Barriers to and triggers of policy innovation and knowledge transfer in Belgium

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i) to ‘advance the knowledge base that underpins the formulation and implementation of relevant policies in Europe with the aim of enhancing the employment of young people and their transition to economic and social independence’, and

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Executive Summary

This report aims at analysing and understanding the learning and innovation processes related to youth unemployment policy in Belgium, drawing on the EU and national policy frameworks. In terms of methodology, we conducted three semi-structured interviews, with representatives from the main Belgian Public employment agencies: VDAB (Flanders), ACTIRIS (Brussels) and FOREM (Wallonia). The interviews were based on a questionnaire developed in English by DUTH in the context of this research project, which we translated to French for the representatives of ACTIRIS and FOREM. The interviews have been carried out in person (two cases) and by telephone (one case), and were about one hour long. We complemented this information with desk research, gathering and compiling relevant information from the existing literature. Our main conclusions are as follows.

Belgium belongs to a group of countries in which the problem of youth unemployment is particularly serious, as the ratio between the youth unemployment rate and the prime-age unemployment rate is close to 3, similarly to Greece, Spain and France. Belgium is divided into three regions with different economic characteristics: Brussels (the region of the capital), Wallonia and Flanders. Although the youth unemployment rate is much lower in Flanders than in the other two regions (13.5% against 29.6% in Wallonia and 35.0% in Brussels), the ratio between the youth and prime-age unemployment rate is even higher in Flanders than in the rest of the country, suggesting that the structural problems affecting the transition from education to work are similar in every region. These structural problems, which affect the low-skilled youth the most, are likely to be due to the labour market institutions (minimum wages and employment protection) and to some characteristics of the schooling system (high level of grade repetition, early tracking, and infrequent combination of schooling and work).

In the view of the interviewees, a number of measures have recently been introduced with special attention to low-skilled youth, however further effort should be put to improve the image of the VET (so far mostly seen as negative options) and to strengthen the coherence between education, lifelong learning, vocational training and employment policies. Along similar lines, social partners are also in favour of the dual education system, as adequate measure to harmonise VET system and tackle youth unemployment.

Given the federal institutional setting, tackling the problem of youth unemployment requires joint action between the federal government, the regions and the linguistic communities. This is made complicated by decentralization of competencies on employment and Active Labour Market policies (at regional level) and Education policies (at Community level). The Fragmentation of competencies leads to an inconsistent cooperation across regions and across other actors involved in the field of youth unemployment. This makes policy innovation slower.

Besides this structural complexity, the interviewees identified additional obstacles to policy innovation:

- The complexity of the educational system, characterised by a wide multiplicity of providers. This makes it difficult to take joint action to address the needs of the labour market.
- Small and medium enterprises have little knowledge of Belgian Labour Market Policies.
- The negative image of Vocational Education Training (VET) options among employers.

In recent years the cooperation between the public employment and vocational training services of the different regions has been strengthened. This cooperation has been facilitated by several factors, and it has offered interesting opportunities of peer-to-peer policy learning and innovation. In turn, this has helped to start tackling the afore-mentioned obstacles.

First of all, this cooperation has been facilitated by the existence of a number of common policy initiatives. For example, the federal government has created incentives for the employers to hire young, lower educated people through several policy programmes. In addition, the federal government has encouraged the so-called “integration of traineeships”, whereby a young person gains experience in the labour market while receiving an allowance paid for by the employer and the regional government. Finally, specific initiatives tackling youth unemployment are supported by the federal government through a two year long programme worth 12 million Euro. These projects, by requiring joint action at the federal level, foster cooperation between institutions and a common discussion about youth unemployment.

Cooperation and learning across regions and institutions is also facilitated by the existence of a number of common features of policy action in all regions, in particular:

- Better matching between skills and labour market needs
- Early intervention in education to avoid school drop-out
- Connecting young jobseekers with the environment of enterprises
- Developing apprenticeship education and training
- Strengthening of vocational training, promoting technical and scientific skills.

As a result, the policies implemented at the regional level are not too different as they are mostly concerned with: giving advice to jobseekers; providing them with opportunities for internships or training; matching labour demand and supply; and developing a “dual” system of secondary education, with a fruitful combination of work and education. In this regard well ahead than the Flemish and Walloon, the German speaking community have already put in place a dual vocational education system. Together with intensive career advice for young people, this educational system is a decisive factor in the regional employment rate for 15-24 year-olds which is much higher than in the rest of the Country².

Furthermore, this cooperation received impulse from the success of a number of common initiatives. A major improvement in this direction has been the joint efforts to strengthen interregional labour market mobility. These efforts include a stronger cooperation between the regional PESs, for example through: the sharing of job offers between different PES; the creation of mixed (Flemish and Wallonian) counsellor teams assisting jobseekers; common events for matching employers and jobseekers (“job dating” and “employment fairs”); and a project for a common file of job-seekers. These initiatives are likely to lay the foundations for further opportunities of policy transfer and innovation.

Finally, the implementation of the Youth Guarantee is currently giving impulse to peer-to-peer policy learning across regions and institutions, even if – as reported by the interviewees – there are differences in the implementation of the common directives, given that there persist important differences in the socio-economic situation of each region.

Key words:

Dual VET system; policy learning/transfer; school-to-work transition; youth guarantee

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## Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>ALMP</td>
<td>Active Labour Market Policies</td>
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<td>CNT</td>
<td>The Central Economic Council</td>
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<td>NAR</td>
<td>National labour Council</td>
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<td>PES</td>
<td>Public Employment Service</td>
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<td>VDAB</td>
<td>The Public Employment and Vocational Training Service of Flanders</td>
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<td>VET</td>
<td>Vocational education and training</td>
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1. Introduction

This report aims at analysing and understanding the learning and innovation processes related to youth unemployment policy in Belgium, drawing on the EU and national policy frameworks. In terms of methodology, we conducted three semi-structured interviews, with representatives from the main Belgian Public employment agencies: VDAB (Flanders), ACTIRIS (Brussels) and FOREM (Wallonia). The interviews were based on a questionnaire developed in English by DUTH in the context of this research project, which we translated to French for the representatives of ACTIRIS and FOREM. The interviews have been carried out in person (two cases) and by telephone (one case), and were about one hour long. We complemented this information with desk research, gathering and compiling relevant information from the existing literature.

The report is structured as follows. The remainder of this section introduces the problem of youth unemployment in Belgium, by briefly discussing some key statistics together with the institutional setting and some relevant policies. Section 2 summarises the main obstacles to innovation in the policy areas related to youth unemployment, in particular education and Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs) Section 3 describes the youth unemployment policy framework in Belgium, by recollecting the common principles inspiring the federal and regional policies and by summarising some policy that are common or very similar for all regions. The particular actions taken by each region are summarised in Section 4, while Section 5 deals with some policy synergies that are being created by the regions to tackle youth unemployment. In Section 6 we summarise our discussion and draw some conclusions.

The youth unemployment rate in Belgium, by which in this document we mean the rate of unemployment of individuals who are less than 25-years, tends to be higher than the prime-age (25-54-years old) unemployment rate in all economies. This is due to a number of structural economic reasons related to: the transition from education to the labour market, implying that graduates need some time to find a job that properly matches their aspirations, skills and qualifications; and the lack of industry-specific skills for many young workers, which often make them less essential to a company’s economic routines. The latter reason, combined with a reduced willingness to invest in human (as well as physical) capital during recessions, explains the fact that not only the youth unemployment rate is generally higher than the prime-age rate, but that it also tends to increase faster during an economic downturn.

In the last decade, the ratio between the youth unemployment rate and the prime-age unemployment rate tended to be between 1.5 and 2.25 in countries generally regarded as positive examples in terms of active labour market policies such as Germany, Denmark, Austria and the Netherlands (our computations based on data elaborated by Cockx, 2013).

Belgium belongs to a group of countries in which the problem of youth unemployment is more serious, as the ratio between the two unemployment rates is close to 3, similarly to Greece, Spain and France. Belgium is divided into three regions with different economic characteristics: Brussels (the region of the capital), Wallonia and Flanders. Although the youth unemployment rate is much lower in Flanders than in the other two regions (13.5% against 29.6% in Wallonia and 35.0% in Brussels), the ratio between the youth and prime-age unemployment rate is even higher in Flanders than in the rest of the country, suggesting that the structural problems affecting the transition from education to work are similar in every region. Youth unemployment is particularly pervasive among the unskilled youth, which on average work only one year out of the first five years on the labour market after graduating (Høj, 2013), less than in any other OECD country.
Cockx (2013) links this problem to two different causes for the skilled and unskilled youth. On one side, strict employment protection legislation for white-collar jobs slows down the transition to the labour market of young graduates. On the other side, high levels of minimum salary harm the employment possibilities of young unskilled individuals. Furthermore, the educational system in all the regions of Belgium is characterized, compared to other OECD countries, by early tracking of pupils into different secondary schooling tracks, frequent repetition and infrequent combination of schooling and work (OECD, 2012). These characteristics of the educational system are likely to have a negative impact of the employment prospects of young Belgians, and especially of the low skilled.

The German speaking community, the smallest Belgian region, represents a different case. Due to its location and very open economy, region’s inhabitants are multilingual and culturally adaptable. The implementation of the dual educational system together with intensive career advice makes the youth employment rate the highest of the Country.

Although – as highlighted by some scholars (Cocks, 2013) - the high minimum wage might harm the employment possibilities of young unskilled individuals, social partners recently agreed to abolish the sub-minimum rates for young workers between 18-20 years old. Since January 2015 the Belgium minimum wage is 1502 euro for all categories of workers.

The Belgian social security system requires that young school-leavers automatically register as jobseekers to the appropriate regional Public Employment Service (VDAB in Flanders, Actiris in Brussels-Capital Region, Forem in Wallonia, ADG in the German speaking Community) to be eligible (precondition) for social allowances at the local level (Municipality) or for inclusion/unemployment benefits at the national level. Therefore, most of the young people are registered very early, allowing for monitoring and guidance of the jobseeker.

The Belgian federation adds an additional layer to the complexity typical of many institutional systems, due to the repartition of the country in regions and linguistic communities. The federal system involves three linguistic Communities (Dutch, French, and German) and three economic Regions (Brussels-Capital, Flanders and Wallonia). Regions and Communities levels legislate in their areas of competence, including parts of Employment policy such as ALMPs (for the Regions) and education policies (for the Communities).

Besides this structural complexity, the interviewees identified additional obstacles to policy innovation:

- The complexity of the educational system. The educational system in Belgium is characterised by a wide multiplicity of providers. This makes it difficult to communicate and to take joint action to address the needs of the labour market. This problem is also hampering the prevention of early school drop-out.
- Small and medium enterprises (and, to some extent, larger companies as well) have little knowledge of Belgian Labour Market Policies.
- The negative image of Vocational Education Training (VET) options among employers, possibly due to their limited development. Currently, VET has limited success in preparing

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3 This proposition rests on the assumption that the minimum wage has a substantial effect on employment and unemployment. This is a highly debated assumption among economists. For example, Kramarz and Filippon (2001) find that an increase in the minimum labour costs (related to the minimum wage) lead to an increase in unemployment; however, Stewart (2004) finds no such effect. The effect of a change in the minimum wage is likely to depend on its level, so that increasing the minimum wage is more likely to have an adverse effect on employment if the minimum wage is high. This seems to be the case in Belgium, which has a high level of the minimum wage compared to other OECD countries (Cahuc et al., 2013).

4 http://pes.cor.europa.eu/Meetings/Events/Pages/youth-employment-belgium.aspx
young people for employment through a work-based curriculum. Hence, VET is not always the best solution for those young people who dropped out of the education system. The absorption of interns by companies and the use of non-standard learning-working trajectories (i.e., different from the classic from-school-to-job trajectory) need to grow in the future.

- Fragmentation of competencies and inconsistent cooperation across regions. There is a large number of actors with different objectives in the field of youth unemployment. This makes policy innovation slower. This problem seems to be particularly serious in Brussels capital region.

Despite these barriers, in recent years the cooperation between the public employment and vocational training services of the different regions has been strengthened, for example in the field of interregional labour market mobility (Synergy, 2013).

As stated in the report N.88 of the National work Council⁵, social partners consider the dual education system an adequate measure to tackle youth unemployment, however the proliferation of various initiatives, each with its own status, is a source of legal uncertainty, which makes this system unattractive for both employers and youth. In this regard, social partners ask for the harmonization of the VET system at federal level and a clear definition of common minimum requirements in terms of labour law and social security.

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2. The policy learning framework

Unemployment is particularly pervasive among the unskilled youth. Since the beginning of the economic crisis, Belgian authorities have engaged in structural policy changes to provide higher-quality training and to facilitate the integration of the young workforce into the labour market, with a focus on the less qualified population and the youth who left secondary school without qualifications (Synergy, 2013). This has required coordinated action between the different policy actors.

The on-going process of regionalisation makes the process of coordination between the different regional institutions difficult. However, all communities have started the discussion on ways to improve convergence between the needs of the labour market, on one side, and the skills provided by education and training, on the other side.

Social partners play an important role on employment and vocational training issues. After the end of the II world war, the social dialogue became formalized into a social partnership, as workers and employers' organizations collaborated at different levels: national, sectoral and company level. The Belgian decentralised structure is reflected in the consultation processes among employers and employees representatives. Since the 70's have been progressively established the Walloon, the Flemish and the Brussels Economic Council. Their two main goals are to publish recommendations and to organize consultations between employers, unions and employees.

At national level, the two main advisory bodies are the Central Economic Council and the National Labour Council. Established in 1944, The Central Economic Council it is formed by representatives of all social partners. It annually publishes an annual report that although is not binding, unions and employers still use it as a basis for discussion and agreements6.

Historically, the National Labour Council has an advisory role. It gives advice to a minister or to Parliament on social matters within the competence of the Federal Authority: social law (individual and collective labour relations), social security, etc. The law of 5 December 1968 on collective labour agreements and joint committees gave the CNT the power to conclude collective labour agreements. Seats are distributed jointly between the most representative inter-branch organizations of employers and workers7. The National Labour Council, as well as joint educational committees are the authorities responsible for the negotiation and implementation for vocational education and training at Belgian national level. Under the responsibility of the CNT/NAR, where the social partners are represented at national level, the joint education committees have a large package of tasks including:

- Conclusion of multi-industry agreements connected with training (advisory role);
- Approval of apprenticeship centres; development of training in the occupational field; drawing up the qualification profiles (advisory and decision making)8.

6 http://www.6com.be/donnees/dossiers/aip0708/005.pdf
3. Outputs from policy learning and policy change
(Incremental adjustments, changes in policy instruments, radical changes)

Given the repartition of competencies, each regional employment service is responsible for finding appropriate opportunities for training or work placement for young jobseekers. Cooperation across regions is very limited in this range of activities. However, the actions taken by each public employment agency to tackle youth unemployment follow similar principles:

- Better matching between skills and labour market needs
- Early intervention in education to avoid school drop-out
- Connecting young jobseekers with the environment of enterprises
- Developing apprenticeship education and training
- Strengthening of vocational training, promoting technical and scientific skills.

A number of ALMP initiatives have translated these principles into programmes useful for young unemployed individuals transitioning to the labour market. Some examples are reported in Broeck, forthcoming.

First of all, the federal government has created incentives for the employers to hire young, lower educated people through ACTIVA and similar programmes. ACTIVA’s aim is to cut the cost of recruiting young workers under 26. Those employers are entitled to receiving a monthly allowance of 1,000 or 1,100 Euro for a period of 12 months if they hire a person younger than 26 with maximum secondary education. Young workers have also benefitted from a reduction of their social security contributions (SSC). In practice, employers will get a 1,000 euro SSC reduction per quarter for 2 years for a full time worker, and 400 EUR per quarter after that period until the worker reaches age 26. Other type of measures targeted at young job seekers aim at increasing the accompanying of young entrants through workers (tutors), especially in the catering and research industry (EMCO, 2013).

Another initiative encouraged by the federal level, but implemented at the regional level is the so-called “integration of traineeships”. This scheme involves a young worker and an employer for a period of 3 to 6 months, and gives the opportunity to the young person to gain experience in the labour market. The employer pays a monthly allowance of 200 Euro (not subject to social benefit contributions) to the worker (called “intern”). In addition, the intern receives an additional federal allowance of 26.82 euro per working day.

Furthermore, each Public Employment Service (PES) offers to young jobseekers the possibility to benefit from a period of personalised vocational education in a company. At the condition of providing training and vocational education, an employer can hire a jobseeker without having to pay wages, social security premiums and employer contribution.

Finally, to support specific initiatives, the Federal government (FPS Employment, Labour and Social Dialogue) made available €12 million of subsidies (for 2014 and 2015) for additional projects targeted at specific ‘risk-groups’ (i.e., demographic groups characterised by a high incidence of unemployment or troubled working histories) or specific industries. This budget is administered by ONEM/RVA, the National Employment Office. To be eligible for funding, the projects need to focus on educating, integrating or employing young people under 26 and who belong to specific ‘risk-groups’.
At the time of writing this document, a reform of secondary education that will imply the adoption of the so-called “dual-system” (i.e., a system exploiting to a greater extent the educational opportunities associated to apprenticeships and on-the-job training) is being discussed in Flanders and in Walloonia. The German speaking community have already put in place a dual vocational education system. Together with intensive career advice for young people, this educational system is a decisive factor of the regional employment rate for 15-24 year-olds which is much higher than in the rest of the Country. If implemented at federal level - as suggested by social partners, the dual system will represent an radical change in the policy learning framework, as it will mean an harmonization of the VET system.

An incremental adjustment in the direction of peer to peer learning across Belgian regions are the joint efforts to strengthen interregional labour market mobility. These efforts include a stronger cooperation between the regional PESs, for example through the sharing of job offers between different PESs (e.g. from Flanders’ to Brussels’ PES) (EMCO, 2013). Synergies among the public employment services have also been enhanced thanks to the cooperation with youth organizations e.g. Conseil de la Jeunesse or Federation des Maison des Jeunes.

Another successful example of cooperation between the PES of Wallonia and Flanders is the creation of mixed (Flemish and Wallonian) counsellor teams assisting jobseekers, which led in 2012 to the hiring of 1,974 Walloon job-seekers in Flanders. In 2013 common events for matching employers and job-seekers (“job dating” and “employment fairs”) have also been organised. The regional Brussels authorities have signed cooperation agreements with the two communities (Flemish and French-speaking) to establish a single file on job-seekers (EMCO, 2013).

Thanks to the reinforcement of interregional labour market mobility, in 2007 it was created a non-profit organization, called Synerjob, gathering under one banner four Public Employment Services – namely VDAB, the Public Employment and Vocational Training Service of Flanders; le Forem, the Public Employment and Vocational Training Service of Wallonia; Actiris, the Public Employment Service of Brussels-Capital Region and ADG, the Public Employment and Vocational training Service of German-speaking Community – as well as the public Vocational Training Service of Brussels-Capital Region, Bruxelles-Formation. Synerjob Federation has been identified as the Belgian “single point of contact” in charge of communicating with the European Commission on the implementation of the Youth Guarantee. If its role would be extended beyond the Youth Guarantee, Synerjob could bring radical changes in the Belgian Policy learning Framework.

The national airport of Zaventem was as well reported to be a good case of cooperation between regions. Actiris, VDAB and Forem work together to support the filling-up of job vacancies through mixed counsellor teams (Synerjob, 2013). Furthermore, the implementation of the Youth Guarantee is currently giving impulse to peer-to-peer policy learning across regions and institutions, even if – as reported by the interviewees – there are differences in the implementation of the common directives, given that there persist important differences in the socio-economic situation of each region.

### 3.1 Regional and local differences

The previous sections discussed the overall policy framework and the common actions taken to tackle youth unemployment. However, as many areas of policy are competences of the regions or communities, it is only natural that these take specific actions. This section deals with the policies

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implemented at the regional level, which are mostly concerned with giving advice to jobseekers, providing them with opportunities for internships or training and matching labour demand and supply. In order to improve the transition from school to work, VDAB (the Public Employment and Vocational Training Service of Flanders) is providing tailor-made support to young people. Different actions have been taken in this respect:

- More school career guidance in education; such as informing pupils and teachers on the transition towards the labour market and career guidance.
- Involving young individuals in drawing up new services provisions or a new policy plan. To this aim, VDAB entered into a partnership with the Flemish Youth Council.
- Developing Youth Guarantee with on-line service provisions. The Youth guarantee has been utilized to strengthen the already existing Youth Employment Plan (JWP).
- Raising awareness among enterprises and young people on placement and on-the-job-training, by partnering with Chambers of commerce and enterprise organizations (e.g. VOKA, UNIZO, ADECCO, VRT). This allowed to introduce 1300 young people to companies through on-the-job training.

More specifically, two main initiatives have been put in place: the “youth work plan” and the so-called “work experience/empathy project”. The youth work plan is targeted to people younger than 25 who recently became unemployed. It consists of coaching and mediation. The work experience/empathy project consists of offering to young jobseekers short-period internships in different organizations, so that they understand the requirements and expectations related to different jobs. Furthermore, to reduce early school leaving, an effort has been made to increase the number of pupils attending counselling and orientation at school and the quality of these services.

In Brussels Capital Region, the initiatives to tackle Youth Unemployment are mostly focusing on NEETs. For example, the JEEP/JUMP project provides assistance for pupils in their final year of secondary education, especially concerning information on the labour market needs.

In the Walloon region, Forem initiated specific types of support activities for young jobseekers:

- Orientation to understand which careers and crafts trades in demand and participation in work trials to help the jobseekers to identify a business matching their skills and qualifications.
- Information about the possibilities of working in Flanders or abroad with, if appropriate, the advice or tutoring by a counsellor with an expertise in training or workplace integration.
- Orientation to other options, including those outside the scope of pure employability, by a social worker.
- Information to facilitate access to subsidies and other forms of reduced social security contribution related to the hiring of a job seeker by an employer.
- Training advice.
4. Conclusions

Belgium is one of the European countries in which the problem of youth unemployment is most serious. Given the federal institutional setting, tackling this problem requires joint action between the federal government, the regions and the linguistic communities. This is made complicated by decentralization of competencies on employment and Active Labour Market policies (at regional level) and Education policies (at Community level). Hence, the main challenge of the policy transfer in Belgium is to ensure the coherence between the federal, regional and local level and enhance the cooperation between the PESs.

This coherence is partly achieved by a number of common policy initiatives, such as schemes to subsidise the hiring of young workers, and by a number of common guidelines to which policy action is inspired in all regions, in particular strengthening the connection between education and the workplace and better matching of labour supply and demand. As a result, the policies implemented at the regional level are mostly concerned with giving advice to jobseekers, providing them with opportunities for internships or training and matching labour demand and supply.

Furthermore, several initiatives have been successful at improving cooperation between the regional and federal institutions. Examples are the joint efforts to strengthen interregional labour market mobility, and the creation of Synerjob, an organisation encompassing all the regional public employment offices.

In the view of the interviewees, a number of measures have recently been introduced with special attention to low-skilled youth, however further effort should be put to improve the image of the VET (so far mostly seen as negative options) and to strengthen the coherence between education, lifelong learning, vocational training and employment policies.
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OSE: Observatoire Sociale Européen  
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