DYNAMO Research Project

Dynamo Work Package 1. Development of a joint theoretical framework

Services and employment models: Europe-USA-Japan

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Introduction

Domination of services unarguable

Is it any longer necessary to point out that the service sector accounts for the highest share of economic activity in today's developed economies, irrespective of the indicators used to demonstrate its importance? This dominant position is reflected not only in its quantitative importance but also in the prominence services are accorded in some economic analyses, particularly those by heterodox economists, or in international comparisons.
However, over and above the homogenisation implicit in the term 'service sector', there is just as great a diversity of tertiary structures and dynamics as there are 'varieties of capitalism' in contemporary economies.

Manufacturing no longer the only legitimate activity

In the important sphere of work and employment, service activities have acquired an increasingly legitimate position in analyses of post-Fordist societies, not only for the quantitative reasons cited above but also because they harbour the seeds of innovative employment forms, with all the favourable and unfavourable characteristics these new employment forms might display when they are analysed in terms of their societal impacts.

Even if it is acknowledged that the new forms of employment are not always linked to the expansion of the service sector, the increase in service activities is, in our view, an indication of a fundamental change in the productive systems of developed economies, including the manufacturing sector.
This is the principle that will guide the rest of this study.

The need for change in socio-economic analyses

Some of the analytical tools that used to serve as reference points for economists have to be rethought. Making a distinction between goods and services, which few economic analyses advocate, reveals the specific characteristics of different activities, and in particular the depth, in a not insignificant share of service activities, of the economic and social relations at work in the direct contact that takes place between producers and consumers (the 'service relationship'). However, the importance of recognising the specificities of service activities, or at least of some of them, goes beyond their obvious heuristic value. The issues at stake are eminently political: in ignoring the specificities of services and regarding them as 'goods', normative analyses are defending the notion that services have to become 'exchangeable, tradable goods', with all the economic and social consequences such a stance may have (example: Bolkestein's proposal for a European services directive).
However, the differences in the treatment of goods and services do not stop there. Questions about the validity of the tools used to measure and analyse them also concern the product itself and its corollary, productivity. Those authors who have enquired into these matters tend to conclude that attempts to measure the output of services are based on conventions that are accepted in various ways by the actors involved.

Institutions in all their diversity increasingly taken into account

The socio-economic approaches to which we adhere take into account a greater diversity of actors (in particular consumers, customers and users), with all the differences such diversity implies in terms of lifestyles, cultures and institutions. The particular merit of comparative studies of the structure of the service sector is that they highlight, in more or less developed ways, the notion that the structure of the service sector reflects certain societal choices:

- labour markets in service industries are regulated markets, and the wage relationship is highly institutionalised and differs significantly from country to country depending on national history;
- markets for services have historically been very much shaped by the State, partly because some services are publicly provided but also, and more generally, because the structure of the supply side reflects collective societal choices (level of healthcare, education services, assistance for individuals, etc.);
- the demand for services from the various actors is itself determined to some extent by conventions, particularly those pertaining to quality.

Plan

The aim of this paper is to outline the theoretical frameworks that can be used to interpret national models of service employment. It is divided into four parts.
The first part will be given over to a review of the methodologies of international comparisons. A number of sectoral studies will then be outlined, some of which can serve as a basis for developing national employment models (part II). Our analysis will then be

extended to studies that seek to identify, on the basis of national differences in the structure of the tertiary sector, models or systems of tertiary employment (part III).
This critical survey of a range of studies focusing on the different growth patterns and structures of service employment in developed economies will then be extended by a proposal for the development of a dynamic approach to employment models, in accordance with the fundamental objective of the Dynamo Project (part IV).

I. International comparisons of employment in services: the methodologies

A wide range of methodologies have been developed for the purpose of comparing employment structures in developed countries. The choice of method is not neutral in comparative analyses. The critical review conducted here will examine the benchmarking, societal analysis and ideal type approaches. Finally, we will briefly outline the comparative studies that focus on the dynamic of change[1].

1.1. Benchmarking

The purpose of benchmarking – frequently by means of econometric studies and within the framework of neo-classical approaches to the labour market – is generally to measure the efficiency of certain policies on the basis of a battery of indicators. The ensuing ranking is both extremely normative and seldom makes explicit the assumptions about the functioning of the labour market that underlie the battery of indicators (R. Salais, 2003).

Thus the OECD ranks the developed economies on the basis of employment rates, emphasising in particular the excessively short working time in France and the excessively low rate of employment in the working-age population (62% compared with 70% for the USA or Sweden). The European Commission has adopted the same approach in developing benchmarking tools as part of its policy on developing indicators.

This type of exercise is used as a basis for identifying exemplary models ('best practice', 'best performers'), with all that implies in terms of universalism and ahistoricism. For some analysts, 'the use of reference points and the highlighting of good practices have proved their worth as effective evaluation instruments' (Siebern-Thomas, 2004); for others, however, the development of peer-review exercises within a somewhat less normative framework is an indication of the relative weakness of this type of evaluation (F. Lefresne, 2004).
Nevertheless, the general criticisms directed at this type of methodology are linked to the fact that there 'is no such thing as a raw fact, the observer always constructs the object of investigation' (F. Michon, 2003, p. 194). More particularly, the arbitrary way in which the 'processes and variables supposed to represent them' (F. Michon, op. cit., p. 195) are selected raises questions, just as it is extremely difficult to link the result shown by an indicator to the effect of a public policy measure.

As O'Reilly stresses, this controversy is not a purely academic one: 'comparative studies in the fields of employment and social protection have often been motivated by a desire to identify "best practice". And to this end researchers have often relied on batteries of indicators designed to measure performance. Ultimately, the aim is to transfer 'good ways of doing things' to the least efficient countries. (…). At the moment, the fashionable recipes for solving the problem of unemployment are coming thick and fast, and it is not uncommon for

[1] In the knowledge that they will be one of the important elements in part IV.

them to be associated with a model country (…). However, informed observers are well aware of the influence of history and of the idiosyncrasies that might be responsible for these national successes' (O'Reilly, 2003, p. 177).

When it comes to international comparisons of the structure of service employment, those who adopt this atemporal and universalist approach conduct their comparisons on the basis of a single explanatory variable only, often labour costs. Such analyses produce two types of findings.

Firstly, there are studies that find no link between the structure of tertiary employment and economic growth or employment growth (which are the main objectives pursued, cf. OECD, 2000, p. 120) but also refute the hypothesis that there is a strong link between the growth in service employment and the low quality of the jobs created (OECD, 2001). Conclusions of this kind suggest that the specificity of the service sector sheds no light on a country's economic performance. We believe – and this is the subject of this paper – that the choices societies make with respect to services have direct and indirect effects on societal performance and clearly reflect societal choices (see section 3.3).

The second group of studies includes those that advocate a reduction in labour costs in order to establish service employment structures similar to those in countries with a better growth record, in this case the English-speaking countries. 'Best practice' here involves identifying those countries in which labour costs are lowest and then ranking countries on that basis (Piketty, 1997; OECD, 2001).

One of the structural problems associated with this type of normative approach is that it is difficult to locate employment models in their historical, social and political environment. It is this kind of difficulty that societal analysis seeks to address.

1.2. Societal analysis

The so-called 'societal effects' school, whose approach we have adopted in our sectoral study (see part II), has produced several comparative studies since the beginning of the 1980s (see Maurice, Sellier, Silvestre 1982 ; Maurice 1989 ; Lanciano et al. 1993). The objective of all these studies is to construct 'spaces', each of which has its own relative coherence but is linked to others within the same societal system by a complex set of mutual interdependencies. These spaces are 'systems' with their own constituent 'elements'; above all, however, they are systems of (individual and collective) actors, action systems and systems of rules and norms. Each of them has its own relative autonomy and coherence, but their significance and explanatory power lie in the mutual interdependencies by which they are linked with a view to resolving questions. Furthermore, these spaces can be utilised in a non-functionalist way in order to construct systemic comparability, thereby circumventing and integrating the non-comparability of certain elements. Neither the spaces thus constructed nor the interdependencies between them can justifiably be used as they stand in order to compare other objects, even though it is true that the purpose of the original research carried out by the founders of this school was a particularly ambitious one, namely fully to characterise the wage-labour nexus in manufacturing industry on the basis of its sub-systems and the links between them.

Thus the three dimensions used by the societal effects school in its analysis of wages (skill or grade, organisation and industrial relations) almost totally ignore the markets for goods and

services and their associated mechanisms, imperatives and competitive rules. The only market included in the analysis is the labour market, and the only organisation included is the firm. This is readily understandable in view of the authors' objective, which was to undertake a comparative analysis of the wage-labour nexus in manufacturing firms. However, if other issues are to be addressed, for example the relative capacity for creating jobs, it would seem essential to endogenise some of the variables characterising markets and final demand and the prevailing forms of competition by introducing into the model a market or competition space. Similarly, in our comparative analysis of job creation in the retail trade in the USA, France and Japan, we introduced the norms and practices related to the family division of labour and roles as a space in its own right, one that is completely missing in the reference studies of the societal effects school.

Conceptualised in this way, societal analysis becomes a valuable heuristic device, not only because it can be used to construct analytical frameworks but also because it can serve as the basis for a systemic method that takes full account of the interaction between individual and institutional effects in the social construction of reality.

To conclude, one of the great merits of the societal effects approach, suitably amended so that it can be applied to a comparative study of service employment models, is that it facilitates an interpretation based on 'contextualised transposition', that is one that gives in neither to the universalist approach, which is likely to result in mechanical transposition, nor to a singularist reading, which rejects any possibility of transposition. Contextualised transposition recognises the fact that economic concepts are social constructs that analysts have to reconstruct or reconstitute in each different context.

1.3 Ideal types

Studies that seek to construct ideal-type worlds[2] draw up ex-ante (or ex-post) typologies of national organisations that are themselves dependent on institutional choices and innovations. Thus Esping-Andresen (1999) identifies three welfare state regimes on the basis of three criteria (level of decommodification of labour, type of social stratification and linkages between welfare state, family and market).

The value of such studies lies both in the modes of analysis – these approaches tend to emphasise corporate governance and internal market, thereby relocating the firm at the heart of the analysis – and the results they produce, since ideal types accord with that aspect of human reasoning that likes to order and classify. Nevertheless, this type of approach suffers from several limitations, including the privileging of certain institutions as having greater explanatory power than others (e.g. the importance of state regulation in Esping-Andersen's work). In order to escape this particular limitation, Hall and Soskice (2001) take as their starting point a distinction between coordinated and uncoordinated market economies. A second limitation concerns the typologies that are produced, which are often 'Anglo-Germanic' in character. They usually take a standard regime type (e.g. liberal mode of market coordination), selected by reference to the American experience, around which variants are developed that can be contrasted with each other to greater or lesser degrees. Thus France, for example, appears in an intermediate position (which has not always been the case, incidentally), while Japan – another country to be considered in the course of the DYNAMO project – turns out to be 'unclassifiable'.

[2] Cf. in particular, Peter Hall, David Soskice (2001).

Very few of the comparisons based on the ideal-type approach engage in analyses of the structure of service employment. Indeed, the models developed in such studies often bear the stamp of an industrialist bias. Similarly, there are few studies that link social protection and the functioning of labour markets (Khristova, Moncel, 2004, p. 4). This approach tends rather to give rise to studies that either consider policies and regulation as elements of the context within which other objects of investigation are located (e.g. poverty or unemployment) or focus on policies (particularly employment policies) with a view to establishing linkages between differences in the organisation of economic activity and differences in public policy. Thus, for example, the objective might be to analyse levels and types of expenditure, the mechanisms and modes of implementation or even institutional frameworks and political contexts.

1.4 Comparative studies that focus on the dynamic of change

Researchers who embark on comparative studies all have to face a difficulty that is inherent to this type of exercise: how is it possible to take account of convergent factors and local institutional specificities as well as of changes which, if they are included, add a dynamic comparative perspective to the analysis?

It is with this in mind that Lallement (2003) argues that history should be taken into account in societal analyses, in accordance with the general notion that an understanding of history can help to shed light on the present. This concern to place socio-economic phenomena in their historical context is not unconnected with the notion advanced by socio-economists that such phenomena are social constructs and, as such, have to be located within their institutional and historical context.

This is also the case with the studies carried out by Robert Boyer, who has argued in favour of the development of comparative historical approaches as a means of revealing the diversity of *institutional trajectories*. More specifically, highlighting the importance of mechanisms such as the transformation of an institution, the rigidification of institutions or their reconstitution in the course of long-term processes of change (Boyer, 2003, p. 198) makes it possible to adopt a dynamic approach to national growth or employment regimes, for example.

Let us take a little time, therefore, to examine the work of the *régulation* school, the objective of which is to develop an analytical framework for interpreting change in capitalist economies. We will return in part IV to the contributions this theory has made to the development of a framework for analysing institutional change. The analyses this school has produced in its efforts to characterise the growth regimes of the post-war period between 1950 and 1970 are too numerous to list. This theory, in its most recent versions (Boyer 2003), seems to us to offer a suitable framework for analysing institutional change, particularly when it takes into account institutional complementarities and hierarchies.
Similarly, some neo-institutionalist analyses have made advances by incorporating a dynamic dimension into international comparisons, particularly by means of combined analyses of employment and social policies that emphasise the notion of national trajectory (see Ehrel and Zajdela, 2004 and Khristova and Moncel, 2004).

Several institutionalist approaches adopt a fairly innovative point of view in order to take account of change through the analysis of life cycles. For example, while Ribault (2004b)

examines the forms of intergenerational solidarity, regarding them as elements in the social construction of youth employment in the Japanese context, Rubery (2004) adopts a similar position in her examination of the 'intergenerational contract, as it is the modes of support available from other groups/generations in society at key stages in the lifecycle that are critical in shaping distinctive socio-economic models'. These intergenerational contracts are supported by various institutional agreements. In order to take account of the dynamic of change, Rubery suggests focusing more particularly on what she calls 'key transitional stages'.

Taken as a whole, these 'regulationist' or institutionalist approaches have many merits, including a desire to introduce a dynamic element into their interpretative frameworks. It seems to us essential to take account, as these authors do, of regulatory institutions at both macro and microeconomic level. Such an analysis would probably also need to take account, to a greater extent than the methods outlined here, of the systems of values or magnitudes or even conventions that underlie the national analyses. We will return to this at a later stage.

The major disadvantage as far as our present purpose is concerned is that they struggle to produce an analysis given over entirely to the service sector and its actors. Thus, with very few exceptions[3], regulation theory has never put international comparisons of service employment systems on its agenda. The main reason for this is that regulation theorists seek to be systemic in scope and usually reject sectoral analyses, even of the sector that accounts for more than two thirds of total employment in Europe.

II. The sectoral approaches

The unifying thread here can be summarised as follows. Just as in industrial economies certain industries were regarded as representative of the national mode of organisation (Fordism, Toyotism, etc.), so certain service industries have legitimately acquired a similar position, both in quantitative terms and by virtue of innovations in their HRM systems. This applies particularly to the retail trade (Bosch, Lehndorff, 2005; Gadrey, Jany-Catrice, Ribault, 1999). Let us look first at the results of the NESY European project, before turning to those of societal analyses concentrating specifically on service industries.

2.1. The NESY project

The aim of the NESY project (New Forms of Employment and Working Time in the Service Economy)[4] was, firstly, to identify the changes that are taking place in employment and the organisation of working time in service activities. The second objective was to examine the forces at work behind these changes. In other words, changes within and beyond the 'standard employment relationship' were at the heart of the project. The research focused on ten countries of the European Union and combined quantitative and qualitative research methods as well as macro and microeconomic approaches. Five service industries were investigated:

[3]See in particular Ribault (2000).
[4] See Gerhard Bosch, Steffen Lehndorff (2005).

- information technologies and software: selected as a typical example of an industry in which the boundaries between dependent employment or wage work and self-employment are breaking up;
- banking: the objective here was to shed light on the impact of the structural changes taking place in international financial markets, in the light of national regulations on employment conditions and the organisation of working time;
- the retail trade: this is an industry particularly exposed to pressures to make working time more flexible;
- healthcare: the impact on employment and hospitals' restructuring practices under the constraint of financial pressures is particularly significant in this sector, which relies on a highly-skilled and tightly stretched workforce;
- elder care: the aim here was to shed light on the consequences for employment and working conditions of the competition between public and private providers.

Organisations influence the structuring of employment systems in several different ways. On the one hand, the very composition of organisations is itself changing due, among other things, to the growth in services, the growth of the 'periphery', the increase in subcontracting, the dominant role of services in the supply chain and changes in the characteristics of public-sector organisations. On the other hand, new forms of governance are being put in place, which are leading to a blurring of the public/private boundary, a shift away from integrated bureaucratic structures in favour of fragmented networks, increasingly diffuse management functions with the spread of franchising, the decentralisation of budgets and subcontracting. The second driver of change is the nature of the competition in service industries. New consumption patterns and the opportunities opened up by the new technologies are the main vectors for the new mode of competition that is now emerging. Finally, market regulation is encouraging new competitors to enter, which in turn is giving rise to hitherto unknown forms of competition.

The employment and career structures that result from these pressures are characterised, firstly, by radical changes in the nature of the competences mobilised. Social and communication skills, including relational or 'emotional' work, are becoming crucial to any understanding of the nature of the work carried out in the context of the service relationship. Another feature of the changes taking place in employment is the shift away from evaluation of the competences linked to individual jobs towards that of the competences linked to individual workers[5]. Thus a new form of Taylorism is emerging, combined with a need to mobilise social and communicational competences. Secondly, a high degree of polarisation is emerging around the development of competences, on the one hand, and autonomy at work, on the other. More broadly, whereas some service industries are making increasing use of qualified workers and placing greater emphasis on vocational training, others are moving away from an emphasis on technical competences towards the development of 'soft' competences. Thirdly, the link between time and work is being reconstructed, with new forms of segmentation emerging, notably around the notion of *temporal autonomy* (we will return to this in section 4.3 below). On the one hand, there are the so-called 'symbolic analysts', who enjoy greater temporal autonomy but who are also under greater pressure to work as long as is necessary. This tends to blur the boundary between working time and private time and means that, in the absence of any real working time standards, these workers remain apart from any trends towards the reduction or reorganisation of working time. On the

[5] This links up with the analyses of Gadrey Nicole, Jany-Catrice Florence, Pernod-Lemattre Martine (2003).

other hand, there are workers in routinised or standardised services, where the organisation controls work schedules. Somewhere between the two come services to private individuals, where the organisation of time is influenced by the desire to create new markets, even if consumer demand is mediated by organisations and regulations, while the use of highly specialised competences comes up against firms' cost minimisation strategies.

Although they do not systematise them, the studies carried out as part of the NESY project identify the restructuring of gender relations and the new functions of the welfare system associated with changes in the world of work. In this sense, they link up with the analyses in terms of spaces developed by Gadrey, Jany-Catrice and Ribault (1999). Thus societal systems, of which gender relations and the nature of the welfare system are two central components, are supposed to be structuring the new working time arrangements through various forms of regulation: regulation of markets, statutory and contractual regulation of working time, tax systems, the working hours of institutions outside the workplace (nurseries, schools, public services), the family system, family or state support for students and even the pension system. As we will see, these elements have been incorporated into a more systematised approach by other authors (see also § 3.3.).

We will draw four conclusions from these studies. The first is that the process of change must take account of the growing institutionalisation of service activities and, more generally, of the liberalisation of markets (Castells and Aoyama (§ 3.1.) or Boyer, 2003). The second is that the segmentation of the labour market by gender, age and ethnicity is an independent factor at work which structures more and more work and working time. The third is linked to the fact that the established or emerging forms of work and working time are not guaranteed to last. Finally, the temporal aspects of work cannot be dissociated from the other aspects of the employment relationship (e.g. pay) or the welfare system (e.g. the tax system) and *those temporal aspects are becoming key elements in the interpretation of the system.*
This last point seems to us crucial given the perspective that has been adopted for the Dynamo project. We will return to it later.

2.2. An example of societal analysis applied to employment in services

Some comparisons of levels of employment (which are more numerous than studies of job quality) take as their starting point a perceived 'employment gap' (Bosch, IAT, 2003) or its corollary in terms of job creation potential, either in the service sector as a whole (Anxo and Storrie, 2000)[6] or in specific service activities (e.g. retailing or elder care). The rhetoric around the 'employment gap' or the 'service gap' is not new: it has featured heavily in contemporary debates on economic policy, particularly in the context of questions these debates have raised about the methodology of international comparisons (Gadrey, Jany-Catrice, 1998, , 2001, Gadrey, Jany-Catrice, Ribault, 1999).

Although the method, which is universalist in nature, has been widely disputed, both in terms of its argumentation and its factual basis, equally hasty analyses continue to see the light of day, even if they display a little more caution with regard to form if not substance. Ill-founded conclusions about dubious possible convergences continue to attract attention, including from bodies that advise our politicians. Thus: '(…) if France had had the same employment rate in this sector as the United States in 2000, this would have represented an increase of almost 3.5 million jobs! It is simple calculations like this based on the number of

[6] Anxo and Storrie note that the "share of service employment in the EU still lags behind that of the US" (2000).

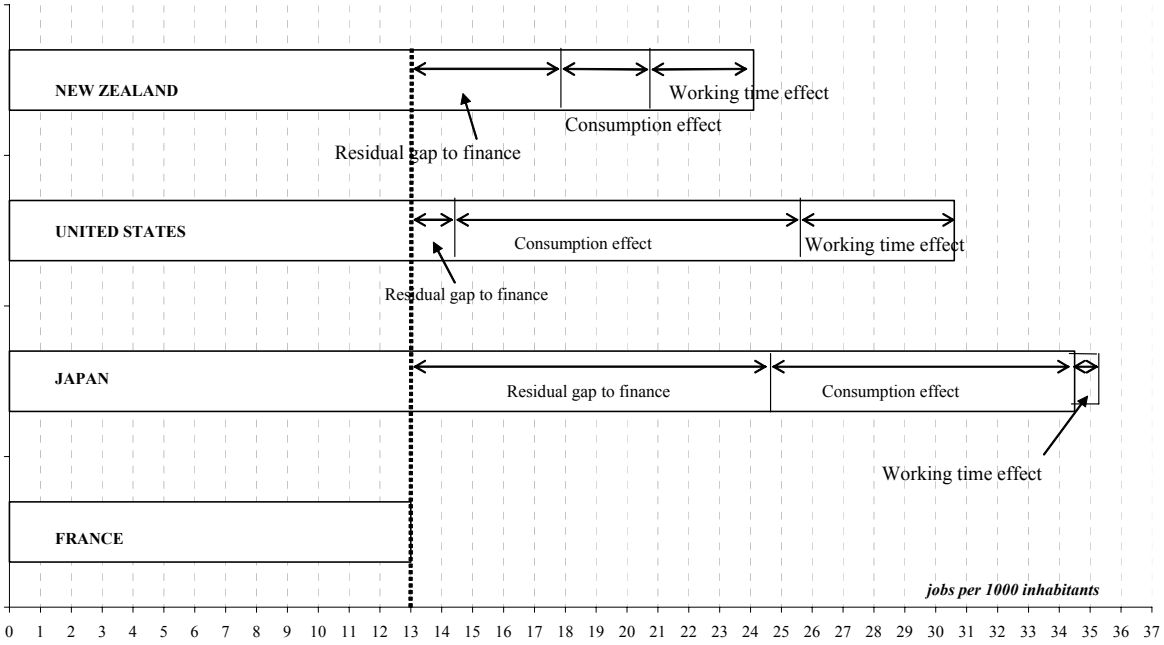
people per person of working age that leads economists to regard retailing and the hotel and catering trade as reservoirs of employment, and not a possible weakness in the rate of job creation in these sectors compared with other countries' (Cahuc, Debonneuil, 2004).

Since the end of the 1990s, on the other hand, studies of employment in services have appeared that draw on the theoretical framework of societal analysis. They can be characterised as follows.

They are, firstly, international comparisons that examine the national experiences of pairs of countries: France and the USA, France and Japan and France and New Zealand. Secondly, the method is deliberately socio-economic and takes up where the studies of manufacturing industry conducted by Marc Maurice et al. left off (2000). This means that the economic explanation for the differences in employment levels between the countries under investigation gives way, in the second stage of the analysis, to a comparative interpretation that draws on a certain number of social and institutional characteristics. Thirdly, and finally, these studies focus exclusively on service activities, and particularly on labour-intensive services, initially the retail trade and subsequently hotels and catering (see for example Diagram 1).

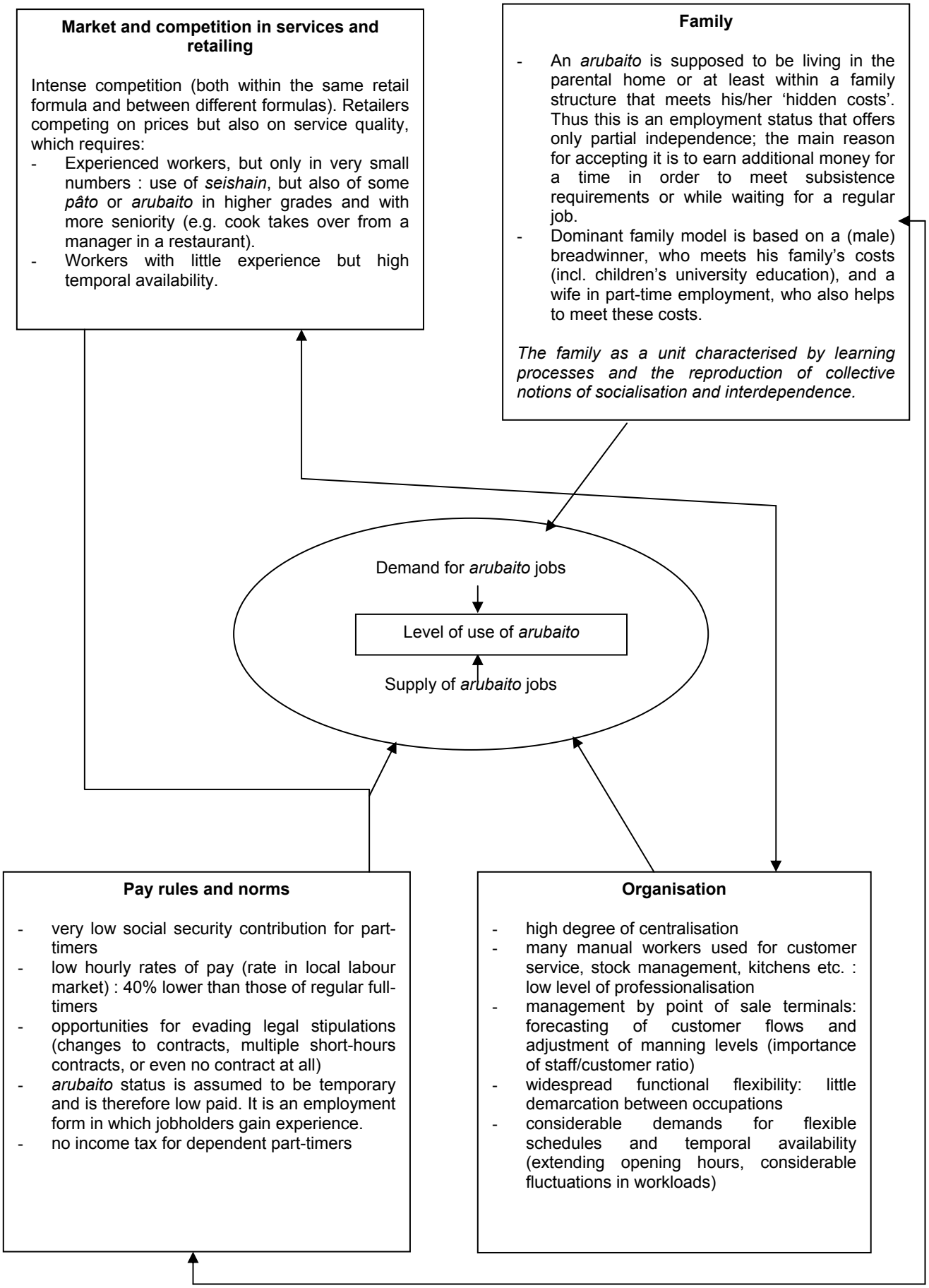
Let us take the case of retailing. Starting from the observation that this industry generates significantly more jobs ('all other things being equal') in some countries than in France and that this employment is managed in very different ways, the authors begin by advancing an economic interpretation based on a limited number of likely variables. Thus analysis of the corresponding employment systems (job segmentation and labour flexibility) and comparison with the French situation, described and modelled using the same principles, lead the authors to construct a system with four explanatory variables: duration of working time, commercial productivity, service quality and relative wage costs. Quantitative analysis produces the type of results that are presented in summary form in the diagram below, which shows that levels of employment per inhabitant are greater than in France, and sometimes significantly greater (Japan). These differences in employment levels can be broken down into different effects: shorter working hours in the three countries compared with France has the effect of reducing the differences in 'hours worked per inhabitant'; a higher level of consumption, linked to greater purchasing power in these countries, also accounts for a part of the differences observed in 'hours worked to provide a comparable volume of goods and services'. The 'residual' difference, which varies from country to country, can generally be explained not by lower labour productivity but by the provision of services that have their roots in national quality conventions.

Diagram 1. Explaining variables of job levels in hotel and catering in New Zealand, United States and Japan, compared to France (source: based on Jany-Catrice 2000 and Ribault 2004a)



In the second stage of the analysis, the aim is to investigate employment systems and their construction in this particular sector of the economy and then to analyse the contrasts between the various national modes of the social construction of that employment. This comparison highlights each of the national situations and suggests a range of possibilities for employment policy. The approach adopted is explicitly socio-economic and is based on a number of different 'spaces': the market and competition space, the family and social space, the industrial relations and pay rules space and, finally, the organisational and technical space. The diagram 2 below shows an example of this decomposition into spaces, based on the *arubaito* jobs taken by young people in the service sector in Japan (Ribault, 2004b).

Diagram 2. A system for interpreting the place of *arubaito* in the Japanese service industry



These studies reflect a concern gradually to develop methods for comparative research on employment and to investigate genuine differences in this regard between developed market, wage-earning societies. There is no explicit attempt to construct 'employment models', but this is the guiding notion that underlies these studies. Nevertheless, the choice of industries is not neutral and reflects more ambitious intentions than mere comparative analysis of certain sectors, and in particular a concern to analyse the national determinants of employment.

2.3. Another example of a sectoral approach: identifying the 'Daieist[7]' wage-labour nexus in Japan

We link up here with the studies based on *regulation* theory that were outlined above. During the 1980s and 90s, the Japanese wage-labour nexus became ever more complex, which in turn makes it increasingly impossible to restrict empirical observation and validation to manufacturing industry alone. While 'Sonyism' and 'Toyotism' were the main models until the 1970s, new variants have emerged since then, notably those that can be observed in large-scale retailing and in some services to households, such as catering. Some of these variants have taken completely new forms and are characterised, for example, by the overwhelming domination of 'non-standard' jobs and the emergence of certain elements of an internal market for part-time workers. The general merchandize stores are just as an emblematic example of this as the automotive and electronics industries were in their heyday. While they continue to exploit long-established institutional forms (gender and family division of labour, modes of work organisation and just-in-time production), these production systems also make systematic use of new resources, such as a hyper-flexible labour force. Daieism is an element in the Japanese wage-labour nexus that does not replace the existing Toyotism but is based, in part, on the same foundations while at the same time exploiting new elements. Table 1 summarises the various characteristics of each of these two production systems.

The components of Daieism (organisation of work processes, skill hierarchy, worker mobility, principles of wage determination, welfare) set it apart from Toyotism, although it is wholly complementary to the earlier production system.

Table 1 : *Toyotism* and *Daieism*:
two elements in the Japanese wage-labour nexus

	Toyotism	***Daieism***
General description	Micro-corporatist model	Integrated hyper-flexible model
Organisation of labour and production process	Loyalty, commitment and stability fostered by promotion by seniority and merit and by corporate welfare benefits and pension schemes. High cost of quitting.	Pay progression for a minority of employees. Turnover relatively low among *pâto* and high among *arubaito*. Limited long-term commitment based on a high degree of correlation between stratification of employment status and employees' social profiles. Considerable exploitation of socio-occupational diversity of the labour supply and its availability: some *pâto* are encouraged to assume limited management functions.
Hierarchy of skills	Functional flexibility and relative autonomy at shop floor level	Link between flat management hierarchy and high degree of functional flexibility in stores. Functional flexibility with the aim of increasing the value added of the service. Functional equivalence between different grades.
Mobility of workers	Low external flexibility in large firms. Use of internal transfers. Greater external flexibility among subcontractors.	Extreme external flexibility in employment and the management thereof: just-in-time employment. No internal transfers for the vast majority of employees (except managerial staff). But mobility within establishments in order to develop functional flexibility.

[7] From the Daiei company, one of the largest Japanese chains of general merchandize stores (hypermarkets) and supermarkets; see Ribault, 2000.

Principle of direct and indirect wage formation	Profit-sharing for 'regular' employees, relative scarcity of labour and 'moderate' trade unionism. Seniority and competences (internal competition)	Pay determined by local market, but the animating principle of the market is availability rather than the labour supply itself. Trade unions do not represent part-timers. Emergence of payment and promotion systems depending on competences: flat internal markets.
Use of income from employment and welfare	Social protection provided by company. Large bonuses.	For *pâto* and *arubaito*, low level of social protection, bonuses non-existent or low, except for a very small minority.

Source : Ribault, 2000.

Three main factors leading to the emergence of the Daieist production system as an element in the Japanese wage-labour nexus can be identified:

- the macroeconomic conditions that prevailed at the beginning of the 1990s: the slowdown in growth combined with the strength of the yen forced Japanese industry to relocate and reduce its wage costs within the country by making increasing use of part-time work and various forms of precarious employment. A strategy of gradual adjustment through early retirement, reductions in the recruitment of full-time workers and an increase in the recruitment of part-timers reduced the need for mass redundancies;
- structural changes in retailing and services: the modernisation of retailing and services gave rise to new types of outlet and services that combined with the already established ones (particularly through franchising) and paved the way for the extremely rapid expansion of wage work in the 1980s. The new forms of job management that emerged in these activities were one of the drivers of change in the Japanese wage-labour nexus;
- the cohesion mechanisms specific to Toyotism: the *salaryman* model has as its corollary the part-time *salarywoman* or 'housewife'. These two models are interdependent and overlap coherently with each other. From this point of view, Toyotism and Daieism turn out to be two sides of the same coin. Only one side has hitherto attracted particular attention from observers.

III. Sectoral approaches to national models of service employment

Those studies that address the question of national models of service employment are linked in various ways to the approaches outlined above. Firstly, they are concerned to generalise from sectoral analyses. Secondly, they have the more or less explicit aim of identifying the type of society that is emerging in a given cluster of countries on the basis of an analysis of the structure of its service sector. Thirdly, these studies overlap with each other by virtue of their shared institutionalist approach.

The starting point here is not criteria such as the welfare state regimes adopted by Esping Andersen or the multiple criteria adopted by Hall and Soskice. The objective rather is to analyse, first, the qualitative and quantitative structures of service employment and then the determinants of those structures. These studies focus directly on the reality of the development of service employment, although they do not regard that reality as fixed; as we shall see, one of the other objectives of these studies is to highlight the processes involved in the social and economic construction of the jobs and activities in question. In this sense, these studies represent a contribution to the analysis of system dynamics, while at the same time recognising that service activities and jobs play a central role in modern economies.

We have selected the studies that fit best with our objective: Manuel Castells and Yuko Aoyama for their article on the multiple pathways to the informational society, a series of studies ranging from Singelmann to Bosch and, finally, Jean Gadrey, for his 'service worlds' approach.

3.1. Manuel Castells and Yuko Aoyama: the multiple pathways leading to the informational society

The analyses undertaken by Castells and Aoyama (1994 and 2002) focus on the quantitative structures of employment in services rather than on the determinants thereof. Studies relating to the same period carried out contemporaneously by the Bureau of Labor Studies are also available[8]. However, Castells and Aoyama's studies looks at only seven countries (the G7 countries), which is an insufficient basis for drawing up a typology. Nevertheless, their approach has the merit of offering a long-run perspective on the evolution of employment structures in the countries included in the sample and considering a range of different post-industrial societies. We will return to this. It should be noted that Castells and Aoyama use the typology of services developed by Singelmann in 1978. In fact, they extend Singelmann's timeline in order to include more recent developments relating to the advent of the informational society. Thus their approach is a structuralist one, in the sense that it breaks employment down into various categories of activities linked to each other on the basis of the stage of production. Thus distributive services encompass communications, transport and the wholesale and retail trades. The next category is production services, that is direct inputs into the productive system. After this come social services, which include all public and community services. Personal services, finally, are those linked to individual consumption; they encompass such activities as leisure and catering, as well as domestic services. Taking these categories as a starting point, Castells and Aoyama then reconfigure them in order to identify those services involving goods handling, on the one hand, and information handling, on the other.

The authors begin by identifying two models of post-industrial expansion. The first is the so-called 'Anglo-Saxon' model, in which a shift takes place from manufacturing to 'advanced' services, while at the same time employment in services regarded as traditional is maintained. The second is the Japanese-German model, in which advanced services are developed and the manufacturing base preserved, with a certain number of service activities being internalised within the manufacturing sector.

In the second stage of their analysis, Castells and Aoyama clarify their characterisation of the same countries by identifying a 'service economy model' and an 'informational-industrial model'. The first is represented by the United States, the UK and Canada; it is characterised by a rapid decline in manufacturing employment since 1970 and the establishment of a completely new employment structure in which the differentiation between service activities has become the key element in these countries' social structures. In this model, capital management services predominate over services to firms in the strict sense of the term, while social services are continuously expanding, particularly because of the strong growth in health services and, to a lesser extent, in education services. In terms of occupations, it is the managerial category, include middle managers, that is the fastest growing in this model.

[8] Eg. Todd M. Godbout (1993); see also M. Carey and J.C. Franklin (1991).

The second major model is termed the 'informational-industrial model' and is embodied by Japan and, to a certain extent, by Germany as well. Even though manufacturing accounts for a declining share of employment in this model as well, it continues to employ around a quarter of the economically active population, which prompts the authors to observe that, in this model, manufacturing employment is reduced while manufacturing activities are consolidated. One of the consequences of this characteristic is that services to firms play a more important role in this model than financial services and are more directly linked to the productive fabric. Although they do not deny the importance of finance in the economic systems of Japan and Germany, Castells and Aoyama highlight the fact that the strongest growth in this model is in services to firms, on the one hand, and social services, on the other. It is true that social services in Japan are relatively underdeveloped because of the specificities of the Japanese welfare system, which is based largely on the family and the firm. Castells and Aoyama also highlight the need to conduct a more thorough institutional analysis in order fully to understand the whole range of variants of the informational-industrial model.

France is regarded as occupying an intermediate position between these two groups of countries (the 'service economy' and 'informational-industrial' models). It leans towards the service economy model, while at the same time maintaining a sizeable manufacturing base and developing both services to producers and social services. Italy also occupies an ambiguous position, since a quarter of the economically active population is not a wage worker and the industrial structure is dominated by networks of SMEs. Italy could in fact constitute a separate model in its own right, one characterised by a transition from proto-industrialism to proto-informationalism.[9]

From the methodological point of view, there are two interesting aspects. Firstly, without really analysing them in any great depth, the authors emphasise the need to take into account the changes that are taking place in institutional environments, economic trajectories, government policies and corporate strategies. This approach seems to us the one best suited to the objectives of the Dynamo project: after all, the aim is to analyse the levers of economic and social change relevant to employment strategy.

Secondly, Castells and Aoyama show some interest in the complementarity of post-industrial models on a global level. In their view, employment structures reflect each country or region's position in the international division of labour. In fact, when a country positions itself within the service economy model, this means that the other countries are assuming their roles within the informational-industrial model. This links up with the notion of comparative institutional advantage put forward by Hall and Soskice (2001). Thus employment structures in the USA and Japan reflect the countries' respective positions in the global economy and not simply the progress they have made up the informational ladder. Any analysis of the mechanisms underlying the evolution of the employment structure in a given country would be rendered meaningless, therefore, if it is not linked to an analysis of the changes taking place in that country's partners. We should not be too hasty in seeing this idea as further support for the globalisation bandwagon that swept through academic circles during the 1990s. It seems to us to be of particular interest in the European context, since it constitutes an attempt to reveal more clearly the diversity of realities that exist and thereby to ensure the survival of that diversity.

[9] Piore M. and Sabel C. (1984).

Is this not the approach we should adopt in analysing European employment models? In other words, should we not be seeking both to apprehend the complementarity of these models at the European level and to conceptualise the 'external' complementarities that link each of these models to partners outside Europe, especially but not exclusively in Asia and America? Once again, this brings us to the very heart of the Dynamo project's concerns.

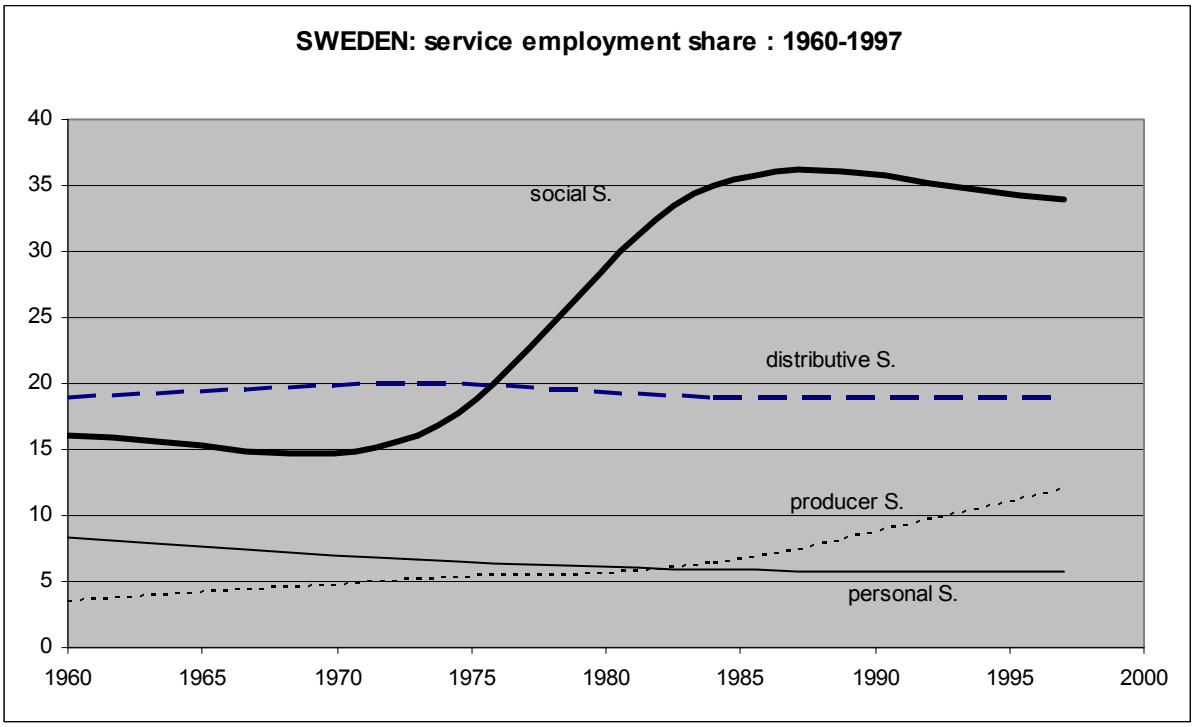
3.2 An initial analysis of the structure of services: from Singelmann to Bosch

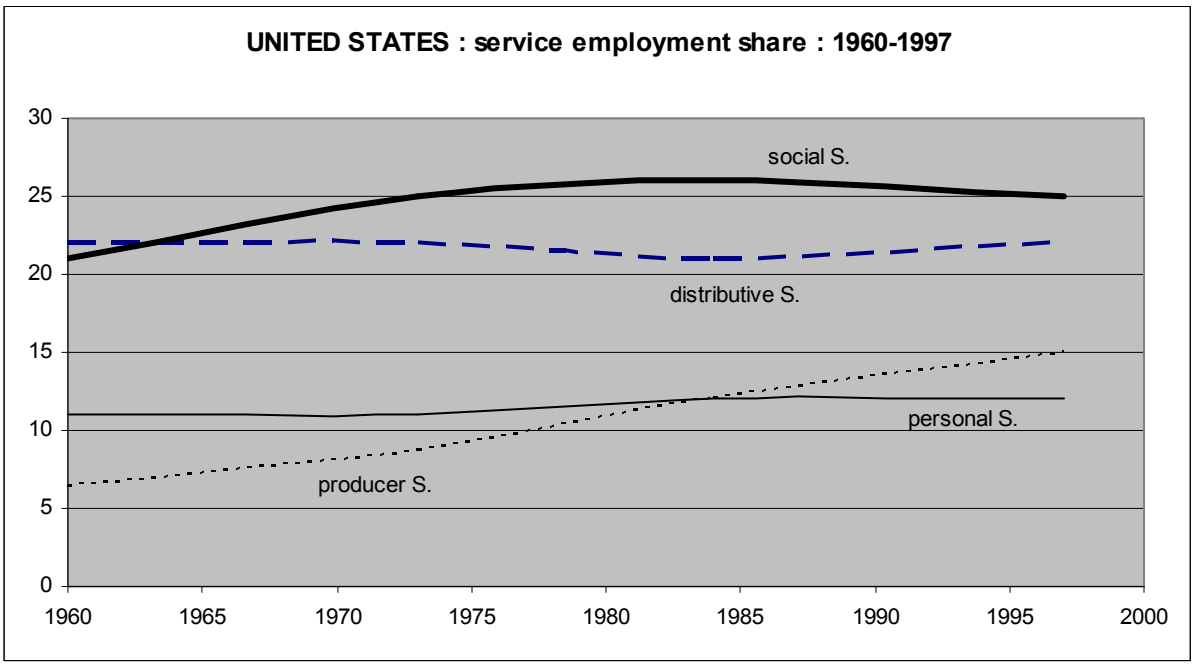
As far back as the 1970s, the heterogeneity of the so-called 'residual' service sector caused problems, particularly when it came to measuring its role in economic growth. In an innovative approach, Singelmann identified four categories of services, with the distinguishing criterion being the dynamics of the links between the service activities in question and manufacturing industry. He developed a classification based on four categories of services: producer services, personal services, distributive services and social services. This initial approach enabled him to highlight different dynamics with, on the one hand, activities whose growth was driven by manufacturing and others that supported growth in manufacturing and, on the other hand, activities whose animating principle was increasing distantiation or even autonomy from the material economy.

Using a classification close to Singelmann's, Anxo and Storrie (2002) identified service activities in which 'reservoirs of employment' could be detected. Using this four-part classification of service activities to compare the structure of service employment in the EU and the USA, which is seen as a 'model' within a general theoretical framework that gives considerable credence to the 'economic lag' argument, they identify industries in which there is a significant employment deficit and investigate services as a 'source of economic growth'. Thus they show that the most rewarding sector to investigate is producer services, both because of the jobs it can generate ("This sector includes many of the jobs that are typically associated with the rise of new technology and work organisation" [Storrie, 2002, p. 52]) and also because of the size of the employment gap in this sector relative to the USA.

The two graphs below illustrate the results that they obtain from the comparison of the evolution of the structure of service employment in Sweden and the United States. The graphs show two distinct profiles, in terms of both structure and trend (see below).

Figure 1. service employment share : Sweden vs. US





Source: based on Anxo, Storrie, 200, p. 32.

For their part, Bosch and Wagner, both examine the comparative structure of service jobs in European countries on a sectoral and functional basis (in Bosch, Lehndorff eds., 2005, Chapter 2) and, adopting a more dynamic perspective, investigate the differing rates of growth in services in these same countries (in Bosch, Lehndorff eds., 2005, Chapter 4). One of the distinctive characteristics of their comparative study lies in results that highlight the differing levels of tertiarisation from country to country. Among the various categories of

services, it is social services that account for the greatest share of employment in EU member states. Furthermore, and this is a crucial point for our purpose here and, more generally, for the Dynamo project, they identify four groups of countries (Southern Europe, Scandinavia, Continental Europe and the English-speaking countries) on the basis of two criteria: the rate of tertiarisation and the share of business-oriented services. They then emphasise the importance of political and societal choices for the structure of the service sector: 'the high share of social services in the Scandinavian countries is undoubtedly linked to their highly developed welfare states' (p. 66). This shows that analysis of the structure of services goes very far beyond functionalist arithmetic and reveals that, over and above that structure, the choices made by different societies are of prime importance.

Following on from these initial analyses, Bosch and Wagner then examine the question of different rates of growth in services and the factors that might explain these differences. They point successively to:

- *wage inequalities* and the correlation they establish with the development of certain service activities, particularly services to private households (see below);
- *household composition*, which is another factor that helps to explain differences in the levels and growth rates of certain service activities. Thus the increase in female participation rates is directly correlated with the level of employment in services to private households and in social services;
- *welfare regimes*, which are defined very restrictively, in a way that has been widely criticised by non-mainstream economists (see in particular Boyer, 2002). In Bosch and Wagner's analysis, the state is forced to take an active role because of the assumed importance of education, health care and personal services in the formation of human capital and the impossibility of providing these services through the market. The explanation for this impossibility, according to the authors, lies in the phenomenon of 'cost disease', which Baumol described in the 1960s. Thus state intervention through a variety of possible measures (legal, fiscal etc.) is essentially seen as a means of providing support for a certain level of supply and demand in these sectors, thereby compensating for the effects of cost disease.
- *demand for services in the manufacturing sector*, which is also said to explain part of the difference in the degree of tertiarisation. These studies show that a link can be established between high-quality production and the need for R&D, sales advice, after-sales service etc. It could be added that this growing share of service activities is driven largely by increasing consumption by service firms themselves rather than by manufacturing firms.
- *service quality:* using skill level as a proxy indicator for service quality and professionalism, the authors show there is a significantly negative correlation between skill levels and the degree of tertiarisation in a given economy. Nevertheless, the use of this indicator can be called into question in several ways. Firstly, recent studies based on detailed case studies have shown that service quality can be achieved in a number of different ways: enhancing employee professionalism is certainly one way, but another is to increase the number of workers involved in service provision (all other things being equal in terms of skill levels). The retail trade is a typical example. Other research has highlighted the contingent nature of the notion of skill, particularly for workers in service activities (Gadrey, Jany-Catrice, Pernod-Lemattre, 2005). The whole notion of skill is a social construct, which depends on the prevailing balance of power and is too often confused with the notion of low-paid. By not exercising sufficient caution with regard to the classifications used and the way in which workers are

categorised as skilled or low-skilled, researchers run the risk of ignoring many of the competences that are deployed in the labour market, particularly in highly feminised activities (home help services, hotels and catering, retailing etc.);

– *employment intensity in the service sector:* the general idea here is to establish correlations between part-time rates and, more broadly, the volume of hours worked in service activities and the level of tertiarisation in the various economies. In order to enhance the analysis, it would be necessary to incorporate differences in the treatment of men and women and to take into account the gender conventions that influence employment rates, part-time rates and the structure of service employment (see below).

3.3. Gadrey's service worlds

Gadrey's analysis, which draws on various international typologies, in particular those developed by Esping-Andersen in 'The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism' (1990) and by Castells and Aoyama (1994 and 2002), seeks to identify and define four economic and service society regimes or 'worlds', which he describes as liberal (Anglo-Saxon), Nordic, Continental and familialist.

In the first stage of his analysis, Gadrey (2003, 2004) uses three criteria or families of criteria in order to classify developed countries in terms of the type of economy and service society that has become established in each one:

– the 'quantitative' structure of the service sector, measured by the relative shares in total employment of the main activities in the sector;
– job quality and employee skills;
– the relative shares or market and non-market services.

3.3.1. The 'quantitative' structure of the service sector

This criterion is fairly commonly used (see above). Gadrey revisits Singelmann's categories, particularly distributive services, which originally combined the wholesale and retail trades, transport and communications, and refocuses his analysis on comparative data relating to two major sectors: personal services and distribution (PSD) and social services (see table below).

Table 2. The major sectors of employment, PSD (personal services and distribution) and social services in 17 developed countries (1998), as % of total employment

	USA	*CA*	*AU*	*UK*	SV	DK	NO	FI	NL	FR	DE	BE	IT	ES	GR	PT	JP
Agriculture	*2.7*	*3.8*	*4.8*	*1.7*	2.6	3.6	4.7	6.5	3.3	4.3	2.8	2.2	5.9	7.8	17.8	13.6	5.3
Manufacturing	*23.6*	*22.2*	*22*	*26.7*	25.7	27	23.1	27.7	21.7	24.9	34.5	25.1	33.2	30.7	23	36	32
Services	*73.7*	*73.9*	*73.2*	*71.6*	71.7	69.4	72.2	65.7	75	70.9	62.6	72.6	60.8	61.4	59.2	50.4	62.7
Commercial and personal services	***28.2***	***24.8***	***26.6***	***24.7***	**18.1**	**19.6**	**17**	**18.1**	**23.3**	**21.7**	**21.4**	**20.9**	**25.3**	**28.4**	**26.3**	**25.1**	**29.3**
Social services	***24.7***	***25.4***	***25.2***	***25.3***	**34.0**	**31.7**	**33.7**	**28.1**	**28.1**	**28.7**	**24.7**	**30.7**	**21.6**	**18.4**	**18**	**18.6**	**15**

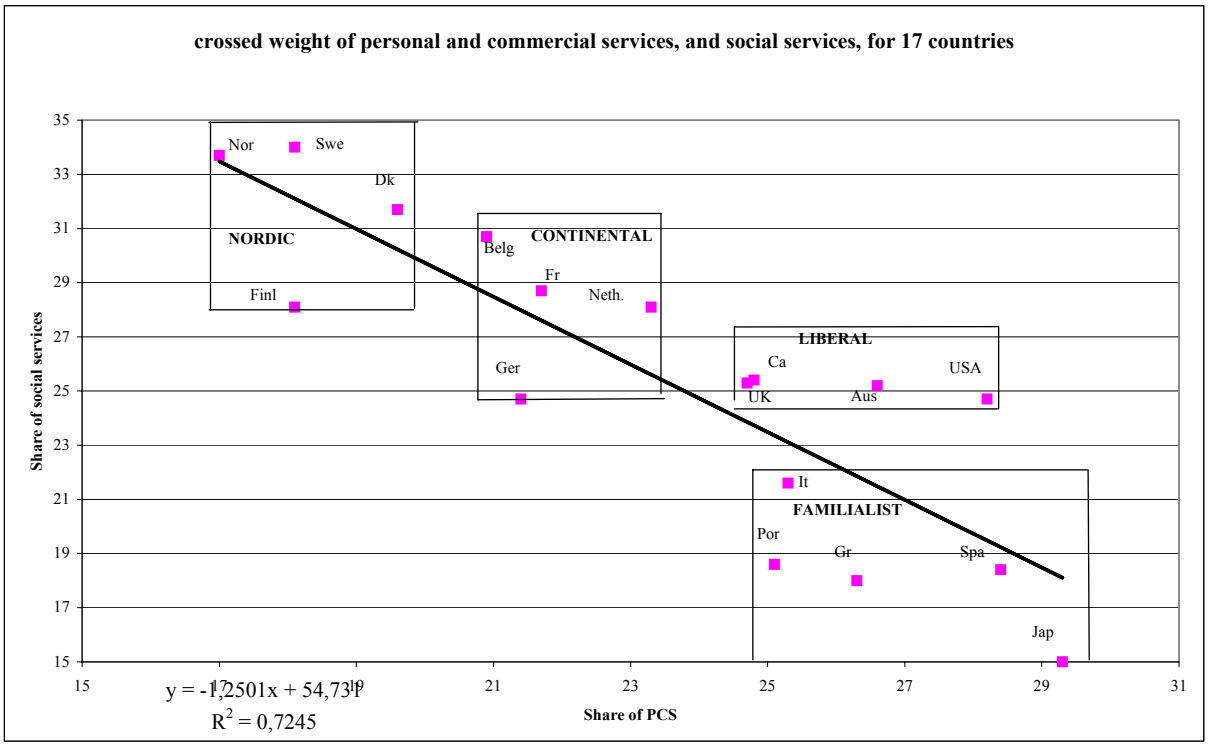
Source : Gadrey, 2004

This leads him to identify four economic and service society regimes or worlds:

– neo-liberal (or Anglo-Saxon), to which belong the USA, Canada and the UK; the service world in these countries is characterised by relatively underdeveloped social services and a very high level of development in personal and business services;

– Nordic: Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark; these countries have an average level of personal and business services and highly developed social services;
– Continental: Belgium, France, Netherlands and Germany; these are countries in an intermediate position between the Nordic and neo-liberal worlds;
– familialist (or Mediterranean, but the inclusion of Japan in this group means that this geographical appellation cannot be used): Italy, Portugal, Spain, Greece and Japan; social services are underdeveloped and personal and business services account for shares of total employment that are not equalled in the other countries or rival the levels found in the countries of the 'neo-liberal' world.

Figure 2. Four groups of service economies, defined in terms of the relative shares in total employment of the two largest sub-sectors



Source: Gadrey, 2004.

Note: Japan is virtually absent from Esping-Andersen's typology. On the basis of the data he gathers and the exceptional role played by 'family and gender conventions' in Japan, Gadrey concludes that this country can be regarded 'in many respects as a 'hyper-Mediterranean' country as far as its service economy and the determinants thereof are concerned'. The inclusion of other South-East Asian countries (Korea, Thailand and Taiwan) would perhaps make it possible to include Japan in this group of countries.

3.3.2. Job quality and skill levels in services

The neo-liberal and Nordic types have in common a very high level of wage work in market services. However, the former differs from the latter in having a much higher share of very low-quality service jobs, whether they be judged in terms of pay, social protection, labour turnover rates or working conditions.

Gadrey's four indicators of job quality

According to the ILO definition, 'decent work' has four dimensions: labour rights, employment, social protection and social dialogue. Gadrey takes up this notion and attempts to quantify it by using several indicators of job and work quality.

First indicator. The share of the labour force that works more than 48 hours per week 'for economic reasons or regardless of the wishes of the individual concerned'. The Nordic and Continental types have low shares, while shares in the 'Anglo-Saxon' (excluding Canada) and Mediterranean-familialist group are around twice as high. Gadrey also uses the synthetic indicators of economic security, linked to employment, developed by the ILO; they confirm the categorisation produced by the first indicator.
Second indicator: the distribution of service workers between low-paid and high-paid activities.
Third indicator: the level of the minimum wage in the lowest-paid service activities.
Fourth indicator: the part-time rate and weekly working time for part-timers.

Taken in combination with each other, these four indicators reveal a considerable contrast between the Anglo-Saxon and Nordic types with regard to the highly dualistic wage structure that characterises the first group. A dualistic employment structure can be observed in most of the Mediterranean countries. The Continental countries seem to occupy an intermediate position and tend to have high rates of 'long-hours' part-time work.

Skill and vocational training in services

The aim here is to analyse the differences in levels of skill and training required in service activities in the different countries. Those in the neo-liberal world are not overly concerned with developing wage relationships over the long term and thus invest little in training for workers in these sectors. This attitude contrasts sharply with that in the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands, where the aim is to strengthen the professionalism of service workers, particularly those in social services.

As far as job quality is concerned, Jean Gadrey's work is clearly inspired by Manuel Castells' approach, which in a way is an optimistic one[10]. In fact, for Castells, employment in informational societies is characterised by increasing skill levels in the occupations that undergo expansion: this increase is reflected in an increasing share of occupations requiring high-level competences and advanced education. Nevertheless, Gadrey cautions against drawing hasty conclusions from this observation. After all, it does not mean that societies are experiencing a systematic upgrading of their competences, education systems, incomes or stratification systems. The impact of an upgraded employment structure on the social

[10] See Nicole Gadrey (2005, forthcoming).

structure depends on the ability of institutions to meet the demand for work in the labour force and to reward workers in line with their competences. This is one of the dividing lines that Gadrey attempts to draw between those post-industrial societies whose service employment models lead to an uprating of skills and those that do not.

The NESY studies revealed very high skill levels in the Scandinavian social services sector (Bosch, Lehndorff, 2005). In these countries, 'even when domiciliary services for the elderly are delegated to the private and voluntary sectors, the public standards governing service quality and vocational training are high' (Gadrey, 2004). The opposite tendency can be observed in the Anglo-Saxon (English-speaking) countries.

Wage work

This criterion is also used in societal analyses. It mainly concerns the Mediterranean countries, which are characterised by high rates of non-wage workers in services and by a high share of informal work, which tends to introduce bias into hasty comparisons of employment rates, part-time rates and, more generally, job quality.

3.3.3. The relative shares of market and non-market services

Gadrey uses four indicators here: the share of public-sector employment in total employment; current government revenue and social security contributions as a percentage of GDP; public expenditure excluding social security as a proportion of GDP; public expenditure on education and health as a proportion of GDP.
'Examination of the data relating to these four criteria further reinforces the contrast between the 'Anglo-Saxon' and Nordic forms of service economy. In the first type, the competitive market mode of regulation plays an overwhelmingly dominant role in services. The second is characterised by a vast volume of services that are either wholly public in nature or involve a high level of public expenditure and regulation. The Continental group is less homogeneous when judged by these criteria, but their levels of government revenue and public expenditure excluding social security benefits clearly lie in between those of the first two types. As for the Mediterranean countries, they are on average below the Continental countries but above the Anglo-Saxon countries on most of the criteria used to assess the share of non-market services, with the exception of public expenditure on health and education, where they bring up the rear, with Belgium and Japan' (Gadrey, 2003).

In the second stage of his analysis, Gadrey combines the three groups of criteria outlined above (relative share of personal/business services and social services, jobs quality and skill levels and the relative share of market and non-market services) in order to identify four types of country on the basis of their service economy. The main question he then poses is the following: how can the transition be effected from an analysis of types to an interpretation of 'worlds' (see Boltanski and Thévenot)?

To this end, Gadrey brings into play two types of 'national conventions', each of which strongly influences the form the service economy takes in a given country. The term 'conventions' is understood here in the sense of 'widely shared cognitive frameworks, often implicit, that generally have a long history. They are values, concepts of what is good and fair. They can hardly be identified directly except in texts and speeches. However, they can

be identified indirectly on the basis of some of their outcomes (and the lack of controversy surrounding those outcomes) in the countries in question over long periods of time'.

The two types of national conventions adopted by Gadrey are, firstly, 'conventions on economic equality and solidarity' and, secondly, 'gender and family conventions'. 'The first relate to equality (or inequality) and solidarity between social classes and groups (as well as between generations and territories) within a country and they will be restricted to *economic* equality and solidarity. The gender conventions also relate to equality, inequality or difference in social roles, but this time *between men and women*, in the economic and domestic spheres as well as in the political sphere. The family conventions, which exert a very strong influence on the gender conventions without being entirely synonymous with them, denote the dominant norms relating to the role of the family and the division of roles among its members with regard to professional and other activities.

For Gadrey, 'a very unequal society (class and gender inequalities) cannot have the same service economy as an inegalitarian society and a society in which the traditional model of the family remains very influential 'produces' a differently structured service economy from that produced in a society in which that model has been largely swept aside… the hypothesis we are going to test is that these two types of conventions are good 'predictors' of the type of service economy that exists in a country'. This hypothesis is supported by Bosch and Wagner (2005, p. 105), who conclude that 'the correlation between income inequality and the volume of work in social and personal services is strongly negative and highly significant'.

Gadrey then draws on the work of Korpi (2001), who has drawn up a synthetic classification of 18 developed countries on the basis of 2 criteria: firstly, the existence and scale of public measures that support a dual-earner family model and, secondly, the scale of family policies. On the basis of these two criteria, Korpi draws up a typology in which the countries are divided into three groups: the market-oriented model (mainly the English-speaking world), at the other extreme the dual-earner model represented by the Nordic countries and, finally, the Continental European group of countries that provide 'general family support'.

Table 3. Institutional combinations according to Korpi (2001)

Country	System of social protection	Gender policy	Class inequalities (income)	Gender inequalities
Canada, Switzerland, UK, USA, New-Zealand	Basic security	Market-oriented	High	Moderate
Australia	Targeted	Market-oriented	High	High
Ireland	Basic security	General support for the family	High	High
Netherlands	Basic security	General support for the family	Moderate	High
Denmark	Basic security	Support for dual-earner households	Moderate	Low
Belgium, Germany, Italy, France, Austria	Statist-corporatist	General support for the family	Moderate-high	Moderate-high
Japan	*Statist-corporatist*	*Market-oriented*	*Low*	*High*
Finland, Norway, Sweden	Inclusive	Support for dual-earner households	Low	Low

Gadrey then goes on to show that the services that develop may differ in quantity and quality depending on the type of gender and family conventions that dominate in a given country. He

pays particular attention to the Southern European countries and Japan which, he argues, constitute a 'familialist world'.

The advantage of these studies is that they provide a basis for a systematic and systemic analysis of the links between employment and welfare regimes by placing at the heart of the systems a detailed analysis of the service sector. The disadvantages of this type of analysis, like those whose methodology is based on benchmarking, lies in the fact that social policies and modes of regulation in general are not really placed in historical context. They are considered more as givens than as social constructs, which makes it impossible to identify the initial 'intentions' behind national policies that gave birth to them and drove their evolution. In other words, they ignore the genesis of those policies and of the dynamics of change.

IV. Towards a dynamic approach to employment models

One of the main difficulties encountered by the authors of the studies reviewed up to this point lies in the introduction of a dynamic perspective into their approaches. We do not claim to be resolving this major methodological difficulty here, but we can attempt to introduce some elements that will make it possible to introduce a temporal dimension into our analysis of models of service employment.[11]

It seems to us there are at least three ways of introducing a temporal dimension into these analyses of employment models:

1. by means of an analysis that focuses directly on institutional change, taking as a starting point the notion of institutional innovation[12]. Boyer has made use of this notion, but it had already been drawn on by Hall and Soskice (2001) in their analysis of changes in national systems, as well as by Thelen (2003).
2. by taking into account individuals' life cycles. This would create a framework for analysing the links between institutional changes and the changes experienced individually or collectively by the actors themselves, particularly during transitional phases in their life cycles (see in particular Bert de Vroom, 2002 and Rubery, 2004).
3. by taking into account possible future changes in the actors' temporal availability, particularly with regard to working time/non-working time (Hamermesh 1999; De Vetter, 2001). The aim here is to analysis the changes (over time) in what might be called individual or collective actors' time arrangements. These arrangements would be considered as separate institutions or as derived forms of these institutions (conventions, rules, routines).

4.1. Institutional innovation

4.1.1."grammar of institutional change" : layering, conversion and recombination

We will begin by outlining some of the elements of the 'grammar of institutional change' (Boyer, 2003) before proceeding to examine the relationship between institutional change and the question of convergence. Kathleen Thelen's work on the evolution of institutions is of particular interest in the light of our concern to introduce a dynamic element into our analysis of employment models. After all, Thelen (2003) and Thelen and Kume (2003) set themselves the objective of 'establishing a clear-cut distinction at the empirical and analytical

[11] Some recent studies of employment in Japan have adopted a similar approach. See Ribault Thierry (2004).
[12] See Robert Boyer (2003) and Kathleen Thelen (2003).

levels between the mechanisms of reproduction and the animating principles driving the changes taking place'. Their purpose, therefore, is 'to suggest modes of change different from those usually mentioned but which may in fact be empirically rare, such as instances of institutional rupture or the complete replacement of institutions, as they are conceptualised in a punctuated equilibrium model'. The notion of bounded innovation, in which development trajectories are characterised by elements of continuity that guide change, is rehabilitated by Thelen and seems to us a promising starting point for investigating institutional change and its links with employment, as are the two concepts of institutional layering and institutional conversion. Institutional layering involves the partial renegotiation of certain parts of a given set of institutions, leaving the others unchanged[13] but reshaping the system as a whole. For example, the introduction of private pension funds into a system that previously relied exclusively on public schemes may eventually affect key elements of the system and have significant repercussions on the entire social security system. Institutional conversion describes a process in which some existing institutions are reoriented towards new objectives, which in turn leads to changes in the role they play and/or the functions they perform. It is the 'process through which an institution is reconfigured as a result of a change in one of its components' or under pressure from its external environment (Boyer, 2003, p. 180). The components in question are: the tangible form of the institution, the procedures put in place with a view to achieving an objective, the judgement of the actors involved (see also Rubery and Grimshaw 2002) and the objectives themselves.

Finally, a third form of change can be added to the two outlined above, one that Robert Boyer denotes by the term 'recombination'. This is a 'vector for the evolution of an institutional configuration, which takes as its starting point the plurality and heterogeneity of the constituent entities' (Boyer, 2003, p. 184). For Boyer, the debates around institutional hierarchy and institutional complementarity show, in contrast, that the viability of a configuration is not necessarily dependent on the strength of the links between the constituent elements. In other words, homogeneity of behaviour and strategies does not necessarily contribute to the stabilisation of an institutional configuration, since a certain degree of diversity is actually required if institutions are to have an ability to react and to reinterpret and redefine rules.

We would note, with some caution, that the adoption of these types of institutional evolution (layering, conversion and recombination) does not exclude utilitarian, functional, political or even cultural explanations of change. Similarly, institutional layering, conversion and recombination should perhaps be juxtaposed with notions such as 'continuation of path-specific development' and 'learning from and borrowing institutional best practices' from the new EU agenda, or even 'adaptation at the organisational level to international best practice', in other words convergence (Dynamo Manual, p. 13).

4.1.2. Institutional change and convergence

Whereas the increasing returns argument propounded by, among others, David (1985), Arthur (1988) or North (1981 and 1990) puts the spotlight on winners and the effects of adaptation, it leaves the permanent political wrangling about the form and function of institutions largely in the shade. 'Increasing returns cannot constitute a complete explanation because, in politics, the losers do not necessarily disappear and their 'adaptation' to the

[13] What Robert Boyer describes as 'adding new to old' (Boyer, 2003).

institutions in force may take other forms of support for the reproduction of these institutions, as in the worlds of technologies and of markets' (Thelen, 2003, p. 35).

This links up with the argument advanced by Erhel and Palier (2004). For these authors, while social protection and employment policy systems are characterised by path dependency phenomena and the persistence of different national trajectories, path dependency is not in itself sufficient to explain the dynamics of social and employment policies: it is also necessary to be able to explain innovative changes that diverge from the initial path. '(…) After all, one can point to examples that give the lie to an excessively static view of national models. These are, essentially, reforms to the mode of funding (for example, the introduction of the generalised social contribution in France in 1990), to institutional forms (strengthening of local cooperation on the basis of active employment policies and privatisation of certain support services for the unemployed) and to the principles governing state intervention (welfare to work and the switch from passive to active expenditure). In these three cases, the reforms constitute real innovations likely to change the allocation of resources, bargaining and power structures and to have long-term effects on national trajectories.'

Thus Erhel and Palier are underlining the role of the informal in the reform of public policies. 'In the case of Europe, this would suggest that a minimal degree of convergence can be obtained in matters of employment and social protection on the basis of non-constraining coordination procedures involving exchanges of information and discussion between countries. In the case of complex and interdependent institutional systems, laying down constraining rules is not necessarily the best way of changing the direction of national trajectories. On the contrary, these institutions can act as filters and produce national responses that diverge from earlier characteristics while at the same time maintaining path dependency.' From this point of view, the 'European employment strategy' is, in Erhel and Palier's view, an important innovation on the road to harmonisation at EU level. It is based essentially on the 'open method of coordination' that was introduced following the Luxembourg summit and first applied in the employment policy sphere.

4.1.3. Institutional innovation and service economies

How can an analysis of institutional change shed light on changes in service economies and the jobs they generate? Let us take the example of changes in the competence regime.

One of the principal characteristics of service economies is the fact that the nature of competence regimes has changed. There has been a gradual shift away from firm-specific competences to more individualised competences, with attempts even being made to characterise individuals, particularly when the competences in question are associated with women's work. This competence regime often has a negative impact on the system that protects workers, most of them men, who tend to possess competences specific to a particular firm or industry. After all, the cost of maintaining such social protection increases as the employment system moves from a regime in which competences are predominantly specific to a new regime based on individualised competences (Estévez-Abe, 1999; Ribault 2005). In other words, the increased transferability of the principal competences deployed and sought after (the competences most in demand in service industries are transferable since they can be used with any employer, unlike those that are specific to a particular firm or industry) brings increasingly heavy constraints to bear on the original model and calls into question the status of specialised workers as breadwinners, which in turn gives fresh impetus to women's employment. Thus a phenomenon that might initially be regarded as marginal, namely the

increasing transferability of competences, which is particularly evident in service activities, can lead to more significant institutional changes in the employment system as a whole, or indeed place certain key institutions in that system in a precarious position.

This example shows that the gradual transition from a regime based on competences specific to a firm or industry to one based on competences that characterise individuals can lead to significant changes in the ways in which societal conventions evolve, particularly those relating to wages, the family and temporal availability. It is then up to political leaders and policymakers to decide whether or not to thwart such economic developments by putting in place protective measures such as those introduced in the social democracies of Northern Europe. In these societies, the welfare state itself has become the employer of a labour force that it has reskilled. Furthermore, it has taken the initiative by introducing social protection measures designed, on the one hand, to maintain the economic and social stratum of workers with specific competences and, on the other, to promote gender equality in a way that is compatible with that stratum.

The choices that ensued have favoured the development of a service structure that tends to encourage the expansion of social services to the detriment, in quantitative terms, of personal and domestic services.

4.2 Individual life cycles

Faced with the 'naturalisation' of institutions and the way in which they are apprehended that is an inevitable effect of the increasing returns approach, it is essential to reintroduce institutional innovation in all its diversity into the analysis.

It is just such a concern that lies at the heart of much of the work produced by socio-economists and institutional economists. This concern is reflected in particular in a desire to combine the institutional approach, preferably in its actor-centred version, with an approach that takes the life cycle into account (Scharpf, 1997). To focus on the actors' life cycles does not necessarily mean falling into the trap of methodological individualism, because it can also contribute to knowledge of the life cycle of institutions, from their genesis to the time they reach a point of crisis.

In previous work that sought to examine the social construction of employment, particularly with regard to young people in Japan, we adopted an approach based on the phases of the life cycle (Ribault, 2004b). Drawing on a broader analysis of the British economic model, Jill Rubery (2004) makes the life cycle a tool for analysing the main institutional arrangements at work in European employment models and, more widely, in European socio-economic models.

'One of the best ways to conceptualise and consider both the differences in current models and the pressures under which they are placed for change is to view these models through the lens of a lifecycle approach linked to notions of the intergenerational contract, as it is the modes of support available from other groups/generations in society at key stages in the lifecycle that are critical in shaping distinctive socio-economic models.' (Rubery, 2004, p.32)

Thus in this approach, which we might describe as 'subjective institutionalism' to the extent that it is also concerned with preferences and choices made under constraint, Rubery identifies four major transitional phases in the lives of individuals: 'the initial transition from

the school or higher education to work; the subsequent transition to careers and independent living; transitions in prime age, whether involving changes of jobs or careers or changes in activity status; transitions into retirement and into old age'. The basic hypothesis made here is as follows: the nature of the institutions that play a central role in defining and developing transitional phases varies depending on the stage of the life cycle that is being investigated, even though there are also factors that do not change, such as the labour market, which plays an important role in each phase. Rubery then identifies a series of institutions that have an impact on the phase in question. The challenges that socio-economic systems have to face also vary depending on the phase of the life cycle. This is one of the first major advantages of this approach, that is it identifies and differentiates the nature and scope of the challenges to be met depending on the stage of an individual's life cycle. The second major advantage lies in the attention paid in this approach to the role played by intergenerational transfers and assistance. Here too, a number of challenges have to be met, beginning with the funding of an increasing share of the population now gaining access to higher education. Considering that most European countries face these challenges, albeit to varying extents, Rubery wonders whether the responses to these challenges will lead to the convergence or divergence of national socio-economic models.

Two observations can be made about this approach, which reintroduces a temporal dimension into the analysis of economic models. Firstly, the time in question here is that experienced by the actors involved and not the time that erodes and transforms institutions. In other words, the focus here is on the short period of individual preferences rather on the long period of historical evolution, which indicates that the life-cycle approach is not intended to be a tool for use in the analysis of industrial innovations as we outlined it above. Rather, it should be seen as a supplement to such analyses. The second, less general observation is that there is perhaps a need more explicitly to differentiate, among the various stages of individuals' lives, those changes more directly linked to their family lives from those more specifically associated with their working lives (reproduction/production) or even from those linked to their temporal availability. This would make it possible to separate out the phases of the working life, family events and periods of temporal availability – time given over to work, domestic life or leisure – and to analyse the key elements that define, structure and transform these various categories of transition. In passing, we would note, with Groot, Nahuis and Tang (2004), that the distinction between working time and non-working time is fraught with difficulties, particularly when it comes to comparing the American and European employment models. After all, Continental Europe differs from the USA in the choice it has made in favour of non-working time to the detriment of working time, which introduces a good deal of bias into comparisons of economic wealth between the two regions.

Here again, one cannot help noting that the nature of the economic activities under consideration is not without influence on the transitions individuals go through. Let us take the case of young people. Young workers are now concentrated mainly in service occupations, where the working and employment conditions are crucial to the way in which individuals perceive and prepare for their futures. This employment of young people in service activities requiring little in the way of competences, or competences that go largely unrecognised, gives firms a reason to restrict their investment in training that would enhance their employees' skills. As a result, young workers have only limited opportunities to progress in the course of their working lives.

4.3. Time arrangements

As we mentioned in the introduction to this section, a third possible way of introducing the time dimension into our analysis of employment model is to take account of changes in time arrangements.

According to de Vroom et al. (2002), time arrangements are the object of social interactions and are socially constructed. They are the result of exchanges, negotiations and choices between various actors whose interests may diverge. They are also shaped by the institutions that define, constrain or facilitate them. Thus time arrangements can also be regarded as institutions. In this sense, they are separate from 'time uses': time arrangements are in fact one of the institutions that determine time uses.

What of the way in which time is distributed in each of the national economic models and the evolution of this distribution in conjunction with the other institutional changes? These questions about the evolution of time arrangements are in fact fully integrated into the approach based on changes over the life cycle. The corollary of the increasing individualisation in modern societies, which varies in degree from country to country, is a relative destandardisation of life cycles, on the one hand, and, on the other, a 'silent changeover' from an authoritarian to a negotiating culture. In this context, an increasing number of individuals are less and less willing to accept predetermined time arrangements (Bert de Vroom et al., 2002). Thus activities once regarded as incompatible are increasingly being linked together within the same stage of the life course in what might be called a sort of biographical conflation, one of the principal constraints on which is time itself. The ideal type of this conflation is a situation in which the synchronisation between time arrangements and stages of the life course, just like the gendered nature of time arrangements, fades away to be replaced by a set of arrangements that freely combine working time, care time, education time and time out of the labour force (Bert de Vroom, 2002).

In concrete terms, starting at university, leaving the parental home, marriage, the first child, graduating and entry into the labour market - all events that punctuate the life course – no longer take place according to a strict timetable. And it is this de-synchronisation that is largely responsible for the emergence of new social risks in the countries that are not prepared for it (Taylor-Gooby, 2004).

New types of time arrangements that mark a break with, for example, models of the male full-time worker/female full-time carer type are emerging under pressure from institutions and individuals. However, individuals need two essential resources in order to express and realise their preferences: income and time. Thus, on the one hand, individuals are looking for

income security and, on the other, time sovereignty. Thus the nature and scope of institutional changes can be judged by the extent to which they help individuals achieve this 'temporal autonomy'.

The tertiarisation of developed economies is of course at the heart of the changes taking place in time arrangements. On the one hand, the development of services mirrors the institutional changes taking place in the family sphere, for example, replacing domestic activities and changing the time and financial constraints to which women were subjected. On the other hand, the employment forms and working conditions in service activities are themselves factors in the construction of new arrangements, which bring with them new temporal and financial constraints.
In other words, we are justified in wondering to what extent the expansion of service employment is or is not playing a part in the destructuring of domestic and working time – and if so among what populations, in what way and to what extent in the various national models – and how it is also contributing to the development of new time balances.

Conclusion

Starting from the hypothesis that the structure of a country's service activities reflects societal choices, in the sense that it has direct and indirect effects on societal performance, and in the light of the analyses we have reviewed, we reach the following conclusions regarding the direction to be taken by the 'joint theoretical framework', which we submit for debate.

A 'varieties of service economies' approach

In our desire to draw on theories of institutional change in order to uncover the dynamics of employment models, we are certainly in tune with one of the aims of the Dynamo project, namely 'to contribute to the development of a more hybrid dynamic approach where systems are subject to major shocks but drawn upon existing institutional support to adjust to the new situation' (Dynamo Manual p. 15). The objective here is to tap into the various typological resources at our disposal (varieties of capitalism, welfare regimes, service worlds, time arrangements) and to reconstruct the coherences that make it possible to explain the variety of forms taken by the development of service activities and the corresponding employment structures. Nevertheless, although we are recommending that intensive use be made of the institutionalist toolbox, we should do so with the instruction booklet to hand: identifying with the greatest clarity possible the hypotheses on which the development of these tools was based is the essential corollary of their use. This proposition can constitute part of the joint theoretical framework of national employment models, development of which is one of the concerns of the Dynamo project.

A 'three lenses approach': quantitative structure, inequality conventions and time arrangements

As our critical survey has revealed, it is impossible to make a well-founded contribution to our knowledge of employment models, particularly service employment, without adopting simultaneously a quantitative, qualitative and temporal perspective. Let us clarify this point. Our aim here is, firstly, to investigate service economies from a quantitative perspective, as proposed by Anxo et al. (reference ?), and then to highlight the (economic and gender) inequality conventions and any other structuring convention (for example, solidarity conventions between social groups and generations) in each of the national employment

models that seem to reflect the different choices societies make. Thirdly, and finally, a dynamic element is to be introduced into this analysis of service societies by incorporating time arrangements.

This introduction of a dynamic element could involve not only observing and analysing time management and use as well as the determinants thereof over the course of individual life cycles but also identifying the changes taking place in the management and use of time and the factors that determine them.

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