



Exploring policy enactment by work (re)integration professionals

Making sense of the participation act
through a policy-object perspective

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Summary

This thesis is part of my study MSc Development and Rural Innovation. The study addresses the policy enactment of the participation act by labour (re) integration professionals. Specifically, the study looks at the understanding and translation into practices of key concepts referred to as *policy objects*. The policy object does not refer to the actual policy text, but the key dimensions or concepts the text proposes; it does not have an objective existence. The following policy objects were chosen to be explored: ‘activation’, ‘empowerment’ and ‘well-being’.

The study explores understanding of these concepts by work (re)integration professionals and investigated their enactment by exploring practices, roles and possible dilemmas in enactment. The research is a case study on a policy network of work (re)integration institutes and professionals connected to the municipality of Wageningen in the Netherlands. For this study 11 semi-structured interviews were conducted and literature research regarding the predefined policy objects. The interpretative approach used in this exploratory study resulted in a qualitative methodology to address the research questions.

A range of theoretical resources informed this study. A policy-object perspective based is used to look at policy enactment. This perspective is based on the work of Sin (2014) who uses the concepts of *ontology* and enacted *ontology* to introduce the object. Ontology here refers to “what the policy actors believe the policy object is and how they conceive of it” (p. 446), while the concept of enacted ontology denotes what the policy object becomes when expressed as practices. In order to look closer at how policy relevant actors make sense of the policy object and how this sense-making is informed the concept of frames and framing is introduced, and briefly describe how they are conditioned by processes of self-referentiality and recursive language. Furthermore, *concept mapping* and *frame of reference* is introduced as analytic and descriptive devices to look at different modes of judgement by professionals and illustrate differences in ontologies and enacted ontologies.

Within the study the following frames of references are identified: learning, caring, flexible and inflexible procedural frame of reference. The meaning of these frames for clients will be discussed. Furthermore, the study shows that the ontology and enacted ontology of activation, empowerment and well-being is diverse and very much subjective. Overall it can be concluded that the meaning of ‘successful’ work (re)integration is not so clear cut, leading to different objectives of the work (re)integration process. The thesis concludes with recommendations and suggestions for future research.

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List of translations and acronyms

Abbreviation	Dutch	English
UWV	Uitvoeringsinstituut werknemersverzekering	Institute for Employee Benefit Schemes
WAJONG	Wet arbeidsongeschiktheidsvoorziening jonggehandicapten	Disablement Assistance Act for Handicapped Young Persons
WMO	Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning	Social support act
WSW	Wet Sociale Werkvoorziening	Sheltered Employment Act
WWB	Wet, werk en bijstand	Work and social assistance act

1. Introduction

In 2015 the government of the Netherlands implemented the participation act. This act is part of an overall transformation of the welfare system; a new strategy that has the aim to continue the protection and promotion of both economic and social well-being of the Dutch citizens. This, so called, active labour market policy (ALMP) addresses unemployment which is one of the most damaging socio-economic events that individuals can experience. Within the act the shift in focus from income protection to (return to) work is emphasized and furthermore promotes and accelerates the ongoing change toward an 'active society' in which all individuals including the vulnerable and disadvantaged ones (e.g. disabled people) are expected to be active rather than passive recipients of social welfare.

Work (re)integration professionals face a complex undertaking of translating the participation act into the work field since the translation is an outcome of multifaceted and dynamic relationships among various actors and policy frameworks on different levels with possible diverging interests and assumptions. These professionals are in a position to facilitate life-changing consequences for people although there is rather limited documentation and guidelines on what work (re)integration professionals do and how these practices are shaped in order to achieve desired objectives. This research addresses the enactment of the act by work (re)integration professionals.

The thesis starts by introducing the changes in the welfare system and describing the field of work (re)integration. The first sub-chapter introduces the legal and policy context by providing a general understanding of active labour market policies (ALMPs). This is followed by a brief overview of the changes in the welfare system of the Netherlands, and the last section of this chapter briefly introduces the in 2015 enacted ALMP known as the 'participation act'. The second sub-chapter describes the scope of the work (re)integration field as this thesis concerns the actors working within this field. Lastly, sub-chapter three addresses the problem statement.

1.1 The legal context

This chapter focuses on providing a general understanding of active labour market policies (ALMPs) and the innovative changes the Dutch governments made in their welfare system. Developments are highlighted of discourse changes on how to sustain the economic and social well-being of the Dutch citizens. It furthermore provides a brief overview of the changes in the ALMPs of the Netherlands.

Introducing active labour market policies (ALMPs)

Implementing ALMPs by a government have an evident economic objective and are generally characterized by the aim to stimulate *inflow* rates and reduce *outflow* rates of the labour market. Across nations and within nations of the OECD countries¹ ALMPs encompass a variety of policies, schemes and approaches in order to 'activate' the unemployed and speed up the labour market reattachment (Bonoli, 2010; OECD, 2010). In an effort to gain a general idea on the activation stance the term activation with regards to

¹ The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is a forum where the governments of 35 member countries, from North and South America to Europe and Asia-Pacific, can work with each other, to share experiences, seek solutions to common problems, identify good practice, and coordinate domestic and international policies that are related to the economic and social well-being of people around the world.

ALMPs can be broadly defined as a combination of policy tools that support and incentivize job search and job finding, productive participation in society, and becoming and remaining self-sufficient and less dependent on public support”

(Immersvol, 2012; p. 1). A general menu of policy instrument that are being used to address these aims can be found in the information box here on the right.

Overall trends in labour market activation show an expansion and intensification of ALMPs in not only the Netherlands, but also by other OECD countries that are confronting similar economic and social challenges related to high and persistent unemployment, low labour demand, and population ageing and the associated pressures on social expenditure budgets (OECD, 2010). The next section will illustrate that these challenges have moved activation principles toward a more co-ordinated

manner across policy domains in the Dutch welfare system and into covering a wider range of population groups. This next section provides a brief overview of these changes.

Policy instruments of ALMPs

- (i) Measures that aim at strengthening the motivation for making use of existing earnings opportunities (e.g., work incentives, job-search requirements, benefit sanctions).
- (ii) Training and related active labour market pro-grams (ALMPs) that seek to improve the capabilities of jobseekers and other activation “clients”
- (iii) Employment services and programs that support labour demand by expanding the set of earnings opportunities available to jobseekers (e.g., wage subsidies, direct job creation)

Source: Immersvol (2012)

A brief overview of the overall reform of the Dutch welfare system

On January 1st, 2015 a comprehensive reform of welfare policy was implemented in the Netherlands, the so called *3D-decentralization or transition*. The overall reform focuses on social and economic challenges and has emphasized the importance of creating an integral approach as to mediate both. It encompasses the allocation of financial and administrative responsibilities from the central government to the municipal level and enforcing municipalities to take responsibilities for the provision of support in social assistance and public care services with regard to the following areas within the social domain: youth care, work and income, and support for people who experience a restriction when participating in society because of disability, long-term illness and/or old age.

This transformation in the Dutch welfare system is a strategy which continues to protect and promote the economic and social well-being of its citizens. More specifically, it is intended to address quantitative and qualitative problems related to *rising expenditures in care and support services*, the *demographically ageing of the population*, *issues relating to the overall quality of care services*, and the *effectiveness and efficiency of the social welfare delivery system and social work*. In order to address these challenges decentralization of decision-making, planning, and service delivery are considered to be essential by the Dutch government since local authorities are believed to be better able to tailor services to local and individual’s preferences and needs (Tweede Kamer, 2013). By implementing the act, the Dutch government enforces municipalities to adjust welfare orientation in a direction that aims at evolving the classical welfare scheme into a custom-built, demand-driven support system addressing the needs of the citizens in a particular municipality. Furthermore, the government emphasises that local policies should be directed at reducing welfare dependency of citizens by means of promoting, facilitating and supporting capacities for self-reliance and participation in society (Tweede Kamer, 2013).

The reform is enabled by a shift in discourse from the existing value structure of the classical welfare state. In 2013, the Dutch government publicly announced in the country’s annual throne speech that the classical

'welfare state' (*verzorgingsstaat*) in the second half of the twentieth century had brought about arrangements in social security and long-term care that cannot be sustained in their current form. The government stated that the value structure of the welfare state does not align with current expectations of the Dutch citizens, who have become more outspoken and independent; citizens are more inclined to exercise the freedom to make their own choices, organize their own lives, and care for one another. The message conveyed was that this ongoing emergence of this so called 'participation society' (*participatie maatschappij*) needs to be persevered (*Troonrede 2013*, 2013). A deviation in which more responsibility is placed on individuals to secure their own welfare.

The following three acts were introduced to enforce this innovative welfare system: (i) youth care act, (ii) social support act and (iii) participation act. Although the acts themselves address different aspects in the social domain, the welfare recipients are often not bound to one area of this domain due to the multifaceted challenges individuals' experience. Therefore, in order to be able to operationalize a fundamental approach to combat citizens' challenges, the government emphasizes that municipalities should take into account all the domains the three acts encompass when formulating policies. Below, a short description will be provided on the youth care act and social support act, which is followed by a more detailed section on the participation act, as this research focusses on this act.

Youth care act (*Jeugdwet*)

The youth care act provides a new framework for youth care services intended to be more efficient, coherent and cost-effective. This act gives local authorities the responsibility of all forms (voluntary and mandatory) of youth care (i.e. youth health care, specialised treatment and psychiatric care, youth probation, and foster care) as a replacement for a system in which these responsibilities were divided among the municipal, regional and national level.

Social support act (*Wet maatschappelijke ondersteuning*)

The objective of the act is to ensure that everyone has the opportunity to be able to take part in society. Under the act municipalities are made responsible for promoting citizens independence and participation in society. The act imposes a duty on the local authorities to set up social support and assistance which could encompass a variety of forms, such as: domestic assistance (cleaning, cooking), adjustments to one's home, transportation in the form of goods and/or services (wheelchair, taxi), assistance with taxes, and help with getting out of desolation.

Participation act (*Participatiewet*)

The participation act addresses unemployment. It aims at facilitating labour participation and puts a great deal of attention on addressing individuals in a vulnerable or disadvantaged (e.g., disabled people) position in the labour market. Traditional welfare policies do not recognize the disadvantaged groups as 'full citizens', objectifying them as passive and unemployable persons. This resulted in excluding a large group of people from the regular labour market and providing them a secondary status as citizens, which commonly resulted in inactivity and social exclusion (Holmqvist, 2010). The participation act promotes and accelerates the ongoing changes toward an 'active society' and puts emphasis on (re)integration into employment of all individuals by focussing on assessing work-capacity instead of disability. In this active society 'all' individuals are expected to be active rather than passive recipients of social welfare. It is also important to note that if people choose to receive social welfare, then they are forced to participate. This

norm of participation is set by regulations and perspectives of professionals and in case the norm has not been achieved people could face sanctions. Enacting this ALMP is perceived by the Dutch government as essential in creating opportunities for people to be part of and contribute to society.

With the acts implementation, municipalities are made responsible for the provision of benefits and (re)integration of individuals in the regular working environment, preferable in a paid position, and in the case a person does not have the 'ability to work' in a regular environment the municipality is responsible to provide a sheltered employment scheme. The act replaces the Sheltered Employment Act (WSW), the Work and Social Assistance Act (WWB) and parts of the Disablement Assistance Act for Handicapped Young Persons (WAJONG). In figure 1 on the next page a visual overview is presented on how the acts are combined and briefly explained what target groups these acts address.

With these changes municipalities have gained a bigger role within the so-called work (re)integration field. Municipalities are not only participants within the field, but within each municipality they also create their own 'playing' field. A field that is informed by the framework of the participation act. In the next section I will introduce this field and parts of the Work and Social Assistance Act (WWB) and Disablement Assistance Act for Handicapped Young Persons (WAJONG). Figure 1 provides a visual overview on how the acts are combined.

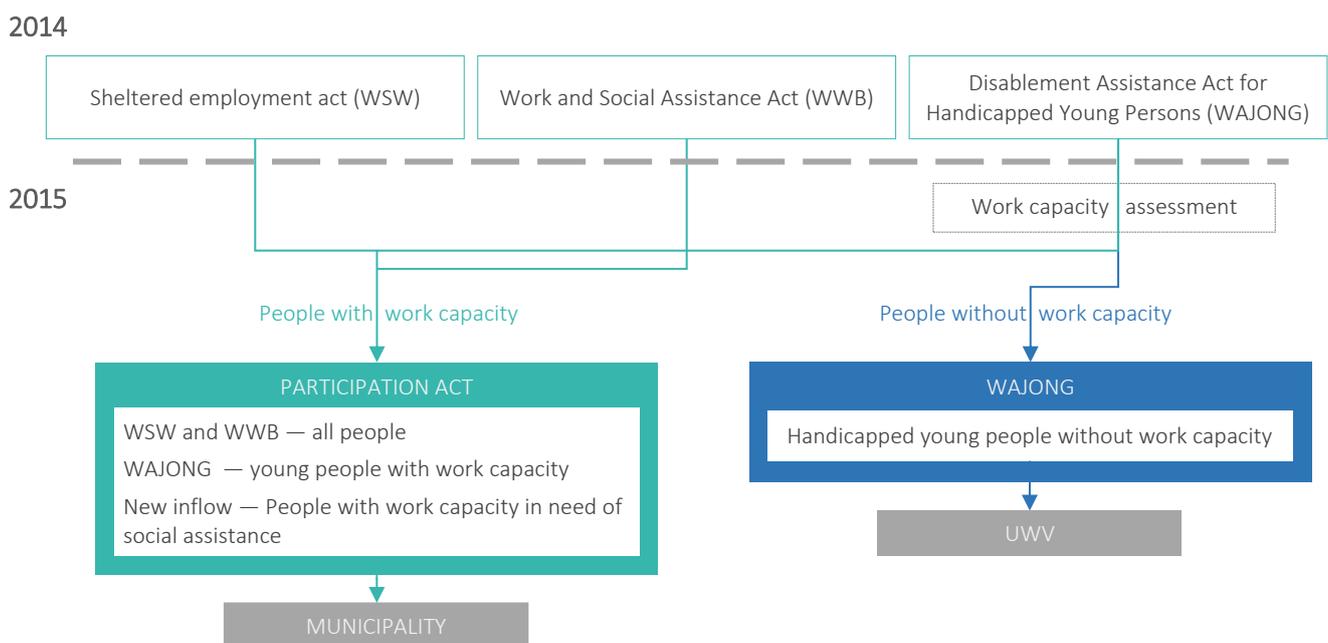


Figure 1: Visual overview target groups of the participation act

1.2 The work (re)integration field of the Netherlands

The work (re)integration field of the Netherlands is a fragmented mix of public and private organizations. It is characterised by a purchaser/provider split, where private-sector and non-profit organizations compete for the acquisition of publicly-funded tenders. These tenders supply re-employment services and assistance to the unemployed. For this research I included five types of organizations and agencies within the field.

- (i) **Institute for Employee Benefit Schemes (UWV)** responsible for unemployment and disability benefits, the evaluation of illness and work capacity, and help the client to find employment or remain employed. Professionals that work here are insurance physicians (generally speaking judges if a person is able to work and advices on work (re)integration), vocational experts (assess the degree of work ability) and job coaches (who offer guidance) (Hal en Meershoek, 2015).
- (ii) **Municipal social service agencies** responsible for access of social assistance. Professionals are concerned with (re)integration guidance for unemployed clients.
- (iii) **Occupational health services** provide reintegration guidance (training, counselling and advice for employers) during the first two years of sickness absence.
- (iv) **Private (re)integration agencies** professionals with different specializations with regard to work (re)integration. Clients of these agencies could be referred to these professionals by municipalities, employee insurance agencies, employers or independently seek advice (Hal en Meershoek, 2015).

Although these types encompass a large part of the field, the exploratory literature research and interviews which will be addressed in the next chapter have led me to enlarge the scope of the field by including organizations or individuals that run private projects and programmes that are designed to facilitate individuals into the labour market:

- (v) **Private (re)integration projects and programs**

An addition type I have identified has been excluded from the research. This type 'employers and managers' are part of the (re)integration process as they assist or guide people at the work floor. Exploratory interviews with the (re)integration coaches and informal talks with individuals going through an integration process describe the essential role individuals in this group have with regards to the process and outcomes of work (re)integration. I have excluded them due to the fact this type is very broad and these individuals main profession is not work (re)integration.

Now that we gained a general understanding on the changes in the Dutch welfare system, the participation act and the field of work (re)integration the following section focuses on the work of (re)integration professionals and describes what knowledge gap this thesis addresses.

1.3 Problem statement

The policy literature regarding ALMPs indicates that attention has been drawn to rethinking the manner these policies have been evaluated. Studies concerning the effects of ALMPs show most academic and political attention has been put into capturing the results of economic objectives of the policy, such as numbers of re-employment and poverty alleviation. Different research institutions and actors point out the limited amount of descriptive documentation on (re)integration programmes and the accessibility to it. Additionally, the studies point out the lack of research on evaluating policy components, programmes and

strategies in order to be better able to identify which programmes are effective, what works and for whom (OECD, 2010; Vinne van der & Achahchah, 2014).

This literature indicates that attention has been drawn to ALMPs' mediating role and evaluation of health and social problems, i.e. lack of well-being, social exclusion and limited social capital. Evidence regarding the effects of unemployment indicate a strong link between these problems (see Sage, 2013). An increased interest has been expressed within policy literature to explore which interventions by ALMPs can mediate the harmful effects of unemployment. Sage (2015) proposes that "rather than being seen as two separate, mutually exclusive outcomes, the economic and social effects of ALMPs can be seen as reinforcing" (p. 322). This perspective focusses on a more holistic and integral approach that provides people the necessary steps to integrate into the labour market or get back to work. The recent changes in the Dutch welfare system, as described above, demonstrate an effort to provide a more integral and holistic approach.

As described in the introduction, in search of answering the question of how to deal with the current and upcoming economic and social challenges that many developed countries experience, the Netherlands has taken a new course. In this thesis the participation act can be viewed as an innovative means to address economic and social problems. The act puts emphasis on a preferred outcome and discourse with regards to labour participation and is used as a starting point for (re)integration professionals to work with, therefore this act is also the starting point for this thesis.

In general, policy reforms are not a straightforward process of diffusion and implementation. The participation act is a product of a trajectory within the governmental policy system, but with its implementation it became a starting point from which policy relevant actors within the work (re)integration field began their sense-making process on how to translate it into practice. In the next chapter I will introduce three concepts to narrow down the scope of this thesis. The first two concepts are 'activation' and 'empowerment' which are central in literature about active labour market policies. Furthermore, the concept of 'well-being' is focused on which is starting to gain more ground within ALMPs. These key concepts seem to be part of a web of conceptualizations and recursive language connected to 'labour participation.' With diverging meaning of the concepts in relation to the participation act, professionals are likely to have different perspectives on expectations and assessment of their practices and role, possibly leading to diverging objectives, practices and evaluations of their work.

The practices of work (re)integration professionals are a complex undertaking, as are outcomes of multifaceted and dynamic relationships among various actors and policy frameworks on different levels with possible diverging interests and assumptions. Professionals are in a position to facilitate life-changing consequences for people and yet there is limited documentation on what work (re)integration professionals do and how these practices are shaped in order to achieve desired objectives. Based on my literature review regarding the field and the exploratory interviews I conducted with (re)integration coaches, there is a need to gain a better understanding on how key concepts of active labour market policies are translated into practices, what directives to follow based on the understanding of these concepts and how to achieve a more holistic approach when addressing both social and economic objectives.

In the next chapter the research plan for the conducted study is outlined. First the conceptual framework and theories are described that provide a particular lens for the research. This is followed by the research objective, questions and methodology.

2. Research plan

2.1 Conceptual framework and theory

In this chapter theories and concepts that guide this study are outlined. The chapter is divided into two parts. Part 1 describes the theoretical lens used to look at the research problem. To narrow down the scope of the research, three concepts were chosen to focus on and were referred to as policy object or key concepts. Part 2 addresses these concepts and provides an initial understanding on how diversity of enactment of these concepts by work (re)integration professionals could influence the professionals' conducts.

Part 1 Theoretical lens on the research problem

This part describes how the enactment of policy is understood in this research. This is followed by introducing a *policy object perspective* based on the work of Sin (2014).

Policy enactment

The use of the term *enactment*, in this proposed study, refers to an understanding that “policy enactment involves creative processes of interpretation and re-contextualisation – that is, the translation through reading, writing and talking of text into action and the abstractions of policy ideas into contextualised practices” (Braun, Maguire, & Ball, 2010, p. 549), rather than simply put policy into practice or ‘implementation’. It is related to the perspective that rarely policies tell you concretely what to do, but instead, “create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed, or particular goals or outcomes are set” (Ball, 1994, p. 19). A response addressing the directives must still be constructed in context and offset against other expectations and realities. In this response the agency of policy relevant actors is recognized as they actively and implicitly make meaning, attempt sense-making and representation of a policy, which could be congruent with, inhibiting or contradicting their own understanding and practices. Enacting policies can therefore be seen as a creative and complex process (Braun et al., 2010) and in this process some policy relevant actors may be more persuasive than others, where as other actors may be less influenced by a particular policy shift or element within the policy.

With the aim of gaining a better understanding of how enactment, and consequently outcomes, are shaped Sin (2014) proposes to attend to discrete elements of a policy, which she refers to as the *policy object*. “The ‘object’ does not refer to the actual policy text, but the key dimensions or concepts the text proposes, i.e. ‘labour participation’, ‘a more activating social welfare system’, or ‘putting people at the centre of development’. Briefly described, the “policy object does not have an objective existence [...] until it finds expression in actual enactment and embedded practices. Before that, it only exists as a mental construct of the policy actors responsible to make it happen” (Sin, 2014, p. 437). For example, the

enactment of a policy that informs to put people at the centre depends on what people understand ‘putting people at the centre’ to be. She uses this object-based perspective in policy research through the concepts of ‘ontology’ and ‘enacted ontology’. The term *ontology* refers to “what the policy actors believe the policy object is and how they conceive of it” (p. 446), while the concept of *enacted ontology* denotes what the policy object becomes when expressed as practices. In other words, it is “the translation into action and behaviour of ontologies” (p. 444). It is proposed here that attending to policy objects can deepen the understanding of how they intersect with other elements in the policy process to shape policy enactment. In figure 3 a visual overview is presented of the related concepts.

In order to look closer at how policy relevant actors make sense of the policy object and how this sense-making is informed the concept of frames and framing will be briefly described, as well as how they are conditioned by processes of self-referentiality and recursive language. This is followed by the introduction of *frame of reference* as an analytic and descriptive device to look at and illustrate differences in ontologies and enacted ontologies.

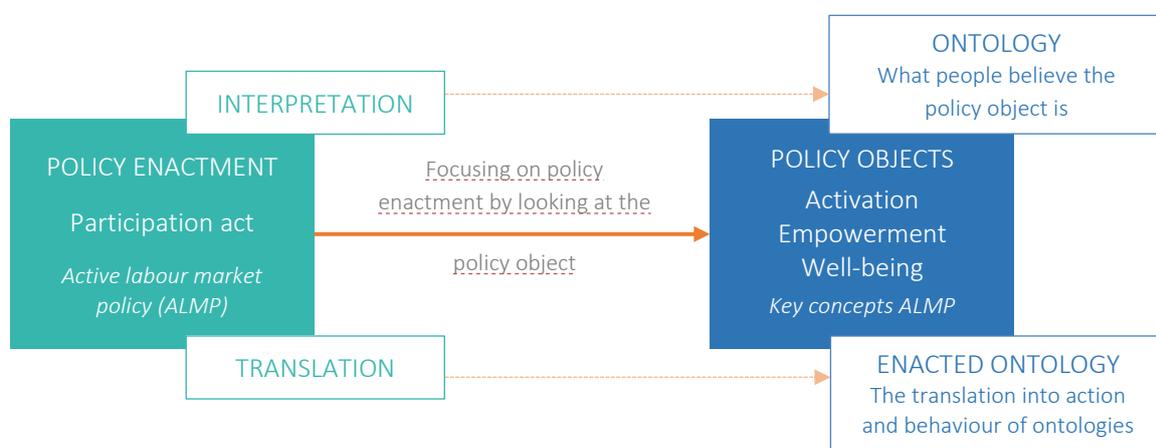


Figure 2: Overview related concepts policy enactment

Sense-making

Frames and framing

In order to give meaning to the world around us we employ *frames* as they “organize phenomena into coherent, understandable categories and giving meaning to some observed aspects while discounting others that appear irrelevant or counterintuitive” (Shmueli, Elliott, & Kaufman, 2006, p. 208). The *construction* of frames and the *representation* to others is referred to as *framing*, and is considered to be an active process of highlighting or silencing aspects in communication (Entman, 1993). These processes of (consciously and unconsciously) filtering perceptions and selective simplification are linked to the individuals’ specific sets of values, norms, objectives, interests, convictions and knowledge at a certain moment (Aarts & Woerkum, 2006). Consequently, this provide people with a particular outlook on reality and vision for a problem or solution.

As Herzele and Aarts (2013) stated, however this kind of originality and freedom of framing should not be overestimated. The phenomenon of self-referential social system (e.g. law, politics, and science) and recursive language is introduced here to address how the conditions and boundaries of framing shape the sense-making of reality. “*Self-referentiality* refers to a characteristic of people and organisations to perceive

the environment (and themselves) from their own perspective, from their own concept of relevance, from a completely obvious (to them) idea of what is important or not” (van Woerkum, 1999). New information is obtained from the surrounding but filtered by the already existing norms. From this perspective, a self-referential social system (such as a political system) could in fact learn from this environment, however, due to its selective openness, is prone to reproduce itself.

The sense-making of a policy is a significant process since “framing lays the conceptual groundwork for possible future course of action, and actors intersubjectively, interactively construct the socio-political world in and on which they act” (van Hulst & Yanow, 2016, p. 99). Within policy frames institutional ‘grammar’ is often used and policy relevant actors draw on this particular rhetoric for legitimacy of action and purpose. In doing so, they make arguments on *recursive language* that fits in the broader configuration of their communicative networks, which often have their own set of rules, procedures, discourses and practices which limit or condition possible ways a situation or problem can be seen. This particular language use can make the construction of meanings of policy-relevant situations more coherent and graspable, but can also divert attention from their ambiguities and uncertainties (van Hulst & Yanow, 2016).

Frame of reference

A person’s *frame of reference*, or mode of judgement, can be seen as a complex lens through which people observe a situation according to “a structure of concepts, values or customs, or views by means of which an individual or group perceives or evaluates data, communicates ideas, and regulates behavior” (Decker & Ladikas, 2004, p. 163). Dodier (1994), points out that multiple frames generally exist for a situation and people therefore need to “manage the plurality of frames, as well as the eventual ruptures of frames that rise in the course of interactions” (p. 490). The frames are not mutually exclusive; they can harmonize with each other, can be conflicting and co-occur next to each other. Therefore, judgement of a situation assumes a choice between multiple possibilities or a combination of several different framings, which could lead to dissimilar understandings and outcomes of actions. The two studies addressed below provide an example of how different frames of reference are used in order to gain a better understanding of the diversity in perspectives regarding clients and outcomes:

- In his study on the judgement of medical patients, Dodier (1994) distinguishes a clinical, solicitous and psychosomatic frame of reference which dictates the way the professional begins to perceive the client and, correspondingly, the guidance and treatment the professional will choose to administer.
- Eikenaar, de Rijk, and Meershoek (2015) apply the concept to the process of professional judgement in work (re)integration and distinguish between a procedural, a work-focused, a caring, learning and a facilitating frame of reference. They illustrate that “professionals differ widely in the images they have of clients, leading to a large variety in judgement of, and interaction with, clients” (p. 1).

Within this proposed study the frame of reference can be applied to help reveal nuances of what work (re)integration professionals believe the policy object is and how it can shape enactment.

Lastly, it is important to recognize two paradigms on frames and framing, a cognitive and interaction view, since they emphasize on different aspects of the framing process and impact the view on how data is collected, perceived and communicated within this research. An *interactional approach* to framing focuses on the dynamic enactment of frames in which frames are co-created during the interaction and do not have a stable cognitive basis (Aarts & Woerkum, 2006). This approach to framing focuses on frame

alignment in interaction and contributes to [the] understanding of how participants co-construct meaning when interacting (Dewulf et al., 2009). The *cognitive approach* emphasizes that individual cognitive knowledge structure are used as sense-making devices that establish parameters for defining a problem, solution and the actions that follow; part of the process of sense-making is challenging existing frames. Frames from this perspective are considered to be rather static representations stored in memory and framing is considered to be the process of applying cognitive frames to a situation (Dewulf et al., 2009). This study captures the individual understanding present at a certain moment in time therefore the research emphasizes on capturing cognitive frames. Although the dynamic enactment of frames during the interview process is recognized since they might shape the representation and inform the interview participant to highlight or silent particular elements from their understanding.

Part 2 Policy objects

This section introduces the three ‘policy objects’ that were chosen to focus on in this research: activation, empowerment and well-being. These concepts were selected for the following reasons: they have been identified in the conducted literature research as key concepts in shaping ALMPs. Furthermore, they are not new to the field of work (re)integration; however literature research and exploratory interviews show that their understanding varies. The participation act provides a new context in which it is assumed that professionals make sense of these concepts.

Activation

The participation act like other ALMPs puts emphasis on the activation of people. The way activation is defined and interpreted by professionals could have consequences for the role of the professional and the goals set for clients. Raeymaeckers and Dierckx (2013) consider a narrow and broad definition of activation. In the *narrow definition of activation* “clients are forced to find a job on the regular labour market, instead of passively receiving social benefits” (p. 1171). This definition refers to a disciplinary approach which according to Van der Laan (1998) leads to the ‘erosion’ of the professional role of the social worker. From this approach a strong emphasis is placed on the transition of clients toward the labour market; professionals have a more bureaucratic role, simply carry out policy goals that have been established somewhere else and they need to seek the most efficient means to achieve these goals. In the *broad definition of activation*, the “goal is to promote the (re)integration of the client into society. Here, the empowerment of the client stands central” (Raeymaeckers & Dierckx, 2013, p. 1171) and is much broader than just focussing on improving their labour-market position.

Empowerment

The concept of empowerment is generally understood as an increase of someone’s control over his or her own life or the situation he or she is in, enabling them to make changes and prevent problems, and is regarded as positively contributing to one’s quality of life. The concept is recurrent in the activation literature although its meaning is often ambiguous. TEngland (2008) made a distinction between empowerment as *goal* and *process*. *Empowerment as a goal* describes the increase of control over the determinants of one’s quality of life, and *empowerment as a process* includes a focus on the professional and clients. It refers to the professionals’ facilitation and guiding role with regards to clients taking control

over the change process, identifying themselves obstacles and possible solutions, determining goals, and the means to use in attaining those goals. In search to conceptualize the term Tengelnd (2008) came to suggest the following conceptualization, combining empowerment both as a goal and process:

[Goal] We achieve empowerment (in a combined sense) when a person (or group) A acts towards (in relation to) another person (or group) B in order to support B (by creating the opportunity and environment, and giving ‘expertise’ support) in gaining better control over (some of) the determinants (those relevant for the situation or profession) of her (quality of) life through (necessarily) an increase in B’s knowledge (self-knowledge, consciousness raising, skills development, or competence), or health (e.g., autonomy, self-confidence, self-efficacy, or self-esteem) or freedom (positive and negative), [Process] and this acting of A towards B involves minimizing A’s own ‘power’ (or influence) over B with regard to goal/problem formulation, decision-making and acting, and B seizes (at least) some control over this situation or process (goal/problem formulation, decision-making and acting) (Tengelnd, 2008, p. 93).

Well-being

The concept ‘well-being’ is focused on since research shows a causal link between unemployment and low well-being (Korpi, 2001; Wanberg, 2012). Well-being is a complex and multi-faced construct to capture and measure which has resulted in the use of variety of theoretical perspectives (see Dodge, Daly, Huyton, & Sanders, 2012). The interest in the conceptualization of well-being, the measurement of the concept, its interpretation, and the undertaking of a fair and valid assessment has been growing, also within the policy literature. In order to establish a general understanding of well-being within this proposed study I present the following model provided by Dodge et al. (2012) who propose well-being not as a state that can be achieved but as a dynamic process focusing on: the idea of a “balance point between an individual’s resource pool and the challenges faced”(p. 230), the inevitability of equilibrium/ homeostasis, and the fluctuating state between challenges and resources.

Figure 3: Definition of well-being



ALMPs and well-being

The impact of unemployment on well-being goes beyond the loss of income. Studies indicate that being unemployed may result in a wide range of social, psychological and physical consequences: social isolation, depression, anxiety, physical ailments and even suicide (Wanberg, 2012). One of the most influential theories that has dominated the unemployment research and applied effort to account for the decline in well-being is Jahoda’s deprivation model. The model is widely accepted but also scrutinized for its failure to include personality traits and individual agency to access latent functions from other sources than employment (Creed & Evans, 2002). The model proposes that employment provides both ‘manifest’ (e.g.,

income) and 'latent' (e.g., time structure, social contact, sharing of common, goals, status, and activity) benefits to people and that loss of the latent functions have a negative impacts on these well-being indices (Jahoda (1982), as cited in Creed & Evans, 2002). Theoretically, ALMPs could be valuable in diminishing the latent effect of being unemployed by improving the psychosocial environment of the unemployed; consequently increase well-being and create better circumstances for people which allows for work (re)integration (Sage, 2013). This thought is supported by some studies (see Sage, 2015) which indicate that the likelihood of re-employment is related to well-being. The participation act and other changes in the welfare system address even more than ever an integrative approach by emphasizing the inclusion of 'latent' functions.

The following sub-chapter describes the objectives and research questions addressed in this study.

2.2 Research objectives and questions

The participation act provides a 'new' framework for the work (re)integration field. Although there is some information on the practices of what professionals do and how they do it, the body of knowledge is limited. This qualitative study complements existing literature by presenting a context-specific picture of the work (re)integration professionals' sense-making of key concepts in the participation act, i.e. on the following policy objects: activation, empowerment and well-being. The aim with this thesis is to provide insight in the sense-making and examining how these perspectives create orientation and meaning and furthermore inform the dialogue on what professionals decide on what grounds. In addition, the aim is to identify and describe what ideological framework labour participation is embedded as it could reveal information for understanding conflicts of interest and outcomes of action and possibly provide input for tailoring interventions. Lastly, the documentation on diverging frame of reference that this thesis brings forth provides a starting point for reflectivity on normative aspects which could inform development strategies within the work (re)integration field.

This study had a twofold objective: first, it aims to explore understanding of policy objects (also referred to as key concepts) of work (re)integration by different professionals within a particular policy network (ontology); and second, to investigate their enactment by exploring practices, perceived roles professionals express and possible ambiguities and dilemmas in enactment (enacted ontology).

Based on the research objective the following **main research question** was formulated:

- How are different policy objects connected to the participations act enacted by work (re)integration professionals?

And the following **sub-research questions** were formulated:

- What *objectives* and *conceptualizations* do work (re)integration professionals express to make-sense of activation, empowerment, well-being and possible other key concepts?
- What *practices and roles* do work (re)integration professionals perceive they have with regards to activation, empowerment, well-being and possible other key concepts?
- What *ambiguities and dilemmas* do work (re)integration professionals perceive with regards to the ontology and enacted ontology of activation, empowerment, well-being and possible other key concepts?

2.3 Methodology

In this section I will explain how the research was set up and carried out. Following the research objectives and questions a qualitative methodology was used to collect the data. The study design, selection of the participants and case, methods of data collection, processing and analysis are described below. The section is concluded with reflections on my role as a researcher.

Research set-up

An interpretative approach was used for this qualitative research based on a case study design of a policy network. The starting point of this approach begins with a constructionist stance, which recognizes that people are active meaning makers of the world around them and that these meanings are open to reconstruction and change. Rather than putting a value (right or wrong) to a perspective, the interpretative approach attempts to capture different ways of seeing, understanding, and doing. A case study design was introduced since the research seeks to provide an in-depth understanding of the enactment by professionals within the work (re)integration. By no means had this research had the intention to evaluate or put value to what people express. Rather the objective of this research is to gain a better understanding on how professionals express and think about certain key concepts connected to ALMPs, how this influences their work, and how this related to other respondents expressions and the literature on these concepts. The case chosen was a policy network existing of institutes and professionals that are connected to the municipality of Wageningen. The main reason for selecting this location and policy network were my connections with individuals working within this network and my assumption that the network would support my fieldwork by participating in interviews or referring me to associates that could serve as willing respondents. An overview of the boundaries of the case is presented in the table on the next page.

Table 1: Overview of case boundaries

Overview of case boundaries

The work (re)integration field which is subject to the participation act. The following entities have been identified within the field:

- Institute for Employee Benefit Schemes [Dutch: UWV] responsible for unemployment and disability benefits, the evaluation of illness and labour incapacity and help the client to find employment or remain employed.
- Municipal Social Service Agencies responsible for access of social assistance. Professionals are concerned with (re)integration guidance for unemployed clients.
- Occupational health services provide (re)integration guidance (training, counselling and advice for employers) during the first two years of sickness absence.
- Private (re)integration agencies professionals with different specialization with regard to work (re)integration. Clients of these agencies could be referred to the professionals by municipalities, employee insurance agencies, employers or independently seek advice.
- Local/private (re)integration projects and programs programmes designed to facilitate individuals into the labour market.

A particular policy network that connects the professionals is chosen. This choice was informed by convenience in accessing the particular network through already established contacts.

-
- Wageningen municipality

The focus will be on the following policy objects:

-
- Activation
 - Empowerment
 - Well-being
-

Data collection

The activities that I undertook for this research were:

- Semi-structured interviews;
- Attending a conference for vocational experts 'Arbeidsdeskundge collegetour' on November 15th, 2016;
- Informal conversations with (re)integration professionals.

The main source of data for this research are the interviews, although information obtained from attending the conference and informal conversations have provided me with input on ways to analyse and present the data. In order to gain insights into the beliefs and practices of professionals, I chose to collect data by means of semi-structured interviews. I do recognize that observing 'practices' is valuable when gaining the outcome of decision making, and seeing how expressions of roles and practices coincide with actions taken. However, due to time restrictions and possible difficulties with access I chose to conduct interviews and focus on verbal expressions of conceptual boxes, reasoning, intentions, values and norms underlying the action taken by professionals. Below I will elaborate on these interviews.

Semi-structured interviews

The *units of observation* in this study are the professionals that are part of or connected to the policy chosen network. I conducted a total of 11 semi-structured interviews with 12 respondents. The first interview took place on October 17th, 2016 and the last one on December 2th, 2016. These interviews were taken based on a pre-structured interview guide. This particular interview format was chosen to ensure that all topics considered relevant were addressed. The questions were mostly open-ended questions and they were organized by the key concepts. Furthermore, questions were asked about the professionals' background, their practices and role with regards to the predefined policy objects and furthermore what dilemmas and ambiguities they perceive with regards to the perspective on and expression of the policy objects. However topics were flexible and this allowed for the possibility that professionals could address different areas of interest. For the interviews this meant that questions were adjusted, left out or rearranged to fit the situation. All interviews were conducted in Dutch. During the interview I made some notes which mostly served as a guideline to move forward in the interview. I tried to limit the note taking since my intention was to create a conversation rather than checking off a list of questions. Writing down a lot of information would have distracted me from attending to what respondents were saying. All interviews were recorded with the verbal permission of the respondent.

Different strategies were applied during the interviews. First of all follow-up questions, i.e. probes, were used to gain more insights into the professional's perspective. Furthermore, I asked respondents to provide examples of situations to illustrate the meaning of key concepts in this situation. Each time a policy object was introduced I asked the respondent to reflect upon a quote directly from the participation act or a concept that was expressed in the quote. This way I could draw the attention back to the participation act,

but was also a set-up in which the professionals were then asked to reflect upon a link between different concepts which allowed them to make comparisons. I also included personal examples of experiences and in some case expressed my views on particular matters. This advanced a conversation on the topic. An overview of interview guide can be found in Annex A.

Access to participant

I applied a snowball strategy to find participants for the research. The sample tree in Annex 2 provides an overview on how I came in contact with the participants. Some of the respondents within the municipality contacted me after being approached by a colleague that I interviewed, who asked them if they were interested in participating. At the end of most interviews I asked if they knew other individuals who would like to participate and based on the names and institutions they provided, I contacted potential respondents directly by mail or phone. I informed all respondents before the interview was taken by mail with information concerning the research and the interview. The focus of the research was to go more in-depth on the issue at hand with a smaller group of respondents rather than collecting information from a large group of people. Taking into account the time span of this research and based on the willingness and availability of the respondent I selected 12 individuals to interview. The respondents were chosen based on the following criteria: working on different levels, for example, in a management position versus professionals working directly with clients, I wanted to interview a variety of different organisations within the re-integration field, I wanted to interview some interviews working within the field before the introduction of the participation act. Furthermore, I wanted to safeguard that one gender was not largely overrepresented in the mix of respondents. The setting of the interviews varied. I let the respondents choose a location and time based on their convenience. Most interviews were conducted at the respondents' work place, and others kindly invited me to their home. In the table below an overview is provided of the interview participants.

Table 2: List of interview respondents

	Interview	Gender	Job description (NL)	Job description (EN)
Municipal Social Service agency				
1	M1	F	Klant manager	Client manager
2	M2	M	Klant manager	Client manager
3	M3	M	Klant manager	Client manager
4	M4	F	Client manager; account manager	Client manager; account manager
5	M5	F	Projectleider transitie participatiewet	Project manager transition Participation act
Occupational Health Services				
6	O1	F	Arbeidsdeskundige	Vocational expert
7	O2	F	Arbeidsdeskundige	Vocational expert
UWV				
8	U1	M	Arbeidsdeskundige	Vocational expert
Private (re)integration agencies				
9	P1	M	Directeur organisatie	Director of organization
10		F	Kwaliteitsmanager	Quality manager
11	P2	M	Directeur organization; Arbeidscoach	Director of organization; Vocational expert
Local/private (re)integration projects and programs				
12	I1	F	Arbeidscoach, projectleider	Vocational coach, projectmanager

Data analysis

Processing the data

The *unit of analysis* of this research are the transcriptions of the interviews. The recorded interviews (format: .mp3) were transcribed in Word (format: .doc or .docx). Due to time constrictions and due to a wrist injury I decided to have 6 interviews transcribed by a freelancer and the other 5 I transcribed myself. A confidentiality agreement was signed by the freelancer before the recordings were handed over for transcription. The transcriptions were done by omitting non-verbal dimensions of interaction. The transcriptions done by the freelancer were checked by replaying the interview and adjusted when needed.

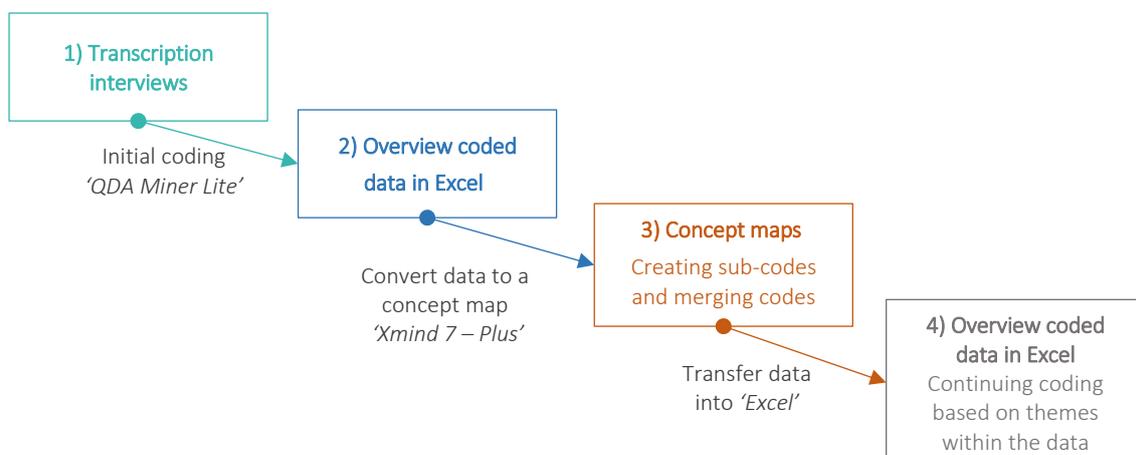
The next step in processing the data was creating concept maps. The maps provide a visual overview of the data and were useful as a tool to code the data. Furthermore, they provided an easy means to combine and compare data of different respondents as the different parts of the map were movable. For coding the data the analytic strategy was to use a combination of pre-defined codes that would give insights into the existing topics and extracted codes from the data (grounded theory). To do the initial coding the programme 'QDA Miner Lite' was used. The coded data was transferred in an excel file from which extracted data into a concept map using the initial codes. The programme used to create the maps is 'Xmind 7 – Plus'. From here I started a process in which I created sub-codes for the initial coding and merged some of the initial codes. Furthermore, I created two new codes at the base of the map: 'objectives and conceptualizations', and the 'process.' This resulted in 11 maps with data provided from the interviews. Two examples of the maps can be found in Appendix A.

Analysing the data

The maps were then transferred back into Excel where I was able to continue coding the data by providing sub-codes that were used for the descriptive part of the findings, i.e. ontologies and enacted ontologies of the policy objects. The codes are related to themes that were used to outline the findings presented in the next chapter. In figure 4 the process of data analysis is presented in a visual overview.

Next, the outcome was linked to concepts and theory presented in the conceptual framework and used to discover different frames of references (or modes of judgments) by professionals.

Figure 4: Overview - process of data analysis



3. Findings

This chapter includes the findings collected from the conducted interviews. As explained in the former chapter the data has already gone through some analysis as to present the findings in this chapter. Numerous ways have been thought of to present the data. I have decided to address the sub-questions one-by-one due to the fact that answers frequently did not have a defined line on what particular policy object it would directly address. Especially with regards to the practices and roles, and ambiguities and dilemmas it was often hard to distinguish, i.e. an action would possibly influence more policy objects at the same time. Only when a clear distinction was made by the respondent that a different policy object was addressed while being asked a question related to one of the other concepts the information was used under the specified policy object. The results are illustrated by both literal translations and idiomatic translations, additionally by paraphrasing information from the data. The obtained information was in Dutch and since languages do not have perfect correspondences they are not considered to be direct quotations. Therefore, I decided to use single quotation marks as to point out the translations from the interviews.

In consecutive order the sub-chapters focus on the objective and conceptualizations, practices and role, and the ambiguities and dilemmas. Each is furthermore divided into three sections that address the chosen policy objects. At the end of the second sub-chapter I present an overview of the ontologies and enacted ontologies in three different tables. The end of the third sub-chapter will also present a table with an overview of the ambiguities and dilemmas respondents described. In the last sub-chapter the findings are compared to the policy objects as defined in the conceptual framework and frames of reference are illustrated that became evident from the data.

Clear differences were present between the municipality respondents and those from other organizations. When presenting the data I use the two groups to describe and define differences. Furthermore, the described results will attend to both general views and individual expressions. It will be stated if I compare the data between groups and if a general view or if a professional or different professionals have expressed views outside the general opinion. Each sub-section is built up by first presenting the more general views followed by the more isolated views on topics and issues. Lastly, I would like to note that in attempting to present data from different individuals, I try to be as descriptive as possible. This research is not attempting to label or value one opinion over another.

3.1 Objectives and conceptualizations

This sub-chapter addresses the first sub-research question:

What objectives and conceptualizations do work (re)integration professionals express to make-sense of activation, empowerment, well-being and possible other concepts?

ACTIVATION

Three main themes have been identified in the data with regards to the objective of activation. The first theme describes a general view by all respondents. The other two themes illustrate differences of expressions in the views of the primary objective of activation.

- *Work as a means to participate in society*

In general respondents expressed that 'participating in society' is as an overall objective of activation. 'Work' was communicated as a means of participating in society. Respondents linked work to paid and unpaid work, furthermore it was stated that it can be conducted in many different varieties: within a sheltered or supported environment, labelled as volunteer work, a regular job or a form of meaningful activity. With regards to the expressions of the means to work differences were observed between the respondents from the municipality and the other respondents described in the two following two sub-sections.

- *To not request financial support from the municipality*

A preferable objective of activation is guiding people into a regular working environment. This objective is stated within the participation act and can be found back in the general opinion of the respondents. However, municipality members are more likely to link this objective to individuals 'not needing governmental money to pay for living expenses', 'economic independence', 'lowering the expenditures of social assistance' and 'the reduction of the amount of individuals requesting assistance'. Expressions that link to individuals not requesting financial support from the government. This particular view on the objective is also recognized by some of the other respondents which state that municipalities proudly present rates of outflow, i.e. how many people have been 'successfully' placed in a regular working environment. These respondents critically noted that they have doubts on what 'successful' means when including variables such as how long a person is employed and return rates of clients in the reintegration process.

- *Work gives meaning and purpose in everyday life*

Continuing on comparing the data of the participants working at the municipality and the other respondents the data presents that the latter group describes the down side of being financially dependent when gaining financial support rather than placing it as the primary objective to become independent from financial support from the municipality. Furthermore, the respondents in this group were more likely to focus on the value of work for the individual since the descriptions of the objective described work gives 'meaning and purpose' and related this to 'financial stability', 'having colleagues', 'social contacts', 'a routine' and 'feeling useful'.

EMPOWERMENT

In this section I describe two main themes found with regards to the objective of empowerment. Additionally, I will address the concept of self-reliance since within the literature on empowerment this concepts was recurrent. In the interviews I introduced the concept in order gain a better understanding of empowerment by asking respondents about the link between the two.

- *To be able to take control of your life*

The most common objective of empowerment as expressed by the respondents is empowering individuals 'to be able to take control of your life' (Dutch: zelfregie). This means, that a person can steer their life in a certain direction by themselves or with help of others, but remain in charge of this process. Other objectives that were stated by respondents are creating circumstances for clients 'to gain insight in their

capacities', 'gain insight and shape a prospect for the future', and 'develop a positive mind-set' that advances clients to start taking control in their life.

- *To create possibilities and circumstances for individuals to be able to take control and learn how to take control of their life*

Another form of empowerment was stated that is outside the control of the client. This concerns 'creating the possibilities and circumstances' in which people can learn how to take control over their life or supporting them to be able to do this. The municipality respondents mentioned that finding and creating positions where clients gain work experience is important. One respondent of this group mentioned that placing people in these particular positions is 'at the heart of the municipal policy'. Also, other respondents described they actively seek positions for clients where they can learn in a safe environment. Furthermore, by different respondents it was mentioned that organizations also have a responsibility in creating these positions.

Self-reliance (Dutch: zelfredzaamheid)

This part continues with views on self-reliance. I will describe the perspective of respondents with regards to what it means to be self-reliant and additionally describe critical thoughts on this concept that were presented by the respondents.

- *To arrange things in your life yourself or being able to ask for help*

When describing self-reliance respondents mostly use terms that reflect someone is 'able to arrange things in their life that need to be arranged'. Respondents also linked the following descriptions to self-reliance: 'to be able to shape your life', 'to take care of yourself', 'to be able to arrange things independently or with the help of others'. Furthermore, being able to 'ask for help at the right place' and 'knowing how to find your way in society' is described by respondents as a significant aspect of being able to arrange things in your life.

- *Different perspectives on what it means to be self-reliant related to requesting financial benefits from the municipality*

When we focus on finances with regards to self-reliance a difference can be observed between the professionals of the municipality and the other respondents. Where municipality members overall perceive that someone is not self-reliant if they request financial support some other respondents describe that being able to request financial support show a form of self-reliance.

- *Critical thoughts on the concept of self-reliance*

Furthermore, two respondents of the municipality had critical notes with regards to the concept of self-reliance and perceived that few individuals are completely self-reliant. Another municipality respondent noted that the term seems to suggest things need to be done alone while the respondent expressed a preferred direction in which a focus is put on common responsibility.

WELL-BEING

This section describes the general views on well-being that were identified within the data. Furthermore, I will address the concept of 'to put the individual at the centre' as this concept was introduced in the interview questions in order to gain more insight on well-being. In sub-sections different themes will be addressed that give insights on what it means 'to put an individual at the centre.'

- *To find a balance*

Overall respondents describe well-being as dependent on both internal and external factors and is subjective, i.e. individuals could potentially have different emotional reactions and cognitive judgements in a similar context. The overall described objective of well-being is 'to find a balance in life' which will lead to the experience of a positive well-being, often described by respondents in the term of 'to feel good'. This balance is associated with different variables which are seen as interrelated: 'suitable' work and housing, to have an income, to be and feel healthy, to have a social network. Positive well-being is linked to the resilience of individuals to deal with disturbances in these different areas of life. Furthermore, the availability of work does not mean a direct positive response on well-being since respondents expressed both positive and negative associations between working and well-being. One respondent mentioned that work could serve as a means to deal with other problems as it increases the likelihood of 'having social contacts', 'having a daily schedule', providing a step up to build up a certain 'picture you dream of', and 'help people to not slip away or stabilize them.' Lastly, positive well-being is associated with the following aspects: individuals feel they are 'seen and heard', 'taken serious', and 'to feel safe.'

- *To give something back to society*

Various respondents correlated well-being to 'the significance of giving something back to society' after clients receive social benefits and do not seek a job or following a (re)integration track.

To put the individual at the centre

- *To take into account the needs and desires of the individual*

Overall the respondents expressed that the desires and needs of the clients' should be addressed. Some respondents mentioned that taking into account these desires and needs of the clients should serve as a starting point of working with the client. These respondents also mentioned a responsibility of evaluating the attainability of these desires and needs and to intervene if they believe a different direction is 'damaging the client' or another direction is perceived by the professional as 'necessary' or 'good' for a person.

- *To provide tailor made services and solutions*

All respondents link putting an individual at the centre to 'tailor made services and solutions.' With regards to work, it is expressed by several respondents that 'suitable' work needs to be found. Municipality members more often linked this subject to the process of finding suitable employment through maintaining other work which might be less suitable or desired at that moment. The described positive progression in this process included resume building, freedom from social assistance, and personal development in the workplace to ultimately find a place more suitable.

When asked about the results of putting a person at the centre within their work, most municipality members move into examples of their practices which they perceive are not directly within the framework of the participation act, rather than providing examples that they perceive are within the regulations they need to work with. Describing that if you follow the regulations in these cases it was not possible to put the individual at the centre.

- *Clients should be actively part of the process they are in*

A significant aspect that was mentioned when putting individuals at the centre is that clients should play an active role in the process they are in. Examples of cooperation and collaborating with the clients were mentioned. Cooperation, defined as working with someone in the sense of enabling clients to do something such as providing information or access to other resources, and collaborating as to work alongside someone. Actions respondents described that are related to the processes: inform clients about their responsibilities, give clients the autonomy to move into a certain direction that seems feasible and position yourself in a manner that the client feels equal to you.

- *Other thoughts on putting the individual at the centre*

Furthermore, respondents also point out that putting an individual at the centre sometimes counteracts with what the client wants, and observed it would not increase the client's well-being directly. Respondents in these cases expressed that sometimes you must take one step back in order to take two steps forward towards your long term goals.

3.2 Practices and roles

This section addresses the second sub-research question:

What practices and roles do work (re)integration professionals perceive they have with regards to activation, empowerment, well-being and possible other concepts?

The practices and roles of re-integration professionals are diverse. As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter the described practices and roles were often not bound directly to one policy object. In order to present the data in a structured matter I decided to have the have write up guided by the obtained data based on the questions related to the different policy objects. Therefore, this section is again divided by the three policy objects. The sub-titles in these sub-sections serve as an outline of the different themes and topics identified within the interview data.

ACTIVATION

This first sub-section describes themes with regards to descriptions of practices and roles when respondents were asked questions directly related to activation.

- *Assessing abilities and employability² of clients*

Respondents that work directly with clients all need to assess the capacity and employability of these clients. These assessments do not only directly concern categorization of what kind of work an individual

² Employability can be broadly defined as the ability to gain and sustain employment, both within and across organisations.

could do, but encompass assessing different 'life areas'³ as to gain a better understanding of what brings a person to request help and assistance, or in some cases why do others request help for another person. The mentioned practices used to gain insight into the capacities of a client are: conversations with the client including intake interviews, general updates and evaluations; career assessments as to gain a better understanding of the interests and competences of clients; personality tests; trial placement at the workplace; requesting information from aid worker that the client has been working with, and seeking advice from colleagues or individuals in other disciplines to better understand how physical and mental issues impact work capacities and employability.

- *Being a motivational speaker*

Related to activation the role of motivational speaker is expressed by a large number of respondents. In conversations with clients professionals want to encourage and coach clients to take action or take steps toward work by for example providing them 'a perspective' of what is possible when they take action. One respondent described it as a means 'to put people in a flow' in order to take actively part of their own process.

- *Providing resources and services to make a client fit for work or facilitate into the labour market*

Most respondents expressed that they could provide enough resources and services to clients without too many restrictions to activate them and facilitate a road to participation in society or work. Next to conversations with the client, the most common resources and services that are mentioned I could broadly divide into two focuses: (i) resources as to facilitate clients becoming fit for work and (ii) resources as to facilitate individuals into the regular labour market.

With regards to the process of becoming 'fit for work' professionals at the municipality mention the following service and resources: making use of questionnaires as to obtain more information about the clients overall balance in different life areas, outsourcing clients to other (re)integration agencies, help with finding a place to obtain work experience in a controlled setting as part of their path to the regular labour market, empowerment and motivational training, providing a budget for studying or to gain certificates that are needed to enter a certain job market, connecting clients to other support organizations, i.e. organizations to help with budget management. Furthermore, it is expressed that space is provided for people to work on psychological or physical issues that restrict them from becoming available for work. As far as facilitating individuals into the regular labour market the following services resources were mentioned: job application training, forwarding vacancies, in certain cases loans were provided for clients to create job opportunities such as a starting a business when self-employed.

Supplemental to these resources and services the other respondents could add: contacting intervention and outreach work; coming along with the client to job interviews or talks with employers; referring clients to other support, i.e. are physical therapy, psychological help, coping coach, empowerment training, budget planning and management, and addiction care.

³ Areas of life (Dutch: levensgebieden): different schematics have been developed as to gain a broader perspective on different variables in a person's life. In general the following areas of life are included: work and housing, finances, physical and mental health, social contacts and relationships.

- *Providing a safe and trustworthy environment for a client*

By most respondents it was mentioned that the position clients perceived toward the professional has an impact on the activation objectives. People need 'to feel respected and valued', 'talked to in a normal manner' and 'feel safe.' The importance of connecting to a client is mentioned several times by respondents. In order to do this the following actions were described 'to be able to move down toward the level of the client' and 'to gain trust' with the client. Furthermore, respondents noted that it takes time to establish these relationships with clients. It was also mentioned by several respondents that they would change location of the meeting in order for the clients to be more at ease, i.e. 'go for a walk' with client rather than stay in the office.

Some respondents mentioned the importance of the first encounters with clients in order to build a relationship and an open mind-set of the client to work toward an objective. The following was described as important in these encounters 'removing distrust of social services,' letting the client know that they enter a process which they can steer, e.g. setting work hours and letting people know what their limits are. Furthermore, making sure that the 'client knows the process does not go faster than they can handle', and putting the fear of sanctions in perspective, i.e. social benefits are not suddenly cut.

- *Developing an action plan together rather than being pressed upon the client by a form of authority*

In almost all interviews the respondents mentioned part of their practices was developing an action plan to activate the client. Respondents described the importance of planning in cooperation (Dutch: partnerren, samenwerken) with the client rather than a top down authoritative approach. One respondent described 'if you have someone making their own choices they feel more involved in the process and feel more responsible for the process.'

- *Informing the client about their obligations*

The next theme concerns communicating expectations with clients as far as their obligation to seek for work or possible reintegration to prior employment with modifications. It could also mean informing clients about taking steps that enables them to work in the future. With this latter one different areas of life could be addressed. Respondents also described that individuals need to show responsibility for their own activation, i.e. 'positive movement in finding work' and 'do their very best finding work' or 'to not need financial support.'

- *Finding a balance between care taking and activation*

This sub-section describes a division that respondents defined as relevant: care taking and activation. Different respondents described that in former acts they needed to make a separation of actions considered to be part of care taking or activation since financial streams were dependent on this. It was described that with the current act the division becomes less relevant for financial streams, it furthermore became more accepted that activation and care taking could and sometimes should, as expressed by one respondent, be a parallel process rather than a consecutive one. To differentiate between these two is still of importance in order to address the needs of a client. Examples of respondents directly connected to care taking were: 'standing next to an individual', 'creating a foundation to move to the next step of finding work', 'making sure a clients has access to all benefits and social assistance', providing temporary housing

in case it is needed. While expressions of activation were: 'moving away from the comfort zone', be directive and telling people what to take action on such as 'we're now going to write a job interview letter or pick up the phone and call' and telling people sanctions are going to be enforced.

- *Making decisions on sanctioning a client*

Some respondents were able to sanction clients by cutting the amount of financial support in the case they felt that clients were not cooperative enough, i.e. refusing a certain step within the action plan or not providing requested documents on time. They believe that in some cases it was a 'financial incentive for clients to start doing more' or 'make them move'. One respondent explicitly expressed not making use of sanctions believing that it was not the tool for achieving set goals. Although the other respondents expressed making use of sanctions was only effective for a very limited group and in some cases was not effective at all.

- *Professional obligation of municipality respondents to steer clients toward a paid job rather than a more 'suitable' job*

With regards to the obligation to find paid work, two professionals at the municipality described that finding a paid job has a higher priority than focussing on 'suitable work' and the clients' preferable job. One of these respondents expressed that clients are 'obliged to take on general accepted jobs' when it is offered to them. But also noted that the service of the municipality does not stop here. A client may choose to still make use of the service provided by the municipality in order to help look for a more suitable and preferred job. Another respondent from the municipality stated that 'the shortest road to work needs to be taken'. If another job is more preferable and achievable but a person can move faster into a different job then this client needs to be steered toward this job.

- *Actively requesting and seeking opportunities for work and development of clients*

In order to create work spaces for clients a few respondents mentioned they actively seek for work opportunities for clients, sometimes demands were made by professionals for employers to create job opportunities, and others would advise and request employers to change job conditions to make the work suitable for a client. Furthermore, respondents from the municipality mentioned they moved their work location to an industrial area in order to be more visible for companies that could potentially provide work for clients and have shorter lines of communication with these organisations. Also, respondents mentioned ideas and initiatives they organized for clients: empowerment trainings, workshops on specific vocational skills such as bike repairing or cleaning.

- *Interpersonal communication as an effective means providing faster services and resources for clients*

Different respondents mentioned that short lines of communication by knowing other professionals within their own organization or other organizations were effective in creating opportunities for clients and providing faster services. One respondent mentioned 'it is a positive development to have shorter lines with the municipality.' Furthermore, it is described by a participant from the municipality that working in the same room at your own work has its advantages rather than having flexible positions: 'you would learn from each other by just being present', 'could directly communicate when you had question and did not have to search for a person since they had their own workspace', 'you know each other's faces', 'you could

pick up information from colleagues about other clients; therefore, helping clients when a colleague was not present went smoother since the case was not new to you'. Another respondent from the municipality mentioned that proximity to the network made accessing it quicker.

An interview participant described that knowing another professional was helpful due to the fact that they would 'accept your professional opinion'. This expression of accepting your professional opinion on what would be good for a client came back several times in different interviews. In general the respondents working at the occupational health services and private reintegration services, projects and programs described that their professional opinion is more and more recognized by the municipality and the Institute for Employee Benefit Schemes (UWV).

EMPOWERMENT

This second sub-section describes themes with regards to descriptions of practices and roles with regards to empowerment.

- *Providing training programmes focused on empowerment of the client*

Respondents mentioned the following programmes for clients directly related to the empowerment of the client: empowerment training programme, e-learning programme designed to improve communication and computer skills, resilience training programme, anxiety reduction programmes, programmes that help you gain insights on what inspires you, what is your current career and life path and training programmes on how to present yourself.

- *Presenting clients a perspective for the future*

Overall respondents mention the importance of presenting clients a perspective for the future. In this process of providing a perspective, respondents revealed that they would try to motivate clients by, 'providing positive feedback' and 'make it visible for the clients what they are good at and what they do well.' Furthermore, try to 'find out and tapping into what drives a person', providing clients with new insights in opportunities and possibilities, 'show clients what regulations there are on benefits', sometimes 'advice a person to look at other work places', helping clients gain insights on possible adjustments in their job if they are not capable of doing the job as it is currently presented, and find out what clients 'can do and what they feel they need in order to continue' their current job.

- *Facilitating clients in the process of empowerment*

The manner of facilitating the client is described as significant in the process of empowering clients. Respondents described that 'good guidance is crucial', 'everything is dependent on how you organize the support for the client', you need to 'have the right services in place and looking for the right environment for a client to be empowered', and you're not doing your job very well if you side-line your client or you leave it up to the client'. With regards to helping people move into a certain direction respondents mentioned they: 'help people formulating next steps', 'help them set goals on what they want', 'give hints on how they can take action themselves.' In this guidance clients are also empowered by advising them on 'what institutions are accessible to them', 'what they can expect' and 'what they can ask employers' in case of reintegration at their job.

Next to this, a respondent provided examples on the importance of proactive guidance. Describing that 'self-reliance is something you need to work on, sometimes a client needs to be taken by hand into a positive direction and sometimes they need critical feedback.' Another respondent mentioned the importance of training clients on how doing things themselves: 'have them fill out the forms as much as possible themselves, let them call themselves, but if necessary sit with them when they make the call.' A different respondent also mentioned that empowerment could be an intervention, for example by figuratively and literally knocking on someone's door preventing that the gap between participating in society does not become bigger for a client, e.g. prevent that 'a person does not slip further away' or 'that the person's self-image becomes even more damaged.' In the facilitation of empowerment another respondent mentioned that 'creating an action plan is also a form of empowerment because we gain an overview of the problem areas' and 'you bring everything together', i.e. the overall picture. Lastly, adding to creating this overall pictures of a client a respondent described that facilitating empowerment is also signing a client up for a work capacity assessment.'

- *Creating an encouraging environment for clients in order to work together with the professional*

In order to create an encouraging environment for clients to work with a professional, interview participants mentioned the following: offer 'personal attention'; seek to 'provide self-esteem', 'confidence' and 'self-worth', 'make a connection with the client', provide people the feeling that together we are going to make sure you can work', 'we work together on what is our starting point and where do we want to go', 'make people feel seen and heard', 'to do your job with a lot of energy which might also reach the clients and colleagues', 'people should not feel like a number and feel that regulations are just being imposed upon them', 'I want to show them that I really take into account what they can do? And what they want to do?' and 'we rather talk with clients than talk about them.' One respondent from the municipality mentioned the importance of accountability of both parties and mentioned that both parties should be able to address each other if an agreement is not met.'

- *Seeking expertise on the target group and advise on complex cases*

When seeking expertise on a certain target group or when cases seem quiet complex the following examples were given from respondents of the municipality: 'there is a team established to handle difficult cases', 'maybe one or two colleagues are tasked to deal with target groups.' Furthermore, respondents would contact colleagues or other professionals for example: a company doctor, a nurse practitioner to seek advice on employability or other intervention organizations as described in the former section.

- *Structurally working on empowerment*

One respondent at the municipality mentioned the importance of structurally working on empowerment: 'you need to talk to people regularly.' Describing that after an empowerment training; 'every week you leave here with the idea that now I can take care of myself. It's all going to work out. But this boost will not last due to dealing with daily matters.' Furthermore, pointing out 'you need to practice every week until it is settled in and then time is not important.'

- *The importance of communication of (re)integration services you provide*

In the context of questions related to empowerment two respondents mentioned the importance of promoting and properly communicating the services you provide as an organisation in order for municipalities to connect clients with the right services that address the needs of the clients, and for individuals to gain a better understanding if an organisation is able to properly address their request for help.

WELL-BEING

This last sub-section describes themes with regard to practices and roles when questions were asked that related to well-being.

- *Creating a setting where clients feel comfortable*

The general view on how well-being is linked with (re)integration work is that clients need to feel they are seen and heard by the professional. Specifically connected to well-being the following actions were described: 'you sometimes make the decision that you need to go along with what clients believes has a priority rather than what I find is a priority,' otherwise they are not open to make a next step. Another example is 'sometimes you move away from the interview room when clients do not feel at ease there, e.g. 'you can be in a room that suffocates a person or you can walk in nature, where you can be a bit more carefree, this gives a different perspective.' A different interview participant mentioned: 'to take someone for a walk who is about to explode in the consulting room.'

One respondent stated that it makes clients feel more at ease when it is clearly described that the process only goes as fast as they can handle and they set the pace, they are not just there being obliged to do stuff. Furthermore, a respondent described the significance of recognizing what a client does well: 'you need to take a good look at what people have done and confirm what they do well.' Another interview participant mentioned the significance of letting people, in this particular case a group, know they did a good job and described 'now and then I bring a cake if they performed exceptionally well.' Furthermore, this respondent mentioned that it is important to talk to clients on a regular basis.

- *Taking a broader look at the client*

Overall respondents from the municipality mentioned that in order to take well-being into account you need to look at the broader picture that takes place rather than focusing on one problem in a certain area of life. Additionally, they expressed the importance of working together in a more integral approach in which you work with different disciplines and fields, for example: psychologist and youth health services. Moreover, taking a look at different areas of life by referring clients to other organisations for budget-management, help with the administration at home, 'life coaching' and individual counselling.

- *Deciding on resources and strategies to address the needs of client*

Respondents from the municipality mentioned that they have the freedom to decide on what actions to take but have to make sure they have the arguments to justify their actions, for example why a client manager would 'back off' from a client for a while and why another client would be pursued to follow a

certain track or fulfil certain obligations. It was also stated by one client manager that ‘some client managers are stricter than others and follow the rules more.’

A different respondent from the municipality described that in some cases the decision leads to take a person by the hand and put them on the right track so they get in contact with the right people, such as to walk with someone to the psychologist for an intake interview and be there for the introduction. This respondent also describe that ‘for outsiders we seem to push it too far providing people with opportunities to hug horses’.

- *A client needs to be able to trust the professional*

A respondent described that the most significant things for behaviour changes to occur is that a client is able to trust you. ‘If that is not the case you can better stop’ and refer the client to someone else. Another respondent also mentioned the importance of trust in the relationship, but also pointed out that the significance of that the client is well aware of the process of (re)integration.

- *Advising and guiding people in the process of choice making*

A respondents mentioned that ‘you need to find a balance.’ ‘People need to make choices and this they often find hard to do.’ Respondents mentioned that they guide people in these choices but in the end it is preferable that the client makes them. A respondent mentioned that he creates reflection moments ‘at one moment we make a stop and take a look at where we are at and what still needs to be done’, furthermore this respondent described that clients need to steer themselves and we just give them a little bit of fuel’

- *Advising and coaching clients and employers at the work place*

Respondents described taking an advisory role when they consult employers on how to deal with certain situations at the workplace, such as recommending to have someone facilitate a team at the workplace, facilitating conversations with client and employer on how to make the work adjustable when a person is reintegrating, and coaching employers on communications with the employees.

- *Taking care of basic needs*

One respondent mentioned the necessity to take care of basic needs of a person, referring to the Maslow pyramid. Examples were given as having food present since some people at the work place were not able to access food at the end of the month, provide warm clothing if a person does not have the clothing to keep warm, and furthermore being able to bring someone to his/her home if things at work are really not going.

Overview ontologies and enacted ontologies

The three tables presented in this section summarize the results with regards to the different policy objects. The tables sum-up the ontologies (objectives and conceptualizations) and enacted ontologies (practices and role) as presented above.

Definition of ontology and enacted ontology

Definition of ontology “what the policy actors believe the policy object is and how they conceive of it” (p. 446).

Definition of enacted ontology “the translation into action and behaviour of ontologies” (p. 444).

Box 1: Definition of ontology and enacted ontology

Overview ontologies and enacted ontologies on activation

Objectives and conceptualizations

- Work as a means to participate in society
- To not request financial support from the municipality
- Work gives meaning and purpose in everyday life

Practices and roles

- Assessing abilities and employability of clients
 - Being a motivational speaker
 - Providing resources and services to make a client fit for work or facilitate into the labour market
 - Providing a safe and trustworthy environment for a client
 - Developing an action plan together rather than being pressed upon the client by a form of authority
 - Informing the client about their obligations
 - Finding a balance between care taking and activation
 - Making decisions on sanctioning a client
 - Professional obligation of municipality respondents to steer clients toward a paid job rather than a more 'suitable' job
 - Actively requesting and seeking opportunities for work and development of clients
 - Interpersonal communication as an effective means providing faster services and resources for clients
-

Table 3: Overview ontologies and enacted ontologies on activation

Overview ontologies and enacted ontologies on empowerment

Objectives and conceptualizations

- To be able to take control of your life
- To create possibilities and circumstances for individuals to be able to take control and learn how to take control of their life

Self-reliance (Dutch: zelfredzaamheid)

- To arrange things in your life yourself or being able to ask for help
- Different perspectives on what it means to be self-reliant related to requesting financial benefits from the municipality
- Critical thoughts on the concept of self-reliance

Practices and roles

- Providing training programmes focused on empowerment of the client
 - Presenting clients a perspective for the future
 - Facilitating clients in the process of empowerment
 - Creating an encouraging environment for clients in order to work together with the professional
 - Seeking expertise on the target group and advise on complex cases
 - Structurally working on empowerment
 - The importance of communication of (re)integration services you provide
-

Table 4: Overview ontologies and enacted ontologies on empowerment

Objectives and conceptualizations

- To find a balance
- To give something back to society

To put the individual at the centre

- To take into account the needs and desires of the individual
- To provide tailor made services and solutions
- Clients should be actively part of the process they are in
- Other thoughts on putting the individual at the centre

Practices and roles

- Creating a setting where clients feel comfortable
 - Taking a broader look at the client
 - Deciding on resources and strategies to address the needs of client
 - A client needs to be able to trust the professional
 - Advising and guiding people in the process of choice making
 - Advising and coaching clients and employers at the work place
 - Taking care of basic needs
-

Table 5: Overview of ontologies and enacted ontologies on well-being

3.3 Ambiguities and dilemmas

This last sub-chapter addresses the following sub-research question:

What ambiguities and dilemmas do work (re)integration professionals perceive with regards to the ontology and enacted ontology of activation, empowerment, well-being and possible other concepts?

This sub-chapter describes the ambiguities and dilemmas related to the ontologies and enacted ontologies presented in the first two sub-chapters. The headings within each section point out themes and topics identified from the research data.

ACTIVATION

This section describes the ambiguities and dilemmas respondents described when asked question with regards to activation.

- *Difficulties on identifying and addressing the needs of a client*

Different respondents mention their concerns for clients that are unable to identify and/or communicate their dilemmas they encounter or issues they face. Within the data different examples were given where this was the case: as a result of stress a person endures or a person in general lacks the mental capacity and/or lack external influence in their close surroundings that enable them reflect or 'to hold up a mirror.' Respondents expressed that it takes more time to find out what needs should be addressed and what resources or strategy to put in place as to help the client.

Experience and expertise on different target groups was specified by respondents as important. Professionals referred to examples such as 'assessing if a person with lower mental capabilities is able to

comprehend you and take action on it,' and knowing when to be more commanding, directive or if a person needs to be taken care of in certain areas in life.

- *Overestimating the competences of clients to deal with changes and complexities in society*

Some respondents mentioned that there is a certain group of people that struggles dealing with the complexity in society. Respondents mention the following related to this group 'I see that things are too demanding which result in that people miss out on things they deserve to have,' 'some people drown because they are not capable to arrange things themselves' and 'you cannot expect people suddenly to stand up for themselves, to do things and take responsibility if this was never taught to a person.' Another respondent described the following on the bureaucratic problems people face: 'the regulations drive people nuts.'

- *Questioning the fairness of (re)integration obligations*

Due to toughened eligibility conditions some clients will not be registered within a certain target group (Dutch: doelgroepregistratie) that allows the client to be able seek jobs created for people within this target group.⁴ But 'when they are just above passing the eligibility conditions you cannot place them anywhere' 'this seems unjust'. It was stated that 'it almost seems like you need to make another regulation for this group.'

Another respondent mentioned they frequently encounter people at the age 60-61 becoming unfit for their work. Mainly man, 'they are exhausted and have worked heavy jobs their whole life.' Describing: 'you know with the current job market, their education, this person will not find another job. This costs the employer a lot of money.' 'We focus on how the UWV would assess this client. So, for them we decide to start looking for employment at other places and contact a (re)integration agency even when we know beforehand it will not lead to anything.' Another example this respondent gave concerned females who would start taking care of their grandchildren and because of this reason become less flexible for work. This respondent also mentioned that 'she is under the impression that most re-integrations tracks are not successful. Maybe even 80% is not successful.' 'She added, this would be an interesting research.' Furthermore describing that 'sometimes you are stuck within the procedures and protocols and you can ask yourself: is this activation useful?'

Different respondents from the municipality mentioned that obligations are too strict for clients. Stating that, demanding clients to provide services for receiving financial support does not results in more people at work'. It is also stated by a professional that sometimes your best option is too move away from the regulations as to deliver tailor made services. Furthermore, the obligation to move is too strict according to one respondent, which described 'it is demanded of a person to move or that this person travels 1.5 hours back and forward to work.

⁴ Target group registration is for individuals who due to physical, mental or psychological limitations will only be able to undertake regular work under adapted conditions. The objective is to provide adapted work under as normal conditions as possible.

- *Ambiguities on accepting the view that certain target groups will need assistance their whole life*

Respondents described that certain target groups need assistance at their work place all their life 'maybe they can enter the regular job market, but they will need assistance'. 'It was also stated that employers should be supported in how to shape this assistance.' The following example was given about a client with a mental disability that according to regulations is provided with three years of support. It was described 'but after three years this handicap is not gone' they might have learned to deal with it a bit better, however, for a certain group of people you would need to continue guidance all their working life to provide assistance, i.e. a 'maintenance dose.' Another respondent mentioned that 'we should start accepting and create long term agreements that there are certain groups in the Dutch society that will always need extra support'. Additionally, we should organize our industry in a manner that enables us to do this. Illustrating this view by saying: it is ok that a certain individual is slower in their job 'and this person will do this until he is 80 years old, this is ok because we all agreed this is ok.' Furthermore, ambiguities were expressed on 'how high do you set the bar for certain target groups?' 'There is a group of people who in general do not enthusiastically await to continuously seek for development.'

With regards to the industry providing opportunities for target groups it was mentioned by a respondent that for certain target groups you create 'revolving doors'. For example, the grocery store Albert Hein places a lot of individuals with a distance to the labour market, 'but as soon as they cannot pay the youth rate anymore they are put on the street'. It is described by the respondent that 'he [the client] is now working well considering (the assessment of work capacity and) assessed wage value, but we [Albert Hein] are not going to employ him'. The dilemma addressed here is that the individual belongs to a target group that needs a longer time to feel safe and at ease at a work place, making this person less flexible in moving from job to job, but is forced to do this since regulation of the industry does not make it attractive to have this person at the work place.

- *Concerns on lack of expertise and know-how with regards to the target group at the municipality*

Respondents expressed their concern about the expertise of the municipality dealing with a wide variety of target groups that under the participation act all have to go through the municipality to ask for support. Describing that they overestimate the capacities of clients, for example the 'view by the municipality of clients is not realistic expecting to just (re)integrate people and presuming that individuals continue to work at the organisation based on full capacity level', 'In reality they do not take into account the capacity of individuals even if they have the best intentions', and 'they are more focussed on the 'outflow' of clients that request benefits.' On the other hand these respondents also mention that sometimes the municipality focuses too much on the limitations of a client instead of focussing on what a clients is able to do for work or learn to do. One respondent mentioned that municipalities definitely have knowledge and 'know how' of the target group but it is very much dependent who you are assigned to.' Another respondent highlighted the importance that educating people on certain target groups is not enough. You have to form teams at the municipality 'who know how to deal with specific target groups,...the more complex individual.' Additionally, a respondent mentioned that the focus of the municipality is on legality and on what things cost, 'placing people as soon as possible and done. They profit from this and is a different approach.'

- *Tension between running a business and providing (re)integration services*

In cases of placing individuals in a more controlled work setting it is sometimes not recognized that the organization provides (re)integration services and is a business that needs to uphold deliveries to remain financially stable. Issues here were defined that the municipality does not always recognize that a certain amount of clients are needed to uphold delivery rates.⁵ But that the rate of work to deliver products is also affected by capacities and abilities of the clients that are currently placed within the organization.

Furthermore, it is describe that expertise within these organizations is not limited to only a certain vocation to teach and uphold delivery standards, but someone that is able to teach and support the clients/students. A financial dilemma was expressed here that the amount of salary cannot be provided that upholds the job requirements, therefore it is hard to find the right people for the job.

- *Not enough time to do your work and too much administrative work*

All respondents at the municipality that work directly with clients mention they do not have enough time for the amount of work they have. This is also confirmed by other respondents as they point out that they perceive professionals at the municipality 'do not seem to have enough time do their job.' One respondent described the municipality 'place clients and make decisions too fast, this could result in wrong decisions.' Additionally, 'they ask me to do certain stuff since they don't have time and then sometimes I have to roll back what they have started and this is not very handy.' More specifically, too much administrative work is expressed as an issue by the professionals at the municipality. Several respondents describe that there are too many systems that need to be updated. 'In the end you need to make choices what system to use as there is a lot to do', 'sometimes you do not register everything in the system due to lack of time,' some systems require similar information and sometime you need to update '3 or 4 times the same information', 'often you do administrative work just to do administrative work', 'I received lot of new clients next to the current clients' and 'there are not enough consultants to do the work.' With regards to what this means for the clients the following was expressed: 'I have only seen half of my clients this year (October, 2016)', 'You lack time to talk to or contact clients more frequently', 'the attention is moved away from the client', and 'you do not have time to support clients as they deserve to be supported.'

- *Concerns on which clients to devote time and resources: should services and resources be provided to clients with relatively faster or slower access to the labour market?*

One respondent described that the 'budget is often spent on people that can be helped to work relatively fast. This group then does not need social assistance anymore. By this method you make the distance of a group that already has more difficulties entering the labour market even larger and harder to get them back into the labour market. This respondent also expressed to minimally support the people with the motivation, education and work skills and spend more resources on individuals that are without work for a very long time, have had to deal with disappointments and health complaints. You will profit from having these people working, even if they work for only 20 hours'. Another respondents from the municipality described that sometimes a person needs job-coaching, but 'this is too expensive €80.00 an hour.' Followed by stating 'you have start doing more yourself.'

⁵ The respondent described that 'not even 1/3' of the available places was in use by clients when the interview was taken.

- *Dilemmas with regards to organizing responsibility*

It was described that municipalities don't always do their part in the assistance of job search. A respondent mentioned that clients remain working too long in a controlled setting and this could result in a locked in effect with clients; a client feels safe in this environment and does not want to leave. While a respondent from the municipality mentioned that clients sometimes are allowed to stay too long working in organisation providing a controlled setting, which is not desirable.

A respondent stated that as soon as the municipality outsourced a client they backed off and also outsourced the responsibility to make things happen. A different respondent described that it could be possible that their files encompass less and less information about what a client really can and cannot do because of outsourcing clients. This professional also expressed that with all the changes and extra tasks it sometimes seems that municipalities drown in what their responsibility is and do not know what is expected of them.

Furthermore, it was mentioned that both the municipality and UWV sometimes outsource clients that they were unable to activate. The (re)integration organisations here face the dilemma that 'it is almost impossible to start a track that ends successfully'.

- *Employers are hesitant to take on employees which require more attention, are unpredictable and are not profitable*

Respondents mentioned different reasons why employers find it hard to work with or take on employees that require more attention. A respondent mentioned that employers do not want to create more hassle for themselves. They would like to help out but they do not want to deal with the bureaucracy that comes along with it. 'Before, this was taken out of their hands.' This same respondent mentioned that there is not enough work available for clients that in the other act would fall under the Wajong regulations. The respondent described, 'so, what would then be the objective to activating them?' Another respondent mentioned that employers are hesitant in making changes to facilitate people with a bigger distance to the labour market since there is the uncertainty of what if the government changes something. 'Most fiscal and technical adjustments are temporary.'

A respondent mentioned 'that things need to go fast and should not cost anything.' Employers think they can request someone with a lower wage value, but if this person is assessed with a higher wage value with the work that is offered to them than the employer does not want to take this person in. This is not how it should work, but this is reality. An employer does not want this person. This respondent describes that you are basically dependent on places where people are present with a 'social heart.' They often have a family member with a handicap and are willing to create an opportunity for someone and with some set-backs do not give up.

One respondents mentioned employers find it hard to deal with people with psychological issues. 'They do not dare to ask things.' ' They do not deal with it at all, because they believe they cannot do anything and a person is needed to be left alone or they just do not know what a person is able to do. In other cases they just find it annoying since the individuals are unpredictable.'

- *Tensions between management and professionals at the work floor.*

Professionals that work directly with clients describe that they do not feel like they are being heard by the management, e.g. 'nothing is done with the information', and furthermore describing they do not know enough what is going on at the work floor. A respondent stated he observed that 'civil servants at the municipality level where things get decided have no clue what the target groups are. What needs to be taken into account, what the process is and the interests are with the clients.' Furthermore, he mentions that it worries him when he see this.

- *Other ambiguities and dilemmas with regards to activation*

One respondent from the municipality mentioned the difficulty with activating a client when this person has accepted the situation he or she is in. Illustrating this with the following example: 'if someone does not want to lose weight.' It is their choice, responsibility, but you know it is unhealthy. You know it limits them to find work since their mobility is restricted. The pace of walking is restricted.' Additional it was stated that people do not get needed medical treatment. They 'will not go to the doctor because of financial limitations. They only have a basis healthcare plan but cannot afford to pay the 'own risk' cost' not covered by the plan.

EMPOWERMENT

This section continuous on the ambiguities and dilemmas respondents described. The presented findings are based on the responses obtained from the questions related to empowerment.

- *Not enough continuity in the empowerment of clients*

Municipality respondents found the discontinuity of improving the empowerment of their clients proved to be a dilemma. Respondents describe the lack of time, budget restrictions and the limited amount of consultants as a problem. The importance of continuity and staying in frequently contact with clients is also expressed by other respondents as helpful in the empowerment of clients. Different respondents mentioned they work more hours then they get paid, e.g. 'there are many hours that we do not bill. We cannot bill them. If I bill them to the municipality then we have to stop what we are doing.'

Another respondent describes the dilemma that the support of empowerment is often dependent on the social network and informal care that a person has. If a person does not have access to these than the person is dependent on the regular services and these services have been reduced due to the decline in subsidies.

- *Concerns on the trial-and-error cycles certain target groups face*

A respondent describes that there are individuals within a target group that have a wage value of 20-40%, have social emotional problems and a certain handicap. It is described that putting them to work will not last and it does not seem fair or righteous to continue trying to place them. Describing that it might be better to provide them 'with financial support or a Wajong 2015 and find a safe place for [the client] with the right support instead of continuing the process of trial and error. When you know they will not learn from this process because they do not encompass the coping style, or they do not have the capacity. And this is overestimated.'

- *Dilemma on who is accountable for empowerment: responsibility of schools with regards to facilitating students/clients in their path to work*

Another concern expressed by a respondent is the interplay of responsibility of municipality and schools, and the *know-how* on how to deal with more complex situations with regards to students coming from vocational education. This respondent described that schools sometimes stick to their role as only provider of education and provided the following example that ‘students that came from vocational education and at a certain point are not doing so well or they need help...this is a difficult situation. Schools tend to not be sufficiently constructive about this while they know they have student with additional needs.’ The school is not asking, as the respondent described ‘plain’ questions, such as why a certain student does not behave well in school. ‘Schools sometimes arrogantly say ‘yes, we are here for education’ and do not seek further by asking themselves maybe it has something to do with the home situation. Although an integrative approach is desirable this respondent expressed concerns about the responsibility schools feels in facilitating students to work by taking a broader approach to the situation.

- *People perceive a threshold to ask for ‘help’*

Different respondents mentioned that sometimes people ask too late for help or feel a threshold to ask for help at all. One respondent mentioned that ‘a very low threshold is needed for people to ask for help or call it support. Help might be the wrong phrase to use. Maybe they have to find a better phrase for this, something that is less intimidating or less negative.’

WELL-BEING

This last section describes the ambiguities and dilemmas respondents described when asked question related to well-being.

- *Not enough time and too much administrative work*

Here again we find that respondents from the municipality describe that they lack enough to do their job as they would like to do it. One respondent described ‘I would rather like to sit here for an hour [with a client] than type for an hour.’ One other professional not from the municipality described that ‘there is not enough time to document things in a methodological order.’

- *Politicians seem to not take into account the realistic circumstances in society and capacities of people*

Respondents from the municipality as well as the other organizations described that the capacities of a group of people are being overestimated, e.g.: ‘politicians sometimes believe that all people who request social assistance can work’, ‘it is hard to convince them that there are actually a group of people that do not have a lot of competences to take steps toward work. Furthermore, it was mentioned that ‘our society is complex’, and ‘simple jobs barely exist’. An example is given of a ‘supermarket shelf filler.’ Nowadays a person needs to be able to address questions of costumers and not only focus on one task. ‘Too much is being demanded of these people.’ Lastly it was expressed by a respondent that ‘a lot of factors interplay in a person’s life where a choice is not present or a person might not have the capacity to make informed choices.

- *Being dependent on procedures of other professionals to take away hurdles which are needed to enable a clients to focus on the search for work*

Different respondents describe the dilemmas they encounter when being dependent from others to take away certain hurdles that allows a clients to focus on the search for work. A respondent from the municipality described that the procedure to provide financial support is quiet strict. The respondent is dependent on the income consultant at the municipality to set the amount of financial support and approve the transfer. For this, the client needs to first hand in all the right documents and this takes time. The respondent mentioned that continuing to address other needs of the client and have another meeting with the client is of no use when a person suffers from stress because of no income.

A respondent from the municipality mentioned that a lot of care taking is focused on preventing a person from sliding further away or on damage control instead of focusing on development. This respondent provides an example of clients needing psychological help that receive counselling once a month. Describing that: 'every month I need to give this person financial support' 'I would like to see that someone attends more frequently and more intensively to a person's needs and assists them to faster move forward.' Another respondent referred to the slow pace of help for a person in need when referring to the long waiting lists for mental health care and the time and effort it sometimes takes to find the right treatment. This respondent described: 'sometimes it takes someone 1.5 year to find treatment where they believe they are getting the right help.' 'This is an obstruction.'" You find this also in physical health care, but less.'

- *Dilemmas on motivating how to spend the budget: how to decide on what the pay-off is?*

Given a limited budget, a respondent from the municipality described concerns on where to invest the available funds. Do you invest in people who have a shorter distance to the labour market or do you invest the budget in people that are in need of a longer track and will need a bigger part of the budget.' The respondent described that even when 'I believe to have a good reason to invest in this client' which has a longer distance to the labour market. 'It is sometimes harder to motivate your reasons since the payoff is often not so clear.'

Another dilemma that was expressed by this same respondents was not being able to provide clients funds that allows a person to be able to travel back and forward to work by public transportation, describing: 'sometimes I need cash.' 'Managers do not always see the problem and tell us that we pamper the clients. Telling us 'that's their own responsibility.' 'Yes, I can tell them that, but this person will then not arrive at work.'

- *Tensions regards to information sharing: concerns on how to address privacy and an integrative approach*

A respondent from the municipally described that with regards to privacy 'you need to make decisions on what to share and what don't you share'. A different respondent not working at the municipality described that 'a lot of information is being registered of which it is debatable if everybody at the municipality needs to know this.' This respondent also stated concerns about the information sharing: 'this will go wrong if it hasn't already done so.'

The professional from the municipality explained that parents are cautious to share information about their children and described parents feel that 'I do not need to tell the person that decides on my financial support on how things are going with my children.' Furthermore, the professional mentioned that sometimes it is hard to make a decision on what to expect from a person. For example, if 'there is a job vacant for a client however for one of the children it might be better if there mother would be able to pick the child up from school...how do you make choice on what to expect of this person?' 'In the end the client needs to make her own choices but this person also feels obligations.'

- *Clients with different expectations of work are sometimes hard to motivate*

Respondents from the municipality describe that sometimes it is harder to motivate a client for work when they have different expectations of work which might not be realizable. An example was provided of higher educated in Wageningen who do not have direct access to a job related to their study and have to settle with work at in a completely different sector and often at a lower level than educated. On the other hand there were also clients described as 'idealistic.' 'Some people find volunteer work more important than finding a paid job.'

- *Other concerns that were expressed by individual respondents with regards to well-being*

A respondent from the municipality described that currently they are not working enough with other departments and with other expertise as to better understand the situation of the clients and knowing how to approach this situation.

A respondent mentioned 'we see a deduction of financial support requests but an increase of foodbanks.' And this is seems contradictory.

The role of volunteers was mentioned as being ambiguous. A respondent described that sometimes volunteers gain the responsibility and get confronted with heavy cases that they are not trained to handle. The respondent also mentioned that volunteers are helpful and described the desire to faster connect volunteers to clients.

Another problem that was mentioned is the following: 'there is a lot of displacement going on in the labour market', or so called crowding out. The participation act allows certain target groups to gain improved employment prospects but it comes at the cost of decreased work possibilities amongst non-participants.

It was described by a respondents that some consultants at the municipality are flexible, but there are also consultant that are stricter. 'And with those conflict situations arise.'

Overview ambiguities and dilemmas

In the table below an overview is provided of the ambiguities and dilemmas as described in the last section.

Overview ambiguities and dilemmas

Activation

- Difficulties on identifying and addressing the needs of a client
 - Overestimating the competences of clients to deal with changes and complexities in society
 - Questioning the fairness of (re)integration obligations
-

-
- Ambiguities on accepting the view that certain target groups will need assistance their whole life
 - Concerns on lack of expertise and know-how with regards to the target group at the municipality
 - Tension between running a business and providing (re)integration services
 - Not enough time to do your work and too much administrative work
 - Concerns on which clients to devote time and resources: should services and resources be provided to clients with relatively faster or slower access to the labour market?
 - Dilemmas with regards to organizing responsibility
 - Employers are hesitant to take on employees which require more attention, are unpredictable and are not profitable
 - Tensions between management and professionals at the work floor.
 - Other ambiguities and dilemmas with regards to activation

Empowerment

- Not enough continuity in the empowerment of clients
- Concerns on the trial-and-error cycles certain target groups face
- Dilemma on who is accountable for empowerment: responsibility of schools with regards to facilitating students/clients in their path to work
- People perceive a threshold to ask for 'help'

Well-being

- Not enough time and too much administrative work
 - Politicians seem to not take into account the realistic circumstances in society and capacities of people
 - Being dependent on procedures of other professionals to take away hurdles which are needed to enable a clients to focus on the search for work
 - Dilemmas on motivating how to spend the budget: how to decide on what the pay-off is?
 - Tensions regards to information sharing: concerns on how to address privacy and an integrative approach
 - Clients with different expectations of work
 - Other concerns that were expressed by individual respondents with regards to well-being
-

Table 6: Overview ambiguities and dilemmas

3.5 Discussing the relationship between policy, ontology and enactment

In this final sub-chapter findings will be analysed by linking them to literature of the policy objects as described in the conceptual framework. This study does not directly attend to the differences in understandings of the policy concepts in comparison with other active labour market policies (ALMPs) since the focus is on understanding of the concepts at the current moment and how these understandings translates into practices. In consecutive order this first section will address activation, empowerment and well-being. Furthermore, the second section describes three frames of reference identified within the data. These frames of reference provide insights in the decision making by professionals. The last part reflects on expressions of respondents that link to self-referentiality within the enactment of the participation act.

Comparing ontologies of activation, empowerment and well-being to policy literature

If we compare the results to the definitions of **activation** introduced in the conceptual framework, the professionals express both narrow definitions of activation and broader definitions. While ‘work as a means to participate in society’ and ‘work gives meaning and purpose’ in everyday life concern itself with a broader definition of activation, professionals describe working towards abstaining from financial benefits is more in line with the narrow definition of activation. However, this does not mean that a professional fits within just one definition. The findings show that views sometimes coincide in decision making and actions of professionals could be in line with both definitions.

Overall professionals share the ontology that activating a person to - paid, unpaid, sheltered or regulated- work is important, as it gives meaning and purpose in everyday life. But there seems to be a variation in conceptualisations on what professionals believe the focus of activation is. Professionals working at the municipality more often describe a focus on placing people in the regular labour market as fast as possible and as a result not needing to request financial support from the municipality. While the other professionals were less likely to comment on this particular financial objective and focussed more on placing individuals within a suitable place for a client preferable at the regular labour market related. These professionals were more often linked activation in connection to work as a means to participate in society.

With regards to the ontology of **empowerment**, professionals perceive achieving empowerment by viewing *empowerment as a goal* as well as *empowerment as a process*. The findings indicate that professionals help a client by creating the opportunities in the environment and giving expert-support by increasing the recipient’s self-knowledge, consciousness, skills development, job related competences, or health related factors. In general these resources and services are provided with the intention to facilitate people entering the regular labour market. With regards to empowerment as a process professionals prefer clients to take control over the change process. This form of empowerment has a stronger link with a person becoming self-reliant than empowerment as a goal since a self-reliant person is able to arrange things by themselves or with the help of others but is in charge of the process, i.e. has the control. Empowerment as goal, on the other hand, requires the control over the determinants, however this is the end goal in which the clients could be more or completely dependent on someone else to facilitate the process. The findings indicate that professionals have concerns if empowerment as a process is feasible for certain target groups.

Definition of activation

Narrow definition of activation

“clients are forced to find a job on the regular labour market, instead of passively receiving social benefits.” (p. 1171)

Broad definition of activation

the “goal is to promote the (re)integration of the client into society. Here, the empowerment of the client stands central.” (p. 1171)

Box 2: Definition of activation
Source: Raeymaeckers & Dierckx (2013)

Definition of empowerment

Empowerment as a goal

The increase of control over the determinants of one’s quality of life.

Empowerment as a process

Includes a focus on the professional and clients. It refers to the professionals’ facilitation and guiding role with regards to clients taking control over the change process, identifying themselves obstacles and possible solutions, determining goals, and the means to use in attaining those goals.

Box 3: Definition of empowerment
Source: Tengel (2008)

The findings show that **well-being** is generally viewed as having a balance in life, which ultimately makes people 'feel good.'

Relating the results to well-being, as defined in the conceptual framework, professionals address both resources and challenges in reference to the clients' well-being. With regards to resources professionals describe strategies for addressing both manifest

(e.g., income) and latent (e.g., time structure, social contact, sharing of common, goals, status, and activity) benefits that could impact the well-being of a person. Professionals find this concept significant; however when asked about examples of how this concepts informs their work they most likely present examples within their own life rather than relating this to their work with clients. Examples given where related to the physical, psychological and social variables provided by the definition although they are mostly defined by the professionals' perceived status in different areas of life.

Furthermore, well-being is linked to providing a space in which people feel seen and heard, as well as the reduction of poverty. I can conclude from the findings that in general respondents perceive that in order to address well-being 'putting a person at the centre' is the starting point rather than focusing on protocols. An interesting observation is that although the professionals find this concept a prerequisite for working with a client, the majority of their examples of putting an individual at the centre in involved bending the rules or by not acting within the framework set by the participation act or other regulations.

Definition of well-being

"Balance point between an individual's resource pool and the challenges faced." (p. 230) See figure 3 on page 19

Box 4: Definition of well-being
Source: Dodge et al. (2012)

Discussing frames of reference in enacted ontologies of activation, empowerment and well-being

Professionals within the reintegration field take up a variety of responsibilities with regards to the policy objects. Due to the fact that the actions and behaviours resulting from the described ontologies often relate to all key concepts, this section will illustrate three frames of reference that emerged from the findings and have influences on the practices of the professionals with regards to all policy objects.

The first two modes of judgment concern the assessment of employability, abilities of clients, and the validation of this assessment. Assessing the employability of a person and the possibility for a clients to make changes in their employability has a great deal of impact on how professionals select strategies to activate a person. The professionals describe that a great deal of expertise and experience is required for these assessments, especially to target more complex groups. However, professionals also describe their concerns about the lack of expertise or lack of accessibility to knowledge in order to make informed decisions. This concern is mostly geared towards the municipality. Some professionals have built a network that they can go to for advice from other professionals or experts, meanwhile other professionals state that there is a lack of expertise or access to expertise. Furthermore, the findings indicate that it is not only a matter of assessment, it is also a matter of 'validity' of this assessment when choosing or continuing a strategy. To increase validity professionals expressed the need for a somewhat subjective measurement. For example, this was achieved through questionnaires. Furthermore the findings indicate that the validity or acceptance of someone's (professional) opinion seems to be influenced by directly knowing other professionals. For assessing the employability of a person two frames of reference became apparent from the data, which have an impact on the enactment of professionals as to define protocols or directly working with clients.

Policy enactment from a learning frame of reference

Within the learning frame of reference empowerment is seen as a process in which a person takes control or is in the process of learning how to do this. Meaning, it is assessed that a person has the ability to development and learn how to cope with changes in different life areas by themselves or with the help of others. It is assumed from this frame of reference that a person has the ability and opportunity to increase control in different determinants of one's quality of life. This might take time, but it is possible nevertheless. Labour (re) integration professionals within this frame were more likely to express that additional time is needed with their clients to attend to their needs and that in order to empower a client, regularity and frequency of contact with the clients should increase. The concerns within this frame of reference for a professional were described as not having enough time to see clients more frequently and are more likely to point to budgetary concerns as an obstacle to empowerment of the client. Depending on work conditions within this frame a professional working directly with the clients might move into a caring frame when the process is hampered by not enough work opportunities, time, budget or other variables set by regulations and protocols.

Policy enactment from a caring frame of reference

In this frame of reference professionals take a broader definition of activation, i.e. their objective is to have people take part in society. The professionals take into account that empowerment as a process will possible lead to a trial-and-error cycle of (re)integration since the clients abilities to work has shifted toward a frame in which individuals are unable to cope or do not have the capacity to learn how to cope with the complexity of society. Furthermore they are disadvantaged as a results of the lack of suitable jobs, budget availability, abilities of the client and the timeframe set by regulation in which they are obliged to be 'successful'. Professionals attend to a person's well-being by perceiving that striving for activation to the labour market comes with more challenges than resources which causes an imbalance in their well-being on both the short and long run. This situation of the client is not to be attributed to the clients' unwillingness, and these individuals should be cared for. Professionals are also more likely to describe a long term solution for this group extending beyond the four years that a cabinet is governing. This mode of judgement differs from the learning frame of reference by the fact that professional perceive that abilities and coping skills cannot be sufficiently developed taking into account the broader perspective a clients is assumed to operate. Professionals describe their concerns of how to deal with these clients within the current regulations, since they perceive that this mode of judgment of clients is not enough acknowledged within the participation act.

Furthermore, the findings indicate that professionals working directly with clients often express their concerns that local politicians and management seem to operate mostly from a learning frame of reference from which tailor made services are less likely to occur since certain clients might better be approached from a caring frame of reference.

Policy enactment from a procedural frame of reference

The last frame of reference that became apparent concerns the selection of strategies and resources within the (perceived) frameworks of protocols and regulations. When asked about the enactment of the presented ontologies, professionals often gave descriptions of their work as inside or outside the procedures and regulations set by the government or other organisation. I have named the frame of reference that appeared from this mode of judgement the procedural frame of reference. Within this

frame professionals assume to know what the framework is that they should work in, i.e. what regulations they are bound by and what is expected of them. Professionals described different directions in this frame of reference: the flexible and inflexible procedural frame of reference. Within the *flexible procedural frame of reference* professionals are able to think outside the protocols and act on it when they feel necessary. They are willing to bend rules in addressing the needs of clients if they believe this ultimately fits within the objective of activation. Additional professionals described that they are better able to address different areas of life from this perspective in a matter that positively affects the empowerment and well-being of a client. Professionals working from the *inflexible procedural frame of reference* are more likely to determine and act on decided strategies within protocols and regulations while another route outside these regulations might be a better fit. This first mode of judgments seems to be preferred by professionals since they describe examples of working from a flexible procedural frame of reference. Furthermore, respondents illustrated examples of conflict situations with clients or not putting a person at the centre when expressing examples of colleagues that work from an inflexible frame of reference, the professionals were referred to as being stricter.

Tendency for self-referentiality within the system

A few findings can be pointed out as characteristics of self-referentiality in the system. First professionals indicate they encounter issues with colleagues who focus on the perspective of having the person's limitations as a starting point rather than their capacities. It seems that professionals sometimes make arguments on the understanding of their own values, procedures, and practices that limit or condition possible ways the situation or problem can be seen and through this way reproducing a system which evaluates someone's disabilities. Additionally, the findings indicate that professionals sometimes seek for particular rhetoric for legitimacy of action and purpose in order to validate their decision making rather than conveying their thoughts on a situation without framing it in these matter. Creating a system in which rhetoric seems to be more significant than the actual direction that needs to be taken.

Another characteristic that increases the likelihood of self-referentiality in the system is the lack of a long-term agreement for individuals that need to be taken care of rather than a set-up that promotes the continuous cycle of (re)integration. Professionals indicate that the lack of 'sustainable' regulations as set by the government creates hesitance in producing long-term support for this groups of people by organizations. Findings indicate a system that promotes (re)integration for these individuals, but there is a lack of opportunities for these clients within labour market.

4. Conclusions and discussion

In this research I have investigated the policy enactment of the participation act by work (re)integration professionals, specifically, I focused on the understanding and translation into practices of key concepts - activation, empowerment and well-being - referred to as *policy objects*. The starting point of this research was the lack of documentation on what work (re)integration professionals do and how their practices are shaped in order to achieve desired objectives. The aim of the research was to complement to existing literature by presenting a context-specific picture of the professionals' sense-making with regards to the chosen concepts. A policy object approach was used, which means that I focused my attention to specific

policy objects, i.e. ontologies and enacted ontologies, in order to gain insight how enactment and outcomes are shaped.

For this study 12 work (re)integration professionals were interviewed, each having different positions as directors, managers, vocational experts or coaches. In the previous chapter the results of this research were presented and variations are described in the ontology and enacted ontology of three specific policy objects. Furthermore, the activation, empowerment and well-being were related to policy literature concerning the concepts and frames of references (learning, caring, flexible and inflexible procedural) frame of reference) were highlighted that influence the translation of these concepts into practices.

This chapter starts with providing an answer to the main research question and a discussion in which I will reflect on my role as a researcher, the research process and the limitations and strengths of the research. In the last two sections I will present the overall conclusion followed by the social implications and the recommendations for further research.

4.1 Answering the main research question

This sub-chapter answers the main research question of this study:

How are different policy objects connected to the participations act enacted by work (re)integration professionals?

I will highlight the most important conclusions from the findings and for this will use the sub-research questions as an outline. This sub-chapter is divided in two sections, first, the ontologies of the policy objects will be addressed, concepts that were expressed within these ontologies and I will outline concerns and questions with regards to these views. The second section concerns the enacted ontologies. This part will outline the most important findings with regards to the role, practices, ambiguities and dilemmas described by the respondents.

Ontologies of activation, empowerment and well-being

In general, professionals are in agreement that *activation* should lead to work as it gives meaning and purpose in everyday life. Two main directions on activation could be identified. On the one hand, professionals working at the municipality have more expressions of facilitating clients in a manner to not request financial support from the municipality and facilitating individuals to a paid position on the regular labour market as fast as possible. This definition is more in line with the *narrow* definition of activation, while other professionals mention more often work as a means to participate in society without the direct focus of working in the regular labour market. These expressions are more in line with the *broader* definition of activation. These two views raised the question ‘what is successful (re)integration?’ The findings indicate that this question becomes even more complex when including variables such as how long a person remains employed, return rates of clients in the (re)integration process and when comparing different target groups.

Empowerment is generally defined as increasing the control of your life, being able to arrange things in your life yourself or being able to ask for help but while remaining in charge of the process. This focus can occur in different areas of life and is focused on creating self-knowledge, consciousness raising, skills development, increase competences, or improve factors related to health. Empowerment of a client is

further expressed as an interplay of capacities a client has, the ability to develop certain capacities, the expertise of the professional to assess these capacities, the resources and services a professional can provide as to advance empowerment, and the opportunities that arise through regulations and protocols. The distinguishing factor between empowerment as a *goal* and as a *process* point out that professionals perceive that certain target groups can be empowered toward taking and having more control over the determinants of their quality of life (goal oriented), but they present a picture that certain target groups are less likely to take control of the change process (process oriented). Professionals are ambiguous on how to deal with this latter group of people since the participation act does not seem to provide a platform for this groups of people.

Well-being is commonly understood as the balance concerning the different area's in life (including but not limited to: work and housing, finances, physical and mental health, social contacts and relationships); ultimately this balance that concerns physical, psychological and social variables could lead to an individual's 'to feel good.' Additionally, the concept is linked to providing a space in which people feel seen and heard. Putting a person at the centre is described as a condition of taking a person's well-being into account. The concern of a client's well-being can mostly be identified by the broader approach professionals may attempt to use by taking into account different areas of life.

Enacted ontologies; ambiguities and dilemmas

The work of work (re)integration professionals is diverse: taking on the responsibility to assess and report clients' capacities, create and administer an action plan, gain and seek expertise, seek opportunities for training and work for client. Furthermore, managers and directors provide an oversight by creating a framework which should advance the clients' needs and guides the professionals working directly with the client. As we can see in the ontologies, sometimes the objective or the believed achievable outcome can be ambiguous. Challenges were described as both related to the individual client willingness and capacities, collaboration with other professionals, but were also labelled as bureaucratic at the local and national level. The findings support the idea presented in policy literature on work (re)integration that the enactment of professionals is subjective. Below I will illustrate key points on how the ontologies are translated into practices and where ambiguities and dilemmas arise with this translation.

Assessing clients and creating an action plan: the importance of expertise

An important role of work (re)integrations professionals related to all policy objects is assessing a client's capacities and creating an action plan. This assessment was mostly described as dependent on evaluating a situation based on experience, questionnaires providing a somewhat objective measurement and gaining input from experts (psychologist, doctors, physical therapist or other). Professionals described that expertise and experience is a significant factor in this decision making, especially with regards to particular target groups or more complex cases. Respondents expressed concerns with the allocation and presence of necessary expertise within the municipality in order to assess and administer guidance to a client with relation to employment outside of the municipality.

Providing resources and services for clients; concerns on how to deal with time and budget restrictions

On the surface the time, resources and services on hand were not deemed to be an issue for work (re)integration professionals but after probing some dilemmas and ambiguities surfaced. In general,

professionals perceive the freedom to choose how to set a course as to address the needs of a clients. However, they counteracted this statement when reflecting on time constraints, the budget to address guidance and the lack of 'suitable' work opportunities for clients especially with regards to particular target groups (related to age, physical, and mental issues and disabilities). Overall professionals describe that they feel more is achievable with regards to empowerment and activation when they are enabled to spend more time directly working with individuals. Dilemmas with regards to time are described as too many clients, not enough professionals, and too much administrative work which ultimately negatively impacts the quality and quantity of guiding the client. With regards to the budget professionals describe ambiguities on how to allocate the budget. More specifically this concerned if more funds should be allocated to clients with a bigger distance to the regular labour market or should the funds be used to have people (re)integrated with a relatively small distance to the labour market.

Establishing an atmosphere helpful to the activation, empowerment and well-being of a client

Different variables were described as significant directly related to activation and the empowerment of a client. One variable that was stated as critical was establishing a 'relationship of trust' with the client. Factors related to establishing such a relationship were described as 'people need to feel seen and heard' and the process needs to be clear for the client. The professionals that I interviewed felt that the better the relationship was the better the result or end product, and that a relationship based on trust can only occur when adequate time is given. Specifically, with regards to empowerment the majority of the professionals described they would like to devote more time with clients as to increase the regularity of motivation the client received. This role of motivational speaker is prominently described as a significant task within their practices.

Operating from a learning, caring and procedural frame of reference

When considering all policy objects professionals describe concerns about how fair it is to continue to activate a client toward the regular labour market when the prognoses of 'successful' (re)integration is very limited or impossible. The learning and caring frame of reference illustrate different angles on this issue. Professionals perceive that participation operates from a learning frame of reference in which an individual can impact their employability to a certain extent. However, the respondents expressed concern that the act seems reluctant in operationalizing a caring frame of reference. In this mode of judgement, different target groups do not seem to have the ability or opportunities to increase their employability as a results of their limited capacities of coping (mental or physical disabilities, aging) or external circumstances that do not provide enough opportunities to build abilities or create suitable jobs.

The procedural frame of reference points out that professionals distinguish between strictness of how their colleague follows the regulation or is willing to bend the regulations. Broadly this was defined in a flexible and inflexible procedural frame of reference. Professionals described most conflicts arise for clients when professionals work from an inflexible procedural frame of reference. It seem that professionals value the flexible procedural frame of reference more within their profession as it provides more opportunities to bring about tailor made services for the client.

Networking and interpersonal communication

In creating and providing opportunities for clients, professionals describe that networking, and more specifically interpersonal communication is an effective means of providing faster services and resources for clients since it seems to increase the recognition of their professionalism and professional opinion.

Now that I provided answers to the main research question I will continue in the next section on reflections of the research before moving into my overall conclusions, recommendations and societal implications.

4.2 Reflections on my role as a researcher and the research process

This sub-chapter is focused on reflections on my role as a researcher and the research process. I will describe lessons learned but also describe contemplations during the research. The first four sections will reflect on aspects regarding the methodology while the last section reflects on the general research process.

Engaging respondents

I noticed that asking questions concerning individuals' background was an easy way for participants to become more at ease being part of the interview. In some cases I had limited time to ask questions and decided to ask more direct questions on the matter. This actually resulted in more time needed for the interview to move away from a plain questionnaire and become more of a conversation. Observing this, I decided to go back to the original plan and devote more time on this first phase of the interview. A lesson learned here was that whenever managing an interview to be more attentive to creating the atmosphere for the interview as an integrative part of it rather than a set up in which you expect to move on to the questions of concern due to time considerations. The questions are just as important as the atmosphere in which they are answered.

Communicating my own views and personal examples

Sometimes communicated my own views on issues or personal examples with the means of having respondents reflect and respond on them, and sometimes I was directly asked what I thought about certain issues. I noticed that expressing my own thoughts and beliefs helped to create a dialogue. However, I was concerned that I would steer individuals into a certain direction responding on my choice of words and directing them in how they would express themselves. Since we shape the conversation together I tried to be conscious about this by using concepts that the respondent were using and not introducing new concepts.

Interview questions

My main concern with the interview questions was that they were too repetitive and that people would find themselves feeling bored answering similar questions related to the different concepts. Furthermore, the concepts are often related to each other and especially with regards to the role and practices of different concepts I was worried that a differentiation might be hard. Knowing this and assuming that in some cases people felt that they were repeating themselves I tried to make them feel more at ease by suggestion that things are very inter-related. Furthermore, I asked them to illustrate their thoughts by describing examples. I learned this was a good way of confirming their feelings and thoughts, but also leading them to a way of expressing a question in a different manner. A lesson learned here is that I was more at ease during the interview when I considered beforehand what might impact the flow of the

interview and how to deal with this since I felt more prepared to shape the interview toward information of concern.

Things I would have done differently

Things that I would have done differently for this research were that I would have contacted more potential respondents to choose from in order to have a more diverse mix of people working with different target groups. Furthermore, during some interviews I did not feel like I had enough time to smoothly end a certain topic which made me move into a different concept quite abruptly. What I would suggest on this matter is to create more time-awareness for myself to close off a certain topic and move more fluently to the next concept.

With regards to the introduction of a new concept I believe that starting off a new concept with a quote from the participation act was a good way to move into the new concepts, however what I would have done differently was putting them on cards so the respondents were able to see them rather than read them out loud. Lastly, listening to the interviews I noticed that in some cases I would have wanted to ask more follow-up questions and pushed more for providing examples.

The research process

It took a long time before I figured out what I wanted my thesis to be about. The problem was not finding a topic but mostly narrow down on all the things I find interesting to study or want to know more about. In the end I made the choice to not only follow an interest but also do something which I really cared for, closer to my own experiences in life, and possibly something I would attend to in my future career. Unfortunately, I had to quit my studies a few years back since studying became impossible due to circumstances that led me to not being able to concentrate on my studies. This was also the time that I suddenly went from being a student to unemployed and became interested in this field of (re)integration while searching for work myself.

Starting this thesis there was still a lot to learn. I had never written a thesis and still had to figure out how to deal with my concentration levels. It took me quite some time to gain back the concentration that allowed me to study again, however, still needed to prepare myself for times that I needed to accept the fact that I could not depend on my concentration as I did before I had a break in my studies. I believe this last part was the hardest to do since I caught myself more than once being frustrated with the incapacity of not being able to do things that I planned for or wanted to do. I perceive myself as organized and although sometimes procrastinating on tasks planning was always something I could do well. So dealing with this extra variable was a challenge and I believe the biggest one in this process of writing the thesis.

Fortunately, I had people surrounding me that supported me during this process and a patient supervisor.

Writing the proposal I found the hardest part of this thesis and often during this process feelings of insecurity arose, but with guidance of my supervisor and diving back into the literature I became more confident on figuring out where I want to go. So, the thesis slowly gained its shape. I must admit that it took me some time to completely grasp the meaning and practicality of a theoretical framework within the research. My take-home message is not to be afraid to make choices, since there are many ways to look at things. And in the process of deciding talk to someone as fast as possible that can ask you critical questions, think of pro's, con's and arguments why or why not to move into a certain direction, but do not remain in the status of 'but what if.' It is very easy to get stuck when you do not make decisions. In my experience your thoughts keep wandering around but do not seem to have a concise direction and in the end a kind of

passivity of thoughts exist that will not proceed in making the next step. During the writing process I became more aware of this aspect and started to become more assertive in making decisions on how to proceed, while reflecting on why to proceed this way and why not in another way. My supervisor had an important role in this aspect as being supportive and providing confidence to make decisions and expressing my thoughts on paper, especially with regards to the conclusion and discussion.

4.3 Limitations and strengths of the research

Limitations of the research

Although steps were carefully thought through for this research there are shortcomings and limitations. First of all my research skills and academic skills were still under development. Secondly, the research has a qualitative nature therefore is not generalizable to all professionals within the work (re)integration field. The study concerns a particular policy network and might not be applicable to other policy network. However, the study adds to fields understanding by highlighting individuals' sense making of the work (re)integration professionals.

The next limitation concerns interviews as a method of data collection. For this study I focused on the verbal expressions and how professionals perceived their work. Studies concerning enactment often look at observation of practices as to gain a fuller understanding of the outcome. As explained in this thesis I made a conscious choice of looking at verbal expression, but recognize that observation of practices provide more details on how practices relate to verbal expressions. The mixing of data types or data triangulation could have contributed to the validation of the research, furthermore deepening and widening the description and understanding on what work (re)integration professionals do and how they do it.

The third limitation is the sample size and the sampling variety. I interviewed 12 respondents. Although the preparation and analysis took a considerable amount of time and the interview provided me with a more in-depth perspective, it would have helped to have more information by interviewing more respondents as to deepen and widen the understanding of the frames of reference since they show to have a significant impact on the guidance of clients. A variety in the sample of (re)integration professionals at different levels and working with different target groups would also have helped in providing a broader foundation to reflect upon.

Given the tension between the limitations and the ideal research design I would like to note that the study has not attempted to provide the definitive truths on what work (re)integration professionals do and how they do it but has more an exploratory nature, examining the ontologies and enacted ontologies by looking at a policy network in such a way that further investigative possibilities are uncovered.

Strengths of the research

A strength of this research is the different perspective used to look at the enactment of the participation act. I believe by looking at specific elements additional insights were provided on beliefs, preferences and constraints work (re)integration professionals perceive and hold rather than looking at the enactment of the participation act as a whole. This particular lens proved to be useful as to gain a better understanding on how the different policy objects can shape enactment, policy outcomes and, consequently, impact the client.

Another strength in this research is that I used different perspectives to look at the data. Not only did I look for ontologies, enacted ontologies, ambiguities and dilemmas, I also looked at different frames of references that professionals seem to hold. By taking different angles to look at the data I was able to distinguish more concretely how different beliefs, preferences and constraints results in diverse enactment.

4.4 Overall conclusions

This sub-chapter provides overall conclusions of the research. As explained in this chapter the enactment of the participation act by professionals is very much related to the understanding (ontology) of the policy objects which ultimately results in practices of work (re)integration professionals (enacted ontologies). The ontology and enacted ontology of activation, empowerment and well-being is diverse and very much subjective. Overall it can be concluded that the meaning of 'successful' work (re)integration is not so clear cut. As we can see in this study professionals work in a dynamic field and their job is a complex undertaking. Enactment is often the result of arbitrary preferences. Depending on professionals' interpretations of success they take on different strategies and as a results professionals surrounding a client provide resources and services while simultaneously creating challenges by taking on different angles toward the objective and going down on a different road to 'success.' The additional conclusions below inform investigative possibilities and include takes home messages to consider.

The research shows that professionals working directly with clients expressed ambiguous views on the practicalities of deciding on and administering an action plans for work (re)integration. Although professionals in general state they have a lot of freedom in deciding on courses of action that would advance activation, empowerment and well-being of clients professionals seemed to search within rhetoric as to legitimize action plans, i.e. search for particular terms to validate what they are doing. Furthermore, a big problem seems to be the lack of time with the client and budgetary restrictions. These variables show to impact the professionals' choice of resources and services. This ultimately results in less attentiveness to the client and changes in a preferred course of action. As a result the freedom to administer an action plan is impaired and possible the prospect to provide tailor made services and resources for the clients.

I can furthermore conclude that time restrictions with the client was found to be a significant issue since this time is valued as important in order to nurture a more trust based relationship between the professional and client, thus resulting in a more effective (re)integration service tailored to the individual client's needs and capacities. Municipality respondents stated too many clients and too much administrative work as reasons for the lack of time. Furthermore, the research describes concerns with the municipality needing more expertise and/or creating a better platform for accessing this expertise. The allocation of expertise to where it is needed is stated as imperative, especially with regards to different target groups.

The study additionally points out that professionals can come up with good strategies and action plans, but if there are not enough educative and 'suitable' work opportunities facilitated by national and local regulations than valuable resources and services will be lost. In general professionals found that these opportunities are currently limited. Furthermore, professionals indicate that the participation act underestimates the amount of time, expertise and experience required for guidance at the work place, while this part is essential for the (re)integration process. Overall professionals conclude that the

investment of time and resources is unappealing to employers that are also responsible for running a business.

The next conclusion that can be drawn is that despite organized communication with management and regulators professionals described the management and regulators as not being aware enough on what happens at the work floor. Professionals also described dilemmas pertaining to the different frames of reference (learning or caring) which impact the realistic possibilities of (re)integration of a client. The knowledge gap of management and regulators and the different frames of reference seem to result in uncertainties on what the objectives are. Furthermore, professionals indicate this results in regulations that discontinue tailored services since the needs of a clients and professionals have not been concretely identified by management or regulators.

Next, it can be concluded that ambiguities exist concerning the responsibility and/or accountable for actively shaping the services and resources in order to address objectives. This resulted in restrictions on efficient guidance of clients especially when professionals perceived task were not their responsibility or they were not aware of the responsibility. The guidance of clients was put on hold in these cases.

As described by the procedural frames of reference, often professionals seemed to judge actions and services within or outside the framework of the participation act or local regulations and protocols. It was interesting to see that although professionals believe they have a general idea on which framework of the participation act they can work with and from, when asked about the participation act most professionals had not read the act or stated that some views that I described were new to them. Professionals described they were dependent on other sources for information on how their work is being shaped by the set directive of the government. I perceived that in some cases not being aware of the possibilities the act describes limits the options on identifying solutions and addressing the needs of clients especially when a professional believed certain solutions are not within the framework of the participation act.

Lastly, professionals describe the advantages of improved communication and collaboration under the participation act between professionals within the field, especially with the municipality, believing this relationship contributes to the guidance of clients. As already mentioned before interpersonal communication proves to be an advantage in providing faster services and resources.

The next sub-chapter addresses the societal implications of this research and recommendations for further research.

4.5 Societal implications and recommendations for further research

The participation act provides a 'new' framework for the work (re)integration field. The thesis started with pointing out that within this new framework the body of knowledge is limited on what professionals do and how they do it. This qualitative study complements to existing literature by presenting context-specific picture of the work (re)integration professionals sense-making of key concepts in the participation act. The study has provided some insight in the sense-making and examining how these perspectives create orientation and meaning. Additionally, identifying and describing what ideological framework labour participation is embedded in revealed insights on conflicts of interest and outcomes of action. The documentation within this study on enactment could inform the current dialogue within the field on what professionals decide on what grounds and could serve as a platform for reflectivity on normative aspects. Furthermore, the findings of this study led me to suggest the following recommendations:

- First, I suggest to invest in establishing interpersonal communication within organizations and across organizations/professionals within a particular policy network since the findings indicates it is an effective means of providing faster services and resources for clients.
- Professionals describe their concern on the expertise of the municipality to deal with target groups. I would suggest the municipality to look into more detail what these concerns are and how can they be addressed. Furthermore, I would suggest the municipality to look into the practicality of their administrative system with regards to registering data on clients since respondent believe this system could be more efficient.
- Professionals might have different objectives, timeframes and priorities but these differences seems to cause dilemmas for the clients and furthermore ambiguities between management and professionals working directly with clients. Creating a platform in which these objectives are discussed and outlined would be valuable in order to define concrete action plan in line with shared objectives; furthermore this platform might be helpful in defining responsibilities of professionals.
- Lastly, I would suggest to create a space where (re)integrations services or employers could promote their services. I gained a general understanding that professionals could be better informed about what suitable work placement is out there for a client and what (re)integration services are the best fit for a client. With the rate of change of people in certain job positions the information of certain networks and work opportunities might get lost or does not reach other professionals. Providing a space would be an option to hold on to this valuable information and furthermore facilitate a suitable match for the client.

Lastly, the study raises questions that were not explored in this research. In the following part I will suggest some ideas that I find of interest to further research.

- The first suggestion pertains to the quality (such as the action plan) and quantity of contact with the client in relation the short-term and long-term outcomes. For example, how a chosen action plan is related to the time it takes for a person to access the labour market, how long this person does remain active on the labour market and frequency of a person going through the process of work (re)integration. Professionals express there is lack of long term perspective on what happens to a client. Research concerning this aspect might be insightful on the effects of certain approaches taken or not taken. Continuing on this thought. I would further suggest to look at the effects of the amount and regularity of contact with the client on the (re)integration process. The research might also inform the question 'what is successful reintegration? And possible provides insights in what manner budget should be divided amongst clients depending on the objective.
- The interviews with the respondents indicate that the negative impact of stress that clients experience on coping with situations such as poverty and financial instability is recognized by professionals working directly with clients. However, the possible extent of the effects of stress on someone's thoughts and actions do not seem to be present within the participation act. I would find it intriguing to do more research on how stress affects the coping ability to actually take control or make changes within the situation. Different respondents provided examples that coping seemed to be restricted due to the effect of stress rather than the unwillingness to follow protocols and regulations to move into a positive direction. Some professionals described that the impact of stress is not very much recognized within the regulations they work with.

- Within this research enactment has been studied with regards to the different policy objects although not specifically with regards to a certain group (i.e. age related, unemployment period or ‘target group’). I would find it very interesting to continue to focus on specific groups of clients, especially since the study points out different frames of reference (learning and caring) that might be valuable to consider in policy formation.
- Another study I find of interest would be to research how different municipalities gain and allocate their expertise with regards to complex cases and different target group. Furthermore, how they make the expertise accessible for professionals.
- Since budget and time seem to be a significant limitation by respondents from the municipality in providing the desired services and resources I would find it interesting to see if services and resources are allocated differently at the beginning of the year compared to the end of the year, additionally to see if and how this affects the client.
- Lastly, during and after the interviews professionals described ideas concerning innovative programmes and projects that they believe would contribute to their work and make a difference in clients’ life’s. Documenting and giving space to these ideas, but most off all finding out the reasoning behind these ideas might be an interesting source of information to explore since it provides direction to provide tailor made services that address the needs of the clients.

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Annex A: Interview guide

Introduction:

- Ask (if not clear) how to address each other, explain objective and how the data will be used. Tell a bit about your own background.
- Ask for consent, if the interview can be recorded and (when needed) could you contact them again.

Information interview:

Name interviewee: _____

Place interview: _____

Date interview: _____

Organisation/Institution: _____

Profession and job title: _____

Other info: _____

General questions:

- What is your job here? How do you come about doing this job? What are main activities within the job? How long have you been doing this job? What is your educational background?

Questions related to policy objects/key concepts:

Introduce **ACTIVATION** topic

- What does activation mean to you with regards to your job?
- How do you perceive your role with regards to the activation of clients? Approaches/practices?
- How does the participation act in your experience contribute to increasing activation of people compared to the former ALMP?
- With regards to activation what is expected from clients? Is this expectation different then before the implementation of the act?
- What possible dilemmas do you perceive within your job that hinders the activation of clients? Bureaucratic/believes?

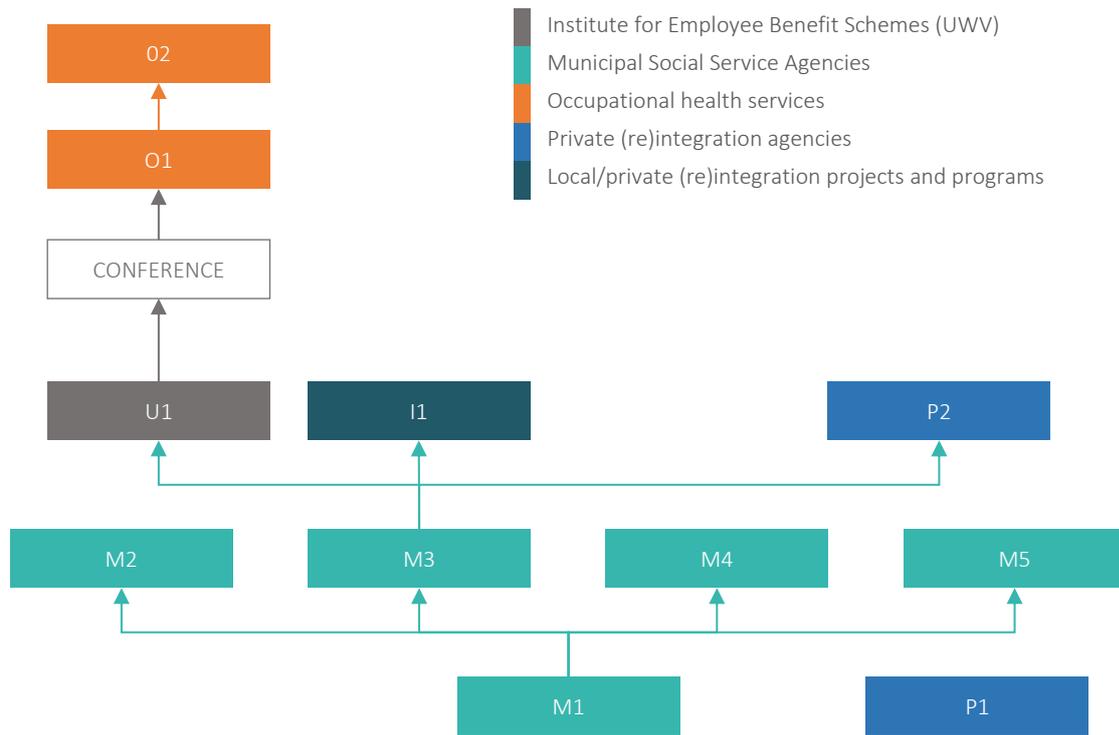
Introduce **EMPOWERMENT** topic

- What does empowerment mean to you with regards to your job?
- How do you perceive your role with regards to the empowerment of clients? Approaches/practices?
- How does the participation act in your experience contribute to increasing empowerment of people compared to the former ALMP?
- With regards to empowerment what is expected from clients? Is this expectation different then before the implementation of the act?
- What possible dilemmas do you perceive within your job that hinders the empowerment of clients? Bureaucratic/believes?

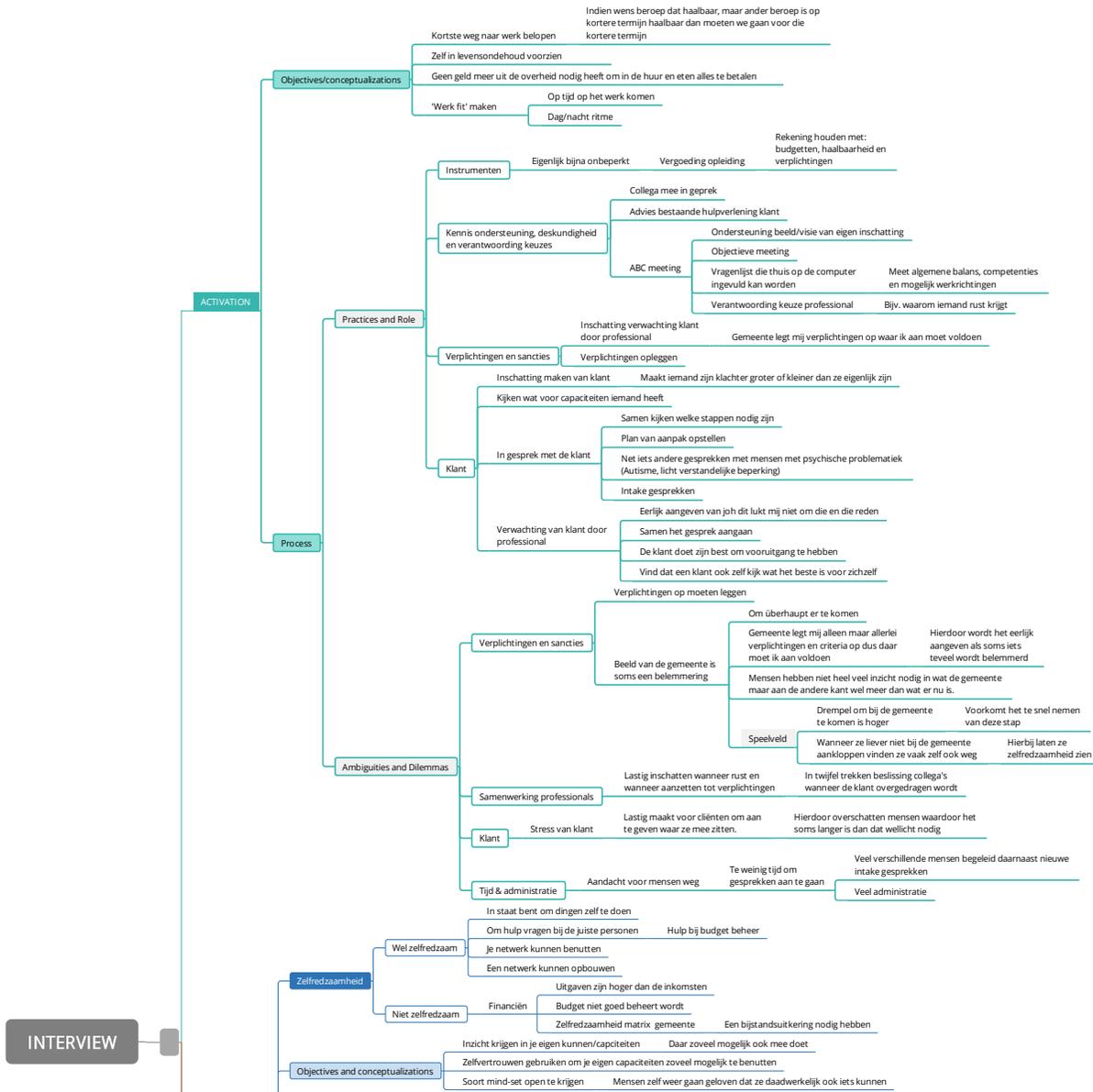
Introduce **WELL-BEING** topic

- What does well-being mean to you with regards to your job?
- How do you perceive your role with regards to the well-being of clients? Approaches/practices?
- How does the participation act in your experience contribute to well-being of people compared to the former ALMP?
- With regards to well-being what is expected from clients? Is this expectation different then before the implementation of the act?
- What possible dilemmas do you perceive within your job that hinders the well-being of clients? Bureaucratic/believes

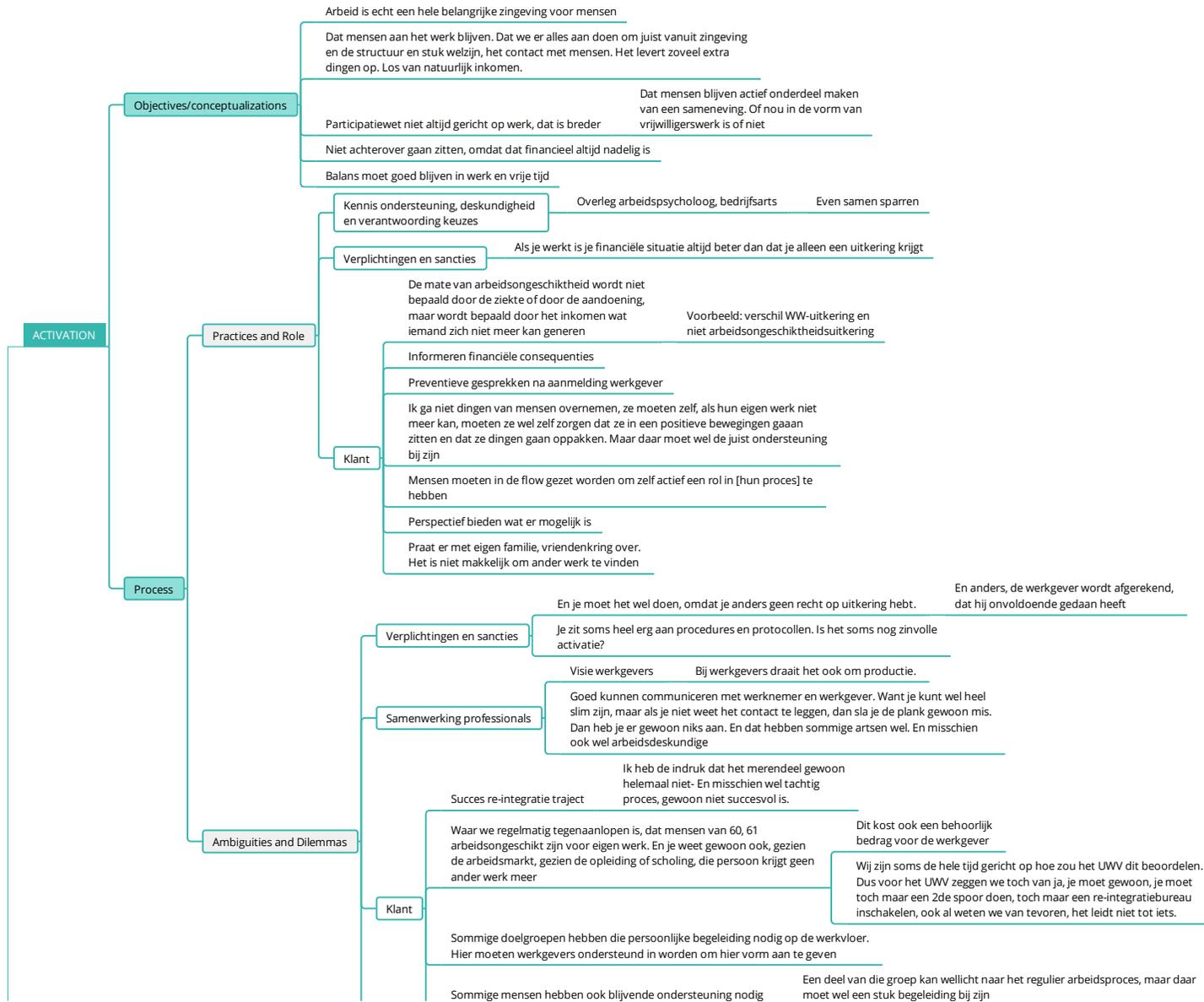
Annex B: Snowball sampling tree



Appendix A: example concept map I



Appendix B: example concept map II



Appendix B: example concept map II

