.4166
6 7	1502	194	18	0.349	0.0077	0.3339 0.3641
7 8	1290	197	25	0.2952	0.0074	0.2807 0.3098
8 9	1068	140	25	0.256	0.0071	0.2422 0.2701
9 10	903	115	12	0.2232	0.0068	0.2099 0.2367
10 11	776	89	10	0.1974	0.0066	0.1847 0.2105
11 12	677	81	18	0.1735	0.0063	0.1614 0.1860
12 13	578	56	10	0.1565	0.0061	0.1449 0.1686
13 14	512	58	11	0.1386	0.0058	0.1275 0.1502
14 15	443	45	7	0.1244	0.0056	0.1137 0.1356
15 16	391	51	21	0.1077	0.0053	0.0976 0.1184
16 17	319	49	71	0.0891	0.005	0.0796 0.0993
17 18	199	22	48	0.0779	0.0049	0.0686 0.0879
18 19	129	16	46	0.0662	0.005	0.0569 0.0764
19 20	67	7	60	0.0536	0.0059	0.0429 0.0660

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data. The median time of survival is around 4.75 quarters

The life table for this sample shows that a considerable number of young people leave social assistance during the first trimester as only 70% "survives". The median duration, i.e. when half of the sample has left social assistance, is 4.75 quarters, which is higher than the median duration of the adult population found in other research (7 months found for the whole Belgium by Carpentier 2009[120]) This is probably due to the fact that young people in social assistance might be in education or might need more time to find a stable job.
At the end of the observation period (18 quarters) only 5% of the sample is still in social assistance.

Similarly, the *survivor function* represents the maximum likelihood estimates of the probability that a young person *will not* leave social assistance until the following interval (

120 http://www.socialcohesion.eu/Determinants%20of%20the%20time%20to%20leave%20the%20minimum%20income%20scheme-Sarah%20Carpentier-wzb%20seminar-lv.pdf

Table 27). The observed survival function of the sample under investigation is presented below. The function decreases at each interval and almost reaches zero by the end of the last quarter of 2010.

Figure 18: Observed survival function for the sample of young people aged 18-29

Source: BCSS, own calculations

Any type of exit is considered in Figure 18 and no distinction is made between, for instance, leaving social assistance to go into unemployment benefits or transitions into sustainable employment[121]. In fact, exiting from social assistance does not always lead to the integration in the labour market. I will define the type of exits in the following sections, where competing risks model is presented.

Article 60[122]: bridging towards unemployment or opportunity for getting work experience?

In this section I investigate the impact of being in supported employment, namely the article 60 (see Box for more details)

Box 5: Article 60 - supporting employment and getting closer to the labour market

Article 60 is regulated by the *Loi organique du 8 juillet 1976 relative aux Centres Publics d'Assistance Sociale*. The main aim of the measure is to make social assistance beneficiaries able to claim unemployment benefit again (i.e. acquire enough work history) but also allow them to integrate the primary labour market and leave benefits. Under the variable "article 60" I also include other measures which imply an additional financial contribution from the federal state and which are similar to the article 60.
These are namely employment in the social economy, employment in a private company (article 61) but also the federal measure for activating (i.e. Activa) which implies reductions of social contribution for the employer (Raeymaeckers et al 2009).

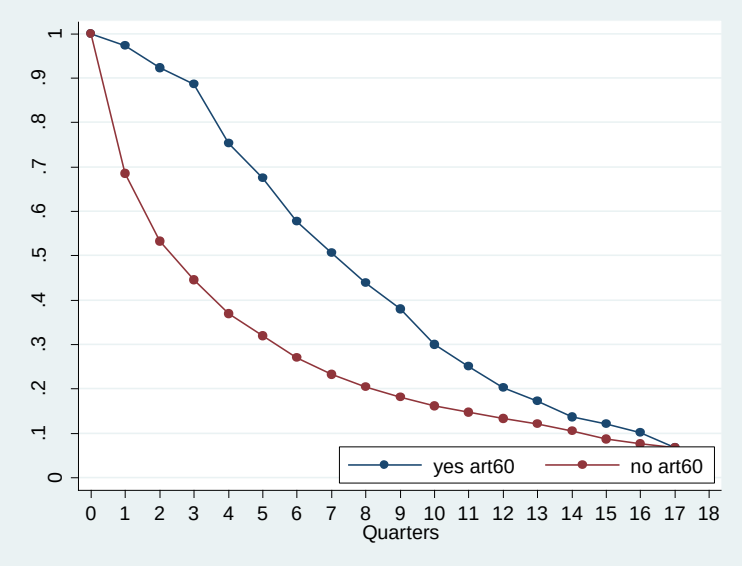
[121] Sustainable employment is considered as being in employment during the last day of two consecutive quarters. Indeed this is a very broad definition of sustainable employment.
[122] From now on, I will use the label "article 60" and supported employment indistinctively, even though this predictor also include other, yet less used, measures see footnote 38.

Since the reform of social assistance in 2002, Article 60 and other activation measures financed by the federal or local governments have been considered also as an opportunity for getting a professional experience and not only a bridging measure for ending up in social insurance, particularly for young people (Raeymaeckers et al. 2009). This corresponds to the new restated logics of considering social recipients as "activable" as recipients of unemployment benefits, which was strengthened with the introduction of the Loi sur le Droit à l'Intégration Sociale in 2002 (see Chapter 5, section on CPAS).

This new approach was also partially found in the interviews where Article 60 was presented as a more secured way for fragile claimants to get into the primary labour market. This was possible because of the primary role played by the CPAS in ensuring the quality of the job assigned to the claimant (see Chapter 6).

Figure 19 shows the observed survival function for young people aged 18-29 who spent at least one quarter in supported employment (article 60). [123] The curves showed two extreme cases: never been in article 60 for the whole period, and having had article 60. The observed survival functions show that young people who were in article 60 "survive" longer in social assistance.

Figure 19: Observed survival for young people aged 18-29 who spent at least one quarter in supported employment and those who did not



Source: BCSS, own calculations

The selection of predictors and fitting the model

[123] Following Singer and Willet (2003:436), it is cumbersome to plot hazard functions for time-varying covariates because for each person in the dataset has a different shape of the hazard as a function of the time –varying covariate. Hence, they suggest that, when it makes sense, one can look at the time-invariant dummy for taking part in supported employment. In this case it can be plausible that observations never enter supported employment for the whole period and also that they stay for the whole period. The latter is less plausible because, legally, people who work one year under supported employment can enter the unemployment system. However since the median duration of survival for who received supported employment is lower than 4 quarters, I consider the use of a time-invariant variable as sensible for describing two extreme possible cases (no art 60, yes art 60)

Fitting the model for discrete-time hazard analysis means to find the best statistical model able to represent the relationship between the (logit) hazard and the relevant predictors (details on the goodness of fit are presented in the Methodological Annex).

Working with administrative data has some important drawbacks particularly in terms of availability of predictors useful to understand the impact of institutional setting, personal components and contextual elements.
The personal predictors used are gender, education, position in the household at the moment of the receiving social benefits, the type of neighbourhood, mean age, the nationality included the first nationality (if being naturalised). These covariates were found to be significant in predicting unsuccessful or unstable trajectories in the labour market in the previous part. For this reason, I use these covariates as proxies for disadvantage, or more precisely contextualised, as a lack of transitional skills (Bijwaard and Veenman 2008).

The institutional predictor is being *employed in supported employment or article 60*[124]. The dataset includes a variable describing the aim of the article 60[125]. The table below shows that using article 60 with the main aim of providing work experience is stated only for 12% of the sample population who spent at least one quarter under article 60.

The vast majority of young people in article 60 were coded by social workers as social assistance beneficiaries in an employability measure with the aim of getting back to unemployment. This suggests that the complementarity with other welfare institutions is exploited rather than the enabling employability perspective of this measure, as described by social workers (see Chapter 5). This information suggests that I will be likely to find young people in article 60 more likely to exit towards unemployment rather than regular work.

Table 28: stated aim of article 60 activated during the period of observation

	no article 60	*at least once in article 60*	*%*
none	3,702	0	0
for work experience	0	41	12,46
for unemployment	0	269	81,76
unknown	0	19	5,78
Total	3,702	329	

Source: BCSS, own calculations

Looking at the profile[126] of young people who were at least one quarter in supported employment (article 60 and the like) it appears that the shares are approximately equal for men and women. As expected, young people aged between 25 and 29 are more likely to be in article 60 than the younger cohort. Younger people are rather advised to

[124] Being employed under the "article 60", "article 61", "social contributions paid by the federal government" or "being employed in the social economy", however the being employed under the "article 60" represents more than 80%. No minimum duration was imposed for young people in "article 60" because there is no minimum requirement as the "article 60" was primarily thought for allowing social assistance recipients to requalify for receiving unemployment benefits.
[125] For the other activation measure, no such variable is available in my dataset.
[126] In the Annex, tables show the chi2 (statistical correlations) between the most relevant individual categorical variables and the institutional variable (being in article 60). This simple test verifies whether there is a significant statistical relationship between the categories. All relationships between the individual characteristics and institutional variables are significant except for gender and neighbourhood. This provides a first indication that some groups are more likely to get article 60 than others.

participate in further training or other social activation measures. Besides, young people with a non-European nationality have low educational attainments and live in poor neighbourhoods compared to their native peers.
The main effects of each of these personal and institutional covariates will be controlled for in the logit and multinomial logit regression. Interaction effects will be tested as well.

Data are collected the last day of each quarter. This type of data collection has an impact on the type of statistical analysis to carry out: although changing labour market position can take place at any moment during the quarter, change can only be observed in the last day of the quarter, which makes the intervals coarse (i.e. discrete). Hence discrete-time event history analysis was chosen for the following analysis.

The types of exits chosen

Following the needs of competing risks analysis (see Methodological Annex for details), six types of event were determined: remaining in social assistance, entering employment, entering unemployment[127], getting into education, in employment but with top-ups and in the undetermined "other".
In employment means that the young person was known to be in employment without any activation support or top-ups (the categories sustainable employment[128] and employment were merged because of low case number when the interaction term was included). Being in unemployment includes young people in "stage d'attente" (due to sample size) and young people receiving unemployment benefits (either based on studies or work history). Being in employment with top-ups was treated as a separate exit because it is considered as a labour market position that is in-between being employment but still economically dependent from federal or local support.

[127] Being in unemployment also includes "unemployment after studies" and stage d'attente, the latter includes too few observations for being treated as a type of exit itself.

[128] Two subsequent quarters spent in employment after exiting social assistance.

Table 29: Multinomial logistic regression, base outcome "employment" –relative risk ratios (rrr) spending at least one month in supported employment (article 60) under social assistance [129]

	Remaining In Social Assis	*P*	*Se*	*Unem*	*p*	*se*	*Edu*	*p*	*Se*	*Empl Tu*	*p*	*Se*
Tempo	1.366	0.000***	(0.057)	1.038	0.452	(0.052)	1.177	0.005**	(0.068)	1.002	0.975	(0.05)
Tempoln	0.192	0.000***	(0.039)	0.576	0.018*	(0.135)	0.715	0.263	(0.215)	1.084	0.745	(0.268)
Article 60												
Ref: not in article 60												
In article 60	1.66	0.174	(0.619)	0.892	0.797	(0.396)	0.56	0.406	(0.39)	0.736	0.553	(0.381)
Origin												
Ref: Belgian												
Non-European	1.898	0.000***	(0.28)	0.364	0.000***	(0.07)	0.863	0.524	(0.2)	2.436	0.000***	(0.439)
European	1.678	0.012*	(0.344)	0.586	0.039*	(0.152)	0.838	0.606	(0.288)	2.019	0.004**	(0.498)
Non-European – naturalised	1.889	0.000***	(0.276)	1.828	0.000***	(0.304)	1.809	0.004**	(0.367)	2.032	0.000***	(0.367)
Article60*origin												
Ref: Belgian in article 60												
Non-European with art60	0.661	0.335	(0.283)	3.203	0.023*	(1.641)	0.604	0.623	(0.62)	0.1	0.001***	(0.068)
European with art60	0.521	0.249	(0.295)	1.703	0.436	(1.164)	n/a	0.992	(0.001)	0.239	0.107	(0.212)
non-European naturalised with art60	0.805	0.675	(0.416)	0.806	0.719	(0.482)	n/a	0.986	(n/a)	0.119	0.025*	(0.113)
Gender												
Ref: Male												
female	1.529	0.000***	(0.174)	1.735	0.000***	(0.236)	1.359	0.063	(0.224)	1.195	0.198	(0.165)
Household position												
Ref: Person with family												
Single	0.665	0.075	(0.153)	0.456	0.002**	(0.114)	0.563	0.174	(0.238)	0.943	0.831	(0.258)
Living with others	0.68	0.095	(0.157)	0.286	0.000***	(0.073)	0.62	0.252	(0.258)	0.795	0.404	(0.219)
Single parent	0.536	0.023*	(0.147)	0.493	0.018*	(0.147)	0.328	0.057	(0.192)	0.717	0.314	(0.237)
Ref: no work experience												

[129] Why a multinomial logistic regression? The choice of multinomial logistic regression is justified by the fact that, in my data, events can take place only at the end of the interval. The data are collected and built in this way by the statistical office. As explained by Jenkins (2008), in this situation « the likelihood for the competing risk model factors in a manner exactly analogous to that for a continuous time competing risk model, and estimates may be derived using a standard single-risk program » (quoted from https://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/files/teaching/stephenj/ec968/pdfs/ec968st8.pdf, accessed on 16th March 2015). Moreover, because time is discrete, the discrete-time likelihood cannot be estimated in separate components for each type of events as it would be possible with continuous-time. Hence, estimations should be done simultaneously.

25%-50%	0.426	0.000***	(0.054)	0.509	0.000***	(0.078)	0.368	0.000***	(0.089)	0.974	0.867	(0.152)
75% - 100%	0.415	0.000***	(0.064)	0.484	0.000***	(0.09)	0.358	0.002**	(0.118)	1.245	0.234	(0.229)
Age	0.898	0.000***	(0.015)	0.987	0.525	(0.02)	0.706	0.000***	(0.024)	0.957	0.032*	(0.02)
Educational Attainment	0.743	0.032*	(0.103)	0.138	0.000***	(0.031)	1.281	0.221	(0.259)	0.644	0.010*	(0.11)
Ref: Isced low												
unknown												
medium	0.869	0.344	(0.129)	1.052	0.76	(0.175)	1.637	0.020*	(0.347)	0.876	0.458	(0.157)
high	0.659	0.021*	(0.119)	0.437	0.000***	(0.1)	1.419	0.274	(0.454)	0.609	0.030*	(0.139)
Constant	108.96	0.000***	(29.729)	12.721	0.000***	(3.807)	0.498	0.132	(0.23)	1.375	0.337	(0.456)

Source: data from BCSS, own calculations

Note: the base category "Employment" includes also "sustainable employment" defined as being in employment for 2 quarters after exit, because of case numbers the two categories were merged. The exit category "Other" is not displayed here because little informative. The category "European-born with Belgian nationality" was recoded as missing because the very small number of observations in the interaction term prevented the multinomial logistic regression model from converging. For information, the type of neighbourhood was not included in the model as it did not improve the model significantly. The multinomial with general specification of time was also run and the coefficients and standard errors were the same. Similarly, when using a time-invariant covariate for staying at least one quarter in article 60, results were pretty much the same. N/A means that young people exiting towards education having had an art60 and with a migrant background are too few (16). .

How to read: A relative risk ratio odd ratio of 1 represents equal relative risk (ratio of probabilities) of an event occurring for a particular group vis-à-vis the reference group. Coefficients with a value below 1 indicate that there is lower chance of an event occurring for a particular group compared to the reference group, and relative risk ratio greater than 1 represent greater chances. The complexity of the multinomial logistic regression consists of a double reference to categories: within a type of exit (e.g. young women with reference to young men) and across type of exits (e.g. exit towards unemployment as compared to exiting towards employment). The interaction term is "ratio of relative risks ratio" and reports the multiplicative effect of the interaction meaning that it compares the effect of article 60 between the two groups (Allison 1984). **Significance p-value < 0.1 *, 0.05 **, 0.01*****

The results for the main effects of nationality and article 60

Exit towards employment was set as the "base outcome" because it was considered that activation should be acting as a bridge towards the labour market.

In the previous Chapter young people with a migrant background were considered as more vulnerable because they were more likely than their peers of being in the Trap cluster. This is confirmed here as they are also less likely to make a transition out of social assistance and towards employment during the 6 years of the observation period.

However, when comparing unemployment with employment, young people with a migrant background are not more likely to exit towards unemployment; on the contrary they seemed more advantaged compared to young natives. Interestingly young people naturalised and with a non-European background are much more likely to end up in education as opposed to employment. This supports the information retrieved from the interviews with front-line agents who highlighted how they prioritise education particularly in case of poor basic skills or recognised educational qualification.

Overall, when the interaction is not included and all other things being equal, the role of article 60 is only relevant for predicting a higher probability of getting into regular employment as compared to education and employment with top-up.
The traditional role of Article 60 as a bridge towards unemployment is not statistically significant, although positive.

Exiting towards employment, unemployment or staying in social assistance, any compensation effect?

The introduction of the interaction between the nationality and being in supported employment, although improving the model, does not reveal any important "compensation effect" for the young disadvantaged compared to their native peers For instance, *spending at least one month in article 60 does not improve the likelihood of the most vulnerable to exit.* The probabilities of exiting towards employment or staying in social assistance are not statistically different for natives and non-EU/EU employed in supported employment (coefficients have been tested against each others).

When looking at the effects of the interaction on the probability of leaving towards unemployment as compared to employment, young non-European in article 60 become more likely to exit towards unemployment than employment. This suggests either a negative effect of taking part in supported employment or the fact that those non-Europeans - who are selected to go into article 60 - have some unobserved characteristics that make them different from the rest of the sample and for which I cannot control. This result also confirms that article 60, although being flagged as a stepping stone towards the primary labour market, is still primarily used as a way of bridging towards the social insurance system.

Comparing exit to employment with entering employment with top-ups

Different results are found when comparing entering the labour market with or without employment top-ups, which can be considered as a first step out from social assistance.

Working under article 60 functions as an easier stepping stone for young foreigners to the regular labour market as young people with non-EU background who spent at least one month in article 60 have higher odds of exiting towards "regular" employment compared to Belgians.

It is important to note that, although I controlled for some of the main important socio-demographic aspects, this compensating effect of article60 might also be due to the selection procedures at the CPAS to access these jobs and/or unobserved characteristics, such as specific skills and motivation that can explain part of this score.

Another important point of interest is the gender perspective: compared to their male counterparts, young women are much more likely to be in unemployment or to stay in social assistance than exiting towards employment. This confirms that although being a good proxy for disadvantage, the origin variable is not grasping the intersectionality of dimensions hindering the integration of young people, such as gender or education (Walther et al 2009).

The effect of undertaking education while being a social assistance recipient: leading upward exits for disadvantaged youth?

The second part of the section is dedicated to understand whether engaging in education/training for at least one quarter while being a social assistance recipient leads to higher probabilities of having a positive upwards transition.

As presented in the qualitative chapter, allowing young social assistance recipients to enrol in education is meant to boost their chances to get into the labour market and become more employable, particularly when enrolling in education leads to recognised qualifications[130]

[130] 11 JUILLET 2002. - Arrêté royal portant règlement général en matière de droit à l'intégration sociale.

Box 6: CPAS, the action plans and the choice of financing full-time education

According to the 2002 law, three main types of PIIS (individual action plans) can be proposed to young people claiming social assistance benefits. The PIIS should aim to ease young people's social or labour market inclusion. The action plans are compulsory for young beneficiaries under 25 and they can be focused on: a) leading to employment; b) training; c) full-time education. A fourth action plan can be associated with one or more of the action plans described above and it aims at socially integrating young people.

The PIIS leading to employment can include a set of actions going from guidance, pre-training for basic skills and more job-specific training at a later stage. The PIIS for training includes all type of vocational training and on-the-job training that can increase the young person's capacity of entering the labour market in the future. The expenses linked with the training can be partially or fully covered by the CPAS. The third type of PIIS has been legally introduced and formalised with the major legal reform of social assistance in 2002. Before its inclusion, social workers did allow young people in need with no qualifications to go back to full-time education while receiving a financial support from the CPAS. However this practice was not regulated by law. The number of young people in full-time education has rapidly increased since the formal adoption of the legal framework: in 2003, in Belgium, 8000 young people were both recipients and full-time students; while in 2010 this number more than doubled and reached 17000 students (De Wilde et al 2011).

The PIIS for full-time students defines rights and duties of students. The young recipients should prove their inscription, send the results of the exam to the social worker in charge of their school guidance, applying for other types of scholarships covering education fees and granted by the education authorities etc. The choice of the type of education path is not well defined in the implementing decree of the law. However, the basic principle is to favour educational paths leading to an increased employability and likelihood of integrating the labour market. This loose definition leaves an important marge for manoeuvre to CPAS. Similarly, because welfare recipients at the CPAS are meant to build their path to social inclusion and the labour market, students at the CPAS are meant to be available to work during their school holidays. As I presented in Chapter 6, the broader and adaptable legal framework allows CPAS to adopt and locally modify their practices.

The choice of financing young people's education through the social assistance system differs substantially from other European countries. A comparative study of France, Belgium and the Netherlands shows that these neighbouring countries ensure the right to education through a different institutional structure (De Wilde et al 2011). In the Netherlands both education fees and the living costs for the students are covered by the same financial support which is performance-based or in the form of loans which are converted into grants if the performance objectives are met. In France, students are not entitled to social assistance benefits and they are rather supported by loans and scholarships which are complemented, if needed, by means-tested support. Loans and scholarship are managed by educational authorities cover living expenses and education fees (De Wilde et al 2011). The Belgian system is peculiar insofar as it treats young students in need as social assistance beneficiaries rather than as students. This means that the right to education is included into a broader understanding of education as as an aspect of social inclusion but it also conceives it as an income issue.

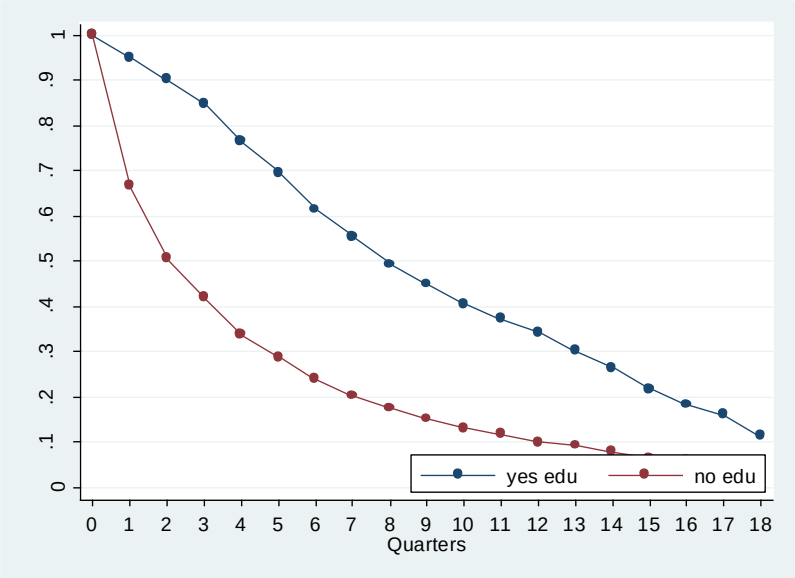
Sources:
http://www.socialeconomy.be/sites/default/files/doc/rapport_de_recherche_etudiants_et_aide_sociale.pdf; http://www.ocmw-info-cpas.be/index.php/home_fr; Loi 2002 and Arrêté royal 11 juillet 2002.

The dataset does not contain information on whether a social assistance recipient in full-time education got her degree at the end of the period; however, considering the role of education as broader and intrinsic as advocated by the CA and TLM allows carrying out the analysis also without this information. Moreover, based on this stance

towards education, I decided to use a time-invariant variable recording whether the person has spent at least one month in education while receiving social benefits.

From the observed survival curves below one can see that those who spent at least one month in education "stay longer" in social assistance. Among those who did not stay in education, the median time (when 50% has left social assistance) is 2.68 quarters (around 8 months), while for those who were known to be in education for at least 1 month, their median time is around 8.33 quarters (more than 2 years) and thus much longer. This is likely to be due both to personal characteristics of young people in education and to the nature itself of the education measure which normally implies that the young person remains registered at the CPAS for the whole duration of her studies as beneficiary (i.e. it represents a kind of lock-in effect where the entry in the labour market is likely to be postponed due to the duration of the activation programme, Dingledey 2007).

Figure 20: Observed survival for young people aged 18-29 at the time of entry and who spent at least 1 quarter in education



Source: BCSS, own calculations. The median duration is of 2.68 quarters for those who were not in education and 8.33 quarters (more than 2 years) for those spending time in education.

Is education a bridge to upward transitions?

Table 31 shows that, all other things being equal, young foreign-born and young naturalised who attend at least one month in education are much more likely to exit towards employment with top-ups than regular employment if compared to their native peers.

Similarly, young (non-)naturalised in education have also much higher relative risks of staying in social assistance for a longer time compared to the Belgian peers. This might not be a negative outcome insofar as young coming from a foreign country might need to attend additional courses in order to have their foreign qualifications recognised.

Moreover, young naturalised seem to be penalised from attending some education/training as they are twice as likely to exit towards unemployment compared to Belgians. Similar relative risk ratio is also found for naturalised who did not attend education.
Exiting towards unemployment after social assistance can be considered as a first step out of inactivity as being in unemployment is usually associated with a closer position to the labour market and a stronger, namely if the young person acquires a higher educational attainment. The results presented later in this chapter confirm that a higher educational degree does lead to lower probabilities of getting trapped into unemployment.

The expected compensating effect of education for young disadvantaged compared to natives does not seem to work.

Enlarging the analysis to other characteristics considered as risk factors, results show that young women stay longer in social assistance compared to men and they are also comparatively more likely to exit toward unemployment or education.
Previous working history is strongly significant when it comes to predicting exit towards employment. Similar results are found for age, as each additional year increase the risk of exiting social assistance.

Table 30: Summarising effect of article 60 and being enrolled in education while being social assistance claimant.

CPAS measure effect *"When compared to Belgians receiving the same CAPS measure"*	Employment vs Social assistance	Employment vs Unemployment	Employment vs Education	Employment vs Employment with top-ups
Article 60	No effect	No effect	No effect	**Compensating** for non-European, no effect for the others
Education/training	Hindering	**Hindering** for naturalised, no effect for others	No effect	Favouring

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data.

Table 31: Multinomial logistic regression, base outcome "employment" – relative risk ratios (rrr) – spending at least one month in education under social assistance

	S.Assis	*P*	*se*	*Unem*	*p*	*Se*	*Edu*	*p*	*se*	*Empl Top-ups*	*p*	*se*
tempo	1.345	0.000***	(0.055)	1.028	0.578	(0.05)	1.175	0.005**	(0.068)	1.012	0.815	(0.05)
tempoln	0.189	0.000***	(0.038)	0.595	0.024*	(0.137)	0.686	0.206	(0.205)	0.969	0.896	(0.236)
Being in education (Ref: not in edu)												
in education	1.944	0.012*	(0.515)	0.547	0.091	(0.195)	1.869	0.08	(0.669)	1.075	0.834	(0.372)
Origin												
Ref : Belgian												
Naturalised	1.643	0.002**	(0.26)	1.554	0.013*	(0.275)	2.062	0.005**	(0.535)	1.717	0.007**	(0.341)
Non Naturalised	1.714	0.000***	(0.239)	0.489	0.000***	(0.081)	0.873	0.599	(0.225)	1.718	0.002**	(0.305)
Education*Belgian												
Ref : Belgian in education												
Education*Naturalised	1.483	0.261	(0.521)	1.389	0.471	(0.633)	0.819	0.659	(0.37)	1.489	0.361	(0.649)
Education*non-Naturalised	2.483	0.083	(1.302)	5.566	0.007**	(3.573)	2.082	0.239	(1.298)	2.329	0.16	(1.402)
Gender												
Ref : male												
Female	1.552	0.000***	(0.174)	1.799	0.000***	(0.241)	1.367	0.055	(0.223)	1.264	0.084	(0.171)
Position in the household												
Ref : living w/ family												
Single	0.643	0.053	(0.147)	0.48	0.003**	(0.119)	0.576	0.19	(0.243)	0.865	0.59	(0.233)
Living with others	0.619	0.036*	(0.142)	0.309	0.000***	(0.077)	0.65	0.298	(0.269)	0.755	0.299	(0.204)
Single parent	0.538	0.023*	(0.147)	0.514	0.025*	(0.153)	0.328	0.057	(0.192)	0.698	0.271	(0.228)
Work intensity												
25%-50%	0.434	0.000***	(0.054)	0.532	0.000***	(0.08)	0.359	0.000***	(0.086)	0.902	0.5	(0.137)
75% -100%	0.398	0.000***	(0.061)	0.492	0.000***	(0.091)	0.362	0.002**	(0.119)	1.177	0.369	(0.214)
Age	0.936	0.000***	(0.016)	1.001	0.965	(0.02)	0.713	0.000***	(0.024)	0.955	0.025*	(0.02)
Educational attainment												
Ref : low												
unknown	0.595	0.000***	(0.083)	0.141	0.000***	(0.031)	1.266	0.255	(0.262)	0.657	0.015*	(0.113)
middle	0.733	0.034*	(0.107)	1.075	0.66	(0.177)	1.524	0.048*	(0.324)	0.82	0.262	(0.145)
high	0.543	0.001***	(0.096)	0.415	0.000***	(0.094)	1.436	0.26	(0.462)	0.581	0.016*	(0.131)
constant	123.314	0.000***	(33.986)	13.133	0.000***	(3.966)	0.389	0.047*	(0.185)	1.608	0.154	(0.536)

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data. Significance levels at *** p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01**. Note: the table reports coefficients while in the text RRR (relative risk ratio) are reported. I chose to include the variable with larger categories (Belgian/naturalised/not naturalised). This was due to a low number of cases in some categories when the interaction term was included. The "other" exit is not presented

Public employment service and their fostering employability measures – do they lead to upwards transitions?

This sub-section of the second part of the chapter I deal with young people who were in unemployment and who were in employability programmes. The sub-sample is then redrawn in order to comply with the event-history requirements. The structure of the section reflects the previous one.

The unemployment sample

The subsample for this section has been drawn from the same large pooled sample representing 50% of the youth population aged between 15 and 29 that in the year 2005 and 2006 were living in Brussels and had at least one contact with the Public Employment Office and/or one of the local social assistance institutions.
As for the previous section, I present the main characteristics of the sample and the definition of the labour market positions, which are central to event history analysis. Again, nine positions were identified:

1. Employed
2. Self-employed
3. Unemployed
4. Stage d'attente
5. Unemployment after studies
6. Education
7. Social assistance
8. Other
9. Employed with top-ups

In this sample, becoming 'at risk' is represented by the moment a person enters unemployment, stage d'attente or unemployment after studies because as from that very moment she can experience the 'exit'/risk.

The subsample used includes young people who were not in unemployment during the first four quarters preceding their entry in unemployment. The labour market institutions included in these analyses are the different types of guidance that the local PES is providing to young people. Table 32 summarises the sub-types of actions included in the employability programmes called Contrat de Projet Professionnel (CPP) and of Recherche Active d'Emploi (RAE)[131].

The CPP was meant to increase the capacity of the PES of personalising the support provided to young people. The measures it included were meant to identify and tackle specific individual needs (Actiris 2005). Within the CPP (the action plan which became compulsory in 2010), but also independently from it, young people could attend employability programmes organised within the RAE. The RAE is a specific job-search

[131] The variety of categories of these two institutional variables and the possibility of cumulating more than one measure created some challenges concerning the definition of the variables and the interactions. More detailed explanations can be found in the Methodological Annex and in the following sections.

technique that was imported from Canada and was adopted by Actiris and « imposed » to the third-sector and for profit partner organisations. According to the official *Inventaire de mesures* (Actiris 2005), the aim of the RAE is to provide an individualised approach in order to make the unemployed responsible and autonomous. This takes place via a personalised service either in group in one-to-one sessions. This implies that the RAE can be more or less enabling depending on the type of measures the young person undertakes.

Table 32: Types of employability measures provided by the PES

PES	Reasons for choosing it	Assumptions for the interaction
Contrat de Projet Professionnel		
Job-search (autonomous)	Aiming at modifying job-search behaviour – improving labour market knowledge strongly based on autonomy	Not efficient for young people at-risk. **No-effect/ hindering**
Job-search (guided)	Aiming at modifying job-search behaviour Shaped on individual's need	More efficient for young people at risk **Compensating/Favouring**
Individual action plan	Based on agreed negotiation among the recipient and the job-counsellor Help defining individual project Increase their autonomy	Efficient with at-risk young people **Compensating/Favouring**
Special guidance	Individually adapted Account for individual needs	Efficient with young people at-risk **Compensating/Favouring**
Recherche Active d'Emploi		
Short and group	Aiming at sharpening some specific competences or providing general information on job-search	Less efficient with young people more disadvantaged **Hindering /No effect**
Intense and in group	Aiming at building some concrete competences and centred on job-search competences (languages, CV). Normally lasting several hours	Efficient with almost autonomous young people who need to strengthen some competences **No effect/Favouring**
Short and individual	Targeted to individual needs, it normally implies a one-to-one situation with the job-search counsellor; it deals with specific job-search need.	It should account for individual needs but it is short in time **Favouring/Compensating**
Intense and individual	Targeted to individual needs and implying a one-to-one and an more in-depth actions related to job-search skills and techniques	It should account for individual needs and also accounts for individual time needs **Compensating/Favouring**

Source: own elaboration based on the qualitative material and on the classification provided by Actiris and its *Inventaires des Mesures*

The continuums below show how the measures were classified for the analysis according to their expected degree of passive empowerment.

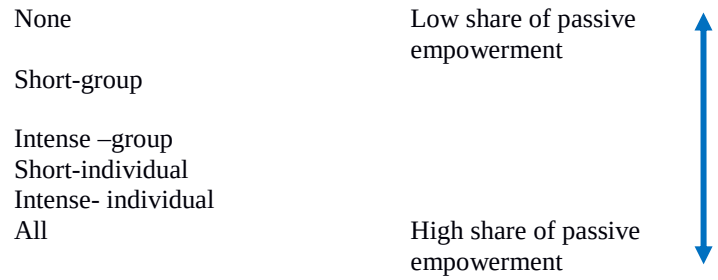
Figure 21: CPP measures by degree of passive empowerment

The observation period covered by the data runs until 2010. This means that individuals that received one or more of the "treatments" above were not strictly obliged to attended, but rather invited by the job-search counsellors or they enrolled on their own initiative. Hence I would expect that job-search counsellors are able to assess the intensity of passive empowerment needed by each person or that this assessment is made by the person herself. Young people with "lower active empowerment" should then be more represented in the measures that are more intense in terms of passive empowerment and vice versa.

If these PES actions are able to compensate for at-risk features of young people then I would expect that young people at risk undertaking more enabling employability measures will be more likely to experience upwards transitions.

Similarly, RAE measures are normally delivered by the PES or other private/third sector partners. There were more than 50 types of specific types of training reported in the variable. These were summarised in four categories[132]

Figure 22: Intensity of passive empowerment of RAE measures



Source: data from Actiris, own elaboration

These types of categories reflect the intensity of the passive empowerment and the dimension, i.e. whether they follow rather an individual or group approach, and whether they are implied a clear involvement of the job-search counsellors in helping the young person. These institutional variables will be included in the regression analysis in order to understand the scope of their impact in predicting exits from unemployment and towards employment or education.

Who is represented in the sample?

Table 33 shows the main characteristics of the unemployment sample across the most relevant institutional and personal dimensions.

[132] The categories were counter-checked with the Observatoire Bruxellois sur l'Emploi d'Actiris (thanks to Mourad de Villers from the Observatoire Bruxellois sur l'Emploi – Actiris - for kindly answering my questions on the data)

Table 33: description of the young people in unemployment

Variable	Categories	Percentages
Gender	female	50.76
	men	49.24
Nationality	Belgian	35.37
	non-EU	15.85
	EU	8.37
	non-EU naturalised	36.93
	EU naturalised	3.48
Index of wealth	very poor	35.46
	poor	25.68
	on average	14.55
	wealthy	15.64
	very wealthy	8.67
Position in the household	single	27.67
	child in family	42.02
	single parent	4.05
	in couple with children	8.58
	in couple no children	11.74
	other	5.92
Educational attainment	unknown	8.92
	low	40.36
	medium	33.31
	high	17.41
Work intensity in the year bf entering	no activity	34.25
	25%-50%	18.48
	75%-100%	47.27
Number of observations		11986

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

Table 34: Type of exits and PES activation measures

	Type of exit	Frequencies	Percentages
Event	censored - survived	1657	13.83
	exiting	10329	86.17
Type of exit	survival censored	1657	13.82
	sustainable employment	1493	12.46
	employment	3790	31.62
	social assistance	1134	9.46
	education	259	2.16
	other	2819	23.52
	employed with top-up	834	6.96

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

Young people with a migrant background represent a large share of the sample: 75% is foreign-born or has the Belgian nationality but with a foreign background; the remaining 35% is Belgian-born. Young people with low educational attainment represent 40% of the sample and 50% were known as a resident in low-income neighbourhood in 2005.

Slightly more than a third of the sample did not work the year preceding the entry in unemployment and this might be a strong predictor for exiting labour market as work experience is expected to have a much higher impact on the likelihood of leaving unemployment compared to social assistance beneficiaries. A significant difference in proportion remains when this sub-sample is compared with the bigger sample: young men are slightly overrepresented. This suggests that if the overall youth population was considered, young men would be more at risk of *entering* unemployment. However, my analysis concentrates on *exits*, so it does not investigate the level of risk of entering social assistance but rather of leaving. Differences with the bigger population are not significant as my results are not inferred for the whole population but only those who are already in social assistance.

A first glance at the type of exits reveals that more than 40% exit towards employment or sustainable employment, while for 13.83% of the sample their exit is not observed before the end of the observation period.
The observed survival and the lifetable below show the median time of exit for the sample.

Table 35: Life-table for young people in unemployment

Interval	Total	People exiting	People censored	Survival	Error	[95% Int.]	Conf.
1 2	11986	0	234	1	0	.	.
2 3	11752	3372	152	0.7112	0.0042	0.7029	0.7193
3 4	8228	1933	149	0.5426	0.0046	0.5335	0.5516
4 5	6146	1285	146	0.4278	0.0046	0.4187	0.4368
5 6	4715	926	116	0.3427	0.0045	0.3340	0.3515
6 7	3673	680	100	0.2784	0.0043	0.2701	0.2868
7 8	2893	559	104	0.2236	0.004	0.2158	0.2315
8 9	2230	448	81	0.1779	0.0037	0.1706	0.1852
9 10	1701	339	78	0.1416	0.0034	0.1349	0.1484
10 11	1284	217	60	0.1171	0.0032	0.1109	0.1235
11 12	1007	175	52	0.0962	0.003	0.0904	0.1022
12 13	780	143	46	0.078	0.0028	0.0727	0.0836
13 14	591	99	71	0.0641	0.0026	0.0591	0.0694
14 15	421	51	66	0.0557	0.0025	0.0509	0.0608
15 16	304	43	23	0.0475	0.0024	0.0429	0.0525
16 17	238	25	42	0.042	0.0024	0.0375	0.0469
17 18	171	18	53	0.0368	0.0024	0.0323	0.0417
18 19	100	10	50	0.0319	0.0025	0.0272	0.0371
19 20	40	6	34	0.0236	0.0035	0.0175	0.0311

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data. The median time of survival is around 4.42 quarters

Figure 23: Observed survival for young people in unemployment

Source: BCSS, own calculations

Half of young people in unemployment leave after 4.42 quarters (13 months) and 0.02% are still in the social assistance 20 quarters after entering (34 young people). As demonstrated in the previous section, the cumulative hazard rate function is likely to change when personal and institutional variable are included. In the next session, I test to what extent the institutional variables and their interactions with the personal characteristic are predicting higher/lower likelihood of exiting unemployment and to where these young people are exiting.

By following the same structure used in the previous parts, I present the result separately for the CPP and the RAE in the following sections. I chose to split the analysis because the large amount of interactions and complexity of the model would have made the results less meaningful.

The Contrat de Projet Professionnel and employability measures under "Recherche Active d'Emploi": enabling employability measures bridging towards positive upwards transitions?

The participation of RAE (*Research Active d'Emploi*) and the CPP (*Contrat de Projet Professionel*) are presented in the tables below. Table 36 shows the combination of CPP actions by origin of young people during the observation period. A large share of young people who were in unemployment did not receive any CPP action. When cross–tabulated with nationality, the variable chosen as proxy for disadvantage, it emerges that there is fair similar distribution of measures across origins and the measure of association (chi2) confirms the absence of a statistical relationship between these two categorical variables.

It is important to note that these data have an important limitation: the percentages reported here refer to the last month of the quarter. This means that the figures reported below underrepresent the number of young people who took part. However, this does

not reduce the relevance of the analysis as the results in the following multinomial logistic regressions should be interpreted as the effect of "at least" one experience in that particular programme.

Table 36: Type of CPP by origin[133]

Type of measures of CPP during the period of observation	*Belgian*	*no-EU*	*EU*	*no-EU-BE*	*EU-BE*	*total*
None	88.87	87.00	88.73	86.51	86.81	
Independent job-search and training	0.35	0.74	0.60	0.52	0.48	
Action plan and training	2.03	2.05	2.29	2.39	3.12	
Action plan and independent job-search	1.11	2.79	0.90	1.76	1.44	
Training	0.40	0.53	0.40	0.59	0.24	
Independent job-search	1.56	1.79	1.69	1.65	1.44	
Action plan and job-coaching	5.85	5.37	5.78	6.93	6.71	
Total	4239	1900	1003	4427	417	11986

Source: data from Actiris, own calculations.

Similar numbers are found for the RAE actions: a large share of young people did not receive any RAE actions. However, there is statistical significant correlation between the measure and the variable indicating the origin and that some categories of nationalities are more likely to participate in measure than others.

For instance, young non-European naturalised receive relative more short-individual measures and foreign–born Europeans tend to receive more individual (short and intense) measures than the other nationalities (Table 23). This suggests that measures more intense in passive empowerment are also more likely to target vulnerable young people. The multinomial logit regressions will reveal whether these measures have actually an impact[134].

Table 37: Type of RAE by nationality

	Non-Naturalised			*Naturalised*	
Type of RAE during the period of observation	*Belgian*	*no EU*	*EU*	*No- EU – BE*	*EU-BE*
None	88.06	71.63	86.84	79.42	85.37
short-group	1.27	3.63	1.30	2.60	1.44
intense-group	0.64	2.16	1.00	1.13	1.68
short-individual	4.72	9.00	4.59	7.95	6.95
intense-individual	4.51	9.21	4.59	6.37	3.60
All	0.80	4.37	1.69	2.53	0.96

Source: BCSS, Actiris own calculations

[133] This was constructed as a time-invariant variable.

[134] Because of low sample size for some measures, a variable with larger categories will be used "naturalised, non-naturalised and Belgian", instead of the detailed variable on origin previously used. In the Annex the goodness of fit of the model for the time specification is shown as well as the unspecified exit logistic regression.

Which is the impact of RAE employability measures on upward transitions?

Results[135] show that young women have higher probabilities of staying in unemployment or exit to education, employment with top-ups or social assistance rather than employment compared to young men as well as young single parents compared to young people living alone (Table 38).

While work experience prevents young people from staying long in unemployment, an additional year of age does not help exit unemployment. It can be interpreted that the longer you stay in unemployment the less likely you are of leaving.

Interestingly, the role played by the neighbourhood is highly significant in predicting positive odds of entering employment. This confirms the results of previous academic research where significant though moderate neighbourhood effects have been found on social mobility outcomes, on labour market participation (Musterd et al 2003), and also on duration of unemployment for low-skilled population in the Paris region who had low access to job due to neighbourhood characteristics (Korsu and Wenglenski 2010). Furhter the impact of the neighbourhood in the Brussels context already came out as an important predictor for the time spent in social assistance and social insurance for young people also when controlling for unobserved heterogeneity (Dujardin et al 2008; Bussi and Carpentier 2013).

The interaction term between the origin and the institutional measure could not be included because it did not improve the model (see Methodological Annex). For this reason, the table below only shows the main effects of both variables.

The effect of origins

Results show that Belgians are more likely to exit towards employment compared to non-natives, while the latter have much higher probability of remaining unemployed. Non-Naturalised young people are those more at risk when compared to natives as they are also more likely, by a large factor, to exit to social assistance.

The role of RAE and its activation potential

The 'short and in group' category of RAE – the category with the least degree of passive empowerment - was chosen to compare the other measures.
Results reveal that it is more likely for young people attending measure with higher passive empowerment exit towards employment instead of remaining in unemployment. This is the case for measures targeting individual (short and individual) and supporting a group but more intensively.

The empowering and bridging effect of an intense coaching (intense and individual) is shown in the second exit comparing employment with education. Interestingly, young people who benefited from an intense individual support are much more likely to exit towards education than to employment.

[135] I decided to merge employment with sustainable employment (i.e. in employment for 2 quarters after exit).

At the same time, when comparing exiting towards employment and social assistance, young people who received an intense coaching are also more likely to end up in social assistance.

These results seem to suggest that – although being conceived to lead to employment – the RAE and its more intense measures might bring up other individual needs at the surface, such as lack of education and training or lack of adequate income.
The empowering effect can in this case be seen not as way of easing the transition towards employment, but rather as a need to better address the individual lack of active empowerment, which can be associated with low personal, social or financial resources.

Table 38: Multinomial logistic regression for young people in unemployment - base outcome employment – RAE measures

	Remaining in unemployment		*se*	***Education***	*p*	*Se*	***Social Assistance***	*p*	*se*	***Employment w/ topups***	*P*	*Se*
Time	1.852	0.000***	(0.04)	1.231	0.000***	(0.04)	1.505	0.000***	(0.09)	1.436	0.000***	(0.05)
tempo	0.063	0.000***	(0)	0.577	0.000***	(0.09)	0.206	0.000***	(0.05)	0.474	0.000***	(0.08)
tempoln												
Gender (Ref: male)	1.187	0.000***	(0.04)	1.332	0.000***	(0.09)	1.601	0.001***	(0.22)	1.398	0.000***	(0.11)
female												
Position in the household (Ref: single)												
Child in family	0.836	0.000***	(0.03)	0.76	0.002**	(0.07)	0.432	0.000***	(0.07)	0.758	0.005**	(0.07)
Single parent	1.785	0.000***	(0.19)	1.934	0.000***	(0.33)	2.192	0.003**	(0.57)	1.816	0.001***	(0.34)
In couple w/ ch	1.132	0.047**	(0.07)	1.169	0.233	(0.15)	1.283	0.292	(0.3)	0.997	0.985	(0.14)
In couple w/o ch	0.901	0.047**	(0.05)	1.014	0.905	(0.12)	0.5	0.010**	(0.13)	0.724	0.022**	(0.1)
other	0.976	0.719	(0.07)	0.932	0.648	(0.14)	1.077	0.775	(0.28)	0.737	0.103	(0.14)
Work intensity previous year (Ref: 0-25%)												
25%-50%	0.582	0.000***	(0.03)	0.635	0.000***	(0.06)	0.333	0.000***	(0.06)	0.838	0.106	(0.09)
75% - 100%	0.545	0.000***	(0.02)	0.463	0.000***	(0.04)	0.257	0.000***	(0.04)	0.768	0.004**	(0.07)
Age	1.023	0.000***	(0.01)	1.001	0.942	(0.01)	0.865	0.000***	(0.02)	0.993	0.648	(0.02)
Type of neighborhood (Ref: very poor)												
poor	0.879	0.001***	(0.04)	0.926	0.381	(0.08)	1.074	0.671	(0.18)	0.958	0.658	(0.09)
wealthy	0.862	0.000***	(0.03)	0.957	0.597	(0.08)	1.128	0.448	(0.18)	0.807	0.026**	(0.08)
Education (Ref: low)												
unknown	0.274	0.000***	(0.02)	0.773	0.056*	(0.1)	0.334	0.000***	(0.1)	0.392	0.000***	(0.07)
middle	0.816	0.000***	(0.03)	1.281	0.002**	(0.1)	0.899	0.461	(0.13)	0.946	0.516	(0.08)
high	0.521	0.000***	(0.02)	0.823	0.078*	(0.09)	0.371	0.000***	(0.1)	0.442	0.000***	(0.06)
Measure of RAE (short and in group)												
none	0.437	0.000***	(0.05)	0.481	0.001***	(0.1)	1.853	0.301	(1.11)	0.623	0.045*	(0.15)
intense-group	0.623	0.013**	(0.12)	0.919	0.796	(0.3)	1.333	0.732	(1.12)	0.657	0.3	(0.27)
short-individual	0.695	0.008**	(0.09)	0.695	0.128	(0.17)	0.777	0.71	(0.53)	0.962	0.882	(0.25)
intense-individual	0.912	0.518	(0.13)	1.985	0.003***	(0.46)	4.043	0.024**	(2.5)	1.108	0.703	(0.3)

all	0.933	0.686	(0.16)	1.291	0.36	(0.36)	1.397	0.656	(1.05)	0.918	0.793	(0.3)
Nationality (Ref: Belgian)												
Naturalised	1.243	0.000***	(0.05)	0.975	0.766	(0.08)	1.188	0.323	(0.21)	1.074	0.471	(0.11)
Non-Naturalised	1.319	0.000***	(0.06)	1.127	0.201	(0.11)	2.303	0.000***	(0.4)	1.465	0.000***	(0.16)
Constant	70.409	0.000***	(9.82)	0.446	0.002**	(0.11)	0.063	0.000***	(0.04)	0.167	0.000***	(0.05)
Number of observations (person period)	58260											

Source: BSCC own calculations. Significance levels at *** p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01**. Note: the table reports coefficients while in the text RRR (relative risk ratio) are reported. They are simply the exponential form of the coefficients in the table, which are difficult to interpret. For this multinomial regression I chose to include the variable with larger categories (Belgian/naturalised/not naturalised) due to a low number of cases in interactions. The "other" exit is not presented here because not much can be said about this undefined status. Some coefficients are missing for the exit towards social assistance because of sample size.

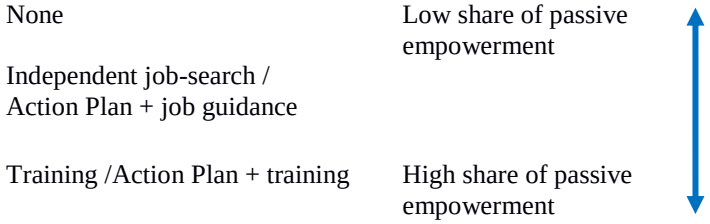
The "Contrat de Projet Professionnel" and its actions – favouring exit towards employment?

The variable including the information on the "CPP" could include several (different) actions and, for this reason, I created a variable summarising the existing combinations of actions in the data[136] into three major categories (Figure 24). This (re) classification was set up according to the expected degree of involvement of the individual and the institutional intervention. The grouping of different categories was also due to a low number of cases for each different exit. This also implies that the categories I presented above in the continuum overlap (see

[136] See Methodological Annex for the variable construction

Figure 21).

Figure 24: Intensity of passive empowerment of CPP measures



Source: own elaboration from Actiris data and interviews

Table 39 shows the results of multinomial logistic regression for competing risk model including the institutional variable for CPP employability measures. In this model the inclusion of the interaction did not improve the model but the choice was made to keep the interaction in the model anyway[137].

The table reports exiting towards employment (included sustainable employment) compared to remaining in unemployment until the end of the observation period, exiting towards education or getting into employment with top-up (results for "other" exit is shown in the Methodological Annex).

[137] The singifincance of the interaction model in improving the goodness of fit of the model seems to be very depenendent on the number of degree of freedom. Keeping the variable as in 5 cateogiries (none, independendt job-search; action plan + guidance; training; training + action plan) slightly improve the model. However, this is no longer the case when a grouped variable like that proposed in Figure 24 in order to increase the number of observation is included as interaction term. I decided to still include the variable for theoretical purposes. See Methodological Annex for more details

Table 39: Multinomial logistic regression for young people in unemployment - base outcome employment – CPP

	Remain in unemployment	*P*	*se*	*education*	*p*	*Se*	*Social Assistance*	*P*	*se*	*Employment with top-up*	*p*	*se*
Tempo	1.866	0.000***	(0.04)	1.252	0.000***	(0.05)	1.505	0.000***	(0.09)	1.448	0.000***	(0.05)
tempoln	0.063	0.000***	(0)	0.575	0.000***	(0.09)	0.204	0.000***	(0.05)	0.472	0.000***	(0.08)
Gender (Ref: male)												
female	1.205	0.000***	(0.04)	1.345	0.000***	(0.1)	1.576	0.001**	(0.22)	1.412	0.000***	(0.11)
Position in the household (Ref: single)												
Child in family	0.821	0.000***	(0.03)	0.73	0.000***	(0.06)	0.434	0.000***	(0.07)	0.751	0.003**	(0.07)
Single parent	1.827	0.000***	(0.19)	2.04	0.000***	(0.35)	2.294	0.001**	(0.6)	1.841	0.001***	(0.34)
In couple w/ ch	1.129	0.052*	(0.07)	1.15	0.284	(0.15)	1.247	0.35	(0.29)	1.01	0.943	(0.15)
In couple w/o ch	0.888	0.023**	(0.05)	0.97	0.79	(0.11)	0.506	0.011**	(0.14)	0.712	0.016*	(0.1)
other	0.958	0.534	(0.07)	0.902	0.507	(0.14)	1.09	0.739	(0.28)	0.721	0.08	(0.13)
Work intensity previous year (Ref: 0-25%)												
25%(50%	0.559	0.000***	(0.03)	0.586	0.000***	(0.05)	0.332	0.000***	(0.06)	0.82	0.07	(0.09)
75% (100%	0.512	0.000***	(0.02)	0.412	0.000***	(0.03)	0.257	0.000***	(0.04)	0.739	0.001***	(0.07)
Age	1.021	0.001***	(0.01)	0.994	0.676	(0.01)	0.863	0.000***	(0.02)	0.991	0.57	(0.02)
Type of neighbourhood (Ref: very poor)												
poor	0.86	0.000***	(0.03)	0.915	0.31	(0.08)	1.084	0.63	(0.18)	0.945	0.557	(0.09)
wealthy	0.84	0.000***	(0.03)	0.939	0.454	(0.08)	1.146	0.391	(0.18)	0.803	0.022*	(0.08)
Educational attainment (Ref: low)												
unknown	0.259	0.000***	(0.01)	0.665	0.002***	(0.09)	0.337	0.000***	(0.1)	0.372	0.000***	(0.07)
middle	0.796	0.000***	(0.03)	1.225	0.009***	(0.1)	0.894	0.435	(0.13	0.936	0.44	(0.08)
high	0.495	0.000***	(0.02)	0.755	0.011**	(0.08)	0.37	0.000***	(0.1)	0.429	0.000***	(0.06)
Type of CPP (Ref:none)												
Independent job-search/AP and coaching	1.416	0.000***	(0.12)	0.721	0.136	(0.16)	0.804	0.647	(0.38)	1.234	0.338	(0.27)
Training/AP+training	1.526	0.010**	(0.25)	1.194	0.595	(0.4)	2.361	0.084	(1.17)	1.783	0.097	(0.62)

Ref: Belgian											
Naturalised	1.238	0.000***	(0.05)	0.939	0.481	(0.08)	1.178	0.38	(0.22)	1.189	0.105	(0.13)
Non Naturalised	1.366	0.000***	(0.06)	1.137	0.194	(0.11)	2.426	0.000***	(0.45)	1.563	0.000***	(0.18)
Ref: Belgian*Independent job-search/AP and coaching												
Naturalised*Independent job-search/AP and coaching	1.056	0.638	(0.12)	1.324	0.319	(0.37)	1.122	0.846	(0.67)	0.583	0.074	(0.18)
Non Naturalised*Independent job-search/AP and coaching	0.931	0.606	(0.13)	1.138	0.687	(0.36)	0.54	0.358	(0.36)	0.87	0.652	(0.27)
Ref : Belgian*Training/AP+training												
Naturalised*Training/AP+training	1.523	0.06*	(0.34)	2.594	0.018**	(1.05)	0.683	0.601	(0.5)	0.383	0.075	(0.21)
Non Naturalised*Training/AP+training	1.063	0.804	(0.26)	2.132	0.083*	(0.93)	0.556	0.425	(0.41)	0.411	0.105	(0.23)
Constant	34.289	0.000***	(2.42)	0.28	0.000***	(0.04)	0.118	0.000***	(0.03)	0.108	0.000***	(0.02)

Source: BSCC own calculations. Significance levels at *** p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01**. Note: the table reports coefficients while in the text RRR (relative risk ratio) are reported. They are the exponential forms of the coefficients in the table, which are difficult to interpret. Note: for this multinomial regression I chose to include the variable with larger categories (Belgian/naturalised/not naturalised) due to a low number of cases in interactions. The definition of the measure undertaken by young unemployed during the observation period was not an easy task as young people can undertake more than one action and combine more enabling with less enabling measure. The attribution of one category of the other was decided according to the majority of one action rather than another.

Main effects with a focus on origin and CPP

Main effects for the socio-demographic covariates show that young women are more at risk of exiting towards any other exit than employment compared to their male counterparts. Their position is even more disadvantaged if one thinks that single parents are almost exclusively women and compared to living alone, a single parent has a very high likelihood of doing a negative transitions or not making at a transition at all (remaining in unemployment).
As expected, work experience in the year previous to entry in unemployment as a positive effect on exiting towards employment. The effects of educational attainment are clear as a middle or high education degree predict higher chances of making a transition towards employment. Interestingly young people with middle level of educational attainment have a higher probability of going to education once left unemployment as compared to those with lower education.

The main effects of CPP are significant only when comparing employment with remaining in unemployment. Results show that if a person takes part in any measure, she will more likely *not* to exit from unemployment until the end of the observation period. This is very likely to be due to a lock-in effect.

Main effects for the variable of origin show that naturalised are always more likely to do a negative transition when compared to Belgians as they are more at risk of staying in unemployment, exiting toward social assistance or in employment but with top-ups. This is not the case for naturalised, who are less disadvantaged than non-naturalised compared to their native peers. They are more likely of remaining in unemployment but, when comparing other exits, the differences between them and the natives are not statistically significant.

Therefore, I could expect that young non-natives who receive a CPP measure benefit from the 'compensating' effect according to the degree of passive empowerment.

CPP helping the disadvantaged out?

The interaction term between the origin and CPP measures does not appear to have a significant impact on the probability of the most disadvantaged young people to get out from unemployment.

Very few coefficients are statistically different. For both Belgians and non-natives when comparing exit towards employment and remaining in unemployment, the role of the CPP did not speed up the exit towards employment but rather "locked in" its participants. It is to note that the variable is a summary of several measures that the young person could have received and which can be an indication of a longer period spent as unemployed.
The most interesting results is that young naturalised and non naturalised who attend an intense passive empowerment are more likely to end up in education rather than employment[138].

[138] It is important to note that those young people who are in a training and receive unemployment benefits (« dispense de formation ») were considered as in education. This resutl could be also attributed to the construction of the exit. However, it remains interesting becasuse the category « Training, AP+ training » does not only include training but also an intense coaching.

The Table below reports the effects calculated by comparing the coefficients of Table 40 and by accounting for the main effects of the variable of origin.

Table 40: Summary of the interaction effects

CPP measure effect *"When compared to Belgians receiving the same CPP measure"*	Employment vs Staying in unemployment	Employment vs Education	Employment vs Social assistance	Employment vs Employmnt with top up
Independent job-search / Action plan+guidance	*No effect*	*No effect*	*No effect*	*No effect*
Training /Training + Action Plan	***Hindering** effect for naturalised*	***Favouring** for both naturalised and non naturalised*	*No effect*	*No effect*

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

Conclusions

Chapter 8 went more in depth on single employability measures and the processes they trigger when combined with the origin variable.

It sought to investigate the link between event occurrence and socio-demographic and institutional variables in order to see whether the 'risk' of some groups of leaving welfare support is modified by the inclusion in the measure.

Main effects showed in the different regressions confirmed that in most of the cases, but not always, young with a migrant background have a higher probability of making less favourable transitions than young Belgians.
When investigating the role played by employability measures delivered at the local level, only in some specific cases they turn out to function as an empowering path towards positive exits.
Unfortunately, results were not able to efficiently grasp the effect of the opportunity structure on single disadvantaged groups, but they still showed that main effects of the measures have generally two types of impact both for the unemployed and the claimants in social assistance: they tend to lock in participants (education at CPAS, article 60, RAE and CPP) when comparing survival with employment but they also favour the exit towards education.
For young people in social assistance the two institutional variables investigated showed that supported employment, article 60, is still a primary entry into unemployment for young people with a migrant background.

The revised nature of the measure promoted in 2002 did not turn out to function as a stepping stone towards the primary labour market. Only for young claimants with a non-European background does article 60 have a compensating effect because it bridges towards regular instead of top-ups employment.

Receiving education is considered an employability measure that responds both to the criteria of the HCD and CA-TLM approach. Qualitative interviews and the legislation made clear that young people in social assistance can enrol in full time education if the educational or training project increases their chances of entering the labour market.
Nonetheless, my results show that enrolling in education (while receiving social assistance benefits) does not lead to clear-cut positive results. In fact, young foreign-born attending education have higher and significant likelihoods of staying longer in social assistance – most probably a lock-in effect - or exit towards unemployment.

With regard to the analysis on the measures provided by the PES, the conceptualisation of the passive empowerment and its different degrees allowed to classify employability programmes – RAE and CPP.

The interaction between the variable of origin and the type of RAE measure did not improve the model and only the main effects were presented.
Yet main effects reveal that a measure more intensive in passive empowerment reduces the likelihood of young people of remaining in unemployment as compared to those who received just a "light support". Moreover, an individual and intensive support leads more easily towards education or social assistance rather than employment.

For the CPP the low number of cases limited the analysis and although the model was not specified at its best goodness of fit, I decided to include the interaction terms. The interaction does not show any compensation effect for young people with a migrant background, except for easing their transition into education. However this could be also partially due to the construction of the variable itself as in the category of being in education I also included young people who are in "dispense formation" – i.e. they are unemployed but enrol in a training or life-long learning.

These results could not show in a very clear cut way that a potentially stronger passive empowerment built by the daily implementation of employability measures is able to compensate for lower probability of exiting unemployment or social assistance.
However, the fact that employability measures lead to unemployment and from unemployment lead to CPAS confirm, though not always in the way we would have expected, as their role would be to rather bridge them towards education or work, that there is a coherence between the institutional settings. The legal and structural bridges that there are between CPAS and PES seem to work.
Exit towards employment is however not just a matter of passive empowerment built around the person by activation measures and its interaction with active empowerment; it is also a matter of demand side and opportunity in the labour market. As introduced in various parts of this thesis, young people particularly with a migrant background find important barriers in integrating the labour market in terms of discrimination but also mismatch between jobs available and their skills. Even if not investigated further in this thesis, the demand –side should not be forgotten when the labour market entry in investigated.

Final Conclusions

This conclusive part aims to bring together the various results, observations and limitations that this study has revealed. I will go through the choices I made and discuss what came out from the analysis and what I think could be a future research agenda. I also discuss my results in light of the current policy debates.

What was the issue at stake and how I decided to tackle it

The interest that triggered this thesis stemmed from the acknowledgement that welfare institutions play – potentially - an important role in reducing the increasing risks associated with transitions that young people are likely to face. This became particularly evident and urgent in the last years with an exponential increase of youth unemployment across Europe. However, the crisis has abruptly unveiled long-lasting problems that have affected the participation of young people in the labour market.

The rise of the transition risk derives from the change in the nature of paid employment which is associated with the intensification of work, the rise of precarious employment and the ensued instability of income and low wages. This has particularly affected vulnerable groups like young people and exacerbated new social risks, such as the risk of making downwards negative transitions into unemployment or inactivity and of being at risk of social exclusion.

Further, the increased competition and the need of more flexible and adequately skilled workforce to increase efficiency and efficacy has imposed on the workforce to be adaptable and mobile. This implied an increased attention towards the acquisition of the right and updated skills to keep the pace with changing technology and avoid the risk of being dismissed.

The risk of becoming unemployed or inactive, previously considered as the result of macro-economic or social changes, now is considered as a personal/individual incapacity of adapting to change.
If the risk of being excluded from the labour market is conceived as individual risk, then the responsibility for getting back to employment is also shifted towards the individual.

Not only individuals were asked to be more efficient in securing their place in the labour market, also organisations and, in particular, public services had to revise their way of delivering human services in order to be more efficient. This has led to the reorganisation of the mode of governance. The decentralisation of welfare services has been promoted because it is believed to favour a better adaptation of services to local needs and overcome labour market rigidities. Moreover the inclusion of performance objectives and quantitative indicators in human services has modified the relationship between front-line agents and the recipients but also the way in which decentralised institutions are held accountable.

In this context of cognitive and implementation change, how is the role of welfare and labour market institutions conceived? How do they conceive their support in making young people employable? How is this support actually delivered, and what are the implications in terms of individual outcomes?
These questions were summarised in my overall research question formulated as follows:

'To what extent are institutions able to provide disadvantaged young people with employability?"

In this thesis, I decided to provide an answer by investigating three complementary aspects.
Firstly, I analysed how delivery of local welfare services is defined and transition risks for young people interpreted. Hence I focused on cognitive and implementation processes at organisational level.
Secondly, I verified whether institutions complemented each other in order to reduce the risk of transitions; I thus considered the aggregate level looking at how institutions interact in reducing the risk.
Finally, I investigated whether single employability measures were actually able to avoid exclusionary transitions for young vulnerable recipients. The focus was then switched again at the individual level but, this time on individual outcomes.

This analytical structure and the objectives of the analysis – processes and outcomes – clearly led me towards the choice of a mixed-methods approach applied to a case study.
I was convinced that choosing a single institutional arrangement within which different labour market and welfare institutions coordinated (or not) could have helped me to holistically understand the mechanisms of institutional coordination and their effects on individual outcomes.
Besides, a local approach was also answering to the decentralisation of activation policies.

I decided to choose Belgium as a case study because of its overarching institutional setting targeting young people in their first transitions.
The history and the evolution of the welfare and labour market system – and in particular of the social assistance (CPAS) and social insurance (PES) system - suggested that it could function to reduce the risk associated with the first transitions in the labour market. The even more restricted focus on the Brussels Capital Region seemed appropriate because this urban area showed important challenges to welfare and labour market institutional structure, namely because young people with a migrant background find it hard to find their way to the labour market.

My initial questions and the analytical structure were then contextualised in the Brussels case study: how are the PES and CPAS intervening for reducing individual risks? What kind of opportunity structure do they build? Are there different outcomes across young people with a different degree of disadvantage?

A combined theoretical framework provided the tools to investigate the opportunity structure

To understand how local organisations intervened in reducing the risk for young people I needed a concept that could help me explore and interpret their actions.
The most evident choice was "employability". Lack of employability is the "symptom" that PES and CPAS want to "cure" and the way they interpret its causes and in which they try to find the solutions uncovers the type of opportunity structure, or as I defined it, the *passive empowerment* they provide.

I define *passive empowerment* as what goods/situations/services provided by the institutional and social environment can do for individuals without their intervention. This constitutes the opportunity structure available to individuals and which is there to favour the achievement of individual and collective goals, such as full employment.
I also defined *active empowerment*, which refers to the active role played by the person in selecting the tools she needs to use material and immaterial resources available to reach valuable outputs. This implies that the person is empowered because, for instance, she has acquired basic and fundamental skills ranging through basic, professional, moral and critical thinking skills.

Active and passive empowerment were defined because I wanted a tool that could help me investigate whether – beyond shifting the responsibility to individuals for their own employability – institutions could actually provide the necessary opportunity structure to individuals to achieve their labour market integration.

In short, are activation policies just adopting an approach to employability that operated on individuals by modifying their behaviours or their skills or are they also trying to build and enabling environment around the person?

Answering this question is functional to my overarching research question because the balance of active and passive empowerment determines the type of employability that is implemented and, as a result, is likely to have a specific impact on young people's labour market outcomes.

To do this, I needed a theoretical framework that could be applied to activation policies, could account for both the individual and institutional perspective and could grasp the balance of passive and active empowerment as well as the type of passive empowerment.

I chose to use a combination of two theoretical approaches: the Capability Approach (CA) and the Transitional Labour Markets (TLM) approach. The first has a strong individual-centred component and focuses on individual agency; while the second suggests an institutional approach to individual transitions across labour market positions and across individual life course.

In a nutshell, the CA provides the tools for investigating and assessing the type of relationship created by policy delivery and (young) recipients, and the TLM contextualises the analysis on labour market and welfare policies and sets the criteria for assessing the institutional capacity of building an enabling opportunity structure.

From this evaluative and analytical potential, their analytical tools and the conceptualisation of employability, I designed an analytical grid.

Creating an analytical grid

The grid - used to analyse the empirical data – had to give me the tools to answer to how the social assistance and insurance organisation in the Brussels Capital Region are intervening for reducing individual risks and what kind of opportunity structure do they build?

I decided to use a cognitive approach to public policies (Muller 2010) because it is well established that there might be a gap between what it is declared and how institutions deliver the actual policies. For this reason, I brought together both a cognitive approach - looking at values, norms and images – and an implementation approach that looked at the type of relationship with the individual, the implementation arrangement, the relationship with the demand side and the time perspective.

What's the role of the CA and TLM, my combined theoretical approach, in this? The CA and TLM informed the grid in two ways.
First they helped me shape the implementation dimension. The CA highlights the importance of the information gathered when assessing individuals in the delivery of policies (*the informational basis of judgement in justice*) – the relationship with the individual was indeed an essential dimension to consider. The TLM advocates for an institutional structure that eases and favours upwards transitions, so I had to consider how the organisation structure is hindering or promoting the coordination with other institutions. This was investigated in the relationship with the demand–side and in the implementation arrangement. The implementation arrangement was included because it also revealed the internal mechanisms that could hinder or foster a holistic approach to individual needs. The time dimension helped contextualise the actions in a life-course perspective.
The CA and TLM also informed the content of the dimensions. Using the literature and their prescriptive indications I define what activation policies should be if they are to achieve the goals of a flexible and secure labour force which is also able to become and do what they value.

The grid did not just develop this approach but also investigate how the current approaches implemented and identified in the literature would behave in the analytical dimensions I constructed. This exercise brought as a result to the definition of three ideal types of employability *market, fostering and enabling employability* respectively corresponding to a Work-First, Human Capital Development and TLM/CA approach to employability.

Indeed, I would expect that the acquisition of employability by young people at risk and the reduction of their individual risk during transitions are more easily achieved via policies informed by TLM and CA, i.e. promoting an *enabling employability*

Is this the case of the CPAS and PES in the Brussels Capital Region? And what does this imply for young people?

Straitjackets or stepping stones?

As I will recall in the following section, the Belgian institutional arrangement and the organisation operating in the Brussels Capital Region appear to potentially create an enabling

environment but they actually fail to make it work for the most disadvantaged in terms of individual outcomes and efficient bridging effect.

Yet the answer is not so straightforward. At the beginning I hoped that, by combining three different perspectives of analysis, I would be able to safely put the "straitjacket" or "stepping stone" label to the institutional structure. I could not.
The following sections bring together the findings and show the complexity and the limitations of the results.

Still going separate ways

In Belgium and in the Brussels Capital Region, both social assistance (CPAS) and unemployment insurance (PES) went through a wave of activation reforms that aimed to increasingly treat social assistance recipients as unemployed or, more generally, as able to get back to the labour market in the first place.

What came out is that, despite this apparent convergence, the two institutions still deal with beneficiaries differently and this has, as I will present below, important implications for my expectations in terms of individual outcomes.

Local CPAS tend to adopt employability policies informed by the CA/TLM, which allow to holistically account for individual needs.
The informational basis of judgement in justice used at the CPAS level is broad, adaptable and situated. Moreover, the regulations and the organisational structure allow to shape an '*enabling opportunity structure'* that goes from intervening on the demand-side, adopting a long-term and reversible perspective, leave the social workers free to organise their work according to the young person's needs. However, lack of resources and low institutional impact on access of young people to quality and long-lasting jobs reduces the scope of intervention of the CPAS.

On the contrary, local PES tend to promote a HCD approach and idea of '*fostering employability*'. There is a strong emphasis on gaining education and training in line with the labour market needs and integrate the labour market as soon as possible. However, some informal practices at the agency level bring the approach to young unemployed closer to a CA/TLM approach, in particular when it comes to the use of performance objectives, profiling of young people, the interview schedule.
At the CPAS, the TLM/CA approach was already rooted in its primary legal missions, while for the PES these informal practices are possible insofar as the degree of standardisation is flexible enough and the implementation arrangement not punitive or strictly designed.

Based on the results of the first hypothesis, the results from the quantitative analysis led to expect that *the CPAS had to better perform when "compensating"* - i.e. stepping stone - for lack of material and immaterial resources and factors of conversion of more vulnerable young people in social assistance. In particular, I expected to find a higher probability of upwards transitions towards employment or employment with top ups for activated vulnerable people when compared to those less disadvantaged.

In contrast, *my expectations were less positive for the impact of local PES* which, with their stronger focus on education and training, were expected to be closer to a human capital approach and, for this reason, less able to compensate for the multidimensionality of

disadvantage. I would then expect it to be rather a "straitjacket" for young people with disadvantage.

Low institutional complementarity and still large share of young people at risk

The qualitative investigation on the way in which the opportunity structure for achieving employability is delivered by the CPAS and PES also showed that the two institutions do not really work well together. If the cooperation is easier in small PES and CPAS, this is not the case across all organisations. While several reasons have been raised, the problem of coordination at the implementation level led me to suspect that - in spite of potentially good coordination structures – on the whole the opportunity structure within which PES and CPAS is not actually working as well as I thought. This would also imply that those young people with a lower active empowerment – namely young with a migrant background which were chosen as the population of interest for testing the compensating role of passive empowerment - were not able or less likely to make their safe transitions.

Hence, I looked at individual trajectories and I discovered that young people can be grouped into four clusters - "Smooth", "Failure", "Trap" and "Other" with a different degree of risk.

An important share of young people belonged to the Failure and Trap clusters, which are respectively characterised by a predominance of unemployment and social assistance spells and by a negative mobility and negative stability.
As expected, in these clusters, young people with a migrant background - either those who obtained the Belgian nationality or not - are more likely to be in and out of unemployment or trapped in social assistance.

Further, transition matrices for each cluster confirmed that - although the Belgian system has an important opportunity structure of institutions - the 'bridging' or "stepping stone" and complementary capacity that I expected actually fails to work for the more disadvantaged groups and is also working poorly for the more advantaged.

To this point I found two answers to my questions: in the Brussels Capital Region PES and CPAS adopt different approaches to employability and they tend to build a different opportunity structure to deliver employability. The CPAS is more capability and TLM friendly, while PES is much more geared towards Human Capital. When these practices are contextualised in the broader institutional setting, the results of looking at trajectories is not reassuring because those young people who lack active empowerment are more likely to remain stuck in social assistance for long or to enter and exit unemployment without any employment stability.
This seems to suggest that the coordinated and varied institutional structure at the aggregate level is not working properly for the least disadvantaged and that young people in unemployment or social assistance are not helped by the locally-built opportunity structure of PES and CPAS, be it enabling or fostering.

However, to confirm or refute these results, I looked closer at transitions and not only at trajectories. Although CPAS and PES claim to tackle a longer perspective on labour market integration, they are practically dealing with single transitions.
I looked at whether young people with lack of active empowerment who are in social assistance or in unemployment are able to come out after having being helped.

An unexpected low compensating potential of employability programmes for young people in social assistance

I ranked the most used employability programmes offered by the PES and CPAS in higher or lower degree of passive empowerment based on the information received during the interviews and from the documentation analysis.

I split the analysis into two and looked at the "compensating" capacity and tested whether having taken part in one of these measures had an impact on the likelihood of making an upward or downward transition for young migrants.

For the CPAS, I considered young claimants who were receiving benefits but allowed to enrol in education or training and those in supported employment (article 60).

Because of the nature of the enabling employability structure delivered at the local level and the nature of the measures I expected a strong compensating effect for my vulnerable young population.

However, the results were a bit disappointing: being in supported employment (article 60) did not reveal any "compensation effect" for the young disadvantaged under the same type of contract when compared to their native peers.
The only positive effect for young disadvantaged was for young people with non-EU background who spent at least one month in article 60: they showed higher odds of exiting towards "regular" employment compared to Belgians in article 60. For them working under article 60 does function as an easier stepping stone than for young foreigners to the regular labour market, who would be otherwise more likely to end up in employment with top-ups.

Taking part in education while being in social assistance is an important activation measure for young people widely used by CPAS and which is normally managed by a dedicated service. As for article 60 the results are not clear cut and attending education does not ensure a compensation effect which ensures results in positive transitions.

In fact young (non-)naturalised in education have much higher risk of staying in social assistance for a longer time compared to the Belgian peers in education. This might not be a negative outcome insofar as youth coming from a foreign country might need to attend additional courses in order to have their foreign qualifications recognised. Yet a long spell in social assistance is often associated with bad signalling and a higher probability of returning in benefits.

Moreover, young naturalised seem to be penalised from attending some education/training as they are twice as likely to exit towards unemployment compared to Belgians. Similar relative risk ratio is also found for naturalised who did not attend education, thus excluding a compensation effect.

Further, all other things being equal, young foreign-born and young naturalised who attend at least one month in education are much more likely to exit towards employment with top-ups than regular employment if confronted to their native peers. This might be partially justified by the practice of offering a subsidised employment when young people finish school, as mentioned in the interviews. This can also be considered as an example of coordinated welfare and labour market institutions; yet this might take place at the expenses of regular employment.

I would conclude that the CPAS – although adopting a holistic approach close to CA and TLM and building around the person a more adaptable passive empowerment – does not succeed in transforming the experience of being on social assistance benefits in a stepping stone towards a positive transition.

Low compensating effect for young people in unemployment and the relevance of training

The analysis for the PES followed the same pattern. Firstly, I classified two activation programmes offered at the PES, RAE (job-search coaching) and CPP (action plans and training), into different degrees of passive empowerment. Then I carried out the same competing risks analysis in order to test the compensating effect of these programmes on young migrants.

For the PES, because of its mostly human capital approach to employability and individual needs, I expected only a moderate capacity of compensating for the lack of active empowerment – associated in my case study with young people with a migrant background.

For both RAE and CPP the interaction term between the origin and the institutional measure did not massively improve the model and in both cases was not significantly improving it.
Nonetheless, main effects of RAE showed that young people receiving 'short and in group' programmes – with the least level of passive empowerment – are less likely to exit towards employment than to stay unemployed. This can indicate that those receiving a more intense training are not locked-in, but rather favoured in exiting.

Although the intense coaching (intense and individual) did not have any effect in favouring exit from unemployment, its empowering and bridging effect is shown when comparing employment with education.
Young people who benefited from these types of measures are much more likely to exit towards education than to employment. This is in line with the qualitative findings that highlighted a strong attention of PES towards acquiring skills and the human capital development approach.

At the same time young people who received an intense coaching are also more likely to end up in social assistance than in employment. Although these results can be considered as negative, they may also suggest that – although being conceived to lead to employment – the RAE and its more intense measures might bring up other individual needs at the surface, such as lack of education and training or lack of adequate income.

Results for CPP are also not so clear-cut and do not point to a clear compensating effect of the action plan introduced in the 1990s and made compulsory in 2010.

Young people who received a CPP measure have a significant greater probability of staying in unemployment regardless their degree of passive empowerment.
This could be due to a "lock-in" effect, i.e. when the young person remains unemployed because she is being activated and is not looking for jobs.

The interesting and significant result for this category of exit shows that the combination of employability measures with a high degree of institutional intervention (i.e. writing an Action

Plan and receiving training) do have an impact on the probability of entering education for non-naturalised and naturalised young unemployed.

In this case, one could argue that – all other thing being equal - receiving an intensive support from CPP measure has a favouring effect for disadvantaged young unemployed in helping them towards education.
This is in line with the findings of the qualitative part, the role of education and training is central in the PES and, looking at the clusters of trajectories, having a higher educational attainment is likely to increase the probability of better trajectories.

To conclude, the weakness of the results for the PES was due to a lack of observations for the PES measures which did not allow a reliable analysis like for the CPAS. Even when considering just the main effects of the measures, CPP did not turn out to lead to any significant improvement of probability of exiting from unemployment.

The PES tend to have an overall human capital approach fostering training and skills acquisition but also a more CPAS-TLM approach in informal practices. Results for RAE seem to be more in line with the outcomes that the qualitative analysis suggested. In fact, measures intense in higher passive empowerment leads to a quicker exit towards employment, but also to higher chances of ended up in education or in towards social assistance if – one could think – a more holistic approach is needed to face issues which are not only linked with the labour market.

Political implications: what I can say and what I cannot

It is challenging, and not comfortable, to advocate for a change to the overall institutional structure by bringing as evidence the results of this work. The main reason that prevents me from preaching large scale changes is that this work only tackles two, though central, welfare institutions and does not consider the demand side or also social dynamics.
When young people with a migrant background are not able to enter employment from social assistance, is it just because they lack an enabling institutional environment or active empowerment? No, indeed. Several variables could intervene: employers' recruitment strategies, cultural and social dynamics, macro-economic conditions, human capital recognition, etc.

Several pieces of the puzzle were not explored but play an important role and could be important elements in the explanation of what worked and what did not.

So I would rather comment on specific and limited issues strictly related to the findings.

The qualitative analysis made clear that it is necessary to *reduce the fragmentation within and across institutions* in order to reach the highest number of young people and ensure to answer in the most adequate way. Both PES and CPAS suffer from internal fragmentation particularly when logics of services are in contrast with one another.
Siloed and increasing specialised services might also go against the individualisation praised at the political level insofar as the answer delivered is tailored on bits of bigger and overlooked problems.
It is necessary to foster internal communication and external cooperation in order to make different logics working towards a same objective.

The variety of needs and young population across neighbourhoods highlighted the need for locally adaptable services. While this seems to be the case for CPAS, the PES is still adopting an adaptation at the margin of centrally-imposed rules. Because of the increasing number of unemployed young people staying longer on benefits and still poor labour market perspectives for young people in the region, a rapid approach relying on individual's active empowerment is doomed to poor results. The PES organisations should be free to test their own practices while respecting overarching rules for equality of access. This could also be applied to standardising or decentralising the cooperation with local partners. The wide range of local initiatives at the borough level is impressive in RBC and local PES could benefit from cooperation "*à géometrie variable*".
On a similar note, but with a different policy implication, I would call for a more regulated access to education and training for young people in social assistance. Education covariates showed in almost all regressions that a high educational attainment is a good predictor for a safe entry in the labour market. Nothing new, indeed. However, it questions the arbitrary freedom of deciding what kind of studies young people can apply and till what age when they are social assistance claimants. If flexibility in the choice and in orientation and support by the social worker should be maintained enough to meet individual aspirations and needs, the variability of basic rules makes access to education and its path a source of different sets of opportunities for young people across the region.

The quantitative part of the dissertation showed that article 60 the most used activation measure by CPAS still lead to unemployment. While this can be considered as first step closer to the labour market, the findings for the unemployment benefits are not reassuring particularly for those who may face different disadvantages. The qualitative analysis revealed that CPAS have mostly well consolidated partnership with low skilled jobs and organisation that rely on these supports for covering low skilled and low paid positions. Long-standing partnership are positive insofar as they allow CPAS to ensure a certain quality of the supported employment offered, but this does not allow any intervention on the demand-side that could help a better matching of individual needs and labour market needs as suggested by the TLM and CA. It is rather a one-direction adaptation of the supply-side to a static low-skills demand side, which seems to provide little valuable working experience.
The type and value of supported employment should be revised in the light of a real enabling work experience and not as a mere way of cumulating enough social contribution to get unemployment benefits again.

Furthermore, the qualitative part of this dissertation brought little information about the support that young with a migrant background receive. *The identification of young migrants as a vulnerable group confirmed the difficulties that this population faces in entering the labour market compared to natives.* Indeed, having a migrant background might also be associated with low literacy skills and low educational attainment which are disadvantages that are already tackled in welfare institutions – via training and access to education – but still under-tackled in the education system (Ouali 2003, (Danhier, Jacobs, Devleeshouwer, Martin, and Alarcon 2014). Hence, there is the need of a higher awareness – and improved services - about the multidimensionality of disadvantaged that goes beyond lack of skills and work ethics.

Another important element that contributes to the definition of the multidimensionality of disadvantage is *the quality of the neighbourhood and its impact on young people's opportunities*.
In interviews the low mobility of young people in unemployment and social assistance was highlighted as an obstacle to finding a job. The lack of mobility combined with segregated poor

neighbourhoods exacerbates the vulnerability of young people and reduces their chances of leaving unemployment. Attention should be put to geographical distribution and accessibility of services for those in need.

Finally, the gender perspective is absent from policy measures. Compared to their male counterparts, evidence shows that young women are much more likely to be in unemployment or to stay in social assistance than exiting towards employment (Ouali 2003). Family duties, parenthood but also culture can explain part of this higher incidence of unemployment and social assistance among women particularly with a migrant background (Ouali 2003). However, as already pointed out by Ouali, the role of labour market and welfare institutions should be revised to account for this long-lasting gender inequality (2003).

What could still be done: a brief research agenda

As any work, this PhD could not tackle all the possible interesting aspects of this research topic and some of them deserve to be developed further. The wish list presented below includes some suggestions.

First of all, although I conceptualised employability as a relational concept where both active and passive empowerment interact, I concentrated on the role played by passive empowerment. This choice left out and underdeveloped an important aspect which should be taken into consideration in order to fully grasp the interactions between institutions and individuals in the definition of employment.
This could be done by extending the qualitative analysis to young unemployed by, for instance carrying out a survey or semi-structured interviews. Data collected in this way could bring further insight and qualitative variables that could be included in the quantitative model.
This would clearly improve and enlarge the scope of the mixed-methods as well as contribute to a promising triangulation of sources.

Another limitation of the study that could become the focus of a next research project: a multi-level analysis in order to control for unobserved heterogeneity and investigate the impact of the different activation programmes activated in each neighbourhood, A similar analysis was possible at the Belgian level, Carpentier et al did it for social assistance recipients (Carpentier, Neels, Van den Bosch 2014)

Although I controlled for some of the main important socio-demographic aspects, the compensating effect or the lack of it might also be due to the selection procedures at the CPAS or PES level to access these jobs and/or unobserved characteristics, such as specific skills and motivation that can explain part of this score.

In fact, controlling for unobserved individual heterogeneity - not-measurable individual characteristics that are usually tackled in activation policies - made clear that there are still important differences in the likelihood of exit from welfare across young people coming from different neighbourhoods (Bussi and Carpentier 2013).
It was not possible to include and control for these limitation in this work, but the door is open for further research which goes beyond these methodological drawbacks and pushes the topic beyond the current knowledge.

While the local level of the case study turned out to be a profitable level of analysis, a local-based comparison across countries or even regions in the Belgian context would provide more generalizable results. For instance, an intra-regional comparison could be carried out between the Wallonia and the Flemish Region which are known to purse different activation approaches.

Another regret I have is to have not developed the "quality job" aspect and the role of the demand-side. Any transition in the labour market is not a good transition. Even ignoring the very important individual perception and job-satisfaction aspects, there are some more quantitative indicators that can be used for assessing the degree of quality of jobs. For instance the duration of employment beyond six months, the type of contract, the internal or external flexibility of transitions, the level of remuneration or the social protection linked to that contract. This would have provided an added valued to the thesis and better qualified the type of trajectories of young people.
Unfortunately, this was not possible for time and data reasons, but this is definitely an important aspect that should be treated in the future to complete the picture on youth transitions.

Finally, the role of the demand-side is of great relevance in order to understand why young people are out from the labour market and why they are not able to get back to it. This thesis has investigated how institutions shape the opportunity structure and hinted to the linkages between the institutions targeting the non-working and working population (see Chapter 6 on the demand side dimension). Yet an in-depth analysis of the interactions between the supply and the demand side as well as the interplay between welfare institutions and employment regulations has not bene carried. This probably is, together with developing active empowerment, the most urgent priority of a future research agenda and the missing piece for designing activation policies that are not blindly targeting individual behavirous.

The added values of this thesis

Despite these limitations that can be included in an agenda for future research, I would like to recall what I consider to be the added values of the thesis.
The following sections bring forward what I firstly summarise the little steps forward that, I think, this thesis has brought to this research field.
The conclusive section contextualises what my theoretical framework can bring as contribution to the current policy debate and welfare approaches.

The theoretical and empirical added values of this dissertation

The Capability Approach and Transitional Labour Markets approaches have already been combined together (see Chapter 2) but without an operationalisable concept and an empirical analysis.
The innovative conceptualisation of employability built on their combination allows the researcher to adopt an institutional analysis on passive empowerment and an individual approach when looking at active empowerment. Hence it goes beyond the one-sided conception of employability where only a perspective is suggested being it demand-side or supply-side.

Furthermore the cognitive and implementation dimensions of passive empowerment are an important tool of policy analysis and policy design. As demonstrated in this thesis, the grid eased the identification of political normative approaches to welfare and the actual

implementation strategies. In a moment when most of welfare policies seem to go towards the same direction with an increased emphasis on individual responsibility, it is necessary to verify to what extent this is true, what are the normative or implementation features that favour or hinder this process and if this is desirable for the least advantaged groups in the society and the labour market.

"Customisation", "tailoring" and "individualisation" of activation policies all express the necessity of getting closer to the individual's needs. But very few considerations are done on the type of individualisation proposed and on the criteria that regulate it.
This analytical grid provides a benchmarking across approaches to employability which can be used in the analysis of the scope and quality of individualisation of employability policies.

Moreover, the added value of the dynamic conceptualisation of employability and of the institutional structure allowed me to adopt an overall focus on the complementarity of labour market and welfare institutions and a more detailed perspective on the impact of employability measures with different degrees of passive empowerment on vulnerable groups. It also tried to fil a gap in the methodologies adopted in the literature when dealing with TLM and transitions. Brzinsky-Fay (2010) in his analysis of academic contributions on TLM highlights that transition process and status change (event) are two perspectives that were rarely combined together when using the TLM approach.
My quantitative chapter tried to do so combining OMA and event history analysis. The inclusion of inactivity and education within the transition matrices extended the researches done so far using the TLM, which mainly focused on transitions between employment and unemployment (Brzinsky-Fay 2010).

The theoretical contribution to the literature of TLM and CA is also due to the focus on the younger generation who are currently experiencing high level of unemployment and inactivity across Europe and for whom it is necessary to design or redefine current interventions.

As for the added value of this dissertation linked to the empirical work, the focus on the local level has brought to light the relevance and heterogeneity of small realities. This focus is often overlooked in welfare analysis where international comparisons are preferred event though designing policies is primarily a local-based process.

Moreover looking at the Brussels Capital Region has also contributed to understand the difficulties that young migrants or young Belgians with a migrant background are more likely to face in making their transitions but also, from a longer perspective, the quality of their trajectories.
The focus on Brussels and on the Belgian welfare system revealed that despite the activation turn, transitions towards employment or education are still a problem for the most disadvantaged. While the results for this case study are not generalizable to other urban contexts, the methodology and the findings can still provide an interesting basis for further research.

Finally, the empirical analysis is carried out using an original longitudinal database not yet widely exploited for this type of analysis on young people. The time perspective of the data, the time dimension included in the analytical grid as well as the focus on trajectories (a longer perspective) and transition (one point in time) brings the role of time, in its different forms, at the centre of the analytical and policy reflection. This has rarely been done in this combined way and still is likely to favour a less short-sighted analysis and design of policy intervention.

Being brave and forget utility, supply side and economic return

In recent years, in the European context, there have been various attempts of finding the right combination of welfare investment, activation and labour market policies that could conjugate the reduction of unemployment, welfare expenditure while ensuring a mobile and flexible labour force. Does my combined approach to CA and TLM has something to say about the current debate on the role of activation policies? I think so. In this section I briefly consider two main current approaches to welfare - Social Investment (SI) welfare state and flexicurity - which have largely contributed to the debates on activation policies, and I present why I think my combined approach can be a valid alternative.

In what follows, I make clear what overlaps or differentiate the TLM/CA and the SI and flexicurity approach to ALMPs. I shortly explain below the main features of these approaches and explain why I consider that my analytical grid is still a valid tool and the distinction between the combined CA/TLM employability enhancing model different from the 'preventing employability' model of the SI and the flexicurity take on ALMPs (De Deken 2012).

The Social Investment: finding a "juste milieu"

The idea of Social Investment started to spread in the mid-1990s. It was an attempt of reconciling Keynesian and neo-liberal policies in a moment of economic and social distress brought by higher child poverty, increasing unemployment, working poor as well as imbalances in programme financing (Morel et al 2012).
At the macro-level, the SI perspective maintains the focus on the supply side thus being coherent with neo-liberalism; at the same time, it compensates by providing access to adequate training, investing in education at an early stage, changing the pattern of social spending and direct it towards the most vulnerable categories like lone parents.
The SI developed in social citizenship regimes relying on knowledge-based and service economy aims to increase social inclusion and limit the intergenerational transmission of poverty while ensuring that individuals and family are well-prepared for labour market challenges (Janson 2012, De Deken 2012).
This conception of the welfare state rhymes well with the activation turn. Once provided with the opportunity to re-enter the labour market either via job-search support or up-skilling, individuals are supposed to actively contribute to the reduction of welfare expenditure, increase productivity and they are expected to achieve social inclusion by participating in the labour market. Because the labour market can go back on its promise of social inclusion - e.g. working poor -, the SI restates the motto 'make work pay'. It supports the idea that jobless period should be temporary steps towards labour market integration and not poverty-trap (Janson 2012, De Deken 2012).
Bonoli declares that active labour market policies aiming at putting unemployed back in the labour market in unsubsidised market employment (strong pro-employment orientation) and at the same time investing in job-related vocational training (strong investment in human capital) are the best example of ALMPs complying with the premises of the SI welfare state. These policies belong to "up-skilling" category. Bonoli recognises that also "employment assistance" policies can be considered as part of the SI agenda as they tackle the obstacles to employment while to not forcing directly into work – even underpaid or under-skilled – as it could be the case for the "incentive reinforcement" policies (2012).

Therefore, the SI investment framework advocates for ALMPs policies that go beyond the dichotomy Work-First vs. Human Capital Development by supporting a wider range of social investment (e.g. from education to family policies). Moreover, the SI's take on active labour market policies calls for a central role of the State in ensuring that unemployed have the right instruments, like for example access to training, for becoming actively responsible for their full participation in the labour market. Besides, individual participation in the labour market does not only contribute to the overall goal of expanding the workforce employed but also create, based on individual achievement, social inclusion and solidarity.

Reconciling flexibility and security

Inspired by the national examples of the Netherlands and Denmark, the flexicurity was developed and promoted by a group of scholars (Wilthagen 1998; Schmid 1998).
In an intense exchange between policy-makers that took place in the early 2000s, the concept of flexicurity has been picked up at the European level (European Commission 2007).
Flexicurity has been defined by the European Commission as an 'integrated strategy to enhance, at the same time, flexibility and security in the labour market' (European Commission 2007). It is expected to bring along a multitude of economic and social benefits, including enhanced productivity, smoother transitions within the labour market and improved social inclusion (Heyes 2011).

Although the concept is not clearly defined and leaves an important marge of interpretation at the national level, it builds on four main pillars: flexible and reliable work contractual arrangements that benefits both the insiders and the outsiders; comprehensive lifelong learning strategies; effective active labour market policies; modern social security systems[139]. Common principles agreed by social partners and academics and the national governments complement these pillars and they relate in particular to the "reduction of segmentation in the labour market, the need for a climate of trust with the social partners, and the search for a balance between the rights and responsibilities of employers, workers and jobseekers and the authorities" (European Commission 2008).

The marriage between flexibility and security has not always worked and the social side of the concept has been more often scarified.
This is also due by the fact that security side of the equation is often less likely to be in a strong negotiation power (e.g. trade unions mostly representing insiders and the already employed; trade unions with low negotiating power namely in liberal industrial relation regimes, etc.). Further, expenses on social protection are more easily reduced claiming that individual responsibility should increasingly make up for individual risks.

In addition to the fact that national policies have tended to favour flexibility instead of flexicurity, recent research has revealed that, in times of crisis, those systems that favoured a more stringent employment protection instead that a highly flexibilisation of the workforce, have been better able to counteract the effects of the crisis (Heyes 2011)

It is important to note that flexicurity and the TLM are born from the same community of scholars and the Danish case is for instance presented as both an example of TLM and flexicurity; thus underlying that these concepts overlap (Larsen 2005).

[139] http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=102 visited on 16th January 2016

However, Leschke et al (2007) also make clear that the nexus between flexibility and security can entail important trade-off or vicious cycles if the nexus is not understood with the dynamic perspective of the TLM where institutions aim to reduce the risks during transitions of the life-course.
This is an important difference between the TLM and the flexicurity agenda involving changes in ALMPs.

Is the TLM/CA approach different? Differences and similarities

The perspective of SI and *flexicurity* on ALMPs might invalidate the taxonomy presented in Chapter 3 as they go beyond the dichotomous distinction between WF and HC, suggesting new approaches.
Moreover, the ALMPs proposed by the SI and the flexicurity arrangements share some important features with the ideal-type I proposed.

The logics of the SI is close to the idea of TLM as both approaches aim, as their ultimate goal, at the enlargement of the workforce and a higher participation in the labour market.
Secondly, TLM and CA share with the SI the perspective on the central role of the state in providing the right opportunities for avoiding new social risk. At the same time the TLM also has in common with the *flexicurity* approach a cooperative network of actors (e.g. social partners) and complementing institutions (social security and labour market regulations).
Thirdly, the strong accent on the investment in education and training is also very much close to the viewpoint of the TLM (see section in Chapter 2), similarly for the accent on employment assistance services (e.g. placement, job search, counselling).
Further, the types of investments advocated by the SI are very much in line with a life-course perspective brought forward by the TLM.

Nonetheless, there are important elements of the SI's and *flexicurity* approach to ALMPs that are not in line with the proposed CA and TLM -informed ideal-type of active labour market policy.

The SI has a very limited functional interpretation of the role of ALMPs as means towards and an increased participation of the workforce in the labour market, growth and productivity (Morel et al 2012). Social policies are entitled to "exist" insofar as they are productive and answer to economic principle. This is not in line with the values of the CA-TLM I previously described.

Further, as argued by Bonvin et al (2011) the flexicurity approach imposes strong prescriptive take on transitions and defines that each transitions towards the labour market is good; thus discrediting any other alternative individual choice.
On the contrary the CA broadens the aim of policies by aiming at enlarged individual freedoms, where individuals are able to become what they value (Bonvin et al 2011). The combination of the CA and TLM frees the conception of social inclusion from its economic dimension.

Another difference is the strong emphasis of the SI on the active involvement of the individual in shaping her own human capital investment. This point of view seems to narrow down the role of the welfare state to the expansion and enhancement of the workforce in order to reduce the weight of the aging population in the long run (De Deken 2012). Even if this more economic-driven objective goes hand in hand with a social citizen approach, the latter is made by transforming needy citizens into active and capable of facing risks and considering the labour

market as the best way of ensuring social inclusion in the short and the long run. This can only be possible if the motto 'making work pay' is actually implemented (Janson, 2012; Morel et al 2012). However, this motto is a slippery slope as it has been proved to be much easier to reduce benefits rather than raise jobs quality. In addition, the fact that inequality and poverty are always understood as economic inequality makes the reasoning biased and the solution proposed not accounting for individual choices, resources and barriers.
There is a focus on individuals, but understood as a uniform mass.

The TLM approach goes farther than "making work pay" by stressing that transitions should not be overlooked, because in transitions individuals are exposed to loss of income, de-skilling, social and labour market disconnection. The TLM, with its motto 'Making Transitions Pay', suggests a longer term commitment in favour of the development of individual autonomy and employability. On the contrary, the SI seems to adopt a less dynamic approach to the labour market participation.

Another difference is the strong emphasis on individual barriers to labour market participation. The need of finding which are the individual obstacles to integrate the labour market - so as individuals themselves can be as find the better solutions for overcoming them - overlooks the fact that even if in similar situations persons are not always able to make use of the same tools as they might lack the factors of conversion needed. This is further confirmed by the fact that the SI conceived ALMPs as based on the principle of 'equal opportunities' (Morel et al 2012; Janson 2012). This approach has been challenged by the CA, which advocates for an "equality of capability" as giving similar opportunities neglects the role played by the factors of conversion, be they institutional (e.g. actually enjoyable rights), social (e.g. absence of discrimination in hiring practices) or environmental (e.g. accessibility to training in remote area) (Robeyns 2005).

The individual heterogeneity seems overlooked by the institutional arrangements for ALMPs advocated by the SI and flexicurity, which tend to leave the individual most of the responsibility for finding remedies to her personal barriers.

For all these reasons I think that the TLM and CA together provide a good and viable alternative to SI and flexibility. It promotes a genuine and empowering individualisation of ALMPs which does not forget the demand-side and does not function as window-dressing for hiding a shift of responsibility towards individuals that – if they are entitled to benefits – are temporarily the weakest group in the labour market.

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Legislations

Loi du 17 septembre 2005 portant assentiment à l'accord de coopération du 30 avril 2004 entre l'Etat fédéral, les régions et les communautés relatifs à l'accompagnement et au suivi actifs des chômeurs, *M.B.*, 25 juillet 2007

Déclaration gouvernementale 2004
Déclaration gouvernementale 2005
Déclaration gouvernementale 2006
Déclaration gouvernementale 2007
Déclaration gouvernementale 2008

Déclaration de politique générale, Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, 2004

Contrat pour l'Economie et l'Emploi, Région de Bruxelles –Capitale, 2005

Accord de coopération entre l'Etat fédéral, les régions et les communautés relatifs à l'accompagnement et au suivi actifs des chômeurs, 2004

La fonction du conseiller polyvalent, Actiris 2007 (internal document)

La procédure d'objectivation, Actiris 2011, (internal document)

Rapport trimestriel, Antenne d'Actiris, 2013 (internal document)

Project Individuel d'Intégration Sociale – volet social (Big CAPS internal document)

Project Individuel d'Intégration Sociale – volet études (Big CAPS internal document).

Methodological Annex

Optimal matching analysis

Explaining methodological choices and their consequences

As explained mentioned in other parts of the thesis, costs are the most theoretical part of optimal matching as it implies a substantial choice by the researcher (Pollock et al 2002). Costs can be defined by the researcher based on theoretical assumptions, on state attributes or data-driven (Studer and Ritschard 2014). The relative cost of operations is very important and widely discussed procedure (Aisenbrey and Fasang 2010; Halpin 2010; Lesnard 2010; Studer and Ritschard 2015). Cost-setting can follow different logics and, as a result, also emphasise some aspects of dissimilarity rather than others.

In my analysis substitution costs were set based on observed transition probabilities between states (Rhower and Pötter 2005). This implied that if the probability of making the transition between two states is higher (i.e. it happens more often) then the cost will be lower as the two states are considered as similar. The reverse is true: when the transition probabilities are lower, the states are considered are less similar and the cost of substituting one with the other is then higher.

More precisely, the substitution costs between two positions in the labour market were defined as:

$$w(a_i, b_j) = \begin{cases} 2 - p(a_i, b_j) - p(b_j, a_i) & \text{if} \quad a_i \neq b_j \\ 0 \quad \text{if} \quad a_i = b_j \end{cases}$$

Source: Rhower and Pötter (2005)

Where the substitution cost $w(a_i, b_j)$ of substituting state a_i with b_i, or vice versa, lays between 0 and 2 and reflects the cumulated transitions across states. The cost is zero when a_i is equal to b_i.

The matrix of the substitution costs based on the transition rates used to run OMA reflects what argued in Studer and Ritschard (2015): the costs are very close, but slightly lower than 2. In my case all the sequences are of the same length this means that for making any change in one sequence to make it similar to another, two operations – either a deletion plus an insertion or a substitution – will be necessary.

Table 41 Matrix of substitution costs

	c1	c2	c3	c4	c5	c6	c7
r1	0						
r2	1.953	0					
r3	1.996	1.998	0				
r4	1.992	1.986	1.997	0			
r5	1.997	1.995	1.999	1.996	0		
r6	1.967	1.966	1.997	1.995	1.991	0	
r7	1.990	1.990	1.999	1.999	1.994	1.998	0

Source: data from BCSS, own calculations

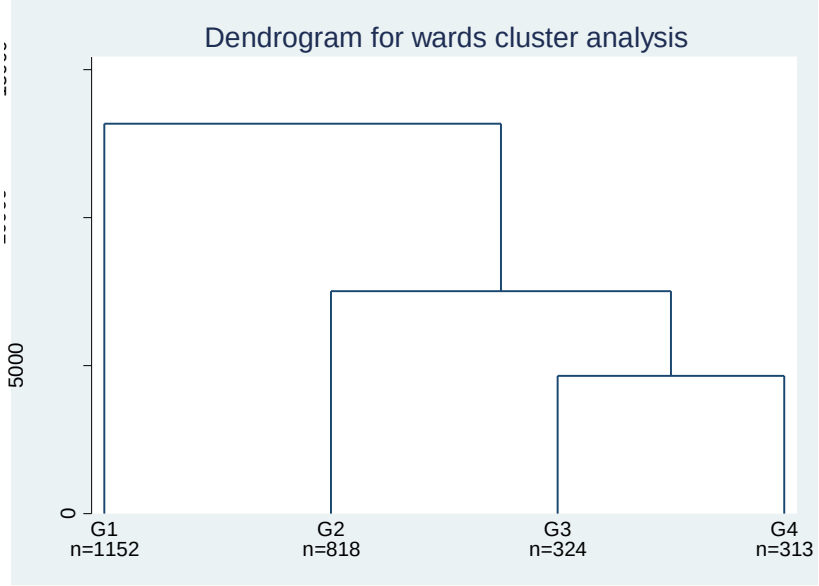
What typologies of trajectories: the use of cluster analysis

There are several methods for simplifying the complexity of the results obtained by OMA. Always based on dissimilarity researchers have a used multidimensional scaling, self-organising maps, or ANOVA-like analyses or by looking non-redundant typical patterns with the densest neighbourhoods (see Studer and Ritschard 2014).
Cluster analysis is the most common statistical analysis used to interpret Optimal Matching results. Based on the dissimilarity matrix, cluster analysis identifies groups of sequences that are more similar and while maximising the differences with other clusters.
I used a widely used hierarchical clustering known as Ward's method. This clustering technique merges those objects (i.e. sequences) which increase the overall within-cluster variance to least possible degree (Sarstedt and Mooi 2014). The quality of the clusters is measured by the Average Silhouette Width. This test looks at the coherence of the assignment of an observation to a given cluster, comparing the average weighted distance of an observation from the other members of its cluster and its average weighted distance from the closest group (Studer 2013). The average silhouette is considered when establishing the quality of the partioning.

The Ward's clustering is a hierarchical agglomerative based on the minimisation of the within-cluster variance. In the dissimilarity matrix, 2607 out of 3000 individual trajectories – i.e. 2607 sequences of 24 positions in the labour market corresponding to the labour market trajectories of young people – were compared to each other in order to measure how different they are from each other[140].
The tree below has four leaves identifying four clusters and the number of unique trajectories in each cluster. The arrangement of clades tells which clusters (leaves) are more similar to each other and the height of the branch is an indication of the degree of similarity they show from each other. The biggest cluster – which will be called Smooth cluster - on the left-hand side of the graph is the most dissimilar from the other half. The height of the second leaf including 818 sequences tells that this is more similar to the first big cluster compared to the smallest leaves on the right hand of the tree.

[140] Not all the 3000 sequences were compared as only 2607 were different from each other.

Figure 25: Dendrogram for ward's cluster analysis



Source: BCSS own calculations

It is important to recall, however, that one should not over-rely on the cluster because it is just one of many ways data can be treated and grouped. Studer highlights that clustering is a simplification of the data which can become unjustified and not grasping the reality and the heterogeneity of sequences brought together in a same cluster (Studer 2013).

Implications of the methods chosen and robustness checks

Some caveats

Although being a widely used technique (Pollock et al 2002; Scherer 2001; Rhower and Pötter 2005) it is not without problems. In fact, if on the one hand it is arguable that costs based on transition probabilities grasp the 'difficulty' or 'unusualness' of a certain transition on the other hand the concept of a difficult transitions lays on the frequency of that particular transition. This is not always in line with common sense or with the aim of the analysis (Martin et al 2008).
For instance, one of the drawback in my analysis is that the substitution cost indicating the cost of transforming employment to unemployment is slightly lower than the others (1.95). This means that employment will be more easily substitute with unemployment rather than "employment top-ups" as the first is considered more similar as the probability of transitions between employment and unemployment are much higher than between employment and employment with top-ups.
Although it makes less sense in terms of substitution costs, this consistency is easily explained by looking at policies. It is not possible to switch from employment to employment with top-up because the latest is usually provided to young people who have been unemployed, have low educational attainment and are more less likely to find a job. This means that the transitions rate that come up from the data are lower between employment and employment with top-up, hence the substitution costs higher than for other positions in the labour market.

To test whether the costs obtained based on transition probabilities are plausible, I tried to run the same type of analysis with costs inspired by transition probabilities but adapted to fit better the criteria of the higher the cost the most dissimilar the states. I run OMA with another set of substitution costs that I imposed theoretically.

The matrix below shows the costs I assigned to substitution.

Table 42: Theory-based substitution costs matrix

	Em	Un	Stage	Edu	SA	Other	Employment with Top-up
Employment	0	2	2	1.7	2	1.7	1.5
Unemployment		0	1.5	2	1.7	1.7	2
Stage d'attente			0	2	1.7	1.7	2
Education				0	2	1.7	1.7
Social assistance					0	1.7	2
Other						0	1.7
Employment with top-up							0

Source: own elaboration

I considered unemployment and stage d'attente and social assistance as similar, so making a transitions from employment to one of these positions is costly (2). Employment, employment with top-up and education are more similar between them so the substitution costs is lower. Because "other" is undefined and it can be both a bad and good position and it often present as a transition, I used a same cost across all possible combinations.

The results of cluster analysis, always run with Ward's hierarchical linkage, conducted on the dissimilarity matrix which resulted from this new OMA analysis is not different from the analysis presented in the chapter (measures of association between the two categorical variables representing the two partitions is statistically significant). The table below shows the measure of association between the two groupings (Rows for the analysis on the chapter based costs derived from transition probabilities; Columns indicating the partitioning obtained on the OMA analysis with a self-identified matrix of substitution costs)

Table 43: Comparing partitions Applied to OMA with different Substitution costs

		4 Clusters with theoretically-set costs				
		Pseudo-Smooth	Pseudo-Other	Pseudo-Trap	Pseudo-Failure	Total
4 Clusters with costs based on transition probabilities	Smooth	1,229	89	6	89	1,413
	Failure	71	8	25	769	873
	Other	2	333	21	14	370
	Trap	4	0	340	0	344
	Total	1,306	430	392	872	3,000

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

I can conclude that, independently by the substitution costs used, my results seem robust.

Heterogeneity of the clusters

The number of clusters was determined by looking at the indicator Average Silhouette Width ASW), which is a measure of the quality of the partition. It provides an indication of the quality of the number of clusters selected. The ASW varies between -1 and 1 and the highest the value, the highest the within cluster coherence and a strong homogeneity (Studer 2013).

The AWS tests on different number of clusters created by the previous technique shows that the solution with 4 clusters optimises the homogeneity within clusters[141]. The choice of the four clusters was not only based on this indicator of quality of the partioning but also on what these clusters actually represent and if they made sense.

The table below reports the different measures of the AWS for different number of clusters. The highest number is 0.37 which means that compared to the other solutions, the 4 clusters better capture the different types of sequences.

Table 44: Average Silhouette Width for different numbers of clusters

Number of clusters	*AWS*	*AWSw*
8	0.24472253	0.2466634
7	0.2493372	0.2510160
6	0.2463868	0.2477593
5	0.32460018	0.3256844
4	0.37006628	0.370893
3	0.3420689	0.3427250

Source: BCSS own calculations. AWSw is the weighted option which corrects for representativeness bias

However, the threshold according to which the partition can be considered good and not an artefact changes according to authors: Studer (2013) reports that a "reasonable structure should have an AWS between $0.51 - 0.70$. While Sarstedt and Mooi (2014) argue that values for AWS between 30 and 50 are to be considered as good results.

There is another limitation of cluster analysis. Although it allows the researcher to create categories that are easier to describe and interpret, cluster analysis hides the heterogeneity within the clusters when the crude membership to a cluster is used as a dependent or independent variable.
Quality tests reveal that the part of the total discrepancy that remains *unexplained* is quite high for the 4-cluster solution (1-R2= 65%) (Studer et al 2011).
Moreover, when it is compared with the total discrepancy (14.9), the level the dispersion across sequences within each of the four clusters remains high (see Table 45).

Table 45: Within-cluster dispersion across sequence

Smooth	Failure	Other	Trap
8.71	10.77	9.53	10.96

Source: data from BCSS, run by Prof. Ritschard

[141] I'm grateful to Prof. Gilbert Ritschard who helped me with these calculations.

Multicollinearity in the multinomial logistic regression

One of the most common problems that one finds in running regression analysis is multicollinearity. Multicollinearity implies that independent variables are not orthogonal and do not completely represent different aspects, but they most often overlap meaning that they partially measure the same thing. Multicollinearity becomes a problem when it inflates the coefficients and makes the results instable[142].

Table 46: VIF values for independent variables used as predictors in multinomial logistic regression

Independent variable	SQRT VIF	R-VIF	Tolerance	Squared
No eu	1.38	1.18	0.7237	0.2763
Eu	1.17	1.08	0.8543	0.1457
Eu-be	1.53	1.24	0.6552	0.3448
No eu-be	1.07	1.03	0.9373	0.0627
With single parent	1.40	1.18	0.7143	0.2857
With parents	1.58	1.26	0.6322	0.3678
Parternership w ch	1.34	1.16	0.7436	0.2564
Parternership w/o ch	1.30	1.14	0.7716	0.2284
Single parent	1.16	1.08	0.8591	0.1409
Other	1.15	1.07	0.8708	0.1292
Middle	1.13	1.06	0.8823	0.1177
Wealthy	1.22	1.10	0.8201	0.1799
Low	1.67	1.29	0.5981	0.4019
Medium	1.50	1.23	0.6652	0.3348
High	1.30	1.14	0.7717	0.2283
20-21	2.19	1.48	0.4573	0.5427
22-23	2.63	1.62	0.3807	0.6193
24-25	2.89	1.70	0.3461	0.6539
26-27	3.02	1.74	0.3314	0.6686
28-29	2.83	1.68	0.3528	0.6472
Mean VIF	1.67			

I tested whether this correlation inflate the results of my regression by first transforming all the categorical variables into dummies so that they can be treated a continuous.
I used the VIF (variance inflation factor) in order to check whether the model estimates of the coefficients were made unstable and the standard errors for the coefficients too inflated by collinearity.
The results from VIF show that multicollinearity across independent variables is not a problem and it does not inflate my coefficients as the VIF for all the variables are much lower than 10 (Table 46)

How positions in the labour market were constructed

This section explains how labour market positions were constructed and what has been prioritized.

[142] Stata Web Books Regression with Stata Chapter 2 - Regression Diagnostics. UCLA: Statistical Consulting Group. from http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/sas/notes2/ (accessed 5 February, 2016)

The definition of statuses in the labour market can be tricky as individuals can cumulate different positions.
Cumulative labour market positions were treated following by combining two criteria: using the most reliable data and comply as much as possible with the theoretical underpinnings informing my analysis.

The most reliable data are those variables which are linked to payments (i.e. social assistance allowances, social contributions, family allowances, unemployment benefits). If any inconsistency across payment data persisted, I stuck to the "nomenclature" variable as the final data base was on a quarterly basis and this with the aim of ensuring consistency.
Choosing the variable 'nomenclature', built by the Banque Carrefour, is not without implications.

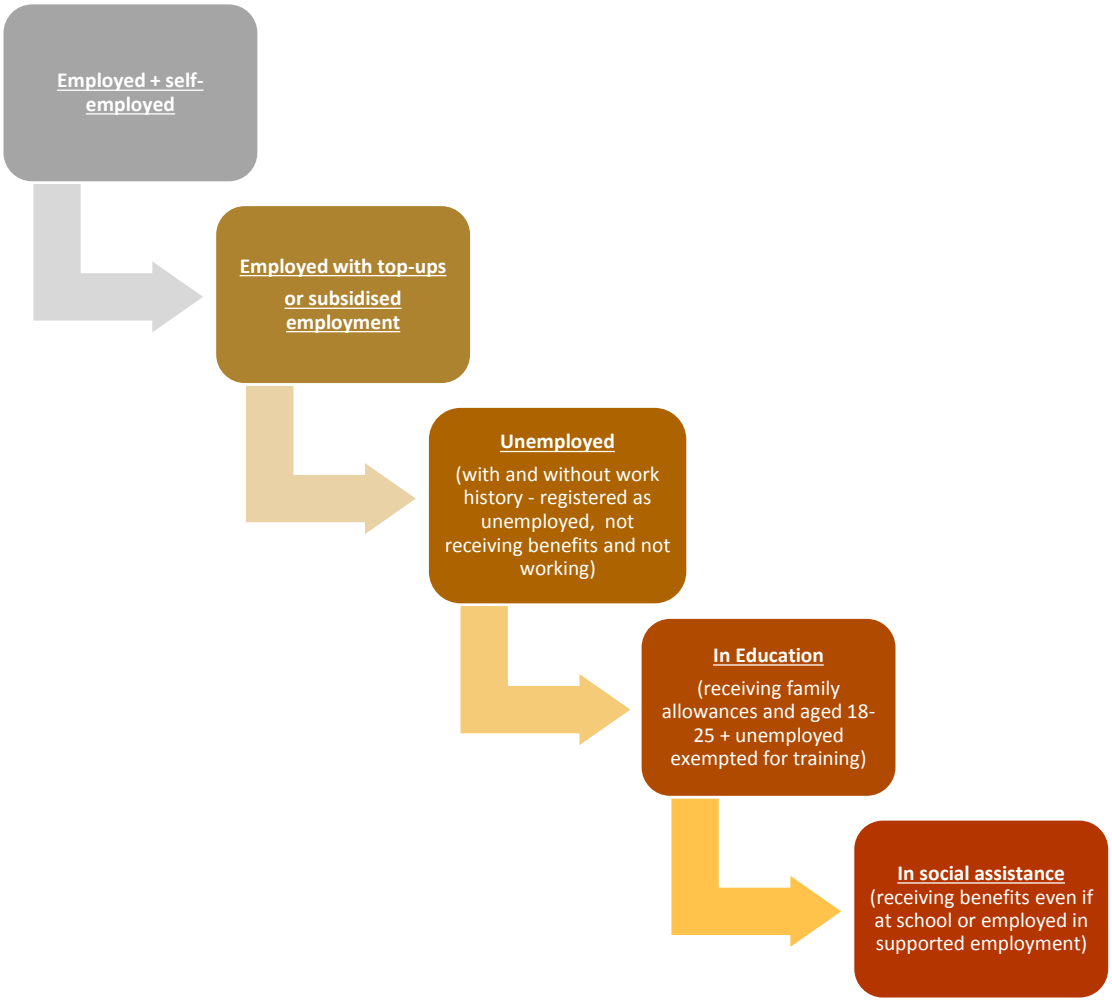
The variable was constructed in a way that if the person has multiple positions on the last day of the quarter, this variable only reports the position that is closer to the labour market. A set of dummy variables associated to it indicates whether a person is cumulating different positions in the labour market. For instance, if a person works part-time but also receives top-up because she decided to exit unemployment for a lower pay, then this person is recorded as being employed and a dummy variable will indicate the top-ups. Another example refers to young social assistance recipients in supported employment or receiving an activation measures: they are considered being in employment although they are highly dependent from the social assistance system (see article 60, explained in the CPAS event history section and see Chapter 5).

This can lead to an over-representation of young people in the labour market; that is why I decided to redefine the labour market positions suggested by using additional derived variables from other institutions (e.g. PES and social assistance). I combined information in order to provide a more complete overview of the institutional intervention in defining trajectories.

The steps and decisions taken

The figure below exemplifies the subsequent steps used for defining the labour market position.

Figure 26: Hierarchical definition of positions



Source: own elaboration

First, I identified those young people employed. Being *employed* includes having a single or multiple job(s), being employee with a self-employed legal status but whose main activity is the dependent job. Using the complementary dummy variables provided by the BCSS, I excluded those people who were employed but also receiving any type of financial support – like salary top-ups – are not included.
Similarly, for the category *self-employed* all self-employed individuals receiving financial support are not counted in. Self-employed are included as well, although they might be considered as more vulnerable in the labour market than employees particularly at an early stage.
Young people employed with top-ups were included in another category as they are considered as being in transitions from the secondary labour market and the primary labour market and still helped by labour market institutions.

Second, I identified young people unemployed. Being *unemployed* includes all individuals receiving unemployment benefits and those unemployed receiving a top-up from social assistance (because their unemployment benefits are not enough). The category does not include young people who are registered as unemployed but are still

not receiving their unemployment benefits because they are in the *stage d'attente* (waiting period). I also excluded from this category those unemployed who are exempted from searching for a job because of training reasons. I also distinguished between being unemployed with or without work experience (i.e. *unemployed after their studies*). However, the final labour market position variable used for the OMA puts together the unemployment and unemployment after studies, the latter being the bigger share.

Thirdly, I identified those young people who are *stage d'attente*[143] Being in *stage d'attente* is not reported in the quarterly variable NOMENC and it is considered as a second order labour market position and because the information does not come from a payment agency but from the PES. Young people were considered in *stage d'attente* if they were identified in that position by the PES variable "type of unemployed". Hence, I had to identify them by cross-tabulating "receiving family allowances" or being in the "other" position but being registered as in *stage d'attente* at the PES. In fact, young people who are in *stage d'attente* can receive family allowances if they are under 25. Moreover, if the person does not receive any social security benefit on the last day of the month, she will be coded as "other". I also relied on the PES variable indicating the type of job-seekers (unemployed, unemployed after part-time or full-time, job-seeker attending training, etc.) for reducing the amount of young people in the "other" position – which is quite big.
Moreover, the position *stage d'attente* can come after unemployment or employment. This is a case of "partial reversibility" of transitions. It was considered as relevant because it represents a transition moment for students and it has been thought are "waiting period" were school leavers are supposed to active themselves in order to find a job before they are entitled to unemployment benefits.

As a fourth step, I identified young people in education but it was not straightforward to identify. School and labour market databases are not connected, thus it is not possible to identify those who are still at school. Based on the legislation on family allowances, I identified young people at school if they receive family allowances and are aged under 25. In the category education I also include young unemployed who are not supposed to look for a job, but are attending training ("*dispense de formation*"). Those who were in education but receiving social assistance benefits were not considered as students, but in social assistance (see part on Event History analysis).

The fifth step consisted in identifying young people in social assistance. Those young people receiving welfare support are coded in the category *social assistance*. This includes both social assistance for Belgian and non-Belgian recipients, those employed in supported employment by the social assistance and young people both in education but also in social assistance.

Finally It is also important to note that the decisions made to define positions in the labour market have an important impact on the results. Labour market positions are the

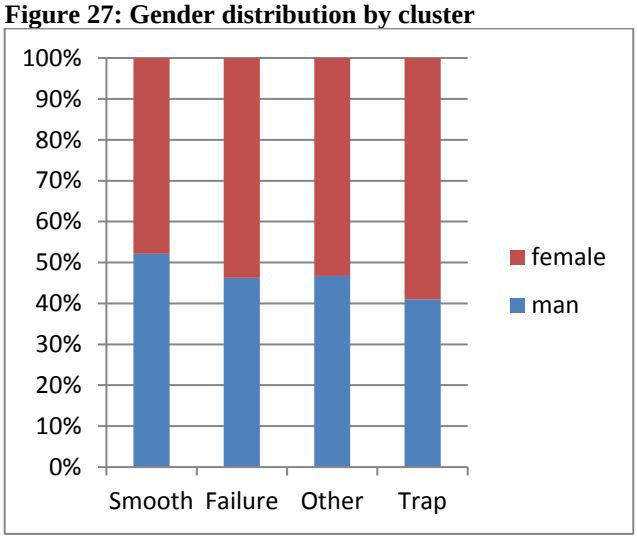
[143] In 2005, and until 2012, the stage d'attente is a waiting period that extends from the registration at the PES right after the end of education (compulsory education or higher education) until the reception of allocations d'attente (the equivalent of unemployment benefits for young people who have not worked before). Before 2012, the stage d'attente – now renamed *stage d'insertion professionelle* with the aim of stressing the activation goal – lasted from 6 to 12 months depending on the age and educational attainment. Starting from 2012, the stage d'attente is of 12 months for any category of young person. Since data refer to2005 and 2010 when modifications were not approved yet, the old names will be used.

'raw ingredients' used to run the optimal matching analysis which is the first fundamental analysis done in this chapter. For instance, I decided to categorise as social assistance beneficiaries those young people who are in full-time education but are also receiving social benefits. This means that the vulnerability of the last cluster can be for some just temporary as they are in the process of acquiring new skills.
An alternative option would have been to label this state as being in (not-supported) education but this choice would have overlooked the well-known situation of financial distress in which young people in social assistance are surely living. A similar choice was made for being in supported employment which was not associated with being employed with employment top-ups. This choice was also due to guarantee the coherence of the analysis across the empirical Chapters.

Who is the cluster? The distribution of the socio-economic features of the clusters

The graphs below report the distribution of observations by clusters of trajectories (Smooth, Failure, Other, Trap) identified after running the Optimal Matching Analysis on the labour market position.

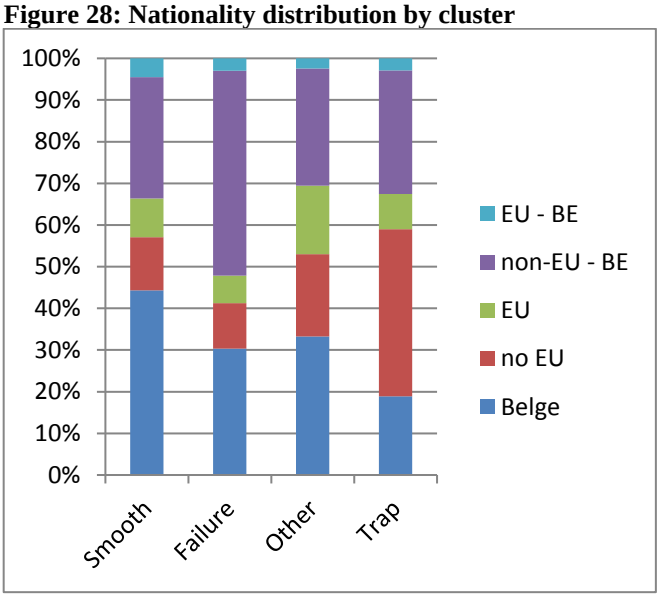
Figure 27: Gender distribution by cluster



Source: BCSS, own calculations

There is a similar distribution of young women and men across the less disadvantaged clusters, but a higher percentage of young women in the Failure and Trap clusters.

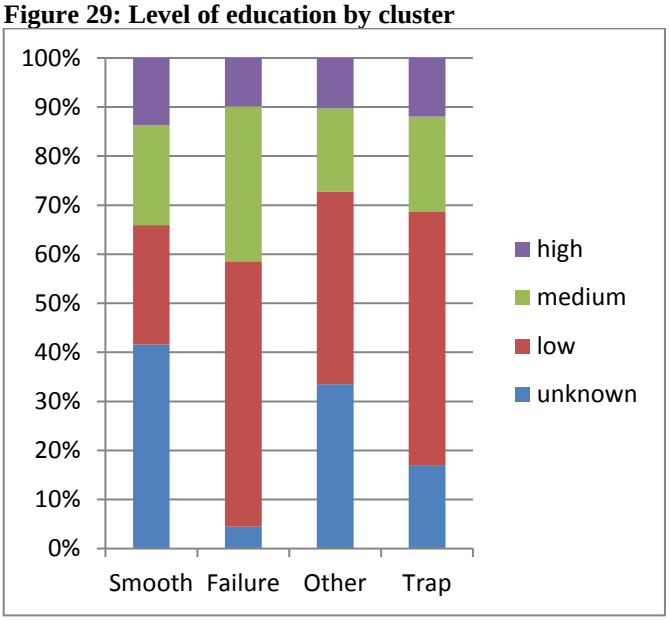
Figure 28: Nationality distribution by cluster



Source: BCSS, own calculations

Young natives represent more than 40% in the Smooth cluster while less than 20% of the Trap cluster. The share of natives but with a non-European background is strongly represented in the Failure cluster.

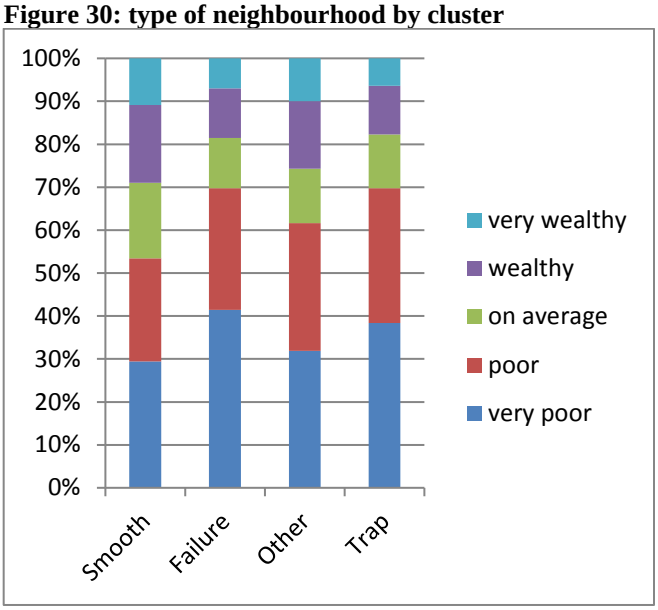
Figure 29: Level of education by cluster



Source: BCSS, own calculations

The unknown category is mostly represented in the Smooth cluster. This is probably due to the fact that a share of those young people never received unemployment benefits and, as a consequence, the information on their level of education is missing. The high share of young people of low education in the Failure cluster highlights the role of educational attainment in predicting trajectories.

Figure 30: type of neighbourhood by cluster



Source: BCSS, own calculations

The distribution across the types of neighbourhood is pretty similar across groups; however young people living in very poor neighbourhoods are more likely to be in the The Figure below shows the relationships across individuals in the sample. The dendogram of cluster analysis performed with hierarchical Ward's linkage method was performed on the dissimilarity matrix produced by the optimal matching algorithm.

Transitions matrices including the whole population

These transition matrices were run for a robustness check. The *integrative capacity* of each cluster remains very similar to the one presented in the chapter.

Table 47: Transition matrices for the whole observation period by cluster and including all the population

Smooth	Employment	Unemployment	Stage d'attente	Education	Social assistance	Other	Employment with top-up	Total
Employment	91.89	3.53	0.18	0.51	0.11	3.22	0.56	100
Unemployment	23.26	66.03	0.02	2.94	0.29	5.76	1.7	100
Stage d'attente	34.92	10.48	40.95	3.17	0.95	9.21	0.32	100
Education	17.83	7.49	4.65	61.42	1.25	6.73	0.62	100
Social assistance	8.18	5.11	0.44	1.75	65.11	5.99	13.43	100
Other	26.98	11.98	2.04	0.92	1.73	55.89	0.48	100
Employment with top-up	29.25	7.07	0.14	0.54	5.99	2.18	54.83	100
Total	70.3	12.56	0.93	3.61	1.84	8.56	2.2	100

Failure	Employment	Unemployment	Stage d'attente	Education	Social assistance	Other	Employment with top-up	Total

Employment	60.83	26.07	0.41	1.81	0.21	6.55	4.12	100
Unemployment	4.89	85.62	0	2.52	0.42	4.17	2.37	100
Stage d'attente	8.26	21.49	55.37	7.85	1.65	5.37	0	100
Education	3.76	14.99	3.38	72.98	0.71	3.33	0.86	100
Social assistance	2.14	28.93	0.71	6.07	52.86	3.57	5.71	100
Other	8.38	44.3	1.16	3.96	1.47	38.4	2.33	100
Employment with top-up	9.44	11.27	0	0.19	0.44	2.47	76.19	100
Total	12.12	60.96	1.16	9.84	1.24	6.44	8.24	100

Other	Employment	Unemployment	Stage d'attente	Education	Social assistance	Other	Employment with top-up	Total
Employment	59.92	13.45	0.68	1.77	0.27	23.1	0.82	100
Unemployment	4.32	71.82	0	1.38	1.06	20.73	0.69	100
Stage d'attente	12.5	11.61	54.46	0.89	0.89	19.64	0	100
Education	6.72	12.61	5.04	56.3	2.52	16.81	0	100
Social assistance	1.9	5.71	0.24	2.14	74.05	14.76	1.19	100
Other	2.86	4.19	0.52	0.21	1.25	90.84	0.13	100
Employment with top-up	15.52	10.34	0	0	12.07	17.24	44.83	100
Total	8.34	18.13	1.26	2.23	4.83	64.56	0.65	100

Trap	Employment	Unemployment	Stage d'attente	Education	Social assistance	Other	Employment with top-up	Total
Employment	73.62	7.07	0.52	1.9	2.76	12.07	2.07	100
Unemployment	5.93	76.6	0.15	2.13	4.56	7.29	3.34	100
Stage d'attente	12.31	13.85	40	3.08	18.46	12.31	0	100
Education	2.36	3.07	2.83	64.86	20.05	5.66	1.18	100
Social assistance	1.08	1.87	0.19	1.06	89.66	3.2	2.93	100
Other	5.92	5.62	1.1	1.61	20.78	64.06	0.9	100
Employment with top-up	11.78	3.93	0.52	0.26	26.7	3.14	53.66	100
Total	8.09	9.2	0.81	4.68	60.19	12.06	4.98	100

Source: BCSS own calculations

The transition matrices below also report the transition probabilities of young people who entered stage d'attente in September 2006 (94 individuals). The transition probabilities are calculated until September 2007 and they tell the transitions probability from stage d'attente to any other position in the following quarter. Transitions from stage d'attente to employment with top-ups are not possible because employment with top-ups often require a period of unemployment with benefits to be eligible.

Table 48: Transition probabilities matrices for young people in stage d'attente (September 2006 and September 2007)

Cluster		Employment	Unemployment	Stage d'attente	Education	Social assistance	Other	Employment with top-up
Smooth	Stage d'attente	**41.91**	**7.35**	37.5	2.94	0.74	9.56	0
Failure	Stage d'attente	10.89	**18.81**	**57.43**	5.94	1.98	4.95	0
Other	Stage d'attente	13.04	13.04	52.17	0	0	21.74	0
Trap	Stage d'attente	**15.38**	7.69	**38.46**	0	**15.38**	23.08	0

Source: BCSS own calculations

Transition matrices presented below show the transition rates in two selected points in time (March 2005 – March 2006).

Table 49: Transition matrices between two points in time - March 2005 and March 2006

Trap	Employment	Unemployment	Stage d'attente	Education	Social assistance	Other	Empl. with top-up	Total
Employment	33.33	0	0	0	50	16.67	0	100
Unemployment	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	100
Stage d'attente	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	100
Education	0	0	4.84	33.87	59.68	1.61	0	100
Social assistance	0	1.23	0	1.23	90.8	4.91	1.84	100
Other	3.12	2.08	1.04	0	53.12	38.54	2.08	100
Employment with top-up	0	0	0	0	71.43	14.29	14.29	100
Total	2.03	1.16	1.16	6.69	72.97	14.24	1.74	100

Other	Employment	Unemployment	Stage d'attente	Education	Social assistance	Other	Empl. with top-up	Total
Employment	53.85	17.31	1.92	3.85	1.92	21.15	0	100
Unemployment	8.24	62.35	0	4.71	1.18	22.35	1.18	100
Stage d'attente	20	40	0	0	0	40	0	100
Education	24.49	20.41	10.2	22.45	4.08	18.37	0	100
Social assistance	6.25	21.88	0	6.25	37.5	28.12	0	100
Other	10.56	14.08	7.04	0	6.34	61.97	0	100
Employment with top-up	0	20	0	0	20	40	20	100
Total	17.57	27.57	4.32	5.14	7.03	37.84	0.54	100

Failure	Employment	Unemployment	Stage d'attente	Education	Social assistance	Other	Empl. with top-up	Total
Employment	33.79	48.97	2.07	4.83	0	5.52	4.83	100
Unemployment	9.93	73.2	0	5.96	0.25	3.72	6.95	100
Stage d'attente	10	90	0	0	0	0	0	100
Education	10.33	19.57	11.41	46.74	3.26	7.61	1.09	100
Social assistance	5.41	45.95	0	2.7	27.03	5.41	13.51	100
Other	8.7	39.13	5.8	10.14	1.45	28.99	5.8	100
Employment with top-up	12	60	0	0	4	4	20	100
Total	13.75	53.84	3.21	14.32	2.18	6.87	5.84	100

Smooth	Employment	Unemployment	Stage d'attente	Education	Social assistance	Other	Empl. with top-up	Total
Employment	72.73	12.53	0.2	4.04	0.81	7.27	2.42	100
Unemployment	33.18	47.27	0	5.45	0.45	4.55	9.09	100
Stage d'attente	26.67	46.67	0	13.33	6.67	6.67	0	100
Education	39.65	5.96	5.61	28.07	4.21	15.44	1.05	100
Social assistance	15.56	6.67	0	4.44	58.89	7.78	6.67	100
Other	43.14	8.63	6.27	1.18	3.14	35.69	1.96	100
Employment with top-up	39.62	13.21	0	3.77	5.66	3.77	33.96	100
Total	49.19	15.92	2.34	8.7	5.8	13.52	4.53	100

Source: own elaboration on data from BCSS.

The number of cases in very low in some of the groups – particularly in those clusters counting fewer observations meaning that some percentages can be high but they actually affect only a small minority. However, it is clear that the Trap cluster there is a high status persistency and a strong predominance of transition towards social assistance with tiny chances of upward transitions.

This is less accentuated in the Failure cluster where young people in unemployment or in social assistance do make a positive transition, the first from social assistance to unemployment and the latter towards employment, employment with top-up or education.

The Smooth cluster confirms its relative positive situation when compared to the other two. There is a good persistence in employment from one year to another and a quite high rate of upwards transitions from unemployment towards employment with and without top-ups. Although lower, also the rates of upwards transitions of young people in social assistance are higher than in the other clusters.

Discrete-time event history analysis – social assistance

Explaining methodological choices and their consequences

There are two important functions that are at the basis of event history analysis: the hazard and the survival function.

The *hazard function* is defined as the 'fundamental quantity used to assess the risk of event occurrence' (Singer and Willet 2003:330). In discrete-time event history, hazard is a conditional probability that an individual will experience an event in a precise time period, given that she did not experience the event in any of the preceding intervals (Singer and Willet 2003:330). Every person in the sample will have her own hazard function that will dependent on time and the value of other covariates (independent variables). The value of the discrete time hazard function at time *j* is calculated at each observed interval and defined as the number of those who experienced the event in a time period *j* (*n events* $_j$) divided by those who were at risk of experiencing during that same interval (*n at risk* $_j$).

$$\hat{h}(t_j)=\frac{n\ events_j}{n\ at\ risk_j}$$

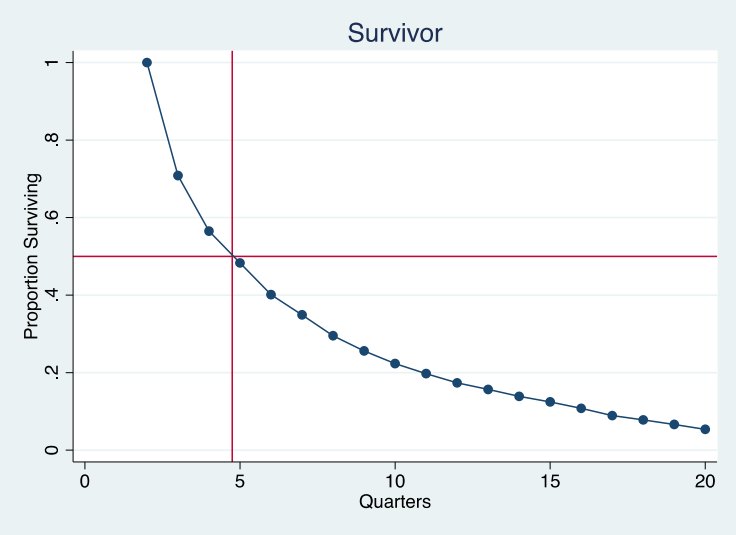
The *survival function* shows the distribution of events over the observation period. While the hazard informs about the conditional probability of the event occurrence at each interval, the survival function is cumulative and, at each interval it sums up with the survival probability of the previous interval. In fact, all those individuals who 'survive' and do not experience the event - which would imply their exit from the sample - will contribute to the survival function.

The equation below shows the survival probability $S(t_{ij})$ defined as "the probability that the individual observation *i* survives past time t_{ij}" (Singer and Willet 2003: 334). This entails that the observation will be still be in the "at-risk set" or alive after the end of the time t_{ij}, i.e. T_j will be larger than $t_{ij}$where T_i represents the random variable for time for individual i and j the discrete time period (i.e. an interval – in my case a quarter).

$$S(t_{ij}) = \Pr\left[T_i > t_{ij}\right]$$

The shape of the survival function informs about the probability of surviving across time and it allows comparing median lifetimes (e.g. the median time spent in social assistance or unemployment before entering the labour market). Figure 31shows that the survival curve decreases, and should never increase, as at each interval one or more observations leave the sample because either they experience the event under investigation or they are censored, i.e. they are no longer observed before experiencing the event. The y-axis shows the proportion of the population who has not experienced the risk yet. The x-axis shows the measure of time. When the proportion of the population has reached 0.5 it means that half of the population has exited the sample and that the corresponding point in time is the medium lifetime.

Figure 31: Example of survival function



Source: own elaboration from BCSS data – data refer to the social assistance sample.

The equation below represents the basic hazard population model.

$$ln\left[\frac{h_{(t)}}{1-h_{(t)}}\right] = \left[\frac{P(T=t|T\geq t)}{1-P(T=t|T\geq t)}\right] = \alpha(t) + \gamma(x) + \gamma(z)$$

The left hand side of the equation expresses the event occurrence, i.e. exiting social assistance or social insurance[144]. The right hand-side of it tells us that this (logit) conditional probability of event occurrence is dependent of time dimension $\alpha(t)$; on individual covariates $\gamma(x)$ and contextual effects $\gamma(z)$. It is important to recall that event history analysis cannot prove causality. Nonetheless it can establish important time-related empirical evidence to theoretically explore causal relationships (Blossefeld at al 2002: 21-37).

Competing risks: modelling different exits in event history analysis

The model was built by using the baseline hazard function modelled with a logarithmic transformation of time and adding one by one the individual and institutional factors that are believed to have an influence on the probability of leaving social assistance

Competing risks models for event history analysis can provide an answer to this question based on multinomial logistic regression. Competing risks analyses have been widely used to understands transitions in and out of the labour market and the impact of specific factors (for the impact of a specific labour market programme for young people see Hämäläinen et al 2014; for transitions from temporary to permanent jobs see Gash 2008; Leschke 2008)

[144] This equation is the results of two-step transformations that are needed to allow the estimation of the fitted hazard function and the estimation of the effect of the covariates on it. The event occurrence is first transformed into odds – i.e. the ratio of probability that the event will occur to the probability that the event will not occur. This prevents inadmissible values for probabilities of the event occurrence (lower than 0 and higher than 1) once one tries to fit the regression and estimate the effect of predictors on the probability of experiencing the event. The second transformation is a logit transformation. This is done because the logit is likely to render non-linear relationships linear between $h(t_j)$ and its covariates and it makes differences between hazard functions more comparable over time.

In discrete-time event history, this competing risks model actually consists of different "linked" logit models, which are put together in a multinomial logit regression (Box-Steffensmeier and Jones 2004). What it is also interesting in competing risks for this analysis is the simultaneous comparison between exits.

Defining being at risk

The definition of the position in the labour market is the same used for the Optimal Matching Analysis but young people who were both in education and social assistance as well as those who were in sheltered employment were identified and special time-invariant dummy variables were created.

The individual project for social inclusion (PIIS) can indeed vary across CPAS. However, those initiatives are not strictly coded in the federal database, which is accessible to researchers under request, because they do not involve any kind of central financial support.
Instead, when young recipients enter full-time education, they are partially reimbursed by the federal state. Similarly, when they are employing young people under the article 60 or other sheltered employment initiatives, again a flow of financing is involved with the local powers. For this reasons data are more reliable.
All social inclusion measures that do not imply transfer of money or social security contribution payment are not or very poorly represented in the database.
Because of their relevance in the theoretical framework chosen and the limits of the data, I concentrate on the role played by supported employment and enrolling in education.

Three sub-categories in social assistance:

- **Students/Pupils**. It includes young social assistance beneficiaries go back to full-time education (from primary to higher education) or enrol in a training or vocational education course. Data do not provide any indication about the type of studies young people enrol at and age is not always indicative because, although compulsory schooling in Belgium goes until 18 years old, it seems plausible that an important share of young beneficiaries are dropped out before obtaining their high school certificate. The variable I constructed indicates that the person spent at least one month in education.

- **Supported employment**: The duration of the supported employment depends on the previous working history of the person and the criteria s/he has to meet for (re)gain access to unemployment benefits.

- **On social assistance benefits**: this large category is not always easy to disentangle. Young people who not comply with these criteria, but are living in Belgium and are in need they can be entitled to benefits equivalent to social assistance benefits (*aide financière*). The amount of this benefit is similar to those of the 'regular' social assistance allowances. The same rules for social assistance benefits apply to this category. These young people are treated as Belgian natives.

The household position refers to the position the person had the first day of the year when she was selected. The household situation of young people changes quite frequently that is why, although less detailed, I preferred to use the variable 'category of household at the moment of payment of social assistance benefits' for this sample. Cross-checking with the time-invariant variable on the type of household, I identified those young people who are also single parents: they represent 5.10% of the sample.

Testing the goodness of fit of the regression models

Article60 - Does the interaction actually improves the model?

To answer this question, deviance statistics (Deviance = -2 $\text{LogLikelihood}_{\text{current model}}$ in discrete-time event) can be helpful as deviance quantifies to what extent a model is able to get close to the best model possible (Singer and Willet 2003). To test whether the model I am interested in is a good fit of the best possible fitting model, I test whether my current model is better than a reduced and more parsimonious model where the predictors I am interested in are not included.

Comparing deviance statistics requires that the models are fit to identical data and that the reduced model is nested is the more complex model. As shown in Table 50, this is the case of my models as the models are fit to the same data (number of observations is the same) and each model represent the addition of an additional parameter on the same data set and number of events.

The difference in deviance statistics between the models will have a χ^2 distribution on the degrees of freedom. This means that if the difference between the restricted and the current model is large, it is more likely that the difference of the deviance statistics is significant. I will choose the current model because it better fits the data.
If the difference between the deviance of the restricted and current model is small, then there are strong chances that this difference is not significant and that is the better to choose the more parsimonious model.

To compare the significance of each covariate in improving the model, I add predictors one-by-one and compare the deviance statistics of the model with and without that predictor.
Therefore, at each inclusion I subtract the deviance statistics of the full model which includes the variable of interest (full model) (column *ll(model)* inv). to the deviance statistics of the model which precedes the model with the variable of interest (reduced model). By accounting for the difference in the degree of freedom (*df*) of the two models, the number which results is tested with Chi2 distribution.

Table 50 shows that compared to the model which included only the main effect of origin and article 60, the inclusion of the interaction term (last row of Table 50) improves the goodness of fit of the model.

In fact, $-2*13452.2_{\text{reduced model\# 8}}) - (-2*13501.47_{\text{full model \#9)}} = 98.54$ that is significant at 1% critical value of χ^2 distribution with 15 df ($100_{\text{full model \#9}}$ -$85_{\text{restricted model \#8}}$).

Table 50: Model specifications for the multinomial logistic regression including article 60 and its interaction with origin

N	*Model*	*Obs*	*ll(null)*	*ll(model)*	*df*
1	**Time**	23064	-14667.91	-14390.74	15
2	**Gender** (Time +)	23064	-14667.91	-14351.22	20
3	**Origin** (Time +Gender +)	23064	-14667.91	-14206.36	35
4	**Position in the household** (Time +Gender +Origin +)	23064	-14667.91	-14057.81	50
5	**Previous experience** (Time +Gender +Origin +Position in the household +)	23064	-14667.91	-13949.78	60
6	**Age** (Time +Gender +Origin +Position in the household +Previous experience +)	23064	-14667.91	-13791.51	65
7	**Educational attainment** (Time +Gender +Origin +Position in the household +Previous experience +Age +)	23064	-14667.91	-13675.29	80
8	**Article 60** (Time +Gender +Origin +Position in the household +Previous experience +Age +Educational attainment +)	23064	-14667.91	-13501.47	85
9	**Article60*origin** (Time +Gender +Origin +Position in the household +Previous experience +Age +Educational attainment +Article 60+)	23064	-14667.91	-13452.2	100

Source: BCSS, own calculations

Table 51: Multinomial logistic regression, exit employment, relative risk rations, with the interactions and including the exit Other

	S.Assis	*P*	*se*	*Unem*	*p*	*se*	*Edu*	*p*	*se*	*Oth*	*p*	*se*	*Empl Tu*	*p*	*se*
time	1.366	0.000***	0.057	1.038	0.452	0.052	1.177	0.005**	0.068	0.964	0.443	0.047	1.002	0.975	0.05
ln time	0.192	0.000***	0.039	0.576	0.018*	0.135	0.715	0.263	0.215	1.27	0.316	0.303	1.084	0.745	0.268
In article 60 * nationality															
Ref: Belgian in art60															
Belgian no art60	1.143	0.722	0.43	0.408	0.049*	0.185	1.54	0.539	1.083	2.354	0.063	1.085	3.311	0.021*	1.711
non EU no art60	1.011	0.979	0.407	0.657	0.388	0.32	1.495	0.591	1.118	2.453	0.066	1.199	2.745	0.063	1.493
EU no art 60	1.138	0.732	0.428	2.049	0.107	0.912	3.228	0.092	2.247	1.74	0.232	0.806	2.763	0.050*	1.431
non EU with art60	1.255	0.576	0.509	1.167	0.747	0.56	0.521	0.515	0.522	0.183	0.004**	0.107	0.244	0.031*	0.16
EU with art60	0.874	0.799	0.463	0.998	0.998	0.634	0	0.992	0.001	0.339	0.189	0.279	0.482	0.393	0.412
Non EU BE with art60	1.521	0.398	0.754	1.474	0.5	0.848	0	0.987	0.001	0.605	0.441	0.394	0.242	0.128	0.226
Gender															
Ref: male															
Female	1.529	0.000***	0.174	1.735	0.000***	0.236	1.359	0.063	0.224	1.045	0.741	0.138	1.195	0.198	0.165
Household position															
Ref: Person with family															
Single	0.665	0.075	0.153	0.456	0.002**	0.114	0.563	0.174	0.238	0.629	0.07	0.161	0.943	0.831	0.258
Living with others	0.68	0.095	0.157	0.286	0.000***	0.073	0.62	0.252	0.258	0.648	0.091	0.166	0.795	0.404	0.219
Single parent	0.536	0.023*	0.147	0.493	0.018*	0.147	0.328	0.057	0.192	0.315	0.000***	0.102	0.717	0.314	0.237
Work intensity previous year (Ref: no work exp)															
25% 50%	0.426	0.000***	0.054	0.509	0.000***	0.078	0.368	0.000***	0.089	0.44	0.000***	0.068	0.974	0.867	0.152
75% 100%	0.415	0.000***	0.064	0.484	0.000***	0.09	0.358	0.002**	0.118	0.35	0.000***	0.07	1.245	0.234	0.229
Age	0.898	0.000***	0.015	0.987	0.525	0.02	0.706	0.000***	0.024	1.004	0.856	0.019	0.957	0.032*	0.02
Education Ref: low															
unknown	0.743	0.032*	0.103	0.138	0.000***	0.031	1.281	0.221	0.259	0.726	0.044*	0.115	0.644	0.010*	0.11
medium	0.869	0.344	0.129	1.052	0.76	0.175	1.637	0.020*	0.347	0.698	0.039*	0.122	0.876	0.458	0.157
high	0.659	0.021*	0.119	0.437	0.000***	0.1	1.419	0.274	0.454	0.429	0.000***	0.098	0.609	0.030*	0.139
Constant	180.912	0.000***	79.375	11.352	0.000***	5.767	0.279	0.112	0.224	3.325	0.023*	1.756	1.011	0.984	0.592
Number of observations	23064														
Person periods															
Number of events	3445														

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

female	time invariant least once in art60 0	1	Total
0	1,690	151	1,841
	45.65	45.90	45.67
1	2,012	178	2,190
	54.35	54.10	54.33
Total	3,702	329	4,031
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.0073 Pr = 0.932

Source: BCSS, own calculations

This is not significant; young women and men have are equally distributed when it comes to being in article 60.

Educational attainment	time invariant least once in art60 0	1	Total
unknown	651	28	679
	17.59	8.51	16.84
low	2,081	228	2,309
	56.21	69.30	57.28
medium	729	54	783
	19.69	16.41	19.42
high	241	19	260
	6.51	5.78	6.45
Total	3,702	329	4,031
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Pearson chi2(3) = 25.7315 Pr = 0.000

Source: BCSS, own calculations

The statistical correlation between the educational attainment and being in article 60 is significant. Young people with low educational background are clearly overrepresented.

Nationality	time invariant least once in art60 0	1	Total
Belgian	964	63	1,027
	26.04	19.15	25.48
no EU	1,048	162	1,210
	28.31	49.24	30.02
EU	340	29	369
	9.18	8.81	9.15
no EU - BE	1,254	72	1,326
	33.87	21.88	32.90
EU - BE	96	3	99
	2.59	0.91	2.46
Total	3,702	329	4,031
	100.00	100.00	100.00

```
          Pearson chi2(4) =  66.4564   Pr = 0.000
```
Source: BCSS, own calculations

The relationship is also significant when tabulating the nationality and being in article 60. Non-European born young people are more represented among those in article 60.

```
           | time invariant least
  category |    once in art60
 of wealth |         0          1 |     Total
-----------+----------------------+----------
 very poor |     1,509        138 |     1,647
           |     40.76      41.95 |     40.86
-----------+----------------------+----------
      poor |       971         92 |     1,063
           |     26.23      27.96 |     26.37
-----------+----------------------+----------
   wealthy |     1,222         99 |     1,321
           |     33.01      30.09 |     32.77
-----------+----------------------+----------
     Total |     3,702        329 |     4,031
           |    100.00     100.00 |    100.00

          Pearson chi2(2) =   1.2333   Pr = 0.540
```
Source: BCSS, own calculations

There is no correlation between the type of neighbourhood young people were living in in 2005 and the fact of having spent some time in article 60.

```
            | time invariant least
Age         |      once in art60
at entry    |         0          1 |     Total
------------+----------------------+----------
      18.5  |        18          3 |        21
            |      0.49       0.91 |      0.52
------------+----------------------+----------
      19.5  |       725         29 |       754
            |     19.58       8.81 |     18.71
------------+----------------------+----------
        20  |         1          0 |         1
            |      0.03       0.00 |      0.02
------------+----------------------+----------
      20.5  |       122         13 |       135
            |      3.30       3.95 |      3.35
------------+----------------------+----------
      21.5  |       446         26 |       472
            |     12.05       7.90 |     11.71
------------+----------------------+----------
      22.5  |       176         14 |       190
            |      4.75       4.26 |      4.71
------------+----------------------+----------
      23.5  |       421         30 |       451
            |     11.37       9.12 |     11.19
------------+----------------------+----------
      24.5  |       176         26 |       202
            |      4.75       7.90 |      5.01
------------+----------------------+----------
      25.5  |       412         40 |       452
            |     11.13      12.16 |     11.21
------------+----------------------+----------
      26.5  |       181         22 |       203
            |      4.89       6.69 |      5.04
------------+----------------------+----------
      27.5  |       419         40 |       459
            |     11.32      12.16 |     11.39
------------+----------------------+----------
      28.5  |       203         21 |       224
```

```
           |      5.48       6.38 |      5.56
-----------+---------------------+----------
      29.5 |       402         65 |       467
           |     10.86      19.76 |     11.59
-----------+---------------------+----------
     Total |     3,702        329 |     4,031
           |    100.00     100.00 |    100.00

         Pearson chi2(12) =  55.7033   Pr = 0.000
```

Source: BCSS, own calculations

The age at which the young beneficiary enters social assistance is correlated with acceding to article 60: the older she gets the more likely she is to be in article 60.

```
  RECODE of cat_id |
 (Categorie op het | time invariant least
    moment van de |    once in art60
        betaling) |         0          1 |     Total
------------------+----------------------+----------
person with family |       465         50 |       515
                   |     12.57      15.24 |     12.79
------------------+----------------------+----------
            single |     1,284        137 |     1,421
                   |     34.71      41.77 |     35.29
------------------+----------------------+----------
living with others |     1,714        109 |     1,823
                   |     46.34      33.23 |     45.27
------------------+----------------------+----------
     single parent |       236         32 |       268
                   |      6.38       9.76 |      6.66
------------------+----------------------+----------
             Total |     3,699        328 |     4,027
                   |    100.00     100.00 |    100.00

          Pearson chi2(3) =  22.5243   Pr = 0.000
```

Source: BCSS, own calculations

Being in education at the CPAS

As for the model presented above, I added the predictors one by one in order to see whether their inclusions improved the model. All the likelihood ratio tests between two consecutive nested models showed that the inclusion of predictors did improve the model.

Table 52: Model specifications for the model including education and the interaction with naturalisation

N	***Model***	*Obs*	*ll(null)*	*ll(model)*	*df*
1	**Time**	23,609	-15019.74	-14734	15
2	**Gender** (Time +)	23,609	-15019.74	-14693.8	20
3	**Naturalisation** (Time +Gender +)	23,609	-15019.74	-14552.26	30
4	**Position in the household** (Time +Gender + Naturalisation +)	23,609	-15019.74	-14402.89	45
5	**Previous experience** (Time +Gender + Naturalisation +Position in the household +)	23,609	-15019.74	-14291.82	55
6	**Age** (Time +Gender + Naturalisation +Position in the household +Previous experience +)	23,609	-15019.74	-14135.35	60
7	**Educational attainment** (Time +Gender + Naturalisation +Position in the household +Previous experience +Age +)	23,609	-15019.74	-14013.81	75
8	**Edu at CPAS** (Time +Gender + Naturalisation +Position in the household	23,609	-15019.74	-13845.21	80

	+Previous experience +Age +Educational attainment +)				
9	**Edu at CPAS*Naturalisation** (Time +Gender + Naturalisation +Position in the household +Previous experience +Age +Educational attainment +Article 60+)	23,609	-15019.74	-13833.21	90

The Likelihood ratio test for the deviance statistics of Model # 8 (reduced model) and Model # 9 (full model) shows that (-2*13845.21)- (-2*13833.21) = 24 which is significant 1% critical value of χ^2 distribution with 10 df ($90_{\text{full model \#9}}$ -$80_{\text{restricted model \#8}}$)

Table 53: Multinomial logistic regression, exit employment, relative risk rations, education at CAPS, including exit Other

	S.Assis	***P***	***se***	***Une***	***p***	***se***	***Edu***	***p***	***se***	***Oth***	***p***	***se***	***Empl***	***p***	***se***
tempo	1.345	0.000***	0.055	1.028	0.578	0.05	1.175	0.005**	0.068	0.985	0.757	0.047	1.012	0.815	0.05
tempoln	0.189	0.000***	0.038	0.595	0.024*	0.137	0.686	0.206	0.205	1.133	0.595	0.267	0.969	0.896	0.236
Education*origin Ref : in Education* Belgian															
Non Education* Belgian	0.514	0.012*	0.136	1.829	0.091	0.654	0.535	0.08	0.191	2.475	0.011*	0.886	0.93	0.834	0.322
No Education * Naturalised	0.845	0.527	0.225	2.843	0.003**	1.014	1.103	0.769	0.37	3.304	0.001***	1.179	1.597	0.171	0.546
No Education* non Naturaliased	0.882	0.625	0.227	0.894	0.753	0.317	0.467	0.023*	0.157	3.493	0.000***	1.217	1.598	0.158	0.531
In Education* Naturalised	2.437	0.005**	0.766	2.159	0.067	0.908	1.69	0.157	0.627	1.184	0.698	0.514	2.556	0.016*	0.993
In Education*non Naturalised	4.256	0.004**	2.153	2.722	0.106	1.689	1.819	0.293	1.034	5.112	0.005**	2.987	4.001	0.016*	2.302
female	1.552	0.000***	0.174	1.799	0.000***	0.241	1.367	0.055	0.223	1.099	0.469	0.143	1.264	0.084	0.171
Position in the household Ref : living w/ family															
Single	0.643	0.053	0.147	0.48	0.003**	0.119	0.576	0.19	0.243	0.607	0.050*	0.154	0.865	0.59	0.233
Living with others	0.619	0.036*	0.142	0.309	0.000***	0.077	0.65	0.298	0.269	0.686	0.136	0.174	0.755	0.299	0.204
Single parent	0.538	0.023*	0.147	0.514	0.025*	0.153	0.328	0.057	0.192	0.3	0.000***	0.097	0.698	0.271	0.228
Work intensity															
25%-50%	0.434	0.000***	0.054	0.532	0.000***	0.08	0.359	0.000***	0.086	0.423	0.000***	0.064	0.902	0.5	0.137
75% - 100%	0.398	0.000***	0.061	0.492	0.000***	0.091	0.362	0.002**	0.119	0.341	0.000***	0.067	1.177	0.369	0.214
Age	0.936	0.000***	0.016	1.001	0.965	0.02	0.713	0.000***	0.024	0.981	0.315	0.019	0.955	0.025*	0.02
Educational attainment Ref : low															
unknown	0.595	0.000***	0.083	0.141	0.000***	0.031	1.266	0.255	0.262	0.86	0.346	0.137	0.657	0.015*	0.113
middle	0.733	0.034*	0.107	1.075	0.66	0.177	1.524	0.048*	0.324	0.733	0.072	0.127	0.82	0.262	0.145
high	0.543	0.001***	0.096	0.415	0.000***	0.094	1.436	0.26	0.462	0.479	0.001***	0.107	0.581	0.016*	0.131
Constant	239.693	0.000***	87.09	7.181	0.000***	3.22	0.727	0.567	0.404	1.847	0.175	0.836	1.729	0.225	0.78
Number of observations (person period)	23,064														
Number of events	3428														

Chi square statistical association between having spent at least one month in education and some personal characteristics

A similar exercise is done for young people in education. Very similar results are obtained; however, the type of neighbourhood is correlated with the variable being in education for at least one month.

	edu_cpas	
female	0	1	Total
0	1,589	252	1,841
	46.04	43.45	45.67
1	1,862	328	2,190
	53.96	56.55	54.33
Total	3,451	580	4,031
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Pearson chi2(1) = 1.3490 Pr = 0.245

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

	edu_cpas	
educationa l attainment	0	1	Total
unknown	472	207	679
	13.68	35.69	16.84
low	2,164	145	2,309
	62.71	25.00	57.28
medium	610	173	783
	17.68	29.83	19.42
high	205	55	260
	5.94	9.48	6.45
Total	3,451	580	4,031
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Pearson chi2(3) = 313.4921 Pr = 0.000

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

Interestingly, the relative share of those who have a higher education degree is higher than for low educated. This might be due to the fact that the education variable might be collected at a later stage.

The table below spells out the interaction term that will be included in the table below

	edu_cpas	
nation5cat	0	1	Total
Belge	873	154	1,027

```
           |     25.30      26.55 |     25.48
-----------+----------------------+----------
     no EU |     1,129         81 |     1,210
           |     32.72      13.97 |     30.02
-----------+----------------------+----------
        EU |       332         37 |       369
           |      9.62       6.38 |      9.15
-----------+----------------------+----------
no EU - BE |     1,032        294 |     1,326
           |     29.90      50.69 |     32.90
-----------+----------------------+----------
   EU - BE |        85         14 |        99
           |      2.46       2.41 |      2.46
-----------+----------------------+----------
     Total |     3,451        580 |     4,031
           |    100.00     100.00 |    100.00

          Pearson chi2(4) = 129.3770   Pr = 0.000
```

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

Contrary to the article 60, more Belgian-born and Belgian foreign-born are represented in this sample and are overrepresented among students.

```
  category |       edu_cpas
 of wealth |         0          1 |     Total
-----------+----------------------+----------
 very poor |     1,464        183 |     1,647
           |     42.42      31.55 |     40.86
-----------+----------------------+----------
      poor |       906        157 |     1,063
           |     26.25      27.07 |     26.37
-----------+----------------------+----------
   wealthy |     1,081        240 |     1,321
           |     31.32      41.38 |     32.77
-----------+----------------------+----------
     Total |     3,451        580 |     4,031
           |    100.00     100.00 |    100.00

          Pearson chi2(2) =  29.8061   Pr = 0.000
```

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

Young people in wealthy neighbourhoods seem more likely to attend education.

```
age_atentr |       edu_cpas
         y |         0          1 |     Total
-----------+----------------------+----------
      18.5 |        17          4 |        21
           |      0.49       0.69 |      0.52
-----------+----------------------+----------
      19.5 |       449        305 |       754
           |     13.01      52.59 |     18.71
-----------+----------------------+----------
        20 |         1          0 |         1
           |      0.03       0.00 |      0.02
-----------+----------------------+----------
      20.5 |       119         16 |       135
```

	3.45	2.76	3.35
21.5	356	116	472
	10.32	20.00	11.71
22.5	171	19	190
	4.96	3.28	4.71
23.5	372	79	451
	10.78	13.62	11.19
24.5	194	8	202
	5.62	1.38	5.01
25.5	427	25	452
	12.37	4.31	11.21
26.5	201	2	203
	5.82	0.34	5.04
27.5	454	5	459
	13.16	0.86	11.39
28.5	224	0	224
	6.49	0.00	5.56
29.5	466	1	467
	13.50	0.17	11.59
Total	3,451	580	4,031
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Pearson chi2(12) = 719.2834 Pr = 0.000

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

As expected, young people who spent at least one month in education tend to be younger than for those attending article 60 measures.

	edu_cpas		
cat_house	0	1	Total
person with family	495	8	503
	14.36	1.38	12.49
single	1,184	121	1,305
	34.34	20.86	32.40
living with others	1,484	442	1,926
	43.04	76.21	47.82
single parent	285	9	294
	8.27	1.55	7.30
Total	3,448	580	4,028
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Pearson chi2(3) = 239.6723 Pr = 0.000

Discrete-time Event history analysis – unemployment

The definition of the labour market positions for this sample follows the one presented in the previous section. Indeed, being in unemployment is the "status at risk" in this sample and the exit is represented by any other position in the labour market.

In this analysis I had to identify those people who attended activation programmes (RAE and CPP). This was not an easy task and it implied some decisions as I had to reduce the complexity of multiple values per person per months in a meaningful variable to be associated in a quarterly-based data. This was the case for both RAE and CPP.

I run two different multinomial logistic regressions including alternatively the two institutional variables RAE and CPP. The tables below show the goodness of fit of the two models which were tested by adding the predictors one by one in the competing risks model.

Table 54: Model specification for the model including RAE and the interaction with naturalisation

N	*Model*	*Obs*	*ll(null)*	*ll(model)*	*df*
1	**Time**	58,260	-39984	-38417.81	15
2	**Female** (Time)	58,260	-39984	-38330.66	20
3	**Position in the household** (Time + Female)	58,260	-39984	-38222.53	45
4	**Work intensity** (Time + Female+ Position in the household**)**	58,260	-39984	-37940.27	55
5	**Age** (Time + Female+ Position in the household + Work intensity**)**	58,260	-39984	-37909.56	60
6	**Category of neighbourhood** (Time + Female+ Position in the household + Work intensity+ Age**)**	58,260	-39984	-37829.96	70
7	**Educational attainment** (Time + Female+ Position in the household + Work intensity+ Age + Category of neighbourhood**)**	58,260	-39984	-37387.31	85
8	**RAE** (Time + Female+ Position in the household + Work intensity+ Age + Category of neighbourhood + Educational attainment**)**	58,260	-39984	-37349.1	90
9	**Naturalisation** (Time + Female+ Position in the household + Work intensity+ Age + Category of neighbourhood + Educational attainment + RAE**)**	58,260	-39984	-36992.43	120
10	**Rae*Naturalisation** (Time + Female+ Position in the household + Work intensity+ Age + Category of neighbourhood + Educational attainment + RAE+ Naturalisation**)**	58,260	-39984	-36963.18	170

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

The Likelihood ratio test for the deviance statistics of Model # 9 (reduced model) and Model #10 (full model) shows that (-2*36992.43) – (2* -36963.18) = 58.50 which *is not significant* 10%[145] critical value of χ^2 distribution with 50 df ($170_{\text{full model \#10}}$ - $120_{\text{restricted model \#9}}$).

For this reason, I decided not to include the interaction as it does not improve the goodness of the model compared to a more parsimonious model (without interaction

[145] P value=0.19

Table 55: Model specification for the model including CPP and the interaction with naturalisation

N	*Model*	*Obs*	*ll(null)*	*ll(model)*	*df*
1	**Time**				
2	**Female** (Time)	58260	-39984	-38330.66	20
3	**Position in the household** (Time + Female)	58260	-39984	-38222.53	45
4	**Work intensity** (Time + Female+ Position in the household**)**	58260	-39984	-37940.27	55
5	**Age** (Time + Female+ Position in the household + Work intensity**)**	58260	-39984	-37909.56	60
6	**Category of neighbourhood** (Time + Female+ Position in the household + Work intensity+ Age**)**	58260	-39984	-37829.96	70
7	**Educational attainment** (Time + Female+ Position in the household + Work intensity+ Age + Category of neighbourhood**)**	58260	-39984	-37387.31	85
8	**CPP** (Time + Female+ Position in the household + Work intensity+ Age + Category of neighbourhood + Educational attainment**)**	58260	-39984	-37257.46	90
9	**Naturalisation** (Time + Female+ Position in the household + Work intensity+ Age + Category of neighbourhood + Educational attainment + RAE**)**	58260	-39984	-37165.87	115
10	**CPP*Naturalisation** (Time + Female+ Position in the household + Work intensity+ Age + Category of neighbourhood + Educational attainment + RAE+ Naturalisation**)**	58260	-39984	-37176	125

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

The Likelihood ratio test for the deviance statistics of Model # 9 (reduced model) and Model # 10 (full model) shows that (-2*37165.87)– (-2* 37176) = 27.46 which is *not* significant at the 10%[146] critical value of χ^2 distribution with 10 df ($125_{\text{full model \#10}}$ - $115_{\text{restricted model \#9}}$).

Although not significantly improving the model, I decided to include it in the model anyway.

The additional tables below report the main effects and the exit to "other" which was not included in the main text both for the CPP and the RAE measure.

[146] P value= 12.28

Table 56: Multinomial logistic regression, exit employment, relative risk ratios, RAE including all exits

	Staying Un	***P***	***Se***	***Edu***	***P***	***Se***	***SA***	***P***	***Se***	***Other***	***P***	***Se***	***Empl Tu***	***P***	***se***
Time	1.852	0.000***	(0.04)	1.231	0.000***	(0.04)	1.505	0.000***	(0.09)	1.431	0.000***	(0.04)	1.436	0.000***	(0.05)
tempo	0.063	0.000***	(0)	0.577	0.000***	(0.09)	0.206	0.000***	(0.05)	0.45	0.000***	(0.05)	0.474	0.000***	(0.08)
tempoln															
Gender (Ref: male)	1.187	0.000***	(0.04)	1.332	0.000***	(0.09)	1.601	0.001***	(0.22)	1.712	0.000***	(0.09)	1.398	0.000***	(0.11)
female															
Position in the household (Ref: single)															
Child in family	0.836	0.000***	(0.03)	0.76	0.002**	(0.07)	0.432	0.000***	(0.07)	0.759	0.000***	(0.05)	0.758	0.005**	(0.07)
Single parent	1.785	0.000***	(0.19)	1.934	0.000***	(0.33)	2.192	0.003**	(0.57)	1.34	0.038*	(0.19)	1.816	0.001**	(0.34)
In couple w/ ch	1.132	0.047*	(0.07)	1.169	0.233	(0.15)	1.283	0.292	(0.3)	1.335	0.002**	(0.12)	0.997	0.985	(0.14)
In couple w/o ch	0.901	0.047*	(0.05)	1.014	0.905	(0.12)	0.5	0.010**	(0.13)	1.042	0.614	(0.08)	0.724	0.022*	(0.1)
other	0.976	0.719	(0.07)	0.932	0.648	(0.14)	1.077	0.775	(0.28)	1.058	0.596	(0.11)	0.737	0.103	(0.14)
Work intensity previous year (0(25%)															
25%(50%	0.582	0.000***	(0.03)	0.635	0.000***	(0.06)	0.333	0.000***	(0.06)	0.628	0.000***	(0.04)	0.838	0.106	(0.09)
75% (100%	0.545	0.000***	(0.02)	0.463	0.000***	(0.04)	0.257	0.000***	(0.04)	0.494	0.000***	(0.03)	0.768	0.004**	(0.07)
Age	1.023	0.000***	(0.01)	1.001	0.942	(0.01)	0.865	0.000***	(0.02)	0.98	0.045*	(0.01)	0.993	0.648	(0.02)
Type of neighbourhood (Ref: very poor)															
poor	0.879	0.001**	(0.04)	0.926	0.381	(0.08)	1.074	0.671	(0.18)	0.872	0.031*	(0.06)	0.958	0.658	(0.09)
wealthy	0.862	0.000***	(0.03)	0.957	0.597	(0.08)	1.128	0.448	(0.18)	0.951	0.4	(0.06)	0.807	0.026*	(0.08)
Education (Ref: low)															
unknown	0.274	0.000***	(0.02)	0.773	0.056	(0.1)	0.334	0.000***	(0.1)	0.567	0.000***	(0.05)	0.392	0.000***	(0.07)
middle	0.816	0.000***	(0.03)	1.281	0.002**	(0.1)	0.899	0.461	(0.13)	0.772	0.000***	(0.04)	0.946	0.516	(0.08)
high	0.521	0.000***	(0.02)	0.823	0.078	(0.09)	0.371	0.000***	(0.1)	0.721	0.000***	(0.05)	0.442	0.000***	(0.06)

Measure of RAE (short and in group)															
none	0.437	0.000***	(0.05)	0.481	0.001***	(0.1)	1.853	0.301	(1.11)	1.13	0.503	(0.21)	0.623	0.045*	(0.15)
intense(group	0.623	0.013*	(0.12)	0.919	0.796	(0.3)	1.333	0.732	(1.12)	0.915	0.758	(0.26)	0.657	0.3	(0.27)
short(individual	0.695	0.008**	(0.09)	0.695	0.128	(0.17)	0.777	0.71	(0.53)	0.738	0.139	(0.15)	0.962	0.882	(0.25)
Instense (individual	0.912	0.518	(0.13)	1.985	0.003**	(0.46)	4.043	0.024*	(2.5)	0.749	0.183	(0.16)	1.108	0.703	(0.3)
all	0.933	0.686	(0.16)	1.291	0.36	(0.36)	1.397	0.656	(1.05)	0.692	0.162	(0.18)	0.918	0.793	(0.3)
Origin Ref : Belgian															
Naturalised	1.243	0.000***	(0.05)	0.975	0.766	(0.08)	1.188	0.323	(0.21)	1.091	0.152	(0.07)	1.074	0.471	(0.11)
Non(Naturalised	1.319	0.000***	(0.06)	1.127	0.201	(0.11)	2.303	0.000***	(0.4)	1.388	0.000***	(0.09)	1.465	0.000***	(0.16)
Constant	70.409	0.000***	(9.82)	0.446	0.002**	(0.11)	0.063	0.000***	(0.04)	0.411	0.000***	(0.09)	0.167	0.000***	(0.05)
Number of observation (person period)	58260														
Number of events	10329														

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

Table 57: Multinomial logistic regression, exit employment, relative risk ratios, CPP including all exits

	Stay in unemp	*P*	*se*	*education*	*p*	*Se*	*Social assis*	*P*	*se*	*Other*	*p*	*se*	*Empl with top-up*	*p*	*se*
tempo	1.866	0.000***	(0.04)	1.252	0.000***	(0.05)	1.505	0.000***	(0.09)	1.424	0.000***	(0.04)	1.448	0.000***	(0.05)
tempoln	0.063	0.000***	(0)	0.575	0.000***	(0.09)	0.204	0.000***	(0.05)	0.454	0.000***	(0.05)	0.472	0.000***	(0.08)
Gender (Ref: male)															

female	1.205	0.000***	(0.04)	1.345	0.000***	(0.1)	1.576	0.001**	(0.22)	1.684	0.000***	(0.09)	1.412	0.000***	(0.11)
Position in the household (Ref: single)															
Child in family	0.821	0.000***	(0.03)	0.73	0.000***	(0.06)	0.434	0.000***	(0.07)	0.773	0.000***	(0.05)	0.751	0.003**	(0.07)
Single parent	1.827	0.000***	(0.19)	2.04	0.000***	(0.35)	2.294	0.001**	(0.6)	1.341	0.038**	(0.19)	1.841	0.001***	(0.34)
In couple w/ ch	1.129	0.052*	(0.07)	1.15	0.284	(0.15)	1.247	0.35	(0.29)	1.343	0.001***	(0.12)	1.01	0.943	(0.15)
In couple w/o ch	0.888	0.023**	(0.05)	0.97	0.79	(0.11)	0.506	0.011**	(0.14)	1.063	0.452	(0.09)	0.712	0.016*	(0.1)
other	0.958	0.534	(0.07)	0.902	0.507	(0.14)	1.09	0.739	(0.28)	1.078	0.48	(0.11)	0.721	0.08	(0.13)
Work instensity previous year (Ref: 0-25%)															
25%(50%	0.559	0.000***	(0.03)	0.586	0.000***	(0.05)	0.332	0.000***	(0.06)	0.64	0.000***	(0.04)	0.82	0.07	(0.09)
75% (100%	0.512	0.000***	(0.02)	0.412	0.000***	(0.03)	0.257	0.000***	(0.04)	0.509	0.000***	(0.03)	0.739	0.001***	(0.07)
Age	1.021	0.001***	(0.01)	0.994	0.676	(0.01)	0.863	0.000***	(0.02)	0.983	0.07*	(0.01)	0.991	0.57	(0.02)
Type of neighbourhood (Ref: very poor)															
poor	0.86	0.000***	(0.03)	0.915	0.31	(0.08)	1.084	0.63	(0.18)	0.886	0.056	(0.06)	0.945	0.557	(0.09)
wealthy	0.84	0.000***	(0.03)	0.939	0.454	(0.08)	1.146	0.391	(0.18)	0.964	0.539	(0.06)	0.803	0.022*	(0.08)
Educational attainment (Ref: low)															
unknown	0.259	0.000***	(0.01)	0.665	0.002***	(0.09)	0.337	0.000***	(0.1)	0.585	0.000***	(0.05)	0.372	0.000***	(0.07)
middle	0.796	0.000***	(0.03)	1.225	0.009***	(0.1)	0.894	0.435	(0.13	0.778	0.000***	(0.04)	0.936	0.44	(0.08)
high	0.495	0.000***	(0.02)	0.755	0.011**	(0.08)	0.37	0.000***	(0.1)	0.743	0.000***	(0.06)	0.429	0.000***	(0.06)
Type of CPP (Ref:none)															
Independent job-search/AP and coaching	1.416	0.000***	(0.12)	0.721	0.136	(0.16)	0.804	0.647	(0.38)	0.64	0.005**	(0.1)	1.234	0.338	(0.27)
Training/AP+training	1.526	0.010**	(0.25)	1.194	0.595	(0.4)	2.361	0.084	(1.17)	0.733	0.275	(0.21)	1.783	0.097	(0.62)
Ref: Belgian															
Naturalised	1.238	0.000***	(0.05)	0.939	0.481	(0.08)	1.178	0.38	(0.22)	1.039	0.549	(0.07)	1.189	0.105	(0.13)
Non Naturalised	1.366	0.000***	(0.06)	1.137	0.194	(0.11)	2.426	0.000***	(0.45)	1.361	0.000***	(0.09)	1.563	0.000***	(0.18)
Ref: Belgian*Independent job-search/AP and coaching															
Naturalised*Independent job-search/AP and coaching	1.056	0.638	(0.12)	1.324	0.319	(0.37)	1.122	0.846	(0.67)	1.216	0.344	(0.25)	0.583	0.074	(0.18)

Non Naturalised*Independent job-search/AP and coaching	0.931	0.606	(0.13)	1.138	0.687	(0.36)	0.54	0.358	(0.36)	0.922	0.729	(0.22)	0.87	0.652	(0.27)
Ref : Belgian*Training/AP+training															
Naturalised*Training/AP+training	1.523	0.06*	(0.34)	2.594	0.018**	(1.05)	0.683	0.601	(0.5)	1.554	0.223	(0.56)	0.383	0.075	(0.21)
Non Naturalised*Training/AP+training	1.063	0.804	(0.26)	2.132	0.083*	(0.93)	0.556	0.425	(0.41)	0.833	0.662	(0.35)	0.411	0.105	(0.23)
Constant	34.289	0.000***	(2.42)	0.28	0.000***	(0.04)	0.118	0.000***	(0.03)	0.456	0.000***	(0.05)	0.108	0.000***	(0.02)
Number of observations (person period)	58,260														
Number of events	10329														

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

Limitations and caveats on the Event History Analysis

The sample

Because of the problem of left censoring – i.e. the lack of information about the point in time at which the person entered the risk set, the initial population sample randomly drawn from those who were known at some point in 2005 and 2006 to one of the welfare institutions was further selected.
This caused that the sample used to run the analysis for social assistance, not for unemployment, is slightly biases as young women are, for instance, overrepresented as compared to the initial sample. This is an indication that if I was to investigating the likelihood of entering social
However, what I'm investigating is not the probability of entering in social assistance or in unemployment, but rather the probability of getting out.

About multicollinearity in survival analysis

Like I did for the multinomial logistic regression in the first part of this Annex, I verified whether the independent variables used in these regression has abnormally inflated variance which due to multicollinearity which made the results instable.
All categorical variables where transformed into dummies in order to analyse their indicator of inflated variance (VIF) Tables below show that the collinearity analysis for the independent variables of the regressions run with RAE and CPP is not a particular issue.
The variables representing the time (tempo and tempoln) show more worrying VIF (larger than 6). It is normal that these two variables are highly correlated as they model the same data (i.e. tempo of exposure to risk). These two variables have to be kept both into the model because they model time and control for the long format of the data, i.e. several observations for each person until the person experiences the event (also called person-period).

Table 58: VIF for independent variables for the regression analysis with CPP

Variable	*VIF*	*SQRT VIF*	*Tolerance*	*R-Squared*
Position in the household= other	1.14	1.07	0.8784	0.1216
Position in the household= child in family	1.55	1.24	0.646	0.354
Position in the household= single parent	1.2	1.1	0.8309	0.1691
Position in the household= in couple with children	1.27	1.13	0.7849	0.2151
Position in the household= in couple without children	1.27	1.13	0.7898	0.2102
25-50% work intensity	1.22	1.1	0.8222	0.1778
75-100% work intensity	1.26	1.12	0.7914	0.2086
Neighborhood = poor	1.3	1.14	0.7689	0.2311
Neighborhood = wealthy	1.48	1.21	0.6777	0.3223
Education = low	5.19	2.28	0.1928	0.8072
Education = medium	4.83	2.2	0.2068	0.7932
Education = high	3.14	1.77	0.3184	0.6816
CPP =Independent job-search	1.01	1.01	0.9893	0.0107

CPP =AP+ coaching	1.02	1.01	0.9793	0.0207
CPP =Training	1.01	1	0.9933	0.0067
CPP =AP+ Training	1.01	1.01	0.9869	0.0131
Naturalised	1.68	1.3	0.594	0.406
Not-Naturalised	1.63	1.28	0.6138	0.3862
female	1.12	1.06	0.8904	0.1096
tempo	6.68	2.58	0.1498	0.8502
tempoln	6.68	2.58	0.1497	0.8503

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

Table 59: VIF for independent variables for the regression analysis with RAE

Variable	*VIF*	*SQRT VIF*	*Tolerance*	*R-Squared*
Position in the household= other	1.14	1.07	0.8773	0.1227
Position in the household= child in family	1.55	1.25	0.645	0.355
Position in the household= single parent	1.2	1.1	0.8299	0.1701
Position in the household= in couple with children	1.27	1.13	0.7849	0.2151
Position in the household= in couple without children	1.27	1.13	0.7892	0.2108
25-50% work intensity	1.22	1.11	0.8185	0.1815
75-100% work intensity	1.29	1.13	0.7765	0.2235
Neighborhood = poor	1.3	1.14	0.7691	0.2309
Neighborhood = wealthy	1.48	1.22	0.6758	0.3242
Education = low	5.21	2.28	0.1919	0.8081
Education = medium	4.84	2.2	0.2066	0.7934
Education = high	3.13	1.77	0.3191	0.6809
RAE= all	1.04	1.02	0.964	0.036
RAE= intense-individual	1.06	1.03	0.9427	0.0573
RAE= short-individual	1.05	1.02	0.9536	0.0464
RAE= intense –group	1.01	1.01	0.9879	0.0121
RAE= short -group	1.03	1.02	0.9664	0.0336
Naturalised	1.69	1.3	0.5921	0.4079
Not-Naturalised	1.64	1.28	0.6105	0.3895
female	1.12	1.06	0.8893	0.1107
tempo	6.7	2.59	0.1493	0.8507
tempoln	6.68	2.58	0.1497	0.8503

Source: own elaboration from BCSS data

The neighbourhoods and its features

The index of wealth is calculated by the Federal Ministry and it is meant to compare the median income per capita across Belgium. The median income for Belgium is set at 100. The median income of the Brussels region is 85.58 meaning that the median income per capita in the capital region is 16.5% lower than the Kingdom (106 for Flanders and 94 for the Wallonia region)[147]. The statistical association measure, chi2, tests whether there is a correlation in the distribution across categories of two categorical variables, i.e. if one category of a variable can predict the category of another.

[147] For further information about the wealth index http://www.monitoringdesquartiers.irisnet.be/maps/revenus/revenus-fiscaux/indice-de-richesse/1/2006/# Despite the fact that these are data provided by administrative sources, data does not include low income and EU civil servant as they are both not taxable.

The aim of the tables below is to show that the index of wealth in its five categories is statistically correlated with other indicators that provide a more qualitative perspective on the type of neighbourhoods in Brussels. All the data used below were retrieved from the website 'Monitoring des Quartiers', created by the Brussels Statistical Institute. There are 673 statistical sectors which are regrouped in 118 neighbourhoods in Brussels. The chi2 tables below show that the categories of the index of wealth (2006) is correlated with the level of perceived health (2001), with the number of square metres per inhabitant (2001) and youth unemployment (2007).

Table 60: chi2 for type of neighbourhoods and the % of the population declaring bad health

% of the pop declaring bad health	class of wealth by area					
	very poor	poor	on averag	wealthy	very weal	Total
0/20	0	0	6	11	52	69
20.01/25	0	12	33	101	32	178
25.01/28	13	32	24	38	17	124
28.01/31	61	33	54	26	15	189
31.01/38.65	39	49	11	6	8	113
Total	113	126	128	182	124	673

Pearson chi2(16) = 413.2852 Pr = 0.000

Source: IBSA monitoring des quartiers https://monitoringdesquartiers.irisnet.be/.

Table 61: chi2 for the type of neighbourhoods and square meters by inhabitants

RECODE of sqmeterhab (sq per inhabitant)	class of wealth by area					
	very poor	poor	on averag	wealthy	very weal	Total
1	112	7	0	0	0	119
2	1	85	48	14	3	151
3	0	22	50	35	10	117
4	0	12	15	77	45	149
5	0	0	15	56	66	137
Total	113	126	128	182	124	673

Pearson chi2(16) = 975.6122 Pr = 0.000

Source: IBSA monitoring des quartiers. Note: square metres per inhabitants, categorie: 1- 0-29.99 mq2; 2 – 30-34.99; 3 -35-38.5; 4 – 38.6-41.99; 5 - >=42.

Table 62: chi2 for the type of neighbourhoods and youth unemployment

class of unemployment rate	class of wealth by area					
	very poor	poor	on averag	wealthy	very weal	Total
1	0	0	20	61	57	138
2	0	16	47	56	31	150
3	0	12	48	44	33	137
4	2	78	13	21	3	117
5	111	20	0	0	0	131
Total	113	126	128	182	124	673

Pearson chi2(16) = 834.1557 Pr = 0.000

Source: IBSA monitoring des quartiers. Note: youth unemployment category 1- <24.60; 2 - 24.61 - 28.21; 3 - 28.21-31.01; 4 - 31.01- 38.91; 5 - >=38.91.

The significant correlations (pr= 0.000) confirms that the index of wealth, despite being an income-related variable, it summarises other more qualitative features of the neighbourhoods and that if other qualitative variable on the neighbourhood were included in the regression, they might be not significant because of correlation.

List of variables used and created and their caveats

The table below describes the variable that were used and/or created in the logit, multinomial logistic regressions in the quantitative chapter. The first column identifies the primary source of the variable, the second column describes the variable and its values, the third the frequency at which it was collected. The fourth and the fifth column describe which the main characteristics of the variable are and how it was constructed, while the latter presents the possible caveats to consider when using it. The last column indicates where the variable was used

Table 63: List of used and created variables and their caveats

Source	Variables and base categories	Frequency of collection	Features	Caveat	Where was it used
Registre National	**Age** (less than 15 15-17 18-20 21-23 24-26 27-29 More than 30)	Once a year	The variable was provided as a two-year interval variable (e.g. less than15; 16-18, 19-21,). This reduces its precision a continuous variable (practically in interval but constructed as continuous) was constructed	The age for was set at mean age of the interval and increased by an additional year every 4 quarters. Because the observations start from the first quarter of 2005 and the register national is update on the 31 December 2004, the estimation of the age is likely to be very close and it was calculated consequently	OMA/Event history (both)
Registre National	**Gender** (female and male)	Once a year	Time invariant	Time invariant – no change need	OMA/Event history (both)
Registre National	**Neighbourhood of residence** (m. missing 1 very poor 2 poor 3 median 4 wealthy 5 very wealthy)	Once a year	Time invariant – The neighbourhoods include one or more statistical sector (the smallest geographical and statistical measure for Belgium). Neighbourhoods are defined as a geographical entity where inhabitants do their errands, hang out etc. I constructed this variable myself using information provided by the BCSS and the IBSA[148]. I merged the "secteur statistique" used at the national level with and the MDRC, i.e. the number of the neighbourhood which was provided by IBSA and used for classifying neighbourhoods	Time invariant - Variable from the register national were provided only for the 31st December of the first year in which the sample was drawn (e.g. in 2004 for 2005 and 2005 for 2006). The variable was not provided for each year of the observation period this does not allow to clearly grasp the change	OMA/Event history (both)

[148] https://monitoringdesquartiers.irisnet.be/ - Institut Bruxellois de Statistique de d'Analyse (IBSA)

			at the Brussels Regional level. At the neighbourhood level, much more qualitative information is available at the website https://monitoringdesquartiers.irisnet.be/. However, for privacy reasons, a nominal variable for neighbourhoods was not provided: because I had relevant background information I could have identified people. Instead, I was asked to create a way of grouping and classifying the neighbourhoods. I used the "index of wealth" (*index de richesse*) which is publicly available in the internet. I selected the index for the year 2006 and created a 5-category variable based on the level of wealth. I sent it to the BCSS, which merged it with the main data set. The five levels are as percentages of the mean level of income at the federal level in 2006. (e.g. 100% means that the level of income of the neighbourhood is similar to the federal level, 80% means that the income of the neighbourhood is 20% lower than the federal mean)	of residence of young people, which can be frequent. However, it provides important information on the type of residence place because it statistical measures of association (chi2) showed that the level of income is strictly correlated with health,	
Registre National	**Feder** (1 yes / 0 no)	Once a year	Time –invariant The FEDER variable is a dummy variable indicating whether the neighbourhood is classified as "Objective 2" in the European regulations for the eligibility of the European Structural Funds.		OMA
Registre national	**Position in the household**	Once a year	Time –invariant - I only have this information for the year in which the observation was drawn from the population.	Limited in grasping the changing family composition of young people. This variable is used for the analysis on unemployment and on for the event history analysis	OMA/Event history (both)
Registre national	**Nationality** (**Belgium**/ **European** : française, italienne, espagnole, portugaise, autre UE 12, autre UE de l'Est (7 pays) Autre UE Baltique plus Russie ; **Non-European** : pays marocaine, congolaise, turque,	Once a year	Time invariant - I only have this information for the year in which the observation was drawn from the population. However this is completed by an additional variable on naturalisation and on the first nationality.	See	OMA/Event history (both)

	Autres Africaines subsahariennes; Autres Afrique du Nord; Autre-Asiatique; Autres)				
Registre national	**Naturalisation** (0 belge, 1 naturalised 9 non-naturalised)		Time-invariant – this variable was provided in a later stage as soon as it became available for researchers. The variable includes all those who acquired the nationality. This includes for instance young people who were born as foreigners and who acquired the nationality or who acquired the nationality because they parents acquired it first.		OMA/Event history (both)
Register national	**First nationality** (same classes as the variable "nationality")		Time-invariant – it indicates which the nationality of the person was before acquiring the Belgian one.		OMA/Event history (both)
Labour market					
Created by the BCSS – based on several official sources	**Position in the labour market** - Nomenclature (see description of the construction of the variable below)	Every three months	The labour market position variable together with other derived dummy variables was used as a basis for defining a hierarchical definition of statuses which	The information is only a snapshot of the situation of the young person on the last day of the quarter. This makes time intervals coarse and adapted for discrete-time event history.	OMA/Event history (both)
Public Employment service					
Actiris	**Object du CPP** (missing, accompagnement spécifique, determination du projet professionnel, rercherche d'emploi accompagnée, recherché autonome)	By month	Time invariant based on time varying variable. This variable tells the month when the action was initiated but not when it finished. A person could have more than one action per quarter/month and more than one (similar or not) in the period of observation. Hence, I firstly reduced the information from month to quarters in order to stick with the main and most reliable information that is provided by the "nomenclature" variable. Secondly, I summarised in a second variable the second type of measure the person undertook. I finally created a summary of the type of different measure the person went through during the observation period	The lack of an end date reduces the capacity of clearly attributing the length of the measure and does not tell anything about the reason of leading to the end of the measure.	Event history for young unemployed
Actiris	**RAE** – recherché active d'emploi (more than 56 types of measure which were summarised in : intense and in group; short	By month	Time-invariant based on a time varying. This variable tells which actions the person undertook in the framework of the RAE (which can be included within the CPP, contrat de projet professionnel see previous variable). Information is recorded in months and people can receive more than one	Because of the large number of different actions and the number of actions during the observation period, it was more difficult to summarise more actions per	Event history analysis on young unemployed

	and in group; individualised and intense, individualised and short)		action per months. I summarised the information of only those actions that were undertaken during the last month of the trimester.	quarter and per period. The amount of information was the reduced but the variable is already complex. As it includes already 16 alternatives, which are too numerous for creating dummies to be included in the regression and interactions. It is also problematic because the matrix created by the interactions is too big for my STATA 12 version.	
Actiris	**Level of education**	Starting from 2007 only gathered at the registration at the PES	Time invariant (very low cases with time varying, it implies that the person has registered more than once at the PES during the observation period and after 2007 and that they also changed their educational attainment). The variable is based on self-declared. This explains a large share of unknown particularly when the degree is a foreign one. A large share of the youth population had this information and this was treated as time-invariant for the whole period, even if the variable data dates back - at the sooner – in 2007.	Treating the variable as time-invariant reduces the precision of the information and it attributes the role of a certain degree of education that might have not attained yet. However, as a large share of the young person in the sample has low education background already in 2007, it is very likely that a large number among them attained higher education by the end of the observation period. This variable was also used in the sample for young people in social assistance. The fact that most of them had this information implies that most of them were also known at the public employment service. This can be due to tow different reasons: either they experienced an unemployment spell and they registered at the PES (Actiris) after 2007 or because they were activated at the CPAS they were invited to register to the PES in order to prove their availability to work.	OMA/Event history (both)

Created by the BCSS – based on several official sources	**Work intensity –** based on the "nomenclauture" variable (0 no quarters worked – 25-50% 1 up to 2 quarters worked – 75-100% up to 4 quarters worked)	By quarter	Time invariant- I constructed this email based on the labour market position of the young person one year before entering unemployment or social assistance. The variable is constructed on the basis of the "position" variable. Being at work includes: be employed, be self-employed and in employment with top-up.		Event history (both)
CPAS – Social assistance					
MI-IS	**Working under the "Article 60" -** sheltered employment	By month	Time invariant – the person has spent at least one month in: "article 60; article 61; social economy (the person is employed in social economy companies); activation measure established by the CPAS (insertion professionnelle (PTP), Plan Activa (federal measure of activation))".	A time-invariant transformation of the variable does not allow to grasp the length of the time spent in social assistance (a test including the time spent in "article 60" was performed but it did not improved the goodness-of-fit of the model)	Event history for young people in social assistance
MI-IS	**In social assistance and in education**	monthly	Time invariant – the person has spent at least one month in education, i.e. she is known to receive social assistance benefits but also enrolled in full-time education.	A time-invariant transformation of the variable does not allow to grasp the length of the time spent in social assistance. No information of the end of the studies was provided or on the reason of quitting.	Event history for young people in social assistance
MI-IS	Category of payment – **category of household** integrated with the category for single parents (LIPRO variable)	monthly	The category of payment in social assistance depends of the position in the household of the person. This means that compared to the LIPRO variable, this is more up-to-date and precise. For however, for those young people who were known by the social assistance to be living with children, I re-categorised those who were also known to be single parents according to the more detailed LIPRO variable.		Event history for young people in social assistance

Sources: BCSS https://www.bcss.fgov.be/fr/dwh/dwh_page/content/websites/datawarehouse/others/indexes_data.html