

## D 10.4 - Flexicurity Policies to Integrate Youth before and after the Crisis

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**STYLE-WP10: Flexicurity**

**Submission date - Planned: 29/02/2016 Actual: 24/02/2016**



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To cite this report:

Smith M. and Villa P. (2016) *Flexicurity Policies to Integrate Youth before and after the Crisis* STYLE Working Papers, STYLE Working Papers, WP10.4 CROME, University of Brighton, Brighton. <http://www.style-research.eu/publications/working-papers/>

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## Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Jacqueline O'Reilly and the coordination team at the University of Brighton for their guidance in coordinating this Work Package. We would particularly like to thank Maria Jepsen from the European Trade Union Institute for her helpful reviews of an earlier draft.

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no. 613256. We would like to thank Kariappa Bheemaiah for research assistance in preparing this report.

## Executive Summary

The focus of this report is on the changes in employment policy making in the EU over time, focusing on those policies that have been directly or indirectly targeted on youth. The period considered allows for changes both in the institutions of the labour market and in the general economic conditions. Over this period, the European Employment Strategy (EES) has exercised its influence on member states policy making through the ‘open method of coordination’ (OMC), by establishing the employment guidelines, setting quantitative targets to be reached by the EU as a whole and giving guidance at the national level through CSRs on their employment policy (issued every year by the Commission and endorsed by the Council). This has also been the period in which European countries have been encouraged (by the EC and the OECD) to make their labour markets more flexible (i.e. more responsive to changes), with an emphasis on moving from job security to employment security, under the assumption that an increase in flexibility should lead to higher employment opportunities for all.

Our aim is to provide an overview of policy making before, during and after the immediate effects of the crisis in order to highlight the emergence of flexicurity as a key goal of the EU policy framework for labour market reforms and its subsequent implementation at the national level (i.e. intensity and direction of policy changes). This broad picture provides a lens through which we can then consider policies targeted towards the inclusion of young people in employment. We chart shifting policy models and the underlying implications for youth in Europe focusing, on the one hand, on the CSRs issued annually by the Commission and the Council and, on the other hand, on the intensity and direction of policy activity by member states, as recorded in LABREF. Our analysis covers the pre-crisis years characterised by some employment growth and declining youth unemployment rate, the years of the Great Recession revealing the boomerang effect of the temporary jobs when young people were among the first to lose their jobs, and the austerity years when for many young people unemployment turned into either long-term unemployment or inactivity.

Our work charts the evolution in the EES through the CSRs on employment policy issued over the period 2000-2013. From the beginning, two main labour supply groups were objects of attention: women and older workers. For both groups the attention was on the quantity of employment (not on job quality). By contrast, young people were not identified as a group in need of specific employment policies and mention of younger workers was rather rare in the documentation and other mechanisms of the EES. The merging of the employment guidelines into the BEPGs (since 2005), resulted in the reduction of CSRs focused on employment policy with a changing focus on labour supply groups and their labour market problems. In particular, there was a progressive shift of attention from gender issues towards older workers (to increase labour market participation through active ageing and pension reforms), and in the more recent years from older workers towards young people in order to reduce the risk of long-term unemployment arising from the crisis.

We use the LABREF database on labour market reforms to provide an overview of policy making activity before and during the crisis in order to contextualise the shifting institutional environment and also locate the policy activity focused on young people and flexicurity. Our analyses of the database of almost 3600 policies demonstrates a clear rise in the intensity of policy making and underlines the importance of ALMP, followed by labour taxation and job protection (EPL) across all three sub periods – pre-crisis, crisis and austerity. The intensity of reforms in ALMP was particularly pronounced in the crisis and austerity years. By contrast, the intensity of policy activity in immigration and mobility, working time, early withdrawn and unemployment benefits was more limited, with less variation between the sub-periods. Two policy areas show a marked rise in activity in the austerity sub-period, after limited activity

in the pre-crisis and crisis years: wage setting and job protection (EPL). The rising trend in policy making intensity is visible across all country groups, although it is at a higher level in the Mediterranean countries.

Passive measures also show a rising level of policy making activity in all country groups, as economies progressed from pre-crisis to crisis, and then to austerity, but at a much lower level than for active measures. Among other policy making areas, the overall intensity of policy making was low – this included working time, wage setting, early withdrawal, immigration & mobility and job protection (EPL). The exception is the striking increase in policy making around job protection (EPL) in Mediterranean countries in the austerity sub-period, recording an average number of policies per year as high as that recorded under ALMP.

Our detailed analysis of the content of the CSRs directly and indirectly focused on young people focuses on three broad policy areas, ‘Active Labour Market Policies’ (ALMP), ‘Flexibility’ and ‘Labour market segmentation’, which allow us to link the themes of the CSRs more directly to the policies implemented at the member-state level. We demonstrate that across all phases of the EES there was a limited focus on young people, only rising in 2011-2013. In the early phases, only a limited number of countries received a recommendation considering explicitly young people (BE, FR, EL, IT). It was subsequently acknowledged that young people were at a disadvantage in some countries, but the few recommendations issued were rather generic. Also in Phase III (2007 to 2009) a limited number of countries received a simple generic mention of the young without any precise suggestion on what policy action to follow. Surprisingly, high youth unemployment was not a key issue in 2009, when only three countries received some youth-related remarks. It was only in Phase IV (2011-2013) that the deterioration of employment opportunities for young people was reflected in an increasing number of CSRs directly focused on policy recommendations for the young.

The analysis of the LABREF data over this period confirms a limited focus on young people by policy makers at the national level. In line with the trends observed in the CSRs policies focused on young people only increased after conditions on youth labour markets had deteriorated significantly. Similarly, the most active policy area was in the area of ALMP focused on youth and only in the austerity period was there a greater diversity of policy measures aimed at youth labour markets.

Overall our analysis demonstrates how policies wax and wane over a relatively long period with the parallel evolution of European recommendations, national reforms and policy responses to changing economic conditions. In relation to young people we see how the so called ‘reforms at the margin’ implemented by member states, prior to the economic crisis, led to subsequent calls to address segmentation and long-term unemployment for young people – the implementation of the flexibility policies associated with flexicurity allowed the entry of many young people into employment when the economy was growing but turned into something of a boomerang effect as these young workers were among the first to lose their jobs. The call for member states to strengthen active measures focused on young people – ALMPs and individualised and well-targeted policies of activation (e.g. the Youth Guarantee) – in order to prevent youth long-term unemployment can be considered illustrative of policy advice issued to counter the impact of previous policy proposals for the labour market.

Furthermore, we underline the importance of a longer-term and stable perspective around policy making towards young people that relies on the institutional complementarities at the national level. We tentatively suggest that countries with a “tradition” of youth policy and stable institutional arrangements were able to cope better with the choppy seas of the changing economic and policy environment of the

first part of the century. On the other hand, those with a weaker institutional history were forced into a flurry of more reactive policy making as they tried to cope with a more turbulent European economic and policy environment. Our analysis points to the need for a long-term and coordinated policy perspective in order to address challenges faced by young people entering the labour market in Europe today.

**Key words:**

Labour market policies; Policies for youth employment; European Employment Strategy; Country Specific Recommendations; LABREF; Flexibility; Security; Flexicurity.

## Table of Contents

1. Overview .....	9
1.1 Introduction .....	9
1.2 Aims and organisation of this report .....	10
2. Data and methodological issues .....	12
3. The evolution in labour market policy in the EU27 (2000-2013) .....	18
3.1 Overview of the EES and CSRs .....	18
3.2 Overview of policy making .....	23
4. The evolution in labour market policy on youth in the EU27 (2000-2013) .....	29
4.1 Young people, the EES and CSRs .....	29
4.2 Policy making towards youth .....	36
5. Summary and conclusions .....	43
Bibliography .....	46
ANNEX A – Tables on the EES and CSRs .....	49
ANNEX B - CSRs directly focusing on young people, 2000-2014 .....	56
Recent titles in this series .....	62
Research Partners .....	67
Advisory Groups .....	68

## Abbreviations

ALMPs	Active Labour Market Policies
AT	Austria
BE	Belgium
BEPGs	Broad Economic Policy Guidelines
BG	Bulgaria
CSRs	Country Specific Recommendations
CY	Cyprus
CZ	Czech Republic
DK	Denmark
EC	European Commission
ECB	European Central Bank
EE	Estonia
EES	European Employment Strategy
EL	Greece
EMCO	Employment Committee
EPL	Employment Protection Legislation
ES	Spain
ETUI	European Trade Union Institute
Eurofound	European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions
FI	Finland
FR	France
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLs	Guidelines
HU	Hungary
IE	Ireland
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LM	Labour Market
LMP	Labour Market Policies
LT	Lithuania
LU	Luxembourg
LV	Latvia
MT	Malta
NL	Netherlands
NEET	Not in Employment Education or Training
NRP	National Reform Program
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
PL	Poland
PLMPs	Passive Labour Market Policies
PT	Portugal
RO	Romania

SE	Sweden
SI	Slovenia
SK	Slovakia
UK	United Kingdom



# 1. Overview

## 1.1 Introduction

The European Employment Strategy (EES) has provided a framework by which the European Union (EU) exerts influence on member states' employment policy for more than fifteen years.<sup>1</sup> The aim has been to achieve broadly defined European-level goals in terms of labour market performance, in particular “a high level of employment”. Over time the policy tools suggested to reach the goals of the Strategy have evolved, shifting from flexibility towards flexicurity, but at the heart of the EES have been idealised versions of the employment relationship and good labour market performance. These ideals were proposed in order to help member states improve their policies (including structural reforms) and achieve shared goals - articulated through the ‘employment guidelines’ and the ‘country-specific recommendations’ (CSRs). As the economic context, political leadership and policy buzz words have shifted so have the foci on particular labour market problems, key labour supply groups and core solutions. Young people have not always been visible in the various formulations of the EES framework and have mainly been included where there have been chronic problems in certain member states. However, the evolving crisis (since 2008) prompted the emergence of high youth unemployment as a key theme. Against the backdrop of the EES, member states have been responding to their own priorities (and political constraints) as well as the various recommendations to reform of the European Commission.

The extent to which the EES, based on the voluntary Open Method of Coordination (OMC), influences national employment policies has been a question for researchers over the life of the strategy as this innovative form of policy making has evolved (Heidenreich and Zeitlin 2009; de la Porte and Pochet 2012; Villa and Smith 2013). While direct links between European-level analysis and prescription on employment policy, on the one hand, and national-level implementation, on the other hand, have been hard to draw, there is evidence of a number of mechanisms by which EU policy formulations have some influence on national policy making (Visser 2009; Heidenreich 2009; de la Porte and Heins 2015).

Over this period, EU influence has been exercised via OMC, by establishing the employment guidelines, setting quantitative targets to be reached by the EU as a whole and giving guidance at the national level through country-specific recommendations (CSRs) on their employment policy (issued each year by the Commission and endorsed by the Council). This is also the period in which European countries have been encouraged (by the EC and the OECD) to make their labour markets more flexible (i.e. more responsive to changes), with an emphasis on moving from job security to employment security, under the assumption that an increase in flexibility should lead to higher employment opportunities for all.<sup>2</sup> These so called “reforms at the margin” have been implemented in a number of member states with consequences for young people: prior to the economic crisis, while allowing the entry of many young people into employment when the economy was growing, turned into something of a boomerang effect as these young workers were among the first to lose their jobs (EC 2010a; Leschke 2012; O'Reilly et

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<sup>1</sup> As is well known, the EES was launched in 1997 (and formally included in the Amsterdam Treaty), it was included in the Lisbon Strategy in 2000, then replaced by the Europe 2020 strategy in 2010. For simplicity, in this report we use the term EES to refer to the OMC in employment policy, throughout the changes recorded since its first formulation.

<sup>2</sup> See the Communication on the common principles of flexicurity (EC 2007a), and related publications (EC 2006; EC 2007b). See also the approach proposed in *ESDE 2014* for “a healthy labour market: balancing employment protection legislation, activation and support” in the analysis of the impact of the recession on labour market institutions (EC 2015: 75).

al. 2015). As a result, the subsequent call for member states was to strengthen ALMPs and to intervene with individualised and well-targeted policies of activation (e.g. the Youth Guarantee) to prevent youth long-term unemployment.

Here we attempt to track the parallel evolution of the policy direction of the EES measured by CSRs and national employment policies. This is a novel approach since we consider both CSRs and national policy making for 27 countries over a relatively long period of the EES (2000-2013). In doing this we attempt to capture both the intensity and direction of policy making by looking at ‘intentions’ rather than ‘effects’ to classify policy.<sup>3</sup>

## 1.2 Aims and organisation of this report

We are interested in the changes in employment policy making in member states over the period 2000-2013, in order to highlight the labour market policies which have been implemented to address the specific problems faced by youth. The period considered is relatively long, covering the pre-crisis years characterised by some employment growth and declining youth unemployment rate, the years of the Great Recession revealing the negative effects of the temporary jobs for young people, and the austerity years when for many young people unemployment turned into either long-term unemployment or inactivity. Over this period, the EES has played a key role providing guidance to member states on how to improve their institutional settings, which policies to strengthen, what issues and/or group to prioritise.

Our aim is to provide an overview of policy making before, during and after the immediate effects of the crisis in order to highlight the emergence of flexicurity (and decline) as a key goal of the EU policy framework for labour market reforms and its implementation (i.e. intensity and direction of policy changes). This broad picture provides a lens through which we then consider the policies targeted towards the inclusion of youth in employment. Elsewhere in the STYLE FP-7 work package 10 the evolution of flexicurity has been analysed and its particular strengths and weaknesses for youth labour markets considered (Eamets et al. 2015; Russell et al. 2015). The difficulties created by the flexicurity model for young people mirror some of those for women highlighted by earlier research demonstrating the gender-blind nature of the approach and risks for gender equality (Jepsen 2005; Smith and Fagan 2008). Nevertheless, flexicurity formed an important component of the EU approach to labour market challenges as the Commission and other actors sought to balance the competing challenges of flexibility and security on the labour market in order to boost employment rates. Thus the use of the flexicurity framework is useful for charting the shifting priorities and focus on both labour market problems and labour market participants within the EES.

We chart these shifting policy models and the underlying implications for youth in Europe, on the one hand, focusing on the country specific recommendations (CSRs) issued annually by the Commission and the Council and, on the other hand, analysing the intensity and direction of policy activity by member states from 2000 up to 2013, as recorded in the LABREF database. Thus we provide an overview of national labour market policies in EU27 having an indirect or direct impact on youth. In particular, we are interested in the changes in policy making overtime and evidence of Europeanisation or continuation of national policy making focused on young people within countries and country groups. We explore the

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<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the effects of individual labour market policies – particularly on sub-groups on the labour market such as young people – are hard to isolate and need to be contextualised within their individual institutional and macroeconomic contexts. Moreover, it may not be possible to identify individual policy effects given the multiple and simultaneous changes occurring on youth labour markets in recent years.

composition of policies and identify institutional configurations which have had a more consistent history of policies towards young people. Against these national developments we also identify countries that have been singled-out as needing to develop new policies in relation to young people.<sup>4</sup>

This report is divided into 5 sections. After this introduction, in section 2 we outline some of the methodological challenges in analysing the EES priorities as recorded in CSRs and the data on policies (from the LABREF database). In section 3 we chart the evolution of ideas and priorities in the EES and the evolving intensity and focus of policy making at the national level. Section 4 focuses on the extent to which the CSR mechanism of the EES has included young people, the particular priorities identified by the EC and Council and evidence of youth policy making at the national level with a particular focus on flexicurity policy. Finally, section 5 concludes with consideration of the implications of our analysis for future research and the interplay of European and national policy for youth labour markets. Annexes are included with full details of the data sources and analyses undertaken.

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<sup>4</sup> The original work programme specified qualitative data collection at the country level in five countries but given the final composition of the research team working on this project and absence of country-level representatives this was not possible thus a more detailed analysis of the CSRs and LABREF were undertaken.

## 2. Data and methodological issues

The focus of this working paper is on the changes in employment policy making in the EU over time, exploring those policies that have been directly or indirectly targeted at youth. The 2000-13 period under analysis allows for changes both in the institutions of the labour market and in the general economic conditions and maps onto to the key recent period of the EES (launched in 1997). In this report the ultimate purpose is to highlight the national policies explicitly enacted to tackle the specific problems youth faced in the labour market. In particular, we are interested in exploring:

- i) the direction of policy making at the EES level through its translation into the CSRs, including the attention devoted to the nexus between flexibility and security, on the one hand, and the specific problems faced by young people, on the other;
- ii) the direction and intensity of policy making (as recorded by LABREF) at the national level in order to highlight efforts to reform the institutional configurations (i.e. the nexus between flexibility and security), taking into account the general economic conditions (i.e. distinguishing three sub-periods: pre-crisis, economic crisis and austerity);
- iii) the direction and intensity of policy making (as recorded by LABREF) at the national level explicitly targeted to young people, and the association with the general economic conditions;
- iv) the differences across countries in terms of a consolidated 'tradition' of policies specifically targeted towards young people and the role played by CSRs, especially for countries lacking a institutional 'tradition' around young people.

In order to undertake these analyses number of clarifications around the operation of the EES and the link with the national policies recorded in the LABREF database are required. Firstly, this research is undertaken in the context and in the spirit of previous work attempting to link European-level policy guidance and national policy development and implementation (for example Smith and Villa 2010; de la Porte and Pochet 2012). We assume that national employment policies are to some extent influenced by the EES, particularly through the CSRs, though member states have total control of their labour market policies. There is a body of literature to support this assumption, although the mechanisms are often indirect rather than direct (Heidenreich and Zeitlin 2009) and the eventual policy implementation is strongly shaped by existing national institutions (Boeri and van Ours 2013).

Secondly, we recognise that the EES can be characterised as coordinated and cooperative process, built up at the Community level in order to foster the achievement of shared goals at the EU level, primarily a high level of employment (Goetschy 1999; 2002). However, the EES is also a dynamic process and has changed through time, both in terms of its formal structure that with respect to the specific issues to be tackled. These changes are reflected in the CSRs in terms of content and style.

Third, one might expect to find some links, at the national level, between the CSRs and the intensity and direction of policy changes as recorded by LABREF (see Heidenreich and Zeitlin 2009 for case study evidence). We attempt to provide some evidence of these links, however the specific characteristics of the two sources of information, CSRs and LABREF, involve some limitations that should be taken into account.

## CSRs

Our analysis of the CSRs on employment policy provides a lens from which to analyse the direction of EU policy making over the 2000-13 period. We consider a combination of criteria in order to categorise the recommendations by the nature of their policy prescriptions (see below). However, it should be noted that it is not straightforward to provide a synthetic overview of the changing emphasis of labour market policy issues within the EES by means of the CSRs, given that a number of changes occurred since the 1997 launch of the EES. First, there were several reformulations of the EES modifying the number of employment GLs and their specification (see Annex A, tab. A.1). Second, the EU enlargement brought ten new Member states in 2004, two new in 2007 and another one in 2013. Third, since 2005 the employment GLs have been merged with the so called BEPGs, so that member states are asked to report all their economic and employment policies in a single document (an NRP) on the basis of the so-called ‘integrated guidelines’. Consequently, since 2006 CSRs span policy themes from all the integrated guidelines resulting in a smaller number of recommendations on employment policy. Furthermore, in three years, characterised by significant changes in the design of the EES, there were no CSRs. This was the case in 2005 (when the mid-term review of the Lisbon Strategy was undertaken), in 2006 (the first year of the new cycle) and in 2010 (when the new Europe 2020 strategy was launched). Finally, the style used to formulate the CSRs has changed over time in terms of the total number of CSRs on employment policy, the language and form used (see box 1). In short, over the period considered, the CSRs on employment policy changed in number, style and focus.

### Box 1 – The changing style of CSRs through the four phases of the EES: the case of Finland

<b>CSRs (and PtW) on employment policy through the four Phases of the EES</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Finland (2001) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Continue to review existing tax and benefit schemes, in order to increase incentives to work and to recruit workers, and focus lifelong learning policies on older people, so as to retain them as active members of the workforce for longer;</li> <li>2. Pursue further recent policy initiatives aimed at reducing the tax burden on labour, with due consideration for prevailing economic and employment conditions in Finland;</li> <li>3. Monitor and assess, in the context of a gender mainstreaming approach, the current levels of occupational and sectoral segregation in the labour market.</li> </ol>	<b>Phase I</b> - All member states received a number of CSRs on employment policy (varying from a minimum of 2 to a maximum of 6). Each CSR was focused on one policy theme.
Finland (2004) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <u>Increasing adaptability of workers and enterprises</u> – reduce non-wage labour costs on the low-paid while maintaining sound public finances.</li> <li>2. <u>Attracting more people to the labour market and making work a real option for all</u> – monitor the impact of recent reforms of ALMPs on structural unemployment and regional disparities; take special measures to facilitate the activation and integration of disadvantaged young people, disabled people and immigrants; – further reform tax and benefit systems to remove unemployment traps; – follow-up the national strategy for active ageing by improving working conditions, incentives and the provision of training for the low-skilled and older workers.</li> <li>3. <u>Investing more and more effectively in human capital and lifelong learning</u> – take action to reduce early school leaving and increase training for the low-skilled.</li> </ol>	<b>Phase II</b> - In 2004, all member states received three general recommendations (identified with the specification of three ‘titles’), but specified at the country level by a varying number of points (sort of PtW)

<p>Finland (2007). No. of CSRs (total): none, but 3 PtW (of which one on employment policy):  <i>PtW on employment policy:</i>  “continue reforms to address bottlenecks in the labour market, with a particular view to tackling high structural unemployment, especially unemployment of low skilled workers, including young people, and taking into account the contribution economic migration can make”</p>	<p><b>Phase III</b> – Since 2005, the unification of different reporting mechanisms implied the merging of the employment GLs with the BEPGs (‘integrated guidelines’), a reduction in the number of CSRs on the EES, but each being focused on several policy themes.  In 2007, Finland received no CSRs (only 3 PtW), of which 1 on EES.</p>
<p>Finland (2012). No. of CSRs (total): 5; of which 1 on employment policy:  “Implement the ongoing measures to improve the labour market position of young people and the long-term unemployed, with a particular focus on skills development. Take further steps to improve the employment rate of older workers, including by reducing early exit pathways. Take measures to increase the effective retirement age taking into account the improved life expectancy.”</p>	<p><b>Phase IV</b> – As in Phase III, the number of CSRs on EES was limited (from a minimum of 1 to a maximum of 3), each being focused on several policy themes.</p>

Over the period 2000-2013, 477 recommendations on employment policy have been issued. These CSRs are designed to provide guidance to member states on their action in order to improve the performance of their labour markets. Both the style and the content of the CSRs have been changing over time, reflecting shifting themes and priorities (this theme is explored further in Section 3.1). Moreover, their formulation also tends to reflect a mix of goals, problems and policy tools, further complicating a coherent analysis of their content. As illustrated in box 2, CSRs include references in some cases to goals (e.g. enhancing labour market participation of certain groups or promoting active ageing), in other cases to problematic issues (e.g. labour market segmentation or long-term unemployment), or policy tools (e.g. wage setting mechanisms, ALMP, youth guarantee).

### Box 2 – Examples of CSRs focused on goals, problems and policy Tools

<p><i>Examples of CSRs focused on ‘goals’</i></p> <p>DK 2003: “Strengthen efforts to sustain the availability of labour in the long term, in particular by promoting the participation of older workers and by preventing bottlenecks in sectors with an ageing workforce”</p> <p>IT 2003: “Implement, where appropriate in consultation with the social partners, measures to increase labour market flexibility and modernise work organisation, while promoting the synergy between flexibility and security and avoiding marginalisation of disadvantaged persons”</p> <p>CZ 2004: “While standing above the EU average, raising the participation of women and older workers should be a priority. In this respect, strengthening incentives to part-time work could make an important contribution”</p> <p>BE 2007: “reinforces the policy measures to improve the performance of its labour market through a comprehensive strategy, in accordance with an integrated flexicurity approach, to enhance labour market participation, lower regional disparities, and increase participation in lifelong learning”</p> <p>MT 2007: “step up efforts to attract more people into the labour market, particularly women and older workers; maintain efforts to tackle undeclared work and take further action on the benefit system to make declared work more attractive”</p> <p>NL 2009: “develop further measures, including fostering labour market transitions within an integrated flexicurity approach, to improve the participation of women, older workers and disadvantaged groups with a view to raising overall hours worked”</p> <p>FR 2011: “Encourage access to lifelong learning in order to help maintain older workers in employment and enhance measures to support return to employment”</p>
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*Examples of CSRs focused on 'policy tools'*

ES 2003: "Complete the modernisation of the PESs so as to improve its efficiency and to increase its capability to mediate in the labour market. These efforts should include the completion of the statistical monitoring system"

HU 2004: "The tax wedge on labour remains high and represents an obstacle to job creation and a factor likely to contribute to undeclared work. Moreover, given the slowdown in economic growth, further efforts are required to ensure, together with the social partners, more employment-friendly wage developments ..."

UK 2004: "improve the access to and affordability of childcare and care for other dependants, increase access to training for low paid women in part-time work, and take urgent action to tackle the causes of the gender pay gap"

CY 2007: "Enhance life-long learning, and increase employment and training opportunities for young people by implementing the reforms of the vocational, education, training and apprenticeship system"

EE 2009: "Speeds up the implementation of the new labour law package and increase the efficiency of PES, in particular by well-targeted ALMPs aimed at facilitating labour market transition"

RO 2013: "Improve labour market participation, as well as employability and productivity of the labour force, by reviewing and strengthening ALMPs, to provide training and individualised services and promoting lifelong learning ..."

SE 2013: "... Complete the Youth Guarantee to better cover young people not in education or training. Complete and draw conclusions from the review of the effectiveness of the current reduced VAT rate for restaurants and catering services in support of job creation"

*Examples of CSRs focused on 'problems'*

EL 2003: "Take effective actions to narrow the high gender gaps in terms of employment and unemployment rate, and continue efforts to increase care facilities for children and other dependants."

IE 2003: "Take further comprehensive action to address regional imbalances in employment, unemployment and job creation, including through assistance from the Community Structural Funds."

FI 2003: "Strengthen efforts, in the context of gender mainstreaming to address the factors underlying the gender pay gap and gender segregation"

SI 2009: "Within an integrated flexicurity approach counters labour market segmentation in particular by reviewing employment protection for permanent work and conditions for so-called student work"

FR 2013: "...Take further action to combat labour-market segmentation, in particular to address the situation of interim agency workers. ..."

PL 2013: "...Combat in-work poverty and labour market segmentation through better transition from fixed-term to permanent employment and by reducing the excessive use of civil law contracts."

In this study the 477 CSRs have been classified, by following a combination of criteria based on the textual analysis of official documents from the EES, including an adaptation of the classification of CSRs proposed by Commission in recent years (see Annex A, tab. A.2). Ten policy themes were identified:

1. Labour market participation
2. Job creation
3. ALMP
4. Education and skills
5. Flexibility
6. Segmentation
7. Wage setting mechanism
8. Gender equality
9. Poverty and social exclusion
10. Miscellanea (i.e. regional disparities, social partners, etc.)

The mixture of goals, policy tools and problematic labour market outcomes in the CSRs means it is not possible to clearly map them on to conventional themes of policy areas (as captured in LABREF) thus we provide a categorisation of the CSRs' in relation to their potential influence in shaping national labour market policies (with a special focus on policies for young people) given the limitations outlined above.

### *LABREF database*

The LABREF database records policy measures enacted by the EU member states affecting the labour market and its institutions, and thus those actions likely to have an impact on the labour market performance.<sup>5</sup> These data are available for the period 2000-13 and include information, in most cases, on countries prior to their accession to the EU. The database was developed in DG ECFIN at the European Commission along with the Economic Policy Committee of the ECOFIN Council and is publicly available (EC 2015b).

The database provides a rich source of data on policy developments across the EU. This is particularly useful given that among other available data sources the OECD inventory was not updated after the mid-2000s (OECD 2005) and similarly the Fondazione Rodolfo De Benedetti database later in the decade (FRDB 2015). LABREF has been used by a number of other authors to analyse the evolution of policy making over time (Turrini et al. 2015), but not for the whole period for which we have data and not in conjunction with a detailed analysis of the evolving themes of the CSRs.

The LABREF data are organised around nine broad policy areas: labour taxation, unemployment benefits, other welfare-related benefits, active labour market policies (ALMP), job protection (EPL), disability and early retirement schemes, wage bargaining, working time organisation, finally immigration and mobility. Within these domains there are further sub divisions by policy field.

One methodological challenge is that the LABREF policy areas do not cover all policy themes considered by the EES. In particular, LABREF does not consider 'education and skills' and 'poverty and social exclusion', two important fields indirectly related to the functioning of the labour market. The latter was not explicitly considered until 2010, when it was included in the Europe 2020 strategy.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, education has been a central plank of the EES since its inception, and particularly important for young people. Indeed, an underlying principle of the 'ideal labour market' proposed by the EES (throughout its many reformulations) has been the provision of high quality education and skill. This should equip young people with the appropriate characteristics to enter employment; hence failures in this area may result in high drop-out rates, youth unemployment and NEET status. In order to develop a consistent analysis, we limit our focus to the policy areas considered both by LABREF and CSRs (i.e. we do not consider 'education and skills', 'poverty and social exclusion'). In this way we focus on the labour market, its performance and institutions and the participants engaged formally on the labour market.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, it is also important to note that analysis of the LABREF database relies on the counting of policy activity (measured by policy measures enacted in a year). This inherently assumes a level of equality of impact between policy measures. Here we are focused on the intensity of policy making, rather than their impact. Indeed, the impact of a policy may be subject to considerable time lag and the influence of a wider range of institutional forces in which they are implemented. The complementarity of institutions within each national setting can shape change and create a diversity of outcomes across

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<sup>5</sup> The measures reported in LABREF refer to enacted legislation, as well as other public acts of general scope (such as decisions of public authorities), including measures entailing changes in the implementation framework of a previously adopted reform. A single measure may cover several areas of policy intervention and therefore be recorded several times. What matters is not the format of the measure itself, but rather the different policy actions it involves (EC 2014).

<sup>6</sup> In 2010, the new Europe 2020 strategy has extended the area for coordinating national policies through the OMC, including the goal to combat poverty and social exclusion (also through measures promoting an inclusive labour market).

<sup>7</sup> Since education is responsibility of a separate ministry to those responsible for labour market regulations this is a coherent position with an analysis of the labour market.



countries (Hall and Gingerich 2009). In relation to LABREF it remains important to acknowledge that some small measures may be recorded as individual policies for some national entries in the database while they would appear as part of a wider policy elsewhere. LABREF does nevertheless permit the identification of policies that are part of a wider package of reform.

We are particularly interested in policy measures that impact upon young people and have made extensive use of an existing categorisation “Is the measure targeted at young people?” in order to pull out policies from the 3566 that are relevant for this study.

Finally, policies were also classified based upon their alignment with the principles of flexicurity. This classification was undertaken building upon an existing categorisation in the LABREF database combined with rereading and verification of a sample of the complete dataset of policies in order to ensure a coherence among the classifications. Policies were subsequently grouped according to the “direction” of measure in the original database either promoting or reducing the level of security, flexibility or coverage. Policy fields were not classified when there was too much ambiguity and/or absence of detail and subsequently dropped from the analysis. In order to draw out the general principles of flexicurity the following measures were used: income security, job security, employment security (see EC 2007). Policies that were not linked to the core principles of flexicurity – for example wage flexibility - were deemed not to fit into the general flexicurity framework and dropped from these analyses.

## 3. The evolution in labour market policy in the EU27 (2000-2013)

In this section we provide a descriptive quantitative assessment of the CSRs on employment policy issued and policy making as recorded in the LABREF database on labour market reforms over the period 2000-13. The main purpose is to provide an overview of policy making activity before and during the crisis in order to contextualise the shifting institutional environment and also locate the policy activity focused on young people and flexicurity (developed further in section 4).

### 3.1 Overview of the EES and CSRs

Employment policy coordination at the EU level has been in place since 1997, when the European Employment Strategy (EES) was launched, and it has been influential in shaping policy thinking and in inducing governments to implement policy reforms in the area of labour market policies. The goal of the EES has always been the promotion of high employment. To this end, a coordinated strategy has been outlined, and regularly updated, in the form of a set of recommended lines of action for member states. Initially, the strategy was set as a separate reporting mechanism based on the ‘employment guidelines’ (EGs), later it was unified with the reporting mechanism on economic policy (based on the ‘broad economic policy guidelines’ (BEPGs)) into the so called ‘integrated guidelines’.<sup>8</sup>

The most significant lines of action of the EES underline the need to improve the quality of human capital through education and continuous training, in particular that of the most ‘disadvantaged’ groups (women, older workers, low-skilled, migrants); to reduce obstacles to their entry into employment (including lack of skills, inadequate childcare services, insufficient economic incentives leading to inactivity or unemployment traps); to contrast the risk of long-term unemployment through ALMPs; and to enhance the effectiveness of labour market institutions in promoting the adaptability of workers and jobs to the ongoing changes. These lines of action reflect a supply-side orientation of the strategy: attention is focused on the need for structural reforms changing the institutional set-up of the national labour markets, seen as complements to economic policy. The pursuit of employment objectives is left to the regulatory policies of the labour market, not to macroeconomic action. The diagnosis was (and still is) that the high structural unemployment was symptomatic of the insufficient capacity of the labour market (i.e. workers and firms) to adapt to change. In short, the strategy has long assumed that low employment rates are related to the behaviour of the working-age population. Hence the policy prescriptions assign a key role to incentives and disincentives, combined with activation policies, aimed at stimulating the entry into active life of the highest possible number of people. The EES has been reformulated several times, since its launch in 1997. Both the final goal (i.e. high employment) and the overall approach (i.e. supply-side) have been maintained, while the internal design of the strategy has changed quite significantly. It is possible to identify four distinct phases of the EES that follow the major reformulations of the strategy since its launch (as summarised in the Annex, tab. A1), characterized by significant changes in the total number of employment guidelines, the language used for their specific formulation, the inclusion of quantitative targets, as well as the emphasis on what are considered to be problematic issues and the population subgroups deserving special attention by policy makers (Smith

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<sup>8</sup> In spring 2005, on the basis of a highly critical evaluation of the first five years of the Lisbon Strategy, the new Commission (headed by Barroso) proposed the integration of the two treaty-based instruments – economic policies (BEPGs) and employment policies (EGLs), with the addition of microeconomic policies – into common guidelines, the so-called ‘Integrated guidelines for growth and jobs’. See Devetzi (2008) for details.

and Villa 2010; 2012). It is only in Phase IV (2011 to 2013) that the plight of young people has become more visible (as it will be shown in section 4).

A key mechanism of the EES has been the use of individual CSRs issued by the Commission to the member states for corrective actions since 2000. These recommendations suggest the most important issues to be addressed by national governments in order to move in the direction of the policy goals and targets agreed at the EU level. The CSRs are endorsed by the Council, so that there is some room for bargaining between the Commission and Council representatives. Because the system of OMC of policies does not rely on legal mechanisms and sanctions, the toughest kind of sanction would amount to the ‘naming and shaming’ of the poorest performers (Zeitlin 2005). However, Council representatives have always been resistant to the use of the ‘naming and shaming’ strategy. Thus, CSRs tend to be rather mild, and they certainly tone down any explicit criticism (Begg 2010: 150). Performances are assessed, individual recommendations are adopted, but without any ranking of countries. Notwithstanding the drawbacks of this type of tool, the evolution in the annual CSRs can be used to shed light on the role attributed to problematic issues in member states labour markets over time. Furthermore, there is some evidence of countries responding to even these mild, yet public, rebukes in the realm of gender equality, especially in Phase I (Rubery 2002), and in promoting labour market reforms following the idealised institutional settings (EC 2012a).

#### *A quantitative overview of the CSRs on employment policy issued over the period 2000-2013*

Between 2000 and 2013, 477 CSRs on the EES were issued. Table 3.1 presents a quantitative overview of the CSRs issued throughout the four phases of the EES, including frequency (total number of CSRs on employment policy), as well as the attention paid to different labour supply groups, i.e. women, older workers and young people. In order to quantify the attention devoted to these three groups, for each year we present a count of the CSRs making an explicit reference to women (or gender equality issues), older workers and young people. For example, in 2000 (with 15 member states) 50 CSRs on employment policy were issued, with an average of 3.3 recommendations per country. Of these, an average of almost one (0.87) considered women, 0.67 older workers, but only 0.33 young workers. From the beginning, two main labour supply groups were objects of attention: women and older workers. For both groups the attention was on the quantity of employment (not on job quality) hence stressing the need for reconciliation in the case of women and the need to reform early retirement schemes and benefit systems in the case of older workers. By contrast, young people were not identified as a group in need of specific employment policies and mention of younger workers were rather rare in the documentation and other mechanisms of the EES.

It should be noted that in the original formulation of the EES, ‘gender equality’ was placed high on the agenda, being a goal in itself to be pursued in parallel with the increase in female employment (Rubery 2002; Villa 2013). In fact, gender equality was identified as one of the four Pillars around which the EES was constructed in Phase I and one of the EGs in Phase II. However, as the EES evolved (see Annex, tab. A.1), there was a shift from ‘gender equality’ as a goal in itself (at least on paper), towards ‘women’ as a ‘disadvantaged’ group (i.e. characterised by low participation). Older workers have also received special attention in the EES, since its first formulations, as the strategy explicitly included promoting active ageing in the sense of increasing labour force participation, working for more years and remaining at work longer (EC 2004, 2006b). In particular, the 2001 Stockholm European Council agreed to set an EU target for increasing the average employment rate among older women and men (55-64) of 50% by 2010”, and the 2002 Barcelona European Council concluded that “a progressive increase of about 5 years in the effective average age at which people stop working should be sought by 2010”.

**Table 3.1 – Country Specific Recommendations in the four phases<sup>a</sup> of the EES: an overview**

	No. of CSRs on integrated GLs	No. of CSRs on EES	No. of CSRs on empl. policy			No. of MSs	Average no. CSRs on empl. policy		
			on gender	on older workers	on youth		on gender	on older workers	on youth
<b>Phase I</b>									
2000	-	50	13	9	5	15	0.87	0.60	0.33
2001	-	58	13	8	5	15	0.87	0.53	0.33
2002	-	57	12	8	5	15	0.80	0.53	0.33
<b>Phase II</b>									
2003	-	55	11	7	1	15	0.73	0.47	0.07
2004 (CSR)	-	74	0	0	0	25	0.00	0.00	0.00
2004 (PtW)		140	19	21	9	25	0.79	0.84	0.36
<b>Phase III<sup>b</sup></b>									
2007	55	24	7	11	10	27	0.26	0.41	0.37
2008	55	24	7	11	10	27	0.26	0.41	0.37
2009	63	25	1	6	3	27	0.04	0.22	0.11
<b>Phase IV<sup>c</sup></b>									
2011	118	32	5	6	8	22	0.23	0.27	0.36
2012	134	41	7	6	15	23	0.30	0.26	0.65
2013	140	37	5	8	17	23	0.22	0.35	0.74

Legend: CSR = Country Specific Recommendation; PtW = Point to Watch.

Note: 'average no. CSRs on gender': it refers to the number of recommendations (per country) considering explicitly gender issues; the same applies to young people and older workers.

a) There were no CSRs in 2005 (the year of the mid-term review of the Lisbon Strategy), in 2006 (the first year of the 2005-2008 three-year cycle) and in 2010 (when the Europe 2020 strategy was launched).

b) In 2004, 2007 and 2008 the Commission decided to add "points to watch" (PtW) – that is, the listing of policy areas that warranted attention – to the CSRs.

c) Five countries in 2011, four in 2012 and four in 2013 have not been addressed specific recommendations, being in receipt of financial assistance from the EU and the IMF, which implies the fulfilment of tailored policy programmes focused on fiscal consolidation and structural economic reforms.

Source: see Annex A, tables A.4, A.5 and A.6.

In Phase I (2000-2002), with 15 member states, all received some recommendations on employment policy, with an average of 3.6 CSRs per country (per year). Overall, the bulk of CSRs were directed to increase labour market participation (mainly women and older workers), combined with suggestions to strengthen ALMP, to prevent people from becoming long-term unemployed (sometimes making explicit mention of youth and adult), and to improve education and training (for all). Some CSRs issued considered problems related to older workers (0.55 recommendations, on average) and a limited number mentioned explicitly young people (only 0.33 recommendations, on average) but almost all countries received in each year one recommendation focused on gender issues.<sup>9</sup>

Phase II (2003-2005) was characterised by the two important events: the entry of 10 new member states in 2004 and the mid-term review of the Lisbon Strategy in 2005. In 2003, both the number and the style of CSRs was similar to that of Phase I, with an average of 3.7 CSRs per country (per year). There was a slight decline in attention devoted to older workers (0.47 on average) and a virtual disappearance for young people (only 0.07 on average), yet attention to gender issues was similar to Phase I (0.73 on average). In 2004 all 25 member states (old and new) received three CSRs.<sup>10</sup> These were presented as suggestions to improve the employment policy under three common general

<sup>9</sup> With the exception of Germany in 2000, France in all three years, Portugal in 2000 and Sweden in 2002.

<sup>10</sup> The only exception was Ireland, which received two CSRs (no recommendation on 'adaptability').

headings: 1) increasing adaptability of workers and enterprise; 2) attracting more people to the labour; and 3) investing more in human capital and lifelong learning. These three cross-country general recommendations were followed by a diversified list of specific suggestions (identified as ‘points-to-watch’, PtW), indicating what were considered to be the most problematic areas of concern at the national level. On average, member states received 5.6 PtW, with an average of 0.36 on young people, 0.84 on older workers and 0.79 on gender issues.

Phase III (2006-2010) was characterised by a radical change in the design of the EES, with the merging of the employment guidelines (GLs) with the broad economic policy guidelines (BEPGs) into the so-called ‘integrated guidelines’, the entry of two new member states in 2007 and a dramatic deterioration of the EU labour market performance from 2008. On average, member states received around 2.2 CSRs per year, of which only 0.9 on employment policy. With this overall reduction of CSRs on employment policy, there was also a reduction in the attention devoted to gender issues, older workers and young people. This lack of attention was particularly noticeable in 2009. Furthermore, in Phase III a group of six countries (DK, FI, SE, IE, LU, EE) did not receive any recommendation on employment policy, suggesting that these countries were positively assessed with respect to both their institutional setting and their labour market performance.

Phase IV (2011-2013) was characterised by the new Europe 2020 strategy, the EU's growth strategy for the decade 2010-2020, designed to deliver a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy (COM (2010) 2020).<sup>11</sup> But these are also the years of austerity, job losses, increasing unemployment as the repercussions of the crisis continued across European labour markets, with a dramatic deterioration of youth labour market conditions in most countries. In Phase IV, a group of countries were not addressed with CSRs since they were in receipt of financial assistance.<sup>12</sup> The remaining 22 (and subsequently 23) countries received almost six CSRs per year, of which around 1.6 on employment policy with a rising proportion focused on young people, given the dramatic change of circumstances across youth labour markets.

To sum up, the evolution in the formulation of the EES, in particular the merging of the employment guidelines into the BEPGs, has resulted in the reduction of CSRs focused on employment policy with a changing focus on labour supply groups and their labour market problems. This overall reduction in the CSRs on employment policy was combined with a progressive shift of attention from gender issues towards older workers (to increase labour market participation through active ageing and pension reforms), and in the more recent years from older workers towards young people in order to reduce the risk of long-term unemployment arising from the crisis.

### *CSRs by policy theme*

Over the period 2000-2013, 477 CSRs on employment policy were issued.<sup>13</sup> We identified ten main policy themes in order to classify all CSRs and detect the direction of policy guidance throughout the four phases of the EES. These themes have been identified on the basis of three criteria: i) the main

<sup>11</sup> The EU 2020 strategy included a revised overall employment rate target of 75% based on the 20-64 age group, rather than 15-64 (taking 15-19 year olds out of the count). The other targets included two focused on young people (the proportion of early school-leavers should be under 20% and 40% of school-leavers should obtain a university degree), a reduction of 25% (20 million people) in those below national poverty lines (60% of median disposable income), 3% of GDP should be invested in research and development (as against the current figure of under 2%) and the 20-20-20 energy package agreed in 2009 should be implemented (20% cut in greenhouse gas emissions, 20% reduction in energy consumption, 20% increase in the share of renewables).

<sup>12</sup> The only recommendation was to implement existing commitments under EU-IMF financial assistance programmes.

<sup>13</sup> In three years (2004, 2007 and 2008) the CSRs were complemented with the so called Points-to-Watch (PtW).

policy themes explicitly considered in the employment guidelines; ii) the recent classification of CSRs developed by the European Commission<sup>14</sup>; and iii) our textual analysis of the CSRs issued over time and the recurrent recommendations in terms of employment policy. Table 3.2 charts the evolution of CSRs (and PtWs) across the ten policy themes.

**Table 3.2 CSRs (and PtW) by policy theme, 2000-2013** (no. of CSRs issued per year focused on one or more policy themes)

	Phase I			Phase II		Phase III			Phase IV		
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2007	2008	2009	2011	2012	2013
No. CSRs	52	58	57	55	74	24	24	25	32	41	37
No. PtW <sup>a</sup>	-	-	-	-	140	50	50	-	-	-	-
1. Labour market participation	15	18	14	17	39	20	20	7	21	23	23
2. ALMP	5	7	9	9	20	-	-	-	-	4	-
3. Education and skills	3	9	12	8	33	8	8	7	10	18	20
4. Job creation	8	3	-	2	4	18	18	15	17	20	22
5. Flexibility	4	4	8	4	5	14	14	12	2	5	5
6. Labour market segmentation	-	-	-	-	4	4	4	3	4	4	4
7. Wage setting mechanisms	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	2	7	8	7
8. Gender equality <sup>b</sup>	13	13	12	11	19	14	14	1	9	10	11
9. Poverty & social exclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	7	8
10. Miscellaneous	6	4	3	5	13	7	7	-	-	-	-
Total	54	58	58	56	145	85	85	47	74	99	100
(No. MSs) <sup>c</sup>	15	15	15	15	25	27	27	27	22	23	23

Notes:

a In 2004 we considered PtW (instead of CSR) to classify the CSRs by policy theme; in Phase III and IV each recommendation addressed more than one policy issue. Thus, for each CSR we identified all the policy themes explicitly considered. This is the reason for the difference between "no. CSRs" and "Sum (CSR by policy theme)".

b Gender issues are usually considered in the CSRs (or PtW) addressing gender equality. However, reference to gender issues may be found in CSRs (or PtW) focused on other policy themes. This is the reason for the difference between "no. CSRs" and "Sum (CSR by policy theme)". Indirect reference to gender issues is included.

c Five countries in 2011, four in 2012 and four in 2013 have not been addressed with specific recommendations, being in receipt of financial assistance from the EU and the IMF (see Section 3, tab. 3.1).

Source: Authors' calculation based on CSRs (see Annex A).

In Phase I out of a total of 170 CSRs the majority addressed policy issues related to what was specified under the pillar on *Employability*: 47 recommendations were directed to enhance 'labour market participation', 24 on 'education and skills' and 21 on 'ALMP'. Also 'gender equality' issues, at the time addressed by the pillar on *Equal opportunities*, were addressed to a significant extent, with a total of 38 recommendations (almost one per country per year). In contrast, the policy issues related to what was categorised under the pillar on *Adaptability* (listed under 'flexibility' in tab. 4.1) received only a small – though increasing – number of recommendations (16 in total), while 'job creation' (the issue explicitly considered under the Pillar on *Entrepreneurship*) appeared to be marginal, with a very small (and decreasing) number of recommendations. Although flexibility was addressed to a relatively small extent, there were the first signs of the flexicurity concept emerging with the Commission suggesting to seek an 'appropriate balance between flexibility and security'.

In Phase II there was a heterogeneity of CSRs between 2003 and 2004. In 2003, the distribution of the CSRs by policy theme did not differ from the previous phase (see table 4.1). All 15 countries received

<sup>14</sup> COM(2012) 299 final (tab.1, p. 20); COM(2013) 350 final (tab.1 p. 23); COM(2014) 400 final (Annex 1 p. 17); COM (2015) 250 final (Annex 1, p. 12).



some recommendations to improve their employment policy with the largest number directed to enhance ‘labour market participation’ (17), to improve ‘education and skills’ (8) and to develop ‘ALMP’ (9). Again in 2003 ‘gender equality’ issues, at the time addressed by one guideline, were addressed to a significant extent, with 11 recommendations (slightly lower than in the previous phase). In contrast, ‘flexibility’ and ‘job creation’ received a small number of recommendations (4 and 2, respectively). The CSRs issued in 2004 presented some noticeable changes not only in style (with the innovation of PtWs) but also in terms of content. First, gender equality was no longer an issue for a CSR - a change that marked a shift from ‘gender equality’ as a priority towards ‘female employment’ as an instrumental goal for the EES (Villa 2013). Second, thanks to the general recommendation entitled ‘investing more and more effectively on human capital and lifelong learning’, the policy theme ‘education and skills’ acquired prominence (with a total of 33 PtW). Finally, with respect to Phase I, there were two new entries in 2004: ‘wage setting mechanisms’ and ‘segmentation’.

In Phase III, a different picture emerged. With the renewed strategy, new approaches, such as flexicurity, substituted or became integrated into former approaches, whilst other early themes, such as gender mainstreaming and social dialogue, were given a lower priority, and disappeared from CSRs. At the same time, taking advantage of a cycle of relatively stable growth, the accent was placed on the number of jobs created rather than on “more and better jobs” (Smith and Villa 2010).

As the EU experienced the on-going repercussions of the economic crisis, in Phase IV the largest number of CSRs issued were directed to increase ‘labour market participation’ (21, 23, 23 respectively, in the three years 2011-13) followed by suggestions to improve ‘education and skills’ (17, 20, 22) and to strengthen ‘ALMP’ (10, 18, 20). ‘Gender equality’ was addressed to some extent in all three years (9, 10, 11), though in a partial way (Villa 2013). ‘Flexibility’ remained on the scene, though significantly toned down with respect to Phase III (being addressed only in 2, 5 and 5 cases respectively). Finally, ‘segmentation’ remained a problematic issue for a few countries (4, 4, 4), while ‘job creation’ almost disappeared (being considered only marginally in 2012). The two new entries were ‘wage setting mechanisms’ (7, 8, 7) and ‘poverty and social exclusion’ (4, 7, 8). In short, the bulk of CSRs in Phase IV was directed to increase ‘labour market participation’ (mainly women and older workers), combined with suggestions to strengthen ‘ALMP’, and to improve ‘education and training’ (for all). ‘Poverty and social exclusion’ was explicitly considered, having entered into the Europe 2020 strategy, but had a low profile.

## 3.2 Overview of policy making

### *Policy making in the EU27*

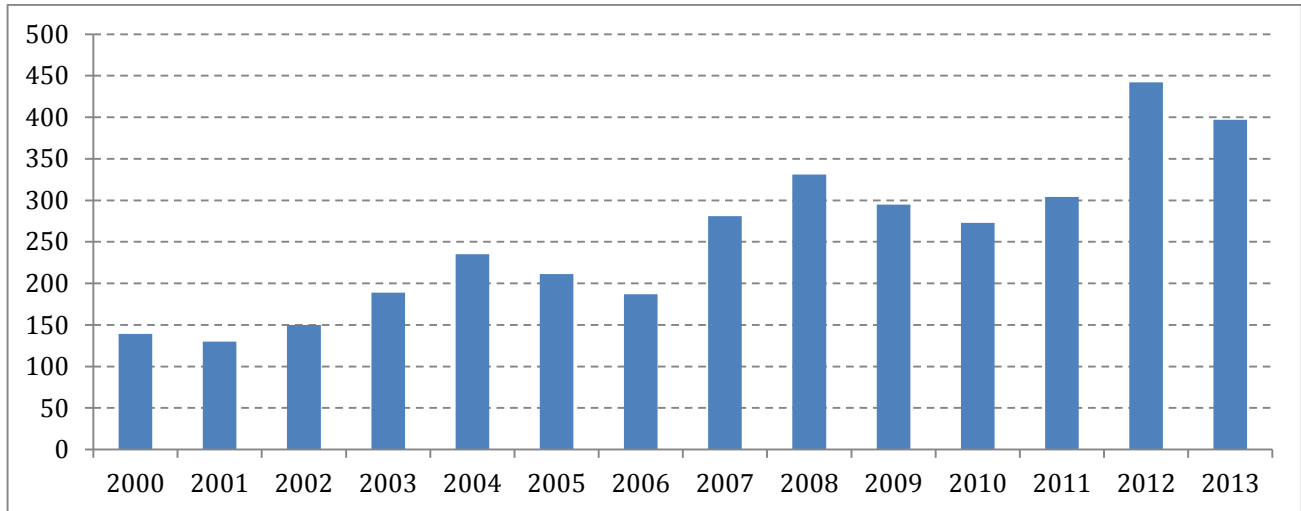
In this sub-section we use the LABREF database on labour market reforms to provide an overview of policy making activity before and during the crisis in order to contextualise the shifting institutional environment and also locate the policy activity focused on young people and flexicurity (see section 4). As already mentioned (in section 2), the LABREF allows for an analysis of both the quantity and nature of policy making related to nine labour policy domains.<sup>15</sup> In order to illustrate the direction and intensity of policy making here we focus on the situation across the EU and within country groups using the well-known taxonomy of flexicurity models proposed by the European Commission (EC 2007b; Stovicek and

<sup>15</sup> As a result, in relation to the CSRs, policies related to ‘education and skills’ and ‘poverty and social inclusion’ - that form part of the EES and/or the Europe 2020 strategy - cannot be considered (see section 2).

Turrini 2012).<sup>16</sup> We are interested in policy making across the whole period covered by LABREF, 2000-2013. In order to take into account the changing economic conditions, we distinguish three sub periods: pre-crisis (2000-07), crisis (2008-09) and austerity (2010-13).

The first key point to note is the rising intensity of policy making across the period 2000-2013. The database, of almost 3600 policies over a period of 14 years (2000-13), demonstrates a clear rise in the intensity of policy making for the EU27. For the whole set of countries considered, there were 190 policies per year in pre-crisis, but 313 during the crisis and 354 during austerity (see figure 3.1).

**Figure 3.1 Labour policy making in the EU 2000-2013, EU27** (total number of policies enacted per year)



Note: total number of policies for EU27 unadjusted for changing composition of the EU (see section 2).  
Source: LABREF database.

Table 3.3 presents the total number of policies recorded by LABREF for the EU27 in terms of averages per year, broken down by sub-period and policy domain. Policy making across the nine broad policy domains underlines the importance of active labour market policies (ALMP), followed by labour taxation and job protection (EPL) across all three sub-periods, although once again the intensity of reforms in ALMP is more pronounced in the crisis and austerity years. By contrast, the intensity of policy activity in immigration and mobility, working time, early withdrawn and unemployment benefits is more limited, with less variation between the sub-periods. Two policy areas show a marked rise in activity in the austerity sub-period, after limited activity in the pre-crisis and crisis years: wage setting and job protection (EPL).

The rising trend in policy making intensity is visible across all country groups (tab. 3.4). The average number of policies per country (adjusted for the number of years within each sub-period), were: 6.8 in the pre-crisis years, 11.2 in the crisis years and 12.5 in the austerity years. This trend is marked and at a higher level in the Mediterranean group: the averages for the crisis and austerity years were 15.4 and

<sup>16</sup> The European Commission (2007b, p. 170) classified 22 EU countries into five groups (Nordic, Continental, Anglo-Saxon, Southern and Central and Eastern) on the basis of their flexicurity model (on the basis of principal component analysis). Stovicek and Turrini (2012: 9-10) used the same taxonomy to analyse unemployment benefit systems, but including other five countries. These are the five country groups: *Nordic* (DK, FI, NL, SE), *Continental* (AT, BE, DE, FR, LU), *Anglo-Saxon* (IE, UK, CY, MT), *Southern* (ES, IT, PT), *Central and Eastern* (EL, BG, CZ, EE, HU, LT, LV, PL, SI, SK, RO). A synthetic discussion of the five clusters is also presented in the *ESDE 2012* report (EC 2012, Box 12, p. 102).



24.3 compared to 9.7 for the pre-crisis years (adjusted for the number of countries and the number of years).<sup>17</sup>

**Table 3.3 Average number of policies per year by policy domain in the three sub-periods, EU27**

	Pre-Crisis (2000-07)	Crisis (2008-09)	Austerity (2010-13)	Total (2000-13)
1. Labour taxation	34,9	72,5	45,8	43,4
2. Unemployment benefits	15,8	23,0	27,3	20,1
3. Other welfare-related benefits	16,9	45,0	39,5	27,4
4. Active labour market policies	51,5	99,0	103,5	73,1
5. Job protection (EPL)	17,0	18,0	54,3	27,8
6. Early withdrawal	9,6	5,0	8,3	8,6
7. Wage setting	6,6	14,0	34,3	15,6
8. Working time	22,9	23,0	29,3	24,7
9. Immigration & mobility	15,1	13,5	12,0	14,0
<b>Total</b>	<b>190,3</b>	<b>313,0</b>	<b>354,0</b>	<b>254,6</b>

Note: see section 2 for details.

Source: LABREF database (authors' analyses).

**Table 3.4 Average number of policies per country by year and country group, 2000-2013<sup>a, b</sup>**

	Continental	Central & Eastern	Nordic	Mediterra- nean	English Speaking	Total (EU27)
2000	7,4	3,2	6,3	8,0	3,3	5,0
2001	7,8	2,4	6,8	7,8	2,3	4,6
2002	8,0	3,6	6,0	9,0	3,5	5,4
2003	6,6	6,5	5,5	11,0	6,3	6,8
2004	8,8	8,5	10,0	8,5	8,0	8,4
2005	10,4	7,1	9,5	7,3	5,3	7,5
2006	8,0	5,8	7,3	9,8	5,3	6,7
2007	8,2	10,7	8,3	16,0	9,0	10,0
<b>Pre-Crisis (2000-07)</b>	<b>8,2</b>	<b>6,0</b>	<b>7,4</b>	<b>9,7</b>	<b>5,3</b>	<b>6,8</b>
2008	19,2	9,7	10,8	15,0	8,8	11,8
2009	9,6	9,6	9,0	15,8	13,0	10,5
<b>Crisis (2008-09)</b>	<b>14,4</b>	<b>9,7</b>	<b>9,9</b>	<b>15,4</b>	<b>10,9</b>	<b>11,2</b>
2010	8,8	9,9	7,5	18,0	7,0	9,8
2011	10,2	11,8	4,5	18,3	11,0	10,9
2012	15,2	12,8	10,5	38,5	10,3	15,8
2013	17,8	12,6	8,8	22,3	11,0	13,7
<b>Austerity (2010-13)</b>	<b>13,0</b>	<b>11,8</b>	<b>7,8</b>	<b>24,3</b>	<b>9,8</b>	<b>12,5</b>

Notes: *a* averages adjusted for the number of countries within groups and the number of years for period;

*b* country groups: *Continental* (AT, BE, DE, FR, LU), *Central and Eastern* (BG, CZ, EE, HU, LT, LV, PL, SI, SK, RO), *Nordic* (DK, FI, NL, SE), *Mediterranean* (EL, ES, IT, PT), *English-speaking* (IE, UK, MT, CY).

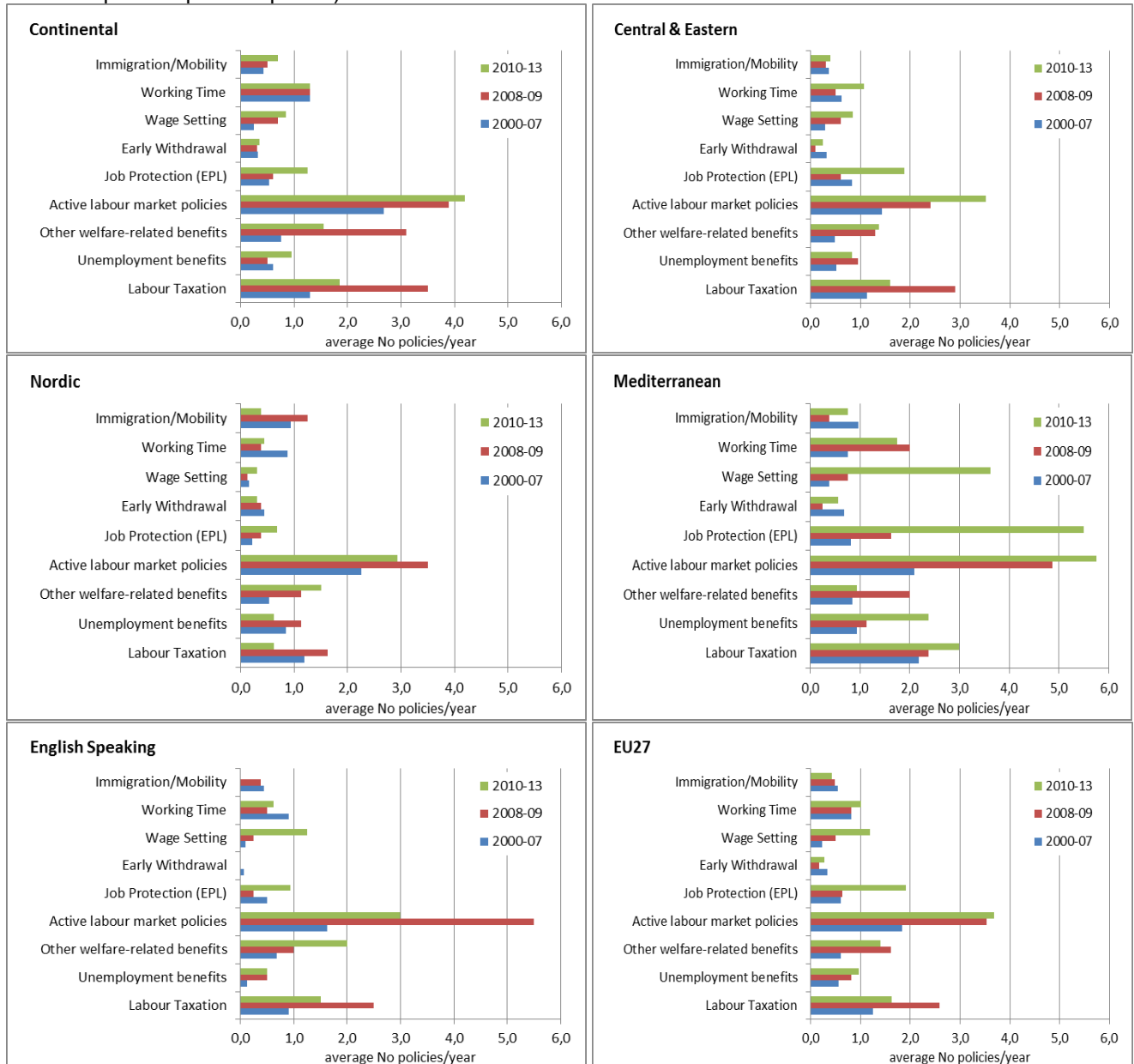
Source: LABREF database (authors' analyses).

Figure 3.2 shows the trends in policy making by policy domain and sub-period across the country groups. Here the averages are adjusted for the number of countries in each group and the number of

<sup>17</sup> Studies by the European Commission provide similar findings (EC 2012a: 46). See also the report on the main features, determinants and effects of labour market reforms over 2000-2010, based on the LABREF database (EC 2012a, 64-98).

years for each sub-period to produce a comparable measure of policy making intensity. The striking level of policy activity in the Mediterranean group is repeated across all three sub-periods but the rise in policy making activity for 'job protection' (EPL) and 'wage setting' is particularly marked during the austerity sub-period.

**Figure 3.2 Labour policy making in the EU 2000-2013 by policy domain and country group (average number of policies per sub-period)**



**Notes:**

a averages adjusted for the number of countries within groups and the number of years for period;

b country groups: *Continental* (AT, BE, DE, FR, LU), *Central and Eastern* (BG, CZ, EE, HU, LT, LV, PL, SI, SK, RO), *Nordic* (DK, FI, NL, SE), *Mediterranean* (EL, ES, IT, PT), *English-speaking* (IE, UK, MT, CY).

Source: LABREF database (authors' analyses).

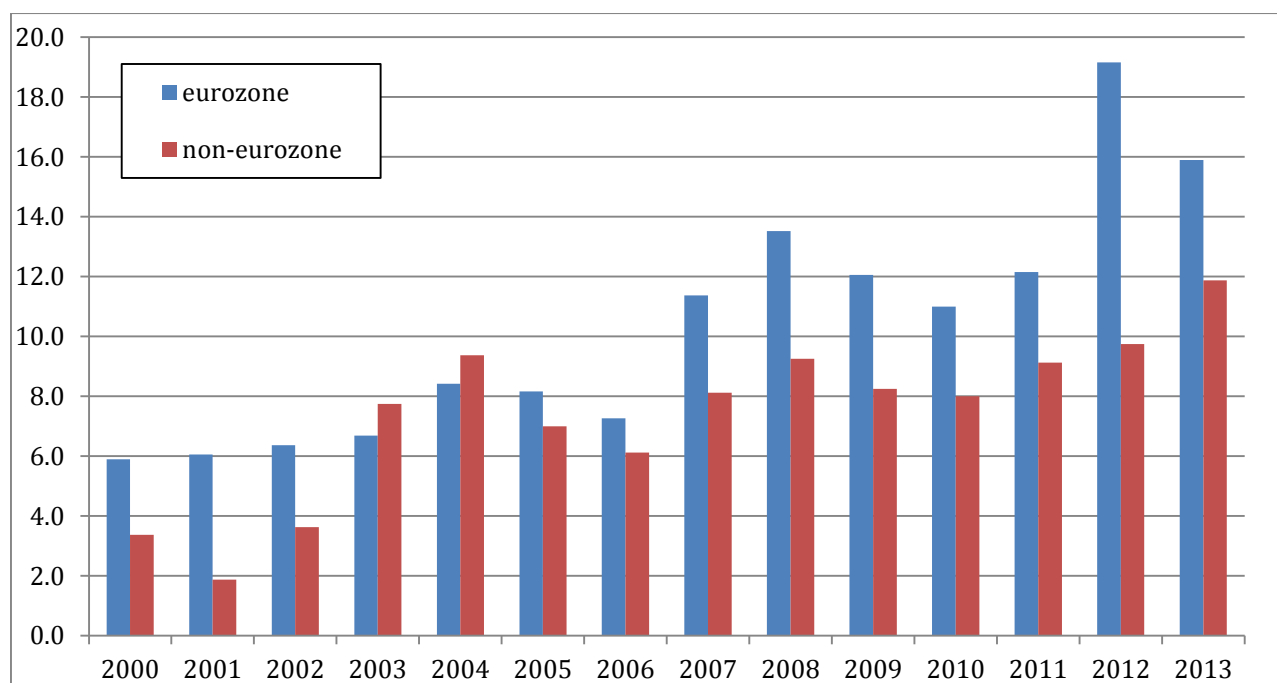
Across all country groups, ALMP policy making again stands out as one of the key areas of policy activity with the trends towards rising activity in the crisis and then austerity sub-periods. The English speaking and the Nordic countries demonstrate a greater focus on these policies during the crisis years, followed by a reduction in intensity in the following years. Labour taxation is another area where policy

making activity was generally increasing (except Nordic) and also where there was the greatest focus during the crisis years, particularly among the Continental group.

Passive measures (i.e. policy activity towards unemployment benefits and other welfare benefits) also show a rising level of policy making activity in all country groups, as they progress from pre-crisis to crisis, and then to austerity, but at a much lower level than for active measures. Among other policy making areas, the overall intensity of policy making was low – this included working time, wage setting, early withdrawal, immigration & mobility and job protection (EPL). The exception is the striking increase in policy making under ‘job protection’ domain in Mediterranean countries in the austerity sub-period, recording an average number of policies per year as high as that recorded under ALMP.

One of the dominant influences on policy making during the whole period has been the multiple measures put in place to stabilise the single currency project. As public deficit soared during the 2008-2009 crisis, the vast majority of countries were urged, as early as 2010, to reduce their “excessive deficits”, while they were encouraged to continue with structural reforms, primarily those of the labour market. The impact upon labour market policy of the countries under ‘financial assistance’ was particularly marked since one of the key impacts of the euro and EMU has been that the labour market became the main (sole) means of adjustment and thus was used to bear the brunt of the paid of EMU (ECB 2012).

**Figure 3.3 Labour policy making in the EU 2000-2013, EU27 (average number of policies per country)**



Note: average number of policies for euro and non-euro zone adjusted for composition

Source: LABREF database authors' own analysis.

With the exception of a few years in the middle of the decade, the euro group countries have had a consistently higher intensity of policy making on the labour market as measured by the LABREF database (figure 3.3). This pattern becomes more pronounced during the austerity period. Here there is a strong role for the euro countries in the Mediterranean group with a particularly high intensity of policy making in Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece (see tab. 3.2).

Overall the evidence reveals that most reforms were generally carried out in response to worsening labour market outcomes. We clearly note a rising intensity of policy making across the period 2000-2013 in all country group but particularly so in the Mediterranean group. Likewise, one form of policy making seems to dominate with the greatest intensity of policy making in the area of active labour market policy (ALMP). However, the pressures in the austerity also leads us to observe a marked rise in policy making related to wage setting and job protection legislation. The greater intensity of policy making in the Eurozone also provides another dimension particularly among those countries receiving financial assistance.

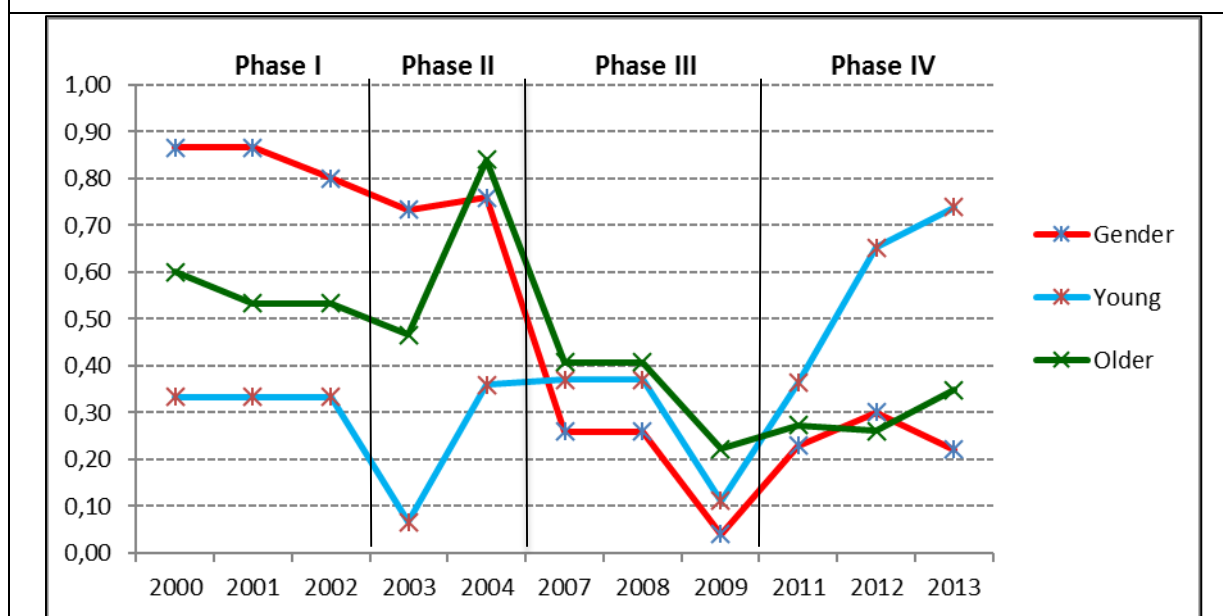
## 4. The evolution in labour market policy on youth in the EU27 (2000-2013)

In this section we focus on the content of the CSRs on employment and national policy implementation directly and indirectly focused on young people and the youth labour market. We analyse the CSRs across broad policy areas tied to young people on the labour market which allow us to link the themes of the CSRs more directly to the policy implemented at the national level. Furthermore, we highlight the policy implementation from the LABREF database linked to both youth and the flexicurity themes.

### 4.1 Young people, the EES and CSRs

As already noted (see section 3.1), across the four phases of the EES we find a limited focus of CSRs on young people, only rising as the impact of the crisis was felt on youth labour markets across the EU. Figure 4.1 illustrates the shifting focus of CSRs on labour supply groups (women, older workers, young people) between 2000 and 2013. In particular, we observe the weak focus on young people in the early phases followed by a rising prominence in Phase IV.

**Figure 4.1 – CSRs on employment policy considering explicitly gender issues, older workers and young people (average number of CSRs per country)**



Note: In 2005, 2006 and 2010 there were no CSRs.

Source: Authors' calculation based on CSRs (see table 3.1).

Here we explore in greater detail the content of the CSRs directly and indirectly focused on young people. In particular, we consider CSRs in three broad policy areas -- 'Active Labour Market Policies' (ALMP) and 'Flexibility' and 'Labour market segmentation'.

#### *CSRs linked to Active Labour Market Policies*

In Phase I (2000 to 2002), young people were largely absent from the CSRs and only a small group of countries (BE, EL, ES, IT, FR) received a recommendation which included an explicit mention of young

people. These CSRs were mainly concerned with policy tools preventing the phenomenon of long-term unemployment (i.e. ALMP), though the risk that an unemployment spell may lead to long-term unemployment was acknowledged for both young and adult unemployed. For example:

*“Take decisive, coherent and measurable action to prevent young and adult unemployed people from drifting into long-term unemployment. In particular, strengthened efforts should be made to complete the reform of employment services, to implement preventive policies” (EL 2000)*

*“Take decisive, coherent and measurable action to prevent young and adult unemployed people from drifting into long-term unemployment” (IT 2002);*

*“.. reduce inflows into long-term unemployment by taking decisive steps to implement an appropriate early intervention system for unemployed adults; examine the impact of the new personalised approach towards all unemployed young people” (BE 2002);*

*“Ensure the effectiveness of active labour market programmes with a view to combating unemployment and reducing regional disparities and labour market bottlenecks, focusing on the needs of the long-term and young unemployed” (FI 2002).*

In this scenario, the recommendation addressed to Belgium appears as an exception, being well focused on young people a possible forerunner for the underlying principles of the Youth Guarantee formalised almost a decade later:

*“Intensify its efforts to implement the new individual approach towards all unemployed young people, which aims to reach them before they have been unemployed for 6 months” (BE 2001).*

The attention on young people in Phase II (2003 and 2004) was almost exclusively focused on ALMP (but specified in general terms), while the attention on older workers was focused on participation (i.e. extending working life), suggesting different policy tools for the two groups:

*“increase the coverage of unemployed adults, disadvantaged young people and immigrants in the measures run by the employment services”; but: “define a comprehensive strategy for active ageing, access to continuing training, the promotion of a flexible working environment and effective job search for older unemployed workers, including determination in reducing early retirement schemes” (BE 2004).*

Young people were sometime listed when there was a need to refer to ‘disadvantaged people’:

*“ensure greater access to and efficiency of active labour market measures for disadvantaged people, in particular young people, disabled people, immigrants and long-term unemployed” (ES 2004);*

*“take special measures to facilitate the activation and integration of disadvantaged young people, disabled people and immigrants” (FI 2004).*

In short, it was acknowledged that young people were at a disadvantage in several countries, but the few recommendations issued were quite generic. The exception was Slovakia with a strong recommendation on young people:

*“The alarmingly high unemployment rate of young people points to the need to bridge the gap between skills acquired in the initial education and the skills needed to succeed on the labour market. Economic restructuring, regional and skills mismatches also call for greater support for occupational and geographic mobility throughout the life-cycle” (SK 2004).*

In Phase III (2007 to 2009) ‘Active labour market policy’ remained the main policy tool, although with a low profile (being addressed only in 8, 8 and 9 cases, respectively in the three years). About half of the recommendations (and PtW) that explicitly considered youth put the emphasis on their employability, for example:

*“improve education outcomes for disadvantaged youth” (AT 2009),*

*“increasing training and labour market opportunities for young people” (CZ 2007, 2008, 2009)*

*“increase employment and training opportunities for young people by implementing the reforms of the vocational, education and apprenticeship system” (CY 2007, 2008).*

The suggestion to improve young people's employability through better education and training was coupled with the need for some activation policies:

*“improve the effectiveness of employment services”* (SI 2007, 2008)

*“facilitate the transition of young people into employment, including through work-based training”* (RO 2009).

In this phase a number of countries received a simple generic mention around youth, without any precise suggestion on what to do (LU and SK, PtW 2007, 2008). Tackling high youth unemployment was acknowledged as an issue only in four countries (EL, FI, LU, SE) in 2007 and 2008. Surprisingly, high youth unemployment was not a central issue in 2009, when only three countries (AT, RO, SI) received some remarks.

Phase IV (2011 to 2013) was characterised by high (and increasing) youth unemployment rates in almost all EU countries. The deterioration of employment opportunities for young people was reflected in a high and increasing number of CSRs, with respect to previous phases, directly focused on policy recommendations for the young: 8, 15 and 17 respectively in the three years considered (2011, 2012 and 2013).

In 2011, the majority of the recommendations explicitly considering young people suggested actions to improve the employability of youth with low skills (BG, CZ, UK), reinforcing training and education measures (LU) and improving the effectiveness of ALMP (EE, FI). However, it was also acknowledged that there was also a need to improve employment opportunities for young people (ES, SE).

In 2012 and 2013 the recommendations addressing the difficulties faced by young people were both more numerous and more specific, inviting explicitly member states to take ad hoc measures, including the Youth Guarantee. In 2013, out of 17 countries having received a recommendation concerned with the difficulties faced by young people, 11 were invited to implement a Youth Guarantee (BG, ES, FR, HU, IT, LT, LV, PL, RO, SK, UK). In particular,

*“Accelerate the national Youth Employment Initiative, for example through a Youth Guarantee”* (BG 2013)

*“Implement and monitor closely the effectiveness of the measures to fight youth unemployment set out in the Youth Entrepreneurship and Employment Strategy 2013-2016, for example through a Youth Guarantee”* (ES 2013)

*“Take further measures to improve the transition from school to work through, for example, a Youth Guarantee and promotion of apprenticeship”* (FR 2013)

*“Address youth unemployment, for example through a Youth Guarantee”* (HU 2013)

*“Take further action to foster labour market participation, especially of women and young people, for example through a Youth Guarantee. Strengthen vocational education and training, ensure more efficient PESs and improve career and counselling services for tertiary students”* (IT 2013)

*“Improve the employability of young people, for example through a Youth Guarantee, enhance the implementation and effectiveness of apprenticeship schemes, and address persistent skill mismatches”* (LT 2013)

*“Strengthen efforts to reduce youth unemployment, for example through a Youth Guarantee, increase the availability of apprenticeships and work-based learning, strengthen cooperation between schools and employers and improve the quality of teaching”* (PL 2013)

*“Building on the Youth Contract, step up measures to address youth unemployment, for example through a Youth Guarantee. Increase the quality and duration of apprenticeships, simplify the system of qualifications and strengthen the engagement of employers, particularly in the provision of advanced and intermediate technical skills”* (UK 2013)

In short, it is only with a certain delay that member states were urged to take action to tackle the specific difficulties faced by young people in entering employment resulting from the impact of the economic



crisis first, and fiscal consolidation later. These CSRs were both much more numerous and more policy oriented (suggesting precise measures) with respect to the previous phases of the EES.

### *CSRs linked to flexibility and segmentation*

Young people are particularly susceptible to the direct and indirect consequences of measures to promote flexibility on the labour market (see Madsen et al. 2013). In Phase I the issue of flexibility was addressed to a small extent and in rather broad and generic terms, with no reference to specific institutional labour market settings or contractual arrangements. The main message was to increase labour market flexibility (but without specifying the meaning attached to the concept) and to combine greater flexibility with security (but without stating how). Moreover, it was explicitly stated that flexibility was a tool to facilitate access to employment, but without recognising the risk for young people to be trapped in insecure trajectories. The key sentences (repeated throughout the CSRs on flexibility, with marginal variations) were the following:

*".. achieving the required balance between flexibility and security"* (EL 2000, 2001 and 2002; ES 2001; PT 2000);

*".. continue to increase labour market flexibility with a view to better combining security with greater adaptability to facilitate access to employment"* (IT 2002);

*".. efforts to better combine security with greater labour market flexibility"* (BE 2002);

*"... efforts to modernise work organisation with a view to better combining security with greater adaptability"* (FR 2000, 2001, 2002);

*".. implement an approach based on partnership ... in particular in the areas of modernisation of work organisation and adaptation of employment relations, including labour regulations"* (PT 2002);

*"Encourage a partnership approach in order to enable the social partners at all appropriate levels to reach agreements on the modernisation of work organisation, with the aim of making undertakings more productive and competitive while achieving the required balance between flexibility and security"* (UK 2000).

In Phase II, the direct promotion of flexibility was more limited, at least in terms of number of countries receiving such advice. The Commission suggested member states sought an 'appropriate balance between flexibility and security', in line with previous CSRs. In particular, it was recommended to expand the range of contractual arrangements:

*"implement fully the agreed labour market reform package; further raise the attractiveness of part-time work and develop temporary work agencies to increase the diversity of work arrangements"* (EL 2004).

Similarly, removing obstacles to part-time work emerged as a common theme in 2004: for women, in general, and Eastern countries, in particular. Part-time work was suggested as a solution in order to encourage higher participation of women (and older workers):

*"removing obstacles to part-time work could contribute to raising levels further"* (LT 2004);

*"to promote female participation in the labour market, including through part time work"* (IT 2004);

*"Efforts to remove obstacles to part-time work would also contribute to sustaining job opportunities for women and older workers"* (PL 2004).

*"more contractual and working time diversity (e.g. remove obstacles to part-time work) so as to create more job opportunities"* (SK 2004).

Again, young people were not mentioned here.

In 2004, for the first time it was acknowledged that the 'segmentation of the labour market' was a problem in four countries (ES, FR, IT, PT); it should be noted that these were also among the countries that were invited to continue to increase labour market flexibility with a view "to better combining security



with greater adaptability to facilitate access to employment” (e.g. IT 2002). It is worth noting that there was no mention in these recommendations that young people were those suffering the most from segmentation and lack of job security (associated with increasing labour market flexibility at the margin):

*“to discourage the use of fixed-term contracts to counter the segmentation of the labour market”* (ES 2004);

*“facilitate the transition of people employed under fixed-term contracts into permanent contracts to avoid segmentation of the labour market and increase opportunities to remain and progress in the labour market”* (FR 2004);

*“Closely monitor the regulatory reforms aimed at reducing the imbalances between permanent and non-permanent contracts and labour market* (IT 2004);

*“make permanent contracts more attractive to employers as well as employees, and counter the segmentation of the labour market”* (PT 2004).

The real novelty in Phase III was the explicit mention of ‘flexicurity’ as a key concept (used in all three years). The majority of countries were encouraged to improve the performance of their labour market through “a comprehensive strategy in accordance with an integrated flexicurity approach” (see also EC 2007a). In some cases, the recommendation was very general and not followed by precise policy prescriptions (BE, BG, IT, LV, NL) while in others it was relatively precise and followed by specific suggestions. For example, better access to qualifications (DE), increase the efficiency of PES (EE), improve ALMP (PL), implementation of the lifelong learning strategy addressing the needs of the labour market (SK). In other cases the flexicurity concept was used ambiguously to enhance flexibility and/or reduce EPL for standard contractual arrangements. For example:

*“within an integrated flexicurity approach, further modernises employment protection ...”* (CZ 2009);

*“within an integrated flexicurity approach, modernises employment protection including legislation”* (EL 2007, 2008, 2009);

*“within an integrated flexicurity approach, improve the efficiency of lifelong learning and modernise employment protection”* (FR 2007, 2008);

*“continue efforts to modernise employment protection, including legislation to reduce the high levels of labour market segmentation, within the flexicurity approach”* (PT 2007, 2008 and 2009);

*“within an integrated flexicurity approach counters labour market segmentation in particular by reviewing employment protection for permanent work”* (SI 2009).

The few CSRs signalling labour market segmentation as a problem to be addressed did propose the move towards flexicurity as the solution. For example:

*“further modernise employment protection, including legislation, in order to foster flexicurity in the labour market to counter segmentation”* (ES 2007, 2008);

Similar propositions were used for the other countries with acknowledged segmentation challenges (FR, PT, SI). As in the previous phase, in this period of flexicurity promotion, segmentation was not presented as a problematic issue for young people, suffering from the concentration in temporary employment (fixed-term contracts, agency work and other atypical contractual arrangements) and a lack of security. The only exception was in Slovenia where the CSR did make the link between segmentation and the experience of young people:

*“improve the effectiveness of employment services, particularly in relation to persons with low employment prospects, in order to counter the segmentation mainly affecting young people”* (SI 2007, 2008).

Unlike in early phases, in Phase III part-time work was mentioned only once, and very briefly (ES 2007, 2008) - in contrast with Phase II when 12 countries<sup>18</sup> received some suggestions related to part-time

<sup>18</sup> CY, CZ, DE, EL, ES, IT, HU, LT, NL, PL, SK, UK.

work. Again the youth dimension was not present. Also the involvement of social partners in pursuing certain key objectives had completely fallen out of the agenda, while it played a prominent role in phase two. This is surprising given the emphasis in the literature on the need for the direct involvement of social partners in the flexicurity model (Madsen 2004; Wilthagen and Tros 2004)

In Phase IV 'flexibility' remained a common theme of the CSRs, though significantly toned down with respect to Phase III, being addressed only in few cases per year (2, 5 and 5 respectively, in the three years). The approach proposed in the CSRs was in line with that of previous phases: more flexible forms of work arrangements, including part-time (CZ 2011), fixed-term contracts (LT 2011) and flexible working-time arrangements (LT 2011). It was also suggested that member states boost interregional labour mobility (BE 2012, 2013) and review selected aspects of employment protection legislation related to dismissals (FR 2012; LT 2012; SI 2012).

The countries that received the explicit recommendation to combat segmentation were the same already addressed in previous years (ES, FR, IT, PL, SI). The formulation was similar to that suggested in previous years, yet underlying the difficulties in the transition from non-standard employment to more stable forms of employment. In addition, there was the recommendation that countries review EPL (i.e. to relax dismissal provisions) proposed in a number of cases as a measure to combat labour market segmentation (i.e. increasing insecurity for all). For example:

*".. proposals for further reforms to reduce labour market segmentation and improve employment opportunities for young people"* (ES 2012)

*"to combat labour market segmentation by reviewing selected aspects of employment protection legislation"* (FR 2011, 2012, 2013)

*"Reinforce measures to combat segmentation in the labour market, also by reviewing selected aspects of employment protection legislation including the dismissal rules and procedures ..."* (IT 2011)

*".. to combat in-work poverty and labour market segmentation through better transition from fixed-term ..."* (PL 2012, 2013)

*"Take steps, in consultation with social partners, to reduce asymmetries in rights and obligations"* (SI, 2011)

*"Adjust employment protection legislation as regards permanent contracts in order to reduce labour market segmentation, in consultation with social partners"* (SI 2012)

In addition it is interesting to note the recommendation to Germany (that in 2003 was praised for the Hartz's reforms) that implicitly seems to acknowledge the existence of labour market segmentation to the disadvantage of people (mainly youth and women) trapped in the so-called 'mini-jobs':

*"Facilitate the transition from non-standard employment such as mini jobs into more sustainable forms of employment"* (DE 2012)

#### *The changing intensity in CSRs addressing youth and in national policy making targeted on youth*

Table 4.1 provides an overview of CSRs (explicitly considering youth) by country and year along with the intensity of policy making targeted on young people from the LABREF database. This synthetic presentation leads us to make three general comments.

First, the information presented in table 4.1 underlines the increasing concern with youth labour market challenges in the latter part of the period as the repercussions of the crisis were felt and the revised EES took note of the risks associated with disadvantaged youth. We can observe that the increasing intensity is recorded first by national policy making, with a significant increase in the total number of measures specifically targeted at young people already in 2008, and a further increase in 2012.

Surprisingly, there is a certain delay in the CSRs focused on youth: it was only in 2012 and 2013 that most countries were invited to take action to tackle the problems faced by youth in the labour market.

Second, we also note certain countries where there is a more intensive and consistent approach in terms of recommendations from the EC towards youth policy over a number of years. This is the case of Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Greece, Spain, Italy, Luxembourg and Sweden. While in others youth CSRs are limited to the 2013 wave of youth-related recommendations (e.g. BU, HU, LV, LT, PL, SK, UK). Furthermore, for a small group of countries the EC has never mentioned youth labour market challenges in any of the CSRs issued across the whole period 2000-2013 (e.g. DK, DE, IE<sup>19</sup>, MT, and NL). We could assume that these are the countries with the youth labour market closest to the ideal type (i.e. that portrayed by the employment guidelines).

**Table 4.1 CSRs addressing youth and national policies targeted on young people, 2000-2013**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
EES*	Phase I			Phase II		No CSRs	No CSRs	Phase III			No CSRs	Phase IV		
Austria	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	- x	1 x	3 x	1	-	1 x	1 x
Belgium	1 x	- x	2 x	-	- x	2	1	1	2	-	4	2	6	6 x
Bulgaria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2 x	3 x	2 x
Cyprus	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	- x	3 x	-	-	-	1 x	-
Czech Rep.	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	- x	2	1
Denmark	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	2	1	-	3	2	2
Estonia	-	-	-	-	- x	1	-	-	-	1	1	- x	- x	- x
Finland	-	1	-	1	1 x	-	-	- x	2 x	1	1	-	2 x	1 x
France	- x	- xx	1 x	-	2 x	1	-	1	3	3	-	2 x	2 x	5 x
Germany	-	2	-	1	3	-	1	1	2	-	1	1	-	-
Greece	- x	- x	- xx	- x	2	-	-	- x	3 x	1	2	1	4	7
Hungary	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	3 x
Ireland	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	2
Italy	- x	- x	- x	2	- x	1	-	2	1	-	2	-	7 x	5 x
Latvia	-	-	1	-	1 x	1	1	-	-	-	4	3	2 x	3 x
Lithuania	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 x	- x	-	2	1	1 x	1 x
Luxembourg	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1 x	2 x	1	-	1 x	- x	1 x
Malta	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	2
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	-	-
Poland	-	-	4	-	1 x	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	2 x	2 x
Portugal	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1 x	3 x	5	6	-	5	4
Romania	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	- x	-	1	1	4 x
Slovakia	-	-	-	-	- x	-	-	- x	1 x	-	1	-	5 x	- x
Slovenia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	- x	- x	3 x	-	-	1	3
Spain	- x	-	-	-	- x	-	1	-	1	-	3	7 x	8 x	8 x
Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	1 x	2 x	1	3	- x	3 x	2 x
UK	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	2	6	-	5 x	5 x	3 x
Total (EU27)	3	4	13	10	14	16	8	14	36	33	35	30	65	68
No. of CSRs (or PtW) on youth	5	5	5	1	(9)	-	-	10	10	3	-	8	15	17

Notes: *figures* relate to the number of national policy/measures (enacted) classified as targeted on young people according to the LABREF database; *x* indicates CSRs (or PtW) addressing youth. These references may be found in CSRs (or PtW) focused on other policy themes.

\* In three years (2004, 2005 and 2010) there were no CSRs, In Phase IV, the member states under financial assistance (CY 2013; EL 2011-13; IE 2011-13; LV 2011; PT 2011-13; RO 2011-12) were not addressed any CSRs.

Source: Authors' calculation based on CSRs and LABREF database.

<sup>19</sup> Ireland was under financial assistance from the EU-IMF in 2011-2013, hence was not addressed any recommendation.

Finally, for the EU as a whole, and for most countries, policy making on youth materialised from a low level in crisis and austerity sub-periods. In other words, a large number of countries had no tradition of policy making targeted on young people; therefore, the exceptional increase in policy making has to be associated with the dramatic deterioration in the labour market performance for youth. In contrast, there are few countries with more regular policy activity over the pre-crisis period as well (in particular, AT, BE, DK, DE, LV).

It is to this national-level policy making focused on young people that we turn to in the next section.

## 4.2 Policy making towards youth

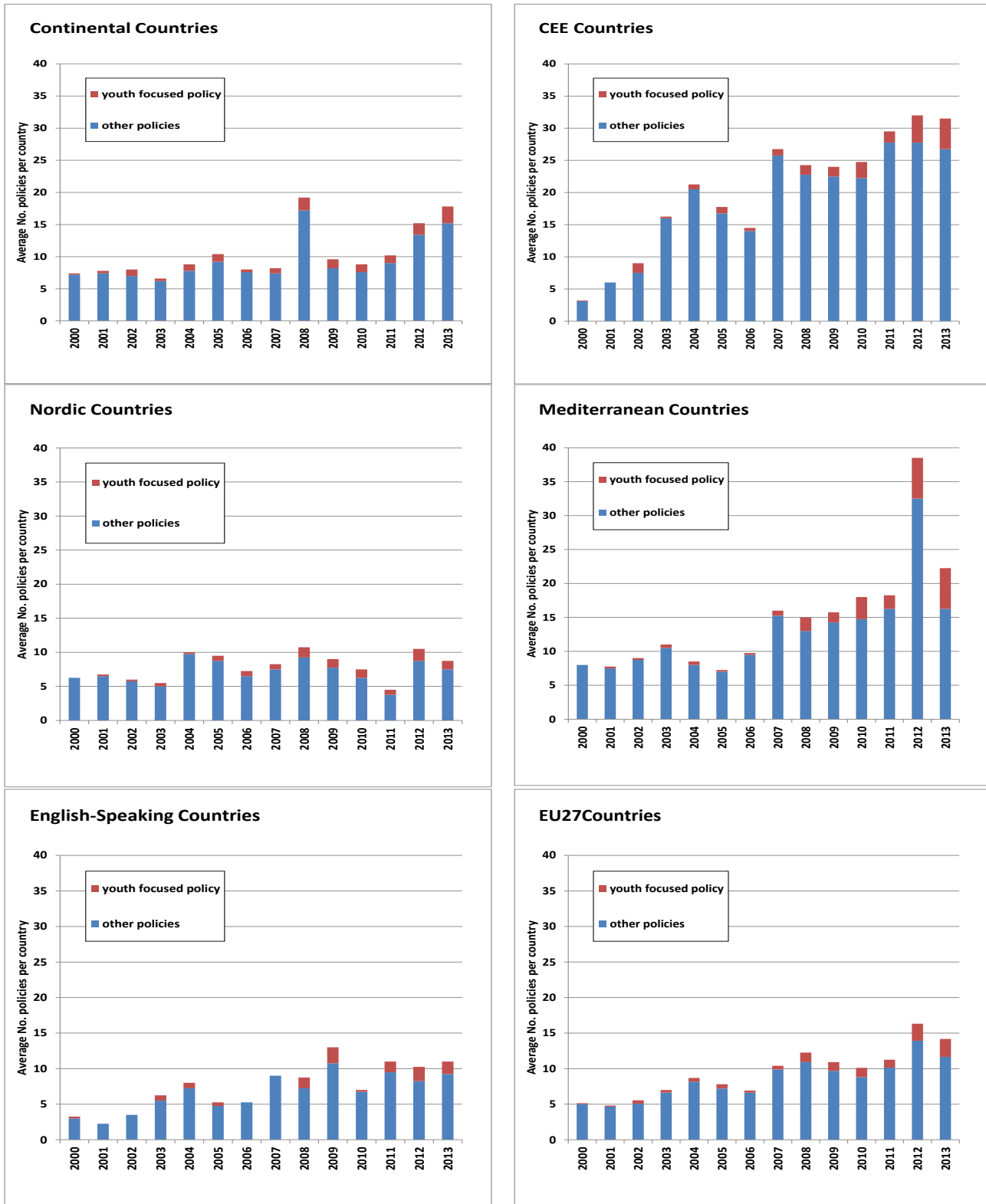
In this section we use the LABREF database to focus on labour market policies that address the situation of young people on the labour market. While we recognise that all policies have the potential to impact upon young people, as with the CSRs discussed above, those that have an explicit focus on young people can be regarded as an indicator of the extent of policy focus on youth labour market problems within countries and over time.

Firstly, it is important to note that the focus on young people has been rather limited, accounting for just 10% of the policies recorded in the LABREF database (figure 4.2). This finding is consistent across country groups and the whole period. The relatively limited focus of policies on the situation of young people is a reflection of at least three factors. As our analysis of the CSRs above demonstrates, the concern around the plight of young people was not a policy priority in the first decade of this century and young people were not seen as a 'priority group' in the same way that older workers or women were focused on in the early part of the EES (Knijn and Smith 2012). Secondly, policies impacting upon young people may be concentrated in education and training; although LABREF is effective at picking up training incorporated into ALMP activity, 'pure' education reforms are outside the scope of the dataset (EC 2015b). Thirdly, as noted above, young people are likely to be impacted upon by a range of labour market policies targeted at changing the institutional settings of the labour market, through structural reforms. In particular, reforms of EPL on dismissal provisions and/or flexible contractual arrangements, as well as reforms changing the periods of contribution required to qualify for unemployment benefits, though not explicitly focused on young people but are likely to have a disproportionate impact upon the young, as they differ from the adult population in terms of work experience, contractual arrangement and periods of contributions, etc. (EC 2010a; Eurofound 2014a; ILO 2015: 38-40; O'Reilly et al. 2015).

Figure 4.2 charts a rising policy interest in young people at both the EU27 level and across country groups, in parallel with the worsening of their employment prospects, albeit policies for youth employment remaining a minority of total policy activity. Here, the average number of total policies and those focused on youth show a general upward trend over the period. But it is only in the crisis and austerity sub-periods that we observe a more consistent focus on young people across the country groups. Nevertheless, there is some evidence of policy attention on young people prior to the crisis in some country groups, i.e. CEE and continental countries. By contrast, in the Mediterranean countries, where the youth unemployment situation has been particularly challenging, there was virtually no policy attention on youth prior to the crisis.

An examination of the policy domains where youth-focused policies were concentrated shows that ALMP was by far the dominant activity across all sub-periods and all country groups (tab. 4.2). In fact, ALMP measures accounted for 94% of all youth focused policies in the pre-crisis years and 73% in both the crisis and austerity sub-periods.

Figure 4.2 Youth-focused policies and general labour policies by country group, 2000-13



Notes: a averages adjusted for the number of countries within groups and the number of years for period;  
 b country groups: *Continental* (AT, BE, DE, FR, LU), *Central and Eastern* (BG, CZ, EE, HU, LT, LV, PL, SI, SK, RO), *Nordic* (DK, FI, NL, SE), *Mediterranean* (EL, ES, IT, PT), *English-speaking* (IE, UK, MT, CY).  
 Source: LABREF database (authors' analyses).

**Table 4.2 Distribution of youth-focused policies by country group and sub-period, 2000-2013 (% and no.)**

	1. Labour Taxation	2. Unemployment benefits	3. Other welfare	4. ALMP	5. Job Protection (EPL)	6. Early Withdrawal	7. Wage Setting	8. Working Time	9. Immigration /Mobility	Total	No.
<i>Continental</i>											
2000-07	4%	-	-	96%	-	-	-	-	-	100%	27
2008-09	18%	6%	18%	59%	-	-	-	-	-	100%	17
2010-13	15%	12%	6%	65%	-	-	3%	-	-	100%	34
<i>Central &amp; Eastern</i>											
2000-07	-	-	-	95%	-	-	5%	-	-	100%	21
2008-09	58%	-	-	42%	-	-	-	-	-	100%	12
2010-13	4%	4%	4%	81%	2%	-	2%	4%	-	100%	53
<i>Nordic</i>											
2000-07	-	7%	-	93%	-	-	-	-	-	100%	14
2008-09	18%	9%	-	64%	-	9%	-	-	-	100%	11
2010-13	5%	-	5%	80%	10%	-	-	-	-	100%	20
<i>Mediterranean</i>											
2000-07	-	-	-	100%	-	-	-	-	-	100%	11
2008-09	7%	-	-	93%	-	-	-	-	-	100%	14
2010-13	12%	3%	-	67%	4%	1%	4%	7%	1%	100%	69
<i>English Speaking</i>											
2000-07	22%	-	-	78%	-	-	-	-	-	100%	9
2008-09	-	-	-	100%	-	-	-	-	-	100%	15
2010-13	5%	9%	0%	82%	-	-	5%	-	-	100%	22
<i>TOTAL</i>											
2000-07	4%	1%	-	94%	-	-	1%	-	-	100%	82
2008-09	19%	3%	4%	72%	-	1%	-	-	-	100%	69
2010-13	9%	5%	3%	73%	3%	1%	3%	4%	1%	100%	198

Note: see section 2 for details.

Source LABREF Database (authors' own analysis).

Across all country groups there were virtually no policies with a youth focus in job protection (EPL), early withdrawal, wage setting, working time, other welfare benefits, unemployment benefits, and immigration prior to the austerity sub-period. For labour taxation there was an increase in activity focused on young people during the crisis, particularly among the CEE countries.

It was only in the austerity sub-period that an increased diversity of policies was observed combined with almost a tripling of policy activity focused on young people (with specific policies in all nine policy domains, at least at the EU level). The continental and Mediterranean countries show the greatest diversity of policy making for young people during the austerity years, including policies on labour taxation and reforms of unemployment benefits. In particular, the Mediterranean countries have youth-focused policies in eight of the nine policy domains.

Overall we find a limited but rising focus of policies for youth employment across the whole period and country groups. The austerity sub-period marks something of a step-change in the focus of policies for young people -- in line with our analysis of the CSRs where we found that young people became a priority group in the period following the impact of the crisis (more precisely, in the years 2011-13, which



corresponds to Phase IV of the EES). Furthermore, again in line with the CSR analysis, we find that ALMP policy activity accounts for the largest share of youth-focused policy as countries sought to grapple with the challenges of high levels of youth unemployment and the problems faced by NEETs. This intensification of policy making was inspired by the concerns around youth unemployment, NEET rates and potential future scarring that eventually led to the Youth Guarantee in 2013 (CEC 2013).

### *Flexicurity policies*

It has previously been noted that flexicurity policies can have disproportionate impact upon young people, particularly measures to reduce job security (Madsen et al. 2013). The youth labour market may have much to gain from effective balancing of flexibility and security but there has been something of a blind spot when it comes to the consideration of young people within flexicurity models (Eamets et al. 2015). As noted above, the so-called flexicurity model was a key element of the EES. It was seen as the ideal institutional settings which should be viewed as a beacon for policy makers. For a brief period, any policy change inspired by flexicurity was regarded as a remedy for a number of the problems faced by European labour markets (EC 2007a, 2007b; O'Reilly et al. 2015).

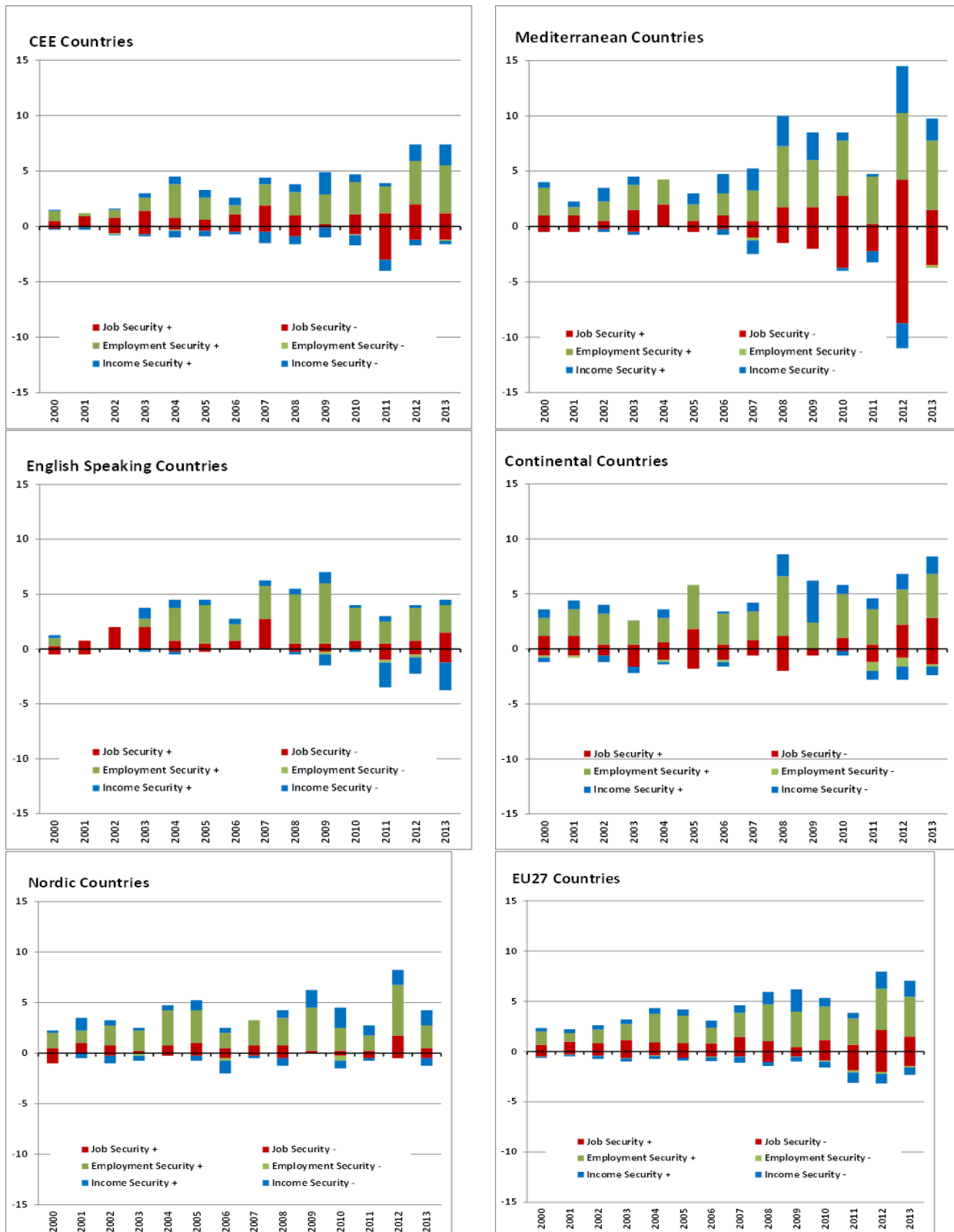
Here we use the LABREF database to chart policy activity categorised as affecting different elements of the flexicurity model (see section 2 for discussion). In particular, we identify a subset of LABREF policy domains that fall under the three conventional flexicurity categories<sup>20</sup>: *job security* (i.e. employment protection legislation), *employment security* (i.e. ALMP) and *income security* (i.e. unemployment benefits and other welfare support measures). This subset accounts for 2216 policies (around two thirds of all policies recorded in the database between 2000 and 2013). Using the additional information in the LABREF database on the direction of policy (i.e. increasing or decreasing) we can further categorise policies according to whether they strengthen or weaken different elements of the flexicurity model. In short, we categorised these policies according to whether they are ex-ante likely to promote or diminish job security, employment security and income security.<sup>21</sup> This implies that we consider the explicit intention of policy makers (as recorded in LABREF), not the actual impact of the measures enacted.

Figure 4.3 illustrates the intensity in policy making categorised under the three elements of the flexicurity model by direction of policy (increasing or decreasing) and by country group in 2000-2013. The majority of the policies implemented linked to 'flexicurity' were in the area of employment security (green shading, figure 4.3), followed closely by policies in the area of job security and, at a distance, by policies on income security. It is worth noting that while employment security measures are almost exclusively categorised as 'increasing' (i.e. promoting employment security through changes in ALMP), both job security measures and income security measures go in each direction (increasing and decreasing security) not only over time but also in the same year. This result holds across country groups and years. There is also some evidence of an increase in the intensity of employment security policies as part of the overall increase in policy activity during the crisis and austerity sub-periods.

<sup>20</sup> See the chart reproduced in the *ESDE 2014* report illustrating the balance between EPL, ALMP and unemployment benefits (EC 2015a: 75).

<sup>21</sup> Information on the direction of reforms (whether they are ex-ante likely to have an impact by increasing or decreasing security) is codified in LABREF by means of binary indicators. The taxonomy developed to construct the indicator of direction of reforms (built on existing economic literature) needs to be interpreted with caution as some simplifications are inevitable. However, an indicator of direction is necessary when analysing reforms in order to avoid mixing reforms bringing opposite changes in the policy settings (see EC 2012a: 66).

**Figure 4.3 Flexicurity policy activity by direction of policy (increasing/decreasing) and country group, 2000-2013 (average no. of policies enacted per country)**



Notes:

a averages adjusted for the number of countries within groups and the number of years for period;

b country groups: *Continental* (AT, BE, DE, FR, LU), *Central and Eastern* (BG, CZ, EE, HU, LT, LV, PL, SI, SK, RO), *Nordic* (DK, FI, NL, SE), *Mediterranean* (EL, ES, IT, PT), *English-speaking* (IE, UK, MT, CY).

Source: LABREF database (authors' analyses).



At the country group level, the Mediterranean group stands out with significant policy activity reducing job security; this is particularly stark during the austerity years (red shading, figure 4.3). After the Mediterranean group this pattern was most notable in the CEE countries. Elsewhere there was evidence of policy activity reducing the level of job security across most country groups during the austerity years (least among the Nordic countries).

On the other hand, the English-speaking countries have marked policy activity reducing income security in the austerity period (blue shading). This is in contrast with the income security measures recording an increase in intensity in the crisis and austerity sub-periods in all the other country groups, i.e. Continental, Nordic, CEE and Mediterranean (blue shading)

**Table 4.4 Distribution of youth-focused flexicurity policies by country group and sub-period, 2000-2013**

	<i>Job security</i>		<i>Employment security</i>		<i>Income security</i>		Total	No.
	increasing	decreasing	increasing	decreasing	increasing	decreasing		
<i>2000-07</i>								
Continental	-	-	100,0%	-	-	-	100,0%	26
Central & Eastern	-	-	100,0%	-	-	-	100,0%	20
Nordic	-	-	100,0%	-	-	-	100,0%	13
Mediterranean	-	-	100,0%	-	-	-	100,0%	10
English speaking	-	-	100,0%	-	-	-	100,0%	7
EU27	-	-	100,0%	-	-	-	100,0%	76
<i>2008-09</i>								
Continental	-	-	76,9%	-	23,1%	-	100,0%	13
Central & Eastern	-	-	100,0%	-	-	-	100,0%	5
Nordic	-	-	100,0%	-	-	-	100,0%	7
Mediterranean	-	-	100,0%	-	-	-	100,0%	13
English speaking	-	-	100,0%	-	-	-	100,0%	15
EU27	-	-	94,3%	-	5,7%	-	100,0%	53
<i>2010-13</i>								
Continental	-	-	84,0%	4,0%	8,0%	4,0%	100,0%	25
Central & Eastern	4,0%	2,0%	84,0%	2,0%	6,0%	2,0%	100,0%	50
Nordic	-	11,1%	77,8%	5,6%	-	5,6%	100,0%	18
Mediterranean	1,8%	12,7%	80,0%	1,8%	3,6%	-	100,0%	55
English speaking	-	-	80,0%	10,0%	-	10,0%	100,0%	20
EU27	1,8%	6,0%	81,5%	3,6%	4,2%	3,0%	100,0%	168

Note see section 2 for details

Source LABREF Database (authors' own analysis).

We can repeat the analysis of flexicurity measures concentrating on youth-focused policy activity. As above, we again find an increasing share of policy focused on young people. The share of all flexicurity policies targeted at young people rose from 6% in the pre-crisis sub-period to 12% in the crisis and 15% in the austerity sub-period.

This subset of policy making for young people was almost exclusively focused on increasing employment security. Table 4.4 shows the distribution of youth-focused flexicurity policies and shows that all flexicurity policy in the pre-crisis phase was based around the promotion of employment security. Apart from some enhancement of income security for young people in the Continental group during the crisis, this pattern was repeated.

Only in the austerity sub-period do we see some greater diversity with the promotion of employment security for young people accounting for around four fifths of new policies. The Nordic and Mediterranean counties stand out with certain measures aimed at reducing job security for young people. However, at the same time there were measures adjusting income security; in both directions in Continental and CEE countries, towards a weakening in Nordic and English speaking and a strengthening in Mediterranean group.

Youth-focused policy accounted for a rising share of employment security promotion policies as Europe progressed through the crisis to austerity. In the pre-crisis phase youth policies accounted for 19% of all employment security promotion and this rose to 26% in the crisis and 36% in the austerity phase. Although there were relatively few policies reducing employment security, in the Mediterranean and English-speaking groups these were entirely focused on youth people in the austerity phase.

Overall we see the main element of youth-focused policy making in the area of ALMP that we have broadly categorised as promoting employment security in line with the conventional flexicurity model. During the pre-crisis phase these policies were the almost the sole dimension to youth labour market policy. Only during the austerity sub-period do we observe some greater diversity although measures to promote employment security remain dominant. At the margins these other policies appeared to be weakening rather than strengthening the “principles” of flexicurity.

## 5. Summary and conclusions

The focus of this deliverable is on the changes in employment policy making in the EU over the period 2000-13, focusing on those policies that have been directly or indirectly targeted on youth. Over this period, the EES has exercised its influence on member states policy making through the OMC, by establishing the employment guidelines, setting quantitative targets and giving guidance at the national level through CSRs on their employment policy. In this framework EU countries have been encouraged to make their labour markets more flexible (i.e. more responsive to changes), with an emphasis on moving from 'job security' (i.e. less stringent EPL) to 'employment security' (more efficient ALMP), under the assumption that an increase in flexibility should lead to higher employment opportunities for all. This general recommendation was supported by the hypothesis, put forward by the EC in the mid-2000s, that member states should find their national way towards flexicurity.

Our aim is to provide an overview of policy making before, during and after the immediate effects of the crisis in order to highlight the emergence of flexicurity as a key goal of the EU policy framework for labour market reforms. This approach provides the lens through which we consider the policies targeted towards the inclusion of young people in employment. We chart these shifting policy models and the underlying implications for youth in Europe focusing, on the one hand, on the CSRs issued annually by the Commission and the Council to member states and, on the other hand, on the intensity and direction of policy activity by member states from 2000 up to 2013, as recorded in LABREF. The ultimate purpose is to highlight the influence of the EES (through CSRs) on national policy making in general and, in particular, on policies enacted to tackle the specific problems youth face in the labour market.

Given the characteristics of the two sources used for this deliverable (CSRs, LABREF) it is not possible to substantiate the impact of CSRs on national policy making, directly. Indeed, the complex interaction of European influences with national institutional complementarities means that to explore that exact influence of CSRs would require a detailed analysis of each recommendation and each policy developed. Therefore, we develop a parallel analysis of CSRs and national labour market policies in order to illustrate the parallel evolution of recommendations and overall employment policy and that focused on youth. Based upon this analysis we are able to draw conclusions in six areas.

*1. The evolution of policy recommendations to member states (CSRs 2000-13).* From the outset, two main labour supply groups were objects of attention: women and older workers. For both groups the attention was on participation. By contrast, young people were not identified as a group in need of specific employment policies and mention of younger workers were rather rare. The merging of the employment guidelines with the BEPGs (from 2005), resulted in the reduction of CSRs focused on employment policy and a changing focus on labour supply groups. There was a progressive shift of attention from gender issues towards older workers and then in the more recent years from older workers towards young people in order to reduce the risk of long-term unemployment arising from the crisis.

*2. Direction and intensity of policy making at the national level in the area of employment policy (as recorded in LABREF).* Policy making has been changing both in intensity and in policy focus throughout 2000-13, but with differences across country groups. We identify a rising intensity of policy making across the whole period of our analysis with a step change in activity as the EU experienced the first effects of the crisis and then again as austerity measures were implemented. There was a markedly higher level of policy making among those countries most affected by the crisis and under the close

guidance of the troika – in particular the Mediterranean group of countries stand out with a much high level of policy activity. In line with the policy recommendations the most policy activity was in the area of ALMP.

3. *The evolution of policy recommendations to member states indirectly affecting young people (CSRs 2000-13).* The focus on young people and their challenges on the labour market have not been consistent either across countries or over time. Since the 1990s, the general recommendation to implement labour market reforms to enhance flexibility tended to be translated into the so called ‘reforms at the margin’, with many young people trapped in secondary jobs, with atypical contractual arrangements (EC 2010a). This is an important area of policy making not directly targeted on young people, but with strong indirect effects for the segmentation of young people: their characteristics means that they are disadvantaged by lack of work experience and lack of contributory periods. To overcome the problems raised by labour market reforms enhancing ‘flexibility’, the EC moved from *flexibility* to *flexicurity* (EC 2006; EC 2007). However, CSRs on flexicurity have been neither very numerous, nor straightforward. Firstly, the recommendations on flexicurity policies were strengthening ‘employment security’ through greater use of ALMPs for both all participants on the labour market and young people. The youth-blind approach means that there is an absence of an explicit recognition of the actual and potential impact of policy on young people and in particular the risks of increasing segmentation.

4. *The evolution of policy recommendations to member states directly affecting young people (CSRs 2000-13).* The analysis of CSRs across the four phases of the EES again shows a limited focus on young people, only rising after 2011. Surprisingly, high youth unemployment was not a focus in 2009, when CSRs for only three countries (AT, RO, SI) received some remarks. It is only in Phase IV (2011-2013) that the deterioration of employment opportunities for young people was reflected in an increasing number of CSRs directly focused on policy recommendations for the young. In the austerity sub-period member states were encouraged to strengthen ALMPs and to intervene with individualised and well-targeted policies of activation, e.g. the Youth Guarantee, to prevent youth long-term unemployment.

5. *Direction and intensity of policy making at the national level explicitly targeted to young people.* In line with the CSRs policy making towards young people was rather limited over the whole period of the analysis, accounting for around 10% of all policies covered by the LABREF database. As the CSRs the intensity of policy making aimed at young people also increased over the period, peaking in 2011-12. Again the Mediterranean group stands out with a greater level of policy activity on young people. The concentration of activities in the area of active labour market policies was more marked for young people

6. *Flexicurity in youth policy making.* In the pre-crisis years there were only a few new measures and/or changes to existing measures that could be classified as flexicurity measures. These were enacted by a small number of countries. Prior to the crisis all of these policies were based on increasing employment security (through ALMPs). During the crisis, there was a shift with a rise in intensity in policy making focused on youth, almost all based on increasing employment security. A further shift occurred during austerity period with a greater diversity of policies was recorded, though policies that increase employment security still dominated. In those years, there is evidence of a noticeable number of measures decreasing in the three security dimensions: employment, income and job security.

Overall our analysis demonstrates that both CSRs and policy makers only developed a greater focus on young people once the crisis had taken its toll on youth labour markets with high and rising levels of youth unemployment. This reactive approach reflects a focus on other labour supply groups in the

preceding phases of the EES and a youth-blind approach to policy making across many countries and at the European level. The lack of recognition of the impact on youth is a mirror image of the absence of gender dimension to flexicurity (Jepsen 2005) and European policies more generally (Smith and Villa 2010). Nevertheless, the rising intensity in policy making at the national level explicitly targeted to young people is observed in parallel with the increasing attention in CSRs devoted to the specific difficulties faced by youth in 2011-2013. Economic conditions and labour market performance are perhaps as important for policy making explicitly targeted to young people, particularly in those countries where there is no “history” for youth policy

Based on the analyses presented here we tentatively suggest that the focus on young people and the intensity of policy making is linked to the institutional history around youth policy as well as the scale of the impact of the economic conditions. There are a few countries with some tradition for youth policy that was visible in the pre-crisis years. On the other hand, there are countries showing a high intensity of policy making only the crisis took hold. With labour markets facing a many challenges created by the single European currency and the deteriorating economic conditions there were some countries that were able to develop policy incrementally and refine their ‘swimming technique’ in the choppy waters of the changing policy environment. These countries had more stable institutional environments and some history of success in policy making towards young people. Other countries faced with more turbulent waters created by severe economic situation and a weaker institutional history were more characteristic of ‘splashing around’ in the shifting waters of the European economic and policy environment. Our analysis points to the need for a long-term and coordinated policy perspective in order to address challenges faced by young people entering the labour market in Europe today.

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## ANNEX A – Tables on the EES and CSRs

**Table A.1 – The European Employment Strategy and its evolution**

Phase I (1998-2002)	Phase II (2003-2005)	Phase III (2006-2009)	Phase IV (2010-2020)
<p><u>Four pillars</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Employability</li> <li>• Entrepreneurship</li> <li>• Adaptability</li> <li>• Equal opportunities</li> </ul> <p><u>14 Employment Guidelines</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tackling youth unemployment and preventing long-term unemployment</li> <li>• Transition from passive measures to active measures</li> <li>• Encouraging a partnership approach</li> <li>• Easing the transition from school to work</li> <li>• Promoting a labour market open to all</li> <li>• Making it easier to start up and run businesses</li> <li>• Exploiting new opportunities for job creation</li> <li>• Making the taxation system more employment friendly</li> <li>• Modernising work organisation</li> <li>• Support adaptability in enterprises</li> <li>• Gender mainstreaming approach</li> <li>• Tackling gender gap</li> <li>• Reconciling work and family life</li> <li>• Facilitating reintegration into the labour market</li> </ul>	<p><u>Three overarching objectives</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full-employment</li> <li>• Productivity and quality at work</li> <li>• Social cohesion and inclusion</li> </ul> <p><u>10 Employment Guidelines</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Active and preventive measures for the unemployed and inactive</li> <li>• Job Creation and Entrepreneurship</li> <li>• Address Change and Promote Adaptability and Mobility in the Labour Market</li> <li>• Promote Development of Human Capital and Lifelong Learning</li> <li>• Increase Labour Supply and Promote Active Ageing</li> <li>• Gender Equality</li> <li>• Non-discrimination</li> <li>• Make work pay</li> <li>• Transform undeclared work into regular employment</li> <li>• Address regional employment disparities</li> </ul>	<p><u>Three overarching objectives</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full employment: Achieving full employment, and reducing unemployment and inactivity</li> <li>• Improving quality and productivity at work</li> <li>• Strengthening economic, social and territorial cohesion</li> </ul> <p><u>8 Employment Guidelines</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full employment, quality and productivity at work, social and territorial cohesion</li> <li>• Promote a lifecycle approach to work</li> <li>• Inclusive labour markets, enhance work attractiveness, and make work pay for job-seekers, including disadvantaged people and the inactive</li> <li>• Improve matching of labour market needs</li> <li>• Promote flexibility combined with employment security and reduce labour market segmentation</li> <li>• Ensure employment-friendly labour cost developments and wage-setting mechanisms</li> <li>• Expand and improve investment in human capital</li> <li>• Education and training systems in response to new competence requirements</li> </ul>	<p><u>Three overarching objectives</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Smart Growth</li> <li>• Sustainable Growth</li> <li>• Inclusive Growth</li> </ul> <p><u>4 Guidelines on Employment and Social Inclusion</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• GL 7: Increasing labour market participation of women and men, reducing structural unemployment and promoting job quality</li> <li>• GL 8: Developing a skilled workforce responding to labour market needs and promoting lifelong learning</li> <li>• GL 9: Improving the quality and performance of education and training systems at all levels and increasing participation in tertiary or equivalent education</li> <li>• GL 10: Promoting social inclusion and combating poverty</li> </ul>
<p><u>Quantitative targets (to be reached by 2010)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lisbon summit (2000) agrees to a target of 70% for the EU employment rate (15-64) and a target of 60% for women (15-64); a target of 55% for older workers was added the following year.</li> <li>• Barcelona summit (2002) agrees to a target of at least of at least 33% of small children (&lt; 3yrs) for childcare coverage rate and 90% of children between 3 and mandatory school age.</li> </ul>			<p><u>Quantitative targets (to be reached by 2020):</u> empl. rate (20-64) 75%; share of early school-leavers &gt;20%; school-leavers with a university degree 40%; reduction of 25% (20 million people) in those below national poverty lines.</p>

Table A.2 - Policy themes identified in order to classify the CSRs issued on employment and social policy

Policy themes	Policy tools and/or problematic issue	Group(s) explicitly mentioned	'Titles' or 'labels' used in official documents to describe the content of CSRs [Note: all CSRs have a "title" in 2003 and 2004; CSRs are classified by broad policy theme since 2012]
<b>1. Labour market participation</b>	Pension systems Active ageing Early retirement Tax burden/ non-wage labour cost Tax & benefit system Tax & social security contributions Benefits/ benefit system Unemployment/ inactivity traps Working time Part-time Reconciliation/ Childcare	Older workers Women Low skilled Low paid Migrant/ ethnic group Disabilities	<b>CSRs Phase I</b> – Pillar "Employability" considers: active ageing, employment-friendly approach via benefits/ taxes <b>CSRs 2003:</b> "Labour supply and active ageing" [AT, BE, DK, FI, IT, LU, SE, UK 2003]; "Making work pay" [BE, DE, DK, EL, NL, SE 2003], <b>CSRs 2004:</b> "Attracting more people to the labour market and making work a real option for all" <b>CSRs 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015:</b> "Labour market participation"
<b>2. Active Labour Market Policies (ALMP)</b>	Preventive policies Activation PES Statistics/ indicators/ monitoring	Youth Adult unemployed Long-term unemployed	<b>CSRs Phase I</b> – Pillar "Employability" considers: "tackling youth unemployment and preventing long-term unemployment" <b>CSRs 2003:</b> "Prevention and activation" [BE, DE, FR, UK 2003]; "Delivery services" [EL, ES, IT 2003] <b>CSRs 2004:</b> included in "Attracting more people to the labour market .." <b>CSRs 2012, 2013 and 2014:</b> "Active Labour Market Policy"
<b>3. Education and skills</b>	Education/ Tertiary education Early school leaving/ school drop-outs Continuous training Lifelong learning Accreditation of formal/non-formal training Reforms of the vocational, education, training and apprenticeship system	Youth Adult Older workers Migrants/ ethnic group	<b>CSRs Phase I</b> – Pillar "Employability" considers: 'developing skills', 'training', 'lifelong learning' <b>CSRs 2003:</b> "Lifelong learning" [AT, DE, EL, FR, IE, IT, NL, PT 2003] <b>CSRs 2004:</b> "Investing more and more effectively in human capital and lifelong learning" <b>CSRs 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015:</b> "Education and skills"
<b>4. Job creation</b>	Entrepreneurship Service sector/ services	Youth	<b>CSRs Phase I</b> – Pillar "Entrepreneurship" <b>CSRs 2003:</b> "Job creation" [IE, IT 2003]
<b>5. Flexibility</b>	Adaptability Balance between flexibility and security Flexicurity Modernising work organisation Labour market reform Regulatory framework Contractual arrangements		<i>Under 'flexibility' we includes diverse concepts: adaptability, balance between flexibility and security, flexicurity.</i> <b>CSRs Phase I</b> – Pillar "Adaptability": ".. work organisation must also be modernised (i.e. flexible working arrangements/ types of contracts)" <b>CSRs 2003:</b> "Address change and promote adaptability" [DE, EL, ES, IT 2003]

	Severance pay legislation Restructuring of enterprises/ collective redundancies [BE 2003] Mobility (occupational/ regional) [AT, BE 2004]		<b>CSRs 2004:</b> “Increasing adaptability of workers and enterprises” [adaptability is interpreted in a very broad sense, including wage setting mechanisms] <b>CSRs 2012:</b> “Flexicurity”
<b>6. Labour market segmentation</b>	Labour market segmentation	High share of fixed-term contracts People employed under fixed-term contracts	<i>It starts to be mentioned in 2004 (ES, FR, IT, PT). It becomes a theme for CSRs in Phase IV (but only in 2013 and 2014)</i> <b>CSRs 2013, 2014:</b> “Labour market segmentation”
<b>7. Wage setting mechanisms</b>	Wage developments in line with productivity developments [CZ, DE 2004]		<i>It starts to be considered explicitly in the EU 2020 strategy (but some references appear in 2004, mentioning BEPG)</i> <b>CSRs 2004:</b> included in “Increasing adaptability ..” <b>CSRs 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015:</b> “Wage setting mechanisms”
<b>8. Gender equality</b>	Participation Gender gap in employment/ unemployment Training Gender mainstreaming Gender pay gap (GPG) Segregation/ imbalances in representation Reconciliation Care/ long-term care Childcare services Childcare allowances	Women Second earners	<i>To avoid duplications (with LM participation) we identify “gender equality” when a recommendation (or PtW) is specifically focused on gender (though it may cover several issues)</i> <b>CSRs Phase I – Pillar “Equal Opportunities”</b> <b>CSRs 2003:</b> “Gender equality” is one of the 11 policy themes used to specify the focus of CSRs (and almost all MSs received one) <b>CSRs 2004:</b> Each MSs has received 3 CSRs, covering broad policy themes (adaptability, labour market participation, education & training), not including ‘gender equality’ (considered as a PtW)
<b>9. Poverty and social exclusion</b>	People at a disadvantage	Migrants People at a disadvantage	<i>It starts to be considered explicitly in the EU 2020 strategy, but with very few CSRs on this issue.</i> <b>CSRs 2003:</b> “People at a disadvantage” [DK 2003] <b>CSRs 2013, 2014, 2015:</b> “Poverty and social exclusion”
<b>10. Miscellanea</b>	Cooperation [BE 2001] Social partnership/dialogue Statistics, indicators [DE 2000] Regional disparities Undeclared work [BG 2007]		<i>Social dialogue/partnership: present in Phase I, but it seems to have disappeared since then.</i> <b>CSRs 2003:</b> “Social partnership” [FR, PT, UK 2003]; “Regional disparities” [BE, ES 2003];

Note: Since 2012, the ‘Commission assessment and recommendations’ (i.e. accompanying document to CSRs) includes a synoptic table classifying the CSRs by policy area and policy theme. COM(2011) 400 final, 7.6.2011 [it does not include a synoptic table, but only general comments]; COM(2012) 299 final, 30.5.2012 (p. 19, ‘Overview of CSRs for 2012-2013’); COM(2013) 350 final, 29.5.2013 (p. 23, ‘Overview of CSRs for 2013-2014’); COM(2014) 400 final, 2.6.2014 (p. 17, ‘Overview of CSRs for 2014-2015’).

**Table A.3 – CSRs (and PtW) by policy theme in the four phases of the EES, 2000-2013**

	Phase I			Phase II		Phase III			Phase IV		
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004 <sup>a</sup>	2007	2008	2009	2011 <sup>b</sup>	2012 <sup>b</sup>	2013 <sup>b</sup>
<b>No. CSRs</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>No. PtW</b>	-	-	-	-	<b>140</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>50</b>	-	-	-	-
1. Labour market participation	15	18	14	17	39	20	20	7	21	23	23
2. ALMP	5	7	9	9	20	-	-	-	-	4	-
3. Education and skills	3	9	12	8	33	8	8	7	10	18	20
4. Job creation	8	3	-	2	4	18	18	15	17	20	22
5. Flexibility	4	4	8	4	5	14	14	12	2	5	5
6. Labour market segmentation	-	-	-	-	4	4	4	3	4	4	4
7. Wage setting mechanisms	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	2	7	8	7
8. Gender equality <sup>c</sup>	13	13	12	11	19	14	14	1	9	10	11
9. Poverty & social exclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	7	8
10. Miscellanea	6	4	3	5	13	7	7	-	-	-	-
<b>Sum (CSR by policy theme)</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>No. of CSRs considering explicitly:</b>											
- young people	5	5	5	1	9	10	10	3	8	15	17
- older workers	9	8	8	7	21	11	11	6	6	6	8
<i>(No. MSs)</i>	<i>(15)</i>	<i>(15)</i>	<i>(15)</i>	<i>(15)</i>	<i>(25)</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>23</i>

a In 2004 we considered PtW (instead of CSR) to classify the recommendations by policy theme.

b Five countries in 2011, four in 2012 and four in 2013 have not been addressed specific recommendations, being in receipt of financial assistance from the EU and the IMF.

c Gender issues are usually considered in the CSRs (or PtW) addressing gender equality. However, reference to gender issues may be found in CSRs (or PtW) focused on other policy themes. This is the reason for the difference between "no. CSRs" and "Sum (CSR by policy theme)".

Source: Authors' calculation based on CSRs.

**Table A.4 - Country Specific Recommendations (CSRs) on the EES by member state and the relative attention to gender equality, young people and older workers. Phase I (2000-2002) and Phase II (2003-2004)**

	2000				2001				2002				2003				2004*				
	No. CSRs	<i>incl. gender</i>	<i>incl. youth</i>	<i>incl. older</i>	No. CSRs	<i>incl. gender</i>	<i>incl. youth</i>	<i>incl. older</i>	No. CSRs	<i>incl. gender</i>	<i>incl. youth</i>	<i>incl. older</i>	No. CSRs	<i>incl. gender</i>	<i>incl. youth</i>	<i>incl. older</i>	No. CSRs	PtW	<i>incl. gender</i>	<i>incl. youth</i>	<i>incl. older</i>
1. AT	3	1		1	3	1		1	3	1		1	3	1		1	3	4	1		1
2. BE	4	1	1	1	5		1	1	5	1	1	1	4			1	3	7		1	1
3. BG																					
4. CY																	3	5	1		
5. CZ																	3	5	1		1
6. DE	5			1	5	1		1	5	1		1	5	1		1	3	9	1		1
7. DK	2	1		1	3	1		1	2			1	3			1	3	5			1
8. EE																	3	4	1	1	2
9. EL	6	1	1		6	1	1		6	1	2		5	1	1		3	9	1		1
10. ES	4	1	1		5	1			5	1			4	1			3	8	1	1	1
11. FI	3	1		1	3	1		1	3	1		1	3	1			3	5		1	1
12. FR	4		1	1	5		2	1	5		1	1	4			1	3	8	1	1	1
13. HU																	3	4	1		1
14. IE	3	1			2	1			3	1			3	1			2	3	1		1
15. IT	5	1	1	1	5	2	1	1	5	1	1	1	5	1		1	3	8	1	1	1
16. LT																	3	3	1		1
17. LU	2	1		1	3	1		1	3	1		1	3	1		1	3	6	1		1
18. LV																	3	4	1	1	
19. MT																	3	4	1		
20. NL	2	1		1	2				2				3	1			3	6	1		1
21. PL																	3	6	1	1	1
22. PT	3				4	1			3	1			3	1			3	8	1		1
23. RO																					
24. SE	2	1			3	1			3	1			3				3	5			
25. SI																	3	4			1
26. SK																	3	6		1	1
27. UK	2	2			4	1			4	1			4	1			3	4	1		
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>21</b>
<i>MSS</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>25</i>

Legend: CSR = Country Specific Recommendation; PtW = Point to Watch.

Note: In 2004, "points-to-watch" were added to CSRs.

**Table A.5 - Country Specific Recommendations (CSRs) on the EES by member state and the relative attention to gender equality, young people and older workers. Phase III (2007-2009)**

	2007						2008						2009				
	Total no. CSRs	No. CSRs on EES	PtW on EES	<i>incl. gender</i>	<i>incl. youth</i>	<i>incl. older</i>	Total no. CSRs	No. CSRs on EES	PtW on EES	<i>incl. gender</i>	<i>incl. youth</i>	<i>incl. older</i>	Total no. CSRs	No. CSRs on EES	<i>incl. gender</i>	<i>incl. youth</i>	<i>incl. older</i>
1. AT	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1		1	1
2. BE	2	1	1			1	2	1	1			1	3	1			1
3. BG	4	1	2				4	1	2				4	1			
4. CY	2	1	1	1	1		2	1	1	1	1		1	1			
5. CZ	3	1	5	2		1	3	1	5	2		1	3	1			1
6. DE	2	1	1				2	1	1				2	1			
7. DK			1			1			1			1					
8. EE			2						2				1	1			
9. EL	4	2	1	1	1		4	2	1	1	1		4	1			
10. ES	2	1	3	1			2	1	3	1			3	2			
11. FI			1		1				1		1						
12. FR	3	1	1				3	1	1				3	1			
13. HU	4	2	5	1			4	2	5	1			4	2			
14. IE			2	1		1			2	1		1	2				
15. IT	3	1	2	1		1	3	1	2	1		1	3	1			
16. LT	2	1	4	1	1	1	2	1	4	1	1	1	4	1			1
17. LU			3		1	1			3		1	1					
18. LV	3	1	1	1			3	1	1	1		1	4	1			
19. MT	2	1	1	1		1	2	1	1	1		1	2	1	1		1
20. NL	1	1	0	1		1	1	1	0	1		1	1	1	1		1
21. PL	4	1	1	1		1	4	1	1	1			4	1			
22. PT	3	2	1		1		3	2	1		1		3	2			
23.RO	4	1	2				4	1	2				4	1		1	
24. SE			1		1				1		1						
25. SI	2	1	1		1		2	1	1		1		2	1		1	
26. SK	3	1	4	1	1		3	1	4	1	1		3	1			
27. UK	1	1					1	1					2	1			
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
<i>MSs</i>	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27

Legend: CSR = Country Specific Recommendation; PtW = Point to Watch.

Note: Total number of CSRs (first column) refer to the "Integrated guidelines"; CSRs on EES refer to "Employment and social policies" guidelines. In phase III and IV CSRs on employment and social policies are rather broad, covering different policy issues. The columns "incl. gender", "incl. youth" and "incl. old" specify if gender equality / young /old people are explicitly considered.



**Table A.6 - Country Specific Recommendations (CSRs) on the EES by member state and the relative attention to gender equality, young people and older workers. Phase IV (2011-2013)**

	2011					2012					2013				
	Total no. CSRs	No. CSRs on EES	<i>incl. gender</i>	<i>incl. youth</i>	<i>incl. older</i>	Total no. CSRs	No. CSRs on EES	<i>incl. gender</i>	<i>incl. youth</i>	<i>incl. older</i>	Total no. CSRs	No. CSRs on EES	<i>incl. gender</i>	<i>incl. youth</i>	<i>incl. older</i>
1. AT	5	1	1			7	2	1	1	1	7	2	1	1	
2. BE	6	1			1	7	1			1	7	1		1	1
3. BG	7	1		1		7	2		1		7	2		1	1
4. CY*	7	1	1		1	7	1		1						
5. CZ	6	2	1	1	1	6	2	1			7	2	1		
6. DE	4	1	1			4	1	1			4	1	1		
7. DK	5	2				5	2				3	1			
8. EE	4	2		1		5	2		1		5	2	1	1	
9. EL*															
10. ES	7	1		1		8	3		1		9	3		1	1
11. FI	5	2		1	1	5	1		1	1	5	1		1	1
12. FR	5	2			1	5	2		1	1	6	1		1	1
13. HU	5	2	1			7	3	1			7	2	1	1	
14. IE*															
15. IT	6	1	1			6	2	1	1		6	1	1	1	
16. LT	6	1				6	2		1		6	2		1	
17. LU	4	1		1		5	1		1		6	1		1	1
18. LV*						4	2		1		6	3		1	
19. MT	5	1				6	1	1			5	1	1		
20. NL	4	1	1			5	1	1		1	4	1	1		
21. PL	7	2	1		1	5	2	1	1		7	2	1	1	1
22. PT*															
23.RO*											8	2		1	
24. SE	3	1		1		4	1		1		4	1		1	
25. SI	6	2				7	2				9	1			1
26. SK	6	2				7	3	1	1	1	6	2	1	1	
27. UK	5	2		1		6	2	1	1		6	2	1	1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>8</b>
<i>MSs</i>	22	22	22	22	22	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	23

Legend: CSR = Country Specific Recommendation; EES = European Employment Strategy.

Note: \* These countries have not been addressed specific recommendations, being in receipt of financial assistance from the EU and the IMF, which implies the fulfilment of tailored policy programmes focused on fiscal consolidation and structural economic reforms.

## ANNEX B - CSRs directly focusing on young people, 2000-2014

<b>AT</b>	2007	improve education outcomes for vulnerable youth.
	2008	improve education outcomes for vulnerable youth.
	2009	improve education outcomes for disadvantaged youth.
	2012	Continue to implement measures to improve educational outcomes, especially of disadvantaged young people. Take measures to reduce drop-outs from higher education.
	2013	Improve educational outcomes, in particular of disadvantaged young people, including by enhancing early childhood education and reducing the negative effects of early tracking. Further improve strategic planning in higher education and enhance measures to reduce drop-outs.
	2014	Improve educational outcomes in particular of young people with a migrant background, by enhancing early childhood education and reducing the negative effects of early tracking. Further improve strategic planning in higher education and enhance measures to reduce dropouts.
<b>BE</b>	2000	provide young with effective employability measures before the 6- and 12-month thresholds, respectively;
	2001	intensify its efforts to implement the new individual approach towards all unemployed young people, which aims to reach them before they have been unemployed for 6 months;
	2002	examine the impact of the new personalised approach towards all unemployed young people;
	2004	increase the coverage of disadvantaged young people in the measures run by the employment services;
	2013	Simplify and reinforce coherence between employment incentives, activation policies, labour matching, education, lifelong learning and vocational training policies for youth.
	2014	Increase labour market participation, notably by reducing financial disincentives to work, increasing labour market access for disadvantaged groups such as the young and people with a migrant background, improving professional mobility and addressing skills shortages and mismatches as well as early school leaving. Across the country, strengthen partnerships of public authorities, public employment services and education institutions to provide early and tailor-made support to the young.
<b>BG</b>	2011	Focus support on young people with low skills. Advance the educational reform by adopting a Law on Pre-School and School Education and a new Higher Education Act by mid-2012.
	2014	Extend the coverage and effectiveness of active labour market policies to match the profiles of job-seekers, and reach out to non-registered young people who are neither in employment, education or training, in line with the objectives of a youth guarantee.
<b>CY</b>	2007	enhance lifelong learning, and increase employment and training opportunities for young people by implementing the reforms of the vocational, education, training and apprenticeship system
	2008	enhance lifelong learning, and further increase employment and training opportunities for young people by implementing the recently approved Life Long Learning National Strategy and by implementing the reforms of the vocational, education, training and apprenticeship system, including the New Modern Apprenticeship Scheme.
	2013	Maintaining proper implementation of Structural and other EU Funds, as well as increasing job opportunities for young people and preserving their employability prospects will contribute to laying the foundations for a sustainable long-term growth for Cyprus.
	2014	Take further measures to address youth unemployment, with emphasis on work placements in companies and promotion of self-employment. Take appropriate policy measures on the demand side to stimulate business innovation.
	*	<i>* Cyprus was not addressed specific recommendations in 2013, 2014 and 2015 being in receipt of financial assistance from the EU-IMF</i>
<b>CZ</b>	2011	In cooperation with stakeholders, extend tailor-made training programmes, young people.
	2014	Reach out to nonregistered youth and provide individualised services.
<b>DE</b>	-	<i>Germany was never addressed a recommendation explicitly considering young people</i>
<b>DK</b>	-	<i>Denmark was never addressed a recommendation explicitly considering young people</i>
<b>DK</b>	2014	Improve educational outcomes, in particular for young people with a migrant background, and the effectiveness of vocational training. Facilitate the transition from education to the labour market, including through a wider use of work-based training and apprenticeships.
<b>EE</b>	2004	To complement to the recent Unemployment Insurance Act, it would seem important to strengthen active labour market measure so as to support active job search, provide greater access to training for the unemployed and ensure that the labour market becomes more inclusive. Disadvantaged people such as young people need special attention.
	2011	Improving the effectiveness of active labour market policies, including by targeting measures on young people especially in areas of high unemployment.

	2012	Increase the participation of the young in the labour market.
	2013	Continue efforts to improve the labour-market relevance of education and training systems, including by further involving social partners and implementing targeted measures to address youth unemployment.
<b>EL</b>	2000	take decisive, coherent and measurable action to prevent young people from drifting into long-term unemployment. In particular, strengthened efforts should be made to complete the reform of employment services, to implement preventive policies in compliance with guidelines 1 and 2;
	2001	take decisive and coherent action to prevent young people from drifting into long-term unemployment, in compliance with guidelines 1 and 2, through developing existing plans for the swift reform of public employment services;
	2002	improve the strategic framework, in particular by developing a set of well coordinated and balanced policies for the implementation of the employment guidelines across the four pillars with a view to increasing the employment rate, in particular for young people; speed up the restructuring of the public employment services and take decisive and coherent action to prevent young people from drifting into long-term unemployment through <i>inter alia</i> swift implementation of the personalised approach;
	2003	Complete the reform of the public employment services and fully implement the preventative and individualised approach, in particular for young people;
	2004	ensure greater access to and efficiency of active labour market measures for disadvantaged people, in particular young people
	2007	accelerate the implementation of reforms on education and lifelong learning, in order to improve quality and responsiveness to labour market needs, increase participation, and allow for a smooth transition into employment, particularly for the young.
	2008	accelerate the implementation of reforms on education and lifelong learning, in order to improve quality and responsiveness to labour market needs, increase participation, and allow for a smooth transition into employment, particularly for the young.
	2009	within an integrated "flexicurity" approach, modernise employment protection legislation, reduce non-wage costs to the low-paid, further strengthen active labour market policies, and transform undeclared work into formal employment; and accelerate the implementation of reforms on education and training, increase participation in lifelong learning and facilitate transition to work, particularly for young people.
	*	<i>* Greece was not addressed specific recommendations in 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015, being in receipt of financial assistance from the EU-IMF</i>
<b>ES</b>	2000	pursue the preventive policies initiated in 1998, moving beyond the identification of the unemployed persons' needs by increasing the number and the efficiency of the individualised activation measures so as to reduce significantly the inflow of young people into long-term unemployment;
	2011	Assess, by the end of 2011, the impacts of the labour market reforms of September 2010 and of the reform of active labour market policies of February 2011, accompanied, if necessary, by proposals for further reforms to reduce labour market segmentation, and to improve employment opportunities for young people; ensure a close monitoring of the effectiveness of the measures set out in the National Reform Programme to reduce early school leaving, including through prevention policies, and facilitate the transition to vocational education and training.
	2012	Review spending priorities and reallocate funds to support access to finance for young people. Implement the Youth Action Plan, in particular as regards the quality and labour market relevance of vocational training and education, and reinforce efforts to reduce early school-leaving and increase participation in vocational education and training through prevention, intervention and compensation measures.
	2013	Implement and monitor closely the effectiveness of the measures to fight youth unemployment set out in the Youth Entrepreneurship and Employment Strategy 2013-2016, for example through a Youth Guarantee. Continue with efforts to increase the labour market relevance of education and training, to reduce early school leaving and to enhance life-long learning, namely by expanding the application of dual vocational training beyond the current pilot phase and by introducing a comprehensive monitoring system of pupils' performance by the end of 2013.
	2014	Implement the 2013-2016 Youth Entrepreneurship and Employment Strategy and evaluate its effectiveness. Provide good quality offers of employment opportunities, apprenticeships and traineeships for young people and improve the outreach to nonregistered unemployed young people, in line with the objectives of a youth guarantee. Effectively implement the new educational schemes to increase the quality of primary and secondary education. Enhance guidance and support for groups at risk of early school leaving. Increase the labour-market relevance of vocational education and training and of higher education.
<b>FI</b>	2002	ensure the effectiveness of active labour market programmes with a view to combating unemployment and reducing regional disparities and labour market bottlenecks, focusing on the needs of young unemployed.
	2004	take special measures to facilitate the activation and integration of disadvantaged young people
	2007	continue reforms to address bottlenecks in the labour market, with a particular view to tackling high structural unemployment, especially unemployment of low skilled workers, including young people, and taking into account the contribution economic migration can make.

	2008	continue reforms to address bottlenecks in the labour market, with a particular view to tackling high structural unemployment, especially unemployment of low skilled workers, including young people, and taking into account the contribution economic migration can make.
	2011	Target active labour market measures better on young people.
	2012	Implement the ongoing measures to improve the labour market position of young people with a particular focus on skills development.
	2013	Implement and monitor closely the impact of on-going measures to improve the labour-market position of young people with a particular focus on the development of job-relevant skills.
	2014	Improve the labour-market prospects of young people with a particular focus on vocational education and targeted activation measures.
<b>FR</b>	2000	adopt and implement coherent strategies, encompassing regulatory, fiscal and other measures, designed to reduce the administrative burden on companies, in order to exploit the job creation potential of the service sector, <i>inter alia</i> , building on recent efforts to create new job opportunities for young people;
	2001	continue with implementation of individualised and early intervention schemes for the unemployed, and make greater use of such schemes to prevent youth unemployment; pursue the implementation of coherent strategies, encompassing regulatory, fiscal and other measures, designed to reduce the administrative burden on companies, and evaluate the impact of on-going efforts to create new job opportunities for young people.
	2002	evaluate the medium term impact of on-going efforts to create new job opportunities for young people;
	2012	improve youth employability especially for those most at risk of unemployment, by providing for example more and better apprenticeship schemes which effectively address their needs; step up active labour market policies and ensure that public employment services are more effective in delivering individualised support.
	2013	Take further measures to improve the transition from school to work through, for example, a Youth Guarantee and promotion of apprenticeship.
<b>HR</b>	2014	Implement the second phase of the labour law reform, following consultation with the social partners, notably as regards conditions for dismissals and working time, and with a view to preventing further labour market segmentation including for young people, by March 2015. Strengthen the effectiveness and reach of active labour market policies by reinforcing the administrative capacities of the public employment services, including at regional level, and by increasing the coverage of the young. Prioritise outreach to nonregistered youth and mobilise the private sector to offer more apprenticeships, in line with the objectives of a youth guarantee. Outline plans, by the end of 2014, to address undeclared work. Implement measures to improve the labour market relevance and quality of education outcomes by modernising the qualification systems, by putting in place quality assurance mechanisms and by improving school-to-work transitions, notably through strengthening vocational education and work-based learning.
<b>HU</b>	2013	Address youth unemployment, for example through a Youth Guarantee. Implement a national strategy on early school-leaving and ensure that the education system provides all young people with labour-market-relevant skills, competences and qualifications. Improve access to inclusive mainstream education, in particular for Roma. Support the transition between different stages of education and towards the labour market. Implement a higher-education reform that enables greater tertiary attainment, particularly by disadvantaged students.
<b>IE</b>	*	<i>* Ireland was not addressed specific recommendations in 2011, 2012 and 2013, being in receipt of financial assistance from the EU-IMF.</i>
	2014	Pursue further improvements in active labour market policies, with a particular focus on the objectives of a youth guarantee, young people. Advance the on-going reform of the further education and training (FET) system, employment support schemes and apprenticeship programmes.
<b>IT</b>	2000	take decisive, coherent and measurable action to prevent young people from drifting into long-term unemployment. In particular, strengthened efforts should be made to complete the reform of employment services, to implement preventive policies in compliance with guidelines 1 and 2, and to improve the quality of vocational training.
	2001	in the context of employability policies, take further action to prevent the inflow of young people into long-term unemployment.
	2002	in the context of employability policies, take further action to prevent the inflow of young people into long-term unemployment.
	2004	give particular attention to the situation of the young,
	2012	Take further action to address youth unemployment, including by improving the labour market relevance of education and facilitating transition to work, also through incentives for business start-ups and for hiring employees. Enforce nation-wide recognition of skills and qualifications to promote labour mobility. Take measures to reduce tertiary education dropout rates and fight early school leaving.

	2013	Take further action to foster labour market participation, especially of young people, for example through a Youth Guarantee. Strengthen vocational education and training, ensure more efficient public employment services and improve career and counselling services for tertiary students. Reduce financial disincentives for second earners to work and improve the provision of care and out-of-school services. Step up efforts to prevent early school leaving and improve school quality and outcomes, also by reforming teachers' professional and career development.
	2014	Provide adequate services across the country to non-registered young people and ensure stronger private sector's commitment to offering quality apprenticeships and traineeships by the end of 2014, in line with the objectives of a youth guarantee.
<b>LT</b>	2007	improving youth employability;
	2008	improving youth employability;
	2012	Tackle high unemployment, in particular among youth by focusing resources on active labour market policies while improving their efficiency. Enhance the effectiveness of apprenticeship schemes.
	2013	Improve the employability of young people, for example through a Youth Guarantee, enhance the implementation and effectiveness of apprenticeship schemes, and address persistent skill mismatches.
	2014	In order to increase employability of young people, prioritise offering quality apprenticeships and strengthen partnership with the private sector. Review the appropriateness of labour legislation, in particular with regard to the framework for labour contracts and for working-time arrangements, in consultation with social partners.
<b>LU</b>	2007	closely monitoring the impact of recently adopted measures to reduce unemployment amongst the young;
	2008	closely monitoring the impact of recently adopted measures to reduce unemployment amongst the young;
	2011	Take steps to reduce youth unemployment by reinforcing training and education measures aimed at better matching young people's qualifications to labour demand.
	2012	Continue efforts to reduce youth unemployment by reinforcing stakeholders' involvement, and by strengthening training and education measures, in particular for those with low education levels, with the aim of better matching young people's skills and qualifications to labour demand.
	2013	Step up efforts to reduce youth unemployment by improving the design and monitoring of active labour market policies. Strengthen general and vocational education to better match young people's skills with labour demand, in particular for people with migrant background.
	2014	Pursue efforts to reduce youth unemployment for low-skilled jobs seekers with a migrant background, through a coherent strategy, including by further improving the design and monitoring of active labour market policies, addressing skills mismatches, and reducing financial disincentives to work. To that effect, accelerate the implementation of the reform of general and vocational education and training to better match young people's skills with labour demand.
<b>LV</b>	2004	Particular attention is needed to ensure a more equitable and inclusive labour market for the young.
	*	<i>* Latvia was not addressed specific recommendations in 2011, being in receipt of financial assistance from the EU and IMF</i>
	2013	Tackle long-term and youth unemployment by increasing coverage and effectiveness of active labour market policies and targeted social services. Improve the employability of young people, for example through a Youth Guarantee, establish comprehensive career guidance, implement reforms in the field of vocational education and training, and improve the quality and accessibility of apprenticeships.
	2014	Step up implementation of the higher education reform, in particular through the establishment of an independent accreditation agency and a financing model that rewards quality. Provide career guidance at all education levels, improve the quality of vocational education and training, including by strengthening apprenticeship, and make progress in employability of young people including by putting in place outreach measures for non-registered youth not in employment education or training.
<b>PL</b>	2004	Building on recent measures to reduce labour costs the young, it seems important to review the tax-benefit system to address the high tax wedge on labour in a comprehensive manner, particularly at the lower end of the wage scale. This would also contribute to reducing undeclared work. It is also important that the reform of the different benefit systems including disability benefits and social assistance continues with a focus on promoting active job search and reintegration. Disadvantaged young people deserve particular attention.
	2012	To reduce youth unemployment, increase the availability of apprenticeships and work-based learning, improve the quality of vocational training and adopt the proposed lifelong learning strategy. Better match education outcomes with the needs of the labour market and improve the quality of teaching.
	2013	Strengthen efforts to reduce youth unemployment, for example through a Youth Guarantee, increase the availability of apprenticeships and work-based learning, strengthen cooperation between schools and employers and improve the quality of teaching.
	2014	Strengthen efforts to reduce youth unemployment, notably by further improving the relevance of education to labour market needs, increasing the availability of apprenticeships and work-based learning places and by strengthening outreach to unregistered youth and the cooperation between schools and employers, in line with the objectives of a youth guarantee.



<b>PO</b>	2014	Strengthen efforts to reduce youth unemployment, notably by further improving the relevance of education to labour market needs, increasing the availability of apprenticeships and work-based learning places and by strengthening outreach to unregistered youth and the cooperation between schools and employers, in line with the objectives of a youth guarantee.
<b>PT</b>	2007	further implement measures to strongly improve the efficiency of the educational system notably by improving attainment levels of the young, fighting early school leaving and developing a vocational training system that is relevant to the labour market needs and based on the National Qualifications Framework;
	2008	continue the efforts to improve the efficiency of the educational system, notably by improving attainment levels of the young and reducing early school leaving based on the results obtained, and by developing a vocational training system that is relevant to the labour market needs and based on the National Qualifications Framework;
	2013	The rise in unemployment, which is particularly high among young people, has implications on poverty and inequality, even though the effect has been partly compensated by the social protection system.
	*	<i>* Portugal was not addressed specific recommendations in 2011, 2012 and 2013, being in receipt of financial assistance from the EU-IMF</i>
<b>MT</b>	-	<i>Malta was never addressed a recommendation explicitly considering young people</i>
<b>NL</b>	-	<i>The Netherlands were never addressed a recommendation explicitly considering young people</i>
<b>RO</b>	2009	improve the quality and labour market relevance of the education and training systems, including lifelong learning, reduce early school leaving, and facilitate the transition of young people into employment, including through work-based training.
	*	<i>* Romania was not addressed specific recommendations in 2011 and 2012, being in receipt of financial assistance from the EU-IMF</i>
	2013	To fight youth unemployment, implement without delay the National Plan for Youth Employment, including for example through a Youth Guarantee.
	2014	Pay particular attention to the activation of unregistered young people.
<b>SE</b>	2007	to tackle youth unemployment
	2008	to tackle youth unemployment
	2009	Increased labour market participation from the young could also raise growth and further improve the sustainability of public finances.
	2011	Monitor and improve the labour market participation of young people and other vulnerable groups.
	2012	Take further measures to improve the labour market participation of youth and vulnerable groups, e.g. by improving the effectiveness of active labour market measures, facilitating the transition from school to work, promoting policies to increase demand for vulnerable groups and improving the functioning of the labour market. Review the effectiveness of the current reduced VAT rate for restaurants and catering services in support of job creation.
	2013	Reinforce efforts to improve the labour-market integration of low-skilled young people by stronger and better targeted measures to improve their employability and the labour demand for these groups. Step up efforts to facilitate the transition from school to work, including via a wider use of work-based learning, apprenticeships and other forms of contracts combining employment and education. Complete the Youth Guarantee to better cover young people not in education or training.
	2014	Reinforce efforts to target labour market and education measures more effectively towards low-educated young people. Increase early intervention and outreach to young people unregistered with the public services.
<b>SI</b>	2007	within an integrated flexicurity approach, promote more flexible contractual arrangements and improves the effectiveness of employment services, particularly in relation to persons with low employment prospects, in order to counter labour market segmentation mainly affecting young people.
	2008	within an integrated flexicurity approach and building on recent reforms promote more flexible contractual arrangements to counter labour market segmentation mainly affecting young people and further improve the effectiveness of employment services, particularly in relation to persons with low employment prospects.
	2013	Monitor closely the effects of the recent labour market reform and if necessary identify the areas where further action is needed to foster job creation and tackle segmentation, including through the regulation for student work. Take further measures to increase employment of young tertiary graduates by focusing resources on tailor-made active labour market policy measures while improving their effectiveness.
	2014	Take measures for further decreasing segmentation, notably addressing the efficiency of incentives for hiring young and the use of civil law contracts. Adopt the Act on Student Work. Prioritise outreach to non-registered young people ensuring adequate public employment services capacities.
<b>SK</b>	2004	Attention is needed for groups at risk (e.g. young people) and disadvantaged regions. The new priority given to integrating the Roma population needs to be rapidly translated into action. The alarmingly high unemployment rate of young people points to the need to bridge the gap between skills acquired in the initial education and the skills needed to succeed on the labour market. Economic restructuring, regional and skills mismatches also call for greater support for occupational and geographic mobility throughout the life-cycle.

	2007	creating job opportunities for young people
	2008	creating job opportunities for young people.
	2011	In addition, introduce measures to improve the administrative capacity of public employment services with a view to improving targeting, design and evaluation of active labour market policies, especially for the young.
	2012	Enhance the administrative capacity of public employment services with a view to improving the targeting, design and evaluation of active labour market policies to ensure more individualised employment services for the young.
	2013	Step up efforts to address high youth unemployment, for example through a Youth Guarantee. Take steps to attract young people to the teaching profession and raise educational outcomes. In vocational education and training, reinforce the provision of work-based learning in companies. In higher education, create more job-oriented bachelor programmes. Foster effective knowledge transfer by promoting cooperation between academia, research and the business sector. Step up efforts to improve access to high-quality and inclusive pre-school and school education for marginalised communities, including Roma.
	2014	Effectively tackle youth unemployment by improving early intervention, in line with the objectives of a youth guarantee.
<b>UK</b>	2004	place particular emphasis on improving literacy and numeracy of the workforce, the participation and achievement of 16-19 year olds, and low-skilled workers, especially those in poorly paid jobs.
	2011	Take steps by 2012 to ensure that a higher share of young people enters the labour market with adequate skills and to improve the employability of 18 to 24-year-olds who left education or training without qualifications.
	2012	Continue to improve the employability of young people, in particular those not in education, employment or training, including by using the Youth Contract. Ensure that apprenticeship schemes are taken up by more young people, have a sufficient focus on advanced and higher-level skills, and involve more small and medium-sized businesses. Take measures to reduce the high proportion of young people aged 18-24 with very poor basic skills.
	2013	Building on the Youth Contract, step up measures to address youth unemployment, for example through a Youth Guarantee. Increase the quality and duration of apprenticeships, simplify the system of qualifications and strengthen the engagement of employers, particularly in the provision of advanced and intermediate technical skills. Reduce the number of young people aged 18-24 who have very poor basic skills, including through effectively implementing the Traineeships programme.
	2014	Maintain commitment to the Youth Contract, especially by improving skills that meet employer needs. Ensure employer engagement by placing emphasis on addressing skills mismatches through more advanced and higher level skills provision and furthering apprenticeship offers. Reduce the number of young people with low basic skills.

Source: [http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/making-it-happen/country-specific-recommendations/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/making-it-happen/country-specific-recommendations/index_en.htm)



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Hart, Stubbs, Plexousakis, Georgiadi and Kourkoutas (2015)

[STYLE Working Paper WP9.3 Aspirations of vulnerable youth in foster care](#)

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**WP 10 FLEXICURITY****Mapping Flexicurity Performance in the Face of the Crisis: Key Indicators and Drivers of Youth Unemployment**

Eamets, Beblavý, Bheemaiah, Finn, Humal, Leschke, Maselli and Smith (2015)

[STYLE Working Paper WP10.1 Mapping flexibility and security performance in the face of the crisis](#)

**Tracing the interface between numerical flexibility and income security for European youth during the economic crisis**

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[STYLE Working Paper WP10.1a Tracing the interface between numerical flexibility and income security for European youth during the economic crisis](#)

**Youth School-To-Work Transitions: from Entry Jobs to Career Employment**

Berloffa, Matteazzi, Mazzolini, Sandor and Villa (2015)

[STYLE Working Paper WP10.2 Youth School-To-Work Transitions: from Entry Jobs to Career Employment](#)

**Balancing Flexibility and Security in Europe: the Impact on Young People's Insecurity and Subjective Well-being**

Russell, Leschke and Smith (2015)

[STYLE Working Paper WP10.3 Balancing Flexibility and Security in Europe: the Impact on Young People's Insecurity and Subjective Well-being](#)

## Research Partners

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| 1. University of Brighton – BBS CROME     | – United Kingdom      |
| 2. Institute for Employment Studies       | – United Kingdom      |
| 3. Institute for the Study of Labor       | – Germany             |
| 4. Centre for European Policy Studies     | – Belgium             |
| 5. TARKI Social Research Institute        | – Hungary             |
| 6. University of Trento                   | – Italy               |
| 7. National University of Ireland Galway  | – Republic of Ireland |
| 8. Democritus University of Thrace        | – Greece              |
| 9. University of Oxford                   | – United Kingdom      |
| 10. Economic & Social Research Institute  | – Republic of Ireland |
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| 15. Slovak Governance Institute           | – Slovakia            |
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| 20. Copenhagen Business School            | – Denmark             |
| 21. Norwegian Social Research             | – Norway              |
| 22. Swedish Institute for Social Research | – Sweden              |
| 23. Koç University Social Policy Centre   | – Turkey              |
| 24. University of Turin                   | – Italy               |
| 25. EurActiv                              | – Belgium             |

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## Consortium Advisory Network

Business Europe

[www.businesseurope.eu](http://www.businesseurope.eu)

ETUI: European Trade Union Institute

[www.etui.org](http://www.etui.org)

European Youth Forum

[www.youthforum.org](http://www.youthforum.org)

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

[www.eurofound.europa.eu](http://www.eurofound.europa.eu)

ILO: International Labour Office

[www.ilo.org](http://www.ilo.org)

OECD: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

[www.oecd.org](http://www.oecd.org)

OSE: Observatoire Sociale Européen

[www.ose.be](http://www.ose.be)

SOLIDAR: European network of NGOs working to advance social justice in Europe

[www.solidar.org](http://www.solidar.org)

EurActiv

[www.euractiv.com](http://www.euractiv.com)

European Commission, DG Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion

<http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=1036>

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including employers, unions, policy makers and non-government organisations

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