

Multidimensional labour market integration policies into perspective: a street level bureaucracy approach

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Since the emergence of inclusion policies – labour market and social inclusion policies – (Barbier, Théret, 2009), street level bureaucrats' paradigm of interventions has been based on what they call the 'global approach'. The latter relies on the individualisation of services (tailor made interventions) and on a comprehensive approach of the individual. The integration of several dimensions is necessary in order to overcome the limits of a sectorialized intervention. However, recent changes in the field of employment and social cohesion have challenged this paradigm of interventions. The activation trend, strongly promoted over the last decades and progressively implemented in the different European member states has – amongst other things – encouraged increasing linkages between formerly distinct policy fields (e.g. social, training, employment, immigration), promoted territorialisation and individualisation of services, emphasised contractualisation and fostered marketization (Van Berkel, Sirovadka, de Graaf, 2011, Berthet, Bourgeois, 2014). It has led to a reshuffling of the delivery of labour market integration services. New partnerships and new governance structures were set up, along with new paradigms of interventions and new modalities of delivery. As a consequence, it challenges street level

bureaucrats' former practises. Here, we are interested in the services provided for vulnerable groups (e.g. migrants, youth). This paper analyses the cross-sectorial facet of labour market integration services: its nature, its degree and its challenges. It aims at understanding the organizational framework of activation policies and its impact on street level bureaucrats' work. While policymakers seem to promote cross-sectoriality in the framework of activation policies, what is the degree of such cross-sectoriality in the service provided by street level bureaucrats? In sum, it questions labour market integration policies in practise with regards to the development of linkages between different policy fields. More generally, its ambition is to contribute to emerging researches on cross-sectoriality with regards to the challenges of its implementation by street level bureaucrats.

The main result shows that the cross-sectorial approach traditionally implemented by street level bureaucrats is challenged by new regulation modes set up in the framework of activation. Moreover, the analysis reveals that the degree of cross-sectoriality in the delivered services depends on the street level bureaucrat and on the sector at stake (some being strongly linked to employment and others being left aside).

In order to address this question, this paper will refer to the rich literature on the new paradigm that seems to characterize contemporary employment policies: 'activation' (e.g. Barbier, 2006, Van Berkel, De Graaf, Sirovatka, 2011, Van Berkel, Borghi, 2007, Eicchorst, Konle-Seidl, 2008). This will help understanding cross-sectoriality in its context (its aims and its different shapes). Then, and most importantly, by drawing on street level bureaucracy and implementation theories, it will question caseworkers' discretion in order to shed light on policies in practise and implementation matters.

A first part will clarify street level bureaucrats' paradigm of interventions. A presentation of the 'global approach' will shed light on caseworkers' discretion and will demonstrate that cross sectoriality is globally traditionally rooted in their practises and their professional culture. Then, an analysis of the organizational landscape that frame street level bureaucrats' practise (tools and control methods they are to follow) will reveal that through a balance between control and discretion that shows structural contradictions, cross-sectoriality is both facilitated and constrained. By way of conclusion, a third part will be dedicated to the assessment of the implementation of cross-sectoriality in labour market integration services.

I/ The global approach and the discretionary power of street level bureaucrats for a multidimensional labour market integration

This part aims at presenting street level bureaucrats' paradigm of interventions in the field of labour market integration. Indeed, in order to grasp the degree of cross-sectoriality in the service delivery, it is important to understand the cognitive and normative framework in

which street level bureaucrats work. Moreover, it is especially relevant given that this paradigm corresponds to a cross-sectorial dynamic. In a time where cross-sectoriality is promoted by policymakers in the field of labour market and social cohesion policies, how do caseworkers tackle this trend in their daily practises?

The global approach, as paradigm of interventions, should first be defined. What does the term 'global' refer to? A contextualisation of the notion will highlight that this approach's objective used to be more social-oriented than labour market integration-oriented, but also that caseworkers' professional profiles change and may shift this hierarchy between social and labour market dimensions. To conclude, this part will reveal that this paradigm of interventions relies on an intuitive process.

Method

This paper draws on the findings of a qualitative case study (notably conducted in the framework of Localise FP7 and my dissertation).

126 interviews were conducted in three different cities (some of this large number of interviews being of little interest in that paper). Street level bureaucrats working in different organisations in charge of delivering labour market integration policies were interviewed, along with local managers and policymakers of public employment services, and national policymakers working in the sectors of employment, social cohesion, vocational training and immigration policies.

A comprehensive integration between social and labour market integration

At the service delivery stage, street level bureaucrats working on welfare services for vulnerable groups have for the last decades relied on an approach based on cross-sectoriality. Hence, even though the promotion of cross-sectoriality by policymakers is only currently being analysed and emphasized, those that implement policies have rooted this trend in their practise.

As paradigm of interventions, a so-called *global approach* has been set up. Most street level bureaucrats explained that when working on one's labour market integration, they try to develop such approach in order to be able to deliver a comprehensive service towards a comprehensive integration. Moreover, it goes along with the increasing focus on the individualisation of services: the individual should be perceived globally and not only at the prism of his/her labour market integration status.

In concrete terms, the street level bureaucrat should try to grasp a comprehensive picture of the individual when meeting the unemployed. Taking into account the multiplicity of dimensions one may face (social issues, mobility, health, immigration or other) appears fundamental to them when delivering the service. In sum, it is defined as a way to address issues one may face in an integrated way. Different sectors are called upon to develop a comprehensive path as hindrances to integration are closely interconnected to one another and thus require to be handled simultaneously through an approach that does not isolate one hindrance from another: *“the employment issue has to be tackled in a global way”* (caseworker).

The global approach relies mainly on profiling and on the knowledge of the network. Hence, the caseworker will not directly address all these impediments to labour market integration one unemployed face, but he/she will take them into account in the profiling and integration path he/she will develop. Addressing these issues then relies on actors' cooperation and on the outsourcing principle: caseworkers delivering labour market integration services orientate the unemployed to specialized actors in order to overcome impediments that are not directly related to employment (e.g. orientation towards a social centre if one needs housing). There are also specific organizations in charge of delivering the service to some official categories of unemployed (e.g. youth or disabled).

This 'global approach' is one of the cornerstones of street level bureaucrats' activity (Labbé, 2009). This paradigm of interventions relies on the idea that integration is not sectorialized, but rather a complex multi-faceted issue. Traditionally, its general aim was to include the individual into the society. Labour market integration was a way to reach social inclusion and *vice versa*. Both sectors were not distinguished in the perception of the objective even though they were often distinguished by the structural organization of service (one organization working on social issues, another one on labour market integration, another one on health related issues etc.).

An approach rooted in a professional culture

The will to tackle inclusion in a comprehensive way is rooted in welfare programs' caseworkers' objectives in France since the 1970's - 1980's. This long tradition relies mainly on a professional culture that acknowledges a strong linkage between employment and social integration.

The emergence of new professional profiles in the service delivery of labour market integration policies questions the way this global approach will be taken into account, interpreted and implemented.

Caseworkers' profile is not a stable variable. Indeed, street level bureaucrats' profiles have changed over the years. Therefore, these changes may impact the way the 'global approach' is perceived and developed. Who are the street level bureaucrats involved in labour market integration policies? What is (are) their profile(s) and how has it (them) evolved?

Among the street level bureaucrats in charge of delivering labour market integration policies that were interviewed, there are three categories of caseworkers:

- Caseworkers working at the national employment agency and in charge of the universal service,
- Caseworkers working specialised public organizations or non-profit organizations,
- Caseworkers working in profit private organizations.

At the national employment agency, caseworkers have a large range of tasks to carry out: from reception of unemployed, to find job opportunities and counselling. In specialised organizations (public, non-profit or private), caseworkers usually have more targeted tasks (counselling being the central one) and more targeted unemployed to follow (e.g. long-term unemployed or young).

There are many different profiles of counsellors. Specialised public organizations (such as *Missions Locales*) and non-profit organizations have mainly hired social workers¹. Other private organizations hired a mix of social workers and caseworkers with a commercial background. And the national employment agency hired different profiles of workers over the years. Indeed, we observe different profiles in different periods of time: *"in my generation of counsellors - because at this time, there were competitive exams and the modalities were very much oriented according to the profiles they wanted. So, there were 'trends', and that's true that the year I did it, they were strongly looking for work psychologists (...) We had year 98, year 99, we recognize each other. (...) In the agency we find generations - even though we are not of the same age but I mean generation of counsellors - that were hired within the same periods of time"* (caseworker). Thus, after a period of time where work psychologists were targeted, salespersons also became the target in order to reinforce the bridge between the jobseeker and the business world.²

¹ Public organisations and private non-profit organisations increasingly tend to hire more heterogeneous profiles (commercials, people coming from universities, etc.)

² The recent introduction of a socio-professional counsellors training could change the landscape. Indeed, all the previously quoted actors now increasingly recruit social-professional counsellors.

Originally, profiles previously introduced used to be more social-oriented, which means that they perceived labour market integration as a mean to reach a global inclusion, and not as the final objective. However, many interviewees have the feeling that the introduction of new professional profiles of caseworkers may reinforce a shift towards a more employment-centred approach. In other words, they fear that employment would become the final goal, and that caseworkers would leave other issues aside³. They are concerned that their paradigm of interventions (the global approach) would disappear with more commercial profiles that often favour a segmented service (they usually argue that it is not their job, their competence and their task to deal with other issues than employment).

In sum, there has been a human resources strategy shift in many organisations, which increasingly looked for professionals that could facilitate the communication between the labour market services' world and the business' one in order to increase the number of placements. This shift (that came along with other organizational changes in terms of tenders) has challenged the former idea that labour market integration is part of the social integration process and is a mean to achieve a more comprehensive integration. Instead, labour market integration is increasingly perceived as the final aim and social integration becomes a mean to reach it (as the term 'peripheral hinders' used by caseworkers with regards to social issues or health issues suggests).

An intuitive process that relies on a high discretion

This paradigm of interventions relies a lot on an intuitive process. Indeed, there is no formal tool to implement it. As mentioned, it relies on profiling and network knowledge, for which there are different tools. However, the diversity of dimensions that could impact labour market integration and even more the individual's global inclusion into society is very large. One caseworker could not possibly go over all these dimensions with each unemployed he/she works with. Therefore, grasping the sectors that impact one's inclusion process is mostly dependent on caseworkers' ability to question the unemployed, to listen to him/her and to identify hinders. It is hence a subjective process.

To give enough space for an intuitive process, caseworkers need to have a large scope for actions. Indeed, the more standardised and regulated framework, the less space they have

³ Even though some also argued that in some cases, employment should be the first target as some need money before working on a labour market project, it does not mean that they foster a segmented approach.

to develop an intuitive and subjective approach. Therefore, a large room for manoeuvre is necessary for the development of street level bureaucrats' former paradigm of interventions.

Not only is this room for manoeuvre necessary to conduct a global profiling that takes into account the multiplicity of dimensions that can impact labour market integration, but it is also necessary to set up a comprehensive path. Following their paradigm of interventions, they need to be able to develop and maintain their network, and also to choose the partner towards whom they will orientate the unemployed. Indeed, most connections between street level bureaucrats are made during common meetings and maintained with no formal setting. *"It's where (employment forums), since I started my career (...) it's where I managed to create contacts. Well, first I worked at the Mission Locale. So I already started to make my little network. But really, in employment forums, whatever forums, I go to talk to people, get information; I go get details on who they are so I can tell my beneficiaries (...). So most connection I have, it's through that. (...) It remains an informal network"* (caseworker).

According to the context in which they work, they do not always have the same scope for actions. Indeed, our analysis showed that discretion is not only what the street level bureaucrat does, but it also depends on what the organization, the manager or the program allows. Each of these three entities (organization, manager or program) has their own rules that are articulated with a wider framework (often national laws). For example, each labour market integration program sets up a framework that constrain caseworkers' room for manoeuvre, but that also sets up the terms of their discretion. Each organization and each manager add another layer to this framework in order to ensure an equal treatment of all users, to harmonize and/or control the service delivery.

Often, elements on which caseworkers may have discretion on - or may be constrained to - are either the modalities of the service (e.g. frequency, means – phone, email -) or the substance of the service (strong standardisation of interviews between the caseworker and the user). At the national employment agency for example, it took the shape of letting the caseworker choose how to contact the jobseeker (phone, appointments, mails) and the frequency of contacts (even though compulsory meetings remain). In the case of other organizations that provide services for the national employment agency, the scope of actions resides in the substance of the counselling (they decide on what they work during the follow-up, they choose their instruments).

In sum, at the street level bureaucracy level, cross sectoriality is promoted through the development of a comprehensive service. It led to the assertion of an outsourcing principle that characterizes the French system with regards to welfare services. This analysis revealed

that, in practise, cross-sectoriality corresponds to taking into account the several dimensions one individual may face and to being able to work in cooperation with a large multiplicity of actors. Hence, it strongly relies on street level bureaucrats' level of discretion.

II/ Activation policies' organizational frameworks and the usage of discretion

The analysis shows that cross-sectoriality inheres in caseworkers' former and theoretical approach. However, the analysis of the practical implementation of activation policies shows organizational dysfunctions. Indeed, the way cross sectoriality is developed by policymakers often impedes a facet of caseworkers' work, while it may facilitate some other aspects of their work. By drawing on an analysis of the delivery of labour market integration services, we will understand how discretion and control are bound together. Moreover, this part will show how the previously presented global approach is constrained by the organizational development of activation policies.

Hence, this part addressed the following questions: how are the new cooperation schemes and types of regulations interpreted by street level bureaucrats? Do they facilitate or hinder their daily work with the unemployed?

However, the analysis of street level bureaucrats' discretion is not only aimed at presenting daily routines. It seeks to present the landscape into which street level bureaucrats can make choices (but do not systematically do). After clarifying the context of cross-sectorial service and street level bureaucrats' discretion, the usage of discretion and concrete implementation of cross-sectoriality by street level bureaucrats will be questioned.

Formalised and sectorialized tools

Street level bureaucrats have to deal with tools that are more and more rigid (software program, evaluation methods). These tools – tools for profiling and to measure results – rarely take into account the multidimensional facet of the issue and of the service.

At the national employment agency, the first interview (called profiling interview) between caseworker and the unemployed is formalised: *“So there is a framework, a much more precise one for interviews with time frame, and a segmentation of the interview in big items*

we need to tackle. So it's planned" (caseworker). The communication between distinct organizations, crucial in a system relying on actors' cooperation, is also formalised: *"Knowing that, the assessment, well, it is so standardised that you can't write much in it compared to all the things you would want to. (...) You can't put all these things in these informatics boxes that don't allow you to put more than a certain number of words. So, what is done, it's not a real proper follow up of the paths"*.

At the national employment service, caseworkers do not have strict numeral objectives to achieve. Monitoring relies on annual interviews with the head of the agency that analyse the work of the casework based on indicators they find on their IT system. The IT system aims at picturing the way the caseworker handle his/her portfolio (how many people have left the portfolio or have entered, what is the frequency of the appointments). The elements of paramount importance according to caseworkers are the number of actions towards which the caseworker has directed unemployed and the number of unemployed put on a job offer published by the national employment agency. Even though all caseworkers do not perceive the use of indicators in the same way, all acknowledge that it can be a tool to improve their work, and that it is not used as a strong pressuring tool for the management team (yet, some fear it could become one). Nevertheless, the risk is that it may lead to trying to fit in with the criteria (find someone that corresponds) rather than seeking the usefulness of the action (facing one's issues, looking for a measure that corresponds). *"So, the requirement to 'place a product' – quotation marks – on a measure, we can face it sometimes"*.

Another example is the evaluation of the service provided to migrants' unemployed in the framework of their reception and integration contract. This service is, by nature, cross-sectorial. Indeed, it is targeted at migrants and therefore takes into account some of their specific hindrances to employment (diploma equivalence, language). Yet, in the service evaluation sheet, all questions are only related to employment (has the unemployed found a job, what kind of contract, is he/she registered at the national employment agency or is he/she in a training) and do not question any of the other tackled issues. In a system that relies on actors' cooperation, the share of information often remains sectorial even though the service is not.

In sum, tools and evaluation criteria have been increasingly formalised and sectorialized in order to make documents more synthetic, more employment-oriented and easier (and faster) to fill. It is supposed to facilitate the communication and to avoid dispersal in a time of increasing number of unemployed to follow.

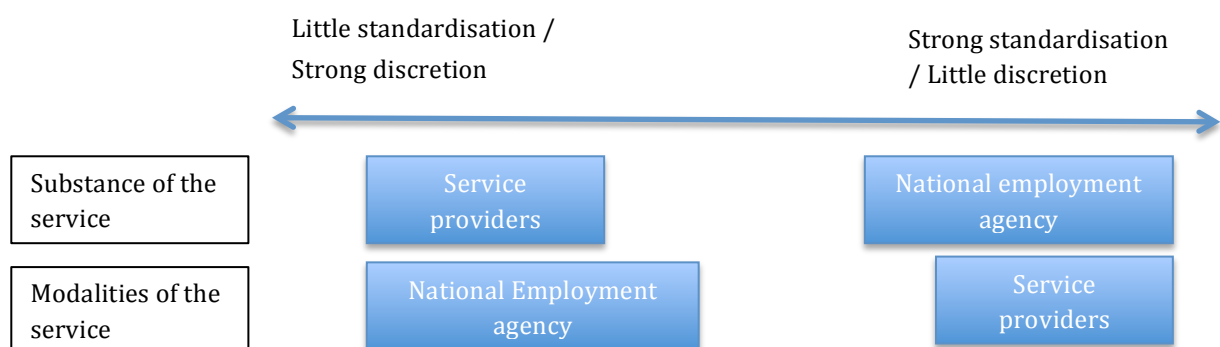
Street level bureaucrats' discretion: the quest of a balance?

After a tendency to reduce street level bureaucrats' discretion, new program on labour market integration services have put the emphasis on the need to give more room for manoeuvre to caseworkers (Pôle Emploi 2015). Policymakers have hence acknowledged the need for an increasing discretion when delivering labour market integration services in order to enable caseworkers to individualise the service. Managers also emphasized that to enable and facilitate the development of the global approach, street level bureaucrats need a strong room for manoeuvre on the service they provide.

Consequently, more room for manoeuvre was given to caseworkers and the need for a large scope of actions was acknowledged. Yet, giving more room for manoeuvre occurred in a context characterized by the formalisation and the sectorialization of tools (see below). Hence, increasing caseworkers' autonomy was counterbalanced by limiting it on some other matters. On what dimension of the service does the discretionary power play a role?

At the national employment agency, caseworkers have more discretion on the *modalities* of the relationship with the beneficiary (the way he/she is contacted, the frequency of appointments). But their schedules are also very constrained and the substance of the counselling (what is to be dealt with, where to direct the unemployed) has become more rigid. In the case of other actors (service providers or partners), their room for manoeuvre is higher regarding the substance of the counselling (they do not have frameworks to follow during their appointments); nevertheless, they have to follow increasingly rigid guidelines with regards to the modalities of their work (frequency and length of appointments).

Figure 1: Standardisation of labour market integration services:



Thus, even though a larger room for manoeuvre was given to caseworkers, it occurs in a context characterized by the development of a more rigid scope of intervention for caseworkers that are pressured by outcome-based dynamics and by the increasing number

of beneficiaries they have to work with (Berthet, Bourgeois, Tourné Languin, 2013).

Criticizing Lipsky's work on street level bureaucrats, Howe forecasted the death of street level bureaucrats because of more rigid managerial frameworks (Howe, 1991 in Evans, Harris, 2004). On the one side, managerial and control frameworks at stake hinder the development of the street level bureaucrats' discretion and multidimensional approach. Yet, it does not eliminate it either. Indeed, both their rooted intervention paradigm and the promotion of individualisation and tailor-made services have preserved a certain kind and degree of discretion. This analysis on cross-sectoriality revealed that discretion is a balance. Managers and policymakers have acknowledged the need for discretion and therefore street level bureaucrats' policymaking role. At the same time, they develop more rigid frameworks in order to limit this discretion and to keep the control over it. In other words, if discretion is given on one facet of the work, another one will be more standardized and controlled.

III/ An assessment of the development of cross-sectoriality in street level bureaucrats' practises

In this part and by way of conclusion, an attempt to assess the development of cross-sectoriality in street level bureaucrats' practises will be presented. It aims at identifying the sectors that are integrated in the service delivery by street level bureaucrats and which ones are not. By doing so, this paper wants to draw attention on the real implementation of a promoted cross-sectoriality in the field of labour market integration policies. What usage is made of discretion? Does the implemented cross-sectoriality correspond to a comprehensive approach of integration, does it fit with former caseworkers' global approach, and what is the real impact of the organizational landscape of the delivery on the integration of multiple dimensions in the service?

The usage of discretion

Theoretical discretion has been described: how is cross-sectoriality related to discretion in the delivery of labour market integration services, in what framework does the delivery occur, and on what facet of their work do street level bureaucrats have discretion on and are constrained on? This description should be completed by an analysis of the way street level bureaucrats use this discretion.

Indeed, the empirical study showed that the perception and the usage of this discretion

strongly differ from one caseworker to another. For example, within the same organization and under the same manager working on the same measure, when some argued they lack discretion that decreased over the years, some other posed that their discretion increased:" when one says: *"... In 15 years, after seeing many measures, I think that now we think differently. But the core of the job has not really changed. Expect from improvements... IT system and also well... on the idea that well, everyone does not have to be seen on a monthly-base, it's not worse if the room for manoeuvre is here"* (caseworker), his/her colleague says: *"services are more and more standardised"*.

In terms of cross sectoriality, questioning how caseworkers can deal with the multiplicity of sectors related to labour market integration is not anymore only a structural matter or a organizational one (what is the framework in which they work), but it is also related to the caseworkers him/herself.

Discretion is given to street level bureaucrats in a framework that is though increasingly formalised and rigid. It enables the development of cross-sectorial services, but within certain borders that have been set up. Indeed, the established balance leads to services that remain (or are increasingly) flexible but which can difficultly cross some borders. For example, one can develop a tailor-made cross-sectorial service that tackles social issues because amongst his/her organizations' partners or service providers, there is one that is specialized on such issue. However, some issues that are more rarely addressed or less officially related to employment are often left aside (e.g. immigration). In the case of a migrant that has diploma equivalence or language issues for example, our empirical analysis revealed that caseworkers either feel powerless and disconcerted, or do not address these hinders. *"Representations are crucial. And let me tell you, internally, they are so high expectations in terms of putting people back into work that counselling someone who does not know the codes, who does not know how it works, well, you won't always take all the time you'd need to it"* (caseworker). Too little landmarks do not equip caseworkers to deal with such situation. In this framework, public policies pass on responsibility to caseworkers. As Dubois explained, the fuzziness of official orientations is not only a matter of temporary organization problems, but it is also (or rather) a mode of government with its coherence and logics (Dubois, 2013).

Moreover, the activation paradigm has fostered the registration of all unemployed at the national employment agency in order to ensure an active behaviour and to put the emphasis on employment issues. It means that through the increasing linkage between formerly distinct policy fields, it has promoted the registration of individuals who did not previously registered at the national employment agency. Registration became a compulsory step in

order to benefit from social benefits or other services and is increasingly encouraged. *“I think that there is an entire system to review in terms of the registration as jobseeker. Because, here, people get registered for the bus card you know. They well understood that if they only register for that, we don’t register them. So now, they say that yes, they look for jobs, for some hours of cleaning. It’s an entire mentality we need to change, but...”*. Some unemployed are thus de-legitimated in their approach.

The collective imaginary (Macé, 2007) and the moral criteria represent other filters in the determination of the worthiness of an unemployed (Rice, 2012). This analysis can also apply to the determination of the sector integrated into a comprehensive service. In that acceptance, some caseworkers will perceive and implement a service at the cross-roads of social and labour market integration issues, some other will only focus strictly on labour market integration issues, and a last category will choose the sector to integrate according to his/her own experience (if one has worked or work with migrants, he/she will take interest in issues related to that sector, if one has worked/works with people with health issues, he/she will be more concerned by these matters).

What cross-sectoriality?

This paper is based on the idea that ‘passing through’ territorial levels (multi-level governance) in charge of the implementation represents a first step of adaptation, and a second step of adaptation consists on the process of delivery, which street level bureaucrats are in charge of. Indeed, as service providers, they are the last stage of the actors’ involved in the making of the public policy. In this landscape, policymakers and managers shape their policymaking role. However, this paper demonstrated that even though more rigid tools and an increase control have hindered street level bureaucrats’ discretion and cross-sectorial facet of the service provided, front line workers manage to develop a multidimensional services. Moreover, it showed that even in a highly centralized and sectorialized system (Gramain, Exertier, Herbillon, 2006), cross-sectorial labour market policies are acknowledged and implemented. It is enabled by a balance between control and discretion, which is crucial as it puts into perspective the strong promotion of tailor-made services and caseworkers’ room for manoeuvre and the sectorialized framework. Discretion is not given without a counterpart. The development of cross-sectoriality is thus promoted and facilitated, and constrained and hindered simultaneously.

In sum, main challenges are related to organizational dysfunctions between the promotion

of tailor-made services and the development of standardized frameworks and tools. The latter rely on the difficulty to set the balance between a subjective or a limited choice: on the one hand, if borders of cross-sectorial services (meaning which dimensions are integrated to the service) are fixed and the dimensions listed in an exhaustive list, the service could be accused of leaving some dimensions aside as they are a very large number of dimensions that could be taken into account and that listing them represents an impossible exercise; whereas, on the other hand, if borders are not fixed, the choice and/or awareness of which sector one should take into account is then subjective as there is no base to direct or orientate the choice.

On the field, our empirical analysis revealed that the degree and nature of cross-sectoriality in street level bureaucrats' global approach can differ in terms of which sector is involved. A labour market integration / training nexus and a labour market integration / social assistance nexus are acknowledged. Street level bureaucrats often tackle these issues and know where to orientate the beneficiary in case he/she needs training or social assistance (only for main benefits). The degree of this integration has reached such a strong integration that street level bureaucrats feel that borders between these sectors have disappeared in beneficiaries' perceptions: *"we have also not sorted out the confusion between Pôle Emploi and a social organization. Because, (...) it's probably our biggest problem"*.

Health, housing and childcare are issues street level bureaucrats very often encounter. Because of that, they take these sectors into account when meeting with the unemployed (meaning they will often easily identify related hindrances). Yet, they do not always know how to orientate the unemployed or even do not think it is their role to tackle these issues. *"It's a big issue, childcare. Each time, we hit a brick wall. (...). We have troubles finding the right stakeholder"* (caseworker).

Immigration, for example, is very often left aside. The republican universalistic model that states that migrants should not be targeted is an explanatory factor, so does the lack of institutional relations between both sectors. *"Social worker: (We don't have) a targeted measure according to me, it's part of the service. (...) But specific measures, no I don't think so. Director: No because anyway, it's our population... It fits... (...) It's mixed up; it fits in our projects. (...). So no, we haven't done... But maybe we should. (...) But I'm not sure it would really be a good thing, because I think that stigmatising migrants, or long-term unemployed, I'm not sure... anyway, they are our population here, so they have a support. We haven't been asked... (...) Migrants, it's important to know that it's 90% of our public writer work. But we do not say it's a measure for migrants. We wouldn't do it because I think it's discrimination first of all"* (Caseworker and director). Hence, except from actors working with a large number of migrants (in specific territories or targeted organizations), this sector

and related issues are not addressed or taken into account. In the case caseworkers perceive specific issues, they often expressed they are deprived with regards to this group as they have little or no instruments, cooperation schemes or any kind of framework that help them address the specific issues related to migration (only few trainings to learn the language but very little rooms available to orientate people). In some cases, when caseworkers do not even take into account possible immigration-related issues, a foreigner not using a formal vocabulary to communicate with them because of his language skills can be perceived as impolite. In these cases, the language issue is not identified (nor taken into account) by the caseworker.

Street level bureaucrats' discretion enables them to choose which sector to take into account in their work with unemployed. Even though there can be strong variations from one caseworker to another, we distinguish a hierarchy of the dimensions in the delivery of integrated labour market integration policies.

To conclude, this analysis shed light on the fact that taking into account and integrating some sectors into the service delivery is institutionalized (social benefits and training), which means that instruments and/or recognition of the nexus with labour market integration issues have been strongly acknowledged. And other sectors are left to discretion (some more than others). In this sense, it puts the responsibility on street level bureaucrats to deal with these issues and to make decisions on how to understand their labour market integration role. Behind the lines, it shows a focus put on labour market integration outcomes rather than on a comprehensive approach of integration.

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