

CITIZENS AND GOVERNANCE IN A KNOWLEDGE-BASED SOCIETY

Network of Excellence

Contract nº 028339

RECWOWE

Reconciling Work and Welfare in Europe

Call FP6-Citizens-2004-2.1.1

PUBLISHABLE FINAL ACTIVITY REPORT OCTOBER 2006 – SEPTEMBER 2011

Project coordinator name: Prof. Denis Bouget

Project coordinator organisation name: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme Ange Guépin







TABLE OF CONTENT

| Reconciling Work and Welfare in Europe: project overview | 3 |
|---|-------|
| Project summary | 3 |
| Scientific approach and methodology | 3 |
| Achieving integration | 4 |
| New knowledge and European added value | 6 |
| Analysing four tensions in order to cover the main questions concerning the relations betwe labour market, employment and welfare regimes: research questions at the starting point o RECWOWE project | f the |
| The tensions between employment flexibility and security | 9 |
| The tensions between family life, labour market flexibility and welfare regimes | 10 |
| The tensions between the quantity and the quality of employment | 10 |
| The tensions between old welfare states and new types of employment | 11 |
| Building an European Data Center on Work and Welfare | 12 |
| Changing Worlds of Work and Welfare: what do we learn from RECWOWE's activities? | 14 |
| Understanding the relationship between labour market flexibility and socio-economic security | 14 |
| Assessing the implementation of policies at the EU and national level for Work-life balance in reconciling employment with family | 22 |
| Questing for ,more and better jobs' | 29 |
| Towards employment-friendly welfare states? | 34 |
| Building EDACwowe | 40 |
| Policy recommendations | 44 |
| In terms of research | 44 |
| Recommendations for employment and social policy | 45 |
| Conclusion: toward a sustainable integration of research on work and welfare in Europe | 49 |
| Project identity | 50 |

I. Project summary

The paramount objective of RECWOWE was to create a European research network capable of overcoming the fragmentation of existing research on questions of work and welfare in Europe.

RECWOWE has integrated existing research activities on the various tensions that characterise the relationships between work and welfare.

RECWOWE was aimed at encouraging innovative research in the fields of labour market and social protection research. The common focus on tensions gave rise to perspectives and questions for research that are currently lost in the "void' between existing research domains and academic disciplines. The activity of the network promoted new institutional and individual partnerships, based on novel combinations of disciplinary and geographical expertise.

RECWOWE sought to effectively share the new knowledge that has been built up through its activities. It has organised dedicated training schemes for students and professionals. It has centralised and publicised existing and new sources of data on work and welfare, and has disseminated its analyses and findings through a dedicated dissemination centre.

II. Approach and methodology

RECWOWE aims to overcome disciplinary and institutional fragmentation between labour market studies and welfare regimes analyses. By making "tensions" the focus of its scientific activities, the network has never focused on one side of the problem alone, but instead always retained sight of the permanent interaction between labour markets and the national social protection systems.

Four main tensions were identified:

The first type of tension was between (the need for) greater labour market flexibility on the one hand, and the need to provide adequate levels of social protection for individuals and their families on the other, which is a constitutive component of the European Social Model.

A second type of tension that RECWOWE concentrated on was between family life, relationships and fluidity on the one hand, and the greater flexibility in the labour market on the other. Dramatic changes in family forms and links have an impact on, and are in turn influenced by transformations in the relationships between the labour market, employment and welfare regimes.

A third core tension that RECWOWE addressed was the friction between creating more jobs and maintaining or improving the quality of employment. Increasing employment levels is at the heart of the European agenda, and much of that growth has been fuelled, and is expected to be further propelled, by developments in the service sector.

Adapting welfare states and labour markets depends on political and social actors within political institutions. The room for manoeuvre of these actors and their efficiency in bringing about reforms of

labour markets and welfare states varies between countries. This fourth type of tension between old (industrial) welfare state programmes and new types of employment, and the ways in which this tension is dealt with within reform processes, was a fourth domain for the work of RECWOWE.

The scientific activities on the four domains have lead the network to create a new research instrument: a meta database on work and welfare, called EDACwowe.

Research on each thematic area was coordinated by outstanding scholars in the field:

WP01: Tensions between Flexibility and Security

Coordinators: Prof. Giuliano Bonoli (Institut des Hautes Études en Administration Publique, Lausanne) and Prof. Jochen Clasen (University of Edinburgh)

WP02: Reconciling Family and Employment

Coordinators: Prof. Trudie Knijn (University of Utrecht) and Prof. Barbara Hobson (University of Stockholm)

WP03: Tensions between Quality and Quantity of Jobs

Coordinators: Prof. Ana Marta Guillen Rodriguez (University of Oviedo) and Prof. Sonja Drobnic (University of Hamburg)

WP04: Toward Employment-friendly Welfare States

Coordinators: Bruno Palier (Associate Research Professor (CNRS) at Sciences-Po Paris) and Prof. Jon Kvist (University of Southern Demark, Odense)

WP05: Creating a Meta Database on Work and Welfare in Europe: EDACwowe

Coordinators: Prof. Wim van Oorschot, (Tilburg University) and Torben Fridberg (Senior Researcher), Danish Institute for Social Research.

III. Achieving integration

As defined in FP6, Networks of excellence were designed to overcome the fragmentation of European research by integrating at European level the critical mass of resources and expertise needed to provide European leadership and to be a world force on a particular research topic.

Over the five years, RECWOWE has been successful in integrating a wide variety of research institutions across European countries, providing a durable structuring of the research carried out on work and welfare issues in Europe while, at the same time, advancing knowledge on the topic.

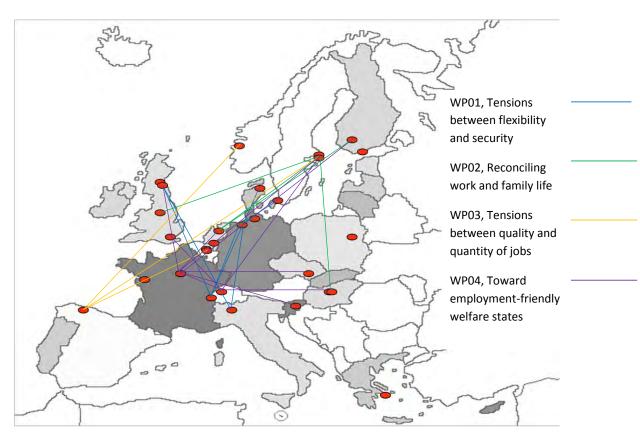
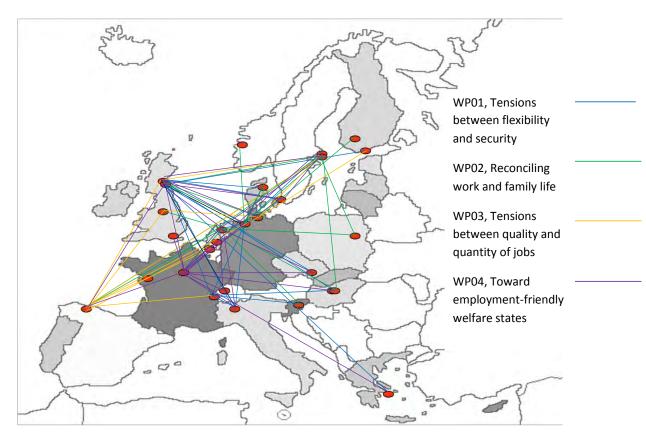


Figure 1: research structuring within the network at the start of the project

Figure 2: Research structuring within the network after five years



As Figures 1 and 2 clearly show, at the start of the project activities were mainly concentrated among a small number of already well-integrated partners with pre-existing experiences of working together, whereas after five years new cooperative activities have gradually been conceived, planned and established for integrating researchers who were less accustomed to large scale research instruments (NoE). This integrative process has always been open, stable and permanent. Particular attention has indeed been paid to not only concentrating on strengthening the excellence of the partners already integrated inside the network, but also to achieving long-term integration of the research capacities of all the members. This was especially the case with the universities and research centres from the new EU member states who gradually developed new cooperative activities and engaged in the network joint research activities.

IV. New knowledge and European added value

The network brought together leading researchers from all social sciences, covering 30 research institutions in 17 European countries. By developing new common topics for cooperation, RECWOWE has accumulated new knowledge and new analysis on the relationship between work and welfare that are to be shared with European scientific, political and social audiences, and has identified relevant new research avenues (especially to take into account, whenever possible, the effects of the economic crisis on the four "tensions" covered by the project).

The integration of research activities culminated at the final RECWOWE Conference, held from 15 to 17 June 2011 in Brussels, where the main findings of the project were presented and discussed with a broad audience. Roughly 240 academics and political stakeholders from about 20 countries within Europe and beyond participated in the conference (of whom 45% came from outside RECWOWE), including representatives of the European Commission, OECD, the European Parliament, social partners, as well as socio-economic organisations such as ETUI.

The final conference did not reproduce the pattern of the previous annual ones, but organised the presentation and discussion of themes primarily around four main common streams:

- Implementing activation
- Transforming social protection
- More jobs, better jobs?
- Can Europe help?

Plenary sessions were also organised on the following topics:

- Tackling the crisis: is 'Europe 2020' enough?
- Changing worlds of work and welfare. What do we learn from RECWOWE activities?
- Liberalisation, dualisation or integration?
- The Agency Gap: capabilities for a worklife balance across welfare regimes and within work organisations

Within this broad framework, many collective and comparative publications were presented to academic and policy-oriented participants.

Twenty-five books or Special Issues of scientific journals have been produced from within RECWOWE. Fifteen have already been published and ten are forthcoming in 2011 and 2012. Books have been accepted by the following prestigious publishers: Oxford University Press, Peter Lang, Policy Press and Palgrave Macmillan. A new book series, Work and Welfare in Europe, has been created with Palgrave Macmillan on the initiative of RECWOWE. Articles have appeared in peer reviewed journals with a strong impact factor. Special Issues have been published by the following journals: European Journal of Social Security, Social Politics, European Journal of Industrial Relations, Nordic Journal of Social Research and International Journal of Social Policy.

RECWOWE has also created a dedicated website called EDACwowe (www.edacwowe.eu), the European Data Center for Work and Welfare. It is a meta data shell which provides direct links to and standardised information on more than 500 data sources on work and welfare and closely related fields as well as sources containing EU comparative and national data. Both quantitative and qualitative data are included. It is a new instrument for research in the domain of work and welfare but also education, especially for international comparisons.

In sum, we have contributed to reinforcing an integrated research community on work and welfare in Europe. We have established links and collaborations, shared knowledge, and improved the capacity to work together and to do research in a comparative way that includes all parts of the EU.

This report presents the main academic and policy conclusions arising from the work carried out during the five years of RECWOWE. It is structured in three main parts.

In the first Section, we come back to the research questions that the RECWOWE project was initially built upon as they were defined at the starting point of the project. Then Section 2 is dedicated to the presentation of the main research and policy findings. Finally, Section 3 draws policy recommendations, indicating topics to be further researched and proposing policies to be implemented.

SECTION 1 ANALYSING FOUR TENSIONS IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN WORK AND WELFARE REGIMES: RESEARCH QUESTIONS.

Since the late 1970s, both labour markets and welfare regimes have been under intense economic pressures and challenged by profound changes in social and demographic structures, as well as societal norms. The relationship between these two domains has altered and become increasingly "conflictual' in many European countries, partly as a consequence of emerging post-industrial labour markets conflicting with welfare states shaped by and for industrial societies. In their recent developments, labour markets and social welfare systems appear to be becoming increasingly disconnected. The disruption, and sometimes contradiction between them partly explain the huge socio-economic problems certain countries are currently facing in terms of high unemployment and low activity rates. Changes in the labour market often go against the protective goals and procedures of social policies. The financial and programmatic configurations of social policies are often said to prevent the creation of jobs. If one cannot claim that slow growth and high unemployment are only due to inadequate welfare systems, at least one can say that because of the separated developments of work and welfare, new tensions have emerged: between demands for more labour market flexibility, on the one hand, and the need for economic security, on the other; between new forms of participation in paid work and the importance of family life; between the number of jobs created and their quality and, more generally, between the need to adapt (industrial) social protection systems to new (postindustrial) labour market structures.

Reconciling work and welfare is an important political aim in many European countries. For meeting this objective, we need to improve our understanding of the relation between work and welfare in the diverse national settings across EU member states. Four main tensions have been at the core of RECWOWE research activities:

The first types of tension has arisen between (the need for) greater labour market flexibility on the one hand, and the need to provide adequate levels of social protection for individuals and their families on the other, which is a constitutive component of the European Social Model.

A second type of tensions is between the *fluidity* in family relationships and life on the one hand, and the greater *flexibility* in the labour market on the other. Dramatic changes in family forms and relationships have an impact on, and are in turn influenced by, transformations in the relationships between the labour market, employment and welfare regimes.

A third core tension is the friction between creating more jobs and maintaining or improving the quality of employment. Increasing employment levels is at the heart of the European agenda, and the European Employment Strategy (EES) in particular, and much of that growth has been fuelled, and is expected to be further propelled by developments in the service sector.

Adapting welfare states and labour markets depend on political and social actors within political institutions. The room of manoeuvre of these actors and their efficiency in bringing about reform of labour markets and welfare states varies between countries, though. This fourth type of tensions between old (industrial) welfare state programmes and new types of employment, and the ways in which this tension is dealt with within reform processes, is a fourth domain for the work of RECWOWE.

I. The tensions between employment flexibility and security

In recent decades many European labour markets have been described as lacking sufficient flexibility for a new and more internationalised economy characterised by technological change, the decline of industrial and growth of knowledge-based employment opportunities, by an increase in service sector jobs and a more dynamic nature of labour demand. At the same time, traditional social protection programmes, largely modelled on male dominated, full-time and continuous career patterns, have become both increasingly inadequate for a growing section of employees engaged in non-standard types of paid work and more difficult to sustain financially due to economic and demographic pressures. Clearly, a tension has arisen between (the need for) greater labour market flexibility on the one hand, and the need to provide adequate levels of social protection for individuals and their families on the other, which is a constitutive component of the European Social Model.

In this context, much of the recent literature on labour markets has emphasised the existence of a potential trade-off between flexibility and security. Flexible labour markets are conducive to more job creation, but at the same time tend to reduce levels of economic security. Policy makers are therefore confronted with a dilemma: either they prioritise labour market flexibility and job creation, and accept high levels of economic insecurity, low wage employment, interrupted career patterns; or they give priority to secure employment, but must then concede high levels of unemployment or labour market inactivity. Some countries (Denmark; Netherlands) have been regarded as frontrunners of how labour markets can be made more dynamic without major concessions in the field of social protection. However, whether the Danish or Dutch "flexicurity' models can ease tensions in any sustainable fashion, and whether and under what conditions they might form the basis for reform agendas elsewhere in the EU, has yet to be subjected to sustained and systematic investigation.

The notion of labour market "inactivity' illustrates a related tension between the drive towards flexible labour markets and the aim of securing high levels of social protection. Low unemployment might not be accompanied by high employment but instead by growing levels of non-employment amongst working age populations, partly supported by social protection programmes such as transfers for early retirement or in support of long-term illness. Recent experience hence suggests that it is not sufficient to simply reduce unemployment rates if the concern is with peoples' welfare or with increasing the activity level of the economy. Lower unemployment may not indicate welfare gains, but rather more moves into non-employment, which involve high social opportunity costs in terms of foregone production and additional strains on social protection systems.

Potential tensions arise here between the drive towards increasing employment rates and labour market flexibility and the unintended effects of national welfare state programmes, such as unemployment compensation, sickness or incapacity benefits and early retirement schemes which open up convenient routes into non-employment. At the same time, closing off such routes may come at a high price in terms of the socio-economic security, and may furthermore not increase labour market transitions, given the possibly negative impact of such changes on propensity of individuals to engage in entrepreneurial and risk-taking behaviours. These and similar tensions in the relationship between labour market flexibility and social protection – and the question of whether they can be reduced or are exacerbated by the design of welfare state programmes – were at the centre of activities organised within a workpackage of RECWOWE.

II. The tensions between family life, labour market flexibility and welfare regimes

Dramatic changes in family forms and relationships have an impact on, and are in turn influenced by, transformations in the relationships between the labour market, employment and welfare regimes. The widespread entry of women into the labour market – mainly in service industries – be it in full-time, part-time or in flexible jobs, influences family life, family incomes and parental obligations. The greater need for two incomes contributes to the polarisation of household incomes. The change in family forms over the last quarter of a century has been dramatic, with low fertility, less marriage, high divorce, and high rates of extra-marital births (albeit that the patterns are very different between north and south Europe). In short, men and women nowadays have to cope with greater fluidity in family relationships and greater flexibility in the labour market. Welfare regimes have not yet found ways to cope with these changes: all that is certain is that assumptions as to the existence and desirability of the traditional male breadwinner model family no longer hold.

Taking into account the nature of behavioural and policy change, and evidence on preferences and attitudes in Member States, RECWOWE considers two key issues in the above context. First, the issue of balance between the services family members need for social reproduction and the way in which the labour market and welfare regimes structure employment in terms of time, flexibility, and economic rewards figure as a central area. Secondly, it focuses on the issue of transitions between paid and unpaid work over the lifecourse for men and women, and the tension between transitions made in the interest of family life and care on the one hand, and the transitions that are made in order to further the acquisition of the human capital necessary for working in the knowledge-based society on the other.

The tensions described above have been covered within RECWOWE in relation to their implications for labour market integration on the one hand (focusing on the part played by the "care burden' as a possible barrier and on the differentiation between good and bad jobs, and for fertility and informal care, on the other. The latter includes aspects such as family solidarity in respect of young and old dependents, and the care roles of people of working age and of retired people.

III. The tensions between the quantity and the quality of employment

A third core tension that RECWOWE addresses is the friction between creating more jobs and maintaining or improving the quality of employment. Increasing employment levels is at the heart of the European agenda, and the European Employment Strategy (EES) in particular, and much of that growth has been fuelled, and is expected to be further propelled by developments in the service sector. Indeed, within advanced countries, service industries have grown more rapidly than production goods industries. However, services are heterogeneous in their skill requirements, and there are indications of a strong polarization in terms of the quality of jobs between high-skilled work in research, development, planning, administration, health services etc. and low-skilled work in services, such as hotel & catering, cleaning, personal care, or transport.

During the 1980s and most of the 1990s, the main policy objective was to create jobs and reduce unemployment. Increasing the employment rate per se was seen as the key to social inclusion. In recent years however, the quality of work life has also come onto the political agenda. National governments and supra-national organisations now emphasize improvements in job quality as well as raising the number of people in the labour market. Following its meeting in Lisbon in spring 2000, the Council of the European Union declared that it needed to prioritize the ,quality of work' as part of its aim of becoming the most advanced economy in the world by 2010. ILO and OECD have taken up similar themes. The logic is that improved employment rates and quality of work can promote financial self-sufficiency and diminish the pressure on the welfare state. High quality of employment can also boost competitiveness, to the extent that it promotes motivation, productivity and commitment.

And yet, tensions between changes in the patterns of participation in labour markets and the need for social protection and quality of life remain pressing. New or reinforced market values, such as competitiveness, allocation through ability to pay and inequality seem to confront traditional welfare values based on solidarity, social justice and equity. In many ways, while new job opportunities have arisen, work has become more demanding in recent years. Significant minorities of workers continue to endure great uncertainty as to the future security of their employment. In other words, there is a tension between the increasing wealth in national economies and the ambiguous changes occurring in the quality of jobs. Typical changes in the European labour markets (more flexibility and emerging job opportunities in the service sector) have met with different responses across different national welfare state regimes. This is an important third domain for RECWOWE which aims to analyze the quality of employment and public policies directed at enhancing it within EU member states, focusing on the distribution and incidence of low-quality employment and the policies directed at improving the quality of jobs across European societies.

IV. The tensions between old welfare states and new types of employment

The welfare state solves problems of modern society such as providing social security when preindustrial safety nets are no longer available. But social policy created also new problems such as heavy tax loads or disincentives for paid employment. The continuation of the welfare state requires permanent reforms so that its advantages are not outweighed by its disadvantages. Labour market developments are influenced by changing strategic choices of employers and management, and the challenge to create a sufficient number of jobs in the service sector. This interacts with welfare state schemes in a country-specify manner. In some cases, welfare states correspond functionally to these changing labour markets; in other cases they create tensions, conflicts, and inefficiencies. Adapting welfare states and labour markets depends on political actors within political institutions. The room for manoeuvre of these political actors and their efficiency in bringing about reform of labour markets and welfare states varies between countries, though. This tension between old (industrial) welfare state programmes and new types of employment, and the ways in which this tension is dealt with within reform processes, was a fourth domain for the work of RECWOWE.

In particular, the focus here are impediments for rising employment brought about by welfare state schemes or, put positively, the conditions required for a new equilibrium between effective provisions of social security and vibrant labour markets. New jobs emerge in the service sector while the shrinking employment in industries becomes a constant source of unemployment and non-employment. However, most of the welfare systems have been created during the industrial era, to protect industrial workers. Job creation in the service sector is less problematic for highly skilled employees compared to employees with few qualifications. Employer willingness to create jobs for poorly qualified workers depends on the demand for these services which in turn is a function of labour costs and hence prices. Each welfare regime presents a different capacity for creating jobs in the service sector. In continental welfare systems social insurance is typically financed by social

security contributions. In low-productivity jobs this implies high wages costs. For this reason, employers in Bismarckian welfare states have little incentive to create new jobs for low skilled in the service sector. The Anglo-Saxon countries with a lean welfare state seem in a more favourable position, since they set low barriers for employers to create jobs for low skilled. The flipside of this interaction of job creation and welfare state is a lack of social security. This problem has been solved in the Nordic states by the expansion of a large and tax-financed public sector that created the new jobs that the private sector could not create on reasons of lacking profitability. This model depends of course on the political and economic sustainability of a large tax state.

In each case, we see that the ,employment-friendliness' of the welfare states critically depends on the ability to maintain or restore an equilibrium between requirements of the labour market and requirements of social security. Reforms depend on a number of variables. One set of these variables concerns the ,goodness-of-fit' of welfare state structures with structures of labour markets and industrial relations (,institutional complementarities'). An example is the level and duration of unemployment benefits that have to vary with the capability of workers to take up employment in different industries. This, in turn, depends on the type of education. The capability to shift between industries is low if typical education is sector specific vocational training; mobility between branches is high when education is of a general type. A second set of variables concerns push factors and impediments for reform. Examples are political power distribution, the orientations and strength of social partners, institutional veto points, fiscal resources and fiscal limitations for welfare state schemes, and the role of the EU and of international organizations such as ILO or OECD.

V. Building an European Data Center on Work and Welfare

The overall objective was to establish and run EDACwowe, which is an open-to-all, service oriented, integrated European Data Center for Work and Welfare, where existing quantitative and qualitative data relevant for the analysis of tensions between work and welfare are organised into meta-data shells, and where new data generated within the network's strands are gathered, integrated, and harmonised. The Center's services is open to network members and others interested, such as policy-makers, interest groups, academics, students, media, etc.

The operational objectives of the European Data Center for Work and Welfare are:

- To install and operate an Indicators Bank, which covers macro-statistical, aggregate level social indicators regarding work and welfare at trans-national, national and regional level,

- To install and operate a Values Bank, which covers individual level data of work and welfare values, attitudes and preferences from a series of European opinion surveys,

- To install and operate a Policy Bank, which covers systematized, qualitative data on work and welfare policies and policy reforms in European countries, e.g. in the form of policy maps

- To carry out and present an Integrated Data Demonstration Project, which aims to show how the EDACwowe can be used to carry out studies which link macro quantitative data, micro quantitative data and institutional qualitative data into advanced, single analyses,

- To install and operate the EDACwowe website which for EDACwowe clients will function as the single, integrated front stage access point to its services.

EDACwowe is explicitly not aimed at repeating already existing data in other data bases. Rather the EDACwowe will add to these where appropriate, but above all aims to be a an accessible and user friendly shell containing links to existing data bases and giving information on them (what do they contain, how to access them, how to use them etc.) that are relevant for activities of the Network and others working in the field. A major task of this activity is to increase the visibility, coordination and usage of existing data-bases in comparative European level welfare analyses.

Special care was paid on ethical issues attached to data. Some data are at aggregate level and, therefore, there are no ethical problems involved. Individual level data included in the EDACwowe are anonymous or will be de-coded in such a way that anonymity or data privacy is not violated. In the case that there are some sensitive data national and EU regulations concerning ethical issues will be strictly followed.

When coordinating and disseminating data, EDACwowe provides possibilities to evidence-based mapping of present and future challenges for the European social policy model, and hence the EDACwowe activity helps the European welfare states to cope with new realities.

I. Understanding the relationship between labour market flexibility and socioeconomic security

Activities within WP01 were organised around five major projects which focused on different aspects of the relationship between the labour market and social protection. All projects examined one or more of the tensions, which are perceived as troubling the relationship between labour market flexibility and socio-economic security. The collective efforts within WP01 have led to the publication of four edited volumes and a number of articles in international academic journals. The main research findings are presented in the following sub-sections.

1.1. Unemployment protection¹

This project departed from the observation that reforms to national unemployment protection systems in Europe until the early 2000s followed a number of quite distinctive logics of adaptation which increasingly seem to share a number of common features. Where the apparently common turn to activation in the 1990s once coexisted with very distinctive institutional structures and politicoeconomic rationales, and clear ,Jeaders' and ,Jaggards' in more far-reaching structural reform could be identified, it appeared by the second half of the decade that the situation was changing. Instead, across a range of national contexts some comparable processes of institutional change, apparently reflecting common concerns about adaptation to transformed structures of labour market risk, were evident. Alongside activation, these processes have been dubbed risk re-categorisation and benefit homogenisation, seeing in the coincidence of all three a dynamic of so-called triple integration that was fundamentally reworking the institutional structures and labour market functions of unemployment protection arrangements inherited from the industrial era.

The findings of this collective project, which examined developments in unemployment protection in 12 European countries between the late 1980s and 2010, show that a strong claim for Europe-wide convergence in unemployment protection would be premature. Reform dynamics in Central and Eastern Europe remain distinctive. In many cases institutional integration has foundered on the inherent stickiness of established divisions of institutional labour in unemployment protection between central and local governments and social actors. In some, the politico-economic coalitions behind explicitly dualising or segmenting reforms in unemployment protection remain influential. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that even in many of the cases where institutional integration has not been achieved it has been and remains high on political agendas. Tendencies to institutional dualisation in unemployment protection reforms have in other cases been arrested and even reversed. And in a number of cases the institutional structures of unemployment protection have indeed been comprehensively overhauled.

¹ Regulating the risk of unemployment. National adaptations to post-industrial markets in Europe. Edited by Jochen Clasen and Daniel Clegg, Oxford University Press, 2011.

While institutional integration is not a universal reality for unemployment protection in Europe, then, it is a clearly emerging trend, and one that is important. Where across Europe the core of unemployment protection was once the provision of replacement incomes to a relatively clearly defined group of integrated "workers-without-work', today it increasingly centres on the provision of combined packages of benefits and support services to all working-age people in precarious positions in relation to the labour market. As the focus of unemployment protection changes, so too does the underlying definition of what it means to be unemployed. The institutional changes are driven by changing risk structures in labour markets, but are simultaneously defining and cementing them.

One contribution to the volume made a tentative first step in looking at the impact of institutional reforms on labour market outcomes. However, a thorough analysis of the distributive implications of these reforms remains an important task for future research. In most cases there have been winners and losers among the economically vulnerable population in the short term. How the distributive implications of recent changes will impact on political support for public investment in the protection – active or otherwise – of the unemployed in the longer term is difficult to predict, but will be crucial in determining how far the progressive potential of integrative reforms to unemployment protection can be realised.

Economic vulnerability is also a moving target, shaped by macro-economic contexts and developments. Between the conception of this project and its completion, countries across Europe have seen very sharp rises in unemployment, as a knock-on consequence of the global financial crisis of 2008. While it might have been anticipated that this would result in pressures to redirect resources to more classic forms of unemployment protection, and perhaps even for the reopening of exit routes from the labour market, there is to date little evidence of this occurring. If anything, the trend to structural reforms evident before the crisis seem to have been consolidated by it. Across much of Europe, the political response to mass unemployment in the late 2000s has been very different to what it was in the early 1990s. This is further evidence of a central argument made in the book, that is that the last two decades have seen a fundamental change in conceptions of the risk of unemployment and of appropriate ways of regulating it.

1.2. Employers' recruitment decisions and statistical discrimination²

This project was particularly interested in the signals that employers use to make recruitment decisions. The focus on the low skill segment was justified by the fact that it is mostly low skill people who have difficulties finding jobs in Europe and that they are the main clients of activation. In fact, an effective activation policy must take into account the way in which companies select their staff.

Another research question was why public employment services seem to have so modest success in facilitating the match between workers and employers. This is a classic question, which has been tackled drawing on theories of asymmetric information and signals.

² "Why Public Employment Services Always Fail. Double-asymmetric information and the placement of lowskill workers in six European countries' by Christian Albrekt Larsen and Patrick Vesan, *Public Administration*, forthcoming. "Statistical Discrimination and Employers' Recruitment Practices for Low Skilled Workers' by Giuliano Bonoli and Karl Hinrichs, *European Societies*, forthcoming. "Activation as a tool to bypass the ordinary recruitment process: Active labour market policy, network and discrimination' by Annette Quinto Romani and Christian Albrekt Larsen, *CCWS Working Paper*, No 67.

Qualitative interviews were carried out with 41 employers in 6 different countries. These are all employers who recruit mostly unskilled labour.

Examples are:

- fast food restaurants;
- cleaning companies;
- laundries, supermarkets;
- food manufacturing companies.

Companies were also selected according to their size in order to maximize variation. The following countries have been included: Denmark, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Slovenia and Switzerland. Interviewees were recruited amongst human resources managers, managing directors or company owners, depending on company size. Interviews were recorded, fully transcribed and translated into English.

It has been found that the traditional signals known to be used as statistical discrimination devices (old age, immigrant status and unemployment) play a somewhat reduced role, since these profiles are overrepresented among applicants for low skill positions in all countries covered.

On the other hand, it has been found that other signals, mostly considered to be indicators of motivation, have a bigger impact in the selection process. These tend to concern the channel through which contact with a prospective candidate is made. Unsolicited applications and recommendations by existing staff are seen by employers as a signal of higher motivation of the candidate. Whereas job applicants coming directly from the employment office are assumed to be less motivated.

Moreover, findings indicate that the labour market is troubled by a double-sided asymmetric information problem. Therefore both employers and employees have strong incentives not to use the public employment services. The reason is that employers try to avoid the "worst' employees, and employees try to avoid the "worst' employers. Therefore public employment services get caught in a low-end equilibrium that is almost impossible to escape.

1.3. Activation and Labour Market Reforms in Europe. Challenges to Social Citizenship³

Activation policies have been realized in many EU member states within the last two decades. They include reforms of benefit systems, labour law and active labour market policies and reflect shifting policy objectives and a new understanding of social citizenship. The fact that labour market reintegration is increasingly prioritized at the cost of social protection basically questions the traditional logic of social security provision and might in the long run also modify underlying culturally and historically rooted beliefs and norms of the Western European social model. To better understand this transformation this project has suggested to focus on the citizen's *autonomy* whose enhancement can be seen as one major objective of public social policy and labour market regulation. To protect the citizens' autonomy requires more than material support alone as autonomy comprises an individual, a

³ Activation and Labour Market Reforms in Europe. Challenges to Social Citizenship. Edited by Sigrid Betzelt and Silke Bothfeld, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

social and a political dimension. Social policies may support or constrain the development of individual identities, strengthen or weaken a citizen's relative social position or encourage her to commitment and participation in the public sphere. Autonomy is considered here to be more comprehensive than categories like poverty, well-being or individual abilities which each cover specific aspects of the individual citizen. The aim here was to take account of societal as well as political impact of social policy change (see Figure 1).

Figure 3: Analysing Social Citizenship Regimes from the Autonomy Perspective

| AUTONOMY | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|--|
| | Individual dimension | Social dimension | Political dimension | |
| The individual's disposition | Identity/Affiliation ('sense of belonging') | Mutuality/Reflexivity | Commitment and Participation | |
| Objective of public intervention | Protection from humilia- tion/oppression/poverty (justice) | Protection from non- respect, unfair treatment (equality) | Protection from marginalisation (social cohesion) | |
| | | | | |
| Policy criteria | Shaping the QUALITY of benefits and services | Regulating ACCESS and social STATUS | Encouraging PARTICIPATION and COMMITMENT | |

This project was interested in exploring how the new ideas and objectives had been transferred into regulation mechanisms, instruments or policy programs.

Three main mediating policy criteria (or principles) have been identified:

- the *quality* of benefits and services
- the regulation concerning the social *status*, or, more precisely, the conditions of *access* to benefits or employment and
- the instruments which allow for the citizen's *participation* or encourage his or her *commitment* to common rules.

Country case studies have identified and analysed instruments or policies which represent typical features of the respective countries' activation strategy. Altogether, they illustrate the rise of three types of tensions which might occur as a consequence of introducing activation instruments into labour market policies.

A. Tensions between equality and diversity. New tensions have been observed between different social groups as the transfer of the Universal Adult Worker Norm to people with different backgrounds and needs often hurt those persons' rights to self-determination and respect. The Danish case study illustrates this on the example of new rules which are mainly applied to immigrant women. The UK case study discusses the specific rules for lone parents – mainly women – which have become much more constraining by recent reforms.

B. Tensions between the core and the periphery. Those tensions may arise when the given structure of social status changes and new, often inferior status' start to be created. The re-enforcement of classical dividing lines between in- and outsiders can be found in the Southern Welfare States (Spain, Italy); the erosion of the core employment status can be observed in Germany; and the blurring of boundaries between the status of being un- or non-employed can be found in France.

C. Tensions between the standardisation and the individualisation. The inherent principle of public social policy to provide standardised programmes is necessarily conflicting with the goal of providing individualised, at best, tailor-made support. The need to reduce expenditure may additionally constrain the leeway for generous provision of benefits, programmes and services. The implementation of "new" instruments like contracts or agreements as in Norway or new governance modes as in the Netherlands attempt to respond to this dilemma and will – according to the concrete circumstances – have positive or detrimental effects on the individual's autonomy.

1.4. The politics of flexicurity in Europe⁴

The aim of this project was to move the academic debate on flexicurity beyond the heavy emphasis on conceptual issues that has dominated the literature in this field to date, and to explore in greater detail the political opportunities for and impediments to the widespread adoption of actual flexicurity

⁴ Two publications have come from this task:

i. The Politics of Flexicurity. Edited by Daniel Clegg, Paolo Graziano and Matteo Jessoula, forthcoming in 2012

ii. Jessoula, M., Graziano, P. and Madama, I. (2010) ,Selective Flexicurity' in Segmented Labour Markets: The Case of Italian ,Mid-Siders', Journal of Social Policy, 39(4), 561-583

policies in contemporary Europe. It was particularly interested in exploring the potential for the development of flexicure policy mixes in economies with a tradition of heavy reliance on the use of labour market regulation to protect individuals against economic risk and, partly in relation to this, strong *de jure* and *de facto* insider-outsider cleavages in the labour market. An additional aim was to explore the impact of the ongoing economic crisis on the prospects for such reforms.

Despite through this double focus setting up a particularly stern test of the potential generalisation of flexicurity policies, the implications of the project's findings are not unambiguously negative for the prospects for this new labour market policy paradigm. In many of the cases analysed, the distributive political conflicts that could hinder the development of flexicurity policies appeared before 2008 less salient than many political economy models may predict. Comparative analysis of opinion data revealed that the policy preferences of ,insiders' and ,outsiders' on the labour market, understood in terms of employment status, are less opposed and less clear-cut in practice than in theory. This creates opportunities for political entrepreneurs from across the partisan spectrum to engage in pro-flexicurity pedagogy in the direction of their actual or potential constituencies. Findings demonstrate that in the national cases where flexicurity has become an important theme in political discourse, it has generally been taken up by parties of both the centre-right and centre-left, who have competed for ownership of it. Even (and perhaps particularly) where the existence of multiple union confederations creates dynamics of competition, influential unions have embraced flexicurity as an opportunity for creditclaiming and reaching out to potential new members. Given that employer representatives are in reality far less wedded to the maintenance of strong employment protection than certain theoretical schools predict, a number of the case studies demonstrate the potential for the return of less dualistic cross-class alliances in the labour market. Labour market dualism need not be self-reinforcing, therefore. On the contrary, it is in some of the cases (such as France and Spain) where insider-outsider cleavages had most clearly come to be identified as policy problems that the project identified more successful attempts to counteract them, while agendas of simple retrenchment have been more prevalent in countries (such as Sweden and Germany) where they had not become a major focus of public policy concern.

More negatively, the contributions to the volume however shed light on a range of more institutional impediments to flexicurity strategies. In many of the cases policy mixes with segmenting effects reflect the stickiness of established institutions as much as the outcome of distributive struggles. The difficulty of developing new mixes of instruments of labour market regulation and expenditure is heightened by their historically differentiated modes of governance, with the different actors who have come to be involved in such areas – including the social partners, national governments and subnational authorities – often jealously guarding their policy prerogatives to the detriment of effective coordination. Thus, while the assumption in the official flexicurity discourse at European-level that win-win distributive coalitions can be built around flexicurity principles appears in certain contexts valid, the belief that these can then be easily translated into new policy mixes, even if negotiated through social dialogue, appears rather less so.

In this context, the impact of the current economic and fiscal crisis for flexicurity is shown to be rather ambiguous. On the one hand, in places where labour market deregulation – or further labour market deregulation – remained blocked due to popular and union opposition, the ,state of emergency' (and pressure from the markets and international actors) has empowered governments in a number of states to propose more radical reforms in this area than had been seen before. Crisis-specific labour market policy instruments, such as short-time working schemes, have in most cases also often included flexicurity-inspired elements (such as links to training measures and accessibility to atypical workers), at least on paper. More broadly, the crisis has in a number of cases encouraged a creative search for

other novel policy arrangements and combinations, in the process challenging some of the institutional conservatism that impeded reform earlier in the first decade of the new millennium. On the other hand, however, the crisis has aggravated distributive conflicts while simultaneously placing extreme and potentially enduring downward pressure on public finances. While in few of the cases analysed have cuts to unemployment benefits been implemented to date (and in some these benefits have actually been improved, albeit on a temporary basis), discretionary active labour market policies have been more vulnerable to austerity. In the context of an acute fiscal crisis, moreover, the medium-term prospects for a policy that trades expenditure for regulation look more than uncertain. The reaction of the European Union to the choices member states make over the coming years in this area will tell us much about whether the commitment to balancing flexibility and security was genuine, or was merely a rhetorical device to facilitate deregulation.

1.5. Flexible Today, Secure Tomorrow?⁵

The aim of this project was to investigate the possible tensions between increasingly flexible labour markets and recent or still ongoing pension reforms and, thus, to provide a novel contribution to the flexicurity debate. The flexibility-security nexus has been analysed by focusing on the post-retirement phase, thus, extending the conventionally narrow concept of flexicurity beyond working life. The overarching research question pointed at the combined effects of more flexible labour markets and reforms of public and private pension schemes on the capacity of pension systems to provide income security – in terms of poverty prevention and income maintenance – for workers whose careers include atypical employments patterns or are fragmented in other ways: Do the reforms compensate or aggravate the risks of flexible labour markets and atypical employment careers after retirement?

Seven countries were selected for the empirical investigation. These were Denmark, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. They display different labour market arrangements and degrees of flexibility and, likewise, their pension systems are quite diverse. The same analytical framework was employed in order to map and then to compare the developments that have taken place both in the labour market and the pension policy area.

While tensions between labour market models and developments and the architecture of old-age protection systems are all over, the results of the empirical analysis show considerable cross-national variation in the capacity of pension systems to provide poverty alleviation/income maintenance after retirement. Moreover, the seven countries differ with regard to adapting pension schemes to spreading non-standard employment careers. On a bipolar continuum, stretching from ,,integrated systems' to ,,dis-integrating system', they can be located in three groups.

The Netherlands and Denmark may be regarded as "integrated systems' because they have effectively addressed the tension between labour market flexibility and pension reforms by integrating atypical employees both during working age and in the pension system. The second group, that may be labelled "integrating systems', comprises Switzerland and the UK. Both countries have started to implement integrative measures in order to improve the poverty-preventing function of their multi-pillar pension systems. So far, however, they have attained less positive results with respect to adequate income maintenance for employees with atypical employment careers. In these two groups of countries

⁵ Labour Market Flexibility and Pension Reforms: Flexible Today, Secure Tomorrow? Edited by Karl Hinrichs and Matteo Jessoula, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

comprehensive or still unfinished adaptation was achieved by interventions into the different pension pillars and reforms aimed at counterbalancing increased labour market flexibility with more employment and income security during working age. "Dis-integrating systems' are characterized by institutional maladjustment of their labour market and pensions arrangements. Germany, Italy and Poland belong to this third group of countries. They have ensured a high level of old-age security during the last decades but, in future, adequate income maintenance and even poverty prevention of their pension systems may be endangered for non-standard workers. Atypical employment careers are on the rise while few measures have been taken to ensure adequate pensions of those workers. On the contrary, the redistributive capacity of the respective pension systems has been reduced. Thus, ,security tomorrow', i.e. effective economic security in old age, can be least expected in this group of countries without regulatory changes in the labour market, comprehensive coverage of workers with atypical careers in the different pension schemes and strengthened redistributive provisions in the public pillar.

1.6. Conclusion

In sum, activities within WP01 have contributed to the understanding of the relationship between labour market flexibility and socio-economic security in different ways. First, tracing the development of unemployment protection in 12 European countries since the 1980s has revealed common trends such as activation, risk re-categorisation and benefit homogenisation in many but not all countries under scrutiny. There is growing similarity between nation states although a strong claim for universal convergence of national unemployment protection systems would be premature. Second, deconstructing the process of activation, which had often been treated as a ,black box', has turned the spotlight on perceived signals of motivation of low-skilled jobseekers as a principle guiding employers' recruitment decisions. Third, investigating activation programmes from the normative perspective of social and individual autonomy revealed the programmes' ambiguous nature which may enhance or reduce citizens' autonomy depending on the tools and mechanisms employed. Fourth, examining the politics of flexicurity has identified the potential for and the barriers to generalising flexicure policies in Europe. Finally, extending the flexicurity perspective beyond working life to the post-retirement phase has shown that countries differ considerably regarding the degree to which they are successful in providing social protection for workers with unstable working biographies and thus preventing old-age poverty.

II. Assessing the implementation of policies at the EU and national level for Work-life balance in reconciling employment with family

Tensions in gender, work and family and welfare regimes need to be analyzed with a multi-level perspective that incorporates analyses at the individual/household, firm level and national/supranational policy levels. Hence projects exploring these tensions in the family, gender, work and welfare regimes, engage with dimensions in the other work packages; flexibility, quality of jobs and welfare state change.

We began with general sets of questions revolving around the tensions between increased fluidity in family forms and the flexibility in employment patterns and relationships and their effect on employment/family reconciliation pressures. Our research has addressed: (1) How are the tensions in employment and family reconciliation affected by new risks resulting from welfare state change and global economic pressures. How do these risks affect goals for gender equality in the family and labour market at the EU and national levels? (2) What are the policies at the EU and National levels that have an impact on resolving the tensions around the reconciliation of family and employment? (3) How are these polices translated into everyday lives of individuals/families and in workplaces and work organizational cultures? How are these tensions expressed in different welfare regimes taking into account care regimes and their consequences for individual capabilities to reconcile work, welfare and care?

In EU discourse and policy, issues of reconciliation of employment with family and work-life balance have been framed in instrumental terms, productivity and efficiency, and activation of women's labour force, yet alongside these goals are other European social goals linked to work family reconciliation: child well being, work-life balance and quality of life and gender equality. These goals appear more and more in competition with each other in era in which welfare states are experiencing economic pressures in global economies and forced to cut social spending and labour markets characterized by greater flexibility and precariousness in employment. These tensions are addressed in the multidimensional perspectives of WP02, considering care, fertility, Work-life balance and quality of life, life course flows in resources and transitions of youth to adulthood.

2.1. Description of work

New Tensions related to care in Welfare States

Focusing on the new tensions in care and welfare states, this task has analyzed cross-national differences in tensions in care (those who receive and provide care), viewed from perspective of historical institutionalism. The multi-dimensional approach to ,tensions' address the cultural, institutional and social levels of society that relate to childcare and elderly care in European welfare states. The two projects show how the restructuring of the societal organization of care work coincides with another major change in European welfare states, a strengthening of economic principles in the organization of the provision of welfare services, reflecting neoliberal ideas of marketization. Although differences in the path dependencies in care regimes persist, looking across European welfare states, they find a common pattern; the growing tensions between the goal of good quality care

and the introduction of marketization, efficiency principles, and consumer choice. Also addressed within this context are the growing numbers of migrant care workers and informalism in care to solve the care deficits as welfare budgets are shrinking. These trends challenge the legal framing and tax and benefit systems within employment relationships in European welfare states.

Publications: Care between Work and Welfare in European Societies Edited by Birgit Pfau-Effinger and Tine Rostgaard. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011

"Welfare State Change, the Strengthening of Economic Principles and New Tensions in Relation to Care," Edited by Birgit Pfau-Effinger and Tine Rostgaard, Special issue: Nordic Journal of Social Research, forthcoming, 2011

Tensions in WorkLife Balance: Applying a Capabilities and Agency Approach.

New rights and policies for Work-life balance have emerged at the European and national levels – including rights to reduce hours, entitlements to care leaves, and flexibility in working times and workplace. However there is a gap in the capabilities of individuals and parents to exercise these rights and utilize these options. Using Sen's capabilities and agency approach, this task developed a framework and models for analyzing the complex and multi-layered universe of constraints and possibilities, of rights and the capabilities to exercise them, examining different institutional contexts across European societies and work organizations within them. The projects in this task show how the extent of this "agency gap" is dependent upon how these entitlements are embedded in different national policy frameworks, mediated through firms/workplaces and translated into individual lives and households. Looking from individual/ household level, we found a gap between entitlements for Work-life balance and the ability of parents to exercise them, and this was most pronounced among our CEE countries (Hungary and Slovenia). In those countries we found the weakest capabilities for Work-life balance, in which parents were working very long hours to manage the family economy. Another project examined how job-related demands and resources are related to the levels of work-life interference and satisfaction with managing work and home, comparing Spanish and German employees. Using three large scale surveys, the results showed that long working hours systematically increased tensions between work and home, as did time pressure, job-related stress, and working hard. The findings also show that those with the most autonomy and control of job tasks were more likely to experience high levels of work-life interference.

Two firm level studies, applying a capabilities approach, underscored the importance of the firm level for the conversion of rights into claims. One EU wide cross-national quantitative study, addressed specifically the rights to flexibility in adjustment of hours, allowing workers to move between full- to part-time work or from reduced hours back to full time, and full reversibility allowing movements both ways. The other, focused on managerial discretion in the banking sector in three countries (UK; Netherlands and Slovenia). Both these studies showed that firm-level characteristics and organizational contextual factors, including sector, establishment size, and strength of trade unions, gender, and skill had an impact on individual's capabilities for Work-life balance. Nevertheless, they find national policy context matters where there is strong statutory support for Work-life balance and public discourses supporting reconciliation of employment and family.

Publications: "Sen's Capabilities and Agency Framework Applied to Work-life Balance Across European Welfare States and Within Work Organizations." Thematic Issue Social Politics: 16:2: 2011.

Expanded Book Publication in progress: Working Title The Agency Gap in Work-Life Balance, edited by Barbara Hobson (see long list of related publications attached to activity report).

Work Family Policies and the Transition to Adulthood

This task addresses the transitions to adulthood for men and women, from the parental home to an autonomous household, to labour market entry and earnings, and then to parenthood. It systematically applies insights from social policy and gender studies to a generation of young adults, with or without children, in relation to their ability to leave their parental home and consider which social policies help them to combine work and family life. The comparative analyses of the demographic life course transitions of young adults, examines their entrance in (non) permanent jobs, their income (in)security, and the wide variety of childcare and working time policies and practices across Europe. The study challenges the assumption that reconciliation policies in which employment is the dependent variable necessarily results in gender equality for all social categories of the population, given the increasing flexibility and precariousness in work arrangements. Thus far, economic and sociological research considers how family policies contribute to high labour market participation. However, we focus on the chances for young adults to form an autonomous household and gender equality in family life.

Examining how current social policies facilitate redistribution of income across the generations, and across young families in a segmented labour market, the projects in this task include analyses of the 27 European member states as well as more in-depth case studies of eight selected countries; France, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia, Spain and the UK. They show striking differences among young European adults for the possibilities to make life transitions to the labour market and to form their own households. The CEE countries as well as the Southern European countries offer the least favorable conditions for the transition to adulthood. More generally, there are differences in social protection for young adults; for example, indirect and family-related social protection is more common than employment related social protection. Hence young adults are incorporated into social policy frameworks as family members rather than as worker-citizens.

Publications Work, family Policies and Transitions to Adulthood in Europe. Edited by Trudie Knijn Palgrave Macmillan, Forthcoming, 2012. Work and welfare in Europe series).

Knijn, T. & A. Smit, 2009, Investing, facilitating or individualizing the reconciliation of work and family life: three paradigms and ambivalent policies Social Politics 16 (4): 484-517

Fertility, Employment and Reconciliation Policies

Tensions that lie within fertility decisions reflect dominant concerns in Europe involving future labour supply, economic competitiveness and the sustainability of welfare states. Focusing on childbearing intentions, recognized as an influential predictor of future fertility, this task examined the importance of labour force attachment on young women's fertility plans in the context of increased labour market flexibility and differences in Work-life balance policies. The study of birth intentions of both high fertility regimes (France and Sweden) and low (Germany, Hungary, Poland and Spain) adopts a capabilities approach in which the basic assumption is that women's choices around childbearing are constrained by economic, social, and gendered normative conditions within institutional policy contexts. The findings based on micro-level studies of high and low fertility societies reveal that capabilities for reconciling a family with employment play a key role in fertility decisions, but equally

important are job insecurities and economic uncertainties within individual families and in the society at large. Unemployment and precarious employment affects childbearing decisions among childless women, even in high fertility countries with reconciliation policies (France and Sweden), but have most pervasive effects in CEE countries. The synthesis of the main findings on fertility intentions reveal how fertility decisions offer a lens for understanding the capabilities of families to have and care for children in contemporary Europe, contributing to the conceptual development of further research on the complex relationship between fertility, paid work and Work-life balance policies.

Publications: Childbearing, women's employment and Work-life balance policies in contemporary Europe. Edited by Livia Sz. Oláh and Ewa Fratczak. Palgrave Macmillan (Work and welfare in Europe series) – forthcoming.

Tensions between female labour force participation and childbearing in various welfare regimes in Europe, special issue, edited by Livia Sz. Oláh and Ewa Fratczak (journal submission to be confirmed)

Instituted life courses and economic sustainability: The central dilemma of European social policy. Life Course Perspectives and the Flow of Resources

Life course perspectives provide an important lens for revealing the transitions over the individual life trajectory but also they can provide understandings of welfare state change. The task on resource flows over the life course underscores how life courses have changed over the last decades, which reveal indicators of systematic change that coincide with a fundamental restructuring of various European life course architectures. Analyzing the flows resources over the life course, this project highlights the dilemma of the ,shrinking middle' phase of employment in relation to other life course phases: longer years of initial education, a delayed start in participation in the labour market, alongside stretches of life-long learning, and longevity in retirement; all of which have changed the proportions of phases of the life course when women and men participate in the labour market. In short, the proportion of the active years of participation has been reduced, with the effect that sustainability of welfare arrangements is threatened. Their findings suggest that neither the established sources and channels of resource flows, including social contributions, taxes and voluntary work) nor the magnitude of resources are sufficiently attuned to the challenges of the new life courses in present-day capitalist welfare states, particularly those of women and migrants. Indeed, women, participate less than men in the creation of resources to be used for welfare arrangements, despite the dramatic changes in their labour force during recent decades. This is partly due to their care activities, which are only valued in terms of resources and in limited ways. Migrants (and in particular specific groups of migrants in different countries) achieve limited participation in the labour market and a high dependence on welfare arrangements, the latter not being able to achieve the goals of full citizenship in the European community.

Publications: Monograph: Instituted life courses and economic sustainability. The central dilemma of European social policy. By Patricia Frericks and Robert Maier Palgrave Macmillan, 2011 forthcoming (Work and welfare in Europe Series), to be confirmed.

Journal article: Frericks, P., Harvey, M. & Maier, R. (2010), The "paradox of the shrinking middle": the central dilemma of European social policy, Critical Social Policy 30, 3: 315-336

2.2. Main Research Findings

In EU discourse and policy, reconciliation of employment with family and Work-life balance are cast as the optimal solutions for increased productivity and efficiency, activation of women's labour force, and increasing fertility rates as well as achieving greater family well being, quality of life with reduced stress and health problems and gender equity and equality over the life course. The findings in WP02 elaborate the inherent tensions in these goals during a period of economic crisis, labour market flexibilization, and intense pressures on welfare state budgets.

Tensions in Work-life Balance: Policies and Practices

Work-Life Balance has become a normative discourse at the EU level and within member states, and has been translated into new rights and policies to respond to tensions in Work-life balance, including rights to reduce hours, entitlements to care leaves, and flexibility in working times. Yet there remains a gap between the existence of these rights and the capabilities of parents to exercise them both within societies and across welfare states (referred to as the agency gap). This gap is greatest in CEE countries, which display the weakest agency and capabilities to make claims for Work-life balance; mothers and fathers have the longest working time regimes, with high levels of precarious jobs, and economic insecurity. On the subjective experiential level, they express a weak sense of entitlement for Work-life balance claims.

Variations in polices and the social rights attached to Work-life balance policies exist across welfare regimes, yet other conversion factors are significant for Work-life balance capabilities. Capabilities for Work-life balance claims are very dependent upon work organizational cultures and working time regimes. The firm is a crucial site for mediating rights and policies for Work-life balance. Our studies found that firm-level characteristics (sector, skill level and size) and organizational context affect the conversion of rights into claims. Individual characteristics, such as human capital, specialized skills and gender influence agency and capabilities for making claims and having them granted. Nevertheless, national institutional contexts matter in terms of the degree of statutory protections and public discourse that creates a social climate in which employers are expected to be more positive.

WLB policies do not always result in greater capabilities for Work-life balance; whether they do depends on how they are embedded in specific policy contexts and implemented in work organizational cultures. Flexibility is promoted as a key policy strategy to achieve Work-life balance and life quality, yet those with the greatest autonomy and job control often experience the most intense work-life interference, as demonstrated in one study of Spain and Germany. Moreover, among the self employed who are employed in outsourced precarious jobs, flexible work produces the least optimal results for Work-life balance and quality of life: working time deficits and periods of asocial hours. Hence among these workers, flexibility without security results in the weakest capabilities for Work-life balance.

Our data indicates two cross-currents that reflect tensions in work Life balance: increased aspirations of both working fathers and mothers to have more time to care for children alongside greater intensity in work demands and more insecurity in employment. The adult worker model, in which parents are expected to be both carers and earners, results in poor quality of life without Work-life balance policies and the agency and capabilities of parents to exercise them.

Tensions in Care, work and welfare

The male breadwinner model has been in decline over the last decades, with the dramatic increases in women's labour force in former single male breadwinner societies. This increase in mother's labour force participation has resulted in a deficit in the care for children and the elderly in an era of welfare state structuring and shrinking resources for services. The new tensions in work and welfare are revealed in two overlapping processes: the restructuring of the societal organization of care work in childcare and elderly care in European welfare states that coincide with another major change in European welfare states, a strengthening of economic principles in the organization of the provision of welfare services. As a consequence, new kinds of tensions have emerged. These include tensions between the orientation of institutions and actors towards a good quality care and their orientation towards marketization and efficiency principles. Another trend that causes new tensions can be seen in the incentives to use migrant care workers to solve the care deficits and the informalism in care that this has produced. These patterns in non-regulated care markets in which informal workers are paid with tax subsidies or state payments challenge the legal framing and tax and benefit systems within employment relationships in European welfare states. Such new tensions co-exist and overlap in complex ways with old tensions, which in part, have persisted in care connected to welfare state, family and employment relations. However, there are considerable cross-national differences concerning the degree to which such tensions exist and the main types of tensions in different European welfare states

Tensions in Fertility and women's labour force

Tensions that lie within fertility decisions reflect dominant concerns in Europe involving future labour supply, economic competitiveness and the sustainability of welfare states. Across fertility regimes and within different welfare states, the importance of labour force attachment on young women's fertility plans is central, analyzed in terms of the context of increased labour market flexibility and differences in Work-life balance policies. The findings show that the mechanism of uncertainty and risk has a strong effect in childbearing decisions reflected in precariousness in employment and labour force and tenuous labour force attachment, including short working hours and/or temporary work contracts, We find weak labour market position constrains (prospective) parents' fertility plans both in societies with highly developed Work-life balance policies such as Sweden and France, and in countries with less policy directed at facilitating the combination of work and family, represented by Germany and two post-socialist welfare regime societies. Another mechanism operating in childbearing decisions is the incoherence effect expressed in women's and men's equal access to education and employment, but the unequal share of domestic responsibilities. This aspect of fertility intentions is most significant for high educated women career oriented women. Time poverty, a key dimension in weak capabilities for Work-life balance, also impacts childbearing decisions in the low fertility regimes in CEE countries, reflecting the tensions in higher aspirations of parenting and the long working hours of mothers and fathers. Policies for promoting sustainable fertility need to take into account the complex relationship between fertility, flexibility and security and Work-life balance policies.

Life Course Perspectives: New risks and welfare state sustainability

Life course perspectives provide a lens for understandings new risks in life transitions, in an era of flexible labour markets and waves of economic crises, which threaten the sustainability of the European social model. Focusing on the threshold from youth to adulthood, the studies in WP02 found that the obstacles facing young adults to start an autonomous household and have a family have become more and more difficult to overcome. They involve features of flexible labour markets, such as temporary jobs and precarious incomes, as well as rising housing costs, and the lack of adequate childcare arrangements. Lisbon strategies for creating a post-industrial economy underestimate these challenges posed by the exclusion of new entrants into the labour market and the inadequate social investments in the next generation. The findings show that social protections for young adults to avoid poverty vary across welfare regimes, with the greatest risks for those living in Central Eastern European and Southern European societies. Nevertheless, in most systems of provisions youth tend to be are treated as family members, rather than worker-citizens. This hinders their ability to form autonomous households and increases the risk of poverty. The new policy paradigms ranging from neo-liberal construction of risk in terms of the individual or those oriented toward social investment in education and activation do not address increasing precariousness and poverty among youth.

Life course perspectives on the flows of resources, their redistribution across generations also shed light on competing policies across generations and the sustainability of welfare states. This is highlighted in the dilemma of the shrinking middle phase of employment in relation to other life courses, reflected in the longer years of education, the delayed entry into the labour market and the longer periods of retirement in aging societies. The sources of resources (for welfare) appear insufficient to cover the social entitlements (for families, for pensions, for care of the young and disabled. Hence, the shrinking middle, the reduction in the proportion of the active years in the labour market, challenges the sustainability of welfare arrangements. The results question the strategies of the Lisbon agenda 2020. Even if they were to be realized, this would not solve the tensions embedded in the dilemma of the shrinking middle, namely that of changed life courses and expectations of established entitlements for care and pensions. The Lisbon targets aim at employment and education but do not sufficiently take into account expanding care needs, reflecting life course change.

III. Questing for ,more and better jobs'

Not just "more' jobs but also "better' jobs has become the slogan embodying the shift in European Union policy objectives in the first decade of the 21st century. WP03 has directed its efforts to the analysis of quality of jobs, understood as both an objective and a subjective concept, and to the legal definition of it. Research has also focused on the problem of in-work poverty, professional progress of women, the salience of quality of jobs to attain work-life balance, and education and quality of jobs. Close attention has been paid to the study of gender inequalities and the situation of immigrants in all tasks.

3.1. Description of work

Job quality in the EU

Two tasks undertook a comprehensive analysis of tensions between quantity and quality of jobs. The task tackled a crucial aspect of employment policies, namely the strengthening of the quality dimension in the decisions taken by policy-makers to foster the performance of the labour market and to combine this orientation with the demands of workers for welfare, protection and a better reconciliation of work and family life. Quality of work has been on the agenda of policy-makers, practitioners and academics for the last decade and a half, promoting a wide debate. The task aimed at providing a contribution to this debate by taking into consideration a wide range of issues associated with the analysis of work quality as well as work orientations among European workers. Relevant matters such as the conceptual and political analysis of work quality, wage differentials, in-work poverty, gender issues or workers' direct and indirect representation in the firm and its relation with the quality of work/jobs were addressed.

Publications: Quality of Work in the European Union: Concepts, Data and Debates from a Transnational Perspective, Edited by Ana M. Guillén and Svenn-Aage Dahl. PIE Peter Lang, 2009.

Calidad del Trabajo en la Unión Europea. Concepto, Tensiones, Dimensiones, Edited by Ana M. Guillén Rodríguez, Rodolfo Gutiérrez Palacios and Sergio González Begega. Thomson Civitas, 2009.

Normative perspectives on quality of employment

A simple statement led to the realization of this task: the concept approached the EU in the field of the EES – emblematic of the soft law – echoed the long European and national legal tradition of labour law. From the point of view of the lawyers, the idea of quality of employment is embedded in the roots of social law (labour and social security law), that appeared with the industrial revolution. It covers a range of fundamental features of the employment relation, recognized in the international, European and national social law. It consequently appeared necessary to confront the political concept of ,quality o employment' analyzed in the former task with the ,jdea of social law', in order to evaluate

the normative relevance of it. The task pursued a triple ambition. The study took stock of the legal and normative apprehension of the quality of employment in Europe. Moreover, this work aimed at offering the conditions of an interdisciplinary dialogue enriched by a legal approach. It is indeed a question of making it possible to a public of non-lawyers to determine the importance of the law in the debate on quality of employment –which until now has given little room to a legal and normative approach-, and to adapt the concepts and useful tools likely to make the scientific reflection progress. The final aim was to formulate concrete tracks to reinforce the European social law in line with the concepts exposed within the framework of the EES, but in respect of the national and international legal traditions.

Publication: Normative perspectives on quality of employment, Edited by Silvia Borelli and Pascale Vielle. PIE Peter Lang, forthcoming 2011.

Working Poverty in Europe

Working poverty is a complex multidimensional issue, combining the individual and household situations, and with generating mechanisms deeply embedded in the complex policy-mix determining welfare protection and labour market arrangements. It could be seen as a one of the main tensions between quantity and quality of work. This collaborative research task explored the many facets and challenges of working poverty in European countries using an integrated method. Comparative analyses across the EU were combined with detailed country studies and thematic cross-cutting analyses, such as mobility and persistence of in-work poverty, gendered risks, living standard inequalities at household level, the situation of immigrants, and the targets and consequences of making work pay policies. These different levels of analysis fed each other through the research by using common concepts in the understanding, definition and measurement of in-work poverty, all of them based on the same statistical source, i.e., EU-SILC micro-data.

Publication: *Working Poverty in Europe*, Edited by Neil Fraser, Rodolfo Gutiérrez and Ramón Peña-Casas. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011 (Work and welfare in Europe Series)

Professional Progress of Women in Europe: women on boards and Executive Posts in the EU

This task focused on the analysis of the past and present situation of women in top-decision making firm bodies, the factors that may have determined the past evolution and present situation and the regulatory framework (recommendations in Codes of Governance or/and laws) in different EU countries regarding female presence on Boards of Directors. The research task encompassed different analytical perspectives and locus of interests, with an analytical focus on the impact of institutional contexts and regulations. The task was also characterised by a predominant methodological framework: collecting available data on corporate boards (and executive posts) with a common quantitative approach. The project includes an analysis of the situation in the EU in comparison with other economies, and individual analyses cover eight European countries, namely, Norway, Sweden, Finland, UK, France, Spain, Slovenia and Hungary.

Publication: *Women in Management. European Employment Policy*. Edited by Colette Fagan, María González Menéndez, Silvia Gómez Ansón. Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming 2011 (Work and Welfare in Europe Series)

Job Quality and Tensions between Work and Private Life

The length of time spent on work, job characteristics and working conditions influence to a large extent the degree to which people are able to combine work and other important life domains, such as family life, care and social life. Jobs which facilitate a more favourable combination of people's work and personal lives lead to a better work-life balance and higher life satisfaction, which in turn might increase identification and satisfaction with one's job and work productivity. This task explored which work-related demands and work-related resources interfere with or facilitate the work-family interface, and how these factors interact with the institutional settings, such as family policy institutions and other country characteristics. While the resources-demands perspective is a useful conceptual model for distinguishing the direction of and the type (positive vs. negative) of spillover between the domains of work and home, it is less clear why certain job characteristics are differentially perceived as resources or stressors by the employees and which role is played by broader institutional and societal arrangements. Cross-country comparisons consistently reveal significant differences in work-life balance on individuals' well-being that cannot be explained solely with the resources-demands framework. Therefore, this task addressed the issues related to work-life balance from various angles, using several theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches, and paying close attention to the societal contexts.

Publication: *Work-Life Balance in Europe. The Role of Job Quality.* Edited by Sonja Drobnič and Ana M. Guillén. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011 (Work and Welfare in Europe series)

3.2. Main Research Findings

Quality of jobs in the EU. Concept, data and debates

The concept of ,quality of jobs' is, in essence, both multidimensional and subjective. Technical difficulties and strong disparities among data sources turn any comparative exercise problematic. Moreover, political communication on issues of quality of employment is complex and it is not considered profitable in political terms. This is probably why employment promotion policies have tended to be evaluated on the basis of quantitative performance on the part of member states. Employment promotion has become the central objective to justify the implementation of structural reforms oriented at adapting the European labour force and the European labour markets to economic change, that is, to make them more flexible. The EU notion of ,quality of employment' has become a mixture of several empirical/ theoretical and objective/subjective dimensions and indicators. Any steps ahead in the re-consideration of the concept and the indicators to measure it are of crucial social and scientific importance.

Normative perspectives on quality of employment

The international approach of decent work (ILO) and a comparative perspective show that quality of employment is primarily a matter of fundamental substantial and subjective social rights. The framework of social rights still remains incomplete at the EU level, compared to national traditions and national engagements within the ILO and the Council of Europe (Strasbourg). This has led to fatal EU jurisprudence (Laval, Viking, etc.) in the field of labour law, undermining the construction of a genuine European social model in line with national and international fundamental social principles and rights. Quality of employment may not be anymore pursued at EU level within this framework. The EU has to seek new grounds in order to guarantee quality of employment and to build a genuine social model. The recent revision of economic governance in Europe shows the limits of social soft law, which is going to be more and more shaped by economic considerations and objectives. If the EU still aims at building a "European social model', it has to immunize quality of employment from the economic governance. A quality of employment strategy anchored in a fundamental rights framework would contribute to this "autonomization' from the social field and would suit with the new article UEFT (social horizontal clause) and the "capabilities' approach.

Working Poverty in Europe

In-work-poverty is a problem present in all European countries, although with a varying degree of intensity. Even in the recent period of sustained employment growth there has not been much sign of working poverty coming down. In-work poverty is not only a matter of low earnings or low wages. In fact, two other mechanisms are also very important, namely, household composition and low work intensity, both at individual and household levels. Both comparative and country case results reveal a dual pattern of in-work poverty profile among the five countries analyzed (UK, France, Sweden, Spain, Poland) regarding both the severity of in-work poverty and the importance of basic mechanisms; a kind of split between Spain and Poland on the one hand, and the UK, France and Sweden on the other. This shows that labour market and institutional settings are also playing a role in the incidence of in-work poverty. In the five country comparisons, Spain and Poland showed higher impact of in-work poverty as a result of lower labour force participation of partners, weaker state support for caring, and high use of temporary contracts. Sweden and France had the lowest rates of in-work poverty of the five, with the UK in the middle in spite of its large low pay sector.

Professional Progress of Women in Europe: Women on Boards and Executive Posts in the EU

The main research findings confirm the low presence of women on boards and top management positions in Europe, even though such presence is higher than in other parts of the developed world. However, the increase of the number of women on boards has been very slow during the last decades, with the exception of only a few European countries. There is a high heterogeneity among countries as regards the presence or absence of regulation and the type of regulation (soft versus hard regulation). The predominant regulation consists of the inclusion of recommendations in corporate Governance Codes (Belgium, France, Finland, Germany, Spain, Sweden, The Netherlands and the UK). Some countries have established or proposed quotas for public limited companies (Norway, Spain, Iceland, France, The Netherlands, and Italy), while Eastern European countries have not issued any type of regulation. Hence, it may be concluded that there is not a strong connection between the type of regulatory approach adopted and the wider welfare state regime in place. The introduction of quotas

seems to be the appropriate instrument to enhance the presence of women; however, such an introduction is not devoid of problematic aspects and has to be considered within each institutional context.

Job Quality and Tensions between Work and Private Life

The study on quality of jobs across Europe showed that there are still considerable differences among European countries and also among men and women. It also showed how job demands have a higher impact on increasing individual perceptions of work-family conflict than job resources on alleviating it. The cross-national variation of the work-family conflict is explained to a large extent by the degree of development and intensity of family policies in each country. Both work and life spheres affect each other, but also reverse effects take place. For example, if job demands lead to work-family conflict, unfulfilled obligation at home can strike back and affect negatively the work performance. Workfamily dynamics are conditioned by the interactions between: a) working life and work policies; b) family life and social policies, and c) social construction of gender and equality policies. Opportunities to engage in part-time jobs are highly dependent on the views and prejudices of organizations, the production sectors and nations as a whole. Policies designed to ease the work-family conflict are mainly aimed at families with children but tend to forget the need to provide care for other dependents. Parents spend significant amounts of time with their children irrespective of other obligations (work / household tasks). A substantial part of parental time with children can not be easily substituted, whatever policies are in place. The growing presence of dual-income couples does not preclude a balanced share of paid and unpaid work among their members.

IV. Towards employment-friendly welfare states?

The objective of the workpackage 4 has been to improve knowledge on the institutional and political conditions under which it is possible to reduce tensions in the relationships between the requirements of post-industrial labour markets and the legacies of industrial welfare systems. Activities were organised around seven major projects, addressing the various aspects of the tensions and of the relationships between work and welfare systems. The impact and influence of Europe, or more precisely of the European Union, on these reforms and on the "employment-friendliness turn" of labour markets and social protection policies was also at the heart of our work.

Not least than four books and two Special Issues came out of the collective efforts within WP04, and several working papers have been also published in the *Working Papers on the Reconciliation of Work and Welfare in Europe* series. The main research findings of these publications are presented in the following sub-sections.

4.1. New measures for new welfare states: better assessments of reconciliation of work and welfare through micro-simulation of public and private benefits

What happens to you financially when you get unemployed, become a parent, or move, depends not only on single statutory schemes, but also on a series of schemes, the tax system and what benefit package you have through your job. This project consists in the elaboration of the new tax-benefit micro-simulation model that includes both public and private benefits. This model shows big differences between different occupations both within and between countries giving new insights into the reconciliation challenges.

The model aims to show that the possibilities of reconciling work and welfare differ tremendously between groups within countries because of complex packages of public and private benefits which are a formidable challenge for comparative welfare state research. It is argued that how micro-simulation can help us better appreciate the nature of tax-benefit schemes and in particular how these impact on individuals and families in different ways depending on their previous income and occupational status.

We show the rationale of profiling and stacking benefits through an example of how unemployment insurance generosity differs not only across countries, but also across income, and that it is benefit packages, rather than individual schemes that determine what the political scientists and sociologists call "social rights", perhaps better labeled benefit rights, and what economists call "work incentives". We also demonstrate how both profiling and stacking analysis are essential when including private benefit schemes and how this may be particular important in view of accessing on-going reforms where privatisation is one of the megatrends.

4.2. New Modes of Governing Activation, Social Benefits and Social Assistance: Bridging the Gap between Welfare and Work?

During the last decade, many European countries have introduced extensive reforms of the implementation structures through which income protection and activation programmes for the

unemployed are implemented and delivered. These governance reforms include: the creation of markets for the provision of activation and employment services, the promotion of cooperation between benefit and employment agencies, processes of decentralizing policy making authority, the introduction of new public management in the public sector.

This project analysed and compared these reforms, exploring a relatively new research area. The study covers nine European countries: the UK, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Czech Republic, Sweden and Finland. It focuses on the reform programmes themselves, and on what is known about their effects.

One of our central arguments is that governance structures are not without consequences for the social programmes they implement and deliver: the treatment of the unemployed, the accessibility and quality of services, and so on.

4.3. Reconfiguring Welfare States in the Postindustrial Age: What Role for Trade Unions?

The point of departure in this project is that the reconfiguration of welfare states is driven by structural changes that affect social partners in diverse ways and that play themselves out differently in relevant social policy areas. These changes are often, if not exclusively, perceived as the coming of a post-industrial age (Armingeon and Bonoli 2006) that makes collective bargaining as well as the institutional-administrative role of social partners more complex. An expanding service economy is likely to provide less stable employment relationships, on the one hand, but new job opportunities for women and the young, on the other. It generates more inequality in working conditions but also the potential to include a more diverse workforce through employment. If the collective representations of workers and employers do not respond to these changes, but keep on focusing on the trade-off between employment and real wages for a core, full-time workforce, they are faced with a loss in membership, marginalisation in the political process and ultimately an erosion of public support for the institution of social partnership.

The project concentrated on trade unions as they have been particularly challenged by these structural changes and were accused of largely blocking necessary reform in public debates. They have also been put under pressure by an ideological shift that sees a legitimate role for social policy not so much in the correction of markets, above all for reasons of equality, but in the correction of market failures. The latter supposedly reconciles equity and efficiency if social policy is efficiency-enhancing, for instance through basic social insurance for longevity and sickness on which profitable private provisions of pensions and health can build. The European Union's social agenda is largely driven by an attempt to realise this potential of "social policy as a productive factor', in the European Employment Strategy, the different vintages of the Lisbon Strategy or its equality rights agenda. The problem for trade unions is not the productivist thrust per se, but the implication that redistributive social policy becomes suspect.

On what do the strategies and responses of trade unions depend? The literature relies largely on deductively inferred hypotheses, such as insider-outsider models from the normative economic theory of competitive labour markets (Lindbeck and Snower 1989, Saint-Paul 1998). Or it relies on aggregate evidence that assumes and reproduces rather stylised dualistic typologies (Rueda 2007) which social policy researchers have come to see as too simplistic. So what determines how constructive or obstructive, defensive or pro-active, assertive or compromising, trade unions are in particular policy areas?

This project is a complementary endeavour to Colin Crouch's inquiry into the "snakes and ladders of 21st century trade unionism' (Crouch 2000). We identify how the snakes and ladders matter, that is how weakening and strengthening conditions are shaping the role of unions in the reconfiguration of welfare states. Crouch identified as weakening conditions, among others, the shift of industrial relations activity to the enterprise level and the collapse of the standard employment relationship, while strengthening may result from the need for social pacts in an integrating Europe and in welfare reforms. One question we had is how even snakes can be turned into ladders if trade unions are able to respond constructively.

We argue that:

- It is important to distinguish a political-institutional and an economic role of trade unions because the two roles can be traded off against each other in welfare reforms.
- Trade unions may be weakened in their economic role, ie as wage bargainers in the market place, and yet retain their political governance role in occupational pensions and labour market policies
- Or vice versa, trade unions with hardly any policy-making influence as in Poland and Serbia or Southern European countries can still fulfil and even strengthen their economic function for the individual welfare of organised workers.
- Collectivisation, rather than individualisation and privatisation, of welfare is a distinct possibility when the welfare state retreats.
- Conversely, professional organisations may actually be empowered while collective representations of workers lose out.
- The political-administrative role is more conducive to a permanent, legitimate role of trade unions in welfare state restructuring.

4.4. The Europeanization of 'Employment-Friendly' Welfare States

Does European integration influence national social policies? This project indeed focused on the relationship between European integration and its outputs on national institutional and political settings.

The most recent literature has shown that the EU is an important variable to understand recent welfare state changes, but it remains relatively unclear on how precisely Europe does matter. The project was aimed explicitly at exploring and specifying what are the political mechanisms through which the EU plays a role in domestic social policy changes. We contended here that the best way to understand how the EU can influence domestic politics is to look at the way national actors are making use of EU resources and constraints.

The main finding of this project is that European resources have been crucial in several domestic welfare state reforms. All the countries analyzed have gone through some changes and in all the reform processes Europe has been somehow part of the picture. However, the comparative research shows there are many different pictures in the photo album of the Europeanization of welfare state reforms. European resources are translated and mediated differently in each country according to the domestic institutional and historical context and to the interests of the actors that have been able to use

them. Hence, what emerges is an image of diversity which questions the often supposed or observed convergence process.

4.5. The Age of Dualization: The Changing Face of Inequality in De-industrializing Societies

Poverty, increased inequality, and social exclusion are back on the political agenda in Western Europe, not only as a consequence of the Great Recession that hit the global economy in 2008, but also as a consequence of a seemingly ,secular' trend towards increased inequality that began some time ago.

How can we explain this increase in inequalities? This project argued that social and labour market policies contribute to shaping the forms and extent of the new inequalities and divides that challenge European societies, and we identified political strategies and institutional dynamics of dualization.

Dualization implies that only the position of outsiders deteriorates (or that we witness the creation of new outsiders), while the position of insiders remains more or less constant. Thus, dualization is conceptualized as a process that is characterized by the differential treatment of insiders and outsiders and that can take the form of newly created institutional dualisms or the amplification of existing institutional dualisms (policy output). At the outcome level, the process of dualization is very likely to lead to greater divides or divisions, but this is not necessarily the case, as we can witness dualization at the policy output level without increasing divides at the individual outcome level, if, for instance, outsider policies are relatively generous.

The translation of structural pressures into policies and outcomes has to be understood as a political process, in which politically and economically stronger groups are using their power resources to insulate themselves from the negative effects of these structural pressures, and in which governments make deliberate choices in favor or against outsiders. Thereby, changes in the labour market are translated into the social policy realm, where new distinctions arise or old institutional distinctions are re-activated. Feedback effects and vicious circles are likely to strengthen this effect because weak labour attachment and social exclusion are associated with weaker political representation.

Contrary to those who claim that inequalities are primarily the result of economic trends and necessities, the project demonstrates that political choice and policies matter. Instead of mainly being the result of liberalization processes, achieved through a gradual retrenchment of labour market regulation and social protection across-the-board, we argue that current policies tend to differentiate between different social groups: some portions of the society are insulated from growing risk and inequality through various labour market and social policies, while others are exposed to new or greater risks through policy reforms.

There are at least three dimensions along which dualization processes can vary: 1) Across time in their intensity, prevalence, and respective importance, 2) across policy fields (labor market regulation, social protection regulation, migration policies etc.), and 3) across countries and regimes. The project integrated all three dimensions of comparison. Based on our comparative perspective we were able to grasp the varieties of dualization across rich OECD countries.

We also stressed the complementarities between the different dimensions of outsiderhood and the interconnectedness of different political realms. The individual labor market situation matters for social rights, while social policies influence labour market interactions. Changes in one realm are likely to trigger reforms in the other realm. In a similar vein, labour market policy and social policy reforms are likely to be influenced by political representation.

4.6. The Public Sector in Recession-Era Workforce Patterns

The idea of "employment-friendly' welfare states must leave a large place for the (typically) one worker in four or five whose employer is a public agency or function. These occupational groups traditionally had some protections in terms of job security, pay progression and pensions' entitlements but they also included some poorly-paid workers in health and education.

The research started from the spectacular financial crises that have engulfed Greece and Ireland, with Portugal close behind, and we researched those countries and brought in Britain, Spain and the Czech Republic as nations less severely affected by external demands but also with significant pressures and protests. We traced the way that a conjunction of political and financial events has broken some paths of relations between the sectors.

The literature and international statistics are less good for public employment than public expenditure and we have been able to put together better data on numbers, earnings and distributional characteristics.

The main finding is that country circumstances vary but that the economic crisis has altered the balance of political forces in the countries studied and led to a far more critical appraisal of the way that public employees either earn a ,rent' because of their insulation from market pressures or allow a better and fairer distribution of employment in modern welfare states.

4.7. Towards a social investment welfare state? Ideas, policies and challenges.

Since the late 1990s, new ideas and strategies concerning the role and shape of the Welfare State have been formulated, with the focus being placed on developing policies that aim to "prepare" rather than "repair". These ideas were developed and promoted most notably by the OECD (1997), Giddens (1998), Esping-Andersen et al. (2002), and Rodrigues (2003). The same ways of reasoning also underpinned the Lisbon Agenda, which the European Union adopted in 2000 in order to meet the future challenges of ageing populations and the shift towards a knowledge-based and service economy. While different terms and labels have been used (,social development', ,the developmental welfare state', ,the social investment state', ,the enabling state', ,inclusive liberalism'...), all these analyses and policy developments point towards a similar policy logic based on ,social investment'. This project rests on the hypothesis that this social investment perspective represents a new emerging paradigm for the Welfare State.

The aim of this project has thus been to map out the contours of this new paradigm, both at the ideational level and in terms of the policies implemented throughout Europe. The project also aimed at assessing the achievements, as well as the shortcomings, of this strategy. In particular, it questioned whether the recently promoted social investment strategy is able to regenerate the welfare state, promote social inclusion, create more and better jobs, and help address the challenges posed by the economic crisis, globalisation, ageing and climate change. In doing so it provides a critical analysis of the content and coherence of the ideas and policies put forward in this new perspective.

The findings of this collective project show that only a few countries have implemented a full social investment (SI) approach. Neither Southern European countries nor Eastern European countries have really entered the SI era. The continental European countries remain traditional ,compensatory welfare systems' with few attempts to shift towards SI, even if some countries (France, Belgium, and increasingly Germany and the Netherlands) display some orientation towards SI in the field of family

policy. The countries that display the strongest SI profile are the Nordic countries. We can also see changes towards a more ,active' welfare state in the Netherlands as well as in the UK, but while the Nordic version of the SI approach spends much on investment-related social policies as well as on old-age and passive labour market policies, the British case shows a reorientation of public social expenditure away from compensatory social policies towards more social investment-oriented policy domains (education and family policy but not active labour market policy).

The Nordic countries case suggests that SI policies can successfully combine social and economic goals. They display high and broad-based education levels, which translate into high levels of social capital and social cohesion, greater learning and innovation capacity at work, more flexibility on the labour market, good economic growth including the creation of more and better jobs. They also display higher female employment rates, lower poverty rates, including lower transmission of intergenerational poverty and have been dealing successfully with demographic issues, both in terms of providing care for the elderly and in maintaining fertility levels. They are also the most successful when it comes to implementing climate mitigation policies.

The key to this success seems to be the fact that the Nordic countries have not pursued a simple reorientation strategy with their welfare systems towards more activation, but have instead combined strong protection with SI, with the aim to promote equality.

Two elements seem to be generally missing and yet crucial for the success of a SI strategy:

- Equality appears to be a necessary precondition, which underlines the importance of traditional social protection and anti-poverty programs and suggests that reduction of income inequality should remain high on the SI agenda. Thus it is not just equality of opportunity but also equality of outcomes which is important.

- "Quality' should be another crucial component of a true SI strategy. This relates both to the quality of jobs but also to the quality of services. Investing in quality means that substantial investment must be made to improve education, training and up-skilling schemes, as well as to improve working conditions. This in turn means that more, rather than less, social spending or, rather, investment is needed.

4.8. Conclusion

Employment-friendly welfare states invest in skills through childcare and early childhood education, life-long learning and policies boosting labour market integration. Work in workpackage 4 shows, however, how promising steps towards a ,new welfare model' in many countries are at a halt as making work pay through benefit cuts become the main tenant in reforms. Work also shows how the transformation of the European welfare state impact adversely on certain socioeconomic groups.

The welfare state needs an update. Debt crisis, globalisation and ageing populations call for a rethink of the welfare state. Austerity packages roll back state responsibilities for welfare through benefit cuts and sacking of thousands of public sector employees. Some of these cuts in social expenditure today may come back to haunt governments later. Smaller social investments in current generations of children and youth may result in less productive future generations of workers. Without a rethink of the European social model that goes beyond simply cost cutting, the future may bring governments not only less revenue and more expenditure but also more divided societies.

V. Building EDACwowe

5.1. Meta-data-shell / Website

The EDACwowe data portal was opened in April 2008 for public use after 1.5 year of preparation, and now has a strong surplus value due to the following characteristics:

• It is unique in its kind

• In a single portal it combines work and welfare related data of various types: 1) micro survey data, 2) (quantitative) macro statistics and indicators, 3) (qualitative) data on policies and institutions. This combining of data types improves the effi ciency of data search and promotes knowledge about the actual availability of data.

• In addition to the core data regarding work and welfare the portal also offers access to data on related fields, like: (health) care, economics and trade, political systems and elections, industrial relations, education, migration, demography, etc. This meets the fact that work and welfare research and policy making nearly always also refer to or reckon with other social phenomena and institutions.

• For each data source included in the portal standardized information is given. This promotes getting a quick impression of its contents and it facilitates the comparison of data sources.

• Per data source the portal offers direct, so-called deep links to those web pages where the required data is actually presented. In this way the portal goes beyond a mere reference to a data source's home page. This increases importantly the efficiency and effectiveness of data search.

• The various data sources covered are ordered along a series of categories that have been developed in consultation with data users. This improves the user-friendliness of the portal.

• The portal has its own keyword search engine.

Important figures: the portal covers over 500 data sources, it has more than 3000 deep links, and it is visited by some 300 experts per week.

5.2. Data Demonstration Project

This project realized two 4-day workshops (one for phd-students, and one for seniors) at Tilburg University, with 20 attendants each, and we have organized 15 workshops on location of summer schools, graduate schools, local departments, and research institutes with over 300 attendants. In addition we gave data workshops and presentations at 25 conferences where we reached an audience of over 2500 experts.

5.3. Tensions Data Project

The EDACwowe TDP aimed to study, in the wider framework of the work-welfare tensions focus of the RECWOWE network, the effects of work and welfare arrangements and institutions on the degree to which individuals in various social situations and in different European countries subjectively experience tensions in their work, family and personal life. While most of the RECWOWE tensions tasks focus on supra-individual, macro and meso level social tensions in the fields of work and welfare, the TDP focuses on tensions at the individual micro-level and emphasizes the subjective aspects of it.

The underlying policy relevant question is which national policies, especially work and welfare arrangements contribute to resolving subjective tensions, and thus contribute to the economic, social and psychological quality of the life of Europeans. Given that tensions have been shown to have negative consequences towards individuals' mental and physical well-being, the study of the effect of policies on tensions is a crucial one.

The scientific relevance lies in the study of the prevalence and determinants of individually felt tensions, and in the explicit focus on assessing the impact of work and welfare policy arrangements. The TDP projects thus explicitly have a multi-level perspective on determinants, that is, individual and national, and will apply suitable data analysis techniques, namely multi-level models.

Within the TDP, EDACwowe developed specific sub-projects that are complementary to the strands' work, in cooperation with the strands, so that an optimal synthesis can be realized between the overall aims of the TDP on the one hand, and the topical focus and related research questions of the strands on the other.

In the beginning stage of the Tensions project, EDACwowe has explained the TDP objectives to the coordinators of the Recwowe strands and asked for their comments, suggestions and ideas on the TDP projects and on cooperation. Based on the reactions we've received, as well as on a review we made of the work in the strands that had been done, was currently being done, and was planned for the future, two TDP projects have been developed. The two projects are complementary and closely linked to issues and tasks in each of the four RECWOWE strands. Each project aims to link up with two strands simultaneously.

The Tensions data project has been divided into two parts. The first part deals within the labour market between flexibility and security.

Project 1: Subjectively experienced flexicurity: perceptions of job security and income security

This project links with work packages 1, *Tensions between flexibility and security*, and work package 4, *Employment friendly welfare state*.

This project examined people's perceptions of job/employment security and income security, as the two elements that constitute a measurement of the subjective experience of the concept of "flexicurity'. TDP1 focused on analysing a micro-micro and a macro-micro level the individual and institutional determinants of both individually perceived securities of both employment insecurity and income security.

Two specific themes have been developed within the TDP1, that is firstly, the individual and institutional determinants of employment insecurity during the financial crisis, and secondly, the individual and institutional determinants of dual insecurity, that is the insecurity of both employment and income. For this project the European Social Survey of 2008/2009 has been matched with various national level data sources from EUROSTAT and others found via the EDACwowe data shell.

The main findings of the TDP 1 project were as follows.

- There are large variations across Europe in terms of how insecure their individuals feel about their employment prospective
- Cross-national variance of employment insecurity can be explained mostly by market fluctuations such as GDP growth rates and employment rates rather than institutions
- Of the institutions it seems that policies that protect individuals income and activation seem to work better than institutions that protect jobs
- There are large variations also on how individuals feel about the security of their income and employment
- Active labour market policies seem to explain the differences across countries in this dual insecurity

This project led to two journal articles, one published and another currently under review, two book chapters both to be published, and two working papers published in 2011(see dissemination list below).

Project 2: Subjectively experienced tensions in balancing work and family life

This project links with work packages 2, *Reconciling family and employment*, and work packages 3, *Quantity and quality of job*.

During the RECWOWE meetings, we have found that WPs 2 and 3 are converging around the notion of work-family-balance (WFB). In other words, in both work packages 2 and 3 we have seen that there has been a great interest in examining the role of job quality in a larger context in relieving individual's work-family tensions. In our view, we believed that EDACwowe could contribute to this with a complementary project TDP2, which focuses on the analysis of the individual and institutional determinants of subjectively experienced WFB by analysing data from a larger number of countries. Although the data available in the larger EU comparative surveys do not contain all variables that are specifically needed for a capabilities approach, the TDP2 could help in setting the findings of the projects within WP2 and 3 by providing a wider EU perspective, and help in comparing and interpreting the outcomes from both projects. The TDP2's focus on subjectively experienced WFB could be linked to WP3's focus on objectively defined WFB. Directly, in the sense of analysing the relationships between the two, but also indirectly, where measures of objective and subjective experienced WFB are included simultaneously in the WP3's analysis of the determinants of perceived job quality.

Two specific topics have been developed under the TDP2 project. The first paper focused on explaining the cross-national variance in the level of individual's subjectively perceived work-family conflict, the second focused on explaining the cross-national variance in the gender gap in individual's subjective perceived work-family conflict. Here work-family conflict includes both time-based work-family responsibility conflict, and strain-based work-household task conflict.

The data from the European Quality of Life Survey for 2007 was matched with various national level variables such as family policies, child care coverage and other cultural and socio-economic characteristics. The main findings of the TDP 2 project were as follows.

- There are large variations across countries in the tensions individual's feel in balancing work and family life
- Much of this variation seem to be explained by family policies provided at the national level
- Company policies also seem to matter, especially in terms of job demands and resources provided for individuals
- Job demands seem to be of more importance in explaining individual's work-family conflict levels than job resources
- There are also large variations in gender gaps in work-family conflict across countries
- Wider childcare coverage increases the gender gap in work-family conflict only because men seem to benefit from it more than women
- Women are affected more from work demands than men, in terms of work-family conflict
- Cross-national variation in work-family conflict is larger for men when individual job and household characteristics are taken into account

This project led to one book chapter, which was published as a part of WP3's book *Work-Life Balance in Europe: Role of Job Quality* edited by Sonja Drobnic and Ana Guillén, and another journal article is currently under way.

On the basis of the research findings of the various projects, two groups of policy recommendations can be proposed. The first concern research policy (indicating topics for further research) and the second relate to employment and social policy.

I. In terms of research

1.1 New topics and theories

Both the current financial, economic, debt and fiscal crises as well as structural developments such as European deindustrialisation, climate change, emergence of new competitors, demographic transformation and skill polarisation call for new economic theories and approaches to development and growth. Research should focus on the possible role of the renewed welfare state in these developments. The contribution of labour market and social policies in the new economy may become more crucial than ever, as theorists of the knowledge-based or learning economy have started to argue. New approaches in terms of the developmental welfare state, capabilities or social investment have been developed but need more elaboration and/or alternative approaches.

1.2. New types and new approaches of inequalities

It seems essential to better document growing inequalities, beyond mere income inequalities, and to analyse their relationships with welfare systems. The capacity of welfare systems to deal with new forms of inequalities in the future is at stake, but also the economic efficiency of European countries in the future, since recent studies have underlined the contribution of equality to economic performance and this may be undermined by rising inequality. A better form of documentation for inequalities is needed, one that goes beyond income inequalities in the here and now to encompass the different dimensions of inequalities in life opportunities and capabilities. The distribution of these inequalities also has to be understood within additional and/or new dimensions, such as new social class divides, marital polarisation, persisting gender inequalities, or new ethnic, religious or generational cleavages.

1.3. A new concern: Migration, work and the welfare state

The degree of participation of migrants and ethnic minorities in the labour markets and welfare regimes varies widely among different EU member states: there are large differences between the inflow countries and cultures, flows move according to external crises, etc. However, we need to better know the position of immigrants and ethnic minorities in terms of unemployment and in-work poverty, in terms of flexicurity policies, in terms of family structures and gender relationships, and in terms of social rights. This knowledge becomes essential for combating the growing xenophobic feelings in many European countries.

1.4. A new approach to job quality

In order to better approach the question of job quality, it seems necessary to re-assess the list of EU indicators on quality of jobs with the aim of reflecting social situations in a fairer and more realistic way. The obsession with quantitative performance in the promotion of employment creation needs to be addressed. Employment policies should not be chosen by their capacity to maximise the registers of established indicators, but rather for their capacity to improve the situation of those people who can benefit from them.

A-5 From Work family balance to work life balance

For work-life balance (WLB) in reconciling employment with family, there is a call for more research with a multi-level research design in order to capture the agency gap in the existence of rights for work-life balance and the capabilities of EU citizens to exercise these rights. Keeping in mind the findings from gender analyses, we underscore the need for more research at the firm level, where WLB policies and rights are mediated.

II. Recommendations for employment and social policy

2.1. New approaches to activation

The analysis of flexicurity, social investment and activation policies lead us to a first series of recommendations. The main goal of employment policies is to include as many people as possible in the labour market of today and in the years to come and to ensure accessible and high quality education, social and health care. Activation and social investments are the chief instruments to make the European Social Model economically sustainable and socially just.

Today, however, there is a need for activation that goes beyond active labour market policies. A broad understanding of activation should also include, for example, participation of children and youth in childcare and education, further education and training for those of working age, and how to facilitate employment for older workers for more years. There is also a need for social investments to ensure high quality jobs that pay decent wages and to avoid dead-end low quality jobs on minimum wages. Activation in social investment schemes has a preventive or enabling function. Investments today mean fewer financial and social difficulties tomorrow.

These policies have to avoid a one-sided effect only on labour supply. Governments should also implement structural policies and incentives for companies to increase the demand for labour.

2.2. Paying more attention to the social consequences of activation policies

More attention should be paid to economic activity over the life course. Atypical employment careers are on the rise while few measures have been taken to ensure adequate pensions for such workers. Thus, ,security tomorrow', i.e. effective economic security in old age, can be least expected.

Comprehensive coverage of workers with atypical careers in the different pension schemes and strengthened redistributive provisions in the public pillar are required.

2.3. Standards and policies for the quality of work

It is necessary to develop and strengthen standards and policies for the quality of work.

A first step would be to establish a catalogue of rights and freedoms that define the ,quality of employment in Europe'. This catalogue must include the four universally acknowledged social rights listed in the ILO Declaration, and has to be extended to the commonly agreed corpus of social rights in the EU (on the basis of the EU social acquis of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU and of the relevant instruments of the Council of Europe). This catalogue should constitute the vertebral column of the EU strategy for quality of employment, supplemented by soft law.

The EES and OMC should be reviewed in line with the rights that are recognised at EU level. These rights must shape the list of criteria for the ,quality of employment', but also the way they are conceived through indicators (and not the reverse). Art. 9 UEFT has to be fully implemented in order to assess the impact of EU policies on quality of employment.

Decent working time standards that have been formulated by the ILO need to be incorporated into EU soft law, alongside strategies to promote better quality of life in countries with extremely long working time regimes that affect health and wellbeing and the capabilities to care for children, found in studies of CEE countries. CEE countries emerge as the societies with the greatest risks to health and stress levels of dual earning families, for youth transitions to the labour market, precarious employment and low fertility.

All the new possibilities offered by the Lisbon Treaty must be exploited to ensure the efficacy of social rights: implementation of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, EU adhesion to the European Convention of Human Rights, but also to the ILO – which leads to automatic adhesion to fundamental social rights – to the European Social Charter of the Council of Europe, and other relevant instruments against discrimination (including CEDAW and others at UN level).

2.4. Focus on the work/family interface

A significant proportion of individuals experience work-family conflict, and this conflict level is higher in the direction of work to family/ household conflict. There is need for governments to be more pro-active in addressing the tensions in the work/family interface, including policies for implementing flexible work schemes that allow working parents to cope with family needs and employment demands, and more options and support for available and affordable high quality care for children and the elderly. Stricter enforcement of job protections is essential for eliminating the care penalty for working parents who take care leaves. Father's rights to care need to expanded, which entails incentive structures for fathers to take leave. Both of these initiatives could and could have an effect in the achievement of a more gendered equitable work-life balance over the life course. Some policies promoting Work Life Balance that are used almost exclusively by mothers, such as long term care leaves and reduction in hours, need to be reviewed and reassessed in light of the unintended consequences in gender discrimination in the labour market and inequalities in the family.

2.5. Continue the fight for gender equality

Although women make up nearly half of the workforce and more than half of new university graduates, they continue to receive lower wages than men and to be under-represented in senior positions in many fields. The realisation that the increase in women's employment rates or in female university graduates will not by themselves be sufficient to close the gender gap in top management positions and the glacial increase in female board members in the EU during recent years, helps explain the European Commission's intention to establish gender quotas if self¬-regulation fails.

2.6. Fight in-work poverty through quality

In-work poverty in EU countries is a situation of high mobility, transitory for some workers but still recurrent for others. Inequalities within the household reflect situations and potential risks of in-work poverty that are significantly more important for women than men. Migrants are also more at risk of being part of the working-poor than others. This should be considered when designing policy answers to in-work poverty.

In-work benefits are used as a specific policy response to in-work poverty, but we are critical of this approach. Though low work intensity is a very important factor for in-work poverty, activation policies and employment growth may not reduce it, especially where non-standard work, such as part-time work, temporary work and self-employment, forms most of the extra employment. Thus, improving job quality appears to be an important factor to reduce in-work poverty.

2.7. The EU should implement a social investment pact

Europe finds itself at a crossroads in the aftermath of the financial crisis. If the EU needs a "pact" today, then it is a social investment pact. Without a long-term focus, the EU will be trapped in short-term crisis management. Social investment emerged as a policy perspective in the 1990s with the ambition to modernise the welfare state and to ensure its sustainability. That long-term perspective called for policies that ,prepare' individuals and families to confront new social risks and the knowledge society by investing in their human capital from their early childhood on, rather than to simply ,repair' damage. The societal trends that necessitated a social investment are as relevant today as they were in the 1990s, perhaps even more so because of adverse demography.

Considerable progress in employment has been wiped out by the consequences of financial deregulation and economic mismanagement. Some lessons can be drawn from this experience. First, social investment is a "package", and partial implementation may at best deliver partial success. Second, outcomes depend on the quality of childcare, education, and activation schemes. Third, as a supply side strategy, social investment cannot be a substitute for sound macroeconomic governance.

Last year, Europe 2020 was launched as a successor to the Lisbon Strategy, aiming at smart, inclusive and sustainable growth. There may be grounds for scepticism towards Europe 2020, but its social objectives (such as reducing school drop-out, increasing the number of graduates, reducing the number of people living in poverty or socially excluded) translate into a social investment ambition which should be taken seriously.

Europe 2020 only offers a framework for reconciling the short and the long term, if social investment is embedded in budgetary and macroeconomic policy, i.e. if short-term governance serves long-term social investment. The policy conundrum is complex. There is no denying that a social investment strategy generates trade-offs between various social policy goals in the short term. An EU Social Investment Pact could guide budgetary austerity policies towards long-term ends and frame wage-cost considerations in a broad perspective on competitiveness.

One cannot wish short-term budgetary pressures away. How can the EU help Member States experiencing dramatic problems, such as Ireland, Spain, Portugal and Greece, to simultaneously cut deficits and maintain a social investment perspective in the longer term? The systemic fragility of the Eurozone has to be remedied. In addition, the Structural Funds should become more supportive of social investment policies. The EU needs a real deal – hence our reference to a "Pact" – between countries that are in better budgetary shape and have pursued social investment strategies more consistently in the past, and countries that have been less consistent with regard to social investment than one may have wished and are experiencing dramatic budgetary situations. The deal the EU needs is one wherein all governments pursue budgetary discipline and social investment, and are supported therein. Such a reform-oriented, forward-looking deal may create a sense of reciprocity in the EU. Such a deal would be consistent with the need to reduce disparities in competitiveness within the EU. Intelligent social investment is a driver for long-term competitiveness. To convince, the strategy should tangibly demonstrate a ,caring Europe', caring about people's daily lives and futures.

CONCLUSION: TOWARD A SUSTAINABLE INTEGRATION OF RESEARCH ON WORK AND WELFARE ISSUES IN EUROPE

After five full years of network activities, RECWOWE has turned a collection of individuals into a new research community, and given birth to a new species of scholars in the European Research Area: the Recwowians.

Undoubtedly, the productivity of the network and the huge amount of publications will ensure a long term impact of the research carried out in RECWOWE on the public and scientific debate.

RECWOWE has also produced new research instruments which will continue after the legal end of the project.

The metadata base on work and welfare in Europe (EDACwowe) offers a freely accessible data portal (www.edacwowe.eu) that provides researchers and policymakers with systematic information on and direct links to all national and EU comparative data that are available in Europe in the fields of work and welfare. A consortium of partners who are willing to contribute an annual amount to the operational costs of EDACwowe has been constituted and will guarantee the maintenance and expansion of the Centre.

The Working Papers on the Reconciliation of Work and Welfare in Europe Series will continue to promote the diffusion of research and research integration activities produced by researchers working on issues of work and welfare in Europe who sought to disseminate and publicise ongoing research.

The updating of the RECOM database, mapping information about the national policy communities involved in "work and welfare' policies in Europe, will remain a useful tool for researchers for finding new contacts in European countries.

Finally, the Work and Welfare in Europe Series created in Palgrave Macmillan is committed to becoming one of the leading monograph series on European social policy and is fully open to the post-Recwowians and authors other than Recwowe members.

Furthermore, RECWOWE is already acting as hatchery, from which new projects and new collaborations will blossom: a new FP7 project has started on the impact of local welfare systems on female labour force participation, and other Recwowe members are involved in a new large scale project called "Neujobs'.

Last but not least, RECWOWE invested in the training of young scholars and encouraged the integration of early stage researchers into the work and welfare research community, providing them the opportunity to network and collaborate. The very positive assessment of the PhD students who participated in the many summer schools and doctoral workshops organised over the five years, represents a promising gateway for future international research cooperations on work and welfare.

| Coordinators: | Prof. Denis Bouget, University of Nantes, and Bruno Palier, Associate Research Professor (CNRS) at Sciences-Po Paris (<i>Centre d'études européennes</i>) |
|----------------------|---|
| Consortium: | P01 - Maison des Sciences de l'Homme Ange Guépin, Nantes P02 - Sciences-Po Paris P03 - University of Stirling P04 - Institut des Hautes Études en Administration Publique, Lausanne P05 - London School of Economics and Political Science P06 - University of Utrecht P07 - University of Oviedo P08 - Institute for Research in Economics and Business Administration, Bergen P09 - University of Berne P10 - Tilburg University P11 - European Social Observatory, Brussels P12 - National Institute for Health and Welfare, Helsinki P13 - University of Hamburg P16 - University of Bremen P17 - Aalborg University P18 - Danish Institute for Social Research, Copenhagen P19 - University of Tampere P20 - Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, Athens P21 - Poleis, Bocconi University P22 - Warsaw School of Economics P23 - University of Stockholm P24 - University of Stockholm P25 - Central European University, Budapest P26 - University of Stockholm P27 - Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest P28 - Institute for Sociales, Stockholm P29 - University of Edinburgh P30 - University of Southern Denmark, Odense |
| Duration: | October 2006 – September 2011 (five years) |
| Budget: | EU contribution: €4,000,000 |
| Websites: | www.recwowe.eu; www.recwowefinalconference.eu |
| More information: | amelie.guisseau@univ-nantes.fr |