

## High demands – short supply? TLM, LLL, and the life course

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## Agenda

- **The question:** implications of complex frameworks for policy implementation? **TLM-LLL-LC** as examples
- Methodology: conceptual reflection and analysis, application of a framework of **policy learning**
- Some theoretical issues about complex policy frameworks
- The **actors' perspectives:** risks and opportunities
- Conclusions and questions

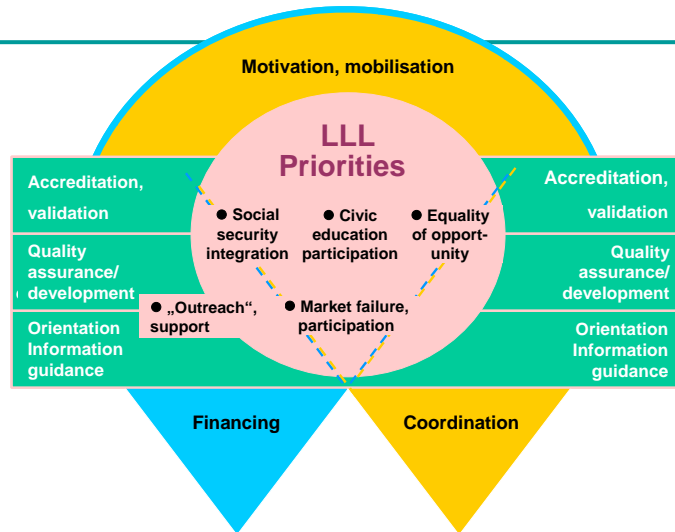
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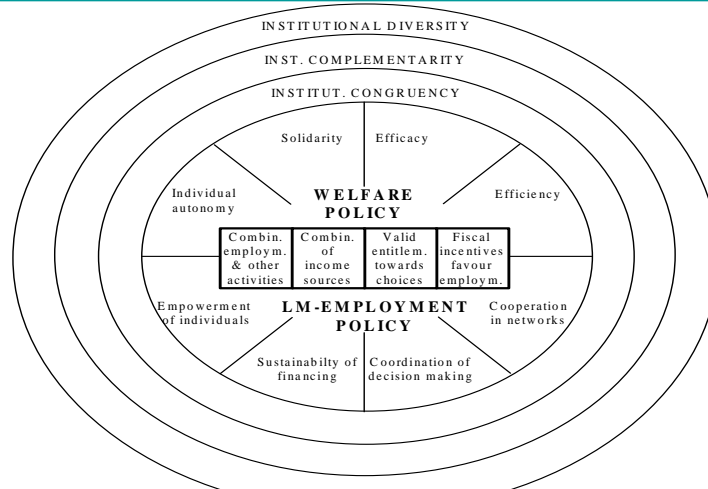
## Question

- **My task**: to take two complex frameworks (TLM, LLL) and to relate them to a third one, the **life course** (LC)
  - A common characteristic of all of them: Combination of theory and generation of research and framework for applied policy advice
- Now I want to deal with some **old questions** of myself, **fed** by my practical experience:
  - How are those aspects, theory and application related to each other?
  - How to implement complex policy frameworks?  
...moreover, if there is more than one framework interrelated?
  - How much does “selling” work, how much are the structures of frameworks important, what are their characteristics?
- **additional condition**: frameworks demand policy change and institutional innovation

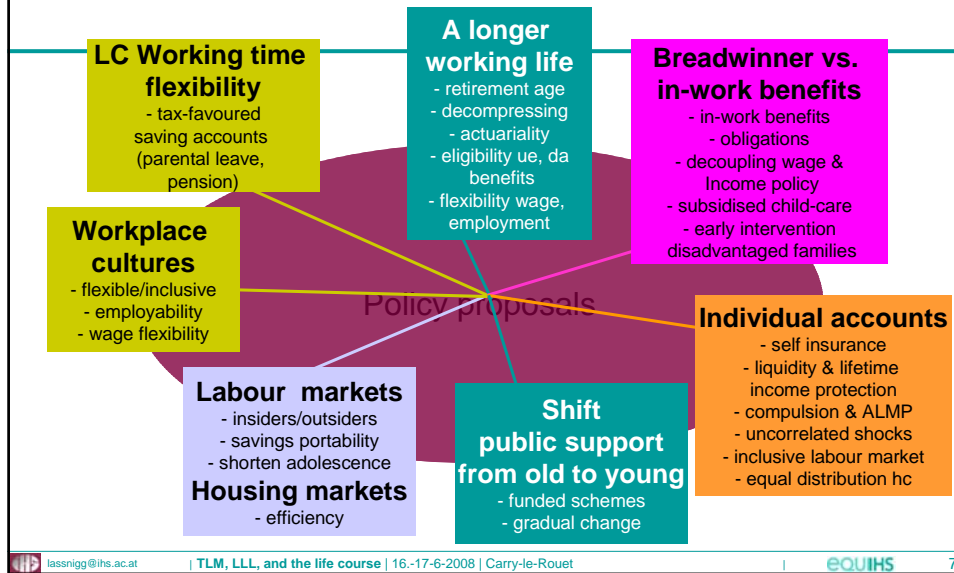
## LLL - framework



## TLM - framework



## LC - framework



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## Policy learning: a framework

Figure 1: Mechanisms and forms of policy learning combined

	<b>1<sup>st</sup> order learning</b> Incremental improvement, process-innovation?	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> order learning</b> new instruments product innovation?	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> order learning</b> new policy paradigm radical innovation?
<b>Heuristic</b> (concepts)			
<b>Capacity building</b> (information base)			
<b>Maieutic</b> (reflection mechanisms)			

Source: Own compilation based on Hall and Zeitlin

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## Policy learning: a framework

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<b>Heuristic</b> (concepts)	- operational definition of given concepts	- new concepts added to a given framework of understanding	- new understanding of (key aspects of) policies <i>(maybe new rhetoric only)</i>
<b>Capacity building</b> (information base)	- new interpretation of given information	- new indicators - new systems of capacity building - new frameworks of description	- new information available, based on new paradigm (competing or mainstream in relation to existing bases)
<b>Maieutic</b> (reflection mechanisms)	- inclusion of a new understanding/definition in existing reflection mechanisms	- new regular feedback mechanisms - newly established consequences from feedback	- new understanding and new information lead to development and processing of <b>new policy framework</b> (paradigm) - <b>new governance system</b> for a new policy

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## Examples for allocation in the framework

- fixed status of a proposal somewhere in the framework, or fluidity, depending on perspective or environment?
- LLL as most established framework: where is it situated? “rhetoric”? how can progress be achieved?
- Way from new heuristic to policy paradigm? how to classify the difference, “broadness” - example LLL vs. Neoliberalism
- TLM, LC: where are they situated? heuristics, policy paradigms? risk of inflation of PPs?
- What are the factors/conditions influencing a movement from heuristics to policy paradigm? **vertical**: capacity building; maieutic; **horizontal**: new concepts/instruments; new way of conceptualising

## Specific issue: generic vs. additive frameworks?

	Singular framework	Additive framework
Generic: singular principle	<b>Market reform</b>	<b>LLL?</b> - learning along the lifespan - many different tasks
Generic: multiple principles	<b>TLM?</b> - TLM, LMP, WFP, institutions - creating TLMs	<b>LC</b> - market, institutional innovation, ... - pension, social security, ET, ...

- Implications:
  - Generic principles: singular application conceptually “simple”, risk with unintended consequences (market failure), multiplies quickly
  - Additive frameworks: various actors, various interests, distributed risks, holistic implementation necessary, probability low

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## Theory: reduction of complexity

- Systems theory as well as individualistic market theory both try to reduce complexity at institutional level
  - at theory level (differentiation; individual rationality and choice)
  - at level of policy proposals (autopoiesis, deregulation etc.)
  - self-organisation at the core
- Institutionalism is somewhat contradictory
  - a main bulk of research proves failures of institutions
  - many approaches propose institution building as solutions for problems
  - public responsibility, framework conditions for self-organisation at the core
- Some examples concerning the three frameworks
  - LLL, the ET system, and the life course
  - School-to-work transition and TLM

## LLL, the ET system, and the life course

- ET systems are complex, relations to other systems (employment, social security) are poorly managed
- LLL concept developed from outside, perceived as being imposed on them by insiders (also ET research community)
- LLL deliberately demands strong changes from insiders
- Interrelation of LLL and neoliberalism increases resistance
- Effective operational LLL strategies lacking so far, LLL framework not successfully adopted by policy makers

## CVTS3 Indicators of enterprise CET 1999-2005

Table 1: Indicators from CVTS3, comparison of participation decline in 20 countries 2005 vs. 1999

	No. of countries with decline or stagnation	No. of countries with increase	%countries with decline or stagnation
% Enterprises with CET programmes (N=20)	11	9	55%
% participants in enterprise CET programmes (N=20)	11	9	55%
CET hours per employee in CET programmes (N=20)	13	7	65%
% direct costs of CET programmes of total labour costs (N=19)	14	5	74%

Source: calculation by author, based on Behringer/Morraal/Schönfeld 2008



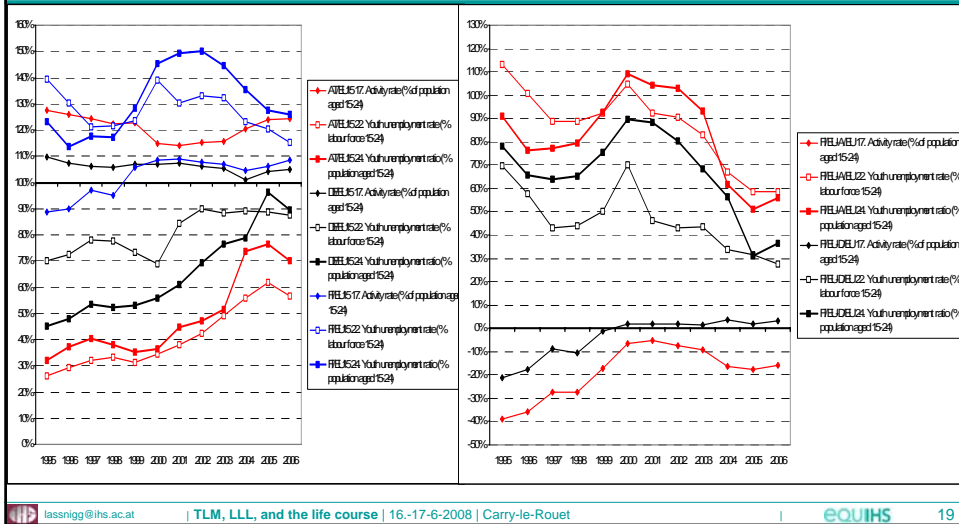
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- Effective operational LLL strategies lacking so far, LLL framework not successfully adopted by policy makers
- Life course still only recognised in a piecemeal manner, by different mainly unrelated measures and institutions
- TLM shows that LLL policy favours transitions into ET, and overlooks transitions out of ET
- LC gives strong proposals for ET, that are left open by LLL

## School-to-work transition, TLM and LC

- **Apprenticeship** is mentioned as a paradigmatic TLM, and often seen as a successful road into employment

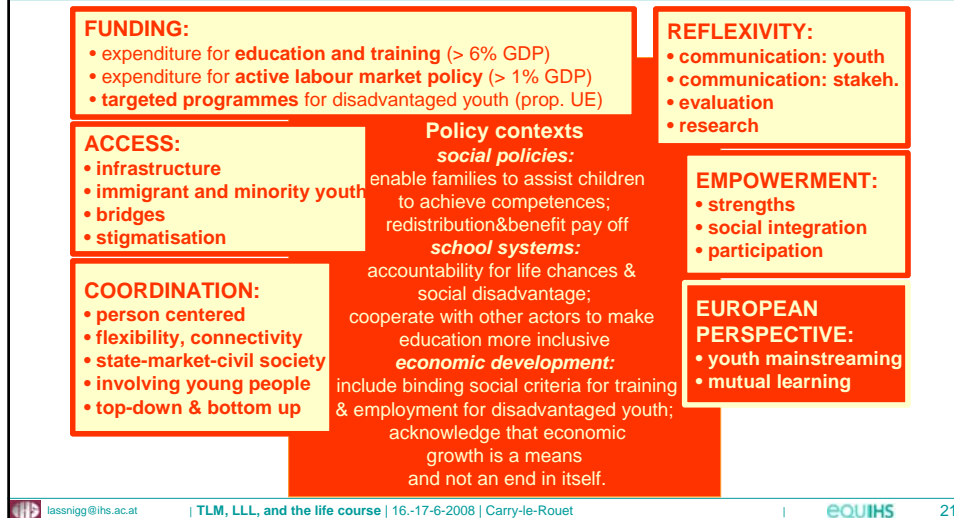
## Youth indicators FIN compared to A, GER



## School-to-work transition, TLM and LC

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- A comparative study has argued that it would not work for youth most at risk, and moreover, detach attention from them
- **Integrated transition** policies have been proposed as an alternative to apprenticeship

## Integrated transition policy



## School-to-work transition, TLM and LC

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- A comparative study has argued that it would not work for youth most at risk, and moreover, detach attention from them
- **Integrated transition** policies have been proposed as an alternative to apprenticeship
  - Another additive policy proposal spanning subsystems
  - Communalities with TLM: coordination, reflexivity, and empowerment
  - Differences to TLM: apprenticeship system not viable for integration of disadvantaged youth; funding important in ITP, however, efficiency not strongly addressed.
- LC proposes strong ET approach, reduction of time in initial ET, stable employment opportunities and HC formation in spring, strong responsibilities for employment

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## The actors' perspectives: risks and opportunities

- Risk management as policy task / risk creation by policy
- Particular problems with holistic additive frameworks
  - distribution of risks among actors, distribution of power and influence among actors, the position of the weakest might be worsened by **partial implementation of holistic programmes** (example flexicurity)
- Example LLL
  - Main actors inside the system and their supporting forces (ET researchers) object against LLL as a paradigm from "outside"
- Example LC
  - Heavy burden on policy makers: against constituencies
  - positive outcomes for administrators, managers: solutions
  - conflicting positions for social partners: e.g., insider-problem
  - Individuals have very risky position: generic changes, time spans

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## Where do we end with this reflection?

- Complex frameworks seem very rational for researchers, however, might not fit well to policy makers and conditions
- “misfit” might be aggravated if severe policy change and innovation is requested through holistic additive frameworks
- The concept of policy learning might give some instruments for policy innovation
  - show steps from new heuristics to new policy paradigms
  - capacity building and reflection mechanisms are main instruments
  - there is competition on the market of policy paradigms
- Deliberate positioning in this process might influence success, or at least show risks and opportunities, and probability to succeed

## Where do we end with this reflection? cont.1

- LLL has acquired status as a new heuristics, however rather at the level of rhetoric than of practice
  - problems between ET insiders and proposals from outside, practical implementation cannot succeed against insiders
- TLM seems to have lost competition against flexicurity, the latter being a less complex concept
  - flexicurity seems a multi principle additive holistic concept also
  - translation into policy has distorted the original model at the expense of individuals (and, maybe employees' organisations)
  - in transition policy TLM assessed as a limited approach
- LC is very demanding holistic framework, very much at risk of being only partially implemented
  - thus might bring most difficulties for the weakest groups
- Integrated transition policy includes more even distribution of risks, less risks with implementation, easier purposes

## Where do we end with this reflection? cont.2

- What can be done by research to support implementation and policy learning?
  - **Capacity building:** to develop frameworks of indicators and try to install them in regular bases of information and monitoring
  - **Maieutic:** to develop applied instruments of assessing good practice and learning from them, develop various mechanisms of exchange of experience, etc.
  - **Transnational dimension:** learning from each other
- Reflection about complexity of proposals for complex "spaces" (systems, interrelations of systems, actors, etc.)
  - trademarks ("selling"), complex programmes ...
  - reducing complexity: task for research or task for practice?
  - sequence of measures with uneven distribution of risks
- Reflection about interrelation of various complex proposals
- ...

## Questions for discussion

- What do you think about the basic question concerning complex policy proposals and policy learning?
- Do you think it is useful to see the LLL, TLM, LC, and others in this way of complex policy proposals?
- What do you think about the proposed framework of policy learning?
- How do you see the theoretical approaches about complexity vis-à-vis the approaches of institution building?
- Which serious objections do you have against the line of reasoning proposed?
  - boring ...
  - things that everyone knows anyway ...
  - strong discontinuities in the argument ...
  - impossibility of empirical assessment ...

## Material

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