Recognition – An OECD Perspective

POLICY REPORT CONTRIBUTING TO THE CHALLENGE PAPER ON INEQUALITY AND EXCLUSION

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The Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies initiative[1] argues that the challenges created by inequality and exclusion can only be addressed through strategies which improve the socio-economic outcomes of vulnerable populations along material and non-material dimensions. The idea that the key drivers of individual well-being and societal progress are multidimensional in nature and require integrated responses is already solidly established in the policy debate on "Beyond GDP".

Introduction

Starting-point – Subjective well-being as a new frontier for public policy?

The OECD has played a leading role in promoting this agenda, notably through the development of instruments such as the OECD *Framework for Measuring Well-Being and Progress;*[2] through publications such as the *How's Life?* Reports,[3] the landmark 2009 *Sen-Stiglitz-Fitoussi Report* and follow up reports by the *High-level Expert Group on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress;*[4] as well as through ongoing research on issues such as multidimensional poverty.[5] Furthermore, this agenda is increasingly translating into concrete policy applications. At national level, various countries have established well-being frameworks of their own, informed by OECD indicators, and New Zealand has taken the next step by using its *Living Standard Framework* to implement the first Well-Being Budget.[6]

At the international level, the OECD has designed a *Framework for Policy Action on Inclusive Growth* to assist countries in their efforts to achieve greater individual well-being and societal progress. This Framework proposes effective and operational policy recommendations for combining economic growth and social inclusion, building on OECD research and evidence and supported by a dashboard of indicators (OECD, 2018).[7] Through its *Well-Being Framework* and its *Framework for Policy Action on Inclusive Growth*, the OECD's broader aim is to promote a more people-centered approach to public policy, one that takes on board the fact that both objective and subjective resources are necessary for enabling

individuals to fully exercise their capabilities and realize the opportunities for economic, social, and human development that are available to them.

Where the Pathfinders' Grand Challenge on Inequality and Exclusion breaks potentially new ground, however, is in calling for strategies which rely on both *redistribution* and *recognition*. Indeed, with the notion of recognition, Pathfinders introduces into the policy debate a well-developed moral concept which originally belongs to the domain of interpersonal relations and proposes to use it as a lens for shedding light on various key aspects of subjective well-being, including dignity and respect, empowerment and agency, and identity and belonging. The present brief will explore this idea at greater length *by looking at the potential role that the concept of recognition can play as an instrument for inclusive growth*, based on existing OECD analysis and research.

In doing so, it will seek to highlight the benefits and challenges involved in treating the social and symbolic dimensions of subjective well-being under the angle of recognition, as well as the scope for integrating this perspective into policy recommendations alongside more traditional issues relating to the redistribution of income, wealth or opportunities.

Why pay attention to the concept of recognition?

Recognition can constitute a significant lever for improving outcomes by increasing trust and the political acceptance of social policies and programs. In line with this argument, some recent economic and political analysis has drawn attention to lack of recognition and the associated sense of exclusion among the factors explaining the expression of social or political discontent both in the street and at the ballot box.[8] In this respect, analytical interest may partly reflect the fact that *greater recognition often constitutes a demand voiced by the actors of protest themselves*.

A topical example of the link between the demand for recognition and political upheaval can be seen in the role played by the notion of "hogra" as a theme for mobilization across North Africa and the Middle East, particularly among youth. "Hogra" is a term constructed in the late 1980s which combines the meaning of oppression, contempt, and injustice. It has been used since then to describe an everyday reality marked by an absence of socio-economic opportunities, a lack of political representation, and the unequal application of the law. "Hogra" can be defined in this regard as "a situation in which the rule of law is absent and relations are organised around the notion of a power […] to which you owe everything and which owes you nothing" (Dialmy, 2011).[9] While it may be too early to draw definitive conclusions, a number of studies have highlighted the phenomenon of "hogra" as a common underlying demand and a factor driving the wave of uprisings that formed the Arab Spring in 2010-2011.[10]

The interactions between citizens and public institutions also matter in the context of political discontent. The classical argument originally made in (Tocqueville, 1840)[11] and highlighted by (Elster, 2009)[12] as the "Tocqueville paradox" holds (i) that political upheaval can take place while social conditions and opportunities are improving, as citizens' aspirations may rise faster than governments' ability to deliver on them; and (ii) that contact with public institutions and administrations represents a potentially significant source of dissatisfaction with government, due to unmet expectations in terms of quality of public services, access or equality of treatment.[13] This issue may become increasingly resonant in a context where digitalization and the move towards user-centered public services will profoundly transform interaction between citizens and public institutions, creating both opportunities and challenges. A cautionary example in this respect can be seen in the long-lasting negative impact that technical problems

affecting the October 2013 roll-out of the Healthcare.gov online exchange website had on popular support for the Affordable Care Act in the US.[14]

Integrating concerns about recognition into public policy creates both opportunities and challenges:

- On the former, an approach in terms of recognition can help improve the design and implementation of public policies by taking better account of the experiences, needs, and expectations of users of public services and recipients of public benefits. In doing so, this type of approach may promote more positive interactions between citizens and institutions and thereby contribute to rebuild trust.
- On the latter, recognition focuses on dimensions of individual well-being (such as dignity, respect, identity, and agency) that are less well understood, harder to measure and often subject to dispute due to their normative or political content. Recognition also raises new difficulties to consider when designing, implementing, and evaluating policies. In particular, it draws attention to the fact that there are informal barriers to participation and inclusion, in addition to formal ones. Informal barriers may relate to the capabilities, attitudes, and behavior of the vulnerable individuals themselves (for example, individuals from disadvantaged groups may lower their aspirations because they underestimate their potential and skills or because they overestimate the difficulties they will face). They may also relate to the attitudes and behavior of others towards them (as in cases of discrimination; or for example in situations where there are negative cultural attitudes towards the employment of women, and in some cases men, as can be the case in various traditional societies).

The existence of informal barriers – whether they be social, psychological or cultural – serves to underline the importance of individual empowerment as a complementary objective for policies aiming to reduce inequality and exclusion. In this respect, to improve the socio-economic outcomes of vulnerable populations and ensure greater participation and more equal access, it may not be enough to provide individuals with legal rights, material resources, and opportunities they need to act. It may also be necessary to equip them with the capabilities, attitudes, and motivational dispositions that can empower them to act. Ultimately, what the notion of recognition brings into greater focus is the *idea that individual empowerment and inclusive institutions and policies constitute inseparable and mutually reinforcing elements*. As such, the notion of recognition can make a valuable contribution to the SDG16+ agenda.

Structure of this thematic brief

The present brief is organized into 3 parts. Part I will provide an analysis of the concept of recognition. It will seek to clarify the concept's meaning by exploring its foundations and use in moral theory, to draw key lessons and present some of the different ways in which the concept has contributed to the debate on inequality and social inclusion. Part II will look at potential applications of recognition to issues of public policy. It will seek to connect recognition to existing OECD frameworks and areas of work, and will consider possible avenues for operationalizing the concept in the context of OECD work. Part III will draw on OECD evidence and research to help inform debates regarding the role of recognition in public policy. It will provide an overview of OECD work in areas identified as most relevant to the concept of recognition, highlight the contribution that OECD analysis can make to the understanding of recognition and explore potential avenues for future research.

Part I: What is the concept of recognition and how is it used?

Introduction

Recognition is a well-established philosophical concept. It is also a complex and versatile one which has been applied to a wide range of issues cutting across different branches of the discipline and often extending beyond the scope of pure philosophy. For instance, the concept of recognition has been mobilized in the context of debates relating to the nature of moral obligation (Ricœur, 1990)[15], the structure and development of personal and group identities (Siep, 2010),[16] the social and political characteristics of multicultural societies (Taylor, 1992),[17] or the foundations and justification of legal rights (Douzinas, 2002).[18] In this respect, recognition has proved to be a rich theme for philosophical reflection and a fertile ground for mutual dialogue between philosophy and other fields in the human and social sciences – including psychology, social anthropology, and economics.[19]

Efforts to theorize recognition have drawn primarily on two intellectual traditions, tied respectively to the works of Kant and Hegel. These traditions approach the concept of recognition from different angles. The Kantian tradition develops a moral approach in which recognition is attached to the idea of a common humanity and reflects the equal intrinsic value of all persons as beings capable of acting autonomously and setting their own goals. The Hegelian tradition views recognition as part of the process through which self-consciousness and concrete identities are formed. While the Kantian tradition focuses on notions of autonomy, dignity, and respect as a basis for the mutual recognition of moral persons as bearers of universal individual rights, the Hegelian tradition tends to give rise to a legal and institutional approach in which conflicting demands for recognition are negotiated and reconciled.[20] These approaches are distinct but not exclusive. Contemporary theories of recognition, such as those developed by Axel Honneth and Paul Ricœur, build on insights from both traditions. In doing so, they highlight one of the key characteristics that make the concept of recognition both relevant and difficult to analyze – its ability to connect moral considerations relating to obligation, dignity, and respect with institutional issues relating to rights, justice, and inclusion.

This section will start by exploring the moral theory of recognition, based on the works of Paul Ricœur, and present some of its main relevant insights. In the second part of the section, we will look at the way in which these insights have been applied to questions relating to justice, inequality, and exclusion, building on the works of Axel Honneth and Jürgen Habermas.

Recognition as a moral concept

Recognition has a normative dimension, in addition to a psychological one. The moral approach outlined above is necessary to understand this essential aspect of the phenomenon. Recognition implies not just an acknowledgement of the other, but an *obligation* to treat her or him in a certain way. In this respect, it is recognition of the other's intrinsic dignity as a person endowed with the same fundamental human capabilities as oneself, as well as of the respect owed to him or her. Legal and political institutions may be necessary to formalize this obligation as enforceable individual rights. However, what the moral approach to recognition highlights and captures are two key insights: (i) that the source of obligation towards others originates in the context of interpersonal relations and is therefore prior to its institutional expressions; and (ii) that this type of obligation affects individual and collective behavior, notably through the influence of moral norms (relating to the notion of duty towards others) and conventions of language

(for instance in the act of promising).[21] For this reason, we will start by analyzing the moral theory of recognition and argue that it may contain relevant lessons for public policy regarding the importance of informal institutions (such as moral norms), the way in which they emerge and develop in the context of interpersonal relations, and the role they can play in promoting individual empowerment and supporting just and inclusive institutions. The works of Paul Ricœur will provide us with a theoretical basis for doing so. We will draw primarily on (Ricœur, 1990),[22] making additional reference to (Ricœur, 2004).[23]

(Ricœur, 1990) proposes a comprehensive philosophical investigation of the notions of identity and self.[24] Within the scope of this brief, we will focus more specifically on the discussion of moral theory conducted in the 7th to 9th Studies, and in particular the arguments regarding the importance of recognition *of* and *by* others in articulating the development of moral identity and the need for just and inclusive institutions. This articulation is illustrated with particular clarity in (Ricœur, 1990)'s definition of what constitutes an ethical perspective for individual action. Building on the discussion of moral theory, Ricœur argues that a fully ethical perspective for action should be understood as "the pursuit of the good life, with and for others, under just institutions".[25] The structure of the proposition is important. Its first term ("the pursuit of the good life"), which corresponds to the Aristotelian moment, introduces a first degree of moral responsibility as it implies that we recognize ourselves as author of our actions and subject thereby to judgement regarding the effectiveness, quality, and consistency of these actions.[26] Ricœur links this first degree of moral responsibility to the sense of self-esteem.

While self-esteem reflects the sense of agency associated with the ability to set and pursue one's own goals and the sense of individual empowerment that comes with the recognition of oneself as the author of one's actions, the key dynamics take place within the second term of the proposition ("with and for others") and through the formation of a mutually reinforcing relation between self-esteem and respect for others. Here, Ricœur develops a rich analysis of interpersonal relations which allows him to draw out the moral content of the concept of recognition. Through the relation with others, individual action takes on a distinctly interpersonal structure, as well as an additional degree of moral responsibility. Recognition *of* the other as another self extends the individual's sense of self-esteem into a sense of respect for others.[27] Similarly, recognition *by* others validates and renews the individual's sense of self-esteem, creating a potentially virtuous circle in which self-esteem and respect for others reinforce one another in a process of mutual recognition.

Recognizing the other as another self, endowed with the same sense of self-esteem and worthy of equal respect, is not the same however as recognizing the other in his or her own concrete identity as a being that differs from oneself. Here, Ricœur takes a further step in his analysis and argues that interpersonal relations give rise to forms of recognition that take account of actual differences and diversity. For example, friendship, both in practice and in its classical Aristotelian sense of *philia*, implies mutual recognition between unique and different individuals in the context of a relation of reciprocity between equals. More importantly, recognition takes on its highest and most significant form when it restores reciprocity and allows for the emergence of self-esteem and respect in the context of an asymmetric relation. This is exemplified by what Ricœur calls "solicitude".

In the case of solicitude, it is the unequal nature of the relation and the difference in position and status between oneself and the other that leads to specific moral feelings and responses. Ricœur draws particular attention to the type of sympathy and spontaneous benevolence elicited by the suffering of others. In doing so, he underlines the importance of the moral category of vulnerability as a source of obligation towards others and a significant heuristic experience for the self.[28] It is because the other is in a

position of weakness and dependence that the self is able to express and deploy in response to one of the key capabilities of a moral agent: the capacity to help others achieve their goals. In Ricœur's view, this capability carries with it the recognition of a natural community of need and a rational community of ends – both of which going beyond differences in resources, skills or position – and brings to light two essential aspects of the human condition: fragility and, ultimately, mortality.[29]

What Ricœur shows therefore in his analysis of the second term of the proposition ("with and for others") is (i) that interpersonal relations provide the basis for the passage from self-esteem to respect for the other and then to solicitude for the other; and (ii) that the relation to the other is instrumental in unlocking some of the individual's fundamental capabilities. Through this process, the individual is empowered both with a deeper sense of responsibility and obligation towards the other and a deeper sense of his or her own dignity and identity as a moral agent. In the third and final moment of the ethical perspective ("under just institutions"), the mutual recognition between the self and the other receives a formal and legal expression. Here, institutions bring back the imperative of equality, which is not present in the interpersonal relation of solicitude. In Ricœur's view, this imperative of equality and its distributive consequences in terms of rights, resources, and opportunities are essential for the organization of large scale human societies, as opposed to natural communities which can function on the basis of interpersonal ties, and constitute the meaning of justice. The interpersonal relation between *self* and *other* gives way at this level to an impersonal relation which includes *everyone* as equal members of a same legal and political community.

(Ricœur, 2004) revisits the questions addressed in (Ricœur, 1990) with a narrower and more specific focus on recognition, partly in light of Ricœur's reading of Axel Honneth's contributions on this theme, particularly (Honneth, 1995).[30] In doing so, (Ricœur, 2004) further emphasizes the link with the capabilities approach developed by (Sen, 1999)[31] and the argument according to which the recognition of the other is a necessary condition for the possibility of altruistic action. (Ricœur, 2004) notes the proximity between the forms of interpersonal relations analyzed in (Ricœur, 1990) (notably friendship, respect, and solicitude) and the three principles of recognition identified in (Honneth, 1995) (love, respect, and esteem). Following (Honneth, 1995), (Ricœur, 2004) also explores in greater detail a theme already outlined in (Ricœur, 1990): the negative psychological effects of denial of recognition in the context of interpersonal relations. These negative psychological effects stand as polar opposites to the feelings of self-esteem, respect, and solicitude developed through mutual recognition. (Ricœur, 2004) highlights three such effects: denial of civil rights which translates into the feeling of *humiliation*; denial of political rights and opportunities to participate in the public sphere which translates into the feeling of *frustration*; and denial of economic and social rights or access to elementary goods and services which translates into the feeling of *exclusion*.

Recognition as an instrument for articulating individual empowerment and distributive justice?

As illustrated by (Ricœur, 1990), the moral theory of recognition highlights the important psychological and social resources which individuals draw from interpersonal relations in terms of self-esteem and mutual trust, personal dignity, and respect for others, as well as the dynamics through which they develop. An additional question concerns the extent to which these resources can be harnessed by public institutions to promote individual empowerment and agency both as an end in itself and, as argued in the Background Paper to the Pathfinders' September 2018 Greentree Foundation Retreat, as a means to improve policy. In Ricœur's ethical perspective, recognition and distributive justice belong to distinct moral and institutional spheres. However, other intellectual traditions have adopted a different strategy

and sought to introduce more applied and subjective content into the notion of distributive justice, notably by associating it with the concept of recognition.

The Frankfurt School of critical social theory has played a prominent role in deepening these questions, notably through the works of Jürgen Habermas and Axel Honneth.[32] Habermas and Honneth share much of Ricœur's analysis on the importance of mutual recognition in the formation of personal identities and social relations. Their critical perspective puts added emphasis on the institutional conditions needed to support mutual recognition, as well as on the links between denial of recognition and social pathologies.[33] Habermas and Honneth follow different approaches when introducing moral concerns into the study of institutions and public life. Habermas focuses on the ethics of communication and their implications in terms of standards for justification and the necessary conditions for civil public discourse. One of the central ideas underlying Habermas' ethics of communication is that the proper use of language implies recognition of the other speakers as equally legitimate as oneself, agreement on shared rules for argumentation, and the existence of civic spaces for public discourse.

While Habermas' approach seeks to ground the theory of justice in the practice of language and rational argumentation, Honneth builds on the psychological aspects of recognition in order to further define the role of public institutions. In this respect, Honneth goes beyond the distinction made in Ricœur's ethical perspective between the moral and the institutional spheres. For Honneth, the role of just institutions consists not only in treating individuals equally, but also in creating social conditions that strengthen interpersonal relations and support the empowering experience of mutual recognition. Honneth seeks therefore to develop a *recognitive* theory of justice in which the scope for public action also extends to providing resources and opportunities for self-realization to all members of society, taking account of the important role played in this regard by interpersonal relations.[34]

An argument can be made that creating the social conditions for mutual recognition and individual empowerment is potentially as important for achieving inclusive outcomes as the establishment and protection of legal rights. In this view, self-esteem, respect, and mutual trust are necessary for the responsible and effective exercise of these rights, as well as for the actual realization of capabilities and opportunities. Different policy levers can contribute to this objective. Improving citizens' interactions with public administrations and ensuring they are treated with proper respect can help address the "Tocqueville paradox" highlighted in the Introduction. Involving citizens at different stages of the policy cycle or in the delivery of public services, notably through co-design and co-production processes, may represent further ways to enhance empowerment and participation, as will be explored in Part III. Policies that aim to promote a better work-life balance and high quality working environments can provide individuals with more space and resources to develop fulfilling interpersonal relations, with potential spillover effects in terms of individual well-being, resilience, and trust. This can include, for instance, measures which increase access to affordable quality childcare or reduce instances of inflexible or very long working hours. Finally, eliminating some of the barriers that hinder mutual recognition between different socio-economic groups may also contribute to this objective. Measures can be used to promote more integrated communities or reduce spatial segregation, for instance through increase in the supply of affordable social housing and accessible transport.

Whether this type of strategy contributes to strengthen or weaken the notion of distributive justice is open to question. Honneth's recognitive approach to justice has been subject to criticism, most notably by Nancy Fraser.[35] Fraser raises a number of significant objections to the idea that the moral concept of recognition can be applied to questions of distributive justice. Among these objections, Fraser points to a

possible "psychologization" of injustice, in the sense that introducing moral concerns about recognition into the definition of justice may shift the focus away from socio-economic outcomes and towards subjective experience. Doing so carries a risk of making the notion of justice relative, hard to measure and agree on. Both (Fraser, 2003)[36] and (Ricœur, 2004) highlight key questions that need to be addressed if recognition is to be made part of a meaningful notion of justice, most notably what constitutes a legitimate demand for recognition and to what extent is it possible to establish common criteria in this domain?

An additional objection is tied to the fact that an approach based on recognition may conflate different forms of injustice and make it more difficult to properly identify their causes and the policies needed to address them. Vulnerable groups do not always have the same demands. In many cases, economic inequality and socio-cultural discrimination or exclusion tend to be linked and improving the outcomes for vulnerable groups (as can be the case, for instance, for women and ethnic minorities) will require measures that combine both redistribution and recognition. Some groups may require greater recognition as they suffer from socio-cultural exclusion without being disadvantaged from an economic point of view (as can be the case for LGBT for instance). Helping other groups may depend only on a more equitable distribution of socio-economic resources as their socio-cultural identity is not brought into play by relative deprivation in terms of income, wealth or opportunities (as can be the case for low-skilled and low-income workers). In Fraser's view, thinking these issues under the common currency of recognition (and lack thereof) risks confusing what are in fact different problems with different solutions. Fraser argues therefore, in seeming agreement with the line taken in (Ricœur, 1990), that socio-economic questions of distributive justice should remain distinct from moral-psychological concerns in terms of recognition.[37]

Differences between recognitive and distributive approaches to justice, as presented here through a rapid overview of the debate between Honneth and Fraser, should not be overstated however. This debate concerns the extent to which institutions can and should build on the insights provided by the moral theory of recognition to better articulate individual empowerment and distributive justice. It does not put into question the respective validity and potential for using recognition and redistribution within their own specific domains (socio-cultural exclusion and economic inequality). Nor does it put into question the utility of combining both in many cases, as argued by the Pathfinders' Background Paper.

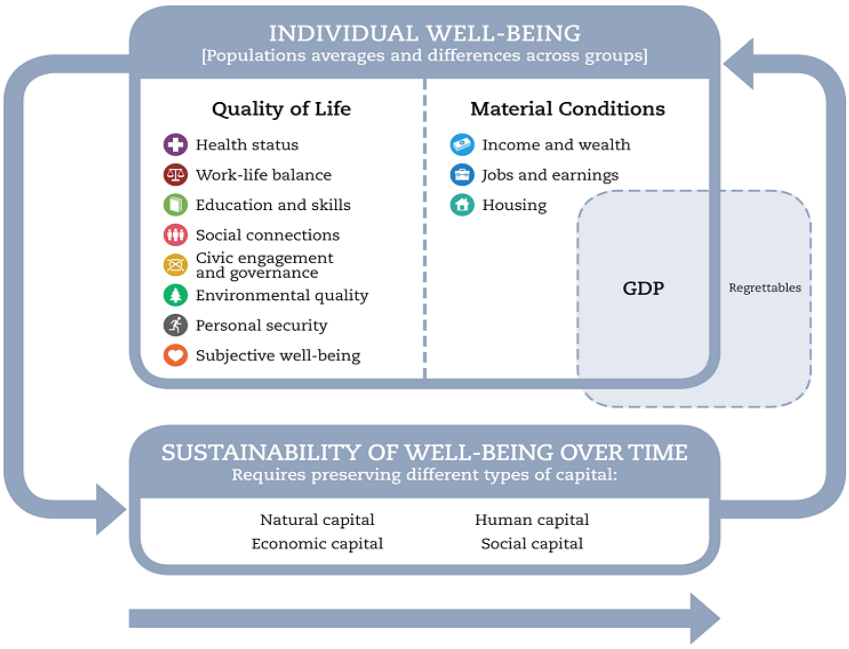
Furthermore, for the purpose of policy, this debate can be framed within the context of a common and broader approach centered on capabilities and well-being. What the moral theory of recognition underlines is the importance of self-esteem, respect, and dignity as sources of well-being and as essential capabilities for realizing one's own goals. (Ricœur, 1990) makes an additional argument, pointing out that forms of mutual recognition – notably those experienced in the context of relations of solicitude – provide the basis for some of our higher moral capabilities, such as altruism. A key lesson to be drawn in this regard is that individuals need social and symbolic resources, in addition to material ones, in order to fully exercise their capabilities. The most significant question from a practical policy point of view is not therefore to what extent theories of justice should move *away from* a focus on the equal distribution of rights and the material resources necessary for their exercise and *towards* a greater focus on individual empowerment and the social and symbolic resources that enable it. Instead, the main question for policy should consist in striking the right balance between both types of resources in order to promote greater well-being and opportunities for all. Recognitive approaches to justice can provide insights and have a role to play in this regard.[38]

Part II: How does the concept of recognition fit into OECD work on inclusion, empowerment, and well-being?

As mentioned previously, the Background Paper to the Pathfinders' September 2018 Greentree Foundation Retreat breaks new ground when it proposes to introduce the concept of recognition into policy debates on inequality and exclusion. To date, this concept has not been directly applied in OECD work. Specific reference has not been made either to the existing literature on recognition in OECD publications. The concept of recognition could however make a potentially valuable contribution to OECD analysis and policy advice in a number of relevant areas. In this second part of the brief, we identify two existing aspects of OECD work where recognition and the insights it provides on individual empowerment could be connected to issues of public policy and operationalized: (i) the OECD's capabilities-based approach to well-being and inclusion; and (ii) the OECD's reciprocity-based approach to social protection. In doing so, we will argue that the concept of recognition offers resources which can help deepen the OECD's reflection on the role and instruments of public policy.

The OECD's capabilities-based approach to well-being and inclusion:

The *OECD Well-Being Framework*, its application in the *Better Life Initiative* and the *OECD Framework for Policy Action on Inclusive Growth* share a common agenda: to put people and their well-being at the center of policy. Several key principles underpin this agenda. First of all, as highlighted in the Introduction, well-being is a multidimensional phenomenon. The *OECD Well-Being Framework* (see Figure 1 below) has been instrumental in extending the analysis and measurement of well-being to the important subjective dimensions through which people experience and assess quality of life (OECD, 2011). Secondly, people define what constitutes well-being and a "good life" for them, according to their own goals, values, and sense of purpose. The *Better Life Initiative* acknowledges that people are the best judges of how their lives are going. Reflecting this premise, it takes account of people's subjective assessments when evaluating life satisfaction and is sensitive to the fact that individuals' objective needs and aspirations can be partly shaped by their socio-economic conditions.[39] This also means that people should be involved in the measurement of well-being and design of policies. The *Better Life Initiative* therefore includes consultative processes and participatory research among the instruments it uses to address methodological and practical issues, such as defining the most adequate metrics for well-being or setting priorities.[40]



Source: OECD, 2013

Figure 2.1: The OECD Framework for measuring Well-Being and Societal Progress

Finally, if people ultimately define what constitutes well-being and a "good life", then part of the role of policy must consist in helping them develop the capabilities needed to pursue this objective and in expanding their opportunities to do so. With this aim in mind, the *OECD Framework for Policy Action on Inclusive Growth* seeks to ensure that everyone has an equal chance to contribute to and share in the benefits of growth, including vulnerable populations, workers in lagging firms, and citizens living in regions that have been left behind. The *Framework for Policy Action on Inclusive Growth* provides governments with tools and recommendations that can help them deliver better outcomes by exploiting the synergies between economic growth and social inclusion and by integrating the distributive impact of policies *ex-ante* rather than *ex-post*. It also helps underpin the OECD's narrative on well-being and inclusion by highlighting the costs of under-investment in people's capabilities, in terms of reduced well-being and growth foregone. Box 2.1 below provides further detail on the *OECD Framework for Policy Action on Inclusive Growth* and the ways in which it can contribute to build the material conditions for individual empowerment and social inclusion.

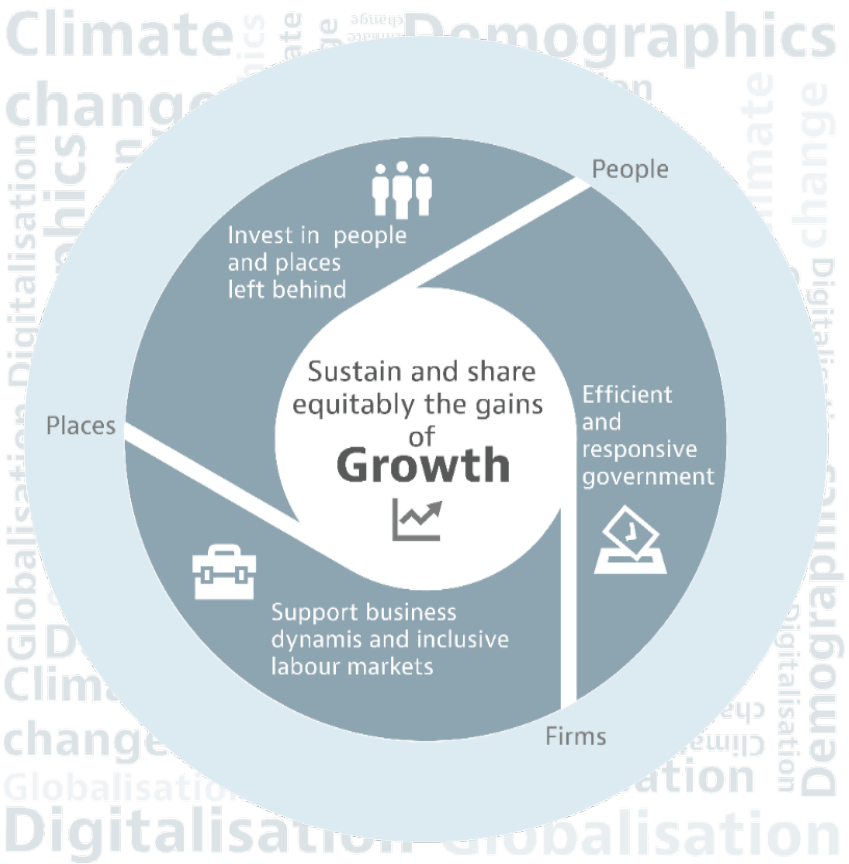


Figure 2.2: The OECD Framework for Policy Action on Inclusive Growth. Source: (OECD, 2018)

The OECD's capabilities approach to well-being and inclusion differs from traditional welfare approaches. While welfare approaches focus solely on the outcomes achieved and their content in terms of well-being, the capabilities approach also gives due emphasis to the conditions and manner under which these outcomes are achieved, including the opportunities available to individuals and respect for their ability to set their own goals. The concept of recognition, as analyzed in Part I, provides insights which can contribute to improve and deepen this approach. Most notably, it helps highlight the important role that attitudinal and motivational elements play in the exercise of capabilities and in the realization of opportunities. In doing so, it draws attention to the subjective and symbolic dimensions of vulnerability, as well as to the existence of informal barriers to inclusion, equal access, and participation that may result from lack of empowerment along those dimensions. Engaging with the concept of recognition can therefore contribute to OECD work on well-being and inclusion in at least two ways. At a more general level, it underlines the importance of individual empowerment as a crucial driver of well-being and inclusion. At a more applied level, it provides a useful analytical basis for exploring the behavioral aspects of poverty, diversity, and inclusion by helping (i) clarify the role played by emotions such as self-esteem and shame, dignity and humiliation, respect and distrust; and (ii) identify different ways in which policy can strengthen and develop the social and psychological resources of individuals.

Box 2.1. Building the material and institutional conditions for empowerment and inclusion: *the OECD framework for policy action on inclusive growth*

Description

In 2018, the OECD developed its *Framework for Policy Action on Inclusive Growth* as a tool for assessing policies ex-ante in terms of their effects on economic growth and social inclusion and to help governments design integrated strategies that combine greater efficiency and equity. The Framework builds on SDG 8 (in line with the OECD's mission to promote "*sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living*") and considers SDG 10 (reducing inequalities) as a key lever for delivering sustainable long-term economic growth, social stability, and environmental sustainability through win-win policies which have a positive impact on a range of different SDGs.

Problem addressed

Across the OECD, the richest 10 percent own around half of total household assets, while the bottom 40 percent hold only 3 percent. Similarly, at the global level it is estimated that the poorest half of the world's population receives only 9 percent of world income, while the richest 1 percent receives 20 percent. Persistently high inequalities in income, wealth, opportunities, and well-being outcomes, as well as insufficiently inclusive institutions, are hampering social mobility, holding back progress in living standards, threatening social cohesion and political stability, and undermining trust in government.

Box 2.1. The OECD framework for policy action on inclusive growth [continued]

Approach

The *OECD Framework for Policy Action on Inclusive Growth* highlights three pillars through which governments can sustain and more equally share the benefits of economic growth:

(i) *Investing in people and places left behind*, by providing more equal opportunities through targeted quality childcare, early education, and life-long acquisition of skills; effective access to quality healthcare, justice, housing, and infrastructures; and optimal natural resource management for sustainable growth.

(ii) Supporting business dynamism and inclusive labor markets through measures promoting broad-based innovation and technology diffusion; strong competition and vibrant entrepreneurship; access to good quality jobs, especially for women and under-represented groups; and enhanced resilience and adaptation to the future of work.

(iii) Building efficient and responsive governments through aligned policy packages across all levels of government; integration of distributional aspects upfront in the design of policy; and assessing policies for their impact on inclusiveness and growth.

Impact

Through its *Framework for Policy Action on Inclusive Growth*, the OECD is well-equipped to support countries' efforts to align their strategies with the SDGs and put them to work. The OECD is piloting *Inclusive Growth Country Reviews* to help governments achieve a people-centered, sustainable growth economy. These reviews provide an in-depth exploration and analysis of trends in multi-dimensional inequalities at the national level and help guide countries in the design and implementation of policies for inclusive growth. These efforts contribute notably to SDG 17 by promoting policy and institutional coherence, strengthening the means of implementation and developing measures to assess progress towards several SDGs, including SDG 5, 8 and 10.

Strengths

The *Framework for Policy Action on Inclusive Growth* builds on data, evidence, and policy insights from a range of OECD strategies and projects, including the Productivity-Inclusiveness Nexus, the Jobs Strategy, Skills Strategy, Innovation Strategy, Going for Growth Strategy, the Going Digital project, and the Green Growth project. The framework is supported by a dashboard of 24 indicators to monitor progress over time on the key outcomes and drivers of inclusive growth. The framework is a flexible, non-prescriptive tool that can be applied in different contexts taking account of country-specificities and social preference.

Source: (OECD, 2018). OECD. (2018). Opportunities for All: A framework for policy action on inclusive growth. Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264301665-en

The OECD's reciprocity-based approach to social protection

Social protection represents an important policy lever for providing individuals with what Anderson & Honneth (2005) describe as "*the material and institutional circumstances of autonomy*". It does so first of all by reducing material vulnerabilities through the establishment of safety nets that protect individuals against risks, give them the means to develop their skills and security to search for suitable jobs, as well as allowing them to smooth their income over time. Secondly, social protection can also promote and facilitate positive behavioral change, for instance through effective activation strategies or conditional transfers such as benefits attached to school attendance. Both of these channels can increase the sense of self-esteem and empowerment needed for individuals to exercise their capabilities and realize opportunities.[41]

A large body of evidence supports the claim that well-designed and implemented social protection schemes deliver significant results in terms of poverty reduction, financial security, better health, education, and job quality (OECD, 2019).[42] The importance of social protection as an instrument for promoting well-being, inclusive growth, and sustainable development is also emphasized by the UN 2030 Agenda under SDG 1.3, which calls on countries to "*implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and vulnerable*".

Building on this evidence, the OECD sees the role of well-managed social protection systems as being twofold: (i) to provide income support for individuals and households in periods of financial difficulty; and (ii) to facilitate a quick and effective transition to employment for those who are willing and able to work by equipping them with the skills, capabilities, and sense of self-sufficiency that can increase their employability and the opportunities available to them on the labor market (OECD, 2005).[43] Hence, patterns and rates of transition from reception of social benefits to employment and financial autonomy represent a key measure of the effectiveness of social protection and of its ability to act as a springboard out of poverty and unemployment.

Increasingly, the OECD is taking account of the influence that attitudinal and motivational elements, as well as issues relating to perceptions and mutual recognition between income groups, have on the effectiveness and sustainability of social protection systems. This point is also raised by Fraser (1995)[44] which notes that, even when they do provide individuals with the material means to develop their capabilities, social transfers do not automatically translate into greater inclusion and empowerment as they may leave other problems unaddressed. These problems may notably relate to self-confidence, lack of recognition by others, and labor market discrimination.

OECD analysis engages with these problems. First of all, it considers the problem of self-confidence under a dual angle: the psychological needs of vulnerable populations and the issue of "benefit dependence". Specific measures may need to be taken to equip vulnerable populations with the right skills and attitudes to succeed and compensate for the fact that these populations often tend to underestimate their own potential (Carcillo & Valfort, 2018).[45] "Benefit dependence" highlights the fact that social transfers may have disempowering effects on the individuals who receive them, if they are not properly designed and implemented. In this respect, attention must be given to the impact that social transfers have on the incentives and motivation of recipients, but also on the perception they have of *themselves*, on their sense of agency and self-esteem (Carcillo, Immervoll, Jenkins, Königs, & Tatsiramos, 2014).[46] Much as skills may need to be updated during periods of unemployment to prevent deterioration or obsolescence,

support may need to be provided to help individuals maintain the motivation and self-confidence essential for job search. Evidence from social psychology suggests that disempowering effects tend to be particularly strong in the case of unemployment. As early as 1933, a famous field study led by Paul Lazarsfeld showed that involuntary unemployment had a large negative effect on well-being independent of loss of income. Jahoda, Lazarsfeld, & Zeisel (2017 [1933])[47] identified two main factors at play in the loss of salaried activity: (i) a loss of self-esteem and social recognition associated with the feeling of no longer contributing to the community; and (ii) a loss of the sense of agency associated with feelings of apathy and loss of purpose.[48]

Furthermore, social transfers may reinforce exclusion by affecting the perceptions that *others* have of recipients, thereby "*creating stigmatized classes of vulnerable people [who are] perceived as beneficiaries of special largesse*" (Fraser, 1995). This issue can be found discussed for instance in OECD (2015).[49] This type of stigmatizing effect represents an important challenge for policy. In addition to reinforcing exclusion, it may contribute to undermine social cohesion and political support for social protection and redistributive policies by fostering distrust and a lack of recognition between income groups.[50] It also provides a topical illustration of potential trade-offs between redistribution (in terms of economic resources and material well-being) and recognition (in terms of social status and subjective well-being).

Combined, benefit dependence effects and social stigma can give rise to complex and enduring forms of labor market discrimination, as witnessed in the phenomenon of "statistical discrimination" studied by Carcillo & Valfort (2018).[51] "Statistical discrimination" occurs when the general characteristics of particular populations (such as gender, age, race, sexual orientation, disability, geographic or social origin) are used to evaluate individual characteristics, such as skills or productivity. In this respect, belonging to a group perceived as "less productive or dependent" – because its skills and qualifications are not recognized or because it is (rightly or wrongly) viewed as more reliant on social transfers – is susceptible to act as a negative signal which reduces individuals' returns and opportunities on the labor market, thereby affecting socio-economic outcomes. These issues need to be taken into account when designing social protection policies, as benefits closely tied to or specifically targeted at particular groups may have the unintended consequence of providing ground for stereotypes and discrimination of this kind.

Even though statistical forms of discrimination are based on imperfect and asymmetric information rather than on prejudice, over time they can contribute to the creation of poverty traps for particular groups that may be difficult to correct without a corresponding change in social perceptions and attitudes. The process is similar to that of a "self-realizing expectation": the initial bias creates a lack of opportunity for certain groups which then acts to confirm the bias. Furthermore, this lack of opportunity may have disempowering effects on the motivation of the group that is discriminated against, discouraging its members from participating in the labor market or investing in their skills. These conclusions hold to an even stronger degree for more deeply rooted forms of discrimination, where the bias may be based on preference and prejudice.[52]

To balance the two main objectives of social protection (income support and empowerment) and address potential trade-offs, the OECD has developed an approach that is based on a principle of reciprocity between the *right* of individuals to benefits and assistance and the *responsibility* of recipients to contribute through some form of engagement, participation or behavior. This approach featured prominently in the 2006 revision to the *OECD Jobs Strategy*. It remains a cornerstone of the *new OECD Jobs Strategy* launched in 2018, as well as for social protection systems in many OECD member-countries. The key idea behind this approach is that reciprocity can: (i) provide effective material support for

recipients; while (ii) also integrating the attitudinal and motivational elements necessary for empowerment; and (iii) addressing some of the problems associated with social benefits and transfers (such as social stigma, negative signaling effects, and reduced support for redistribution). In this respect, social protection policies designed around this principle and properly implemented have the potential to promote increased well-being, more effective labor markets and the creation of quality jobs, as well as greater trust in institutions and mutual recognition among groups – all of which contribute to inclusive growth.

Activation strategies and well-managed conditional transfers constitute two notable areas where OECD has put this approach into practice. Activation strategies will be covered in more detail in Part III. The debate over the relative merits of conditional and universal social benefits has been reopened recently through a renewed interest in universal basic income (UBI) proposals, stemming in part from anxieties about automation, cost of and access to social transfers, and rising inequality.[53] Part of the debate hinges on the effects that conditionality has on the attitudes and motivation of recipients, as well as on the associated problems highlighted above. The reciprocity-based approach to social protection sees well-designed conditions as a means to empower recipients by supporting positive behavioral change and maintaining social cohesion. This type of approach may however have unintended negative consequences if the conditions attached to social benefits are poorly designed or implemented, a *caveat* acknowledged by the OECD. For instance, overly strict conditions for access, bureaucratic complexity, and administrative hurdles may discourage the populations targeted by these benefits, leading to low uptake and a deeper sense of exclusion (Samson, 2009).[54]

The argument in favor of universal benefits holds conversely that absence of conditionality may prove simpler to navigate and more empowering, leading thereby to higher uptake and improved well-being.[55] This debate serves to further underline the impact that behavioral elements and subjective well-being can have on the effectiveness of social protection policies and programs. In this context, the concept of recognition may help us better understand how and why different forms of social protection translate into greater empowerment and more inclusive outcomes. In turn, this can help us design better adapted and tailored social protection policies.

Part III: How can OECD research help inform debates on the role of recognition in public policy?

Adapting social protection systems in a context of low trust and changing demands from citizens

Over the past decade, policymakers and citizens in both OECD and non-OECD countries have shown increasing concern regarding the ability of social policy to deliver outcomes, as well as the methods and processes through which these outcomes are achieved. Citizens' concerns are driven in part by the effects of mega-trends such as digitalization and the rise in non-standard forms of employment, globalization, demographic transition, climate change, rising inequalities, and social divides between perceived elites and the rest of society. These concerns are notably highlighted in "*The Risks that Matter*", a new OECD cross-national survey on people's perceptions of socio-economic risk and of the effectiveness of government responses.[56]

Overall, the survey reveals dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of current social policy and a low public perception of fairness. For instance, half of the respondents think they would not be able to easily access

public benefits if they needed them. Respondents felt similarly dissatisfied with the quality of public services and generosity of social benefits. At the same time, there is a widespread sense of injustice regarding social transfers, with more than half of respondents saying they do not receive a fair share of public benefits given the taxes and social security contributions they pay. This sense of injustice is notably shared by the middle class, with 58 percent of middle-income households agreeing with this statement (OECD, 2019).[57] Furthermore, over two-thirds of respondents believe that many recipients of public benefits do not deserve them (see Figure 3.1 below). This sense of social injustice is often accompanied by the belief that government is not working for, or listening to, citizens when designing or reforming public benefits (see Figure 3.2 below). [58] These findings are especially troubling given the fact that OECD countries have some of the most advanced and generous social protection systems in the world.

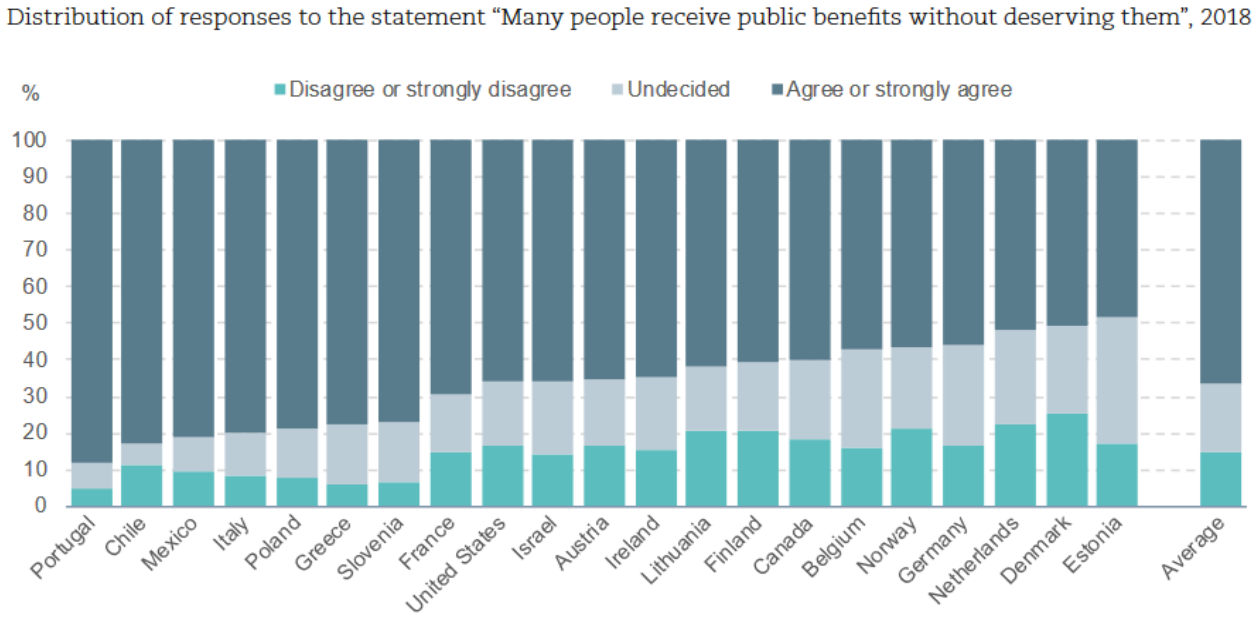


Figure 3.1: Most people believe others received benefits without deserving them. Source: (OECD, 2018)

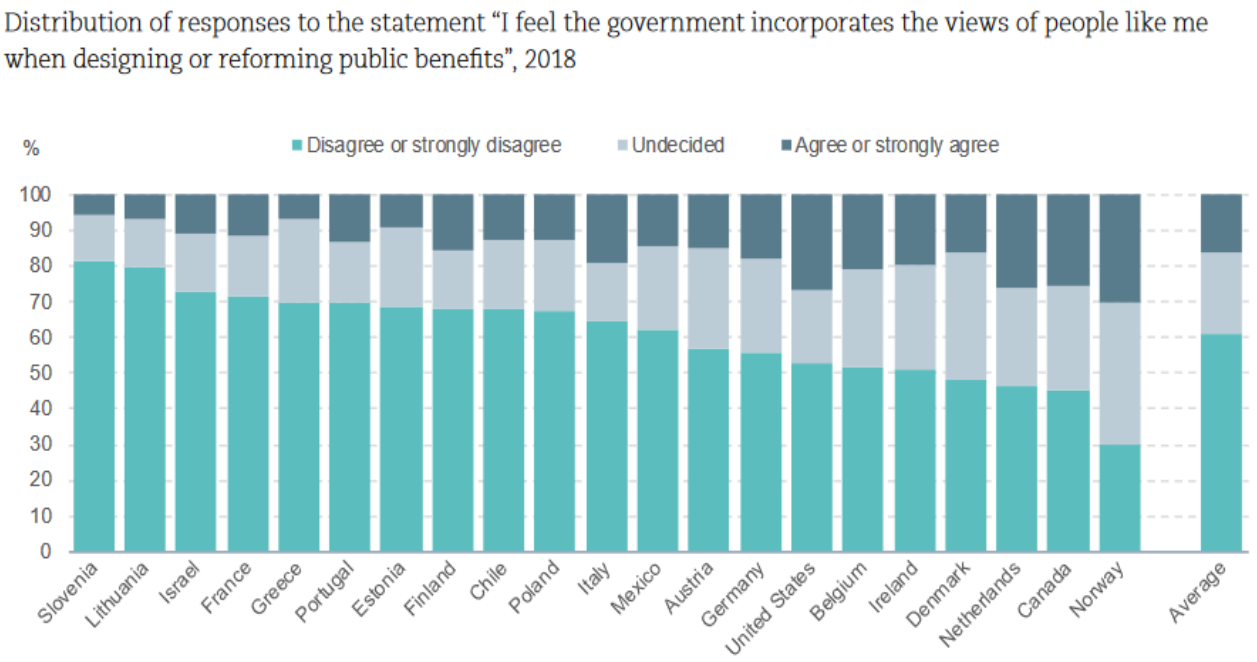


Figure 3.2: In many countries, a majority feel their views are not taken into account in the formulation of social policy. Source: (OECD, 2018)

However, OECD (2018)[59] also suggests that the sense of social injustice expressed by citizens cannot simply be interpreted as a lack of support for redistribution or an absence of solicitude (to borrow Ricœur's term) towards vulnerable populations.[60] Indeed, in parallel to the sense of unfairness and dissatisfaction with the action of government, citizens are often expressing a stronger demand for redistribution and calling for more protection as well as greater support for the poor.[61] The survey results find that preference for redistribution may be especially strong among populations that experience a lack of recognition by the state, as strong feelings of injustice and dissatisfaction with social policy are correlated with the demand that government do more. On average, 78 percent of respondents who feel they do not receive their fair share of public benefits and of respondents who feel government does not listen to them also say government should be doing more to ensure their economic and social security, compared to 62 percent and 61 percent for the rest of the sample respectively. At the same time, in nearly every country, social protection systems are coming under pressure to adapt and modernize in the face of rising financial constraints, a changing world of work, low trust in government, concerns about long-term unemployment, and citizens' dependence on social programs.

One response to this challenge: From dependence to empowerment, through recognition

As discussed above and previously in Part II, there are three potential areas where the notion of recognition could help strengthen social protection systems, by improving:

(i) their capacity to reduce the material vulnerabilities associated with economic and social exclusion

(ii) their capacity to promote positive behavioral change in recipients (i.e. empowerment rather than dependence)

(iii) the perception of social protection systems and the degree to which they are viewed as fair and responsive to citizens' needs

As explained in Part II, the notion of "benefit dependence" can be understood as a prolonged state of medium or long-term receipt of conditional social transfers (such as unemployment benefits) or other forms of income support. This notion highlights the potentially disempowering effects that social transfers may have on the individuals who receive them. A further issue to consider is the fact that the main recipient groups tend to be populations that are already vulnerable, including young adults with little work experience, individuals with low education, single parents with young children (often women), migrants, individuals with health problems, and other groups with limited income and little support through other benefit programs. These groups are more exposed to prolonged spells of benefit receipt (Immervoll, Jenkins, & Königs, 2015).[62] Hence, not only are vulnerable populations significantly more likely to be benefit claimers, they also tend to experience lower exit rates and longer periods of benefit receipt. Furthermore, households or individuals receiving social benefits usually fall well below national poverty lines in a large majority of OECD countries (Immervoll, Jenkins, & Königs, 2015).

In order to act as effective springboards towards stable employment and greater autonomy, social safety nets may therefore have to provide forms of support that are broader and better adapted to the needs of long-term benefit recipients. The case of the Asker Welfare Lab, developed in the following section, provides an interesting example of how this type of approach can function in practice (see Box 3.4 below). Adapting social protection to the needs of vulnerable populations means dealing effectively with the material barriers they face, but also with the more subjective and symbolic dimensions of poverty and exclusion. These dimensions include a sense of humiliation and low self-esteem associated with the fact recipients may feel they are "*not contributing to the community*" or that their contribution is unrecognized and with a lack of social recognition associated with the fact recipients may be perceived as "*undeserving*" since they do not contribute (ATD-Fourth World/OICT, 2019).[63]

The disempowering effect of humiliation and social stigma (e.g. being seen as undeserving) ranks among the main reasons explaining low rates of uptake for certain welfare benefits, alongside other barriers such as the complexity of administrative procedures or low information about social programs (see Hernanz, Malherbet, & Pellizzari, 2004,[64] and Bargain, Immervoll, & Viitamäki, 2012).[65] Low uptake represents a major challenge for social policy since research shows that around 40 percent of people entitled to these benefits do not claim them (Immervoll, Jenkins, & Königs, 2015). Interestingly, administrative procedures may reinforce these disempowering effects. For instance, the literature shows that social programs which require recipients to continuously provide proof of identity generate a greater sense of stigma than those which rely on one-off application and then transfer money directly to the recipients.[66] At the administrative level, the behavior of public officials towards claimants may also be perceived as humiliating or stigmatizing. This is particularly likely when the same administrative authority is in charge of providing social benefits and controlling fraud (Hernanz, Malherbet, & Pellizzari, 2004).

Recent OECD research on social assistance can also shed some empirical light on these debates.[67] First of all, the research shows that the number of benefit recipients of social assistance among the working age population varies substantially across countries. While benefit recipients tend to constitute no more than around 4-6 percent of the working-age population on average,[68] the coverage and impact of social assistance affects a considerably larger share of the population, since the average does not include the families of the recipients and is not static (many more people go in and out of social assistance). In terms of the patterns of social benefit receipt, (Immervoll, Jenkins, & Königs, 2015) finds that, in the countries

analyzed, an individual who is currently receiving social assistance is 60 to 80 percentage points more likely to be a recipient in the next time-period compared to an individual who is not. Typically, these dependence effects tend to be larger for vulnerable populations such as women and migrants. Immervoll, Jenkins, & Königs (2015) shows for instance that the highest observed rate of benefit dependence was for women and non-EU migrants in the Netherlands (85 percentage points).

In an effort to isolate potentially disempowering effects on recipients and the existence of so-called "benefit traps" or a "benefit culture" from other factors, Immervoll, Jenkins, & Königs (2015) develops a statistical model for measuring "genuine dependency" – that is to say, benefit dependence not explained by other determinants of low-income or vulnerability (education, disability, lack of social or economic capital). The causes of this "residual" form of dependence are associated not only with unobservable characteristics linked to lower productivity or labor market discrimination, but also to psychological effects associated with long-term dependence on social benefits and with exposure to economic risks and vulnerability (e.g. persistent access to low quality goods and services).

As the authors show, on the one hand, "genuine dependency" can be explained by labor market mechanisms such as the "*potential loss of networks (…) or future employers perceiving past benefit receipt as a negative productivity signal*". On the other hand, they also recognize a psychological element to dependence which operates through "*adverse effects on individuals' motivation or feeling of self-control*". It is important to note that the "genuine dependency" effect explains only around one-fifth of social benefit dependence in the countries analyzed. Therefore, as Immervoll, Jenkins, & Königs (2015) concludes, "*the largest part of continued benefit receipt among those receiving benefits in a given period can be attributed to recipients' personal and household characteristics*".

However, perhaps more importantly from the perspective of this thematic brief, the "genuine dependency" effect tends to be much larger for vulnerable populations, notably women and even more so for migrants – where it is almost twice as large as the effect observed on the native population (Immervoll, Jenkins, & Königs, 2015). Therefore, the disempowering effects associated with benefit dependence would seem to be stronger for vulnerable groups, helping explain why these populations have lower exit rates than the general population.

As discussed in Part II, the OECD has developed a "*rights and responsibilities*" approach to social protection and labor market policies which aims to address some of the disempowering motivational and behavioral effects associated with benefit receipt and to strengthen public support for social protection programs through a system of mutual obligations (OECD, 2015).[69] As argued previously, insights from the literature on recognition as well as evidence drawn from participatory forms of research involving vulnerable populations, such as that conducted in the ATD-Fourth World/OICT report (2019), may help deepen the OECD's approach. Integrating elements of recognition into the design as well as the delivery of social policies and programs could notably ensure that they are better tailored to the needs and conditions of vulnerable populations.

With regard to labor market policies, the new *OECD Jobs Strategy* underlines the importance of activation programs. More specifically, it argues that well-designed social insurance and assistance schemes, if combined with active labor market policies (ALMPs) and policies to foster labor demand, can be very effective in providing income support for those in need and protecting individuals against adverse shocks, while at the same delivering better labor market outcomes (OECD, 2018).[70] Activations programs have several important characteristics.

First of all, the activity-related eligibility conditions of activation programs (i.e. availability requirements, job search activities, training) are generally geared towards strengthening incentives to look for, prepare for, and accept employment. At the same, they must be effective in addressing some of disempowering effects of unemployment benefit recipiency (erosion of job-search incentives), as well as helping reduce the negative impact of long-term unemployment on personal finances and on physical and mental health. Activation programs aim to make work more accessible by dealing with the different barriers to employment. In order to do so, they combine measures that support the job-seekers' motivation to search actively and accept suitable jobs (through appropriate systems of incentives) with actions designed to expand opportunities and increase the employability of job-seekers, particularly those that are most vulnerable on the labor market (through appropriate support, training, and job-creation programs).

While OECD evidence suggests some level of conditionality and means-testing may be necessary for unemployment benefit schemes to be effective, these elements are difficult to get right. Demanding eligibility criteria and conditions may exclude some recipients from claiming financial support and employment services, as illustrated by the problem of low uptake highlighted in Part II. In order to counteract these effects and increase the uptake of social benefits, governments and public employment agencies may need to provide special and tailored support to vulnerable individuals. In this perspective, the conditions for effective activation include tailoring interventions to the individual circumstances of job-seekers (see Box 3.1 below).

The OECD notably recommends developing and implementing adapted profiling tools early in the process of job-search so that intensive counselling, appropriate support, and tailored case-management can be directed towards vulnerable individuals (OECD, 2018).[71]

Box 3.1. Tailoring labor policy interventions to individual circumstances:

Using profiling tools to provide extra support for vulnerable job-seekers at an early stage

Description

Profiling tools help to deliver employment services more efficiently. They can ensure that governments target more costly, intensive services at the job-seekers most at risk of becoming long-term unemployed. In addition, the profiling process allows public employment agencies to gain a better understanding of the particular barriers facing job-seekers. The detailed information obtained through this process is then used to tailor services more specifically to the person's individual needs. While other forms of profiling exist, the focus here is on statistical profiling, which makes use of statistical models to predict job-seekers' likelihood of becoming long-term unemployed.

Problem addressed

The rising number of long-term unemployed, together with the period of fiscal consolidation that followed the economic crisis in many OECD countries, have highlighted the need for effective and cost-efficient tools to target activation measures and employment services to the individuals most in need of support. In addition to changes in the composition of the unemployed population and the characteristics of job-seekers, governments should recognize and take account of the fact that employment forms are growing more diverse and that job tenure is growing shorter in many sectors and occupations.

Approach

The profiling process is typically used to determine the timing and intensity of support for job-seekers, based on the probability – predicted by the statistical model – that a job-seeker will become long-term unemployed. For this purpose, countries collect different types of data through administrative records, questionnaires or personal interviews. These include the socio-economic characteristics of the job-seeker (e.g. age, gender) on the one hand, and 3 types of employment barriers (motivation, capabilities, and opportunities).

- *Motivation* to look for and accept a new job can be included through data on job-search behavior, expectations on pay, and amount of out-of-work benefits received.
- *Capabilities* are captured through factors relating to education, skills, detailed work experience, care responsibilities, health-related limitations, etc.
- *Opportunities* are reflected in regional labor market information like unemployment rates and available vacancies. Hence, both "objective" factors such as age and educational level and "subjective" dimensions such as motivation and job aspirations can be included in statistical profiling models. Finally, what determines the accuracy of profiling models is the quality and type of the data input.

Box 3.1. Tailoring labour policy interventions to individual circumstances [continued]

Strengths

Besides improving the cost-efficiency of the Public Employment Service (PES) and its capacity to target resources to those most in need, the flexibility of statistical profiling provides a distinct advantage. For instance, these tools can be used to complement the activity of case workers, thereby freeing them up to concentrate on more personalized services, or support their activity. While the use of statistical profiling in Sweden and Denmark is fully voluntary, in other countries – such as Australia, Ireland or the US – it automatically determines the frequency and timing of the support for job-seekers.

Recommendations

Stronger involvement of job-seekers and case-workers in the design and implementation of statistical profiling could ensure greater transparency, control over, and acceptance of this tool. Involving case workers, frontline civil servants, and job-seekers when testing the new system and procedures will help to build support for the use of new tools and facilitate the adaptation of PES to a changing labor market. Once implemented, continuous evaluation and refinement of the system, based on feedback from all stakeholders, can help improve the system and build trust in the tool. For instance, in Denmark the results of the profiling process are shared both with case workers and job-seekers to ensure full transparency.

Limits

In addition to the issues of statistical discrimination discussed in Part II, profiling tools rely on the availability of sufficient information to function. This may not be the case for vulnerable individuals who are not registered with the PES. For these cases, the OECD has developed a new tool as part of its *Faces of Joblessness* project (Fernandez, 2016). The aim of this tool is to cover the entire working-age population and complement existing sources of information when designing and implementing activation and employment-support policies. The *Faces of Joblessness* project builds on individual and household perspectives to present a "birds-eye view" of employment barriers in 3 domains: (i) work-related capabilities; (ii) financial incentives; and (iii) employment opportunities. These areas may be missed by methods relying on labor force statistics or administrative data. They are however relevant for targeting and tailoring support programs and policy interventions.

Source: Desiere, S., Langenbucher, K., & Struyven, L. (2019). Statistical profiling in public employment services: An international comparison. OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers(No.224). doi:https://doi.org/10.1787/b5e5f16e-en

At a more general level, the OECD recommends that activation programs combine incentives to promote job-search and the acceptance of suitable jobs (e.g. through appropriate benefits, tax credits, etc.) with actions designed to expand opportunities (e.g. job-search assistance, direct referrals, subsidized employment, etc.) and interventions to increase the employability of vulnerable job-seekers (e.g. training

programs, work experience programs) (OECD, 2018).[72] Entrepreneurship and self-employment can represent another viable route towards economic activity and autonomy for certain vulnerable populations (see Box 3.2 below for a case study from the Netherlands). In this perspective, the OECD has been working for several decades on the development of inclusive entrepreneurship policies designed to promote self-employment among vulnerable or under-represented populations. Recent initiatives include collaboration with the European Commission on this issue (OECD/EU, 2017).[73]

Box 3.2. From Welfare Benefit Recipiency to Entrepreneurship – The BBZ (Netherlands)
An example of innovative policy for inclusive entrepreneurship

Description

The *Besluit Bijstand voor Zelfstandigen*, (BBZ – Decision Support for Entrepreneurs) initiative is part of the Netherlands' overarching re-integration policy portfolio. The aim of re-integration policies is to put people into work and fight against social and economic exclusion. The BBZ initiative targets welfare recipients and in particular the long-term unemployed. The program provides education and training to participants with a viable business plan, complemented by financial support and working capital, in order to promote durable self-employment. The project's main objectives are: (i) to promote self-sufficiency among the unemployed by addressing the individual causes of "benefit dependency" and barriers to entrepreneurship; and (ii) to reduce the costs and social and economic inefficiencies of continuous benefit receipt.

Problem addressed

While in the short-term, unemployment benefits have undeniable positive outcomes (providing income support and better job matching), long-term dependence on unemployment benefits has economic, social, and personal costs. These personal costs come on top of those associated with long-term unemployment (de-skilling, physical and mental health issues, low self-esteem, social estrangement, etc.) and may deepen them through disempowering effects and increased social stigma.

Approach

The BBZ initiative follows a holistic and tailored approach, building on continuous and personalized non-financial and financial support for participants. It has four stages:

(i) An intake or selection phase determines whether an applicant is eligible, meets entry requirements and possesses the necessary skills;
(ii) Participants then develop a business plan while continuing to receive their unemployment benefits;
(iii) The viability of the business concept and plan are assessed;
(iv) loan is provided to either support the business venture or subsidize the living costs of the participant. In most cases, BBZ offers other support services after start-up, such as business counselling.

Impact

Evaluation of the initiative showed that the proportion of BBZ-participants who are no longer receiving welfare benefits after 48 months was of 74 percent, against 56 percent for the control group. Furthermore, the evaluation showed that the initiative is effective both in getting people into entrepreneurship and in improving their labor market attachment, as participants acquired valuable skills, training, and networks. It also has a positive impact on public finances. The average cost of a BBZ starter is of around EUR 56 000, discounted over 24 months. For a standard welfare recipient, this would be around EUR 97 000 (OECD/EU, 2015).

Strength

One of the main factors of success for the initiative consisted in its ability to recognize that each entrepreneur is different. The initiative focuses on developing tailored solutions to the problems and challenges faced by each individual participant and project. It makes no general assumptions regarding the approach to be taken to help nascent or struggling entrepreneurs. Other success factors include the role of the viability test in assessing the quality of a business plan, along with the fact that when participants are not admitted to the BBZ, efforts are made to direct them to another suitable scheme.

One particularly interesting example of inclusive entrepreneurship concerns the case of migrant populations. Many migrants come from entrepreneurial cultures and basic statistical evidence shows that migrants are more likely to engage in entrepreneurial activities than non-migrant populations in both home and host countries, lending some credence to the idea migrants may constitute a self-selected group.[74] However, migrant entrepreneurs also typically face greater informal barriers to starting businesses. These informal barriers notably include learning and navigating the culture of the host country, its institutional environment, as well as a new language (OECD/EU, 2017).[75] Promoting entrepreneurship among migrant communities can provide a double dividend by unlocking the latent and under-utilized economic potential of particular individuals. At the same time, it may help empower migrant communities over the longer term through the development of role models and entrepreneurial networks (see Box 3.3 below for a case study from Portugal).

Box 3.3. The Project for the Promotion of Immigrant Entrepreneurship (PEI) - Portugal

Description

The Promotion of Immigrant Entrepreneurship project (PEI) was initiated in 2009 to enhance entrepreneurial activities amongst migrant communities in Portugal, targeting migrant entrepreneurs in vulnerable neighborhoods. The program is run by the High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue, in partnership with institutions involving different communities, non-governmental organizations and professional trainers. The project was allocated EUR 875 000 from the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Countries Nationals and Trainers (European Commission/OECD, 2015).[76]

Problem addressed

Entrepreneurs from migrant groups experience higher barriers to entrepreneurship, due to poor knowledge of the law, a lack of developed local networks, and lower trust on the part of suppliers and customers. The program aimed to remedy this by:

- Developing personal, social, and management competences in migrant communities;
- Facilitating access to support programs and promoting the integration of informal businesses into the formal economy;
- Linking immigrant entrepreneurs with the industry networks;
- Enhancing entrepreneurial activities amongst migrant communities by increasing the number of new sustainable businesses (e.g. promoting role models).

Box 3.3. The Project for the Promotion of Immigrant Entrepreneurship (PEI) - Portugal

Approach

PEI targeted migrants who had a business concept to develop. The execution of this program used an integrated and individually tailored approach to business creation and development that involved the following steps:

- Promotion of the program by local institutions;
- Identification and recruitment of the participants by local authorities;
- Training, for which partner institutions provided a 62-hour course to all participants to increase their skills and self-confidence;
- Follow-up, which involved subsequent private meetings between trainers and individual participants to ensure the progress of business creation.

Impact

During its first five years, PEI reached 1,450 participants and provided complete training sessions to 777 immigrants. As a result, 305 business ideas were developed and 75 new businesses created (European Commission/OECD, 2015).[77] The survival rate for these businesses was around 72 percent in 2014. An external evaluation highlighted the promotion of literacy, financial literacy, and socio-cultural understanding. The evaluation found that 95 percent of participants were satisfied (European Commission, 2016).[78]

Strengths

Evaluation of the program identified the strong linkage with local institutions in promoting, recruiting, and training processes as a key factor in its success. This strategy ensured the spread of information and effective communication with local migrant communities. In addition, the follow-up provided individualized consultation to address the specific needs of migrant entrepreneurs (European Commission/OECD, 2015). Other contributing factors included the use of a tailored approach to individual needs, which helped hand in hand with the confidence gained by its participants to tackle day-to-day situations (like approaching public authorities) and the facilitation of integration into the host society (gained knowledge of customs and habits) (European Commission, 2016).

Do participatory processes act as effective sources of individual empowerment and inclusive policymaking?

The OECD considers the principles of *openness*, *responsiveness,* and *transparency* to be essential institutional pillars for building trust in government, supporting democracy, and enabling societal progress.[79] In addition to their intrinsic value, *openness*, *responsiveness,* and *transparency* are also powerful drivers of public sector innovation. They provide governments with important levers for improving the quality and effectiveness of public services by ensuring that people and their well-being remain the central concern at all stages of the policy cycle and administrative processes. The OECD underlines in this regard the potential for linking openness and innovation to jointly promote better governance and enhanced democracy (OECD, 2017).[80] In a context where digital technology is redefining the modes of interaction between citizens and government, particular attention has been given to participatory processes and their potential for involving citizens more directly in the design and implementation of public policy and services.

Significant questions remain however regarding the extent to and the conditions under which participatory processes translate into greater individual empowerment and social inclusion. These questions notably relate to the role played by citizens in these processes, the different ways in which technology is transforming these processes, as well as possible challenges and risks to address. The following sub-section explores these questions from two angles, building on ongoing OECD research. It looks (i) at the impact that *co-creation and co-production processes* – 2 important sources of public sector innovation – have in terms of citizen empowerment; and (ii) at the contribution that participatory democracy initiatives can make to open and effective government through the use of *deliberative processes*.

Co-creation and co-production of public policy and services

The OECD launched its *Observatory of Public Sector Innovation* (OPSI) in 2013 to analyze emerging practices and innovation in the public sector. OPSI collects cases from both OECD and non-OECD countries and has assembled the largest database on public sector innovation in the world. The case studies are publicly accessible on OPSI's digital *Innovation Case Study Platform.*[81] Information collected on the cases covers, among other things, the description of the innovative practice (type, main beneficiaries, objectives, etc.), results, lessons learnt, methods used to develop and test the innovation prior to its full implementation, main challenges encountered in the development process, and the extent to which the intended users of the service were involved in the process. To date (June 2019), the *Innovation Case Study Platform* contains 339 cases of public sector innovation from 66 different countries spanning Africa, North and South America, Asia, Europe, and Oceania. Since 2016, OPSI has also conducted *Global Innovation Reviews* in partnership with the United Arab Emirates' *Mohammed Bin Rashid Centre for Government Innovation*, which includes a worldwide call for cases disseminated through public sector innovation networks. Results from the *Global Innovation Reviews* are presented in the annual *Embracing Innovation in Government* Reports.[82]

A number of these cases involve elements of *co-production* or *co-creation* of public services. Both of these concepts have been used in the public management literature to describe the move towards increased citizen participation in the design and provision of public services. Co-production and co-creation cover a continuum of different joined-up activities involving citizens and government. These activities notably include co-design, co-planning, co-management, co-commissioning, and co-implementation. The modes and means of citizen participation also vary.

Despite a certain degree of ambiguity in their definition, both concepts share core traits.[83] Both imply: (i) collaboration between professionalized service providers in public agencies and citizens (whether individually or collectively); (ii) direct input by citizens into the production cycle (whether planning, design or delivery) of public services affecting them; and (iii) that citizens' active input contributes to shape these services. Co-production and co-creation can be distinguished on the basis of the type of input provided by citizens and the stage of the production cycle at which they take place. Co-production is generally associated with citizen participation in the implementation phase of public services, while co-creation concerns involvement at a more strategic level. In other words, when citizens are involved in the general planning of a service – perhaps even initiating it – then it is co-creation, whereas if they shape the service during later phases of the cycle it is co-production (Lember, Brandsen, & Tonurist, 2019).[84] An example of an innovative form of social protection based on co-creation can be found in Box 3.4 below.

Box 3.4. A case study in the co-creation of public services: The Asker Welfare Lab (Norway)

Background: Innovating to overcome silos in the delivery of public services

The Asker Welfare Lab embodies a new concept for service delivery centered on the citizen. The model was developed and tested by the municipality of Asker in the Greater Oslo region over the period 2013-2017. The original aim of the model was to overcome silos in the implementation of public welfare services at the local level and improve value for citizens, particularly vulnerable individuals and households. The Asker Welfare Lab has been recognized as a National Learning Project in Norway and received numerous prizes for innovation in the public sector, including a Best Practice Certificate from the European Public Sector Awards (EPSA) in 2017.

The idea for the Welfare Lab started with a project aimed at redesigning social housing services. While developing this project, a number of issues emerged. First of all, the objectives for improving social housing could not be achieved within a traditional service model. Secondly, there was a need for a broader multi-dimensional approach as the complex issues relating to citizens' living conditions could not be adequately addressed through a narrow focus on housing. Thirdly, complexity in the design of public services and fragmentation in their delivery represents significant barriers, particularly for those in vulnerable situations (through tiring application procedures, contradictory intervention aims, etc.). Faced with these challenges, the Asker municipality reframed the project and asked itself: "*What if we started thinking like an investor?*"

The Model: Partnering with people to co-invest in their well-being

The model for the Asker Welfare Lab rests on two main principles:

- The municipal services and their external partners follow an approach that focuses explicitly on investing in people and their well-being, rather than managing cases.
- The recipients of welfare services are treated as "co-investors" in the program, based on the principle that "*no decision about me shall be taken without me*".

The common objective for all partners in the program consists in improving the living standards of vulnerable individuals and households by helping them achieve sustainable outcomes. During its pilot phase, the program targeted three specific groups: (i) families with children experiencing vulnerable living conditions; (ii) vulnerable youth (17-25 years old); and (iii) families with children suffering from disability. Degree of vulnerability is defined both in material terms (the economic resources available to individuals or households) and in non-material terms (the ability of individuals or households to change their situation). In doing so, the model takes economic and subjective dimensions of exclusion into account. In line with its focus on well-being outcomes, the model also introduced a new form of reporting which measures progress in terms of impact on the living conditions and quality of life of recipients.

Box 3.4. Case Study: The Asker Welfare Lab - Norway [continued]

Early results: Empowerment as a tool for well-being and inclusion

A pilot for the Asker Welfare Lab model was tested in 2016-2017 involving at least 20-30 individuals or families. Early results suggest some evidence and lessons regarding the benefits of co-creating public services, based on an active partnership between service providers (including public sector experts and social workers), stakeholders (including the voluntary sector, private sector and social entrepreneurs), and recipients:

- Living conditions and quality of life were measured before and after intervention, showing improvements on both counts.
- Estimates based on the pilot suggest that an overwhelming majority of the individuals and households participating could transition from an untenable or vulnerable situation to a stable or sustainable situation over a period of 2-3 years.
- Results on user engagement show that citizens experienced value from participating.

The Asker Welfare Lab represents a genuine case of co-creation of public services and an example of innovative social protection. The model emphasizes participation as a means to promote a sense of individual empowerment and agency among recipients, which contributes in turn to improve the effectiveness of the public services delivered and sustainability of the outcomes achieved. As part of the process, new tools were developed to support these objectives. They include:

- A *planning matrix* which helps structure the conversation between the service providers and the citizens they serve.
- A *mapping tool* which helps citizens identify their capabilities and barriers.
- The model relies on a "rights and responsibilities" approach:
- The municipality commits to provide the citizen with: (i) coordinated and integrated help (meaning the recipient will not have to deal with different public branches); (ii) assistance in developing short and long-term objectives; and (iii) close and individualized follow up.
- In return, the municipality expects the citizen to: (i) commit to "make a change" (notably by attending meetings and appointments); (ii) mobilize his/her family and social network in the effort; and (iii) cooperate in the setting of long-term objectives for him/herself.
-

The Asker Welfare Lab also contributes to promote community empowerment by bringing public sector experts and service providers, stakeholders and recipients together in a municipal context. The model seeks to empower frontline civil servants to work across silos and collaborate more closely with stakeholders and recipients. Reflecting this objective, municipal workers reported:

- A greater sense of agency, notably through an extended mandate to make decisions (in consultation with the recipients) and pooling of resources (both public and private).
- A greater recognition of their role and competence, notably through an increased capacity to intervene and take decisions at an early stage.
- Efficiency gains (notably through common planning), which allow them more time for case work, individualized follow up, and a greater ability to enact change.

Box 3.4. Case Study: The Asker Welfare Lab - Norway [continued]

Next steps and lessons learned

- The Asker municipality is working to identify key performance indicators that can help scale up and disseminate the Welfare Lab model both internally and externally. Reflection on how to coordinate effectively with public services at regional and even national-level will be an essential part of this process.
- User perspectives were central for identifying problems and designing responses. While the Asker Welfare Lab is still developing more sophisticated evaluation tools, early evidence suggests that this approach delivered better results for citizens in this case.
- The Asker Welfare Lab highlights the importance of having the right infrastructure in place to support innovation. This includes leadership that allows for piloting, experimenting, and learning from mistakes. Outside funding is also crucial to free up the necessary competent workers to test new practices.
- Putting people and their needs at the center is a key element for improving outcomes and the efficiency of public services. Doing so allowed the Lab to avoid the problem of expert bias (fitting reality to expert views or initial design) and make a real change.
- Maintaining an overview of problems and their solutions requires better coordination of resources, shared mandates, and responsibility among public departments, as well as new models for evaluating impact and performance.
- Lastly, the case demonstrated that the potential benefits from cooperation with stakeholders can be much greater than anticipated.

Sources: (OECD, 2018); https://www.asker.kommune.no/om-asker-kommune/innovasjon-i-asker/innovasjonsprosjekter/asker-velferdslab/asker-welfare-lab/

A key area for research consists in better defining empowerment in the context of co-production and co-creation processes – what Lember, Surva, & Tonurist (2017)[85] call the "critical unobservable of co-production" – and assess to what extent these processes do lead to greater empowerment of citizens. Co-production and co-creation raise a number of problems with regard to individual empowerment. Some of these problems are classical and common to other processes of citizen engagement. The process itself may be subject to a selection bias if those with the appropriate time, resources, and competences are more likely to participate, thereby limiting its inclusiveness. Knowledge barriers in particular may reduce access and participation by vulnerable populations in co-production processes, especially where new technologies are involved (Clark, Brudney, & Jang, 2013).[86] Furthermore, by increasing the involvement but also the responsibility of users, co-production and co-creation may contribute to shift a greater degree of risk onto them.

Some of these problems are more novel and specific to co-production and co-creation processes. For instance, the experimental nature of many of these processes means that they and their outcomes may be more difficult to sustain over time or at scale. Furthermore, evidence shows that citizens may need to believe in their own efficacy and potential to make a difference before they engage in co-production (Bovaird, Van Ryzin, Löffler, & Parrado, 2015).[87] This can create a "Catch-22 situation" in which co-production is supposed to empower citizens, while citizens need to feel empowered to co-produce in the first place (Lember, Surva, & Tonurist, 2017). Finally, Lember, Surva, & Tonurist (2017) also note that while

co-production is meant to increase citizen participation and reduce the risk of policy capture by vested interests, if co-production becomes an inherent feature of the process (rather than an object of choice) then the alternative danger is that citizens may be "captured" into co-production and participate only on a passive mode.

In response to these problems, Lember, Surva, & Tonurist (2017) propose a conceptual framework for operationalizing the notion of empowerment in the context of relations between citizens and government. This framework identifies 5 main dimensions defining empowerment in co-production and co-creation:

(i) *Voice*, which reflects the ability and right of citizens to have a say
(ii) *Choice*, which reflects the presence of actionable alternatives for citizens
(iii) *Recognition of competence*, which endows citizens with the right to be heard
(iv) *Authority*, which endows citizens with the power to influence decision making
(v) *Agency*, which endows citizens with the power to take action

In addition, the self-efficacy of citizens needs to be built up in order to avoid the Catch-22 paradox linking co-production to empowerment. On the basis of these 5 dimensions, Lember, Surva, & Tonurist (2017) establishes a continuum that goes from passive to more active modes of co-production (see Table 3.1 below).

	Active co-production	**Passive co-production**
Voice	• Citizens have a say within the collaborative process in all co-production phases: decision-making, designing, planning, implementing and evaluating services	• Citizens have a say in the implementation and evaluation phase of the service
Choice	• Active, voluntary participation initiated by either citizens or government • Choice of alternatives in the process of designing services • Experimenting allowed	• Participation initiated by government • Pre-defined choices • Possibility of inactivity (opting out) or disempowerment by coercion (involuntary or implicit/unknown nature of the service)
Recognition of competence	• Multi-directional communication • Shared trust between citizens and the state • Training for citizens available if needed	• Unidirectional communication and consultation • Professional expertize as the key inclusion mechanism
Authority	• Clearly defined rights of citizens to partake in co-production of services, often designed with citizen involvement • Shared authority	• Narrow options for citizens to partake in co-production, defined by the state • Paternalistic view on authority (authority not shared or shared selectively)
Agency	• Possibility to change the service • Increase of responsibility of citizens and possibility to hold government accountable	• Increase in responsibilities without the possibility to change service design

Table 3.1: Mechanisms of (dis)empowerment in co-production processes. Source: (Lember, Surva, & Tonurist,2017)

Having developed a framework for assessing empowerment in the context of co-production, Lember, Surva, & Tonurist (2017) seeks to address a second important question: how to assess the impact of digital technology on these processes and the extent to which it has contributed to promote active or passive forms of citizen involvement. A review of the existing literature highlights two problems. First of all, academic and policy debates on the impact of digitalization on co-production have been marked by a certain degree of techno-optimism. In doing so, they have tended to emphasize the benefits of digitalization and overlook the profound uncertainties and risks that come with technological innovation. Secondly, the state of empirical research on these emerging issues means that there is still little evidence available on the actual impact of digital technology on co-production and empowerment, beyond case studies and good practices (Lember, Brandsen, & Tonurist, 2019). In this respect, the potential of digital technology for increasing citizen engagement and promoting greater empowerment has often been postulated, but rarely tested empirically.

In an effort to help fill this analytical gap, Lember, Surva, & Tonurist (2017) uses data from the OPSI *Innovation Case Study Platform* and *Global Innovation Reviews* to explore the question.[88] The data were gathered in May 2017. The researchers reviewed an initial dataset of 160 cases submitted to the *Global Innovation Review*, of which 115 were selected after pre-analysis, and 136 cases collected by the *OECD Observatory of Public Sector Innovation* (OPSI). From the dataset, a total of 60 cases involving co-production was identified, out of which 49 had a technology-related component. This sub-set of 49 cases involving digital technology and co-production, drawn from different parts of the world, was then assessed in terms of:

(i) *The type(s) of technologies mobilized in the co-production process*, which included (a) crowdsourcing (of ideas, opinions, funding, sub-tasks, data, etc.); (b) digital platforms; (c) do-it-yourself/peer-to-peer/self-services; (d) sensing technology (drones, hardware, etc.); (e) other technologies. Technologies were categorized based on their core logic in each specific case. Many of the cases employed a mix of different technologies, combined in some instances with non-technological means or approaches.

(ii) *The stage(s) of co-production concerned,* in terms of co-planning, co-design, co-delivery and co-evaluation.

(iii) *The formal ambitions and claimed impacts,* in terms of whether active co-production and/or empowerment of citizens were explicitly mentioned as objectives or not.

(iv) *The nature of citizen involvement*, in terms of active vs passive participation as identified in Table 3.1 above.

The broad and preliminary results of the review of these 49 cases are outlined in Table 3.2 below:

Types of technologies used

Type	Crowdsourcing	Platforms	DIY/P2P	Sensors etc. hardware	Other
Share in total selection (%)	55%	37%	2%	2%	4%

Stages of co-production concerned

Stages	Pre-production only (co-planning, co-design)	Production/post-production only (co-delivery, co-evaluation)	Both pre-production and production/post-production
Share in total selection (%)	27%	69%	4%

Formal ambitions and impacts

Ambitions and impacts	Active citizens/empowering mentioned	Active citizens/empowering not mentioned
Share in total selection (%)	33%	67%

Nature of active vs passive involvement

Nature of co-production	Active	Passive
Share in total selection (%)	30%	70%

Table 3.2: Characteristics of digital technologies and co-production. Source: (Lember, Surva, & Tonurist, 2017)

Based on the review and analysis of the cases, Lember, Surva, & Tonurist (2017) draws the following preliminary conclusions regarding the links between digital technology, co-production processes, and citizen empowerment:

- While citizens can feel empowered to some degree by the nature of the co-production process, in the majority of cases reviewed citizen empowerment does not constitute the main focus of these initiatives.
- More often than not (70 percent of cases), citizen participation in the cases reviewed was clearly passive, typically relying on implicit participation through citizen-sourcing. Furthermore, the role of citizens in the design phases of these initiatives tends to be minimal, despite this being an important precondition for active co-production and having arguably the greatest effect on co-production outcomes.

- In the cases identified as involving "active co-production", different dimensions of citizen empowerment (voice, choice, recognition of competence, authority, and agency) were enhanced, but not all together. While giving citizens *voice* and *choice* were the most common mechanisms for empowerment (usually in the context of relatively simple initiatives), broadening citizen *agency* and sharing *authority* with citizens remained rare.
- The preliminary evidence shows a mixed picture in terms of the impact of digital technology on citizen empowerment in co-production processes. In most cases, full empowerment of citizens is not happening, and even when active co-production is practiced, governments retain top-down directive control over the process. This may be partly explained by the way in which the data were collected,[89] which probably under-represents bottom-up initiatives. However, the cases studied remain significant as they reflect what governments themselves deem important in digital co-production and may be indicative of the likely direction of co-production innovations in the near future.
- If the use of digital technology is aimed at improving the efficiency and effectiveness of public services by involving citizens in active co-production, there is still plenty to do in order to design co-production processes in a way that allows real empowerment, active engagement, and two-way communication between the citizen and government.

Open government and deliberative democracy:

The OECD Recommendation on Open Government, adopted in 2017, defines open government as a culture of governance that promotes the key principles of transparency, integrity, accountability, and stakeholder participation in support of democracy and inclusive growth. These principles aim to enhance the relationship between citizens and public institutions by fostering mutual understanding and reciprocal trust in a context where citizens' expectations and the nature of their interactions with government are changing. The *OECD Recommendation* provides adhering countries with a set of criteria for designing and implementing open government strategies. To ensure accountability, it establishes quantifiable processes for monitoring and evaluating implementation of open government strategies, as well as standards for data collection and the design of comparable indicators on processes, outputs, outcomes, and impact. The *OECD Recommendation* has been recognized as an important instrument for achieving SDG 16 on *Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions*, and through it a wider range of goals (including SDG 10) as open government enhances inclusive growth and fosters more effective policy.[90]

At the most general level, open government strategies should aim to move beyond simple consultation and promote citizen participation in the design of policy and delivery of public services. What this means in practice and how countries should pursue it will vary depending on specific national contexts and conditions (OECD, 2016).[91] However, when collaborating and engaging with citizens and stakeholders, including the private sector, a number of general rules can be identified. In this respect, governments should notably:

- Set clear expectations about what is and is not under consideration
- Aim to foster a culture of respect and genuine partnership
- Ensure all relevant interests are represented (both in terms of underrepresented groups and in terms of the roles these groups play from technical expertise to coalition-building)
- Structure engagement as an ongoing process rather than an isolated instance
- Identify overlap between stakeholder goals
- Engage with citizens and social movements rather than waiting for NGOs to engage them

Co-production and co-creation processes are part of open government strategies, but so are deliberative processes and the broader notion of deliberative democracy. The principle of deliberative democracy emphasizes the provision of direct input by citizens into the design of policy through deliberative processes or institutions such as citizens' councils. Deliberative democracy contributes to promote open government by enhancing transparency, integrity, accountability, and stakeholder participation. It can also lead to better policies as more viewpoints enter into the policymaking process and the stakeholders most affected by policies provide input on their design. The deliberative process itself potentially carries the added benefit of strengthening trust in government by uniting and engaging citizens.

There are many examples of initiatives designed to improve policymaking using deliberative processes. One option, pioneered by Canada and Australia, consists in developing initiatives based on long-form citizen deliberation. Initiatives of this kind include participatory budgeting, deliberative polls, consensus conferences, and citizens' assemblies and juries. In many cases, a number of citizens are randomly selected and called upon to meet over a substantial period of time to deliberate on a pressing public problem, with the aim of producing recommendations for policymakers. When properly designed and conducted, deliberative processes can enable progress on social issues involving difficult trade-offs, while simultaneously increasing both citizen engagement and trust in government (Chwalisz, 2017).[92]

Governments face a number of significant challenges when implementing open government strategies and developing deliberative processes. The OECD (2016)[93] identifies lack of human and financial capacity as the two main barriers. In addition, governments need to navigate weak mandates and manage citizen participation fatigue, promote administrative cultures that actively support citizen engagement, develop effective modes of outreach towards vulnerable social groups, improve accessibility to programs, and cope with the time and monetary constraints that deliberative processes entail for citizens. The benefits of deliberative processes in terms of improved policy and increased legitimacy may take time to materialize. Governments therefore need to pay attention to the expectations of citizens with regard to these processes and their outcomes. Furthermore, in the transition towards more deliberative forms of democracy, the traditional institutions of representative democracy run the risk of losing independence or the perception of independence.

Participation in deliberative processes also presents citizens with significant challenges. Basic rights – including freedom of expression, association, and assembly – need to be established and guaranteed as a prerequisite for meaningful participation in deliberative processes. In addition, engagement in deliberative processes involves a substantial investment by citizens:

- In terms of *time*, as the process can be lengthy and ongoing
- In terms of *financial resources*, relating notably to the cost of access and opportunity costs of engaging in the process
- In terms of *expertise*, as citizens need to understand the way in which the process of deliberation functions, in addition to the issue to be deliberated on

These constraints give rise to problems of self-selection, which can call into question the representativeness and inclusiveness of deliberative processes. Traditional ways of addressing this challenge include enhanced citizen engagement, through which relevant stakeholders can be identified and involved, and by emphasizing or even mandating consultation of under-represented groups. More innovative ways of doing so include an increasing use of "sortition" (i.e. the random selection of citizens

to participate in deliberative processes or populate deliberative assemblies) to ensure greater representativeness and digital technology to facilitate the process (for instance, by using online tools to solicit feedback on policy implementation).

More generally, digital technology can enable governments and other important stakeholders, such as NGOs, to leverage the "wisdom of crowds" by initiating public campaigns and launching initiatives (bottom-up strategies) and by interacting directly with the public and using big data to aggregate preferences and feedback (top-down strategies). In addition to the potential problems highlighted in the previous sub-section in relation to its effects on empowerment, digital technology can also be a "double-edged sword" in that it may both increase citizen participation and amplify discontent.

In this respect, open government strategies face something similar to the Tocqueville paradox discussed in the introduction and illustrated through the case of the Healthcare.gov online exchange. Increased consultation and accessibility may raise the expectations of citizens, while reforms designed to promote openness and transparency can simultaneously heighten their insight into the limitations and perceived failings or unfairness of government (Page, 2017). This problem underlines the importance of taking account of the evolving perceptions and demands of citizens when designing participatory processes, particularly in a context of technological and institutional change. Designed and implemented properly, deliberative processes can be powerful tools for enhancing democracy and rebuilding trust in government, as highlighted by Ireland's experience with the Citizens' Assembly (see Box 3.5 below).

Box 3.5. A case study in innovative citizen participation: The Citizens' Assembly (Ireland)

Background: Creating the Citizens' Assembly

The Citizens' Assembly (*An Tionól Saoránach*) was an exercise in deliberative democracy deployed in Ireland between 2016 and 2018. It built on a previous experiment in deliberative democracy conducted between 2012 and 2014 – the Convention on the Constitution – that paved the way for legislation on the legalization of same-sex marriage and its adoption by national referendum in 2015. The aim of these exercises was to cut through political deadlock on sensitive issues and increase participation by citizens in policymaking. Governments and thinkers worldwide have cited Ireland's Citizens' Assembly as a successful use of deliberative democracy and an interesting tool for enhancing trust between citizens and government.

Both houses of the Irish Parliament (*Oireachtas*) voted in July 2016 to create a Citizens' Assembly composed of 99 citizens and an appointed Chairperson with a mandate to investigate a limited, iterated number of pressing issues. The establishment of this Citizens' Assembly was part of a commitment on constitutional reform undertaken by the new government in its *Programme for a Partnership Government*. Specifically, the mandate for the Assembly directed it to consider five issues:

- The Eighth Amendment of the Irish constitution, which outlawed abortion
- Best practices to respond to the challenges and opportunities of an aging population
- Making Ireland a leader in tackling climate change
- The manner in which referenda are held
- Fixed-term parliaments

The structure of the Citizens' Assembly

The government selected a former Supreme Court judge, the Honourable Mary Laffoy, as Chairperson of the Citizens' Assembly. Her role as a neutral arbiter consisted in overseeing the Assembly and helping guide its work without influence from the government. The 99 citizens composing the Assembly were selected at random, controlling for factors such as age, gender, income, and geographic location to ensure that the Assembly be broadly representative of Irish society.

The Assembly's terms of reference established that all matters discussed by the Assembly would be decided by a majority of the votes of members present and voting. They mandated 12 meetings of the Assembly between October 2016 and April 2018 and also for the setup of an Expert Advisory Group to prepare information and advice for the Assembly members.

Four distinct Expert Advisory Groups, composed of academics and practitioners from relevant fields, were formed on topics under discussion by the Assembly. Additionally, a Steering Group, composed of the Chairperson and a small group of elected citizen members, was established to support the functioning of the Assembly, including planning and operational aspects of the work program.

Box 3.5. Case study: The Citizens' Assembly [continued]

Meetings of the Citizens' Assembly were structured as follows:

- Opening remarks by the Chairperson
- Expert presentations
- Presentations by civil society and advocacy groups
- Consideration of submissions by members of the public
- Question-and-answer sessions and debates
- Roundtable discussions
- Vote by the Assembly on recommendations to be made to the Irish Parliament

In an effort to remain transparent and accessible, the Assembly welcomed submissions from members of the public, academics, practitioners, advocacy/interest groups, and other organizations on the topics it considered, and published these submissions online. It livestreamed its proceedings and has left the footage available on YouTube.

In turn, the Irish government was obligated to provide a response to each recommendation and, if the recommendation was accepted and the case applied, to indicate the projected timeframe for holding a referendum on the relevant issue.

Prompting Societal Action: The Citizens' Assembly's Work on the Eighth Amendment

The main issue considered by the Citizens' Assembly was reform of the Eighth Amendment of the 1983 Constitution Act. The Eighth Amendment instituted a principle of equal right to life for the mother and the unborn child and was interpreted in practice as a ban on abortion. The issue remained contentious and the Citizens' Assembly was partly instituted to inform legislation on the extension of the right to abortion and prepare a referendum on the issue. Views on this approach were mixed. Some members of Oireachtas and society accused supporters of the initiative of "kicking the can down the road," while others viewed the decision as a way to facilitate dialogue and progress on the issue in a less divisive manner.

The Assembly recommended that the Eighth Amendment:

- Not be retained in full (by a vote count of 79 to 12)
- Be replaced or amended rather than repealed with no replacement (50 to 39)
- Be changed to allow Oireachtas to legislate on the issue instead of making provisions on the issue (51 to 38)

It further voted on recommendations regarding legal time limits for abortion under 13 scenarios (including pregnancy resulting from rape and real or substantial physical risk to life of the mother). These votes generally favored setting no limit, or setting a time limit of 22 weeks, for most cases. It also recommended a referendum to remove the Eighth Amendment from the Constitution. These recommendations were sent to a Joint Committee in Parliament, which ultimately approved the recommendation for a national referendum on removal and replacement of the Eighth Amendment. This referendum took place in May 2018 and passed with 66.4 percent of voters in favor.

Box 3.5. Case study: The Citizens' Assembly [continued]

Next steps and lessons learnt:

The Citizens' Assembly was viewed as a success due to its ability to generate progress on abortion, an issue on which the government had been stalled. Today, the Irish government has established two new Assemblies to address the issues of gender equality and the best model for local government in Dublin, respectively. Because the Assembly used long-form deliberation with a goal of developing recommendations rather than actual policy – and perhaps because these citizens did not face electoral constraints or pressures on their behavior and choices in how to engage each other – the process successfully navigated the heart of substantive issues without further polarizing Irish society.

Several factors contributed to the success of the Citizens' Assembly:

- **The role of the Chairperson** as an experienced yet neutral arbiter was key to ensuring the good functioning and legitimacy of the Assembly.
- **The time and mandate given to the Citizens' Assembly** allowed sufficient space and resources for a good-faith effort to understand the issues and its stakeholders; to engage in constructive dialogue; and to propose actionable recommendations for the government. The creation of Expert Advisory Groups proved a useful complement for informing the Citizens' Assembly and helping it craft better policy recommendations.
- **Opening the Assembly to submissions by the public** enhanced its representativeness and its legitimacy, as well as the quality of the deliberation and recommendations.
- Finally, **requiring that the government provide a response to all recommendations** ensured accountability and helped translate deliberation into practical action.

In addition to the preconditions for success listed above, there are also limits and potential pitfalls to this model that need to be considered. While deliberative processes can help build consensus and advance legislation on politically stalled debates, they also run the risk of out-sourcing political responsibility and impairing the advantages of governmental structures such as bicameral legislatures and the separation of the legislative and executive branches of government. For example, while the Convention on the Constitution led to progress on the issue of same-sex marriage, it also gave rise to a proposal on reducing the age of presidential candidates that was resoundingly rejected by the public. In this respect, the Citizens' Assembly can serve as a model for enhancing deliberative democracy, but it requires calculated and intelligent use.

Sources:
https://oecd-opsi.org/innovations/the-irish-citizens-assembly;
https://www.citizensassembly.ie/en/Home/

However, the link between greater participation and restored trust is not automatic. Integrating elements of recognition into deliberative processes, and more broadly into open government strategies, may therefore help improve their effectiveness and inclusiveness. Several issues need to be considered in order to do so. While the ethos of open government and deliberative democracy emphasizes greater

participation and representativeness in policymaking, the way in which deliberative processes are designed has substantial influence over their ability to produce more inclusive outcomes. At a baseline level, these initiatives must be commissioned by a public authority, randomly select citizens, and provide sufficient time for deliberation to ensure the broader public trusts, rather than rejects, the process and its outcomes. Communicating effectively on deliberative processes is equally important as holding them: governments must combat disinformation and ensure the public understands what makes these initiatives representative, independent, and democratic.

Baiocchi (2001) shows that in order to ensure active participation and buy-in by under-represented populations, it may be necessary to present inclusion as one of the main objectives of citizens' assemblies when communicating to the public. Unless governments explicitly encourage and promote the participation of key stakeholders, deliberative processes may fall short of their goals in terms of representativeness. Policymakers must also recognize that while deliberative processes – in particular referenda and participatory policymaking projects like citizens' assemblies – are effective tools for including more stakeholders in meaningful discussion, there are limits to what they can achieve in and of themselves. For instance, inclusion is as much a pre-condition *for* as it is an output *of* effective deliberation processes. In this respect, it is important to remember that the benefits of greater participation and representativeness generated by deliberative democracy initiatives are limited to the group of people these initiatives include.

Deliberative democracy initiatives present other potential benefits, notably in the form of process utility. The experience of engaging in deliberation over solutions to common problems can endow citizens with a greater feeling of empowerment, dignity, and individual as well as collective agency. This experience can also foster a sense of community and enhance interpersonal trust and trust in government. For example, Lazer, Sokhey, Neblo, Esterling, & Kennedy (2015)[94] found that experiments with digital town halls in the United States led to increased intra-citizenry engagement as people began discussing policy ideas with their peers. Additionally, Americans who were the least likely to participate in traditional political activities, such as voting, were those most interested in deliberative processes, suggesting the latter can help empower people to engage with the political realm (Neblo, Esterling, Kennedy, & Lazer, 2010).[95]

These processes can also build trust in government, as participation in deliberative and participatory processes builds confidence in policymaking among citizens (see Michels, 2011;[96] Chwalisz, 2017;[97] Knobloch, Barthel, & Gastil, 2019[98]). The degree to which these process benefits extend is unclear and depends on both internal factors, such as process design, and external factors such as social capital. One area that will require future research concerns the degree to which deliberative processes translate into inclusive growth. Reframing the relationship between citizens and the state using deliberative processes has the capacity to enhance trust and legitimacy and place people at the center of policy, suggesting the potential for these mechanisms to promote individual empowerment and social inclusion while giving people more of a stake in policymaking and in political institutions.

Endnotes

[1] The *Pathfinders for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies* are a multi-stakeholder partnership that brings together over 40 governments, multilateral and civil society organisations. It was convened by the governments of Brazil, Sierra Leone and Switzerland, supported by the *Center on International Cooperation* at New York University, with the objective of accelerating the implementation of the UN 2030 Agenda targets for achieving peaceful, just and inclusive societies (under Sustainable Development Goal 16+). The Pathfinders launched the *Roadmap for Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies* at the 72nd Session of the UN General Assembly in September 2017.

[2] The *OECD Framework for Measuring Well-Being and Progress* defines well-being in terms of (i) a set of current outcomes which cover material conditions and quality of life through indicators measuring 11 different dimensions (including subjective life satisfaction); and (ii) a set of key resources or capital stocks that drive well-being over time composed of 4 types of assets (natural, economic, human, and social). The main characteristics of this Framework are (i) that its dimensions and indicators are people-focused rather than economy-focused; (ii) that it aims to capture outcomes (i.e. life conditions and experiences) as opposed to inputs (i.e. health spending) or outputs (i.e. number of patients treated); (iii) that it pays attention not only to averages but also to the distribution of outcomes; and (iv) that it takes account of both the objective and subjective aspects of well-being. For more information on the OECD Well-Being Framework, see OECD. (2011). *How's Life? Measuring Well-Being*. Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264121164-en

[3] The OECD's biennial *How's Life?* reports compile comprehensive data on well-being for all OECD members and partners.

[4] See (OECD, 2018) *Beyond GDP: Measuring what counts for economic and social performance*. Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264307292-en and (OECD, 2018) *For Good Measure: Advancing research on well-being metrics beyond GDP*. Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264307278-en

[5] See for instance (OECD, 2018). *Development Co-operation Report 2018: Joining forces to leave no-one behind*. Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:https://doi.org/10.1787/dcr-2018-en The issue of multi-dimensional poverty was also addressed in the context of the 10th May 2019 OECD Conference on the Hidden Dimensions of Poverty co-organized with ATD-Fourth World and the Oxford International Co-ordination Team.

[6] See https://www.budget.govt.nz/budget/2018/economic-fiscal-outlook/budget-2019-focus-on-wellbeing.htm. The OECD Well-Being Framework has also been applied at sub-national level, notably by the Mexican state of Morelos (*Using Well-Being Indicators for Policy-Making: The State of Morelos, Mexico.* Paris: OECD Publishing. Retrieved from https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/9789264217416-11-en.pdf?expires=1556117184&id=id&accname=ocid84004878&checksum=60534CEA75951BA987E83B5F7B213F7A

[7] OECD. (2018). *Opportunities for All: A framework for policy action on inclusive growth.* Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:doi.org/10.1787/9789264301665-en

[8] See for instance (Sandel, 2018) Populism, Liberalism and Democracy. *Philosophy and Social Criticism, 44*(4), 353-359. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0191453718757888 and the study of support for the "Gilets Jaunes" movement in France by (Algan, Beasley, Cohen, Foucault, & Péron, 2019) Algan, Y., Beasley, E., Cohen, D., Foucault, M., & Péron, M. (2019). Qui sont les Gilets Jaunes et leurs soutiens? (N°3). Retrieved from http://www.sciencespo.fr/cevipof/sites/sciencespo.fr.cevipof/files/-Qui-sont-les-Gilets-jaunes-et-leurs-soutiens-1.pdf for examples of analysis linking the symbolic dimensions of subjective well-being, including recognition, to recent protest movements and the rise in the populist vote observed in a number of countries.
notably finds low levels of interpersonal trust and low levels of well-being, particularly along subjective dimensions, to be significant indicators of strong support for the Gilets Jaunes movement. The business literature also identifies recognition as an important factor for explaining employee engagement and work Buckingham, M., & Goodall, A. (2019) *Nine Lies about Work: A freethinking leader's guide to the real world.* Brighton, Mass.: Harvard Business Review Press.

[9] "*Ce sentiment reflète et renvoie à un état de non-droit, fondé sur la notion d'une force […] à laquelle on doit tout et qui ne vous doit rien*." (Original text in French, translated into English by the authors). See also Messekher, H. (2015) A Linguistic Landscape Analysis of the Socio-Political Demonstrations of Algiers: A politicized landscape. In R. &. Rubdy, *Conflict, Exclusion and Dissent in the Linguistic Landscape* (pp. 260-279). London: Palgrave MacMillan. doi:10.1057/978113742628 on the definition and use of the term "hogra".

[10] On "hogra" as a contributing factor to the Arab Spring, see Human Rights Watch. (2012) *World Report.* New York: Seven Stories Press. Retrieved from https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2012/country-chapters/global-middle-east/north-africa
and Pearlman, W. (2013) Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprising. *Perspectives on Politics, 11*(2), 387-409. doi:https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592713001072
[11] Tocqueville, A. d. (1840). *De la démocratie en Amérique - Livre II.* Paris : C. Gosselin.
[12] Elster, J. (2009). *Alexis de Tocqueville, the first Social Scientist.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[13] Evidence supporting the underlying hypotheses behind the "Tocqueville paradox" can notably be found in the literature on social conflict (Gurr, 1970) *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, NJ Princeton University Press, and in empirical studies such as (Healy, Kosec, & Mo, 2017) Economic Development, Mobility, and Political Discontent: An experimental test of Tocqueville's thesis in Pakistan. *American Political Science Review, 111*(3), 1-17. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S000305541700017X
[14] On the events, institutional lessons and impact of the problems linked to the roll-out of Healthcare.gov, see (CNN, 2013), *Report: Healthcare website failed test ahead of rollout.* Retrieved from CNN.com: https://edition.cnn.com/2013/10/22/politics/obamacare-website-problems/index.html (Brookings, 2015) *A look back at technical issues with Healthcare.gov.* Retrieved from Brookings.edu: https://www.brookings.edu/blog/techtank/2015/04/09/a-look-back-at-technical-issues-with-healthcare-gov/ and (RealClearPolitics, 2018) *Public Approval of Health Care Law polling data.* Retrieved February 27, 2018, from realclearpolitics.com: https://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/other/obama_and_democrats_health_care_plan-1130.html
[15] Ricœur, P. (1990). *Soi-Même comme un Autre.* Paris: Editions du Seuil.
[16] Siep, L. (2010). Recognition of Individuals and Cultures. In P. Cobben, Institutions of Education: then and today - The Legacy of German Idealism (pp. 97-116). Leiden & Boston: Brill.
[17] Taylor, C. (1992). *Multiculturalism and the "Politics of Recognition": An essay.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
[18] Douzinas, C. (2002, September). Identity, Recognition, Rights - Or what can Hegel teach us about human rights? Journal of Law and Society, 29(3), 379-405.
[19] For an overview on the philosophical treatment of recognition, see for instance (Schmidt am Busch & Zurn, 2009). *The Philosophy of Recognition: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives.* Lexington, KY: Lexington Books
[20] It is interesting to note that Kant (*Rekognition*) and Hegel (*Anerkennung*) use different German terms, both of which translate into "recognition" in English. (Ricœur, 2004) *Parcours de la Reconnaissance.* Paris: Editions Stock distinguishes a third tradition of thought on the concept which relates to Bergson's work on the links between memory and recognition.
[21] On the psychological foundations of moral norms and their impact on individual and collective behavior, see for instance Elster (1989). *The Cement of Society: A survey of social order.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press On promising as an expression of moral obligation in the field of language, see Austin (1962) *How To Do Things With Words* . Oxford: Clarendon Press.
[22] Ricœur, P. (1990). Soi-Même comme un Autre. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
[23] Ricœur, P. (2004). *Parcours de la Reconnaissance.* Paris: Editions Stock.
[24] Ricœur connects his project to a tradition initiated by Descartes. In this respect, Ricœur (1990) *Soi-Même comme un Autre.* Paris: Editions du Seuil may be viewed, at least in part, as an attempt to give greater content to the notion of self than the Cartesian notion of *cogito*, which is defined primarily by the activity of thought. Ricœur explores the figure of the self in different areas of activity, seeking each time to engage with relevant bodies of theory and address a fundamental question. In doing so, Ricœur (1990) looks successively at (i) the semantic and pragmatic identity of the self as speaker through a dialogue with the theory of language (*who is speaking?*); (ii) the practical identity of the self as agent through a dialogue with the theory of action (*who is acting?*); (iii) the narrative identity of the self as sense-maker through a dialogue with literary theory (*who is interpreting oneself?*); and (iv) the moral identity of the self as subject of obligation through a dialogue with moral theory (*who is the subject of moral judgement?*).
The philosophical analysis conducted in Ricœur (1990) is organized around two lines of reflection. The first one distinguishes between two senses of identity: identity in the active and changing sense of self-formation (identity as

ipse in Ricœur's terminology) and identity in the constant and external sense of sameness (identity as *idem* in Ricœur's terminology). The second line of reflection considers the relation between ipseity and alterity, arguing that alterity and the figure of the other are a constitutive part of identity and the formation of the self. Here, Ricœur builds on and extends the arguments made in Levinas, E. (1961). *Totalité et Infini: Essai sur l'extériorité.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

[25] Ricœur organizes the discussion of moral theory around a common question highlighted above (*who is the subject of moral judgement?*). In doing so, he tries to develop a broad and synthetic perspective that can bring together the classical Aristotelian approach (which focuses on the ethical notion of a "good life"), the modern Kantian approach (which centers on the practical role of moral obligation and norms) and the contemporary Rawlsian approach (which introduces institutional elements linked to the notion of distributive justice).

[26] In Aristotelian ethics, standards of consistency for action apply to immediate one-off goals (what would be defined in economics as preferential choice), but also to broader configurations of long-term goals which could be more appropriately defined as "plans of life". As Ricœur points out, these broader horizons of action often bring the notion of purpose into play, and with it the individual's sense of his or her identity as a person. In this respect, the activities of sense-making and self-interpretation cannot be fully separated from that of agency and the notion of "narrative identity" intersects with that of "moral identity". Ricœur illustrates this when he defines literature in quasi-Wittgensteinian terms as "a laboratory of moral ideas" for the reader and a form of preparation for being.

[27] For Ricœur as for Amartya Sen, individuals are object of self-esteem and respect because of their fundamental capabilities as human beings, rather than their particular actions and accomplishments – i.e. their actualized capabilities. The latter can give rise to additional merit, which can be recognized in the form of moral excellence or social prestige, but they do not impinge on the individual's right to a sense of self-esteem as an autonomous agent capable of setting his or her own goals, nor on the respect owed to him or her as such.

[28] The importance of the category of vulnerability in moral thought and the development of moral identity has notably been highlighted by works on the "ethics of care", see for instance (Gilligan, 1982) *In a Different Voice.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. and (Laugier & Paperman, 2006). *Le Souci des Autres: Ethique et politique du care.* Paris: EHESS. For a discussion on the links between Paul Ricœur's notion of solicitude, the category of vulnerability and the ethics of care, see for instance (Bétrémieux, 2010) Les Figures de la Vulnérabilité. In E. (. Hirsch, *Traité de Bioéthique Vol.1: Fondements, principes, repères* (pp. 174-188). Paris: ERES and (Van Nistelrooij, Schaafsma, & Tronto, 2014) Ricoeur and the Ethics of Care. *Medicine, Healthcare and Philosophy, 17*(4), 485-491. doi:DOI: 10.1007/s11019-014-9595-4.

More generally, the moral importance given to the notion of vulnerability is reflected in most major systems of religious thought. See for instance, Matthew 25.37.40 ("*Whenever you did this for one of the least important of these brothers of mine, you did it for me*"), but also Leviticus 19.33, Sura 2.220 and the Mahaparinirvana Sutra.

[29] In addition to solicitude as the expression of sympathy for the suffering and vulnerable, Ricœur analyzes another type of asymmetric recognition which consists in the form of moral solicitation (Levinas, 1961) calls "injunction". In this type of relation, the self is assigned to responsibility by the figure of the other as an external manifestation of humanity. Here, we are dealing with what is in some ways the mirror image of solicitude as sympathy: it is the self that is in a position of dependence and in need of the moral authority of the other in order to realize its own humanity.

[30] On the continuity between (Ricœur, 1990) *Soi-Même comme un Autre.* Paris: Editions du Seuil.and (Ricœur, 2004) *Parcours de la Reconnaissance.* Paris: Editions Stock, see (Greisch, 2006) Vers Quelle Reconnaissance? *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale, 2*(50), 149-171. Retrieved from https://www.cairn.info/revue-de-metaphysique-et-de-morale-2006-2-page-149.htm. On Axel Honneth's influence on (Ricœur, 2004) *Parcours de la Reconnaissance.* Paris: Editions Stock, see (Bouton, 2009) Les Apories de la Lutte pour la Reconnaissance: Hegel, Kojève, Butler . In F. Brugère, & G. (. le Blanc, *Judith Butler: Trouble dans le Sujet, Trouble dans les Normes* (pp. 35-67). Paris: PUF.

[31] Sen, A. (1999). Development as Freedom. Oxford : Oxford University Press.

[32] For an excellent overview of the Frankfurt School, its intellectual origins, contribution and evolution, see (Durand-Gasselin, 2012) *L'Ecole de Francfort.* Paris : Gallimard.See also (Geuss, 1981) *The Idea of a Critical Theory: Habermas and the Frankfurt School.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[33] On these issues, the Frankfurt School establishes an interesting connection with developmental psychology. See for instance (Habermas, 1975) Moral Development and Ego Identity*, Telos*, 41-55 and (Honneth, 2008). *Reification: A*

new look at an old idea. Oxford: University Press Habermas draws notably on the works of Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg on socio-cognitive development and moral learning, underlining in particular the role played by the relation to the primary care-giver in the early stages of child development. Further links could be made to recent research in social cognitive neuroscience on the mechanisms and development of empathy, as in (Baron-Cohen, 2011). *Zero Degrees of Empathy: A new theory of human cruelty and kindness.* London : Penguin.

[34] See most notably (Honneth, 1995). *The Struggle for Recognition: The moral grammar of social conflicts.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

[35] See (Fraser, 2003). Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, and Participation. In N. Fraser, & A. Honneth*, Redistribution or Recognition?. A political-philosophical exchange (pp.* 7-109). New York: Verso.

[36] Fraser, N. (2003). Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, and Participation. In N. Fraser, & A. Honneth, Redistribution or Recognition? A political-philosophical exchange (pp. 7-109). New York: Verso.

[37] Again in a perspective similar to the one defended in (Ricœur, 1990), (Fraser, 2003) proposes a status-based model of recognition which focuses on equal participation as citizens. In this perspective, the duties of public institutions towards citizens concern solely their rights and status as equal citizens, not their identity as persons.

[38] Versions of recognitive justice that have been reconstructed to address Nancy Fraser's objections may be of particular interest. (Pilapil, 2011) Psychologization of Injustice? On Axel Honneth's theory of recognitive justice, *Ethical Perspectives* 79-106 provides an example of a strategy of this kind which consists in balancing Honneth's perspective (which focuses on the concrete recognition of individuals as persons, as opposed to simply as citizens) with that of Habermas (which focuses on the necessary conditions for a common public discourse on justice). On potential policy applications of Habermas' discursive approach to justice, see for instance (Bunch, 2014) Towards Discursive Justice: A poetics of communication for the purposes of human rights, *Canadian Journal of Human RIghts* which studies the debate about the criminalization of prostitution in Canada and draws lessons regarding the conditions for contradictory public debate, the enabling of demands for recognition and the reduction of stigma for sex workers.

[39] For example, people's objective needs and aspirations change over time (notably over the life-cycle) and can be affected by contextual elements which are social and perceptual in nature (relating to status, dignity, the positional aspects of consumption…), as well as material and economic (level of income and wealth, level of development…). In line with a large body of research, the *Better Life Initiative* also acknowledges that many fundamental human needs and aspirations are shared across societies and levels of income. This includes the need for social connection and meaningful relations, as well as a sense of agency and control over one's life. The 11 dimensions of the *OECD Well-Being Framework* aim to capture this universal basis of well-being, while providing sufficient flexibility to adapt to individual variation and specific national conditions. New Zealand's Living Standard Framework provides a good example of how the *OECD Well-Being Framework* can be applied and adapted at national level.

[40] For instance, the Mexican state of Morelos consulted and involved citizens throughout all stages of the policy cycle, including the design of metrics, when implementing its well-being agenda (OECD, 2015). Measuring Well-Being in Mexican States, OECD Publishing, Paris doi:https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264246072-en Other examples include the interactive *Your Better Life* index and ongoing participatory research involving NGOs and deprived populations in the definition of multi-dimensional poverty.

[41] For example, non-contributory pensions for women may provide a form of social recognition for their higher contribution to unpaid work (including housework, caring responsibilities, volunteering…). More broadly, social transfers specifically targeted at vulnerable women can empower them by increasing their means of action, status and bargaining power both within their household and community. See notably (Thakur, Arnold, & Johnson, 2009). Gender and Social Protection, Promoting Pro-Poor Growth: Social Protection, 43-59, OECD Publishing, Paris

[42] OECD. (2019). *Can Social Protection be an Engine for Inclusive Growth?* Paris: OECD Publishing.

[43] The balance between these two objectives – income replacement and activation – varies across countries, but spending tends to be weighted in favor of the former. In 2015, most OECD countries spent at least five times more on benefits for the working-age population than they spent on helping people back into employment (OECD, 2015). Employment Outlook doi:https://doi.org/10.1787/empl_outlook-2015-en

[44] Fraser, N. (1995). A Genealogy of Dependency: Tracing a keyword of the U.S. Welfare State. In J. Brenner, B. Laslett, & Y. (. Arat, *Rethinking the Political: Women, resistance, and the State* (pp. 33-60). Chicago : Chicago University Press.
[45] See also Carcillo, Fernàndez, Königs, & Minea. *NEET Youth in the Aftermath of the Crisis: Challenges and Policies*. Paris: OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers No.164 OECD Publishing, Retrieved from https://spire.sciencespo.fr/hdl:/2441/7gu5r9nb899om9oin7k24kjpgt/resources/neet-youth.pdf and *The Missing Entrepreneurs 2017: Policies for inclusive entrepreneurship.* Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264283602-en for examples of OECD publications addressing this problem in relation to the needs of particular vulnerable populations.
[46] Carcillo, S., Immervoll, H., Jenkins, S. P., Königs, S., & Tatsiramos, K. (2014). Safety Nets and Benefit Dependence. Bingley, UK: IZA/OECD/World Bank - Emerald Group Publishing.
[47] Jahoda, M., Lazarsfeld, P., & Zeisel, H. (2017 [1933]). *Marienthal: The sociography of an unemployed community* . London: Routledge.
[48] See also (Bourdieu, 1981) Ce terrible repos qui est celui de la mort sociale: Préface aux Chômeurs de Marienthal, Les Chômeurs de Marienthal, Editions de Minuit , 1-5 , for comments on this landmark study and its impact. See (Kraus, Piff, & Keltner, 2009) Social Class, Sense of Control, and Social Explanation, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 992-1004 for more recent research on the links between social status, sense of agency and responses to socio-economic conditions. Evidence confirming the negative effects of unemployment on subjective well-being and economic security beyond loss of income can be found in (Bussolo, Davalos, Peragine, & Sundaram, 2018).
[49] OECD. (2015). *Integrating Social Services for Vulnerable Groups: Bridging sectors for better service delivery.* Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264233775-3-en
[50] This argument is well captured by (Sen, 1995)'s formula according to which "benefits meant exclusively for the poor often end up being poor benefits". It underlines the importance of generating and maintaining sufficiently broad support for social protection and redistributive policies. For a recent study on the effects that rising inequality has had on support for redistribution and welfare policy platforms, see (Barth, Finseraas, & Moene, 2015).
[51] Carcillo, S., & Valfort, M.-A. (2018). Les Discriminations au Travail: Femmes, ethnicité, religion, âge, apparence, LGBT. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.
[52] On statistical discrimination, see (Phelps, 1972). For a discussion of different types of discrimination and their underlying mechanisms, see (Schelling, 1978). Though much of OECD work has concentrated on discrimination in the labor market, similar phenomena are encountered in other areas with significant effects on socio-economic outcomes: access to housing and spatial segregation, access to credit, access to quality education, institutional representation…
[53] It is important to remember that UBI proposals come in different forms and that their impact on inequality and inclusion, as well as their cost, are likely to depend significantly on their design and scope (what level they are set at, what social benefits they replace…). For an overview of the debate on UBI, see (Browne & Immervoll, 2018).
[54] Low uptake for social benefits can be a problem even in OECD economies with well-developed social protection systems and administrative capacity. In France for example, 36 percent of people entitled to the *Revenu de Solidarité Active* (RSA), an in-work welfare benefit, did not perceive it in 2018.
[55] Preliminary results from the UBI experiment in Finland released by the Social Insurance Institute of Finland (KELA) suggest that recipients of UBI experienced greater well-being (through reduced stress and financial insecurity), a greater sense of agency and higher levels of interpersonal and institutional trust than the control group. Furthermore, the preliminary results found no reduction in work incentives and no effect of UBI on overall employment. https://www.kela.fi/web/en/news-archive/-/asset_publisher/lN08GY2nIrZo/content/basic-income-recipients-experienced-less-financial-insecurity
[56] See (OECD, 2018). This first wave of the *Risks that Matter* surveyed over 22,000 people aged 18 to 70 years old in 21 OECD countries. It aims to map the way in which people's perceptions of social and economic risks are evolving and help adapt social policy in a way that better reflects these concerns.
[57] Middle-income households are defined here as households earning between 75 percent and 200 percent of the median national income.
[58] A majority of respondents hold this view in all but four of the surveyed countries (Canada, Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands).

[59] OECD. (2018). *The OECD Risks That Matter Survey 2018.* Paris: OECD Publishing. Retrieved from https://www.oecd.org/els/soc/Risks-That-Matter-2018-Main-Findings.pdf

[60] Most respondents support higher taxation on high-earners to help fund improved support for the poor. In every country surveyed, a majority of respondents replied "*yes*" or "*definitely yes*" when asked "*Should the government tax the rich more than they currently do, in order to support the poor?*"

[61] In all but 2 of the 21 countries surveyed by "*The Risks that Matter*", a majority of respondents say they would like government to do "*more to ensure their economic and social security*", as opposed to "*the same or less*". Similarly, across all OECD countries, users of the OECD's *Compare your Income* web-tool show a preference for lower income inequality: on average, 70 percent of users would like to see a reduction in the share of income held by the top 10 percent.

[62] Immervoll, H., Jenkins, S., & Königs, S. (2015). Are Recipients of Social Assistance 'Benefit Dependent'?: Concepts, Measurement and Results for Selected Countries. *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers,*(No. 162). doi:https://doi.org/10.1787/5jxrcmgpc6mn-en

[63] ATD-Fourth World/OICT. (2019). *The Hidden Dimensions of Poverty: International participatory research.* ATD-Fourth World/Oxford University. Retrieved from https://www.atd-fourthworld.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2019/05/Dim_Pauvr_eng_FINAL.pdf

[64] Hernanz, V., Malherbet, F., & Pellizzari, M. (2004). Take-Up of Welfare Benefits in OECD Countries: A review of the evidence. *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers*(17). doi:https://doi.org/10.1787/525815265414

[65] Bargain, O., Immervoll, H., & Viitamäki, H. (2012). No Claim, No Pain. Measuring the non-take-up of social assistance using register data. *Journal of Economic Inequality, 10*(3), 375-395.

[66] See (OECD, 2018) for a case study of the Aadhaar system in India and background information on other innovative forms of social transfer using digital identity systems and direct transfers to increase the effectiveness, inclusiveness and uptake of public benefit programs.

[67] See most notably (Immervoll, Jenkins, & Königs, 2015). Here, the authors define social assistance as "public cash or in-kind transfers that aim at preventing extreme hardship and employ a low-income criterion as the central entitlement condition". The authors note that almost all OECD countries operate social assistance, that is benefit programs for working-age individuals and their families, either as last-resort safety nets alongside primary income replacement benefits, or as the principal instrument for delivering social protection. These social assistance benefits aim to provide an acceptable standard of living for families unable to earn sufficient incomes from other sources. As anti-poverty measures, they reduce income disparities at the bottom of the income distribution. Equally important, they act as safety nets for individuals experiencing low-income spells and, hence, help to smooth income over time.

[68] However, the number of benefit recipients will vary significantly based on the definition and assumptions made. For a more granular analysis, see (Immervoll, Jenkins, & Königs, 2015).

[69] OECD. (2015). *Employment Outlook.* Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:https://doi.org/10.1787/empl_outlook 2015-en

[70] OECD. (2018). Good Jobs for All in a Changing World of Work: The OECD Jobs Strategy. Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264308817-en

[71] OECD. (2018). *Good Jobs for All in a Changing World of Work: The OECD Jobs Strategy.* Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264308817-en

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[73] OECD/EU. (2017). *The Missing Entrepreneurs 2017: Policies for inclusive entrepreneurship.* Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264283602-en

[74] See for instance (Irastorza & Peña, 2007), (OECD, 2010) and (Xavier, Kelley, Kew, Herrington, & Vordewülbecke, 2013).

[75] OECD/EU. (2017). *The Missing Entrepreneurs 2017: Policies for inclusive entrepreneurship.* Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264283602-en

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[79] The OECD identifies 6 key building blocks for restoring trust in government :
(i) *Reliability*, reflecting governments' obligation to promote stability and reduce uncertainty for citizens in the economic, social and political spheres;
(ii) *Responsiveness*, as meeting citizens' expectations, understanding their needs and improving their interactions with public institutions represent crucial factors for trust in government.
(iii) *Openness*, which implies transparency and public access to information as fundamental conditions for trust, but also engagement with citizens and openness to new ideas and demands.
(iv) *Better regulation*, as an important element for ensuring justice, fairness and the rule of law, as well as the effective delivery of public services.
(v) *Integrity and Fairness*, as fundamental obligations of government and drivers of trust and accountability.
(vi) *Inclusive policymaking*, to ensure that institutions are truly representative, that citizens understand and have a say in designing the policies that affect them, and to protect government and public agencies against the risk of policy capture.
See notably https://www.oecd.org/gov/trust-in-government.htm and (OECD, 2017). The OECD's approach is well aligned with the principles set out under SDG 16 – notably SDG 16.6 (which covers *transparency*), SDG 16.7 (*responsiveness*, participatory and representative decision-making) and SDG 16.10 (*open government*).

[80] OECD. (2017). *Government at a Glance 2017.* Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:dx.doi.org/10.1787/gov_glance-2017-en

[81] http://oecd-opsi.org/innovations

[82] See (OECD, 2017), (OECD, 2018) and (OECD, 2019).

[83] On the origins, definition of and differences between the concepts of co-production and co-creation, see (Brandsen & Honingh, 2018) and (Lember, Brandsen, & Tonurist, The Potential Impacts of Digital Technologies on Co-Production and Co-Creation, 2019).

[84] Lember, V., Brandsen, T., & Tonurist, P. (2019). The Potential Impacts of Digital Technologies on Co-Production and Co-Creation. *Public Management Review*.

[85] Lember, V., Surva, L., & Tonurist, P. (2017). Towards Passive Co-Production? The role of modern technologies in co-production. *5th Annual Meeting of the IIAS Study Group of Co-production of Public Services.* Washington DC. Retrieved from https://www.maxwell.syr.edu/uploadedFiles/parcc/Coproduction%20Proceedings%20(FINAL).pdf

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[88] (Lember, Brandsen, & Tonurist, 2019) also explores this question, looking at the impact that different types of technology (sensing technologies; communication technologies; processing technologies; actuation technologies) have on various important elements of the co-production/co-creation process (establishing direct interaction between citizens and service providers; motivating citizens to participate; bringing resources to the service; sharing decision-making). The aim here is to provide a more fine-grained analysis and go beyond general discussions about "THE effects of THE new technologies on THE involvement of citizens".

[89] Self-reported cases, mostly nominated to the OPSI *Innovation Case Study Platform* and *Global Innovation Reviews* by public sector employees.
[90] Other OECD platforms for promoting open government include (i) the Open Government Partnership (of which the OECD is a member); (ii) networks on Open and Innovative Government in the MENA, LAC and South-East Asia regions that support governments in identifying good practices, connecting to relevant stakeholders and implementing reforms; and (iii) the hosting of capacity-building workshops.
[91] (OECD, 2016) builds on the results of a survey of over 50 countries to help define what open government should look like in different contexts, why it matters and how countries can achieve it.
[92] Chwalisz, C. (2017). The People's Verdict: Adding informed citizen voices to public decision-making. London/NY: Rowman & Littlefield.
[93] OECD. (2016). *Open Government: The global context and the way forward.* Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264268104-en
[94] Lazer, D., Sokhey, A., Neblo, M., Esterling, K., & Kennedy, R. (2015). Expanding the Conversation: Multiplier Effects From a Deliberative Field Experiment. *Political Communication, 32*(4), 552-573. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.20
[95] Neblo, M., Esterling, K., Kennedy, R., & Lazer, D. (2010, September). Who Wants to Deliberate – And Why? *American Political Science Review, 104*(3), 566-583. doi:https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055410000298
[96] Michels, A. (2011, June). Innovations in democratic governance: how does citizen participation contribute to a better democracy? *International Review of Administrative Sciences, 77*(2), 275–293. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/0020852311399851
[97] Chwalisz, C. (2017). The People's Verdict: Adding informed citizen voices to public decision-making. London/NY: Rowman & Littlefield.
[98] Knobloch, K., Barthel, M., & Gastil, J. (2019). Emanating Effects: The impact of the Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review on voters' political efficacy. Political Studies, 1(20). doi:https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0032321719852254