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Youth transition policies in Milan and Vienna:

Urban context, institutions, and governance dynamics

Anila Alushi

Registration number: 771800

Tutor: Lavinia Bifulco, University of Milano-Bicocca

Coordinator: Lavinia Bifulco

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In memory of my
great-grandparents

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Acknowledgements

In one of his famous quotes, Gene Roddenberry says that: “In a very real sense, we are all aliens in a very strange planet. We spend most of our lives reaching out and trying to communicate. If during our whole lifetime, we could reach out and really communicate with just two people, we are indeed very fortunate.”

I consider myself fortunate for the relationship with my supervisor Lavinia Bifulco. I am very grateful for her undoubtedly constant presence, for giving me an open and free space of expression and autonomy of discovery. Once, during our conversations, she told me, “how can you measure interaction?” Her tone was provocative, but I was naïve enough to take it very seriously. This, I believe, has been one of the background forces for this thesis.

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Abstract

English Abstract

The current period of human history can plausibly be identified as a global and urban era. Therefore, this thesis seeks to understand the dynamics between youth transition policies and institutional configurations since organization and social practices are changing, and young people's life chances and transitions are profoundly affected by macroeconomic conditions, institutional structures, and social background.

The urbanization process is considered essential for explaining the macro changes in capitalistic societies under the neo-Marxist approach. Furthermore, we intend to combine this approach with the neo-Weberian, which considers the city as a whole local society and an important political actor. This approach makes it possible to think that the accelerated urbanization of the world emphasize the processes of convergence, provide for the circulation of models and at the same time stimulates differentiation on different scales. For this reason, the city is considered a crucial scale and institutional entity.

Through an in-depth literature review, the focus is on understanding how organizational, social, and institutional practices are affected by the economic downturn, changing social expectations, and changing the socio-economic and political environment. Equally important analysing how the incentives and disincentives in education and training are changing based on the concept of activation and social investment.

The analysis is based on a case-oriented approach which is considered the most suitable to embrace complexity in examining each case as a complex set of relationships with distinctive outcomes treated as singularities. Then we selected two cities Milan and Vienna, through multiple lenses of analysis, and highlighted their context in strict relationship and interaction with the institutional architecture.

This interlink and interaction through youth transition policies and institutional configurations embedded in a particular context such as that of a city are first, a way for moving beyond the methodological nationalism, and secondly, for focusing on their outcomes which are the reforming and redesigning of various institutional arrangements. After placing these policies within a socio-economic and institutional architecture, the thesis emphasizes some characteristics and elements that focus on crucial historical processes, adopting the discursive institutionalism framework for highlighting how the substantive content of ideas and the interactive process of discourse can take us beyond to explain dynamics of change in environment and in the conditions for the youth transition policies implementation.

Abstract in Italiano

L'attuale periodo della storia umana può essere plausibilmente identificato come un'era globale e un'era urbana. Pertanto, questa tesi cerca di comprendere le dinamiche tra le politiche di transizione giovanile e le configurazioni istituzionali poiché l'organizzazione e le pratiche sociali stanno cambiando e le possibilità di vita e le transizioni dei giovani sono profondamente influenzate dalle condizioni macroeconomiche, dalle strutture istituzionali e dal contesto sociale.

Il processo di urbanizzazione è considerato essenziale per spiegare i macro cambiamenti nelle società capitalistiche secondo l'approccio neo-Marxista. Inoltre, si vuole combinare questo approccio con il neo-Weberiano che considera la città come un'intera società locale e un importante attore politico. Questo approccio fa pensare che l'urbanizzazione accelerata del mondo accentui i processi di convergenza, alimenti la circolazione di modelli e allo stesso tempo stimoli la differenziazione su scale diverse. Per questo motivo la città è considerata una scala cruciale ed una entità istituzionale.

Attraverso un'approfondita revisione della letteratura, l'attenzione si concentra sulla comprensione di come le pratiche organizzative, sociali e istituzionali sono

influenzate dalla recessione economica, dal cambiamento delle aspettative sociali e dal cambiamento dell'ambiente socio-economico e politico. Altrettanto importante analizzare come stanno cambiando gli incentivi e i disincentivi nell'istruzione e nella formazione sulla base del concetto di attivazione e investimento sociale.

L'analisi si basa su un approccio case-oriented che è considerato il più adatto ad abbracciare la complessità nell'esame di ogni caso come un insieme complesso di relazioni con esiti distintivi trattati come singolarità. Quindi abbiamo selezionato due città Milano e Vienna, attraverso molteplici lenti di analisi, e ne abbiamo evidenziato il contesto in stretto rapporto e interazione con l'architettura istituzionale.

Questa interconnessione e interazione attraverso le politiche di transizione giovanile e le configurazioni istituzionali incorporate in un contesto particolare come quello di una città sono in primo luogo, un modo per andare oltre il nazionalismo metodologico e, in secondo luogo, per concentrarsi sui loro risultati che sono la riforma e la riprogettazione di vari accordi istituzionali. Dopo aver inserito queste politiche all'interno di un'architettura socio-economica e istituzionale, la tesi sottolinea alcune caratteristiche ed elementi che si concentrano su processi storici cruciali, adottando la struttura dell'istituzionalismo discorsivo per evidenziare come il contenuto sostanziale delle idee e il processo interattivo del discorso possono portarci oltre e spiegare le dinamiche di cambiamento nell'ambiente e nelle condizioni in cui le politiche per la transizione giovanile vengono implementate.

Introduction

"The most important thing for me is to understand.
Writing is an integral part of understanding." – Hannah Arendt

Pluralistic perspectives and approaches: the postmodernism

The postmodern intellectual situation is profoundly complex and ambiguous. What is called postmodernism varies considerably according to context, but it is generally defined as an open-ended, indeterminate set of attitudes that arises from a diversity of intellectual and cultural currents.

The philosopher Richard Tarnas (2010, p. 426) argues that:

> "Each great epochal transformation in the history of Western mind appears to have been initiated by a kind of archetypal sacrifice. […] By all accounts, the central prophet of the postmodern mind was Friedrich Nietzsche, with his radical perspectivism, his sovereign critical sensibility, and his powerful, poignantly ambivalent anticipation of the emerging nihilism in Western culture."

Therefore, the constant search for truth is constrained to tolerate ambiguity and pluralism, and its outcome is relative rather than absolute or certain knowledge. In this scenario, plasticity and constant change of reality and knowledge stress the priority of concrete experience over fixed abstract principles and a conviction that no single priority thought system should govern belief or investigation (ibid).

According to Harvey (1995, p. 7-9), "(…) 'postmodernism' represents some kind of reaction to, or departure from, 'modernism'. Since the meaning of modernism is also very confused, the reaction or departure is known as 'postmodernism' is doubly so. (…) Fragmentation, indeterminacy, and intense distrust of all universal or 'totalizing' discourses are the hallmark of postmodernist thought" and for these reasons, the rejection of meta-narratives. Additionally, as McManus (2019) more recently argues, postmodernism should be examined as a culture that has emerged simultaneously

with the neoliberal societies of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. In this perspective, postmodernism can be labelled as a culture of disruption. It is a disruption of history as inherited by particular politics, a narrative of rising action and the will to be seen. But narratives connect history to politics[1], and as suggested by McManus (2020, p. xiii), "the attenuation of the historical sense is something somehow relate to the environment of communication, rather than a condition of an amorphous shapeless territory of 'thought'".

Furthermore, coming back to Harvey (1995), for understanding the postmodern, it is also necessary to put it in relation to the modern and its' special mode of representation, the creations of new codes and significations constructed in languages. Nevertheless, modernism was also an urban phenomenon with the experience of explosive urban growth and shaping cultural dynamics. However, a fundamental transformation had to be with simultaneity derived from a radical change in the experience of space and time, affected by the loss of faith in progress that challenged the categorical fixity and a single mode of representation rushing us in a period of transition characterized mostly by complexity, a multiplicity of forms and pluralism.

When we deal with complex, multifaceted phenomena, we tend to use a specific cognitive strategy: we break down those separate facets into categories or, in other words, we try to unpack the concepts and build up boxes of explanation. We come up with this strategy to make things easier, and for this reason, when we think about strategy, we think in categories. We think about things that are a continuum, and we separate them into categories, we label those categories, and we do that in various settings because it could be extremely useful for our understanding.

Putting facts into a clear explanation has its advantages because it helps us remember facts better. But then we think about categories that we have in our head

[1] This phrase is mentioned by Guy Debord in 1967 in his book *Society of the Spectacle* suggesting that history was eradicated by mass media, which produce only "eternity of noisy insignificance" quoted in McManus (2020).

and that we impose on things that are not categorical. For example, to understand this, Sapolsky (2017, p. 14) proposes a metaphorical image: "the visual spectrum is a continuum of wavelengths from violet to red (or a transition from blue to green), and it is arbitrary where boundaries are put for different colour names". We have an infinite number of spaces in between that come from one shade of colour to another. We have rules that we can divide the continua into different parts when the colour starts to change shades, and it is like this that we have a colour (we have red, orange, yellow and so on). What we did is that we took a continuum and we break it into boundaries, and in this way, it makes it easier to store the information away and deal with the facts. Instead of remembering the absolute features of something you simply say, like in the example above, it is a colour characterization orange. This is because the boundaries between different categories are often arbitrary, but once some arbitrary boundary exists, we forget that it is arbitrary and get away too impressed with its importance (ibid). In other words, when we think categorically, we have trouble seeing how similar or different two things are. If we pay lots of attention to where boundaries are, we pay less attention to the complete picture.

Therefore, there are boundaries in the classification of the information because when we think of fixed and determined categories, we do not see the importance of different things across categories. For example, we create the same problem when we think in categories from a realm of languages differences. In that not only is there a continuum of an infinite number of wavelengths, but there is also a continuum of sounds that humans can make. Moreover, different languages draw boundaries at different points as to what counts as similar sounds or different sounds. In the first place, it will affect the ability to remember things depending on whether it is a different high boundary or whether it is a sound that is different or not. So one problem that is created when you pay too much attention to the categories is that you cannot differentiate two facts that fall within the same category. Furthermore, when you put a boundary, you have trouble seeing how similar things are on either side of it.

For this reason, when we have boundaries, we think everything is flat and fixed. All you see are categories, and we do not see the dynamic of interaction through categories. That said, postmodernism then has a positive influence on the emergence of differences in subjectivity and spatial geographic locations and dislocations.

The assumption then is to think about cities without going into thinking in categories because cities are dynamic places and spaces and capable of capturing the critical elements of a transitory condition. So there is a need for an analytical path built up by little instrumental steps that can help us make sense when stable meanings are becoming unstable.

Another author referring to this perspective is Joël de Rosnay (1975, p. 3) and his concept of the "macroscope", which is defined as "a symbolic instrument made of a number of methods and techniques borrowed from very different disciplines. It would be useless to search for it in laboratories and research centres, yet countless people use it today in the most varied fields.[2] In another perspective, Sassen (1991) defines that the "global cities" give the global geo-economic a zoom-in on the importance to the urban level.

The supposition of thinking in a "categorical way" at complex concepts and territories such as cities means that the effort is focused on explaining it only from one perspective instead of a plural interdisciplinary way of thinking. According to Hall (1993), we need a more complete account of the role of ideas that play a crucial part in policymaking and in the realm of discourse. Furthermore, he also addresses the policy paradigm (p. 279):

[2] The macroscope can be considered the symbol of a new way of seeing, understanding, and acting" with the aim to bring different ways and guidelines on the direction both of scientific knowledge and the construction of new practical reality. Therefore, the "macroscope" could be defined as a guide to action on embracing and exercising change in the world and then trying to understand it. In this term de Rosnay highlight the importance of the city as a crucial space for action and change emphasising that the services provided by the city depend directly not only on material infrastructure but above all on social infrastructure, characterised by communication and knowledge.

> "(…) policymakers customarily work within a framework of ideas and standards that specifies not only the goals of policy and the kind of instruments that can be used to attain them, but also the very nature of the problems they are meant to be addressing. Like a Gestalt, this framework is embedded in the very terminology through which policymakers communicate about their work, and it is influential precisely because so much of it is taken for granted and unamenable to scrutiny as a whole. I am going to call this interpretive framework a policy paradigm".

Maybe we can say that social science reached a level of self-awareness that will trigger a new kind of approach to research (Stirling and Laybourn-Langton 2017).

This study does not fit into established disciplinary approaches to social science but goes beyond the divisions between social, economic, political, and cultural processes (Jessop and Sum, 2001; Wallerstein, 1991; in Brenner, 2004). The goal is to contribute to the advancement of what Sayer (1999, p.3 in Brenner, 2004) has described as "postdisciplinary" modes of social inquiry, and as he explains:

> "Postdisciplinary studies emerge when scholars forget about disciplines and whether ideas can be identified with any particular one; they identify with learning rather than with disciplines. They follow ideas and connections wherever they lead instead of following them only as far as the border of the discipline. It doesn't mean dilettantism or eclecticism, ending up doing a lot of things badly. It differs from those things precisely because it requires us to follow connections. One can still study a coherent group of phenomena, in fact since once is not dividing it up and selecting out elements appropriate to a particular discipline, it can be more coherent than disciplinary studies".

Narratives at a grand scale: a multilevel analysis

Globalisation, when is taken seriously, challenges the modernist urban political economy framework. As Sassen (1996, p. 630) points out, globalisation is more than an abstract concept: it exists as "concrete economic complexes situated in specific places". It is constituted and enabled by an array of local practices rather than broad, unspecified sweeps of technological and economic changes. These local practices are economic, political and social. They include innumerable activities that indirectly link local economies to global economic networks. This encompasses many aspects but especially one crucial which pushes the analytical focus on human capital and skills and the fact that the economic viewpoint is not sufficient: it neglects the political and social practices in which these economic activities are embedded.

Moreover, the process of urbanisation is not some objective structure existing "out there", rather are socially constructed processes as Harvey recognizes that urbanisation is both constitutive of, as well as constituted by the ways such possibilities (globalized) might potentially be grasped. Local agents engage in struggles over how to grasp these possibilities, how to respond to them and far for being impotent and irrelevant localities. In this sense, cities are the political actors and arenas where the battle is fought (Clarke and Gaile, 1997, 1998; Bagnasco and Le Galés, 2000; Le Galés, 2002).

Human capital is a cornerstone since the new economic processes add value and wealth primarily through human capital investments and are based increasingly on human capital's distribution and factor costs. Therefore new production activities are emerging but with a production process in very different ways. Flexible accumulation processes are displacing the "Fordist" modes of production (Amin, 1994; Piore and Sabel, 1984; Scott, 1992; Jessop, 1993 in Clarke and Gary, 1998). In these new modes, monetary flows are globalized, the international division of labour accelerates wage competition. It pressures the national and local wage rates and the fragmentation of

the welfare state (Peck and Jones, 1994). The flexibility of these new processes in responding to shifting demand: flexible production demands flexible labour working in nonstandard work regimes (Scott, 1992). As Clarke and Gaile (1998) explain, the flexibility in the use of capital and labour increases profitability for firms but also contributes to the decoupling of historical relationships in changes in employment which are no longer associated with a decline in poverty and unemployment but on the growth of service sector activities. The western decline in manufacturing production, the advent of the knowledge-based economy and the importance of information technology as building on human capital resources increased job anxiety.

Wealth and the potential for future gain are measured by accumulated knowledge and experience, which take shape and are synthesised in human capital. The analytic and skills formation is critical to the capacity to innovate and becomes a key element of profitability and wealth creation (Reich, 1991). Relation among different levels of state authority shifts significant development decisions from national arenas to supranational scales and local-regional scales. As spatial and economic dynamics undergo transformation, parallel changes in the state are increasing through multiscale configurations. New institutional configurations are not only getting through economic changes but also shifting decisions of economic development to supranational and subnational levels (Jessop, 1994; Peck and Tickell, 1994). Despite a historical tradition of localism, trends towards state devolution are challenging for cities under the constraints imposed by the political logic of multi-level governance and scale and the imperatives of global capitalism. In this case, the local societies such as cities become more vulnerable to external decisions such as that of the interdependent global economy; capital mobility accelerates the global competition that influences economic well-being, threatening the stability of local revenue base forcing the local to consider new economic development strategies. Under these circumstances of state devolution, decisions on local development are increasingly designed and carried out within the local arenas. As localities become the new

economic and political arenas for negotiating economic development processes and social tensions, they are taking more entrepreneurial economic roles (Harvey, 1989) and broader political responsibilities (Clarke and Gaile, 1998). Many cities began to reframe their economic roles and policies in terms of facilitating economic development, this means establishing an institutional infrastructure that needs to shift in interest in finding local institutional arrangements that bridge market and democratic values. These shifts in the economic sectors to services and knowledge-based economy promoted new economic growth but also inequalities since it appears to reflect a meritocratic distribution of rewards, but by valuing and rewarding education and training, they privileged individuals with proper credentials and devaluated others. This unidimensional perspective of privileged skills as simply investment in human capital to restore economic and social well-being has instead produced polarization and eroded the sense of citizenship.

In this macro scenario, the state devolution and the city capacity for adaptation and policy change go together. Structural constraints take different forms at different historical moments, territories, levels and scales. The politics of ideas are fundamental: local politics centre on creating, changing, and struggling over the ideas and interpretations that mediate our understanding of the global and local context. Local change from a globalisation context arises from the intersection of ideas, multiple actors, and institutions. There are a multitude of stories and privileged solutions over others to choose the most important value-added process in the global economy based on human capital, which is localized. In this respect, Mayer (1994) argues that the economic and spatial trends bring into question the ability of central governments to orchestrate the necessary local conditions of production required by global capital. Furthermore, Mayer (2007) more recently explains that cities that are confronting a more competitive (global) environment and local governments are engaging in place-marketing, enterprise zones, tax abatements, public-private partnerships, and new forms of local boosterism, but also to new strategies of social control and workfare

policies. Urban forms of governance have become entrepreneurialized, emphasizing economic efficiency, low taxes, individual responsibility, and user fees; the most important goal of urban policy has become to mobilize city space as an arena for market-oriented economic growth.

In the face of extensive complexity brought by socio-cultural and political aspects of economic change, a multitude of diverse local actors emerges seeking for cooperation in the reconstruction of the local institutional architecture to accommodate different bargaining systems and negotiating processes embedded in the expanded local sphere. Moreover, in this perspective, a plurality of ideas and interests are in competition, hence, the objective became to find new institutional and organisational arrangements with sufficient scope and flexibility to accommodate the new configurations. Since institutions are the legacy of the past and conjectures of ideas as well as framework for current politics, they become crucial in the articulation of agreements on what can and cannot be done, especially regarding policy implementation, as well as costs and benefits to be distributed. Peck and Tickell (1994) argue that communities are searching for a new "institutional fix" for institutional arrangements compatible with changing economic bases and social structures.

Youth transition policies in a multi-scalar institutional context

Given these macro-dynamics brought by economic, social and political challenges, the role played by youth transition policies are addressed to cope with a multitude of accumulated old and new problems in a framework marked by profound transformations.

However, young people are currently particularly affected by these macro changes and, more recently, by the economic crisis, making youth unemployment a common condition for the new entrants in the labour market. Consequentially the intensification of problems has increased the attention on youth transition policies and

labour market matching, contributing to socially constructing young people as a crucial target group of intervention. Furthermore, the growing difficulties in the labour market have characterized young people as key targets of activation schemes (Vesan, 2016), enhancing education and training policies alongside the flexibility and precarity in the labour market. The following direction on the philosophy of activation paradigm and attention of transitions is interconnected with the logic of social investment (Bifulco and Mozzana, 2016). The idea of this approach is based on the "recalibration" of the welfare state according to "active" labour market programs and not "passive" income maintenance (Esping-Andersen, 1996). In the perspective of the postindustrial society, training and skills gain strength and value young people as simultaneously representing great 'potential' and possible 'risks'. Furthermore, the autonomy paths of young people vary according to the more general characteristics of the welfare state regimes (Walther, 2006; Pohl and Walther, 2007; Chevalier, 2016) and educational regimes (Atzmüller, 2012).

From this broad perspective emerges that context has to be taken seriously to understand youth transition policies, especially in the wake of the global economic crisis, which revealed the interdependence, complexity and differentiations of local settings. In this approach, institutionalism as a concept is situated within macro-social structures. Thus, an encompassing meaning of institution might be "rules, structures and norms that create and enforce cooperative behaviour among individuals and groups" (Davies and Trounstine, 2012, p. 52). However, Schmidt (2008, 2010) deepens the discussion a little further, meaning that institutions are considered as both created by and constraints for political actors. Thus, the umbrella concept proposed by Schmidt by the term 'discursive institutionalism' take account of the substantive content of ideas and the interactive processes of discourse that serve to generate those ideas and communicate them to the public.

The variations in national, regional and local institutional contexts are important in relation to youth transition policies and their implementations. The multi-scalar

institutional context in which European cities operate, especially the increasing weight of European institutions to steer local agendas through regulations and financing, make conventional understanding of regimes less useful since local coalitions and networks are more fluid, less durable and in constant adjustments to changes. Given this variability, Garcia and Judd (2012) argue that governance approaches are more useful because they conceptualize government in multi-scalar institutional terms and anticipate multiple and shifting coalitions across scales (including state and non-state actors). In this direction also Pierre (1999) and Kjaer (2004) see governance in institutional terms rather than networks alone. Furthermore, Pierre (1999, p.374-5) argues that urban politics is about "blending and coordinating public and private interests". Different institutional models of urban governance describe the variety of systems, values, norms, beliefs, and practices that make collaborative governance possible. According to Peters and Pierre (2012, p. 72) governance is defined as "the formulation and pursuit of collective goals at the local level of the political system (…) political institutions and elective office play a leading if not dominant role in urban governance" and this roles are changing significantly in accordance to styles and processes in which cities mobilise and coordinate resources.

An institutionalism approach grounds governance across the disciplines and expands the lenses of analysis to reflect on new forms of power and depoliticization processes underway.

In the above scenario, context gains strength. The study of youth transition policies in relation to institutional architecture highlights the specific role of governance dynamics within the city, which is interesting for giving a wide perspective in the understanding of these policies, enhancing the space for new insights both for contribution to the study of youth transition policies and considerations on urban policies and urban governance dynamics. These policies are constructed differently in relation to place and are the outcome of a complex interplay of ideas, discourses, levels, scales, actors and spanned from macro-structures to micro-issues.

In this respect, the research explores dynamics and contrasting perspectives asking what do we need to understand better about youth transition policies and why some ideas become the policies and why others do not? To this end, the research tries to understand the mechanisms on how institutional practices are affected by economic downturn, changing social expectations and the changing of socio-economic and political environment. Equally important is how the incentives and disincentives in education and training are changing. The originality of the research lies in the analytical perspective of institutional frameworks that are in place in the construction of these policies and their complex interrelation. On the other side, cities are deeply embedded in a web of institutional, economic, political and social constraints, which creates a set of complex contingencies in the process of governing. The study highlights the specific role of governance dynamics within cities. This allows us to understand how these policies are constructed in a different way in relation to the territorial context of reference. The focus on youth transition policies, institutional arrangements, interactions between actors offers insight into the dynamics of multilevel governance and the agency of institutions at the local level.

This connection, the interlink in the interaction through youth transition policies and institutional configurations embedded in a particular context such as a city, is the study's main aim following these research questions:

1) How does the focus on youth transition policies influence the evolution of cities?

2) If cities are relevant in implementing but also reinventing and planning the youth transition policies, can cities establish their regime in which youth transition policies are fundamental cornerstone?

3) Which are the main institutional arrangements, configurations, and interactions for developing youth transition policies within the city?

To achieve this goal, methodologically, the study is based on a case-oriented comparative analysis of two case studies: Milan and Vienna. This is considered the preferable strategy for investigating processes, change and multiple dimensions

within a historical perspective. Nevertheless, for having an in-depth understanding of context and relations, each case is thought through as an "interpretable whole" (Ragin, 2000, p. p.22), seeking to understand a complex unity rather than establish relationships between variables. The cases selected are considered as the most different, and we are more interested in highlighting the circumstances on which they differ. Thus, the difference among dissimilar countries may be used to contrast the context and bring each particular case's unique features.

Chapters breakdown

The first chapter starts with introducing the notion of the city, taking into consideration the neo-Marxist perspective based on macro aspects of urbanisation processes under the hegemony of neoliberalization and combines it with the neo-Weberian consideration of the city as a whole society, political actor based on institutionalising and territorial corporation characterised by autonomy and capacity for action. Specifically, it aims to open a reflecting space and dive some insights for an alternative approach that starts highlighting the mainstream grand perspectives on "neoliberalization" and change course trying to spotlight the alternative "grounded city" model, projecting the attention on its strengths and solutions.

The second chapter deals with multiple dimensions of transition, starting from a general and macro perspective of the post-Fordist societies and grounding the attention on youth transition policies with in-depth literature reviews on how the concept is used in most analytic approaches. In this respect, the focus shifts on highlighting how youth transition policies construct, giving meaning and definition to the notion of youth and the concepts of right, duties, responsibilities, activation, protection, risk and potentials. Furthermore, the analysis opens the literature discussion on some policies principles such as activation measures and social investment, highlighting interpretations, contradictions and needs to be reconciled.

More to the point, after introducing through a literature review that most analytical perspectives adopted for the analysis of youth transition policies which are mainly based on typologies on welfare state regimes or educational regimes, the chapter emphasises that currently there is a need for more in-depth analysis on institutional configurations and governance dynamics in the investigation of these policies.

The third chapter is divided into two parts. First, the attention is focused on the analytical approach based on the literature review of neo-institutionalism and its developments. The second part presents the research design, which addresses the purpose and research questions. It dedicates some more considerations about the "comparative imagination", selecting cases that pay attention to a different context and mapping architectural institutions based on document analysis and data collection.

Chapters four and five present the empirical studies on the proposition that localities such as cities are political actors for managing and negotiating economic development and social tensions such as the emergence of the activation paradigms and investment. The analysis starts from a brief historical perspective which highlights problems and social transformations of two important European Cities and then shows how cities learned new approaches of local development choices, forced to innovation by conditions of stress and lack of resources. However, considering that this policy learning is not necessarily contingent on a city's previous policy experience. In addition, comparative case studies illustrate another significant aspect, the mapping of the institutional framework used in youth transition policies. These context-structuring processes are considered crucial for studying youth transition policies and as the cornerstone of local transformation and adaptation processes.

Finally, the six-chapter represents the conclusions and linking perspectives to identify significant ideas that guide the development of youth transition policies based on the analysis of institutional context and governance dynamics, highlighting the underlying mechanisms of change.

1 From a flat to a dynamic world

"Never before in the history of humanity have
the responsibilities of thinking weighed so crushingly on us."
Edgar Morin

1.1 The notion of the city

The development of cities has a long history, but the transformations brought on by nineteenth-century industrialisation and urbanisation evoked the city as a focus and unity of study. The developing infrastructure of the industrial age, the impact of new technologies and new ways of working, the loosening of kinship ties as labour moved to industrial centres, and the encounter with the stranger was all worthy of the new sociological attention between the 19th and 20th centuries (Stevenson 2013). As Tilly (1984, p. 3) argues, the analysis during this time "posited an unending race between forces of differentiation" which proceeded faster such as urbanisation, occupation specialization, the expansion of the consumer market, increasing education "and forces of integration" which are slower such as a sense of likeness, shared beliefs, respect for authority, satisfaction, moral deviation and so forth.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Chicago School of Urban Sociology emerged as a departure from the sociological studies of the late nineteenth century, appeared and generated a distinctive strand of sociology whose epistemological focus was canonized on "urban studies" titled "the City". Drawing on detailed urban ethnographies and mapping diversity of cities in North America, they developed a conceptual framework that could explain processes within cities such as segregation, change and development, and the human adaptations to re-organisation within cities. For them, the city was not merely a physical space or a collection of institutions but, rather, involved processes and particular forms of social life that shape the nature of

the urban space. They viewed the city as an organism, and an ecological system made up of interdependent components that reacted and adapted to the population changes, changes in the physical environment and wider external changes (Stevenson, 2013; Harding and Blokland, 2014). Moreover, these functional adaptations within the city's ecology were seen as highly predictable, following predetermined patterns in the way they distributed peoples across places and with predetermined effects.

The Chicago School framework of thinking held sway in urban studies well into the 1970s, when its explanatory power could not easily be extended to accommodate the so-called urban crisis of the late 1960s. Urban sociology required rethinking. Theorists now returned to the grand themes of Marxist (neo-Marxists) and Weber (neo-Weberian) analysis. They sought to configure the built environment as a product of dominant power relations, exploitation and conflict.

The 1970s saw the development of a radical critique, arguing for a focus on social justice concerns and pointing to the structural processes that produce uneven development within and across cities with far-reaching effects in unequal employment opportunities and poor housing conditions, poverty and distress. These themes implied the affirmation of an activist and urban political theory[3]. Drawing on Marxist analysis, these writers pointed to the role of the state in managing and supporting capitalist development. For them, the processes of urbanisation and advanced capitalism are deeply entwined. The city brings opportunities for capitalist accumulation for the bourgeoisie, but it also brings together a working-class better able to meet, organise and become aware of their oppressed position. Developments in sociological thinking and the new critical geography proffered a sea change away from the grand explanation towards post-modern concerns with choice, behaviours, political strategies and identities as the 'cultural turn' emerged in social science. The

[3] which would appear in the writings of Henri Lefebvre, "*The Urban Revolution*" (1970, 2003), Manuel Castells' "*The Urban Question*" (1972) and the urban geographer David Harvey's "*Social Justice and the City*" (1973) (Harvey, 2014).

post-modern city would be populated with differences and diversity, taste groups, lifestyles, ethnic diversity, stories, experiences, and competing visualisations and constructions. City space would become complex, messy, variously constructed and unbounded in any quantifiable geography (Massey, 1994).

In this way, urban studies have been concerned with making sense of and acting on the world in an applied sense and have not been slow in embracing advocacy and activism to generate ideas.

However, as cities formed and developed, so did the social problems which required organised intervention. The processes of rapid industrialisation meant social issues were apparent on an unprecedented scale and magnified in the microcosm of the city. According to Giddens (1984), what made possible a greater breadth of the space-temporal organization of the societies was, above all, the city's development. In this definition, Giddens intends as a city a system to connect direct interaction with remote interaction. The spatial organization of the society allows an understanding of how systemic integration and spatial integration are concretely connected (Bagnasco, 2003). In addition, the other two concepts are essentially referring to Giddens (1984): "locales[4] and regionalization[5]". The locales (place and "*settings* of interaction", for example, in a city) are spaces where specific forms of interaction take place. Regionalization ("intersocietal systems" and "time-space edges") means the process when time and space are divided into zones. The "locales are typically internally *regionalized*, and the regions within them are of critical importance in constituting contexts of interaction" (ibid, p. 118).

The organization of a large society has ensured the formation of the city, or in other words that it is a request for the formation of cities, and these then continued to be the

[4] "Locales refer to the use of space to provide the settings of interaction, the settings in turn being essential to specifying its *contextuality."* (Giddens, 1984, p.118).

[5] "An emphasis upon regionalization helps to remind us that the degree of 'systemness' in social systems is very variable and that 'societies' rarely have easily specifiable boundaries – until, at least, the modern world of nation-states." (Giddens, 1984, p.26).

decisive core of organization even in societies in their turn more vast, like, for example, the nation-states. Therefore, cities remain crucial for social organization. They are spaces in the physical place where the connection between direct and indirect interaction, between space of the places and space of the flows is established (idem). Based on Max Weber, who took the city seriously and as essential for the social structure, the city then is considered as a "complete local society which could be analysed through its economy, its culture and its politics" congruently and specifically interconnected (Bagnasco and Le Galés, 2000, p. 6–7). Especially with the focus on politics, Weber identified the "ideal type" as a city capable of autonomy, with its own policies and constitution. Therefore, the new-Weberian approach developed during the 1990s, consider the city as a whole society and could be thought of as a local society (ibidem) and was imagined in relation to the long-term relative macro-stability of the European urban system and deep connections between cities and states (Tilly, 1990). The more the interaction is mutually oriented in the same local area, the more the local society is structured, with relatively congruent economic, political, and cultural characters. Cities are devices to develop and organize remote interaction as parts of large economic and political systems, and this is visible through particular vacuum moments in history. With the gradual construction of the national-state and the European area, cities are less protagonist to develop a structure as localised societies.

1.2 The national state and the increasing role of the city:

Most of our social policies are organized as a national scale phenomenon. For these reasons, since the nineteenth century, national states have been traditionally considered the 'natural' units of analysis throughout social science research. This assumption generates a 'methodological nationalism'[6] in which the national scale is

[6] For more useful overview this assumption has been considered in the (Brenner, 2004).

treated as the ontologically primary unit of social relation. In these terms, there is a definition in which all social science was 'state-centric' epistemology during the modern time. On this basis, the national state has been viewed as the container of society. In contrast, the interstate system has been mapped in terms of the distinction between state boundaries to separate the 'inside' from the 'outside' (Walker 1993). In Lefebvre's view, modern national states are driven to rationalize, unify, and homogenize social relations within these territorial boundaries. However, there is not such as a homogenous space as Lefebvre (1991: 287, quoted in Brenner, 2004) explains:

> "Abstract space is not homogenous; it simply has homogeneity as its goal, its orientation, its 'lens'. And, indeed, it renders homogenous. But in itself it is multiform [...] Thus to look upon abstract space as homogeneous is to embrace a representation that takes the effect for the cause, and the goal for the reason why the goal was pursued. A representation which passes itself off as a concept, when it is merely an image, a mirror and a mirage; and which instead of challenging, instead of refusing, merely reflects. And what does such a specular representation reflect? It reflects the result sought".

Furthermore, the process of territorialisation and nationalisation are presented as pre-given, natural conditions rather than historical products and specific strategies towards territorialisation of social relations on a national scale. This perspective opens a crucial point that territorialisation must be viewed as a historical and conflictual process, which is not a permanent condition but in constant change. According to Bifulco (2017), territorialisation has undergone a profound process of change involving the territory as a whole, in all its dimensions, political, economic, social and cultural. From this perspective, the analysis continues by moving back into the territory and its concrete resources, actors, economies, welfare arrangements, institutions, governance dynamics and politics. Moreover, from a geographical perspective, capitalism and capitalist always needed the city. In the first place, capitalism was used as a tool by the city-state, which brought about a concentration of economic power, and later by the

nation-state. Following this reason, authors such as Jessop and Brenner started thinking about the reconceptualization of "rescaling" of state-space, referring to the reorganization of state across different spatial scales through the process of "upscaling and downscaling" following the interplay of dynamic forces between local and global levels.

Furthermore, according to Brenner (2004, p. 2), "(…) urban policy has become an essential political mechanism through which a profound institutional and geographical transformation of national states has been occurring" and more generally that the transformations of urban policy are crucial for a reworking of national statehood since the 1970s. Therefore, a scale-sensitive approach to state theory is required. As Peck (2002, 332) explains, "Contingently scaled functions, such as those associated with the national welfare state, are not simply being moved around, they are undergoing a process of qualitative transformation through rescaling".

However, the State is crucial for understanding the dynamics of the city's increasing importance in the 21st century. The American comparative sociologist and historian Charles Tilly have argued that the relationship between states and cities is crucial for understanding urban transformations and state reconfiguration (Tilly 1990; 2010). The invention of cities and national-states enormously expanded human capacity for accumulation, innovation and coordination. Cities create settings where diverse populations could interact without incessant warfare while connecting with their counterparts in distant locations. They promoted complementarities among human activities and facilitated the production of collective goods such as secure public spaces and reliable supplies of water. National-states, on their sides, established large zones in which people could move freely, exchange their goods, and even call on authorities to protect their property. Both cities and national-states have their systems of rule, and a range reinforces compliance and reproduces ruler-ruled relations. In these ways, cities and states multiplied human power for collective action (Tilly 2010). We think that the distinctive features of cities and states deserve attention because now

cities and national-state interact differently due to the process of supranational institutions in the EU.

Similarly, the Swedish comparative sociologist Goran Therborn (2011; 2015) has argued that too many urban studies focused on the labelling of various types of cities ('world', 'global', 'network' etc.) in relation to each other, with only a poor understanding of the relationships with the State. This has to be understood in the context of changing big categories that exist in the field of social science, such as the meaning of the nation-states today and his downsized role in conceptualizing the new social phenomena in the rise of neoliberalism. In fact, the financial crisis of 2008 widened and deepened existing neoliberal trends and questioned the status quo of the state's planning and its deployment as a governmental mechanism for organising and managing urban spaces and places (Raco and Savini, 2019). In other words, with the changing realities, amongst others, brought about by internationalization, globalization and Europeanisation processes with related challenges and complexities unfolded at different spatial scales. For this reason, static, flat and absolute categories such as the national-state have been challenged in their usefulness in explaining the social phenomena.

Furthermore, these changes in categories create tension and crisis, but they later open up the possibilities to retool and generate a shift in paradigms (Hall, 1993). The transition begins on how to fit the formation on the changes created from the crisis, which opens up the possibilities for a transformation. In addition, a process for a paradigm change takes place, but also a progressive disembeddedness[7] of social relations from the local over the fixed territorial organizations (Brenner, 1999).

[7] This concept is inspired by Giddens' (1991, 21-22) notion of "disembedding" which refer to the "lifting out of social relations from local context of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space" distinguishing it from the two concept of "differentiation" or "functional specialisation" and continues explaining that "The image evoked by disembedding is better able to capture the shifting alignments of time and space which are of elementary importance for social change in general and for the nature of modernity in particular".

Based on this assumption as dynamic, cities are constantly evolving thanks to the fact that the interaction between the local and the global is increasing, and they are agents of transition on different models of developments and regimes (Savitch and Kantor, 2002; Stone, 2005). In cities and countries across the Global North, there is a need and pressure for structural reform. According to Patrick Le Galés (2018, p. 216), in most of the world, "large cities have become the engine for economic development and have become the national champions that states have to support to drive national economic growth instead of investing in and redistributing towards backward territories". A trend towards decentralisation (a process that continued to strengthen in 1992 with the signature of the Maastricht Treaty and the statement of the principle of subsidiarity) is also leading to more political autonomy for cities and regions (Bifulco, 2017) and increasing capacity for urban elites who enter into conflicting interaction with the state (Le Galés, 2018).

Contemporary cities are part of the national states. However, networks and relations have increased, and cities are not only national but also increasingly 'cities within a world of cities' (Robinson, 2011), and also a world of states, transnational organizations, private regulatory bodies, large firms, NGOs, medium small-sized cities. Therefore, the contemporary period is marked by some confusion of power with the erosion of nation-states (Jessop 2016; Leibfried et al. 2015; King and Le Galés 2017), hence the emergence of growing urban centres with some autonomy (city-states, to more empowered metropolises and regions).

In many large cities, large firms provide many services. The rise of large transnational firms associated with financial institutions is probably the most crucial feature of contemporary capitalism. These large firms and financial institutions have become crucial in building the infrastructure needed in many cities. They have accumulated a massive amount of resources, political and financial expertise (Sassen, 2012). These firms also have the resources to engage in profitable deals with political leaders. Many scholars stress that the rise of financial capitalism and the making of an

international liberal economic order is undermining political capacity and contributing, in other words, to the shrinking of political regulation (Le Galés, 2002) together with the rise of neoliberal doctrines and policies with the "time-space compression" the territory is interpreted as a meaningless space (Harvey, 1995). It also applies to urban governments as Sassen (2018 p.147) argued, "the space of the city is far more concrete from politics than that the national state system. It becomes a place where non-formal political actors can be part of the political scene in a way that is much more difficult at the national level".

Therefore, from a perspective that attempts to overcome the 'methodological nationalism', the national level has to be seen as one unit of analysis amongst many others. Furthermore, in the rescaling processes and to the organisation of the State across different spatial scales, the local gains a central place, but also the process of upscaling gives more power to the supranational level (Brenner, 1999, 2004). Following this reason, the scale level assumes a crucial dimension of power in favour of increasing relevance of other spatial scales (Jessop 1999).

Insofar viewing a national state as a container of social process and power is cracked, it opens up possibilities for a new geography of politics that links subnational spaces, such as cities, across borders, and cities become significant political actors (Bifulco, 2014; Le Galés, 2002).

1.3 The important role of cities in Europe

Cities have an important role in Europe, especially in shaping the civilisation in urban spaces (Therborn, 2015). Based on Plato and Aristotle, European political theory started as a theory of city governance, and city-states created Europe. The rise of autonomous cities became a significant phenomenon in Italy in the 12th century. It could be said that it was the first revival of urban republican political thought in Europe (Skinner, 2002). In recorded history, the collective urban autonomy within

larger polities was uniquely European. Still, in their protracted struggle against landed power and territorial lords, all European cities finally lost out, to dynastic empires and nation-states, as superior war-makers in the war-driven competition among European polities (Tilly, 1990). By the early 19th century, the Europe of city-states had been overcome by a rapidly urbanising Europe of states. What Europe than "came to export to the world was not the city-state but the nation-state, and the dual colonial city" (Le Galès and Therborn 2009, p. 2). The basics of European construction, of proportions, arches, colonnades, etc., of public monuments, statues, columns, triumphal arches, and modes of governance, democracy, oligarchy, monarchy, republic or tyranny and citizenship all derive from city-states (ibid). However, European urbanisation has its shifting spatial structure and its variable rhythm over time: in pre-modern cities thrived in political power, trade, and religious significance, but modern Europe urbanisation was mainly driven by industrialisation and industrial empire generated especially by the industrial pull of employment and social mobility.

In the late 19th century, the capital cities benefited from the consolidation of states, the shift of political life onto the national level, and the strengthening of the states. Within the nation-state information, Walther Christaller (l950) identified territorial hierarchies in Europe within which cities were functional to organize the economic and political control of the forming political state. In this establishment, the central periphery model helped understanding at different scales the difference between the European core regions and the rest, urban regions and their periphery, cities and the countryside even if this model was already modified by the influence of the industrial revolution (Dematteis, 2000).

However, in the aftermath of the crisis of Fordism, the distinctiveness of the European city became salient again when deep rescaling processes increased the importance of cities within multiscalar arrangements. Furthermore, the complex layering of social, economic, political, and cultural history resists categorising one European city model (Pinol et al. 2003). There is currently a lively debate about

European spatial urbanization pattern and European City as a meaningful concept to understand the subcontinent's urban geographies has been a matter of debate as Europe's urban history is marked by its regional variation, often leading to re-theorizing its context for various regions (e.g. Le Galés, 2002; Mingione, 2004; Arbaci, 2019)

Beyond the representation of cities, many geographers argue that flows and networks are far more important to understand those patterns, hence a process of mapping all sorts of flows or making an innovative representation of networks. Cities are, of course, at the same time territorial places and part of global or regional networks. Considering this dimension, all the new visual representations of flows and networks remain in part shaped by the deep and old territoriality of European urbanization (Therborn, 2006).

The ending 20th century saw a series of legislation strengthening the competence and popular legitimacy, if less frequently the resources, of local government, and first of all, big-city government. This was challenging for local urban leadership facing the European de-industrialization and new still unsettled economic sectors rising fast, such as finance, tourism, information, and entertainment. Most crucially, various local actors, voluntary sectors, organisations, and firms have engaged in various strategic planning exercises to enhance the city's collective capacity (ibid). Nevertheless, European cities are still strongly regulated by public authorities and complex arrangements of public and private actors. In this sense, the capacity to govern is related to a number of factors, including legitimacy, the effectiveness of the administration, the capacity to implement policy and budgets and so forth.

Beyond the relevance of the category "European cities", the updated neo-Weberian perspective on studying cities has proved fruitful to understand medium-sized cities (Bagnasco and Le Galés, 2000; Le Galés, 2002; Kazepov, 2005; Van Kempen and Murie, 2009). This analysis suggests looking at the interplay and conflicts of social groups, interests, and institutions and how regulations have been implemented through

conflicts and the logic of integration. Cities do not develop solely according to interactions and contingencies: groups, actors and organizations oppose one another, enter into conflict, co-ordinate, produce representations in order to institutionalize collective forms of action, implement policies, structure inequalities, and defend their interests. That perspective on cities highlights the informal economy, the dynamism of localized family relations, the interplay of associations, reciprocity, culture and ways of life, the density of localized horizontal relations, and local social formations (Saraceno, 2002; Kazepov 2005).

European cities are collective actors in the making: on the one hand, composed of a diversity of actors, groups, and institutions. On the other hand, these cities are also diverse and puzzled by conflicts. Anthropologists highlight multiple identities, the urban mosaic, the diversity of experiences. The city does not have a single will to act, and conflicts lie at the heart of the social and political dynamic. Several issues are central in the mobilisation of leading groups within different modes of urban governance in the making: competition between cities organised by the state or the EU (Brenner, 2004), the attraction of capital, visitors, public investments; social policies, the making a of a common good, of getting various groups to live together; security, police, control, surveillance; urban renovation, and development, infrastructure, sustainable development. As cities continue to increase their density as immigration and demographic transitions unfold, the population of large cities are becoming more affluent and ethnically diverse and diverse in relation to their national contexts. Therefore the neo-Weberian perspective tries to overcome simple ideas combining the urbanization processes related to capitalism and recently emphasized by the role of neoliberalism with the transformation of cities in Europe, which might be explained in relation to social and political transformations. In a nutshell, the flexibility of capital and the different scales involve multiple and intertwined events, with both economic and non-economic factors.

At a superficial level, the category "European cities" makes sense because those cities are part of a political union, the European Union, which has developed over time a set of powers, norms, representations, law, political elites, institutions, statistical categories which are progressively, unevenly, creating a multilevel polity within which cities have the opportunity to mobilise resources, to play with constraints, and to develop their own strategies (Bagnasco and Le Galés, 2000; Le Galés and Therborn, 2009; Kazepov and Cucca, 2019). The changing scale does not suppress the narrow legal and financial relations between urban government and nation-states but includes them into a broader set of intergovernmental relations, networks, and interdependent bodies. Urban governments have to deal with an increasing number of actors and policy tools (contracts and partnerships, for instance) with more diverse networks and actors (Kazepov and Cucca, 2019). The making of a European polity implies not just a more complex structure of vertical intergovernmental relations but also horizontal ones.

Networks of cities are flourishing in Europe, including policy best practices exchanges financed by the Commission or old twinning arrangements modified in multi-dimensional cooperation between cities in Europe. In this multi-level governance in the making with an acceleration of policy transfers, a diffusion of policy "ideas" between different levels of authority and the emergence of new public policy instruments, challenges to transnational policy styles (Carter and Pasquier, 2006). The EU, therefore, sets new parameters within which urban governance modes may be organized and are encouraged. The Europeanisation literature emphasizes the transformative process through which" EU styles, ways of doing things, and shared beliefs and norms" (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004) are becoming part of the logic of urban governance and part of a rescaling process (Kazepov 2010).

During the course of twentieth-century capitalist development, state spatial policies have combined the priorities of cohesion and growth in distinctive, historically specific, and often deeply contradictory ways. In the European context, most national

states introduced nationally redistributive, cohesion-oriented regulatory strategies during the 1930s. With the Fordist regime of accumulation being destabilised since the 1970s, city-centric, growth-oriented approaches to the spatial policy have increasingly replaced previously dominant forms of territorial redistribution (Brenner 2004).

The underline importance of European cities is understanding the relationship between the urban built environment and the city as a political entity. In this perspective, the city is considered not only by demographic, density and agglomeration, which are economic characteristics, but also through its political configuration (Kazepov and Cucca, 2019) since the political dimension in Europe acquired a specific meaning over time and has ancient roots.

1.3.1 Beyond cityism: a scale question

The primary twentieth-century focus and approaches have taken an entity commonly labelled as "the city" as their primary unit of analysis and site of investigation. On emphasising the city as an important unit of analysis from an empirical focus refers to circumstances that social, political and economic processes under capitalism are not distributed uniformly or homogenously across the countries but are always organise within distinct socio-spatial shapes, such as urban agglomerations, regional clusters, rural zones, national territories, supra-national economic blocs, and so on, that are characterized by divergent socioeconomic conditions, developmental capacities, and institutional arrangements (Brenner 2004).

However, across divergent epistemological, methodological and political traditions, during this time, the urban studies considered the assumption that cities represent a particular type of territory that could be defined in apposition to others. This amounted to a horizontal cartography of the urban when modern capitalists took the configuration as an extended territorial landscape (urban, suburban, rural). The

following analysis emphasises the continued diversity of national, regional and local models of capitalism (Le Galès, 2001; Scott, 2001; Hall and Soskice, 2001) and that broadly analogous tendencies of state rescaling and urban governance restructuring have been taken shape across western Europe during the last three decades (Brenner, 2004, Kazepov, 2010).

However, since the 1990s, in the context of debates on post-Fordism, globalization and urban restructuring, the urban question has been redefined as a question of scale. This approach has brought the reframe of the long-standing emphasis on the "city" as the core focal point for urban studies. This alternative approach, which considers the scale as a crucial factor in urban studies, changes the perspective of the urban space not only as horizontal but through a vertical positioning of urban scales within dynamically evolving, multitiered organizational-geographical configurations adding other scales to the urban such as the regional, national, supranational, and global. In this sense, the urban is not considered the container of the city with the demarcation of a territorial area but as a socio-spatial relation embedded within a dynamically evolving whole consisting of a multiscalar framework of relationships (Brenner, 2019). The attempt undertaken by Brenner in his book "*New urban spaces*" (2019) is to go beyond the "methodological cityism" when the city is generally understood as a territorially bounded, sociologically distinctive spatial cluster and as a pre-given, universal unit of analysis, but to consider the city as one element within the expression of more broader socio-spatial multiscalar processes. With the intensifying, accelerating, and increasingly worldwide industrialisation of capital during the course of the twentieth century, Brenner (2019) then considers crucial to distinguish analytically the city and the urban for more theoretically precise understanding, historically and contextually, of both terms. The scalar approach 'problematizes' the "cities" as the most appropriate units, instead reflexively requires "to conceive city building in relationally multiscalar terms and to embed them analytically within inter-scalar configurations that involve vast regional, national, supranational and planetary

geographies of urban transformation" (Brenner, 2019, p.112). Such an approach open up new analytical horizons for a rigorously relational, multiscalar theorization and analysis of capitalist urbanization, both historically and in the current period of accelerated planetary urban restructuring. This broader socio-spatial configuration produced through the dynamics of urbanisation was explored by the studies of Neil Smith during the 1980s that characterises the "scalar turn" of the urban theory. This new conceptual tool was elaborated to investigate in relational terms the changing geographies of urbanization and how cities and urban systems were being inserted into worldwide divisions of labour and their changing positionalities in relation to a broader range of political-economic rescaling processes.

The departure from this perspective points out that scalar analytics transform the understanding of the unit, which is not crucial for the inquiry. However, the city remains the central analytical construct and empirical focal point also under this approach. In this sense, emphasising the positionality within a broader inter-scalar framework, according to Brenner (2019, p.14): "the city became one element within, and expression of, the multiscalar, polymorphic, and restlessly mutating geographies of capitalist urbanization". Through this lens of analysis, the local and contextual conditions highlight that they are not pregiven or self-evident but are mediated through supralocal, inter-contextual processes, interconnections, and interdependencies, which requires interpretation and conceptualization investigation (ibid). For this reason, the invocation of "specificity", whether with reference to locality, place, region, or context, requires systematic engagement not only with the particularities of a site but with its relational connections, articulations, and mediations, across various spatial scales. Therefore, into a capitalist urban fabric, the local remains in principle as fundamental as any other site or scale of inquiry. At this point and under these circumstances, the scale approach suggests a more interplay of multiscalar perspectives and broad dynamics. However, scale is "the geographical organizer and expression of collective social action" (Smith, 1995, p. 61) and the scalar

hierarchies that refers to level (local, regional, national) are not fixed or pre-given, but modified but interactive actions as Smith (1995, p. 60 in Brenner, 2004, p.9) explains:

> "Geographical scale is traditionally treated as a neutral metric of physical space: specific scales of social activity are assumed to be largely given as in the distinction between urban, regional, national and global events and processes. (…) geographical scales of human activity are not fixed universals of social experience, nor are they an arbitrary methodological or conceptual choice (…). Geographical scale is socially produced as simultaneously a platform and container of certain kinds of social activity. (…) geographical scales are the product of economic, political and social activities and relationships; as such, they are as changeable as those relationships themselves."

Furthermore, it is also considered the dialectical facet of scale that refers to relations such as explained before to the cities and the multiscalar level, to the social and political order and also more broadly to the larger society. These explanations open up the possibilities for analytical frameworks that do not trap our imagination of social science within timeless, localistic and unhistorical representation of social space, but it emphasizes the polymorphic character of urban geographies under capitalism, their differentiation and stratification by scale, but also thorough process of place-making, territorialization and networking.

1.4 Urban theory as a constant state of remaking

In the face of a highly complex, deeply interconnected social reality, the approach to studying urban process and transformation is to be considered in a dynamic perspective, for overcoming the simplistic 'localistic trap', and the fragmentation focused on city-centric epistemologies of the urban, for understanding the multiple aspects that produce historically and geographically specific formation of the urban environment (Brenner and Schmid 2018; Brenner 2019).

The approach proposed here remains fundamentally concerned with agglomeration processes, their changing role in regimes of economic development, and their variegated expressions in diverse morphological, infrastructural, institutional, demographic and spatial configurations. From large-scale urban regions, polycentric metropolitan territories and linear urban corridors to inter-urban networks and worldwide urban hierarchies. But in considering this constellation of issues, according to David Harvey of the neo-Marxist perspective, which stresses that "cities are just a form of urbanization," and thus that they must be understood as dynamically evolving sites, arenas and outcomes of broader processes of sociospatial and socio-ecological transformation (Gandy, 2014). In David Harvey's (2014, p.61) concise formulation, "the 'thing' we call a 'city' is the outcome of a 'process that we call 'urbanization'". Moreover, as expressed by Harvey's (1995) fixity/motion theory which formulates the problem of territorial organization under capitalism that generates "the tension between fixity (stability) that state regulation imposes, and the fluid motion of capital flow" (p.109). Fixity motion theory emphasises the problem of territorial organisation under capitalism which generates the conditions for the production of scale and interscalar configurations in the creation of the contradictory interplay between fixity (the need for territorial organisation) and motion (foundational drive towards sociospatial restructuring) has underpinned the continuous reshaping of territorial landscape (Brenner, 2019). Under this perspective, capitalism is considered as the cause that contributes to the continuous reshaping of territorial landscape, and fixity/motion lies at the heart of capitalist development.

However, according to Ananya Roy (2008), the theory is always in the making and is actively changed by adding space and time; it is a constant process in process. Yet, she explains, there is a spatial reductionism in certain kinds of 'urban theory' that very often echoes the concerns of the powerful in revolving around a few 'central' places and hegemonic urban keywords "global cities", "territorial competitiveness, "good governance" "post-neoliberalism", which it is assumed to constitute the whole world.

In other words, that means that a world of 'urban theory' is still a world seen from just a few places and their agendas. For this reason, the formation of theories and imagination that is going under process comes from centres that are considered more developed, and there is not happing some revolution of theories from other places in the world or inside the same centres.

This is because, in creating pathways and opportunities for encounter and assembly, urbanization also enables the possibility of a politics of space. In so doing, it generates myriad possibilities for coming together and adapting the world to transform it. For this reason, in making sense of the city, we point our analysis away from mechanistic readings and linear transformations of urban life. Our view then points to the idea that in the city coexist a vast whirlpool of exclusion and opportunities, of marginalisation and liberating potential, in a perspective that is not funded on a dualistic analysis but in consideration of complexity. In this position, the recent rounds of "neoliberalization" effects such as market fundamentalism and privatisation of the successive waves of crisis with social and ecologically consequences are still establishing new social experimentation methods in developed common resources, which had expanded the market and reduced the government at the same time.

For this reason, the expanded sense proposed here is multidimensional; it is intended that across diverse arenas, territories, and scales of politico-ideological contestation, alternative models of spatial organisation could exist and can share the transformation of the common. This includes continuity of critical interrogation of the political institutions, regulatory framework and legal rule-regimes that govern the production and modes of interspatial connection under capitalistic models. According to Stuart Hall (1986, p. 29), "the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought and the systems of representation" through which "different classes and social groups […] make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works." Such frameworks of interpretation saturate everyday life and spatial practices, with

meaning while also, as Hall emphasizes, serving as a "material force" insofar as they may "stabilize a particular form of power and domination" or, by contrast, "move the masses of the people into historical action against the prevailing system".

In this sense, we can develop a concept of mainstream and alternative models in the territorial organisation in the process of State rescaling. Furthermore, the term mainstream indicates long periods in which a certain dominant model prevails, characterised by growth and articulation without undergoing drastic changes or subversions. On the other hand, the term alternative is associated with the term change or radical forms for structural change.

1.4.1 Mainstream: the neoliberal city

The neoliberal "ideology" is the belief that open, competitive and unregulated markets (in this sense liberated from the state interference but regulated by the price level)[8] represent the optimal mechanism for economic development; it strives to intensify commodification in all realms of social life, and it does this systematically, as a pervasive, endemic feature of it basic operational logic.

The evolving scholarly and practical-political uses of the term "neoliberalism" would thus appear to provide an initial evidentiary basis for the proposition that processes of marketization and commodification have indeed been extended,

[8] The ideological and doctrinal roots of the fundamentally liberalist character, the free-market capitalism, can be traced from the Austrian school (Von Mises (1881-1973), Von Hayek (1899-1992)) in which it is based on the 'methodological individualism' through the study of choices that individuals make to satisfy their needs and desires, and the constructing "self-regulating" markets . A purely rational conception of the human behaviour in economics. In this vision the free market is considered as – a natural instrument of adjustment of the individual actions – and as a general equilibrium through the free definition of prices. Price becomes, in this perspective, the key to understanding the functioning of the market and have a crucial role for the functioning of the economy. Another market economist, famous during the period of Thatcher and Regan government, was Milton Friedman (1912-2006) when another period of marketization and commodification began during 1970s on a global scale.

accelerated and intensified in the recent decades, roughly since the global recession of the mid-1970s[9] (Peck and Theodore 2016).

In this context, market fundamentalism remains the dominant political ideology of most national and local governments defined by the naturalized imperatives of growth-first. Market-oriented urban economic policy and approaches to urban governance in which corporate and property-development interests maintain hegemonic control over local land-use regimes. In practice, moreover, the interventions of designers concerned with "opening up" the city via project-based initiatives have often intensified new arenas for capitalist profit-making, which, at least in rhetorical terms, they aspire to contravene. This is because the conditions associated with "urbanism" – the effervescence of dense zones of centrality, interaction, exchange, diversity and spontaneous encounters – also frequently generate major economic payoffs, in the form of privately appropriated profits, for those who own the properties surrounding the project site (Brenner, 2016).

Thus, the "open city" becomes an ideology that masks or perhaps merely soften the forms of top-down planning, market-dominated governance, socio-spatial exclusion and displacement (Sassen, 2014) that are at play both within and beyond these redesigned spaces of assumed urban "renaissance". An open city, in this sense, is not merely a space that can be accessed and enjoyed equally by all, and where all types of people feel they belong equally; it would also be a realm in which the institutional capacity to produce and transform space has itself been radically democratized, such that it becomes equally available to all who inhabit urban space – to repeat Frug's (in Brenner 2016, p.122) precise formulation – "regardless not just of

[9] Many scholars have attempted to review the diverse epistemological, methodological, substantive and political positions that have been articulated through this discussions of post-1970s regulatory restructuring. See John Clarke, "Living with/in and without Neo-liberalism," Focaal 51, no. 1 (2008): 135– 47; Alfredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston, eds., Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader (London, Pluto Press, 2005); Jamie Peck, "Geography and Public Policy: Constructions of Neoliberalism," Progress in Human Geography 28, no. 3 (2004): 392 –405; as well as Brenner, Peck and Theodore, "Variegated Neoliberalization."etc.

wealth, race, religion or sexual orientation, but of any other way of dividing people into categories".

The scale of the city growth first and investment first fundamental goal (aggressive pursuit of opportunities for growth and investment) - increase financialization of the city (speculative and debt-financed development). At present, the objective position in which both elements currently find themselves is in crisis. Initially, that crisis appears to be rooted in the economic structure, but it has also been extended to forms of governance, regulation and political subjectivity. The strategy of those in power is quite clear and can be summarized under the rubric of neoliberalism (and its various politico-ideological permutations): its core goal, across diverse politico-institutional contexts and scales, is the promotion of market rule and aggressive commodification based not on a liberal but quite on the contrary. As Polanyi (1944, p. 140-41) observed, the "free market" oriented in restructuring "was opened and kept open by an enormous increase in continuous, centrally organized and controlled interventionism".

In this sense, Peck and Theodore (2016) explain that after the economic crisis of 2008-2009, in the remaking and restarting, many claimed that the ideologies and practices of neoliberalism had been discredited beginning of new regulatory reform and state intervention. The crisis was considered as a 'systemic collapse' with assumptions regarding the regulatory formation and restructuring. Under this undergoing transformation, this had consequences on the reshaping of the contemporary urban landscape.

According to Peck, Theodore and Brenner (2016, p. 158):

> "Debates on regulatory transformation have animated the fields of heterodox political economy and critical urban and regional studies for several decades, and have played a significant role in the literatures on, among other topics, post-Fordism, globalization, triadization, multilevel governance,

> financialization, state rescaling, the new regionalism, urban entrepreneurialism, and, more recently, neoliberalism/neoliberalization".

In this sense, taking into consideration the "neoliberalization", it is defined "as historically specific, unevenly developed, hybrid, the patterned tendency of market-disciplinary regulatory restructuring" (ibid, p.4). For this reason, the authors conceive neoliberalization as a particular form of regulatory reorganization: it involves the recalibration of institutionalized, collectively binding modes of governance and, more generally, state-economy relations to impose, extend or consolidate marketized, commodified forms of social life. They consider that the process of neoliberalization projects has been articulated unevenly across places, territories and scales and the continuous collision between contextually specific, constantly evolving whether at global, national or local scales (ibid).

Consequently, at each juncture of the neoliberalism evolution, the "moving map" (Harvey, 2006) of neoliberalization processes has been variegated and dedifferentiated through a process of the making and remaking and should be viewed as one among several competing processes. In particular, David Harvey (2007, p. 87) has emphasized the developed character of neoliberal policy within individual national states, and the challenge that he proposes is "to understand how local transformations relate to broader trends". For instance, the focus on the analysis is still focused on national-level policy orientation, as we discussed in the paragraph above.

Following Peck and Theodore analytical process, they describe three core dimensions of neo-liberalisation processes:

> **1. Regulatory experiments:** place, territory and scale specific projects designed to intensify market-disciplinary modalities of governance. Such projects are necessarily path-dependent and generally entail both a destructive moment (efforts to roll back nonmarket, anti-market or market-restraining regulatory arrangements) and a creative moment (strategies to roll forward a new politico-institutional infrastructure for marketized regulatory forms). (Peck and Tickell,

2016) This aspect of neoliberalization has been investigated comprehensively in the vast, case study-based literature on national, regional and local instances of neoliberal regulatory reform.

2. Systems of inter-jurisdictional policy transfer: institutional mechanisms and networks of knowledge sharing through which neoliberal policy prototypes are circulated across places, territories and scales, generally transnationally, for redeployment elsewhere. By establishing certain types of regulatory strategies as "prototypical," such networks enhance the ideological legitimacy of neoliberal policy templates while extending their availability as readily accessible, all-purpose "solutions" to contextually specific regulatory problems and crises[10].

3. Transnational rule-regimes: large-scale institutional arrangements, regulatory frameworks, legal systems and policy relays that impose determinate "rules of the game" on contextually specific forms of policy experimentation and regulatory reorganization, thereby enframing the activities of actors and institutions within specific politico-institutional parameters. This "parameterizing" aspect of neoliberalization has been analyzed by Stephen Gill (2008) in his account of the new constitutionalism. For Gill, the new constitutionalism represents a project to institutionalize neoliberal policy precepts over the long term and globally through various supranational legal devices. It has operated as a geopolitical and geoeconomic project designed to constrain national states and all other subordinate political institutions to adopt neo-liberalized policy precepts in key regulatory spheres (for instance, trade, capital investment, labour, property rights). A variety of

[10] Jamie Peck's (2001) "Workfare States" research charts out a formally analogous but transnational narrative with reference to the geographies of fast workfare policy transfer across regions and national states since the 1980s. At national and transnational scales, this aspect of neoliberalization has also been investigated in the Eastern European context, in the Latin American context and, on a more general level, within the literature on "fast policy" transfer. For more review see, Johanna Bockman and Gil Eyal, "Eastern Europe as a Laboratory for Economic Knowledge: The Transnational Roots of Neoliberalism," American Journal of Sociology 108, no. 2 (2002): 310 –52; Jamie Peck and Nik Theodore, "Exporting Workfare/Imposting Welfare-to-Work," Political Geography 20, no. 4 (2001): 427– 60; Jamie Peck and Nik Theodore, "Recombinant Workfare, across the Americas," Geoforum 42, no. 2 (2010): 195–208; Peck and Theodore, Fast Policy.

> other recent works by radical international political economists have likewise underscored the role of multilevel governance arrangements in the construction, imposition and reproduction of neo-liberalized, market-disciplinary regulatory arrangements within national and subnational arenas (Holman, 2004). Such multilevel rule regimes serve to promote "institutional lock-in mechanisms to separate the economic and the political under conditions of democracy" (Harmes, 2006, p. 732). In this way, they serve to create and maintain determinate, market-disciplinary parameters around subordinate forms of policy contestation and institutional development.

In this perspective then the processes of institutional creative destruction associated with existing neoliberalism have been occurring at all spatial scales but especially in the urban scale and within major cities.

1.4.2 Alternative: the grounded city

After the depression of 1929, a new revolutionary vision of economic and political perspective was proposed by John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) in opposition to liberalism. Keynes substantially had detached himself from the neoclassical[11] school. In extreme synthesis, the complex Keynesian thought was based on making capitalism sustainable and in doing so, he had proposed the intervention of the State in the phase of the economic cycle, and he had affirmed that the free market did not offer a just and equal solution in moments of crisis and conflict. Keynes very explicitly did not consider much correct the deduction from the Principles of Economics that selfishness, as an expression of the natural freedom of individuals, is usually enlightened and that

[11] It is defined as a neoclassical school introduced by Alfred Marshall (1842-1924), Arthur Pigou (1877-1958), Wilfried Pareto (1848-1923)) a branch of the economy inspired by the classical economy (Adam Smith (1723-1790)) but often differs in its approaches: an interpretation of the economic system was based on the analysis of markets, the equilibrium concepts, competition and above all on the fundamental role played by enterprise and business industry production.

private and social interests always coincide (Keynes, 2018). In this perspective, we can say that there is a paradigm shift in opposition to the free-market and liberalism ideal proposed by Keynes and affecting the post-war reconstruction of European societies. The Keynesian model is based on public policies and the economy of employment, where it puts the focus on the importance of work and employment. Another important position of Keynes was on the non-neutrality of money, which affects the real economy. Therefore subsequently, he considered important the separation between the money market and that of the real market[12].

Clearly, since the Fordist-Keynesian period[13], urban social movements have articulated new hopes and visions but have also confronted new pressures and constraints, and there is a need for the understanding of the urban to be radically reconceptualized. Furthermore, from this dynamic vision of the world in search for change, writing over four decades ago, David Harvey (1973, p. 314) briefly characterized this challenge as follows:

> "Patterns in the circulation of surplus value are changing but they have not altered the fact that cities […] are founded on the exploitation of the many by the few. An urbanism founded on exploitation is a legacy of history. A genuinely humanizing urbanism has yet to be brought into being. It remains for revolutionary theory to chart the path from an urbanism based in exploitation to an urbanism appropriate for the human species. And it remains for revolutionary practice to accomplish such a transformation".

[12] In contrast with the neoclassical theory where these two markets are the same, coincide and are not considered separate.

[13] Indeed, despite their significant differences from Chicago School urban sociology (see paragraph above), the major strands of mid- to late twentieth-century urban studies have likewise focused their analytical observation primarily, on "city-like" (nodal, relatively large, densely populated and self-enclosed) sociospatial units. Whatever their specific methodological and political agendas, all major approaches to the urban question have either (a) documented the replication of city-like settlement types across larger territories; or (b) used a modifying term – mercantile, industrial, Fordist-Keynesian, post-Keynesian, post-Fordist, global, mega, neoliberal, postcolonial and so forth – to demarcate its research terrain as a subset of a assumed more general sociospatial form, "the" city.

Harvey's political injunction certainly remains as urgent as ever in the early twenty-first century. In Harvey's view, a key task for critical or "revolutionary" urban theory is to "chart the path" towards alternative, post-capitalist forms of urbanization.

In continuity with the Keynesian perspective, a group of scholars have succeeded in producing significant changes with a new configuration of the city rising by their current concept the "grounded city" (Engelen, Froud, Johal, Salento and Williams, 2016) as a "countermovement" for systemic change establishing new ways for conceptualisation and activation in opposition to established forms of neoliberal urbanism. This represents the resistance to domination forces and the long-term exploitation relations in these arrangements and contemporary restructuring processes.

The beginning of the formulation of the "grounded city" takes place from the "foundational economy" approach, which suggests a focus on controllable internal accelerators and quality rather than a view of cities competing for resources to pursue success through agglomeration (Froud and Williams, 2018). They present a new and different concept of city dynamics as a space for the collective civic provision and social needs. Thus marking in this way, the introduction of a conceptual shift in opposition to the idea of "competitive city[14]" and market-oriented policies. From competitive cities to well-grounded cities (Williams, 2016).

The policy shift from competitiveness to strengthening the foundational has quite specific economic and political conditions of possibility. In the sphere of taxation, mass welfare requires a large tax base, intelligently spent on public goods and services. Nested levels of government, subsidiarity, and institutionalised forms of solidarity

[14] Reading Lewis Mumford's "The City in History" confirms that the city was interpreted through the lens of the state, but cities in U.S grew through schemas of local promotion of town development, and virtually all politics revolved around the imperative of growth. By contrast, mostly in the EU countries, cities have been the centres of political and administrative power and cultural expression, a role that became elaborated and institutionalized. Furthermore, with the impact of deindustrialization and globalization in the 1980s and 1990a the concept of competitive city became relevant to comparative urban scholarship and strategies of urban revitalisation converged in emphasising the goal of making cities competitive (Garcia, 2012).

based on shared identities become more, not less important in the era of the well-grounded city.

In this perspective, the Foundational Economy, from which the grounded city is formulated, is a way of thinking that means moving beyond neoliberal logic. Since the 1990s, it has been incorporating goods and services with the market logic of privatisation and financialization (Foundational Economy Collective, 2018). The specificity of this approach is to emphasise "the zonal view[15]" as the zone close to wellbeing and the needs of everyday life that constitute the economic infrastructure of social citizenship (Barbera, 2020). This approach then highlights the important role of the intermediary institutions to support social and economic relations at the city level, emphasising the strong link between the foundational economy and ideas surrounding the governance of the commons (Ibid). Furthermore, following this reason, the importance of different scales becomes crucial to consider since social relations and institutional arrangements vary contextually across space and time. However, we should recognise that there is no privileged institutional form or scale: community, city, region and national level are all relevant in a multi-level governance system, and different technical systems present diverse challenges that sometimes require the centralised provision and other times require local initiatives.

Within a new politics, the public and the third sectors are a resource of experiment and legitimacy in cities and regions, which possess the financial resources, the local knowledge and the democratic legitimacy to demand and sensibly lead large-scale social change that takes us towards the grounded city.

[15] Starting from the approach that economic relations are considered to be heterogenous across place and time the foundational economy encompasses a number of zones: first, the material which covers infrastructures and services; the second zone the providential which covers welfare-critical activities such as health, education and income transfers; the outer zone that include household spending.

1.5 Cities as institutional entities and the central issue of governance

In our time, cities are becoming even more crucial because the population, productive activity, and wealth are highly and increasingly concentrated in cities. Most cities offer a better standard of living for more people than ever before in human history. They are considered primary centres of creativity, scientific, cultural, competitive advantage and human fulfilment (Glaeser, 2011). Still, cities have become central to ensuring a sustainable future as sites of democracy or revolution rekindled (Harvey, 2012) and as "worldling" sites that set a standard (Roy, 2014).

Furthermore, urban areas generate more than 75% of global GDP and are home to the majority of the population. Knowledge in our society from an urban perspective has become central in understanding the present and future of our living conditions (Parnell and Robinson, 2018), and cities sustain a new era of 'planetary urbanisation' (Brenner, 2014). Yet, cities lie at the heart of political, economic and social processes that define and shape the contemporary world. As such, cities readily maps onto wider perspectives, and they are extremely diverse: they differ in their demographic profile, economic infrastructure, institutional arrangements, transport and other aspects of the built environment; they also vary in terms of their global location and connectedness.

However, in critically exploring the concept of the urban age, we can construct cities as not only spatial entities but also institutional bodies of governance structure and organizations that require theoretical and conceptual examination in order to unravel key themes, issues and debates about twenty-first-century transformations. Cities are complex relational entities that are experienced and negotiated by multiple stakeholders in multiple ways emphasising a pluralistic character of cities.

Some cities can be thought of as growth engines that privilege the presence of particular assets such as the concentration of skills and intelligence, firms and institutions. Therefore, in addressing the attention on exploring the significant role of local institutions, at various scales, in mediating and regulating the interplay. This

consideration is essential because national states have deployed a variety of spatial policies to manage the process of uneven development within their territorial boundaries (Lefebvre 2003; Massey, 1985). Furthermore, institutional mechanisms for turning policy ideas into programs have always varied between localities depending on political traditions and the balance of power within central state bureaucracies. Moreover, policymaking takes place between several territorial levels, and there is an extensive subnational variation. Some writers call this the "local effect" (Le Galès, 1993), and this inherent particularity of local political systems is highlighted even more by the great international economic competition. The particular relationship between society and territory is produced especially in cities making some researchers coin the concept of "neo-localism" as "a particular division of labour between the market, the social structures and, increasingly, the political strictures, a division which allows a high degree of flexibility in the economy and rapid adjustments to market variations, but also a redistribution of social costs and real benefits from development within the local society" (in Le Galès, 2000, p. 185). Under these circumstances, the key for the development of the local societies was to count that institutions should be flexible, so in a sense, they should adapt to the needs and demands originating in the economic sphere and social dynamic. Relate contextually specific institutional dynamics and outcomes to broader transformations is a consequence of globalization processes characterised by increasing internationalization of the production of goods and services and international trade, which is associated with trade liberalization, the growing role of private (generally multinational and firms) and the surge of needs and demands for new institutions to regulate the process. Since the mid-1970s, important transformations have taken place, and the feeling that grew until current days was that social concerns were not being addressed and inequality was rising.

A fundamentally different social relationship to the environment affects how people think and how they see their place in the world. In this perspective, different societies, even the most different, can be seen as different ways of expressing the

human need to cooperate and live together. The city then produces a sense of direction, both as a means of finding a way around an increasingly complex spatial order and in the way in which a city directs its inhabitants' lives, with the approach that cities work from the ground up.

From an urban perspective, this is crucial to highlight how the type of society one lives in – its scale and social structure – impacts one's experience of the world and a fundamental perceptual level. In sociological terms, society refers to a group of people who interact in a definable territory and share the same culture. In practical, in everyday terms, societies consist of various types of institutional constraints, regulation and coordination exercised over our choices and actions. The type of society we live in determines the nature of these types of constraint, regulation and coordination. The nature of our social institutions, the type of work we do, the way we think about ourselves and the structures of power and social inequality that order our life chances and capabilities are all products of the type of society we live in and thus vary globally, locally and historically. Acquiring this knowledge requires making sense of the collective form, which are maintained and structured by institutions.

Therefore, institutions play a crucial role in promoting and sustaining people's capacities, and as Sen (1999, p.142) argues, "Individuals live and operate in a world of institutions. Our opportunities and prospects depend crucially on what institutions exist and how they function" and are institutions that embodied and shaped our existence since the social, collective and institutional dimensions build the context of society (Bifulco and Mozzana, 2011) or that of a city, in the tradition of Weber, as a local society in terms of aggregation, integration and representation of groups and interests.

In recent decades also from the perspective of the regulation approach has been incorporated the idea that the evolution of economies of a country, region or city depends on the working of institutions. The transition of the decision-making model from government to governance as a 'negotiation mechanism' has generated a 'new

form of policy formulation' (García, 2006) and policy variation. Firms and organizations make investment decisions within an institutional context that conditions their activity. In this sense, regulation of capital/labour relations shifted decisively from some kind of national collective bargaining to often highly organized or individualized forms of negotiating wages and working conditions. For example, depending on particular political configurations, downscaling has been better for some countries than others. Sometimes other forms of governmental intervention are replaced by more local institutional and regulatory forms (where local take a variety of spatial scales) (Swyngedouw, 2003). Additionally, the interventionism of the state in the economy is equally restructured with a much greater emphasis on the local forms of governance or with upscaling to supernational areas. This processes of geographical re-ordering of economic processes and regulatory practices are defined by Swyngedouw (2003) with the term of glocalization, which refers to:

> "(i) the contested restructuring of the institutional level from the national scale both upwards and supra-national and/or global scales and downwards to the scale of the individual body, the local, the urban, or regional configurations; and (ii) the strategies of global localization of key forms of industrial, services, and financial capital. This, in turn, changes social power geometries and produces rather disturbing effects in terms of democracy, accountability and citizenship rights". (p.52)

According to Swyngedouw (2003), the disempowering effects of the "glocalization" process are characterized by undemocratic procedures that lead to political exclusion and, consequently, a re-definition of citizenship. In this regard, Marisol Garcia (2006) argues that the practice of citizenship has been challenged in European cities, first explicitly by the globalization forces which have contributed to increasing numbers of denizens, exploited immigrants and the poor, and secondly more implicit in changing the collective understanding of social justice. More recently, Crouch (2011) has argued that we are in a neoliberal post-citizenship era dominated

by elites implementing rights regimes masked by an ideology of citizen-consumers and individualism. On this line of thought, the foundational economy also considers the relation to citizenship as crucial in the context of human needs and foundational goods (Barbera, 2020). In recent years there has been an increasing emphasis on inequalities in citizenship. Some argue that an increasing proportion of Western populations are living in precariousness dominated by chronic uncertainty and insecurity. Citizenship has a strong role in structuring group interest, and spatially extensive markets depend on the civil rights of citizenship, political rights, and the social rights of individuals and groups (ibid).

As the process of change unfolds, the emphasis then advances on the dynamics of social relations and the institutional forms of regulation in which they are embodied and expressed. This approach on cities as institutional entities that highlight the central issue of urban governance as economic and urban rescaling permits thinking through alternative socio-economic trajectories and development of pollical-economic strategies that allow the imagining and the construction of the alternative forms.

1.5.1 Ground-up: Cities as political actors

The new understanding of implicit politics is particularly crucial for alternative trajectories and is the capacity to disclose the new understanding that has to take place within a world in which many traditions of political thought and practice coexist. The effort is to understand spaces as overlapping territories. Each of them represents a different political opportunity and a different form of political agency and subject position (Amin and Thrift, 2013). Therefore, throughout the paragraph, the concern will be to illustrate three main concepts as demonstrated by Nigel Thrift in the chapter book "*Space, Place, and Time*" (2006): the first is the continuing importance of political 'invention', and the political sphere which is under the process of innovation the same as other sphere or domain of human life. The political invention is all the way from

the invention of democracy through the invention of the nation-state to the invention of the network of network institutions and standards of governance, and so forth. The second, that politics cannot be assumed to have stable content, but politics escape stable categorisations. Third, contextual political analysis is a very important form of political analysis since the conduct of contemporary politics takes place at many sites, not all of which are labelled "political", but many of which have political intent. As Barry (2001, p. 205, in Thrift, 2006) describes: "In a technological society, (we) need to focus (our) attention not just on the formal centres of political authority but on the many sites where political action comes to circulate".

Politics is understood as a series of zones and sites that may suffer all kinds of rigidities and instabilities in practice but are still often represented as homogeneous in public discourse. For contextual political analysis, an abiding concern must still be with the territory and the practice of territorialisation which, according to Bifulco (2017), involve the territory as a whole in all its dimensions. It certainly cannot be denied that boundary making in order to produce territory is a crucial element of human political behaviour and has been the backbone of war and other kinds of state making down the ages (Mann 1993). However, it has become clear that many different kinds of political spaces now compete for existence in recent times.

According to Thrift (2006), now there is a kind of political shadow world as a result of the institution of new kinds of a political machine, technologies of government that utilise a range of techniques to produce collective arrangements of bodies, artefacts, instruments, and discourses which go to make up institutions of various kinds, and which are therefore political right from their inception (Barry, 2001; Mitchell, 2002). These machines have a number of important characteristics, three of which are mentioned by Thrift:

1. "They are orderings, not orders. They are continually on the move, deriving and demonstrating new variations which are as likely to accrete as

cancel each other out. They modulate and feedback in a continuous loop, rather than simply pass on commands.

2. They are increasingly technological in nature, the result of the degree to which political knowledge has become systematized in networks of devices which require the technological capacity to operate and discriminate. Most particularly, we can point to the use of computer software to encapsulate scientific methods that have recast the old arts of patrol, diagnose, cross-reference, and survey, thereby beginning to produce something like continuous government which will act as a kind of politics by default. Two main methods of working toward this continuous government are currently in operation. The first of these is profiling, simulations of the likes and dislikes of citizens that present a recurring problematic for and solution to government (Elmer 2004). The second is track and trace, the attempt continuously to track citizens' spatial routines, producing what might be called a real-time census in which the state of citizens can be continually updated (Thrift 2004b). These new virtual arts of ''dataveillance'' are bent on reconstructing the citizenry in and as a series of ''oligoptic'' (Latour 1999) electronic spaces within which they will be able to be reconstructed as surveilled and therefore recognizable as governmental objects in the classic Foucauldian sense. Thus, side-by-side with the growth of pastoral modes of government bent on fashioning the self, a development which has been the focus of so much comment of late (Rose 1996), we can see a brute technological utilitarianism of standardization and extension and sheer scaling up of the arts of government continuing to develop.

3. These machines demonstrate the increasing irrelevance of thinking in terms of scale. What is ''big'' and what is ''small'' are increasingly muddled up. ''Little'' things count just as much as ''large'' (Thrift 1999), to the extent that the distinction becomes suspect. Interestingly, such a conception chimes with the work of Gabriel Tarde, who always argued that such a distinction between ''smaller'' interactions and ''bigger'' social structures was suspect."

Politics begins with place, and the notion of politics derives from a particular place and inhabitants, from the polis, the city-state of the Ancient Greek civilisation. The

Roman Empire urbs - the city – was a crucially important place for power and rule. Civitas – current key concepts of politics, like citizen(ship), civic and civil, was in classical Latin not only a concept but also a designation of place and its inhabitants (Therborn, 2006).

Politics is a kind of social action because it has direct collective implications and involves some choice within a wider set of rules. In a book chapter Göran Therborn (2006, p.525) points out five fundamental reasons why place is important from a general perspective of social action:

- place is the forming mould of actors;
- place is a compass of meaning to the actions of actors;
- place is the immediate setting in which action occurs, or ''takes place;
- place crucially affects the consequences of action;
- and finally, (the character of a) place is an eminent outcome of action.

The last aspect means that there is an important feedback loop between place and action. In other words, place is both a crucial explanatory or ''independent'' variable,'' an ''intermediary'' variable of setting or ''locale'' (Giddens 1994, p.118–19), and a significant ''dependent'' variable. Place is thus an example of the dialectics of structure and agency.

One definition of a place is socioeconomic: having a particular socioeconomic structure (industrial or commercial) and being wealthy or poor. There are many other definitions that we may label such as sociospatial or geosocial: including geopolitical, geoeconomic, geocultural; being central or peripheral, large or small in social space; or on a continuum of social density, or to communication, from centrality to isolation. But in this paragraph, the importance goes to the crucial political dimension that certain cities have that are places where crucial decisions are made. They are places where governments are installed and centres of political debate. But other important and special cities considered as crucial socioeconomic spaces also have an important role as a political actor. The place when you grow up tends to meld you as a political

actor. Your experiences and successes as a citizen affect your trust and mistrust in institutions and people and your view of government and politicians (Therborn, 2006; Le Galès, 2002).

Some important palaces are considered essential and also matter in the world system (Wallerstein, 1974, 2004) because, from this influential perspective, economic and social development is not primarily a matter of individual countries taking off. They follow from a world system of division of labour and the location of countries and cities within it.

1.5.2 Urban politics: post-political and depoliticization

Notions such as post-democratic, post-politics and post-political are based on theorizing understanding of the post-Cold War period. According to Beveridge and Koch (2017), such a historical period has witnessed new political and economic settlements centred on the norms and interests of the global market and governance structures with an obsession for consensus that had deprived an appropriate political debate. The general driving approach of the literature on post-politics and post-political is that the politics itself has been disappeared, and the political realm is turned into a consecrated entity (Mouffe, 2005). This approach is highlighted as a consequence of neoliberalism ideology when political discussion and political action parameters are close-minded to preclude alternatives (Crouch, 2004). The central concerns of formal democratic political systems are the political apathy and (economic) elite control, in parallel with the rise of populism and political protest around the European countries and the world.

Often these arguments have turned into thinking of cities. Swyngedouw (2007, 2009) observes that urban politics is reduced to consensus and not on the truly political, constructed through empty signifiers like the "global city" or the "creative city". The author critically highlights that what is left to this political reality on the urban level is

the management and policing/policy-making of the consensus in which political decision making is virtually pre-ordained, led by global public-private administrative elites (Swyngedouw, 2011, 2014). His work, according to Beveridge and Koch (2017, p.33), "should be praised for prompting dispute, for bringing a new edge to critical thinking on 'governance', for provoking us to re-think the city politically and to consider the nature and scope of contemporary urban politics as well as the possibilities and means for achieving change" (Beveridge and Koch, 2017).

The post-political thesis is helpful for empirical research because it opens a window to power and regimes in urban politics based on depoliticisation processes. In other words, the post-political city thesis portrays the urban as a depressed, depoliticised terrain, and it questions the interrelation between the city and politics. The literature analysis the marginalisation of the possibilities for the political contestation of and in the city. What is crucial in this view is that the city needs to be seen from both perspectives, such as the city's potential for a place to struggle and a site of (radical) political agency.

Cities have a political potential despite the fact that they are pivotal to the global economy as generators of wealth and nodes in trade and communication. They have become a prime site of neoliberal "accumulation through dispossession" (Harvey, 2003), the concentration of wealth through privatisation and commoditization of public assets.

The greater focus on the urban space has brought out recent literature on "de-politicisation" in the field of governance research, which argued for a broader conception of "the political" going beyond the "state" (Schmitt, 2007, Wood and Flinders, 2014; Busso, 2017). An initial form of depoliticization appears in the public discourse, such as refer to expertise, technical knowledge, science, and the objectivity of numbers. Through these discursive devices, "which evokes the authority of expert knowledge", public choices are defined as the result of "objective and naturalised trends, and as such inevitable" (De Leonardis, 2013, p.131). Another form of

depoliticization is the prefiguration of desirable scenarios and imaginaries, collective seductions, which outlines a trajectory with a "specific normative force that is exercised in indicating what and how to aspire" (ibid, p.132). What may appear as de-politicisation (for instance, technical discussion and indicators replacing a political debate or a shift in the nature of governance relationships that involves the exercise of power by many non-state actors) is often the result of political coalitions using invisible or strategical instruments (standards, algorithms, budget formulae), (Raco, 2016). This critical issue is raised by the limits of political regulation. In an era of scarce growth and growing welfare demands, there is an increased search among policymakers and development agencies to uncover more entrepreneurial governance models and mechanisms that will convert messy urban places into spaces for investment and accumulation (Moore et al, 2017).

From this perspective, in line with recent theoretical work across the social sciences, some authors highlight that future urban research should explicitly consider both depoliticization and (re)politicisation within the same analytical lens, as being often dynamically interlinked (Chatterton et al., 2012; Featherstone and Korf, 2012; Hay, 2007; Jessop, 2014). Depoliticization can be understood more as a contingent political strategy than a political condition. Moreover, Beveridge and Koch (2017, p.40) explain that "depoliticization is inherently related to 'the political' and its counterpart 'the non-political' (or 'apolitical'). A consequence of seeing depoliticization and politicisation as inherently linked is that we accept that the boundaries of the political cannot be fixed in essential terms – as a pure and discrete realm". The distinction between the political and apolitical realm becomes a matter of empirical investigation and not a definition. Research might want to address how the definition of the political – through discursive and institutional practices – reshuffles the practices of politics. Depoliticization will always, through the politics its silences, create the conditions for its own depoliticization and understanding this interplay is key to comprehending the possibilities of urban politics.

Hence in some places, depoliticization might actually work and confirm the compelling Swyngedouw's (2017) argument that the political is being washed out of the urban fabric. This is still primarily the case in cities, with their traditions, symbols, and organisation of social space, of governance as political spaces and political actors in considering the "properly political" (Swyngedouw, 2009) where it is the political the instituting moment of the social. Conflicts arise and become visible inside and outside the political system. This visibility is crucial for a conflict to become political – it must be perceived and appreciated as an open conflict that belongs to the political sphere (Beveridge and Koch, 2017).

The public space is a "place for staging polemical scenes, a site where the conflict between opposing interests is made visible and subject of dispute" (Kohn, 2013, p.107 in Beveridge and Koch, 2017). Given the centrality of cities for public contestation, the urban form is the very thing at stake in (de)politicisation.

But in terms to advance the question, there is still room for more empirical investigation on depoliticization and post-politics in cities. The urban depoliticization debate reflects a lack of the plurality of perspectives on what politics is: thinking more on the ontology of urban politics and the ontological politics of the urban.

However, hostility to formal politics was on the rise even before the financial crisis in many countries. Still, austerity politics has certainly acted as a catalyst: casting the state not only as responsible for the crisis but also as the implementer of regressive redistributive policies (Peck, 2012). In this way, austerity can be seen to further destabilize the political system. As an 'inevitable truth', austerity contributes to a further depoliticization of the formal political realm. (Anti-)politics in and against austerity is specific because its vision is not (only) to make better, fairer policies but to transform the way we think and act politically.

2 Political, social and economic dimensions of transitions

The fate of our times is characterized by
rationalization and intellectualism and, above all, by
the "disenchantment of the world." —Max Weber

"We need a radical thinking which gets to the root of problems,
a multidimensional thinking,
and an organisational or systemic thinking" – Edgar Morin

2.1 Endless transition

Over the course of the decade since the 2008 financial crisis, it has increasingly been acknowledged that a cyclical crisis has become a structural crisis and, the incapacity to predict has led many to conclude that the economic system itself is in crisis. This is not a new phenomenon in social sciences, and Karl Marx long ago anticipated it. His analysis is rooted in a dialectical epistemology and ontology, which understand phenomena through their internal contradictions; in this perspective, crises occur because of the convergent contradictions in the capitalist system. Therefore, crisis has never left the capitalist economic system, but it is embedded in it. Putting it differently, "is this stabilization 'temporary' in the sense that it does not affect the roots of the conflicts which Marx found in the capitalist mode of production (contradiction between private ownership of the means of production and social productivity), or is it a transformation of the antagonistic structure itself, which resolves the contradictions by making them tolerable?" (Marcuse, 1991, p. 20).

There is generally a wide consensus on describing the chronicle capitalist crisis in two main periods of breakdown: the post-war period until the mid-1970s as that of Keynesianism (Hall, 1989) and the period since the mid-1970s as that of neoliberalism (Jobert, 1994).

During the time of 1945-1975, European social protection schemes developed considerably. Later, social policies became a crucial tool for maintaining full employment and supporting strong economic growth based on mass consumption. The social transfers achieved through social policies provided a means of guaranteeing social rights for all European citizens and making well-being somewhat less dependent on the labour market. As Gøsta Esping-Andersen conceptualized it, social protection schemes effectively decommodify the citizenry: «Social rights permit people to make their living standards independent of pure market forces. It is in this sense that social rights diminish citizens' status as "commodities" (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

Scholars from different perspectives and approaches have discussed in the recent thirty years that since the 1990s, we are in the breakdown of neoliberalism and in the transition to a new paradigm. The link between social policy and the economy have varied substantially over these three decades, reflecting different policy paradigms (Morel, Palier and Palme, 2012). Significant breakdown periods throw away for transitions in economic ideas and policy since the process of economic policy is often described as 'social learning', with policymakers trying new methods and goals and adjusting their practices through trial and error (Stirling and Laybourn-Langton, 2017). Therefore, in practice, clean breaks in economic thinking are rare; mostly, they may be slow, incomplete, nuanced and layered upon existing institutions or may retrospectively prove to be an illusion during a period of rapid change. Furthermore, change is not only driven by empirical shocks, such as a financial crash or hyperinflation. Path dependency and the influence of ideas and powerful interests in shaping the interpretations of these shocks are at least as important. As Blyth (2003, pp. 695–706) has argued, ideas can be thought of as causal factors, as well as conduits, leading to change—particularly during the periods of uncertainty following shock or outright crisis. Blyth argues that 'interests' often steer agency. But in complex systems,

one's interests are given by perceived understanding of how that system works and, in turn, that 'understanding' will depend upon ideas.

Technological developments are also often catalysts for change in economic thinking. From water-powered mechanisation to computerisation, technological revolutions leave a profound and lasting effect on the economy. Carlota Perez (2015, pp. 191–217) has shown how technological change, policy and finance move together in a repeating cycle. Perez analyses this cycle as having three stages: an 'installation period' when a new technology is introduced, framing the prevailing economic orthodoxy and attracting exuberant private investment; 'turning point' when excessive finance and growth leads to market overreach, asset bubbles and, eventually, economic crisis; and a 'deployment phase' when new economic policies are introduced to facilitate the failures of the previous period and integrate the new technologies into a stable economic model. Eventually, this period of relative stability is superseded by new disruptive technologies and a restart in the cycle. Economic ideas and policies are both cause and effect of this cycle, with laissez-faire approaches tracking the 'installation period', to then be discredited at the 'turning point', after which a more interventionist approach prevails during the 'deployment phase'.

This approach can be further qualified, going back to Peter Hall's (1993) pioneering work on social learning in policy-making, which explore the mediating role of ideas in constructing crises. He argues that economic policy can undergo three identifiable 'orders' of change:

1. adjusting a current policy instrument;
2. changing the instrument being used;
3. changing the goals of policy altogether.

Hall considered the third order of change as effectively amounting to a 'paradigm shift', often induced by shock or during periods of particularly rapid change. His model emphasizes that policymakers customarily work within a framework of ideas and standards that specifies the goals of policy, the kind of instruments that can be

used to attain them, and the very nature of the problems they are meant to address. (ibid., p. 279). He calls this 'ideational framework', with interrelated cognitive and normative aspects, a "policy paradigm"[16] and suggests that crisis can lead to "paradigm shifts" (ibid.). In these terms, Hall's model conceptualizes crises as triggering moments that occur when previously dominant ideas and assumptions about an economic and political reality are exhausted and can no longer solve new problems. New solutions backed up by a new set of ideas are articulated (often pre-existed and pre-positioned) through various channels and confront each other in political contests where rival parties fight for control over policy (ibid., p. 289). In his framework, Hall views crisis as mostly endogenous.

These theories provide useful heuristics to help understand past and present changes to which we now turn.

2.1.1 Activation vs protection of social policies

The relationship between protection and activation is another crucial issue. The introduction of active social policies throughout the EU can be seen as a reconsideration of the importance of work. In the context of such policies, the emphasis on full employment and more participation in the labour market is embedded to varying degrees in discourses stressing work as "entitlement" and work as an "obligation"(Berkel and Moller, 2002) the same discourse in the case of young people stressing work as "empowering" and "discipline"[17].

[16] In this perspective policy paradigms have path dependency – ideational as well as structural.

[17] Very generally the measurement of activating labour market policies meant to bring people into employment and the aim here is the removal of options for labour market exit and the unconditional receipt of benefits as well as the removal of individual barrier for entering the labour market. Therefore this idea of activation of labour market policies combine the two sides of a coin: on one side demanding and on the other enabling elements and policy instruments. The demanding part of activation it is important concerning the duration level of benefits and the introduction of restrictive preconditions, sanctions and different individual activity requirements. The enabling part is given by job search assistance and counselling services, employment subsidies and training schemes.

Furthermore, the process of activation of social policies is based on the diversity not only on ways in which countries of EU member state's conceptualise, legitimise and implement the activation approach, reflecting different ideological positions, welfare state regime types (Esping-Andersen, 1999) and political priorities but also the institutional context of a variety of governments funds and activation programmes. However, the main elements of the social-democratic welfare state – solidarity, universalism and decommodification – require high social expenditure levels, which can only be guaranteed when as many people as possible are in paid work and as few as possible are dependent on social transfers (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Increasing unemployment, then, will put the balance between high decommodification and high labour-market participation under pressure (Berkel and Moller, 2002). More generally, the introduction of active social policies may contribute to a process of recommodification (Esping-Andersen *et al.*, 2002); (Papadopoulos, 2005), especially on the recalibration of rights and duties when they are accompanied by measures to reduce benefit levels or to make benefits and social assistance more conditional[18]. Frequently, these involve a shift of policies and other modes of regulation away from an emphasis on progressive redistribution and away from freedom of choice and security of income for public benefit recipients towards a larger emphasis on work incentives and concrete measures to bring people into employment (ibid). In this way, this catches important elements of the neoliberal discourses, including significant changes in social policy: the shift from policies based on solidarity and equality of opportunity to the pressure on the weakest part of the population to take responsibility for their own life. Measures to render labour markets more flexible have been actively supported by policy recommendations at the European Union level, with limited

[18] The wide possibilities for the conceptual and practical combination of enabling and demanding elements and what activation eventually means can differ according to the relative importance given to these two important dimensions. See (Saraceno, 2002); (Eichhorst *et al.*, 2010) for more in depth understanding.

concern about the consequences for youth, both before and during the economic crisis (Smith and Villa, 2016).

However, activation analysis should not focus on the contents of social policies only, but also on the level of analysis concerns the institutional context, design, administration, implementation and delivery of social policies on the awareness of the diversity of regional and local labour markets. Consequently, two closely connecting processes are taking place: individualisation[19] in approaching and dealing with the target groups of social policies and differentiation of the instruments, measures and programmes that are available to stimulate participation and to increase the 'employability' (Berkel and Moller, 2002). The emerging emphasis on individual responsibility to seek work and, thus, to be self-sufficient[20] through employment and the need for individualised services provision makes the activation practice a decisive frontline arena. The effect is the introduction of individualised contractual agreements based on obligations and rights to participate in education, training, job search, subsidized work, and other activities. The aim is to improve their chances for paid employment, along with agency duty to provide a range of supports and opportunities aimed at facilitating this movement from welfare (impartiality and anonymity of social rights) to work (the individualized and discretionary dispensation of benefits based on case-by-case management) (Gilbert and Van Voorhis, 2001; van Berkel and Valkenburg, 2007; Gilbert and Terrell, 2013).

In sum, the development of active social policies has been accompanied by institutional reform based on these new ideas of the welfare state itself, which concerns the relationship between the state and citizens and the new calibration of rights and responsibilities (duties). This paradigm shift and welfare changes may involve risks in

[19] A well-known form of individualisation is the distinction of several target groups, which are defined on the basis of demographic characteristics, since these are considered to be important in determining unemployed people's labour market position and because these can easily be identified. Policies distinguish target groups such as the young, the low-qualified, long-term unemployment, and so on.

[20] For a more critical understanding see e.g., (Breitkreuz and Williamson, 2012).

terms of citizens' autonomy and can be seen as instruments that refine institutional opportunities to enforce predefined obligations upon welfare claimants. The "new" concept of activation based on obligations and mandatory schemes are to consider the most important difference in the current labour market policies when on the one hand, benefit recipients are obliged to accept employment options or training schemes in order to receive benefits while, on the other hand, the state has the obligations to enhance the employability of benefit claimants (Eichhorst, Feil and Marx, 2010).

In this new scenario, the concepts of activation process underline the consideration of imperative economic rationale (the demand of an increasingly dynamic and globalised economy on improving individual employability and productivity for the requirement of labour market and attractiveness to potential employers) and fragile social security (guarantee for rights, income and social inclusion are gain through employment instead of social benefits) from the perspective that they are two sides of a coin under the effects conditioned by individual behaviour. This individual approach was considered the most convincing and innovative solution for dealing with economic instability and uncertainty. However, what remains as a clear indication is that the duties are more tilted from the jobseeker's side, whereas the institutions have some considerable space in fulfilling their obligations, creating asymmetries between the parties. Also, the welfare state itself had been relabelled in different ways, as "new", "workfare", "enabling", "active" or, more recently as "social investment" welfare state (Peck, 2001; Esping-Andersen *et al.*, 2002; Gilbert, 2002; Morel, Palier and Palme, 2012; Hemerijck, 2013).

2.1.2 Paradigm shifts: approaches and regimes of activation

The 1970s were characterized by an increase in social demands, partly due to the slow growth, which had also caused a decrease in tax revenues and social contributions. The deficits caused by this scissors trend of expenditure and revenue

became a significant problem for European governments. If social deficits were seen as problematic, it was also because macro-economic analyses progressively changed due to failures of the macro-economic answer to the crisis. With the standard Keynesian recipes of the past-producing unexpected results, a paradigmatic change in economic policy was set in stone in the early 1990s, when Europe adopted a number of distinctly non-Keynesian economic policies (Jobert, 1994): the establishment of the European market, which guarantees free competition among European firms; the Maastricht Treaty; and the Stability and Growth Pact, designed to reduce public debt and deficit, curb inflation, and fix exchange rates. These monetarist, neoclassical supply-side policies were intended to promote business competitiveness, and they were characterized by wage moderation, budgetary rigour, and general deregulation and flexibility. According to Palier (2012, p. 39), "social policies, however, continued to function according to the Keynesian logic of the past, and this disparity with the new global economic rationale plunged them into crisis". He explains that this new policy model, social protection expenditure and the state no longer had the same functions. Full employment was supposed to be an indirect outcome under the following logic: a slower rise in prices and wages, gains in competitiveness and productivity, an increase in business profit margins and added value, not redistributed through higher wages, were all supposed to produce new investments and job creation (ibid). In this scheme, public social expenditure was perceived more as a cost than a factor of economic growth and political and social stability.

Whereas social spending was long considered favourable to economic growth, one of the main goals of these new norms has been to reduce public social expenditures and thus to allow reductions in taxes, employer social security contributions, and other social contributions in the hope that such reductions would spur economic growth.

There was a general shift from decommodification to recommodification of citizens – from a guaranteed substitute income that is independent of the market to an incentive strategy that brings individuals into the job market (Palier, 2013).

The increasing polarization and poverty rates, including in-work poverty and the growing problem and cost of social exclusion, gave rise to a critique of neoliberal social prescriptions. At the same time, the traditional post-war male-breadwinner welfare state came under increasing criticism, not least from social policy analysts who argued that the «old» welfare state was ill-equipped to deal with the transition to post-industrialism, the social and demographic transformations of families and society, and the resulting emergence of 'new social risks'[21] (Morel, Palier and Palme 2012).

The paradigm shift consists of reshaping the welfare state from the socialisation of "risk" and collective protection towards more individual responsibility and protection. With the broad shift towards the paradigm of activation, as we introduced in the previous paragraph, there is an abandonment of the idea "one-size-fits-all" welfare state favouring a more targeted and individualized system. The aim and promotion of activation were building a new social condition, and this is shaped by national regimes, frameworks, implementation processes, governance models and local practices. Under these new circumstances, it is important to point out that some countries such as the Nordic, Germany and Austria, based on their historical legacies and welfare traditions, were more favourable than others since traditionally they had active labour market policies as an important part of their social policy (Barbier and Ludwig-Mayerhofer, 2004). It is now commonly acknowledged that their approach and experiences with activation have served as role models and interpretations of the activation approach. As Bothfeld and Betzelt (2011) underline, the political project of activation that started in 1990 resulted "from the transfer of neoclassical economist ideas and norms into social policy" (2011, p. 4) based on the typical ideal model of the economic citizen who is self-responsible and self-sufficient through labour market participation.

[21] Resulting challenges of social and employment structures, or *welfare traps* (Ferrera, 1998) are labelled the "new social risks" (NSRs) and this concept is being used with increasing frequency in the literature on the welfare state, see Esping-Andersen 1999b; Hemerijck 2002; Jenson 2002; Taylor-Gooby 2004, Bonoli, 2005.

Starting from the beginning of the twenty-first century, there was a broad ongoing debate questioning convergence or divergence in domestic welfare reform processes and on the possibility to distinguish different activation regimes among countries. Most of these studies were based on the comparison between different European countries, but responses differ depending on which components of activation are taken into account[22]. However, they confirm a general convergence on the ideational dimension and on the central features of activation and the same time persisting different paths and trajectories not only between different countries and their specific strategies but also between national, regional and local levels and on the dimensions of governance and service provision (van Berkel, de Graaf and Sirovátka, 2011; van Berkel, Sager and Ehrler, 2012).

The shift towards activation has its roots in the neoliberal ideal of self-reliant economic citizens but also in the crisis of the welfare state. Different scholars sustain the fact that it is in the context of new ideas on the welfare state and on the move towards social investment that the shift towards activation must be seen, bringing "social policy as a potentially positive contributor to growth, competitiveness, social progress and political resilience back into the equation" (Hemerijck, 2013, p. 50).

2.1.3 Social investment: equality of opportunity vs get your opportunity

The Social Investment (SI) was introduced as a policy perspective at the end of the 1990s, supporting the relevance of the welfare state in employing public resources to foster productive social policies with a link between social protection and economic growth (Bifulco, 2017), also combining social inclusion and economic competitiveness (Jenson, 2012). The SI can be traced back to debates surrounding the relationship

[22] For more understanding of different activations regimes see (Barbier and Ludwig-Mayerhofer, 2004a; Clasen and Clegg, 2006, 2012; Dingeldey, 2007; Serrano Pascual, 2007; Weishaupt, 2010; Bonoli, 2010; Graziano, 2012; Aurich, 2011; van Berkel et al. 2012).

between the economy[23] and the role of the welfare state (Esping-Andersen *et al.*, 2002; Giddens, 1998), and it is presented as a concept of a paradigm shift (the narrative that explains all the practises) putting education at the centre of social policy reforms (Kazepov and Ranci, 2016) in this way the orientation is focused more on 'prevention' than 'protection'. Central in the SI ideas is that social policy should aim at "preparing" the population to prevent certain social and economic risks associated with changing employment conditions and family patterns and minimizing the intergenerational transfer of poverty, rather than at 'repairing' through passive income maintenance after the risk has occurred" (Morel, Palier and Palme, 2012, p. 9). Following this logic, SI gives much emphasis and priority to education and training. From the SI approach, these policies are intended to promote the realisation of young people primary by connecting education and work. The State plays an essential role in this conceptualization as it has to provide the resources for the realisation of this new 'functionalist and instrumentalist' educational vision. This positive view of the State as active and productive instead of the passive and cost-effective orientation of services simultaneously drives an empowering function through services that promote individual skills, human capital, activation, work-life balance, and smooth transitions. Therefore, the principal aim of SI is to foster economic growth from a neo-classical perspective, increase participation in the labour market and confirm what Peck and Tickell (2002) early interpreted as the wolf in new sheep's clothing.

SI is grounded on the knowledge-based and service-oriented economic model when individuals are expected to continuously upskill themselves in order to maintain integration in the changing labour market and gain upward mobility. Considering the dynamicity of the labour market from this perspective, especially young people as new entrants and usually categorised as "new social risks" (NSRs), need to constantly adapt to demands in the labour market. The reform of the European education and training

[23] Intended in the new perspective to sustain a different economy that those that came after 1945 – the knowledge-based and service economy.

system is one result of this increased need for flexibility: promotion of VET and lifelong learning according to the conditions set by the markets (Haidinger and Atzmüller, 2011).

With this paradigm shift embracing SI, the welfare state should prepare individuals to face the challenges of a post-industrial society with the activation purpose and high-quality services and not only with the intervention of protection such as unemployment insurance. The basic assumption on the SI approach is based on the promises that characterised modern societies, focusing its gaze on the future that legitimize and explain the decisions and actions of the present: being simultaneously prophet and messiah of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Indeed, SI can be understood as a policy investment in tomorrow's taxpayers as future productive workers (Hemerijck, 2017). According to Jenson (2012, p.28), "in policy terms, this implies attention to and investment in children, human capital and making work pay". However, the time horizon of social policies may produce unpredictable consequences due to the temporal gap between interventions, such as educational provision, and their outcomes, for instance, labour market integration. This is supported by recent empirical investigations showing that SI policies may have unintended perverse effects (Cantillon and Vandenbroucke, 2014).

Some authors consider the SI as an important policy instrument to be supported by a comprehensive policy mix, broadly encompassing education policies, labour market policies, poverty alleviation policies and family policies (Hemerijck *et al.*, 2016). In this analysis, education and training policies represent the core of a policy mix that aims to prepare individuals for the uncertain landscape of social risks affecting contemporary societies rather than providing reparatory compensation when the risks occur (Kazepov, Ruggero and Pot, 2020). They confirm the position that comparative studies on social policies have often neglected education policies when analysing welfare state interventions (Busemeyer and Nikolai, 2010). Therefore considering education policies as part of welfare policies has significant consequences from an

analytical point of view, in particular in the field of comparative research on welfare states. As stated by Wilensky (1975, p. 3): 'education is special'. While social policies are directly redistributive, thus affecting equality of outcomes, education is not directly redistributive, following a different principle of social justice: equality of opportunity. As it is conditioned by occupational structures and influenced by social background, investing in education can produce differentiated outcomes in terms of inequality and labour market participation (Checchi *et al.*, 2014). Reflecting on the tensions between human capital, social inclusion and social policies that oscillates between control and empowerment, some authors believe in the introduction of the concept of institutional complementarities, stressing the synergies between policy interventions and contexts (Hemerijck 2017; Y. Kazepov and Ranci 2017) can overcome the lack in the creation of equal opportunities.

According to Laruffa (2018), neoliberalism is the extension of the economic rationale to the non-economic sphere. In other words, it represents the economisation of the social and the assumption that extending the market logic to the whole society will optimise the population's welfare and/or maximise economic growth. Thus, neoliberalism does not necessarily imply minimal state and welfare retrenchment but entails assessing state intervention and social policy in strictly economic terms (Madra and Adaman, 2013). This process of economisation is not presented as a political project but as an ideologically neutral and value-free practice. Neoliberalism then involves the de-politicisation of the social, like the extension of technocratic governance to domains that could be governed by democratic procedures. Indeed, in line with the assumptions of neoclassical economics, the maximisation of social utility is conceived as a technocratic task that does not need – and may even be impeded by – democratic participation, and that should be delegated to "experts" (Madra and Adaman, 2013). Thus, economisation and de-politicisation reinforce each other: since "economic and managerial discourses" become "the dominant frameworks for decision making, economics is placed 'in command", thereby de-politicising public

issues and "denying the possibility of political choices" based on other criteria than the calculable "bottom line" (Clarke, 2004, pp. 34–35). In the name of pragmatism and realism, neoliberalism has imposed itself as the only possible reality[24], discarding alternative ways of framing public action. Thus, neoliberalism is associated with the end of ideology and the emergence of a post-political condition (Mouffe, 2005), whereby social conflict is denied, and the political identities of Left and Right tend to lose meaning, converging towards a 'neoliberal consensus' (Crouch 1997).

In the current situation, SI represents one of the most relevant normative frameworks to think about welfare reform in Europe (Morel et al., 2012; EC, 2013; Anton Hemerijck 2018), stressing the positive consequences of social policy in terms of both social and economic outcomes. Indeed, social policy contributing to the health and education of the population improves people's quality of life and enhances their productivity as workers for strengthening economic growth. Therefore, one of the central aspects of SI involves improving individuals' human capital.

There are presented many versions of social investment regarding the emphasis on investing in education (Kazepov, Ruggero and Pot, 2020). Some of them are pushed very far on suggesting that investment in education is the most crucial point and can replace social protection and redistribution policies (Morel et al., 2012; Solga 2014; Deeming and Smyth 2015). In this perspective, all the responsibility is turned to the individual level and the fact that individuals can provide everything from being integrated into the labour market (Laruffa, 2018). In this contemporary debate, education policy, as highlighted before, is becoming crucial and a key area for social policies formulation because individuals, once attaining the necessary high skills, can become self-sufficient, and this area of social policy concerns especially with young people in the working age.

Concerning education as a goal, the SI approach opens up the dialectical discussion between the human capital theory (HCT) and the capability approach (CA) when from

[24] Taken from the slogan "there is no alternativa" TINA of Margaret Thatcher.

a variety of positions can be highlighted as a common idea but on different perspectives they don't achieve a consensus. As Chiappero-Martinetti and Sabadash (2014) explain, the human capital theory sees education mainly as instrumental to economic purposes. It aims to increase people's employability to boost both individual and collective productivity. By contrast, the CA envisages education in the perspective of enhancing capabilities, that is, promoting real freedoms to lead a good life (ibid). This approach certainly encompasses having a good job but does not boil down to this sole dimension. Thus, while the goal of education is clearly specified and measurable in the HCT, it remains more open and vague in the CA.

Furthermore, for Sen (1997), the two approaches are not opposed but complementary. In the CA, there is more space for the broad understanding and integration of education as economic productivity and opens up the possibility of a non-paternalistic view of education, not seeking to adapt people to the 'needs of economy' but allowing them to develop their 'capacity to aspire" (Appadurai, 2004). However, Robeyns (2006) also argues that the HCT values education only instrumentally, but there are economic and non-economic instrumental roles. On the one hand, the HCT considers only the economic thus, on the one hand, that at the individual level, education is appreciated for enhancing people's economic opportunities in the labour market and then of the collective level as a driver for economic growth. On the other hand, the non-economic instrumental role in the individual level of education may positively impact health; at the collective level, it can improve the quality of democracy. The CA considers all these multiple dimensions and has a broader view of education: economic and measurable and non-economic and non-measurable aspects embedded in each other.

One of the most important perspectives given by CA is that it requires also moving beyond a utilitarian view of education (Sen 1999; Robeyns 2006; Chiappero-Martinetti and Sabadash 2014), which is embedded in the HCT. The risk of focusing on promoting people's happiness is that it could boil down to adapting people's preferences and

aspirations to what seems possible in the present context. In such a case, education then becomes teaching people how to adapt to and be content with their living circumstances; that is, the main purpose of education would be to foster the adaptive preferences required by the context in which people live. This view coincides with a paternalistic view of society when people are not allowed to discuss what constitutes a good life or a good society but called to approve the prevailing vision about these issues as given from above.

This perspective is in contrast with the CA to education, which emphasises the objective of enhancing all people's capabilities and education which; it is not a matter of learning compliance with the social norms or with the requirements of economic productivity, but it is also a matter of developing one's own aspirations and being able to push them in a public debate, with the view to support the 'judge' dimension. Under this analysis, education policy should encourage the individual to strengthen the 'capacity to aspire' (Appadurai, 2004) to prevent adaptive preferences and low aspirations. At the societal level, people's real freedom to voice their aspirations seems to be an essential element of democracy (Bifulco, 2013). This means to imagine more emancipatory alternatives than the status quo and efficiently defend them in a public debate (Laruffa, 2018). In this light, education policy is important not only as an individualistic opportunity for the labour market but also as a 'conversion factor' of democracy (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum 2003; 2006).

Divergent view about the HCT and the CA about the actual content of education also involves the subject taught and the pedagogical methods mobilised. An emphasis puts by Walker (2012) that the HCT induces a focus on subjects that can demonstrate their instrumental economic value, contributing to individual employability and economic competitiveness. Therefore, the importance of education is provided by the needs of the economy and not by the development of capabilities. These two goals are not incompatible, but they suggest a different view on the substantive content of education. The pedagogical methods also differ: in the human capital approach,

education is a passive process: trainees need to acquire a range of skills that have been defined in advance (top-down); they are not considered as active producers of skills, but only passive "receivers". By contrast, the CA to education requires that trainees also become actors in the educational process, build their own aspirations, and participate in framing the labour market and society at large.

What is important to stress here about the concept and paradigms of SI perspective is that the SI shape the role of knowledge and learning with the tendency to build a future for the generations to come instead of focusing on the problems of present conditions (Jenson 2012) and the idea that success of the individual is a benefit for everyone. Therefore, according to Jenson (2001), focusing the social policies with a drive on the future means that the youngest as future citizens have gained new rights and have become the focus of citizenship discourse.

2.2 Construction of youth category

Today's understanding of youth transition policies has its roots in transition of the post-industrial capitalism, associated with configurations of the public and private sphere and intrinsic differentiation at the policy level. The category "youth" appears as a stage in the "natural" progression of an individual's life based on the distinction among children, adolescence and youth (or young adult). In addition, as shown by life course theory, the state has institutionalized a "tripartition of the life course" by separating childhood, adulthood and old age (Kohli, 1986 in Chevalier, 2016). This distinction between childhood and adulthood implies a straightforward and smooth transition from childhood to adulthood. Furthermore, youth studies have shown that this transition has been transformed since the 1970s. With the shift towards a post-industrial era, it has become increasingly complex due to fragmented and discontinued life courses and the extension of the educational system.

However, deep and expansive policies implementation (educational, vocational, school-to-work transition, and so on) give and construct meaning to the category youth. This struggle to define and categorise youth has positioned young people at the centre of policy frameworks, driven mainly by policies adopted on the European level[25] to deal with the economic transition and social transformations. For instance, studies on the welfare state have focused on social citizenship (Marshall, 1950), which is granted implicitly to adult citizens. In this case, the characterization of the structure of welfare systems, of the social protection regime and models makes the social chances, mobility and autonomy of young people dependent on their social background and socioeconomic contexts. Social policy scholars have addressed the issue of youth mainly since the 1980s, highlighting that becoming an adult means access to the status of being independent generally interpreted as financially independent (Furlong and Cartmel, 2006). These studies have underlined that the school-to-work transition, which means access to paid employment, is crucial in the transition towards financial independence.

As a result, we end up with an inflated category of youth[26], which is then politicized by threats to large multitudes groups of disaffected and jobless youth (ILO-International Labour Organisation, 2013, 2017b, 2017a; 2014, 2015, 2018; Eurostat, 2018) or a promise to the economic potential that lies latent within the population of young people anxious and impatient for proper education and training (Damon 2004; World Bank, 2006; Sukarieh & Tannock, 2015; United Nations, 2016). Historicizing the social construction of youth, Sukarieh and Tannock (2015) demonstrate that the category youth has never simply described an age range and has usually been deployed to serve the changing needs of the elite. For example, characterizing youth as a time of leisure

[25] The European Union for example, begins its action programme for the *Renewed Social Agenda* with attention to children and youth, stressing access to education and combating child poverty in 2008, continuing with the program *Youth Pact* (2005) until the *Youth Guarantee* (2013) and so on.

[26] The efficacy of the category youth can be linked to its broadening reach, expanding both upward into age ranges above 25 (and even 35 in some cases), and downward to incorporate those in their late teens.

and unconstrained consumption normalizes white middle-class family formations, and it impedes the economic and social struggles of working-class and racialized people.

As a transitional life stage between child and adult, which is embedded simultaneously potential risk and great resources, the category youth is constructed as not yet completely independent participants in the public sphere or the private labour market. In this case, prevail the interpretation where young people are considered mainly as "outsiders" (Emmenegger *et al.*, 2012) or as a "new social risk group" (Bonoli, 2005). According to Chevalier (2016), young people are not analysed per se. They are only considered because they belong to a part of the population that suffer most from the new social risks brought by the shift towards a post-industrialized era. Therefore, the category youth should be understood as bound to the norms of social reproduction. The inflation of this category needs to drive attention to the relationship between capitalism, neoliberal ideology, and the consideration of youth as an extended and fixed period in one's life.

Across the policy discussions, which draw on a framework within the human capital theory[27] (Becker, 1993), the dominant articulation of youth is part of the fabric constituting the neoliberal form of capitalism. Youth is considered a tool for naturalising human capital and individualizing social relations. For this reason, the roots of youth unemployment challenge are increasingly located in the "behaviour" of young people with the implementation of activation policies, as we discussed before, rather than in the powerful vested interests that so actively constrain and condition associated with growing individualism, consumerism and materialism.

[27] Human capital theory saw education as an investment in human capital and linked it with productivity, wages and economic growth. The importance of human capital theory in policy debate is not limited to issues of skills upgrading but to the broader relationship between credentials, jobs and rewards. premised on a political equation of high skills = high wages. The investment of higher education rests on the human capital view that income reflects the level of skill.

In the last decades of recession, studies have demonstrated that young people are the hardest hit by the economic crisis (Furlong, 2009; Helve and Evans, 2013; Kelly and Kamp, 2014; te Riele and Gorur, 2015), noticing that the new entrants in the labour market are significantly less likely to be able to gain secure employment. The complex arrangements of economic framework and political policies implemented to deal with the unemployment problem generated by austerity measurements, targeting young people as lacking employable skills, while simultaneously removing access to protection social services and income supports (Furlong, 2006, 2009). Linking the rising global unemployment rates and inequality, youth is associated as being at risk, in this case, according to Bessant (2002) "youth-at-risk" category is a wide container to include all young people targeted by the implementation of policy interventions which are both responsible and necessary. In connection with the human capital theory, thus the deduction could be that the formulation of youth as/or in risk theorizes individual development as a problem for social stability and economic growth.

According to Stirling (2015, p.56), "the diagnosis increasingly moves away from explicitly political struggle, towards more apparently technical and psychological "behaviour management" (…). Conflated into seemingly amorphous depoliticized inevitability, the prospect for more diverse, creative and progressive forms of social transformation is rendered even less imaginable". In addition to this, sociological discussion of youth has been largely organized by a metaphoric transition into adulthood, characterizing youth as a transitional stage based on a generational approach (Carpenter and Mojab, 2017). This framework is built in the arguments trying to understand the particularities of youth experienced today in abstraction rather than embedded in the territorial, historical, cultural context, capitalist processes and consequential policy scaling that form the preconditions for the formation of youth. Moreover, young people are considered as interesting groups because they adapt themselves to future demands. Being flexible is being young by definition.

Willingness to support and build institutions needs to understand that the youth transition policies contribute to creating new kinds of social institutions. These perspectives open up the argument on considering institutions as important preconditions for youth formation and as an analytical framework setting the focus of the analysis between the link and interdependence of the individual and the social dimension (see chapter 3).

2.2.1 Youth school-to-work transition

The concept of "transition" from school-to-work has a long history in youth studies, sociology, psychology and education. However, along with other transitions typically associated with the period of youth, some researchers have argued that it now offers little theoretical purchase on the experiences of young people in the twenty-first century and the increasing complexity of the choices they are required to make as they move towards adulthood. While acknowledging the changes to the social, political and economic context within which young people now live, other scholars have suggested that it is more helpful to discuss changes to the nature of transitions rather than assume that the concept is now obsolete. Indeed, in mapping some of these changes over recent decades, youth researchers have highlighted three significant trends in young people's transition from education to work, which have been identified in many parts of the world. First, it is clear that young people remain in full-time education for longer periods of time (Furlong, 2011) and, consequently, enter the labour market (as full-time employees) at a correspondingly older age. Second, the youth labour market remains stagnant. For many countries in Europe, this stagnation has its roots in the early 1980s, when youth employment collapsed as a reaction to a more general economic downturn. Third, as Furlong and Cartmel (2007) note, youth unemployment is typically more sensitive to economic pressures than adult employment and thus suffers disproportionately during periods of recession.

Young workers are now typically employed in small-sized firms in the service sector and, like many older adults, are increasingly employed on temporary contracts and on a part-time basis. Indeed, reflecting on changes witnessed in the last few decades of the twentieth century, Chisholm (2006, p. 15) notes: "transitions to the labour market were taking place not only later but also in more differentiated and gradual ways as young people mixed study and work in a combination between practical economic necessity, tactical career planning, and personal choices".

Alongside the extension of full-time education, we have witnessed the emergence of what is called the "training state" as a major pathway for school leavers since the 1980s (Mizen, 2004). Indeed, offering more extensive training packages to young people as they leave school has been one way the national governments have tried to manage unemployment and skills shortages[28] (EC, 2012). This has been replicated at a regional level: for example, the European Union (EU) Summit on Employment held in Luxembourg in 1997 established a common set of principles to underpin provisions for young people who had been unemployed for a period of six months or more – which included a guarantee of education, training or employment (Chisholm, 2006; Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). The reason for focusing on employability is that the pressing challenges for Member States are to address the needs of the economy and focus on solutions to tackle fast-rising youth unemployment, promoting a discourse of quasi-naturalised "challenges", whereby it is necessary to adapt the educational systems to the "needs of the economy" and to the 'inevitable changes in the labour market' (EC, 2012, p. 2).

Indeed, they contend that as a result of the more general trend towards staying longer in education, those who leave "early" with few or no qualifications are increasingly adversely affected by the disappearance of traditional entry-level jobs and

[28] Rethinking "Education: Investing in skills for Better Socio-economic Outcomes" adopted by the European Commission in 2012 (EC, 2012) and coted in "Social Investment Package" adopted in 2013 (EC, 2013). They contribute to the 'rethinking of education', that is, not simply recommending reforming education policy in a given area but rethinking the meaning and purpose of education policy as a whole.

the polarisation of the labour market. Such differences also continue to be quite strongly associated with social class, with young people from working-class backgrounds over-represented amongst early labour market entrants. At the same time, the nature and type of work-based training taken up by young people also continue to be highly stratified by socioeconomic status (as well as gender and 'race'/ethnicity) (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007).

These trends in young people's transitions from education to work are inextricably related to wider economic changes in Europe and other parts of the world over recent decades. The changing structure of the labour market, periods of recession and the increasing dominance of the so-called 'knowledge economy' (Crouch, Finegold and Sako, 2004; Jessop, Fairclough and Wodak, 2008) have all had a considerable impact on the experiences of young people as they come towards the end of their full-time education (Brooks, 2009; 2018).

Over recent years, many scholars have argued that state autonomy in relation to education policy-making has become increasingly limited by trends and initiatives at the European and international levels (Brown, Lauder and Ashton, 2011). For example, Stephen Ball has contended that "the nation-state is no longer adequate on its own as a space within which to think about policy" (2008, p. 25), maintaining that policies are now mainly made in response to globalisation and tend to be driven by supranational agencies, practical policy "fads" and the flow of policies between countries. In relation to Europe, in particular, Lawn (2006, p. 272) has suggested that as a result of both the Bologna Process and the Lisbon Strategy, a new "European learning space" has opened up, which "stands in sharp contrast to the older, central roles played by organisations, rigid borders and national sites".

Walther and Plug (2006) outline a number of concepts that, they suggest, have gained widespread currency across Europe through processes of European integration and European policy-making. These include "employability", which, they argue, is based on an individualised understanding of disadvantage – in which unemployed

young people (and older adults) are viewed as insufficiently adapted to the demands of potential employers; "lifelong learning", which "reflects the fact that education and employment are no longer linked directly within post-Fordist labour markets" (p. 85); and "activation" employment policies – which rely on motivating individuals to look for a job. More specifically, mechanisms have been put in place to drive forward the "Europeification" of education and training policies: the definition by the EU of a matrix of policies to be developed by member states in the field of education and training; the establishment of inter-governmental platforms to make decisions about measures to be implemented in individual countries; and the development of an EU community agenda and policy for education and training (Antunes, 2006). These have underpinned the Open Method of Co-ordination, which has attempted to promote convergence in vocational education and training across Europe (Atzmüller, 2012; Paolo R. Graziano, 2012). With the austerity measures after the financial and economic crisis of 2008 and the adoption of the European 2020 strategy, the European have been persuaded to strengthen and coordinate policies considered decisive for reaching the common objective of education and training (Bifulco, 2017). Following this path, programmatic lines and measures have been adopted, such as the Youth Employment Initiative, in 2013, which aims, in particular, to support young "NEETs" (i.e. those outside the circuits of education, training or employment) in regions with an unemployment rate of over 25 per cent; and the Youth Guarantee Initiative, in 2013, aiming to ensure that all young people have the opportunity of a job, an apprenticeship, an internship or continuous training measure within four months of leaving school or losing a job.

Moreover, various empirical studies have demonstrated the enduring differences in education policies, educational systems and education-to-work transitions across Europe. They emphasise the influence of national regimes in determining education-to-work policies (Iannelli and Smyth, 2008; Atzmüller, 2012).

2.2.2 Youth Transition Regime

Recent scholars have also emphasised the influence of the nature of national welfare regimes in determining school-to-work policies, for example, drawing on Esping-Anderson's typology (1990), Pohl and Walther (2007) identify five types of "transition regime" operating in Europe. These are broadly related to the more general welfare regimes operating in the individual countries (or clusters of countries) but are also underpinned by the differences in policies that impact young people's transitions from education to work and, perhaps most fundamentally, different ways in which "youth" is conceptualised. The "universalistic" transition regime of the Nordic countries is, Pohl and Walther (2007) argue, based on assumptions about the importance of collective welfare – and the citizenship rights of all young people, irrespective of their social background. Here, labour market activation measures focus on opening up access and developing individuals' orientations towards mainstream jobs, rather than damping down aspirations and encouraging the take-up of low-status careers. In contrast, the 'liberal' transition regime typical of the United Kingdom and Ireland is characterised by Pohl and Walther as valuing individual rights and responsibilities above collective provisions and understanding youth as a transition phase that should be replaced as quickly as possible by economic independence. Policy responses place more responsibility on the individual for maximising his/her own "employability". The "employment-centred" transition regime is evident in continental countries such as Austria and Germany. Here, youth is understood as a socialisation process into allocated social positions – through a selective schooling system and a limited range of labour market options for young people experiencing unemployment. The "sub-protective" transition regime is found, according to Pohl and Walther (2007), in southern European countries, including Spain, Greece and Italy. Young people in these countries have no distinct status, and youth transitions are characterised by a long "waiting phase" during which young people are dependent

on their families. Labour market segmentation and a lack of training opportunities are argued to contribute to high levels of youth unemployment. Finally, countries included within eastern Europe's "post-communist" regime have mixed understandings of "youth". Transition policies vary accordingly, with some significant sharing elements with the liberal regime, whereas others have more in common with the employment-centred, universalistic or sub-protective regimes.

These differences highlight the important variations between the experiences of young people across Europe and the close interaction between the way in which youth is understood in a particular society and its youth-related policies (Brooks, 2009).

After the financial crisis of 2008, the problem concerning the youth transition of young people from school to work started to become even more serious and heavy on the public agenda in many countries in the European Union. Many solutions were adopted to improve labour market entry, such as apprenticeship, vocational training, on-the-job training, job-search services, measures for reducing the numbers of early school leavers, incentives to employers, etc. (Eurofound, 2014). At the same time were adopted a mix of regulation and deregulation of the labour market on flexibility and increasing the precariousness of the new entrants in the labour market. Many of the measurements and choices adopted vary depending on their socio-economic contexts and institutional balances, resources and approaches to the intervention (Hall and Soskice, 2001). Therefore, young people's transitions from the educational system to the labour market and their significance for changing structures of inequality (Esping-Andersen and Myles, 2009) pose a major problem for European policymakers as well as research on the trajectories of the European social models (Hermann and Mahnkopf, 2010). Since the priority was given to integrating the education, training and work experiences. These differences can be traced to distinct educational regimes. In the context of debates on employment and welfare systems (Estevez-Abe, Iversen and

Soskice, 2001; Ferrera and Hemerijck, 2003) or "varieties of capitalism"[29] (Hall and Soskice 2001), attempts have been made to identify educational regimes and to group countries accordingly. As a consequence, in recent debates, there has been growing awareness of the interrelations and interaction between welfare regimes and educational systems (Estevez-Abe et al. 2001; Atzmüller, 2012). The dominant attempts to identify educational systems (CEDEFOP 2008; 2011) also correspond to the typologies of welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen and Miles 2009).

Furthermore, as Atzmüller (2012) points out, the different worlds of the production of skills and competencies are defined by different types of skills and the institutionalisation of the transition from education to employment. In this respect, he distinguishes three types of educational regimes defined according to which type of skills and which institutional form to "produce" them dominates the respective regimes:

- **Universalistic public system**: In the Scandinavian area, a universalistic public system provides both general as well as vocational skills, thus guaranteeing that choices are reversible and transitions can be made through educational paths (Atzmüller, 2012). Furthermore, the transition from education to employment is usually associated with an expanding system of active labour-market policies set up to help young people adapt to changing labour-market requirements by means of retraining and up-

[29] With diverging institutions can been seen as emerging from the EU enlargement beyond the traditional models. The classification by Hall and Soskice (2001) are classified in two area the "Coordinated Market Economies" (CME) (in EU: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Sweden) and the "Liberal Market Economies" (LME) (Ireland and UK). CME are the result of strategic interactions among many stakeholders and firms and are traditionally more based on "internal" labour markets, higher employment status, diffused workers' representation, legitimated industrial relation systems, regulated system of collective bargaining, and highly protective welfare regimes. LMF are dominated and co-ordinated by market institutions, or "firms co-ordinate their activities primarily via hierarchies and competitive market arrangements" (p.8) characterized by more labour market deregulation, more job insecurity, decentralised collective bargaining and policies of "welfare to work" or "workfarist". Many other national economies are classified in the middle and mainly being the "Mediterranean Market Economies" (MME), (France, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain).

skilling (Crouch et al., 1999). This system ensures the inclusion of young people in stable employment paths better than the others, but not all of them benefit from it in the same way.

- **The "dual systems"**: the pathways of education in Central European countries (Germany, Austria) are based on a paradigmatic consideration of the VET system. Curricula, as well as forms of certification, are linked to corporatist forms of social partnership and the ability of unions, employer organisations, and the state to commit their members to investment in VET, to low wages for apprentices and the intercompany recognition of qualifications (Crouch et al. 1999). The system highlights the concept of "professional vocation" (Beruf) as a source of identity and social integration (Atzmüller, 2012) and has traditionally been associated with conservative welfare regimes based on preserving social status and strong mechanisms of stabilising life coursed for many workers. Although good performances are generally acknowledged regarding young people's access to employment, this system has to deal with problems regarding the quality of training and the availability of apprenticeships in companies.
- **General skills**: educational regimes predominantly based on general skills are typical of the Southern European countries such as Italy when the transition from school to work is weakly institutionalized (Iversen and Stephens 2008). The problem here consists of those young people who are not inclined to academic education and are more likely to end up on not adequate VET (vocational education and training) systems complemented by the market. Moreover, this educational regime is generally embedded in flexible employment systems as well as residual/liberal and fragmented welfare systems. In these conditions, the phases of youth transition into employment turn out to be particularly uncertain and unstable.

Based on these considerations and regime differences, between the European Countries remain a general macro-social trend of growing difficulties and problems in providing access to employment for young people with increasingly unstable transitions into adult life. What is even more interesting in Atzmuller's analysis of educational regimes is the variation of these problems not only between different educational regimes but also within the educational regimes. He makes a comparative analysis between Germany, Switzerland and Austria in dealing with the crisis of the VET dual system building different institutions and implementation of programmes for young people. In general, the problem faced by the countries is more or less the same with a persistent lack of apprenticeship places, a general education expansion, the growth of precariousness and the labour market flexibilization and loss of qualified jobs. Which strategies predominate depends very much on how the problems of different groups of young people are framed by the educational systems and labour-market institutions (Atzmüller, 2012). What is important to deduce from this analysis is that both different educational regimes and similar educational regimes converge in adopting the strategies to expand a workfare labour-market system to stabilise an increasingly precarious transition and that labour markets flexibilization is defined rather by competition and market processes instead of by compulsion and social rights. In this direction, Chevalier (2016) also provides a theoretical framework that leads to a deductive two-dimension typology that he calls "youth welfare citizenship" to describe better the diversity of youth transition between the European Countries. In this case, he considered it crucial to separate social policies and school-to-work policies. In this respect, the first dimension pointed by Chevalier (2016) is "social citizenship" for young people, which consist of income support during the period of transition, and this is also split into two figures: on the one hand, social citizenship is *familialized* when youth is conceived as part of childhood, and their parents with family policy, have to support them as long as they are financially dependent. On the other hand, social citizenship can be *individualized*, and young people are perceived as

adults, and they can claim for social benefits as independent from their family policy. The other dimension suggested by Chevalier (2016) is "economic citizenship", and this has to do with the integration of young people, as new entrants, into the labour market. In this dimension, the school-to-work transition depends heavily on young people's skills even more facing the knowledge-based economy, which focuses the attention towards education policies and labour market policies. In this point, he argues that in order to understand the school-to-work transition and the way governments address it, the crucial distinction lies in skill formation and access. To better explain the economic citizenship dimension, Chevalier (2016) also splits it into two different strategies: the first *encompassing* consists of the distribution of skills to everyone boosting access to education, creating a "learnfare" perspective and supply-side policies enhancing the function of ALMP and human capital. The second strategy is *selective*, consisting of the elitist education system that provides skills only to a part of the youth population that he calls "elitist skill formation system". Policies are oriented toward boosting employment in a work-first strategy and demand-side policy to lower youth labour costs.

However, the fact that a person is recognised as a citizen entitled to rights against an institutional responsibility to honour these rights represents a primary condition for their agency (Sen, 1985, in De Leonardis, Negrelli, and Salais 2012). This condition needs to be stressed against institutional arrangements, which mainly give benefices based on conditionalities, not on rights, establish constraints more than freedoms, and submit people to judgments of deservingness. In this case, "the benefit represents more a reward to be deserved than a right to be recognised" (De Leonardis, Negrelli and Salais, 2012, p. p.16).

Moreover, with budgets reduced due to austerity policies, investing in employment without any guarantee that a job may be found become less attractive to the political decision-makers (Ellison and van Berkel, 2014). Therefore, attention is starting to be paid to forms of responsibility shared between public administrations

and business enterprises, matching supply and demand-side policies and employability conceived not only in terms of individual adaptability (ibid). On the same line, recommendation of the last decades in the context of the EU gives particular importance to coordination between institutional actors and levels, to the integration between measures in different sectors (education, employment, social services for children and young people) and the possibility of intervening with a combination of general education, vocational training and practical working experience (Schröer, 2015) coherently with the perspective of social investment discussed in the paragraph above.

2.2.3 The notion of transition

Discussions about transitions in our western societies always take for granted a progressive, linear state of movement that conduct A (in this case, young people) to B (adult people), which means that the modern "man" lived in the present, focusing his gaze on the future which explains and legitimizes his decisions and acts. The concept of transition is intertwined with the category of time and space; without it, it is problematic to realise what transition could mean for western societies[30]. Time lay at the centre of the analysis of transition and based on what Max Weber analyses as the "militarization of civil society", in which everyone had a place and each place a defined function. An established position in society and a sense of stability are considered important for the long term, incremental and predictable time. From this

[30] We assume a fixed background for conceptual simplicity and from our point of view this is the fundamental problem. This is the very existence of the fixed background which Hegel describes as "fixed universality". This is the initial-value problem for the modern relativists and essentially the wish to separate spacetime into slices of constant time. When we do this we build the equation for an individual slice which are elliptic partial differential equations. In contrast the parabolic and hyperbolic equations, characteristics describes lines along which information about the initial data travels. Since there is no meaningful sense of information propagation for elliptic equations, this make them better suited to describe static, rather than dynamic, processes.

perspective, it seems more important a quantitative technical way of perceiving transition than qualitative, with a more mechanical understanding of it than an organic way of being. Rationalised time has emphasised, optimised and standardised the meaning of transition, which is taken for granted in the way we face problems and solutions of our current crisis. As Sennett (2006, p. 24) explains, "Rationalise time cut deep into subjective life. The German word Bildung names a process of personal formation that fits a young person for the lifelong conduct of life". In this sense, the steadiness of purpose becomes more important than sudden bursts of ambition within the organisation, bringing only short-term rewards [31](ibid).

The sense of projection into the future conduct the modern culture into the "idea of meritocracy that celebrates potential ability rather than past achievement" (Sennett, 2007, p.4). Life courses are seen as a need for always retraining and learning. As Sennett explains, there is a "trait of personality which needed to do so that of the consumer, avid for new things, discarding old if perfectly serviceable goods"(ibid, p.5), which are perfectly suitable in the decline phenomenon of lifetime employment spent within a single institution and this increases the sense of uncertainty, insecurity and risk.

These challenges are predicated on the assumption that the concept of a 'transition' is no longer a useful tool when attempting to understand young people's experiences in the contemporary world. Researchers have hinted that the term suggests a linear progression, when, in fact, young people's movements (from education to work, but also in relation to housing, family and lifestyle more generally) have become more complex and often include 'reversible transitions' – with periods in and out of education and of work, and movement out of and back to the parental home, for example (Stokes and Wyn, 2007). Furthermore, a challenge to traditional conceptions of education-to-work transitions has come from proponents of the 'individualisation'

[31] Appadurai (2004) theorizes the desire to aspire as the highest expression of the individual in his life and consequently the role and actions in society.

thesis. This holds that under conditions of late modernity, traditions and structures have become increasingly disembedded and, thus, when making their decisions about the future, young people lack the clear frames of reference of previous cohorts (Giddens 1991).

As Furlong and Cartmel (2007, p.52) note: "Despite the maintenance of traditional lines of inequality, subjectively young people are forced to reflexively negotiate a complex set of routes into the labour market and, in doing so, develop a sense that they alone are responsible for their labour market outcomes."

Moreover, these changes are often exacerbated by social policy, which puts increasing emphasis on an individual's responsibility (for engaging in lifelong learning, keeping one's skills up to date and remaining healthy, for example) and often assumes that particular social problems experienced by the young are a result of their individual failings (France, 2007). These trends underpin the concept of the 'new youth biography' discussed above: namely that under such conditions, young people are forced to take on considerable individual responsibility for their own careers and lifestyles and, in doing so, go about constructing a 'biographical project'. In this way, the concept of 'transition' may seem redundant in its failure to account for the multiple possible pathways open to young people and the individualised and diverse biographical projects they construct.

In responding to these various critiques, youth researchers have provided a wide array of alternatives to better conceptualise the experiences of young people in late modernity. These have included "pathways", "journeys", and "navigations". Futhermore, Wyn and Woodman (2006) have suggested that "generation" is a more useful concept. This is because it emphasises how the experience of age is shaped by social conditions and locates young people within particular political, economic, social and cultural contexts. More specifically, they argue that the 'post-1970' generation in many countries of the world has experienced not merely an extended transition to

adulthood but significantly different life patterns (in terms of education, employment, household formation and relationships).

Nevertheless, Roberts (2006), for example, contends that transition does not assume linearity and has been used by scholars to help understand 'considerable back-tracking on the part of young people. Perhaps more importantly, he argues that we should not exaggerate the disorderliness of contemporary youth transitions – pointing to the fact that most young people do still 'reach destination' (i.e. marry, have children and achieve employment) (Brooks 2009). Similarly, Shildrik and MacDonald (2007), while confirming many of the criticisms of the idea of transition through their emphasis on the unpredictable and insecure lives of their research participants, maintain that the concept remains highly relevant. Indeed, they claim that "the appeal of a broad, holistic, long view of youth transitions is that it offers a privileged vantage point from which to glimpse processes of social structural formation and transformation" (p. 601).

On the more transformative dimension, transition then assumes recognition of a shift in values rather than rational policy-governed progression. This can be analyzed through the lens of institutional change perspective, as will be discussed in chapter 3. According to Bifulco (2017, p. 29), "the relationships between ideas and practice (actions, interaction and decisions) is not at all linear: it is circular and retroactive, affecting the very ideas it is informed by".

For example, in relation to education, there is no longer one single transition point but points of change while transitional (becoming through time) rather than transition (fixed in time and place). In this case, in the same way, connected with the institutional framework is considered a process and not an identification of transition points.

Instead of being a construct that can be measured as a stepped linear movement or progression through a series of structured lifetime events (compulsory education to higher education, trainee to employee), the concept of transition as inevitable and logical progression across identifiable lifecycle serve to promote acceptance or

adaptation to these moments of simplifies the process presenting it as an individual function that could be plan and measure.

The process includes transition having multiple dimensions. Transition is embedded in induction as a changing process inside more than a point of transition received from the deduction. This expresses the classical gap between theory and practice, the friction of space created between these two forts when they shift in creating adjustment. Context, then, is an essential element that generates the environment embedded in institutions, and the latter is crucial for the process of transitions. The concept of learning and adaptation is important to consider when they are related to deduction and induction since the transition is a process of individual life and context created by ideas and action in constant interaction.

In short, the argument leads to a general heuristic distinction between two ideal-typical forms of radical social change. On the one hand, are 'transitions': managed under orderly control, through incumbent structures according to tightly disciplined knowledge, often emphasizing technological innovation, towards some particular known (presumptively shared) end. On the other hand, are 'transformations' involving more diverse, emergent and unruly political alignments, more about social innovations, challenging incumbent structures, subject to incommensurable knowledge and pursuing contending (even unknown) ends.

The contrast between transition and transformation is also not a dualism; rather, it is a duality (Giddens, 1984), because even the concepts themselves are not mutually exclusive, there are several ways in which each reflexively depends on (and is constituted by) the other (Stirling 2011).

What social justice challenges require is not controlled 'transitions' driven by incumbent structures but more vibrant and participated political mobilizations towards more open-ended "transformations".

3 Methodology and Research design

"(...) when institutions are well functioning and are generally accepted, they go by themselves and are invisible: they become visible instead, and therefore object of collective elaboration, when they no longer work and are badly functioning, when they become collective evils[32]."
– Ota De Leonardis
"(…) debate about institutionalized time is as much about culture as about economics and politics" - Richard Sennett

This chapter is divided into two parts. First, the attention is focused on the analytical approach based on the literature review of neo-institutionalism and their developments since the study of institutions has emerged, faded away and returned in a new form, recycling over time ideas that have come and gone. In this sense, much confusion is caused by the habit of reinventing old ideas but giving them new labels. In this case, the approach widens the theory and methodology, clarifies our epistemological assumptions in our research, and pays attention to positionality. The second part introduces the research design, which addresses the purpose and research questions. It dedicates some more considerations about the "comparative imagination", selecting cases that pay attention to a different context and mapping architectural institutions based on document analysis and data collection.

Part 1. Institutions an analytical approach

The conditions of young people in school-to-work transitions are becoming even more precarious, and the supposition is that the increased uncertainty is established since the institutional logic and mechanism or in other words, the institutional frame and reframe into transformation and change, have significant effects on the construction and evolving process of societies and cities. In this sense, we're going to

[32] Own translation, "Le istituzioni come e perché parlarne", 2001, p.157

review why we are placing emphasis on institutions and the role they play in the variation on policy outcomes with the purpose not to review them all but to highlight the framework within which to theorize about the dynamics of institutional change.

However, when we talk about transitions, this can be defined as a gradual, continuous process of structural change within a society or culture' (Rotmans, Kemp and Van Asselt, 2001, p. p.2). An increasing number of transition's scholars have emphasised the political nature of epistemic specifications of policies. Shove and Walker (2007) argued that 'the process of abstracting the "it" in question – the policy, the goal, the system – from its historical and contemporary environment is not just a technical matter of analysis but a political, constructed and potentially contested exercise in problems formulation. Furthermore, according to Sen (1999, p. p.137):

> "(…) it would be a mistake to look for some particular "formula" for an optimum compromise. The right approach would have to be sensitive to the circumstances involved-both the nature of the public services to be offered and the characteristics of the society to which they are to be offered. The latter must include the hold of behavioural values of different kinds, which influence individual choices and incentives."

Following a similar line of reasoning, Smith and Stirling (2007) suggested that societal systems are rendered visible as governable objects according to particular epistemic frames. Shifting from one epistemic frame to another is not a question of getting closer to or further away from an 'accurate' representation of a system, nor is it about eliminating uncertainties. Instead, the outcome of power struggles where actors manoeuvre to define the nature of policies reality according to their own priorities and interests. In this case, change may be understood as occurring moments of "great transformation", in periods when uncertainty is increasing, when agents' old institutions have failed, and there is a perceived need for new ones (Blyth, 2002). Alternatively, maybe cast in terms of paradigm shifts, building on Thomas Kuhn when the change consists of revolutionary shifts from one idea that constitute a policy

program to the next idea. Not all views are based on this perspective. Many scholars instead see slow shifts in 'programmatic beliefs' over time as incremental steps in adaptation and adjustment to changing realities (Berman, 2006). As we briefly introduced in the second chapter, the most influential account of revolutionary change is Peter Hall (1993) in his application to Kuhn's paradigm theory. He identifies the "third order" revolutionary change as a "window of opportunity" for major policy change. However, the concept of a paradigm shift, according to Schmidt (2011, p. p.109-110), "tells us little about what constitutes the defining moment(s) of transformation in paradigm change".

Another thing to consider is that the contexts of change over pathways are not just about end-points or the role of technology, markets or the state, but also about the knowledge and ideas underpinning them. There is a debate about the knowledge production about the adoption and policies transformation, turning both on what we think we know (consensus and uncertainties) and on who knows it (whose knowledge counts). We must ask which social scientists or other stakeholders, which forms of expertise, from the official to the informal, which disciplines and which regions have the loudest voice in the construction of knowledge about the predicaments that underpin calls, in this case, for youth transition policies. Whether transformations should be technology-led, marketized, state-led or citizen-led has vast implications for the processes, institutions and instruments deployed. Such choices and directions, therefore, have implications for social justice and social inequality.

All transformations are packed and filled with governance challenges. It becomes necessary to ask: whose rules rule, which institutions define visions of change and the terms of change, and which relations of power shape different pathways? An understanding of politics is essential in explaining which trajectories are supported and legitimized and which are ignored and so fail to gain traction as experiments in youth transition policies challenge existing regimes and reshape new ones.

The youth transition policies within the city implicate multiple levels as well as multiple scales of governance and decision-making and the challenges of coordinating these to pull in the same directions. However, each raises the key questions of who steers and which actors and institutions govern transformations through which institutional mechanisms operate. The role of elite politics, and alliances of states, businesses and finance, becomes essential as different groups seek to capture the benefits of any transformative shift. Power and political authority in alliance-building, influenced by particular political-economic contexts, become crucial for further understanding.

According to Polanyi (2001, p.79):

> "Social history in the nineteenth century was […] the result of a double movement: the extension of the market organisation in respect to genuine commodities was accompanied by its restriction in respect to fictitious ones. While on the one hand, markets spread all over the face of the globe, and the amount of goods involved grew to unbelievable proportions, on the other hand, a network of measures and policies was integrated into powerful institutions designed to check the action of the market relative to labour, land and money".

Mark Blyth (2002) investigates the "double movement" of the 1920s and the 1930s and the development initiated by the economic downturn in the 1970s, showing how economic ideas influence institutional changes. Polanyi's approach allows reflecting upon capitalism in transformation, which realises itself through the contestation of market-driven development. The effect of these dynamics is often described as a multiple ecological, economic, social and political crisis. (Jessop, 2013).

The enduring strength of Polanyi's substantivist economic thinking (Polanyi, 1977, pp. 19-21, 31-43), as pointed out by Jamie Peck (2013), seems to emerge from a peculiar historical reconstruction of "industrial capitalism" (Polanyi 2001, pp. 13, 87, 107, 188) and the critique of the idea of the "self-regulating market launched, as Polanyi states, a "movement" in which the market as a "specific institution" began to dominate the

economy, impacting massively on "the whole organisation of the society" and leading to the "running of society as an adjunct to the market" (Polanyi 2001, p.60). For Polanyi, the establishment of a (capitalist) economy based on self-interest affected the organisational principles of the economy as a whole, among which he enumerated not only "exchange" through market patterns (Polanyi 2001, pp. 59) but also "redistribution", "reciprocity" (ibidem, pp 49-50) and "householding".

The three economic principles – redistribution, reciprocity and householding – in Polanyi's approach are defined by the "interaction between man and his surroundings (in this case the environment) and the "institutionalisation of that process" (Polanyi 1977, p.31). These interactions cause economic activities that are more strongly embedded (Polanyi) or instituted (Harvey, et al., 2007) in contrast to the increasingly dominant market "exchange".

Polanyi's analytical tool about the "fictitious commodities" such as land, labour and money are important to further extend this analysis (which is not the purpose of this research) and ask whether new fictitious commodities exist in our current times, such for example knowledge (Jessop, 2007, Palumbo and Scott, 2019) which is debated in respect to technological and social developments.

Some of the criticism on Polanyi's concept and analytical tools has been the starting point to combine his perspectives with those of others, for example, Marx (Fraser, 2017) or with other strands of theoretical reflection on contemporary capitalism like in the elaboration of neo-institutionalism reviewed by Schmidt (2008, 2010) on the explanation of change (and continuity), neo-institutionalist scholars can use these approaches that lead to political economy of development on their own particular normative views of capitalism.

Structures of power are not just economic, but many discursive and rhetoric structures limit how we see and imagine problems and solutions and how we come to define, know and frame the future. We must ask whose knowledge counts in the development and articulation of authorities and legitimate knowledge about

transformations. This raises significant challenges about institutions' robustness to deal with the plurality, variety of actors agency and diversity of ideas and dynamic of discourse (Schmidt, 2008). Furthermore, for taking into account Polanyi's thesis that the market economy had to be socially embedded, and bearing in mind, for example in the case of the labour market that wage-setting, worker training, limits on labour mobility, and collectively finance wage supplements, were all matters to be settled by social and political negotiation outside the sphere of the market (supply and demand) (Piketty, 2020) this then opens up the debate on the crucial role of institutions.

3.1 Institutions matter: an analytical framework

To an institutionalist, knowledge of what has gone before is important information to be taken into account when building an analytical framework. This can be imagined metaphorically as an actor during the play. The movement and dialogue are not decontextualized but interconnected and in interaction with the scene and the other actors. Therefore the ideas and insights of the past provide the context for current efforts on which we can add more contributions.

Starting with the conception of institutions based on the definition provided by Scott (2014, p.56): "institutions comprise regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life". This is a dense definition containing several unpacked ideas described and elaborated by neo-institutionalism. In this conception, institutions are multifaceted, durable social structures made up of symbolic elements, social activities, and material resources. Institutions exhibit distinctive properties: they show great inertia and are relatively resistant to change (Jepperson, 1991). As Giddens (1984, p.24) states, "Institutions by definition are the more enduring features of social life (…) giving 'solidity' [to social systems] across time and space." They can be transmitted

across generations, maintained and reproduced (Zucker, 1977). Institutions, therefore, persist in time and space, but they also undergo change over time.

Sociological theorists, as Giddens (1984), underline the importance of including resources, both material and human, to consider asymmetries of power in any social structure conception.

Most treatments of institutions emphasize their capacity to control and constrain behaviour. Institutions impose restrictions by defining legal, moral, and cultural boundaries, distinguishing between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. However, it is equally important to recognize that institutions also support and empower activities and actors. Institutions provide stimulus, guidelines, and resources for acting as well as prohibitions and constraints on action. According to Sen (1999, p.142), "individuals live and operate in a world of institutions, and their opportunities and prospects depend crucially on what institutions exist and how they function".

Although institutions function to provide stability and order, they themselves undergo change, both incremental and revolutionary. Thus, scholars increasingly attend not only to how institutions arise and are maintained but to how they undergo change. Much of the impetus for change occurs through endogenous processes, which means to turn to the substantive content of ideas and the interactive processes of discourse providing insights into the dynamics of institutional change (Schmidt, 2010), but also involving conflicts and contradictions between institutional levels when institutions can also be destabilized by exogenous shocks, such as wars or the recent financial crises (Amable, 2017).

Important differences exist among the various approaches to neo-institutional scholars. The attempt now is to construct what the historian and social theorist Charles Tilly (1984) defines as an "encompassing theoretical framework" that examines theories sharing broad objectives and attempts not merely to argue that they employ and provide different approaches but also to explain how the approaches vary—

believing that such a framework could provide a fruitful guide for institutional analysis.

This first attempt for a more open interchange among new institutionalism and their different approaches and assumptions was made by Hall and Taylor (1996) on trying to highlight their partial account and elucidate their different dimensions of the human action and institutional impact. To clarify what is distinctive in these approaches and analytical dimensions, rather than implicitly assuming a given set, we will briefly review them following Hall and Taylor classification of neo-institutionalism: rational choice institutionalism, historical institutionalism, and sociological institutionalism.

3.1.1 New institutional economics[33]: rational and regulative

Institutional economist, as Douglass North (1990, p. p.4), considers institutions as crucial on the regulatory systems, for example, features rule systems and enforcement mechanisms in his conceptualization:

> "[Institutions] are perfectly analogous to the rules of the game in a competitive team sport. That is, they consist of formal written rules as well as typically unwritten codes of conduct that underlie and supplement formal rule. (…)the rules and informal codes are sometimes violated, and punishment is enacted. Therefore, an essential part of the functioning of institutions is the costliness of ascertaining violations and the severity of punishment."

This branch of neo-institutional economics is concerned with the rule and governance systems that develop to regulate or manage the economic exchange. These

[33] Accordind to Hall and Taylor rational choice institutionalism overlap heavily with institutional economics. However, a more extended treatment might observe that rational choice institutionalism puts more emphasis on strategic interaction while as is highlighted in the paragraph we choose strategically to put more stress on institutionalism in economics and on property rights and competitive selction mechnanisms.

systems occur at many levels, from macro regimes at the international level to understanding governing micro exchanges between individuals. Therefore, the primary interest for North (idem) was the accounting for emergence and change of trading regimes among societies.

The pioneer theorist inaugurating the approach of new institutionalism in economics was Ronald Coase (1937), whose article "*The Nature of the Firm*" asks why some economic exchanges are carried out within firms under a governance structure involving rules and hierarchical enforcement mechanisms rather than being directly subject to the price mechanism in markets. Coase suggests that the reason must be that "there is a cost of using the price mechanism," namely "the costs of negotiating and concluding a separate contract for each exchange transaction which takes place in a market" (idem, p. 389). It is because of these transaction costs that firms arise. Coase was one of the first to follow his intuition and suggested a need for institutional theory (Scott, 2014). Economic growth theories traditionally ignored the institutional dimension of development by focusing on capital accumulation and technological change in a world where property rights were perfectly enforced. However, Ronald Coase's (1960) seminal work showed that creating, specifying, and enforcing property rights is costly and, thus, property rights will never be perfect (Galiani and Sened, 2014).

North recognizes this and assumes that in a world with positive transaction costs, enforcement of property rights has a cost that affects the allocation of resources and thus affects growth. Hence, institutions that ensure those rights become a relevant piece in the economic architecture on which the growth and development process is built on. As Douglass North and Paul Thomas (1973, p. 76 in Galiani and Sened, 2014) stated: "The factors we have listed (innovation, economies of scale, education, capital accumulation, etc.) are not causes of growth; they are growth." Factor accumulation and innovation are only proximate causes of growth. In North and Thomas's view, the fundamental explanation of "comparative growth" is differences in institutions.

Following the concern with the uncertainty and instability that political structures introduced into society, North's first intuition was that "the major role of institutions in society is to reduce uncertainty by establishing a stable (but not necessarily efficient) structure to human interactions" (1990, p.52).

Starting from the neoclassical tradition constructed in atomistic and individualistic terms, he investigates both path dependence and transaction costs, achieving a theory of the state in which, under the presence of transaction costs, political systems do not inevitably evolve into efficient institutions. However, the standard neoclassical paradigm viewed the economic system as adjusting supply to demand and production to consumption automatically, under the coordination of the price mechanism. Neoclassical economists long treated the firm as a black box. This production function turned inputs into outputs, responding to changes in relative prices and available resources in ways that maximize profits. This system worked under certain simplifying assumptions that information is perfect, individuals are rational wealth-maximisers with stable preferences and instantaneous and costless exchange.

Another puzzle that particularly concerned North was the nature of the state, namely, why political markets do not function like economic markets and under what circumstances states protect property rights even when they possess unchallenged power to expropriate property and subjugate individuals (North, 1994).

During the Reagan-Thatcher years, governments were commonly viewed as part of the problem rather than part of the solution to underdevelopment. Then, in the 1970s and 1980s, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, fortified in their bargaining position by the magnitude of the debts owed them, insisted that governments lay off employees, sell off public-sector firms, free up markets, and reduce public spending. By allowing private markets, rather than public programs, to determine the allocation of resources, they contended, resources would be allocated efficiently, and the developing world would once again grow. Attitudes toward government, therefore, began to alter. In North's prospective institutions were other

than markets, and he provided a neoclassically based justification for the public sector's rehabilitation, aimed at strengthening rather than undermining institutions. North thus tends to cast institutions as if they were external forces, capable of limiting choices made by human beings and treat institutions as inherited and given rather than chosen and created (and maintained); that is, he treats them as the product of long-term historical processes and deeply embedded cultural practices.

North and the New institutionalist started then to question and disagree with this perspectives and with the mainstream assumption that different rates of development were purely the result of different endowments of resources and human capital or of different rates of investment and adoption of new technologies and endogenizing the perspective of change by explaining actual preferences, strategies and normative orientation of agents.

North began to go beyond information problems and path dependency, arguing that radical reforms are also constrained by societies' inherited belief systems. "Societies that get 'stuck' embody belief systems and institutions that fail to confront and solve new problems of societal complexity" (North 1994, p. 6).

The sticky nature of beliefs and institutions helps explain why underdevelopment has been so persistent in most of the world and why efforts to reform by importing rules, laws, and constitutions from elsewhere have been so unsuccessful. However, a new puzzle arose. If rules and norms resist change because of beliefs, then what determines beliefs?

North turned to cognitive science to understand better how human beliefs are affected by their "mental models" (North, 2005, p.77). Following this logic, human beings use mental models to explain and interpret the world. These models are shaped by individuals' personal experiences and their inherited belief system – the belief system they share with other members of their society. Because learning is filtered through this shared belief system, the past affects how people solve problems today ibidem).

In North, Wallis, and Weingast's framework (North et al., 2009, p.111), economic development takes on a new meaning:

> "In addition to capital accumulation, being developed economically entails having sophisticated economic organizations and credible enforcement of property rights and other contractual commitments(…). Being developed politically entails having rule of law, a constitutional setting in which all major players accept changes of power, effective legal recognition of organizational rights independently of who is in power, and state control of organized violence" (idem, 2009, p.3).

This 2009 work is the latest in North's evolving insights about how institutions explain long-run economic performance, insights that have stimulated a large body of applied research.

3.1.2 The Weberian approach: historical and sociological institutionalism (actor agency)

3.1.2.1 Historical institutionalism

Historical institutionalists focus their attention on the detailed analysis of regimes and governance mechanisms and also reflect the influence of Weber and his comparative approach as well as more sociocultural approaches of the sociological institutionalism (Scott, 2014). Thelen and Steinmo (1992, p. p.2), who have nominated the approach of historical institutionalism, focus their attention on governance structures. They view institutions as "both formal structures and informal rules and procedures that structure conduct".

Most historical institutionalists focus on the nature of political systems, examining the ways in which these structures shape the character and outcomes of conflicts—how they distribute power among actors and shape actors' conceptions of their interests (Hall and Taylor 1996). They emphasize that political institutions are not entirely derivative from other social structures such as class, but have independent

effects on social phenomena (Evans, Rueschemeyer and Skocpol, 1985); that social arrangements are not only or even primarily the result of aggregating individual choices and actions; that many structures and outcomes are not those planned or intended, but the consequence of unanticipated effects and constrained choice; and that history is not usually "efficient"—a process "that moves rapidly to a unique solution" (March and Olsen, 1984, p. p.737)—but one that is much more indeterminate and context-dependent (Scott, 2014).

Historical institutionalists are more likely to emphasize a macro perspective, tracing the evolution of an institutional form and asking how it affects individual preferences and behaviour. In this case, institutions provide obstacles to particular policy choices but also ultimately structure the menu of choices available in different regimes (Steinmo, 2008). Although for them, preferences are seen to be more problematic, emergent from the situation (endogenous), and context-specific, as Thelen (1999, p. p.374) explains, the historical institutionalist "begins with empirical puzzles that emerge from observed events or comparisons".

3.1.2.2 Sociological institutionalism

An ancient antinomy between freedom and control is expressed throughout the history of social science. In the sociological institutionalist approach, some scholars emphasize structural and cultural constraints on action, while others emphasize individual actors' ability to "make a difference" in the flow of events.

As it is known, it is clear that the driving force of institutional theory is to privilege continuity and constraint in social structure, but that need not preclude attention to how individual actors take action to create, maintain, and transform institutions. Many theoretical frameworks treat freedom and constraint as opposing ideas, requiring us to "take sides"—to privilege one social value or the other. Therefore, developments in sociological theory allow us to see the two driving forces as interrelated, compatible

processes that sometimes contemporary coexist. In particular, Anthony Giddens (1984) work on "structuration" provides a productive framework for examining the interplay between these forces. The term indicates that social structure involves pattering social activities and relations through time and across space. Social structures only exist as patterned social activities, incorporating rules, relations, and resources reproduced over time. Giddens (1984: p.25) envisioned what he termed the "duality of social structure," recognizing it to be both product and platform of social action. Social structures exhibit a dual role: they are "both the medium and the outcome of the practices they recursively organize". Individual actors carry out practices that are simultaneously constrained (in some directions) and empowered (in others) by the existing social structure. In Giddens' then, institutions are those types of social structures that involve more strongly held rules supported by stronger relations and more entrenched resources. Institutional practices are "those deeply embedded in time and space" (Giddens 1984, p.13).

The approach under the structuration theory is to view actors as creating and following rules utilizing resources as they engage in the ongoing production and reproduction of social structure. In this view, actors are knowledgeable and reflexive, capable of understanding and taking account of everyday situations. Agency refers to an actor's ability to have some effect on the social world-altering the rules, relational ties, or distribution of resources. The presence of agency presumes a non-determinant, "voluntaristic" theory of action: "to be able to 'act otherwise' means being able to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs" (Giddens, 1984, p.14). Agency provides for consideration of the role of power in institutional processes. On account of this, the basic theoretical premise underlying the concept of agency is the version of sociological neo-institutional thought that between the context and response is the interpreting actor. Following this logic, then agency is not decontextualized, but it is in ongoing dialogue with unfolding situations.

3.1.3 Encompassing theoretical framework: institutional change and the turn-on ideas

Although institutional conceptions underline the sources of social stability and order, the structuration framework advanced by Giddens and embraced by most institutionalists enables us to theorize and examine the sources of both social order and social change. Contemporary work attends to the agency of actors as well as to the constraints of structure. On the other side, the Northern approach highlights the importance of institutions because they structure human interaction, in part make behaviour more predictable, and once adopted, they persist over long periods of time. Their persistence provides econometric leverage that was considered with the assumption of a binary disentangling whether societies with better institutions have better economic performance because better institutions lead to higher incomes or because higher incomes lead to better institutions. In this perspective, institutions matter in how we conceptualize institutions and institutional change through time. North was interested not only in persistence but also in change. Institutional change requires understanding both how institutions are created and the process of social dynamics that lead some institutions to persist and others to disappear (North, 2009 in Galiani 2014). North emphasizes that the world changes every day and that no two situations are exactly alike. Because our beliefs are based on past experiences, they are always a bit inconsistent with the world we actually face. Nevertheless, even in a perfectly stable external physical world, institutions change constantly (North, 2005, 2009). However, his perspective is focused on a micro individual level highlighting their interest and preferences based on their systems of beliefs according to the logic of calculations when institutions are a set of social arrangements.

The neo-institutionalism (or new institutionalism) emerged in the mid-1980s when most of the social theory of that time was overemphasizing on agency without structure or agency without sentient agents of structure. Most scholars were levitating

inside a nebulose with divergent or convergent theorisation of institutions that differ along with a wide variety of continua: structure-agency; positivism-constructivism; universalism-particularism; statics-dynamics, and more. Institutions were considered mostly as structures external (exogenous) to agents that constitute rules about acting in a world that serves mainly as constraints, not considering institutions as internal (endogenous) to sentient agents, and for this reason, as both constraints for action and construct created and changed by those actors (Schmidt, 2010). According to Schmidt, neo-institutionalists have created shortcuts, but to understand institutional interactions and behaviours to explain change, we need to consider the heaviness power of ideas.

In the early 2000s, Vivien Schmidt introduced her analytical framework that encompasses all approaches of neo-institutionalism and serves as an umbrella concept. The term discursive institutionalism take account of the substantive content of ideas and the interactive processes of discourse that serve to generate those ideas and communicate them to the public (Schmidt 2000, 2002, 2006, 2008; Schmidt and Radaelli 2004).

Schmidt noticed how, for the most part, institutions in neo-institutionalism are considered as given rather than as continuing structures or as context within which agents act. In this perspective, as we pointed above, institutions are considered as external to the actors collectively and rule about acting in the world serve mainly as constraints, whether by incentives that structure action, paths that shape action, or norms that frame action. Moreover, she concludes that action in institutions in neo-institutionalism conforms to a rule-following logic. Discursive institutionalism (DI) introduced by Schmidt (2008) can be seen as complementary to the other neo-institutionalism given that DI simultaneously treats institutions as given (as the context within which agents think, speak, and act) and as contingent (as the results of agents' thoughts, words, and actions). Therefore, these institutions are internal to the actors, serving both as structures that constrain actors and as constructs created and

changed by those actors. As a result, action in institutions is the process in which agents create and maintain institutions by using their "background ideational abilities" (Schmidt, 2008), which encompass human capacities, disposition, and know-how related to how the world works and how to come with it. In other words, what Bourdieu (1990, p. p.11)describes as the *"habitus"* in which human beings act "following the intuitions of a logic of practice" to make sense of a given meaning context. Alternatively, predicated in "foreground discursive abilities" (Schmidt, 2008) through sentient agents may change (or maintain) their institutions following a logic of communication. These discursive abilities represent the logic of communication, which enables agents to think, speak, and act outside their institutions even as they are inside them, to deliberate about institutional rules even as they use them, and to persuade one another to change those institutions or to maintain them. This is a generic term for what Habermas (1996) calls 'communicative action', and it is at the basis of theories about deliberative and discursive democracy (e.g., Dryzek, 2000), about public debate (Art 2006), as well about coordinative discourses of policy construction and communicative discourses of political communication (Schmidt, 2002, 2006).

Therefore, highlighting the limitations of the static institutions to explain change, "the turn to ideas comes as a natural progression" (Schmidt, 2011, p.79). For example, as introduced above, Douglas North (1990) used ideas to overcome how to explain institutional construction by fitting ideas as "shared mental modes". Nonetheless, Mark Blyth (2011, 2002) argues the contradictions inherent to the many approaches inside neo-institutionalism. According to Schmidt (2011), ideas are more the constituted of interest beliefs and desires, rather than the other way around, where they could not continue to maintain the artificial separation of "objective" interest from "subjective" ideas about interest, and, bearing in mind that there is not such a "fixed" nature of preference, subjective interests threatened to overwhelm the objective ones.

Following Schmidt (2008, p. 314):

> "(…) who takes ideas and discourse seriously intuitively assume that institutions are simultaneously structure and construct (agency) in which agents have both background ideational and foreground discursive abilities, and they generally use the structural accounts of one or more of the three older institutionalism as background information. But they rarely articulate it".

Furthermore, DI demonstrate how to turn to ideas and discourse can take us beyond in order to explain dynamics of change, and in this order, the DI defines institutions as explained by Schmidt (2010b, p. 4) "in its objects and logics of explanation, and in the ways in which it deals with change".

Pursuing the analytical framework of discursive institutionalism on the importance of ideas and discourse, this then focuses on substantive content of ideas and the interactive processes of discourse in institutional context (Schmidt, 2008, 2010a). In this logic are considered the agents' ideas about what to do and their discursive legitimation of what they do as they coordinate with one another and communicate to the public. As an encompassing approach, DI can help explain the dynamic of change (and continuity) by considering ideas as a variety of forms – frames, narratives, stories, collective memories; supported by different kinds of argument, whether cognitive or normative; may come at different levels of generality policies, programs and philosophies.

On the interactive dimension, the DI approach considers the discursive processes by which such ideas are constructed in a "coordinative" policy sphere and deliberated in a "communicative" political sphere (Schmidt, 2000, 2002, 2008). The "coordinative discourse" encompasses the wide range of policy actors engaged in the construction of policy ideas. In this regard, policy actors seek to coordinate agreement among themselves on policy ideas which, as referenced by Schmidt (2008, 2011, 2017), scholars have shown they may do in a variety of ways, for example as "advocacy coalition" in "in localized policy contexts or "discourse coalitions" in national settings across extended time periods; also discourse may contain "entrepreneurs" or "mediators"

who serve as catalysts for change as they draw on and articulate the ideas of discursive communities and coalitions.

The "communicative discourse" encompasses the wide range of political actors who bring the ideas developed in the context of the coordinative discourse to the public for deliberation and legitimation who are engaged in 'communicative action' (Habermas, 1996). Or they may be members of civil society engaged in the bottom-up discursive interactions of grass-roots organizations, social movements, 'mini-publics' local 'empowered participatory governance' and citizens whose voices are heard not only in opinion polls but also in votes (Schmidt, 2011).

Another important aspect highlighted by Schmidt (2008) is that discursive interaction can go from the top down (policy elite generate ideas, which political elite then coordinate and communicate to the public) to the bottom-up (discursive interaction of social activists at the national and international arena and at the level of civil society).

Furthermore, DI set action in full institutional context, which needs to be understood not only as of the (cultural) frames, (historical) institutions, (rationalist) incentives, or (structural) forces within which agents may find themselves, but also as "meaning" context for their ideas and discursive "forums" in which actors articulate their ideas (Schmidt 2020).

This analytical approach, both with the consideration of different levels and scales of discursive interaction and institutional context, can better capture and explain change and address the purpose of this research project, as is going to be presented in the second part.

Part 2. Research design

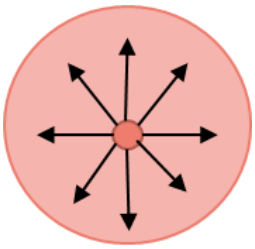
In this section, it is necessary to highlight that this was the first part that had been gone underwriting and rewriting during all PhD research stages—starting first by putting as a guiding line the research questions of inquiry and then building up by going back and forth between theory and cases. Using the one to develop and deepen the understanding of the other, following that of the image of a spiral of discovery (Fig.1) moving from the inward to the outward, and back inward again as you reflect on what you learn and then go back again and move outward for more discovery, investigation on so forth.

Figure 1. Spiral of Awareness

Source: Author drawing

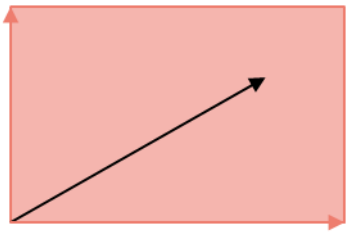
The methodology of the development of knowledge is based on an epistemology used which is more circular as in Fig.2

Figure 2 Circular



And take distance from the linear Fig.3

Figure 3 Linear



This is focused on the set of hypotheses and goals based on the image of a linear line of moving forward to make the discovery.

3.2 Introduction to the research problem: context and dynamics.

This thesis is not motivated by the desire to press on argument or push a methodology, but to answer real-world empirical questions, working in the perspective of Hegelian "concrete universality", when a series of abstract features can not be applied to every situation; still, they have the ability and the potential to be re-invented. In this sense, questions about youth unemployment, recessions and the labour market are not new phenomena, but there are stark differences in the dynamics of change in the present time and are being reinvented in each historical situation.

The particular conditions of our time define the life chances of young people that are profoundly affected by macroeconomic conditions, institutional structures, social background, and acquired attributes and individual resources such as ability, motivation, and aspiration. As social structure, space, and place influence the range of

options available to the individual, and so do historical events beyond individual control and choices, such as changes in the labour market and economic crisis.

A departure for this research is the need to explore dynamics from a contrasting perspective, asking: what do we need to understand better to find effective policies of supporting young people in a changing social landscape and why some ideas become the policies and why others do not? The focus is on reflexive relationships between individual responses of youth to structural shifts in opportunities, inter-generational influences, and how organisational and social practices are changing. In this way, it is essential to understand how organisational, social, institutional practices are affected by economic downturn, changing social expectations and the changing socio-economic and political environment. Equally important is how the incentives and disincentives in education and training are changing.

3.3 Research purpose and questions

The relevance of the youth transition policies as a crucial topic is already analysed and discussed in the second chapter. These policies are important tools that are adopted in all the European countries at all levels of government and occupy a strategic place on the European agenda. Indeed, in recent years, EU and national policies have intensified support for young people with, among other things, a much greater focus on enhanced VET and youth-related ALMPs, notably the Youth Guarantee. These policies are constructed differently in relation to place (every territory has their particularity) and result from a complex interplay of ideas, discourses, levels, actors, and spanned from macro-structures to micro-issues (Arnkil, 2015; URBACT, 2016). However, the success of this policy shift is dependent on the specific structural and institutional frameworks that are in place to support this agenda, which varies greatly between cities.

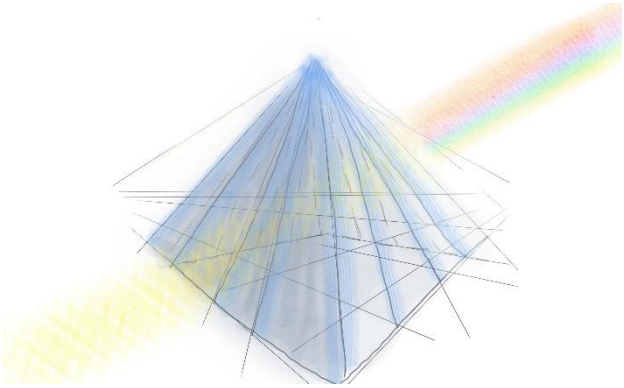
The importance here is not to analyse only those policies but to place them and highlight the importance of their context in the strict relationship and interactions with institutional architecture. This connection, the interlink and interaction through youth transition policies and institutional configurations embedded in a particular context such as that of a city, is first, a way for moving beyond the "methodological nationalism", and secondly, for focusing on their outcomes which are the reforming and redesigning od various institutional arrangements that structure the process of young people in their transition from school-to-work, but also the reversal in this mutual interdependence. Moreover, these policies and the institutional arrangement are systematically situated in particular moments on a temporal sequence, extending the emphasis on time and adding several new dimensions.

The emphasis on time is characterized by some elements focusing the attention to crucial historical processes by thick descriptions highlighting that history always develops in a contingent way. For this reasons, we consider more the alternative paradigm of "complexity" – in which we see the world more as complex systems comprise many moving parts that interact with one another and change together, triggering outcomes that cannot be precisely controlled or predicted in advance; than the paradigm of "complicated" – in which we see the world as oriented on predictions, fixed concepts and analysis, many separate parts that do not interact and change with one another under the approach of cause and effect of hypothesized independent variables on dependent variables.

In this sense, we can represent the above discourse with a metaphorical figure such as a prism lens representing the mix of all complex aspects contained in the city. The city in this figurative representation can transform an input like the youth transition policies into a unique output, which is determined from the combination of ideas, actions, and practices between scale and different levels that are specific to that space, and these transformations are the object of the analysis in this research study. In other words, the city in this figurative example is considered not as a container space but as

an interplay of multiscalar configurations and broad dynamics (Brenner 2019) that filters not only the policies through the different layers and lenses but also has the capacity to transform, remade and reinvent them. This means that the city can have an agency, can promote and has the capacity to act as a meaningful political actor with its own strategies and is a mediating lens between global forces and local impact. Nonetheless, it also sheds light on multiple perspectives, which encourage a comparative approach.

Figure 4 Multiple Lens Analysis



Based on these purposes, it becomes crucial to figure where the answers lie and how it will open up opportunities to gather the information to answer three main research questions:

1) How does the focus on youth transition policies influence the evolution of cities?

   These policies have unique outcomes and are consequences of discourses (especially from the financial crisis of 2008 until 2019) and how these policies could shape the cities or how the cities shape these policies from an interaction and interrelation perspective.

2) If cities are relevant in implementing but also reinventing and planning the youth transition policies, then can cities establish their own regime in which youth transition policies are fundamental cornerstone?

In this case, the importance and focus of the analytical perspective shift on how cities shape the youth transition policies that become crucial and relevant to concentrate on the multilevel governance, plurality of actors and the multiscalar dimension of institutions' interactions and agency. Here concrete actions undertaken are considered with the focus on context (where, when, how and why), and the term context refers not only to structure (where and how) but also to the agency (who is taking those actions and what to whom).

3) Which are the main institutional arrangements, configurations, and interactions for developing youth transition policies within the city?
   What kind of visions and practices have they related to these policies as constructing fundamental services for the future generation and evolution of society?

3.4 Case-based comparative study

The comparative perspective of the research takes into consideration the alternative approach to the "case" in terms of the "encompassing approach to comparison"[34] (Tilly, 1984) as recalled by Robinson's (2016, p. 6) question: "what is the status of the case in relation to its ability to contribute to wider theoretical conversations?" and also she argues that: "in a global urbanism and in the commitment to producing an understanding of the urban, potentially open to the experiences of all cities – to a world of cities – is well served by comparative imagination" (Robinson, 2014, p. 57).

[34] In terms of encompassing which explicitly search to link cases together for comparison because they are part of shared circulations and stretched out social relations, it is to revisit both the specification of the wider process and the scope of the case itself (in Robinson, 2016).

This approach requires that researchers "navigate the great diversity of urban outcomes" and engage in producing conceptualization of the urban beginning by the multiplicity of distinctive experiences of the urban, which also travel beyond the city in question (ibidem). Under these reflections, the research adopts a case-based approach considering the case selected as "singularities" in terms of specific concrete phenomena that can not be deduced from the application of general categories and classifications (Hallward, 2001, p.2, in Robinson, 2016). Many authors describe the case study approach as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2009, p. p.638). In other words, the subject of the research is comprehensively studied as an example of a real live phenomenon within the context in which it happens.

In this sense, the two case studies selected are considered as "individualizing comparison" (Tilly, 1984) in this way for learning something about the specificity of each locality. Therefore, a wider process affecting many places in the world, such as, for example, in Clarke's study (1995) of "restructuring"[35] processes, work out differently in different cities, shaped by specific histories and combinations of economic and political activities in that place. Furthermore, the case-oriented approach (Della Porta, 2008) with an in-depth description of the contexts and dense knowledge is considered the most suitable to embrace complexity in examining each case as a complex set of relationships with distinctive outcomes treated as singularities.

[35] Susan Clarke's study (1995) is an interesting example that draws out how the balance of political interests in each place (community, labour, business, for example) and organizational forms of collaboration amongst these interests as well as the agendas of local political elites shape the kinds of responses and then potential future growth paths of each city.

3.4.1 The case selected and justifications: the most different system's design

The case-based approach deals with a small number of cases; two cases Milan and Vienna, are selected. It is a preferred strategy for investigating processes, change and multiple dimensions within a historical perspective. Nevertheless, for having an in-depth understanding of context and relations, each case is thought through as an "interpretable whole" (Ragin, 2000, p. p.22), seeking to understand a complex unity rather than establish relationships between variables.

The cases selected are considered as the most different, and we are more interested in highlighting the circumstances on which they differ. Thus, the difference among dissimilar countries may be used to contrast the context. According to Skocpol and Somers (1980, p. p.196), the comparative method is oriented towards the contrast of contexts, looking to "bring out the unique features of each particular case" included in the research.

In addition, to the question of positionality for documenting difference, in a contrastive manner, between cities, it also occurs across scales, positioning the urban scale itself and locating cities in more relational and conjectural terms (Peck, 2015).

The selection of cases focused on the choice between two cities embedded in different "welfare regimes" (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Ferrera, 1996) when the main difference is highlighted in the scale configurations of policy planning/implementation and institutional arrangements. The latter are regionally framed in the case of Milan/Italy with the process of regionalisation followed by deeper localisation processes that contributed to strengthening the role of cities in the European scenario and increasing the diversity between territories. The regional dimension, such as Lombardy in Italy from a widened perspective, has affected urban development introducing their economic development models and profoundly affecting youth school-to-work policies design and implementation and their social implications.

In the case of Vienna/Austria, the city plays a double role in behaving as a federal state *Bundesland* and as a municipality, even though the two bodies' memberships are identical[36]. Considering this singularity of the city of Vienna of the twofold role, the policies of youth school-to-work transitions are framed and planned with more autonomy taking a bottom-up and inductive perspective on the local level. This double role is dynamic and gives great possibilities and capacities to the city for more top-down analysis and designs that interact simultaneously with the bottom-up definition of problems and issues.

Furthermore, the two cities selected as case study approach share several commonalities since they have a central role in the national and European economy, driven mainly by the growth of the service sector and a higher capacity for the promotion of innovation and attractive policies.

[36] The chairman of the city council or the president of the state Landtag.

3.4.2 Methods and data collection

The mutual interdependence between youth transition policies and institutional arrangements is seen under the perspective of a systematic mapping following what Pierson (2004, p. p.2) observes, "contemporary social scientists typically take a 'snapshot' view of political life." Thus, for example, those who follow the analysis of these policies may be inclined to draw conclusions from the most current events. The present, however, gives only a temporally limited view. Hence Pierson (ibidem) urges researchers to "shift from snapshots to moving pictures" by " systematically situating particular moments (including the present) in a temporal sequence". Under this perspective, the importance of history is viewed as to extends the emphasis on time and enriching the context by adding several new dimensions. Therefore the research pursues two objectives:

- Developing a data-collection strategy for systematically mapping the institutional architecture over time and across space.
- Exploring the conditions that allow and foster processes of change.

By framing the research object in this manner, the analysis is concentrated in three analytical dimensions: structure and agency, scale and institutional level, in which the study is focused on the city context and, in retrospect, some consideration on a more dynamic view of change and the interactive process.

Institutional Mapping

The institutional mapping is a crucial discourse of urban strategies of city policy programs to provide a visual overview of institutional and governance structures that exist in each selected city. The map will diagrammatically represent the key governance institutions into analysis, the scales at which they operate, and the formal

connections between them. For this task, it is important to draw on a range of secondary sources, including documents and policy reports and other city governance writings. These visual datasets will provide a clear framework for much of the subsequent comparative analysis. Documents and reports are collected and analysed based on secondary data. The combination between conceptualization and mapping of institutions would create a knowledge of the dominant trends in youth transition policies at the city level and highlight some of the key interventions of each case.

Analysis of strategic documents

The plan and design of strategic documents are considered a key instrument that local governments, private or not-for-profit organisations enact and aspire to certain governance configurations. Moreover, it is considered crucial for the analysis of the documents. Crafting strategy texts that rhetorically enact the governance configurations is conceptualized as discursive devices in which strategy documents, plans, diagrams, and so on, describe a desirable future, arrange young people, objects, and topics in time and space and prescribes actions for the cast (Goffman, 1959).

Qualitative interviews

Employing a qualitative analysis of core strategy documents and supported by supplementary interviews with important executives of different institutions to contextualise our findings. A template of semi-structured interview questions was framed after the study based on sufficient contextual knowledge in order to translate abstract themes regarding youth transition policies into actual questions for opening discussions. The sample group's technique was created by snowball sampling, asking the question, who else should interview about this? When designing and asking questions, the focus was primarily on understanding the underlying meaning of

determinate policy decisions and why those decisions and actions were made. The argument was illustrated and analysed by referring to two important cities Milan (Italy) and Vienna (Austria), embedded in different administrative traditions.

Selection of the domain of significance and time periods

It is crucial to identify the domain of significance that encompass two or more institutions. In this case, the selected institutions represent the sphere of actions and interest in the public, private and not-for-profit organisations. Moreover, the chosen institutions coexist within a larger environment, so they are considered under a case approach representing two cities Milan and Vienna. In this study, we focus on the relation between these institutions, governance and policy discourse.

Identifying significant time periods of analysis was crucial to consider that those periods in historical time can open and deepen the levels of understanding and put the focus on the analysis on context. In a nutshell, each consideration to historical context highlight a piece of the puzzle, and every piece is necessary and essential in relation to the purpose of this study. Moreover, to consider the underlying conditions that allowed multiple factors to interact. In complexity terms, to analyse the interaction between the institutions and the implementation of these policies through time and the conditions of reinvention of new institutions. The other importance is to highlight the local levels, scale issues, and the fact that the significant periods are deeply influenced by policies at the central and supranational levels. Most of the significant periods of analysis were identified empirically during the fieldwork and with in-depth interviews with key informants (sometimes required several rounds of interviews narrowing closely particular historical periods and questions of interest), reconsidering how conversations enriched the learning process about formal policies and informal practices.

Another aspect that needs to be mentioned is that interviews were conducted during different times, starting with preliminary interviews during spring 2018 in Milan and then continuing between March – July 2019 in Vienna and between February – November 2020 in Milan. The interviews always started with more wide-open questions. Then, during the evolution of discussions, they moved on to closed questions. Especially in Vienna's case, when English was a foreign language, the interview was supported with visuals, infographics, statistical data, and documents presentation from both sides (interviewer and interviewee) to overcome linguistic gaps. Most of the interviews were conducted individually and face-to-face at the institutional sites as a choice for collecting logistic data insofar as institutions are organized social spaces that are generated and concentrated practices and meanings, using the sensory stimuli on physical spaces and the established reality that they fix. However, after the pandemic outbreak of covid-19 during March 2020, the interviews were forced to be digitalized online interaction. During this period of increased confusion and uncertainty, the interviews were conducted using the Webex-Meetings software, also discussing the doubts with the interviewees about this artificial way of interaction and conversation mediated by a screen. Most of the depths created by being inside a place and space, actions and not verbal connections were lost, and the dialogue gives a flat impression. Space was two dimensional, and with it, the complexity of the conversations focused more on the form of communication. The interview focused on understanding the question and constructing an immediate answer without creating an environment of complex dialectical space of dialogue.

Furthermore, the interviewees were not in their offices but were responding from home, which further increased the sense of non-formality and initial discomfort. All the interviews were recorded and with a prior consent form in all the cases. In the case of Vienna, the interviews were conducted in English, as mentioned above, while in Milan, in Italian.

4 Case study: Vienna

4.1 National policy context

Austria is one of the continental countries with a strong tradition in the promotion of vocational training and long practice in applying tools of active policy (Barbier and Ludwig-Mayerhofer, 2004). The implementation of systematic and regulated labour market policies along with a regionalized institutional structure is closely linked to the political changes and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after World War I and especially to the conflictive character of the social and political situation but also between urban and rural in Austria in the inter-war period. However, the history of the active labour market is officially depicted, dating back to 1959 when the first concept of guidance and training measures aimed to reduce unemployment and positioning during the '60 the importance of labour market policy as an important policy area both for economic development and social protection. Active labour-market policies (ALMP) of that period mainly fostered employee mobility in order to support structural change and avoid frictional unemployment. Officially the active labour market policy was established with the approval of the Labour Market promotion Act (*Arbeitmarkförderungsgesetz*) in 1969. The Law redirected the Austrian labour market policy's aim to reduce unemployment and follow a full employment policy based on the logic of active measures. Since the mid-1970s, the ALMP measures have focused on fostering the occupational and regional mobility of employees and expanding the workforce. Following this line, institutions providing VET (vocational education and training) and CVT (continuous vocational training) had been extended, particularly those run by the unions and the business side. These programmes were developed primarily to support certain labour-market groups (young people, long-

term unemployed and low-skilled), which were considered a problem for integrating the labour market.

Furthermore, the importance of this Law is connected with the fact that it also addressed the governance structure of Austria's Public Employment Service, the AMS (*Arbeitsmarketservice*). Creating a multilevel governance system permitted the AMS to have active collaboration with the social partners to all levels. Although AMS remains under direct ministerial jurisdiction, the new governance was institutionalised by the government.

From the early '80s, also Austria had to face new challenges of rising unemployment of the state-led industrial sector. Keynesian policies had had detrimental effects on the national debt. They could no longer be sustained while the rising unemployment turned increasingly out to be not a cyclical but a structural challenge. Against this background, an amendment of the Labour Market Promotion Act (*Arbeitsmarkförderungsgesetz*) under the Minister for Social Affairs introduced a so-called "experimental clause" for the use of new labour market policy instruments and laid the foundation for a turn towards more robust active labour market policies, initially, as we mentioned before, targeted to specific 'problem groups' such as young (in particular in the period of transition from school-to-work) and long-term unemployed and low-skilled people. Partly high levels of unemployment were interpreted as matching problems on the Austrian labour market between the unemployed and businesses. Thus, both the unemployed and companies were supposed to be lacking crucial information about job opportunities and skill demands. However, the decisive turn towards activation took place from the mid of the 1990s, against the background of once more rising unemployment problem linked to the growth of precarious and atypical work and inter, supranational influences and changing political climate from the anti-welfare debate initiated by the right-wing populist FPÖ.

With the abandonment of an employment policy taking a macro-economic approach, active labour-market policies became important simultaneously with the consolidation of the supply-side oriented structural policies. Therefore, ALMP became a crucial instrument to secure "high levels of employment"(Atzmüller, 2009).

4.2 Brief description of the city of Vienna

Vienna is the capital and one of the largest cities in the Republic of Austria, located in the country's northeast and the core of the economic agglomeration. Considering the city from a historical significance, cultural heritage or quality of life, it has been on the top of the global rankings of cities for many years consequently [37].

From a historical perspective, there is a specific feature that is important to highlight starting this paragraph, that the city's recent performance and its image is continuous rise descend from being the capital of a European Empire with more than 50 million inhabitants, which was the third city in respect to population size in 19th century Europe[38]. The cultural and symbolic capital generated at that time made the city more prominent, becoming the stronghold of Social Democrats in great contrast with the rest of Austria.

The City of Vienna is both the national capital of Austria and one of Austria's federal provinces (*Bundesländer*). With a total size of 414 square kilometres and a population of about 1.84 million, it is by far the largest municipality in the Country. The City of Vienna has a special position within Austria as a Federation because it is:

[37] Rank by The Economist Intelligence best liveable city in the world in 2019 (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2019)

[38] Vienna experienced an important growth phase in the second half of the nineteenth century. Capital of the European empire, its territory included by then what are now Austria, Hungary Croatia, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic, as well as parts of Romania, Poland, Italy, Ukraine, and Serbia. The cultural and financial capital of this large empire was concentrated in Vienna and resulted in the construction of numerous representative buildings that provide important landmarks.

- The federal capital, i.e. the seat of the Republic of Austria's highest authorities, Vienna, is the economic and political centre of Austria. It does not, however, enjoy any particular privileges in its role as a federal capital.
- Federal province of the Republic of Austria, since 1st January 1922, Vienna has been one of the nine autonomous federal provinces that form the Republic of Austria. As a federal province, Vienna has a right to its legislation and provincial executive body. In addition, it is entitled to designate eleven of its own representatives for the second chamber of federal legislation, the so-called Federal Assembly, which is also known as the "Chamber of Provinces". Legislation in Vienna is in the hands of the Vienna Provincial Parliament. The highest executive body is the Vienna Provincial Government, which is headed by the Governor. The Provincial Parliament has 100 members; the Provincial Government is formed by the Governor and currently 12 members of government called City Councillors. The Office of the Provincial Government performs administrative tasks under the direction of the Head of the Office of the Provincial Government[39].
- The municipality has the legal status of a chartered city. The Federal Constitutional Act stipulates that every municipality in Austria must have three mandatory bodies (the City Council, the City Government- in Vienna: the City Senate - the Mayor), which are to be supported by an administrative apparatus. The Mayor in Vienna is also the governor of the federal province, while the city council also act as a provincial administration, and the City Senate serves a double function as the city and provincial government. The city council consists of 100 members and constitutes the city's highest official body. SPÖ has been dominating the Viennese local government since the 1920s. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, Vienna expanded substantially as the suburbs and neighbouring municipalities were incorporated into the city's territory. These

[39] Source: https://www.wien.gv.at/english/administration/organisation/authority/

suburbs that became part of the city were to retain a certain degree of independence and received the status of municipal districts; thus, municipal council bodies became district bodies. Following a pilot project on decentralisation carried out in two of the larger municipal districts, the remaining 21 districts were decentralised in a second stage in 1987. Spheres of competence were substantially expanded, and the municipal districts were allocated the task of budget administration. During the third stage of decentralisation in 1998, the scope of tasks and decision-making rights of the districts were further expanded. The municipal districts are not independent legal entities but remain part of the municipality of Vienna. The district bodies are decentralised bodies of that municipality, a fact which is reflected in both the mayor's and the District Council's right of inspection. Each municipal district has a district representation elected by the citizens of that district. The so-called District Council consists of 40 to 60 members and is responsible for all significant matters affecting the district, as well as for adopting the district's budget and approving its final balance. At the head of each district is a district chairperson, who chairs the District Council, represents the district and supports the mayor in district affairs. The district chair is elected by the District Council.

In Vienna continues to prevail a corporatist form of urban governance[40] dominated by social-democratic[41]. Although Vienna is still mainly governed by social democracy,

[40] Corporatist models of interest representation and policy making are typical to political cultures that are often described as consensual, such as the Scandinavian or Austrian political milieus. This tradition of proportional representation in Austrian tradition has been conducive both to a "politics of compromise" (Rustow, 1954) and to corporatism (for more in depth understanding see Pierre, 1999).

[41] A consensus-oriented political culture is typical for Vienna and it is rooted in the establishment of 'social partnership'. This is a specific Austrian form of corporatism – a network consisting of the state and employees (trade unions and Chamber of Labour (*Arbeiterkammer*), as well as the employer associations (Chamber of Commerce - *Wirtschaftskammer Österreich*, WKÖ) and Federation of Austrian Industry (*Industriellenvereinigung*, IV).

the Viennese political-administrative system experienced some changes during recent years. These changes are challenged by increasing city competition, urban sprawl, environmental challenges, the task of combating social exclusion and poverty, as well as immigration. Furthermore, globalisation and internationalization have had consequences with changes that shaped the city's urban fabric[42] between the demand for global economies and the necessity of coping with the restructuring of urban society demand and needs. Social cohesion, urban regeneration and the challenges of global competition of the cities have recently been the prime agendas of urban planning (Hatz, 2008). The economic changes brought by industrialisation led to the city's rapid growth, which saw during this economic transformation a rapid increase of population, Vienna's urban fabric was completely reshaped (idem). With industrialisation, workers from all across the empire poured into the city. The demand for housing became the greatest challenge for the city planners with different quality for apartments that generated a differentiation between the Inner and Outer District of the Inner City.

4.2.1 The alternative: RED VIENNA

The Habsburgs Vienna was a dynamic centre of a centralized non-national empire, and the economy of the 19th and early 20th centuries was characterized by an extensive regime of accumulation (Becker and Novy, 1996). Like in other countries of continental Europe, the state played a rather prominent role in fostering economic development, so at the end of the 19th-century strong business associations[43] were formed, and in

[42] Just like other European important European metropolises or those of the Western Hemisphere, or in other words the Global North

[43] In the 1848 was the year of establishment of the fist Austrian Chamber of Commerce in Vienna with two elements: reconciliation of interest and mandatory membership are set for entrepreneurship and in 1868 it was the definitive act HKG https://www.wko.at/service/oe/Geschichte-WKO.html

opposition, a rather well-organised trade union[44] movement emerged in the industrial centres.

Vienna was the uncontested centre of the heterogeneous Empire. The Viennese financial bourgeoisie was part of the closely-knit international high finance (Polanyi 1990), and state-owned enterprises played an important role in the industrial structure (Becker and Novy, 1999). Politically, due to highly restrictive election laws[45], the financial, commercial and industrial bourgeoisie was able to control city politics. At the end of the century, even liberal city administrators had to increase the role of the local state. The financial base of the city, mainly indirect taxes on consumption and housing rents (Seliger 1996, p.89), was propped up by subsidies of the central government because of the capital status.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the formally independent petty-commodity producers were increasingly used ideologically as the foundation of the Christian-Social Party (ibidem). Social democracy developed, however, into a significant counter-movement. Arguing from a Marxist position, it was in favour of industrialisation since this would strengthen the working class. And this, in turn, would be conducive to its emancipation in the long run. Electorally social democracy was kept at bay by the restrictive electoral law when only certain groups were allowed to vote.

In 1918, immediately after the First World War (1914-1918), the historical "*länder*", which embodied quite different socio-economic conditions, remerged, demanding autonomy. Still, the old Empire prevailed, allowing only for the institutionalisation of

[44] In 1872 first demands that the "Reichsrat" (parliament) set up labour chambers and like the chamber of commerce, these should have the right to examine draft laws, research and document the social situation. The fist draft was presented of "Chamber of Labour" in 1886 but was rejected until 1921 when they become legally and completely equal to the chamber of commerce https://wien.arbeiterkammer.at/ueberuns/akundoegbgeschichte/1918-1933.html

[45] The Reichsrat it is the "parliament of the Curia" which means that there are a fixed number of mandates for certain groups such as entrepreneurs. Workers and employees are not allowed to vote at all at first, and then, shortly before 1900, only a few members of a "general curia" https://wien.arbeiterkammer.at/ueberuns/akundoegbgeschichte/1848-1919.html

a mild version of federalism. In this territorial reorganisation, the city of Vienna was strengthened by becoming a *länd*, too, which implied a particular legal and fiscal autonomy. The further conflicts about centralisation vs decentralisation in the First Republic (1919-1933) were deeply tainted by the conflict between the conservative central government and the social-democratic city and the regional government of Vienna, which was a "red island" in a "black sea" (Becker and Novy 1999).

However, the period from 1921 marked a decisive break for the city of Vienna, which was separated politically from the surrounding province of Lower Austria, and the city became a province (Land-federal state) in its own right[46]. This was characterized by the loss of the hinterland in 1918, which was not easy for the city of Vienna to deal with and gave rise to a period of crisis[47]. Therefore, unemployment was high, the population decreased, and people were in bad health conditions. Vienna was the stronghold of the Austrian union movement and the Social Democrats. The Council Movement also had its centre in Vienna. In 1919 the Social Democrats were able to win an absolute majority in the first elections for the City Council. During the 1920s, they were able to expand and stabilise their share of the vote to about 60% of the electorate, which allowed them to embark on an elaborated social reform programme at the council level, which focussed on housing, local welfare and education (Weidenholzer 1983; Seliger/Ucakar 1985; Gruber 1991, in Atzmüller and Grandl, 2007). Therefore, this period of crisis was considered an occasion and a way for new actors to rise in local Viennese politics. The Social Democratic Worker Party was able to take over the city government based on the introduction of the universal electoral vote and democratic reformism of the post-war. This was considered a crucial shift for the local power and new city-level policies. In this case, the labour market

[46] This double status, as federal province and as a municipality, gave to the city of Vienna the right to raise local taxes.

[47] In 1918 almost one-third of the population of Austria First Republic lived in Vienna. After the war and the epidemic outbreaks of the "Spanish flu" social conditions in Vienna were severely inadequate and difficult with the population living in poverty and in tragic sanitary situations.

policies were most pronounced in Vienna, and the strong labour movement organized and institutionalized in the Workers' Chamber tried to push forward the policy development and the creation of institutional capacities to implement an "organised labour market" forcing employers to cooperate. One of the first social policy measures was the introduction of *Arbeitslosenunterstützung* (unemployment aid) for almost all the worker's categories (blue-collar, white-collar and agricultural workers). Some authors and experts interpreted this increasing unemployment situation under the perspective of equilibrium as being caused by work-shyness and idleness rather than a lack of real employment opportunities, which was the dispute of the growing labour movement of these years (Atzmüller and Grandl, 2007).

This process is known as an experiment of local socialism, and according to Becker and Novy (1999), Vienna is an instructive example of when local and national "state projects" (Jessop, 1990) and regulation can diverge. The Social Democratic city administration crystallized into the internationally-known "Red Vienna"[48], an alternative local state project based on bottom-up local development[49]. Faced with an intense housing shortage, the city government organized a unique and focused housing policy[50]. The city's massive investment in housing stimulated the local industry, and the capital expenditure of the Viennese local government was between the inter-war years higher than the central Federal Government one (Weber 1995b in

[48] During my staying in Vienna for the research field I went to a museum exhibition from the municipality "Das Rote Wien" and the other in Karl Marx Hof exhibition of the SPO party.

[49] Arbeit-Zeitung, April 20, 1927, p.1 – a testimony of the great social and cultural achievements of the municipality of Vienna – "A person who is involved in intellectual activity is beyond and between the classes. He cannot bow to any political dogma, as it is the intellect alone that will create the new realities that politics grasp only at a later point. Yet a moment such as the present one forces upon us decisions that must made intellectually. (…) In our opinion, the state and society have the responsibility to make life easier for individuals rather than more difficult. We therefore condemn all unjust hardships imposed by authoritarian demands. (…) we want to know that these achievements (social and cultural) transcending political considerations will be maintained and promoted. Intellect and humanity are one and the same. They are capable of alleviating the loud and greedy oppositions of material life." - Exhibition "Das Rote Wien".

[50] Later the politically autonomous city introduced a specific tax in order to fund his ambitious housing program concluded only after the Second War World.

Becker and Novy, 1999), therefore making "Red Vienna" the political antagonist of the central state highlighting the political conflicts and struggles between urban and rural areas as well as the social, economic and political trends.

While the "Red Vienna" project is known for its wide-ranging local social policies and municipal reforms, however, social democrats lacked a consistent economic strategy. Some have criticized the fact that the reformist orientation and the lack of engagement with larger political and economic structures were the actual blind spot of the city local project (Kadi and Suitner, 2019). Furthermore, as the national government was conservative, all the intellectual and political efforts of the party and its social movement were concentrated on the city, giving rise to a "localist trap" logic based on a strong link between the party, civil society and city administration when all aspect of life was covered by party organization (Becker and Novy, 1996, 1999).

Despite the criticism, "Red Vienna" remains a key reference point in the contemporary international urban studies debate[51]. In the context of progressing neo-liberalization, globalisation and increasing urban inequality symbolise a model of progressive urban planning and an egalitarian model of urban development. It also raises critical questions about the potential and pitfalls of realizing a "just" city through municipal reforms.

After the post-war (1939-1945) and reconstruction period, Fordism was a "golden age" of Austrian capitalism. During the cold war and until 1983, the social-democratic government attempted to preserve central traits of the Fordist regime of accumulation while adapting to the new situation. In the "Austro-Keynesian" conception, the Federal Government aimed to increase international competitiveness and stabilise domestic demand. The two big parties, the Social Democratic Party (SPÖ) and The People Party (ÖVP), which usually formed a coalition government, were intertwined

[51] In the last conference (5-6 December) "the Future is Public" organised by the city of Amsterdam the model of "Red Vienna" is expressed as one alternative for municipality orientation and social participation.

with trade unions and business organisations. Governments and large interest groups linked up in neo-corporatist institutions, which made Austria a model of neo-corporatism. Individualisation was seen as dangerous, and in the neo-corporatism framework, decision-making was centralised and top-down.

During this time, Vienna as a local government was again politically under a social-democratic coalition but without elaboration on the local level. Keynesian policies were implemented at the national level, and local policies had to follow the national pattern (Becker and Novy, 1999). Concerning Vienna´s international status as a political centre, the national and local governments were able to capitalise on Austria´s status as a neutral power during the cold war. They were able to convince several important international organisations, like the UNO, OSCE, OPEC, to choose Vienna as an administrative centre (ibid). The social-democratic local government and its city bureaucracy directly delivered social services such as housing, education and health. This was the main function of the local state and the party as the key institution of civil society. According to Becker and Novy (1999, p. 23), the party then "was depoliticised and turned into a vehicle of clientelism" and "pursued a successful strategy of co-optation; civil society was "etatised" which turned the cultural and intellectual space of the city into acritical opposition and discussion, turning in what the author Carl Schorske in "Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture" described: "(Vienna) seemed to be catching a glimpse of the inner machinery of modernity of the interwar years" and was transformed into a "value vacuum" of current events.

4.2.2 Urban development: modernization of the city

With over 30 years of a trend that sees an increasing population due to geopolitical transformations that prompted a new wave of immigration, Vienna is a city constantly growing and becoming more dynamic. The collapse of the Eastern Bloc and Yugoslavia, as well as the earlier crises in these countries, were the main reasons for

the increase of immigration to Vienna from 1989 onwards. While immigration from Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic were not as high as expected at the time, the influx of refugees from the collapse of Yugoslavia – wars in Slovenia 1991, Croatia and Bosnia 1992 – proved significant, as is demonstrated in Fig. 5. Therefore, the net migration to Vienna in 1989 was around 19,000 immigrants, and it grew to 31,000 in 1991 and continued to be high in subsequent years. The share of foreigners in the population of Vienna grew rapidly from 12% to 18% (Magistrat der StadtWien—MA18, 1994; Urban development plan, 1994).

With the addition of nearly 350,000 inhabitants since 1989, the city of Vienna needed to adapt fast and develop new initiatives, and in that time, a "new spirit of urban development emerged" (Antalovsky and Löw, 2018, p. 5) simultaneously with the decline of manufacturing and the increasing of massive growth in the service sector. Against this background, the right-wing Freedom Party of Austria became a growing political factor, launching a petition for an "Austria first" referendum in 1993 that utilised the growing ambivalence in the population against migrants. This process of urban development took place in four historical cycles:

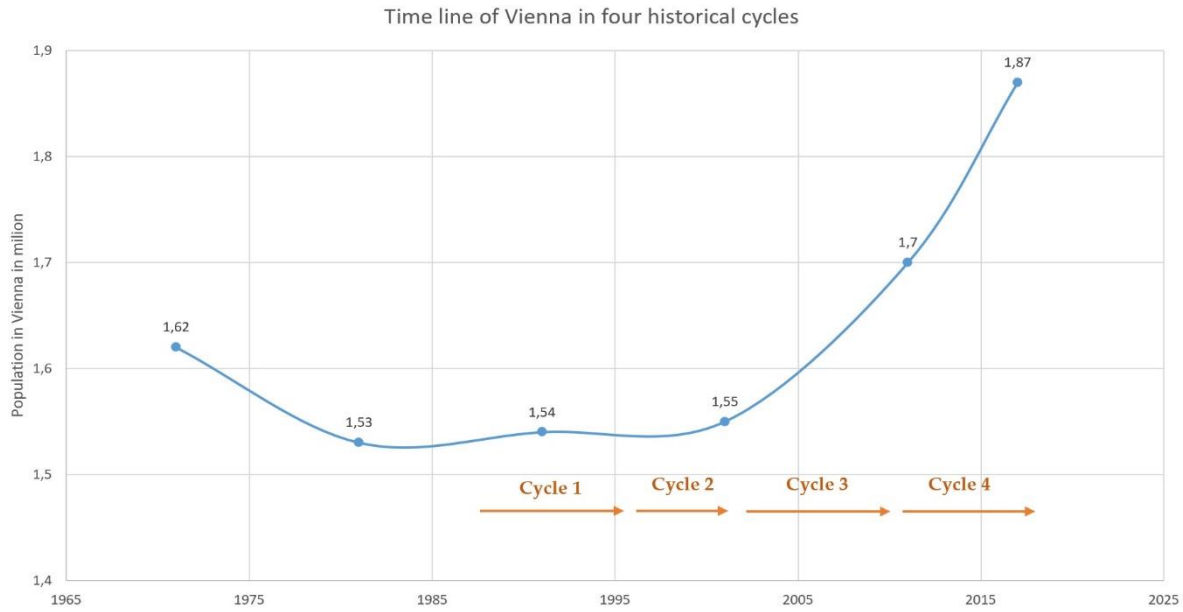
1) The collapse of the communist system and a total change in the geopolitical conditions affected Vienna's development facing fundamental challenges in economic and urban development.

2) City in transition trying to define its new position on the European Union on the one hand and its role as a city bordering the Eu's Central and Eastern European neighbours on the other. In this period, the city government made long-term strategic decisions such as actions for affordable housing and urban renewal.

3) The international level and a rapidly growing city enhanced the attractiveness of the city as a knowledge hub implementing this matter of large-scale projects for economic competitiveness.

4) Smart city strategy implementation that cuts across the areas of urban policy. Vienna is faced with the challenge of the large influx of refugees and the shift in the political debate against "open cities". (Antalovsky and Löw, 2018)

Figure 5 Timeline of Vienna in four historical cycles



Source: Antalovsky and Löw, 2018

Since the mid-1980s, trends in employment revealed economic difficulties to a long-term growth problem of the Viennese service sector (Mayerhofer, 2000). The decline of manufacturing but also lower growth rates in the service sector were also caused by businesses relocating to the peripheral districts and, in particular, to the neighbouring regions of Vienna. Thus a massive decentralisation of economic processes can be observed in the Eastern Region of Austria. The share of manufacturing decreased most strongly in the core districts of Vienna. During the 1980s, the national government abandoned the Austro-Keynesian strategy. Policies based on deficit spending and an expansion of the public sector were replaced by budget consolidation, privatisation and subsequent immobilisation of public-sector employment. This shift in the economy led to a growing divergence between the

Viennese economy and the rest of Austria (Mayerhofer 2007a+b). The growing specialisation of the Viennese economy was driven by the growth of the service sector and a growing focus on software-based and human-capital-based economic activities. The shift towards high-skilled employees allows Viennese companies to compete on the basis of quality. Sectors based on low-skilled work lose out, which creates severe problems for these groups in the labour market.

Since then, the city governments of Vienna have produced four important planning documents on urban development that have built the political agenda and work over the past 35 years:

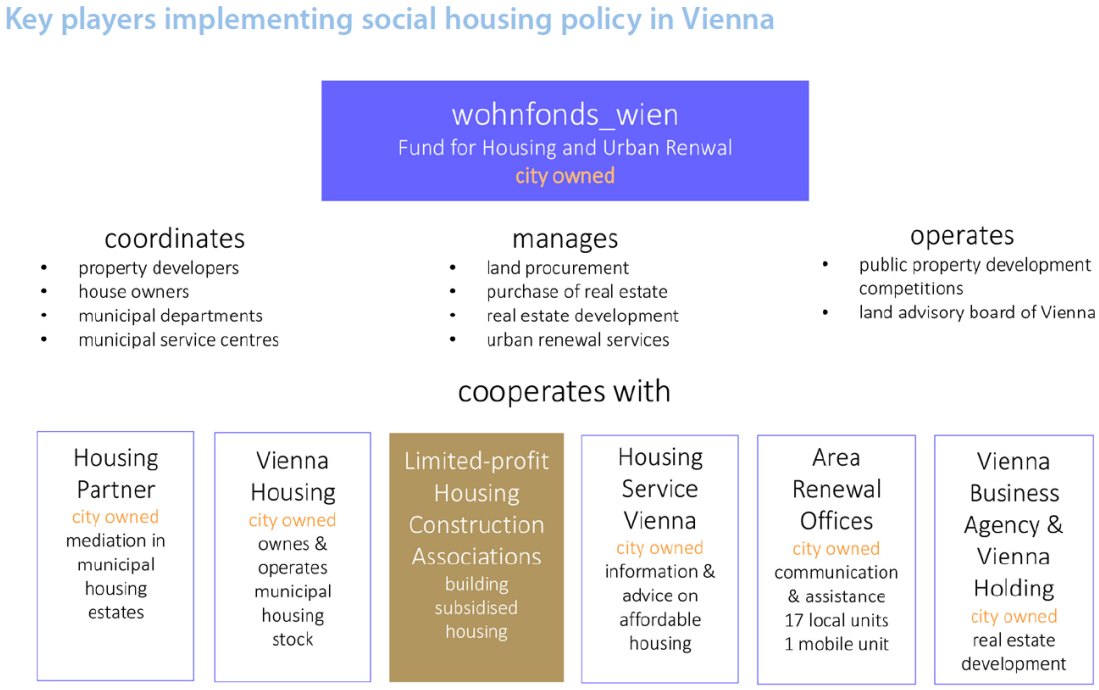
Table 1 Timeline of UDP in Vienna

Timeline of Urban Development Plan (UDP) in Vienna	
STEP 1984	It was the first Urban Development Plan (UDP) presented by the city government of Vienna. At this time, the city was having severe economic problems due to the economic crisis of that historical period, and the trajectories for the future were not so optimistic; indeed, they expected the population to decline.
STEP 1994	The second attempt of UDP marked the emergence of a new awareness of the importance of urban actions by the city government for adapting to social transformations and developing new initiatives.
STEP 2005	The creation of the UDP became a systemic and integrated part of the city government strategy. The main driving goal was focused on economic competitiveness and attractive policies.
STEP 2025	This UDP it is created in 2014 as an instrument for building the vision of the future Vienna based on the questions of the present, putting the city government in the role of orchestrating the public's future.

After the first urban development plan of 1989 (Magistrat der StadtWien—MA18, 1984), when the city of Vienna realised that in hard times a city could not "sit back", the city government developed the Urban Development Plan 1994 (Magistrat der StadtWien—MA18, 1994) which responds to a fundamental change and introduced concepts such as the international competitiveness of cities, the importance of economy in the context of urban development, the vision of a "second city centre" for Vienna and the cooperation in the metropolitan and cross-border area. During this

time, they also introduced the principle of environmentally-friendly mobility and parking management, continuing the city's emphasis on social housing and integration. Two operational decisions accompanied the strategy: the creation of "public property development competitions" and a "land advisory board", which set the rules for evaluation of all subsidies projects in accordance with the criteria of ecology, quality and economy. Both activities are operated by "Wohnfonds Wien" (Housing Fund Vienna), a city-owned, limited-profit organisation that is a key player in the implementation of Vienna's social housing policy (Fig. 6)

Figure 6 Key players implementing social housing policy in Vienna



Source (Antalovsky and Löw, 2018)

Another important historical event which we find worthwhile to mention was the EXPO 1995 opportunity when Austria and Hungary decided in 1987 to jointly bid for a Twin-City EXPO Vienna-Budapest for the year 1995. The idea was to demonstrate what an impact cross-border cooperation on a large-scale international project could have on liberalisation, democratisation and "growing together". The mission

statement for the planned EXPO, therefore, was “bridges for the future”. From the perspective of urban planners, such a catalysing large-scale project presented an opportunity for Vienna's modernisation and urban improvement.

These factors created an atmosphere of optimism and openness on the one hand and of uncertainty about the future and excessive demands on the other. In this climate of ambivalence, the city government decided to hold a public opinion poll about the execution of the EXPO since the government itself had become uncertain about the purpose of this mega-project. They added another project as an alternative option in the poll, namely the construction of a Danube river power station within the city. By offering these two competing options and upgrading the poll to a binding result for the government, according to (Antalovsky and Löw, 2018), the politicians skilfully included the population’s burgeoning interest in ecology and sustainability and gave an official voice to the scepticism about large-scale projects; nonetheless, they artificially conveyed the choice and represented the actions as inevitable with no space or time for imaginable alternatives. As a result, the citizens voted for the river power plant and rejected the EXPO. On the one hand, Expo 95 was therefore cancelled; on the other hand, they still wanted to use the potential of the unused area. Especially because it was already under renovation with two projects New Danube and Danube Island, that created 42km^2 of a nature reserve in the city which was a huge contribution to sustainable urban life for leisure and mobility. In addition, during this period of urban innovation, the Danube hydroelectric power station was built, which was the first large-scale power station in any metropolis worldwide.

In 1995 Austria became a member of the European Union and Vienna, a major hub and gateway city for the Eastern European Countries. International companies opened a new base of operation for Eastern Europe, resulting in a considerable increase in direct foreign investment in Vienna. The number of employees of foreign direct investment enterprises in Vienna grew by more than 20% from 1996 to 2001 (Oesterreichische Nationalbank, 2006 in Hatz, 2008). A series of recent urban

construction projects, skyscrapers and new urban centres, in particular, demonstrate the unique situation physically, just as the population has stabilized after almost a century of decline.

As a new member of the European Union Cities, Vienna has a great opportunity to attract international companies and become an important business location and a hub for Eastern Europe. As pointed out in the report "Strategy Plan for Vienna" (Urban Planning Vienna—MA18, 2001, p.5), published in 2001 with the objective to create an "attractive vision for future developments of the city of Vienna and provide concrete impulses through strategic projects". These insights prompted the public authorities to accelerate the planning of important supraregional, large-scale projects, such for example the extension of Vienna Airport. The first half of the 1990s was a period of significant changes and the development of ideas and concepts in terms of transformative processes. The years between 1996 and 2005 become the phase of application of a more integrated business-oriented urban development as described in the guidelines of "Strategy Plan 2001". This was a shift even on the new political constellation in the government of the City of Vienna, a coalition of social democrats and conservatives (Wien, 2005).

Table 2 Vienna City Council Coalitions 1995-2020

Years	Green	SPO	OVP
1995-2001			
2001-2005			
2005-2010			
2010-2015			
2015-2020			

Source: stadWien our elaboration

Between 2006 and 2010, Vienna assisted a period of large-scale infrastructure projects, which boosted Vienna's investment for competitiveness. This was an even more upgrade as an internationally attractive location for business, research, high

education, tourism and living. In the report "Competitiveness under New Perspectives" (WIFO 2010; Aiginger, Bärenthaler-Sieber and Vogel, 2013), Vienna was placed at high rankings for accessibility for the constructions of research infrastructures (new science institutions and new universities) and several new districts.

In 2009 the international financial crisis impacted the economic development of Vienna by slowing down the city's economic growth and increasing unemployment. Therefore, considering all the investment since the '90s, when the city of Vienna began to have a vision systematically and strategically towards urban development, the crisis still had a moderate impact compared to other cities in Europe. Due to the city capacity for long-term investment, as we elucidate so far on building a quite robust business location with high labour productivity and innovative human capital between 2004 and 2014, economic growth in Vienna amounted to 1.4% per year on average compared to 0.7% in the Eurozone[52]. During this time, Vienna was governed only by the social democrats who had the majority, and this created more speed on making decisions, developing strategies and intense implementations.

In 2010 the city local elections, the Social Democrats built a coalition with the Green Party (this coalition continued after the elections of 2015 until now) caused a shift towards a more environmentally friendly and sustainable approach to urban development.

In line with the increased discussions about Vienna's internationalisation and improving it's standing worldwide, the city paid even more attention to the science and research sector. As the largest university city in German-speaking Europe, with nearly 186,000 students[53].

[52] Vienna at a glance https://viennabusinessagency.at/international/location-vienna/vienna-at-a-glance/

[53] Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research, Administrative sector Science and Research, Minoritenplatz 5, 1010 Vienna Internet: https: www.bmbfw.gv.at/unidata

Vienna emphasised science and research. This was seen as an important incubator for urban development and economic growth. The paradox for Vienna is that universities are under the responsibility of the federal state, and therefore, the direct influence of the city in this area is weak. However, the municipal government contributes to the development of Vienna as an attractive science and research hub in other ways, for example, by financing R&D infrastructure, providing advisory services for research companies and research programmes for individuals, and supporting institutes and R&D focused companies (Reiner, Meyer and Sardadvar, 2017). Between 2002 and 2011, the number of R&D units in the city increased from 1,032 to 1,487. The number of employees grew from 16,551 to 20,717, and the expenses for R&D facilities located in Vienna increased from €2 billion to €2.9 billion, of which the public sector financed between 40% and 50%[54]

The significant investment in university and research institutions in Vienna raised international visibility. First, the construction of Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU) is considered Vienna's first "campus university" and the University of Applied Science Campus Vienna, then with a second significant project, the construction of the Institute of Science and Technology Austria (ISTA) is considered essential for the stimulation of the knowledge economy in Vienna region.

In 2014 by the city parliament were adopted two important documents: "Smart City Strategy" (Vienna City Administration, 2014) and the new Urban Development Plan 2025 (Municipal Department 18 - MA18, 2014). Both documents were constructed and promoted as an interdepartmental task, and this sparked a new dynamic of interaction and debate and enhanced the public awareness of sustainability and smart cities and contemporary it caused conflicts of interest[55].

[54] See the online website https://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/bildung/tabellen/f-und-e-w-zr.html Source: Statistics Austria - surveys on research and experimental development, special evaluations for Vienna.

[55] It is important to remember that all conflicts in any case are internal to the various departments of the city municipality in a sort of "in-home" game. By creating a very vast and complicated bureaucracy mechanism, not even clear to the employees themselves, as highlighted in the interview.

The starting point for the development of "urban development plan 2025" were recent forecasts predicting that the city's population will continue to grow as has been the case in the past ten years and is likely to reach 2 million before 2030 and defines the areas of principle actions in 3 steps:

1. Vienna: building the future I Vienna renews – the built city I Vienna mobilises land – space for urban growth I Vienna transforms – centres and underused areas city,
2. Vienna: reaching beyond its borders I Vienna generates prosperity – a business, science and research hub I Vienna is more – the metropolitan region
3. Vienna: networking the city

   Vienna revives – open spaces: green & urban -Vienna is moving

   diversified mobility in 2025

   Vienna makes provisions for the future – social infrastructure

The City of Vienna engages in a number of explicit and implicit attraction policies. Regarding the latter, the municipality invests continuously in different kinds of amenities. The City of Vienna maintains a vast public housing sector that dampens upward pressures on rents.

Additionally, urban policymakers profit from and maintain the cultural heritage, which provides an important soft location factor (Hatz, 2008).

Concerning integration policy, the Municipal Department of Integration and Diversity and the city government set a number of awareness and support actions. For example, the initiative "Start Wien" provides encompassing and individualized to start coaching for new foreign citizens in their mother tongue. Furthermore, the Vienna Business Agency adopted implicit attraction policies to increase labour demand for university graduates and promoted the following key sectors: life sciences, urban technologies, creative industries, and information and communication technologies.

Explicit attraction policies as set by the City of Vienna are summarised in the following Table 3.

Table 3 Explicit attraction policies in Vienna

Explicit attraction policies by the City of Vienna
Policy documents ▪ 2015: "Innovation Strategy 2020" ▪ 2014: "Smart City Strategy"
Actors ▪ City of Vienna: – Municipal Department of Finance, Economic Policy and Vienna Public Utilities – Municipal Department for Cultural Affairs and Science – Municipal Department for Immigration and Citizenship ▪ Delegate of the City of Vienna for University and Research ▪ Vienna Science and Technology Fund (WWTF) ▪ Vienna Business Agency
Objectives ▪ Attraction of international researchers and students ▪ Easing the settlement of international highly qualified people and their families in terms of living, working and education ▪ Improving the "welcoming culture" of Vienna ▪ Raising the visibility of Vienna as a knowledge hub
Instruments ▪ Endowed professorships for international researchers funded for universities in Vienna ▪ Vienna International Postdoctoral Programme (VIPS), 3-year postdoc positions for researchers in specific disciplines from abroad funded by the City of Vienna and the science ministry ▪ Funding for research groups for young international researchers to develop a research group ("Vienna Research Groups for Young Investigators") ▪ Funding for researcher from abroad and professor to set up and manage a research group in Vienna ("WWTF Science Chairs") ▪ Dual career service support ▪ Information and advice at the service centre for foreign human capital ("Expat Centre Vienna") ▪ City promotion and city branding to position Vienna as a magnet for international talent ▪ Greeting events for foreign researchers ▪ Improving the service quality and friendliness of the city administration in dealing with foreign university researchers and foreign students ("Forum Fremdenrecht") ▪ Provision and financial support for student dormitories

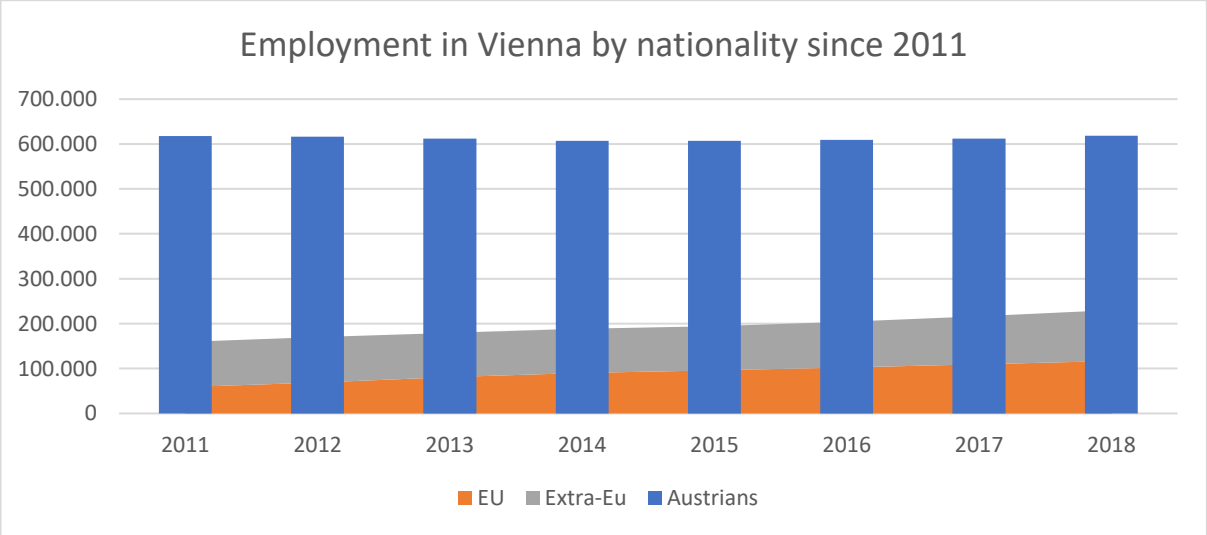
Source:(Reiner, Meyer and Sardadvar, 2017)

In what follows, "foreign students" refers to EU and non-EU students alike. The objectives to attract students and researchers are mentioned in the "Innovation Strategy" and in the "Smart City Strategy". The improvement of the welcoming culture and the increase of visibility as a knowledge hub are relevant sub-goals

mentioned in the policy documents. Several urban policy actors engage in explicit attraction policies.

The four development cycles of Vienna show that citizens, migrants, politicians and experts in business, science and administration are capable of turning a declining city at the eastern edge of Western Europe into a vibrant, global and inclusive city in Central Europe. As demonstrated in Fig. 7, in recent years, employment growth has seen an increase in jobs occupied by immigrants from both European and non-European countries, while the share of Austrian workers has remained stable

Figure 7 Employment in Vienna by Nationality since 2011



Source: our elaboration on data.gv.at- Open Data Austria

These three decades show that Vienna has consequently pursued a high public investment model in transport, housing, energy, and education by providing both financial capacity and coherent project support and planning.

The city's success also has a lot to do with Vienna's DNA as a city of social responsibility and integrative power, which builds on the legacy of the so-called "Red Vienna" of the interwar period. Its status as an independent federal state, which was introduced in 1922, enabled the City of Vienna to engage in autonomous legislation

and financial management, which was necessary for implementing an ambitious, standard-setting municipal reform programme. This ranged from social housing to health and education policies and was driven by the principle of social justice.

It is related to invokes of past strength that is definitely related to recent developments and present/future political effort. Vienna seeks to capitalise on the glorious past as the capital of an empire in the 'heart of Europe' when underlying shift on space as a geographical category in the context of EU's eastward enlargement. In both strategy documents for urban development, while essentially building on past decisions and glory, they fill the space and time with the right to represent and speak on behalf of future generations due to their inability to disagree or resist (Meyer and Jepperson, 2000). In this case, these strategies represent authoritative action as inevitable and as the only reality when it seems there is no space and time for an imaginable alternative. Both the strategic documents show a sense of lack of alternatives and trajectories of progress and just one railway for going forward. Most notably, expert knowledge and legal-rational authority seem to be the key to legitimising the strategy and gives all this document a distinct technocratic approach rather than a democratic process of what happened during the alternative "Red Vienna". The document strategies mostly show the political statement about goals, values and priorities, what the city does well, and how it should remain one of the best cities to live globally.

Local competitiveness in an increasingly interconnected world and the quality of urban life are two issues that are dominant in all the urban development strategies presented by the city administration. The hidden champion of Vienna's goals seems to be winning the international inter-city competition expressed in this loop formula: competitiveness improves the quality of living, which in turn increases competitiveness. For this reason, the document makes the impression of an attempt to capitalise on the city's strengths in order to stand its ground in location competition.

From a more in-depth analysis of the documents as demonstrated by the author– Brandtner, Meyer, Kornberger (2017), Vienna, in the name of professionalism and expertise, emphasises the centrality of its citizens as clients but does not give them any role rather than consumers of services. The reported complexity of urban problems does not leave any space and doubt that the state actor must step in as an expert or mediator, respectively. Complexity in relation to the state of crises (economic and climate) justifies government interventions as a precondition of fixing the problems from experts thinking and their ability to mediate the general public's opinions.

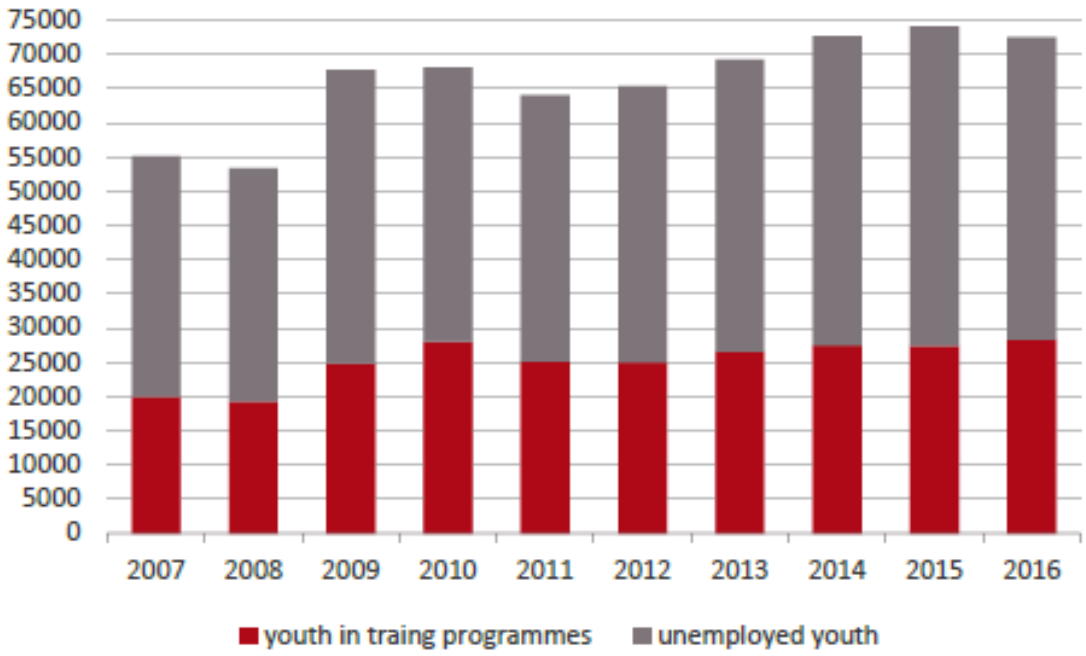
The Vienna strategy document reflects a service orientation and frames citizens as clients: 'The magistrate of the City of Vienna defines itself as a big service group, whose clients are the people of this city, (Brandtner *et al.*, 2017). Citizen participation is said to be necessary but in no other role than as part of such service orientation. The public is not constructed as a key stakeholder. At the same time, parts of the public are not even seen as clients but as inputs to a production function: for instance, minorities are framed as a resource for innovation. On the actors' side, the city mainly cooperates with itself.

Now, after consisting of long-term improvements, Vienna is well-placed to continue its success as an attractive metropolis.

4.3 Development of transition from school-to-work: the turn of 2007

Active labour market policies (ALMP) are considered fundamental and preventive intervention and investment, especially for specific target groups such as young people. These policies are grounded and systematised in a complex institutional architecture that we will describe in the next paragraph. However, it is worth mentioning that the realisation and accomplishment of activation strategies was a supporting plan for all unemployed with the obligation to provide evidence of job-searching activities and participate in coaching measures. Nonetheless, the new entrants in the labour market were considered more at unemployment risk. Therefore, an unintentional effect of these policies was to count young people as a 'natural target' for ALMS policies, especially after the financial crisis of 2007/2008.

Figure 8 Unemployed youth aged 15 to 24 years enrolled in training measures - 2007-2016



Source: Social Affairs Ministry (national data)

Measures and programmes such as information and advice to help them assess their future employment opportunities and develop adequate search strategies or adapt their future career and aspirational to new jobs and sectors are considered essential skills to be improved. VET and training measures also increased their significance and numbers, as demonstrated in Fig.8, to enhance the qualitative matching between labour supply and demand. In the political and public debates, training is seen as the most important labour-market policy strategy. On the one hand, devices include training and courses; on the other hand, subsidies and allowances cover training costs.

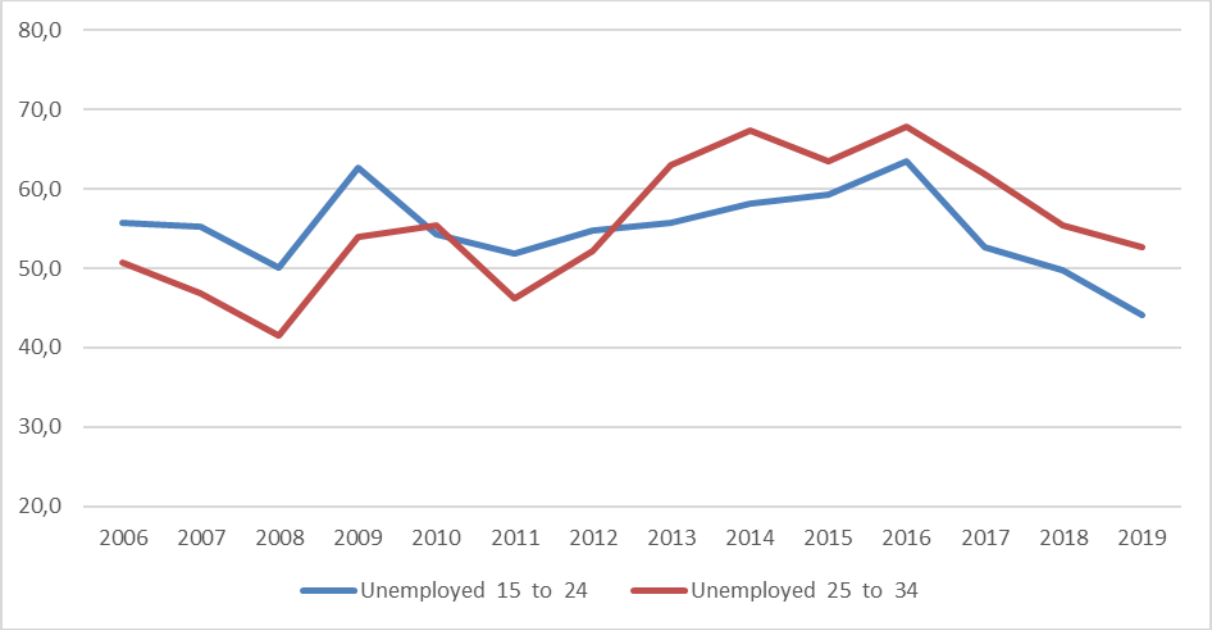
The year 2007 is a crucial point in the historical flux of events, and we consider it essential to highlight four coordinates:

- The financial crisis which started to spread in 2007 became a gigantic international bubble worldwide;
- Unemployment was rising and increasing, especially for the new entrants in the labour market
- Introduction of Guarantee right to Education up to the Age of 18
- Creation of Koordinationsstelle, a new institution inside the system of Transition from School-to-Work and Vocational Training Guarantee right to education up to the age of 18 (Federal Ministry of Social Affairs and Consumer Protection, 2008).

The federal government sets the goal of providing all young people with adequate continuing school education or vocational training. To implement the guaranteed right to education up to the age of 18, they created projects concerning the dual educational system. At the same time, they increased the number of school places, notably in vocational schools, especially with a view to improving access to advanced schools. More attention was given to young people having difficulties in finding adequate training places within the existing system of basic vocational training. This made it possible to finance the further development of training centres for young people

seeking apprenticeships (Youth Training Consolidation Act/*Jugendausbildungssicherungsgesetz*), subsidies for companies training apprentices and youth-specific qualification and employment programmes. By stepping up funding, a significant contribution was made to the positive dynamic in the youth labour market. Since the beginning of 2006, the number of young jobseekers has been declining at an above-average rate.

Figure 9 Young unemployed in Austria 2006-2019



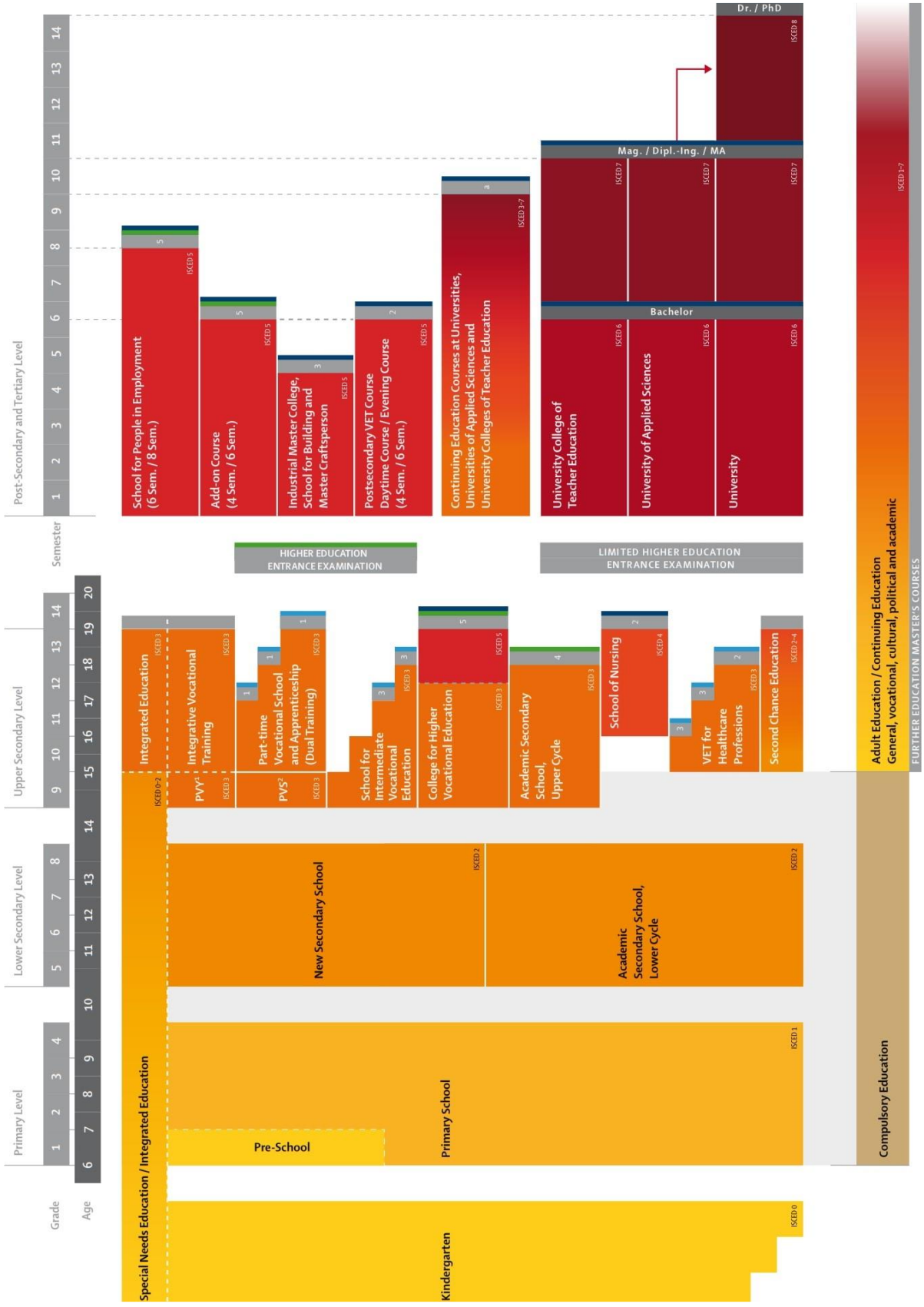
Source: author elaboration on Statistics Austria

The promotion of apprenticeship training at training centres and in companies is a major challenge of the active labour market policy for young people. The federal government's goal was to give the opportunity to receive apprenticeship training to all young people that wish to start working after completing 9th-grade mandatory school. For this reason, the labour market policy funds for young people were increased from EUR 252 million in 2005 to EUR 385 million in 2007.

In 2007 1,140 additional places were offered in vocational schools in some Länder. In 2008 another 1,050 school places were created. In developing the curricula of

vocational intermediate schools' traineeships in companies are to be taken into account to a greater extent. Furthermore, the educational pilot project combining the technical school with traineeships in companies that become part of the regular school system at the beginning of the school year 2008/09. Optimal vocational and educational guidance was given crucial importance in the transition phase from compulsory school education to basic vocational training. In this context, schools' career and educational guidance services were further developed to support young people and their parents in managing uncertainty in making decisions about future careers and higher education. Therefore, standardised sets of measures for compulsory vocational and educational guidance programmes for the 7th and 8th year of all types of schools and the penultimate grade of upper secondary schools are developed in close cooperation with the social partners.

Figure 10 Educational system in Austria



Source: bildungssystem.at

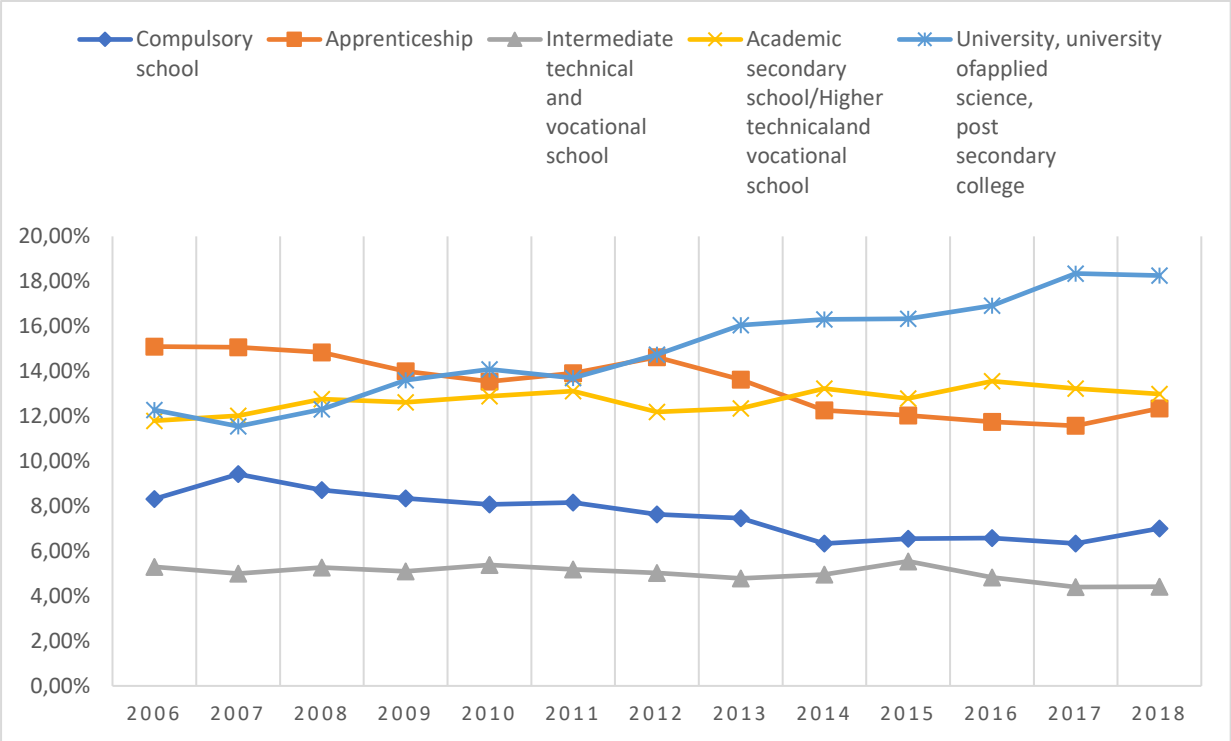
As the expansion of the knowledge society is grounded, early school exit has become a challenge. The discussion then focused on the realisation of new educational pathways based on diversification within upper secondary schools. The aim was to reduce the number of teenagers changing educational/training institutions or dropping out. So-called transition classes or vocational/educational guidance courses help pupils who missed content of educational/training programmes to catch up[56]. The educational reform has changed the balance between theoretical education and vocational training, including the availability of apprenticeship schemes, increasing the duration of formal education and the organisation of education, which become more "tailor-made" educational trajectories.

As the number of jobs available for unskilled workers has declined, students with incomplete compulsory education and/or higher education or weak school achievements may have problems in entering the labour market. This is linked to the shift in the economic structure from manufacturing to the service industry and the development of the knowledge economy.

In Vienna, as shown in Fig.11 and 12, it is interesting to highlight how the largest category of employed has a university qualification, and the trend is growing.

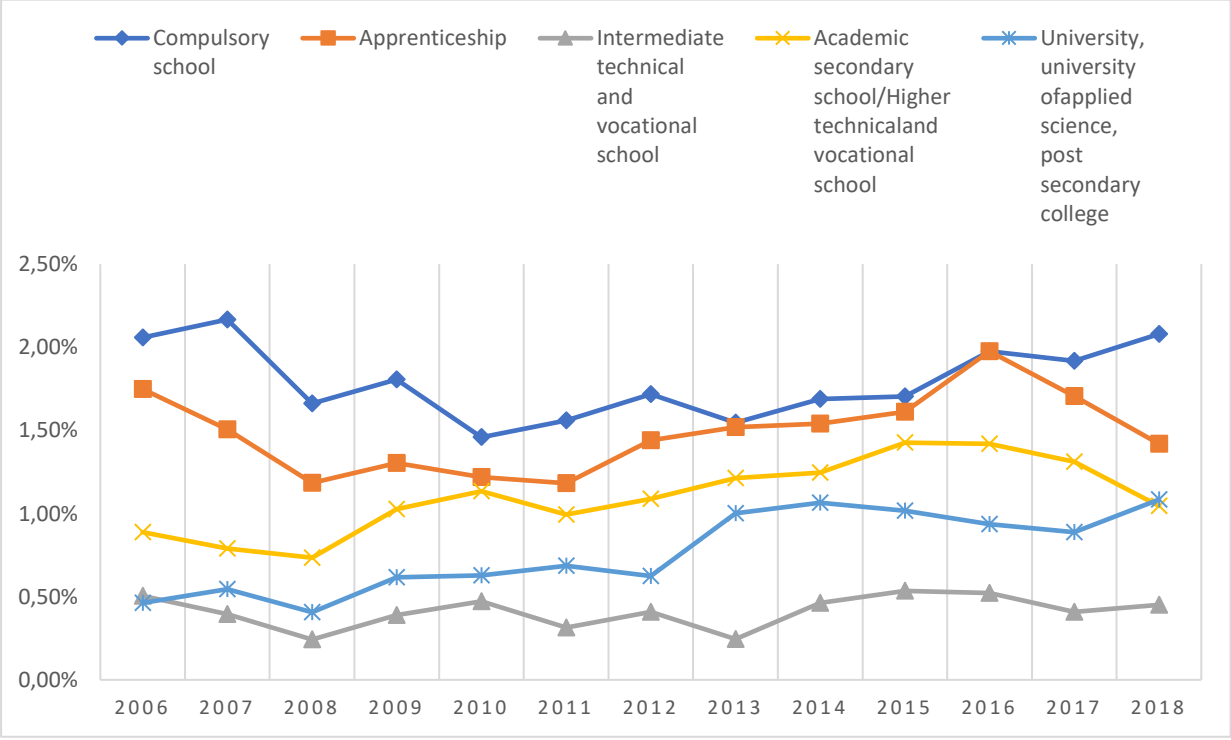
[56] The studies addressing the subject of new educational pathways based on diversification within upper secondary schools were commissioned by the Federal Ministry of Education, Art and Culture.

Figure 11 Employed in Vienna: educational level



Source: author elaboration on Statistics Austria

Figure 12 Unemployed in Vienna: educational level



Source: author elaboration on Statistics Austria

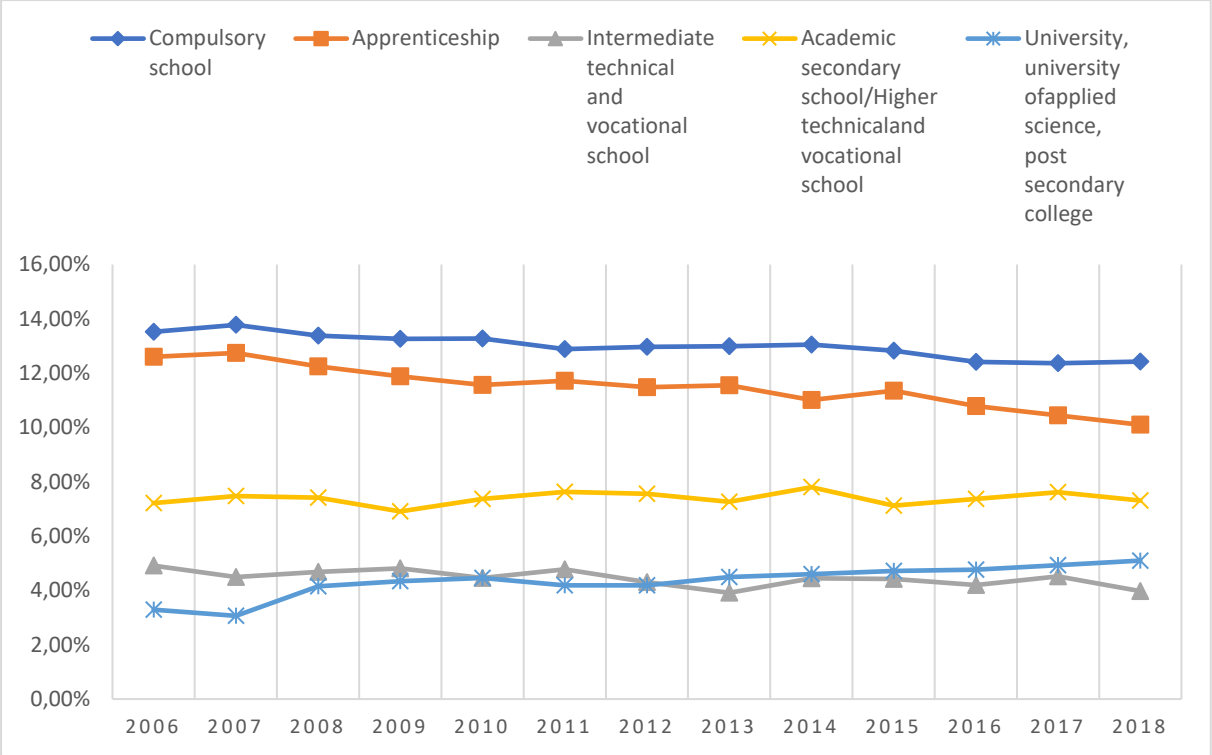
Thus young people with low qualifications run the risk that employers perceive them as professionally unattractive employees, unqualified and too risky to hire. For these reasons, the category of young people is considered a top priority in the labour market policies, and the federal government adopted a comprehensive "youth employment package" in 2008. The program is predominantly based on joint proposals of the social partners.

The system of apprenticeship training in companies and at training centres was the subject to fundamental restructuring measures started in the training year 2008/2009. The cornerstone of this reform are as follows:

- The new system of company-related subsidies for companies training apprentices will be managed, starting by 2008, by the departments of the Austrian Economic Chamber competent for apprenticeship training by involving the employee representatives. The basic framework and objectives of the new subsidy scheme are laid down in the Vocational Training Act (*Berufsausbildungsgesetz*).
- Introduction of basic subsidy for apprenticeships with a new system of differentiated basic funding.
- Additional quality-based and labour-market-oriented subsidies
- Further development of apprenticeship training as training centres. Forming part of the guaranteed right to training, this training option is established as an equivalent and standard pillar of the dual vocational training system. By amending the Vocational Training Act, a uniform programme of apprenticeship training at training centres was created. Apprenticeship training at training centres is to target the increasing dropouts of the educational system. The main goal is to provide the target group of "older" young people with additional qualification pathways to prepare them for the apprenticeship completion exam (e.g. intensive training for skilled workers, courses of the Public Employment Service, etc.).

From the data analysis, we can highlight that these policies starting a decade ago have an effect on the population of inactive people with low qualifications who have a clearly downward trend, as shown in Fig. 13

Figure 13 Inactive in Vienna: educational level



Source: author elaboration on Statistics Austria

In 2007, in the city of Vienna, was funded the Koordinationsstelle (Co-ordination Unit) financed and promoted by the Public Employment Service (AMS), the Federal Office for Social Affairs (*Sozialministeriumservice*) and the Vienna Social Fund (*Funds Soziales Wien*).

When the federal government decided on the Training Guarantee in 2008, the implementation was carried out from the AMS Vienna and co-funding with WAFF; the Koordinationsstelle was committed to surveying the situation of the youth school-to-work transition in Vienna with a focus on young people at risk of exclusion.

In 2010, simultaneously with the increasing effects of the financial crisis, they had a strategic role in cushioning these effects by building up the Viennese training guarantee and expanding the Viennese range of offers. In the following year, they developed the “youth monitoring” of the City of Vienna, establishing a reporting system for young people in transition from school to work.

With the start of the Vienna 2020 qualification plan took place the establishment of the steering group for the Vienna Apprenticeship Guarantee as part of the “School and Initial Vocational Training” field of activity for joint development and management and the conversion of the focus from "Transitional Management" to the "Vienna Training Guarantee".

In 2016 with the compulsory training Law for all young people under the age of 18 years old was the launch of the Co-ordination Unit Youth – Education – Employment and the institutionalization of the agency into a cross-institutional process to “develop a common understanding of the entry requirements (training maturity) and approaches/methods for assessing competencies in Vienna”. Extension of the nationwide training guarantee to young adults under the age of 25, implemented by AMS Vienna. Joint development of advisory and educational offers for young asylum seekers, in 2017 Symposium on the Vienna Training Guarantee.

Figure 14 Vienna youth guarantee system

It is also crucial to mention and consider that Austria is the only EU member state and the only developed democracy worldwide that provides voter rights to its sixteen-year-old citizens, which is allowed at all political levels (Bischof and Karlhofer, 2015). In 2007 the voting age in Austria was lowered from 18 to 16 years in the course of a broader reform of the electoral law. Since then, at the age of 16, youngsters have been allowed to vote in general, municipal, federal and presidential elections as well as in the elections to the European Parliament.

4.4 Mapping the Institutional Architecture: relevant actors

The beginning of the 20th century was characterised by implementing a new institutional structure mostly to organise the distribution of unemployment, which consisted of bipartite commissions of representatives from the unions and the employers. This dualistic interpretation constituted the cornerstone of the social policy reform in the early 1920s. Furthermore, Vienna started to develop the WKW (*Wirtschaftskammer Wien)* and AK (*Arbeiterkammer Wien)* dualistic and corporative logic. The dualism of the social partnership logic between the representative of the big business on the one hand and the union on the other constitute the essential articulation between society and local institutions. The logic of the Social Partnership is a voluntary arrangement of the broadly informal nature, and it is not regulated by law, and it refers to the cooperation of the four major socio-economic interest groups[57] committed to pursuing common long-term economic and social policy goals achieved through joint action and ongoing dialogue in the search for consensus rather than open conflict, thereby avoiding the costs of direct confrontation. This collective negotiating agreement is one of the tasks conducted by the social partners' organisations, and as a rule, these collective agreements are negotiated on behalf of the employers (by Economic Chamber Organisation) and behalf of the employees (by Austria Trade Union Federation). The Parity Commission is an institutionalised forum for dialogue in which approaches and strategies for matters of particular economic importance are discussed and agreed upon. As a part of the Advisory Council for Economic and Social Affairs, the social partners conduct detailed studies of economic and social policy relevance and also provide inputs and expertise for policy formulation.

[57] the Austria Trade Union Federation (OGB), the Austria Federal Economic chamber (WKO), the Federal Chamber of Labour (BAK) and the Austria Chamber of Agriculture (LKO).

4.4.1 WK Wien – Economic Chamber

The WKO (*Wirtschaftskammer Osterich* – Economic Chamber) has a history of over 150 years as a representant of the interest of businesses in Austria and was established in 1848/49 with compulsory membership. A decisive moment of the WKO's recent development was the adoption of the Chamber of Commerce Act in 1946[58]. At that time, the Federal Chamber of Trade and Commerce was set up, which included professional associations with their own legal personality and budgetary power. WKO is a significant institution of the Austrian social partnership organisation and has the goal of helping to create stable economic conditions. This means that they have a very defined role as a representative of interest and promotion of the economy. Public law (Wirtschaftskammergesetz) provides a legal foundation for the Austrian Federal Economic Chambers, supplying the legal framework for all Chambers, their cooperation, mandatory membership, and rules for setting membership fees. Although established by public law, the Federal Economic Chambers are exclusively business-driven. The Austrian Federal Economic Chamber is financially self-sufficient, with around 85% of expenditure covered by member contributions and a further 15% by revenues from marketable sales. This factor, combined with organisational management through democratic self-government, makes them independent from public authorities.

Every business is a member of the WKO and as well a member of relevant professional associations for its particular industry. WKO position the mission as quoted from the interview: "representation of the common interest of all their members and as a powerful voice of enterprise to push for policies which look to the future and are beneficial for business". In the same way, the WKO has an important role as a "Corporate Social Responsibility", which means that as well as highlighting

[58] During the fascist regime the Chambers of Labour were completely liquidated in 1938 and re-established in 1945 with the Austrian liberation.

the importance of business for society, they also play an essential role in promoting the responsibilities of business towards society. “This allows businesses to turn their commitment to social responsibility into a competitive advantage”.

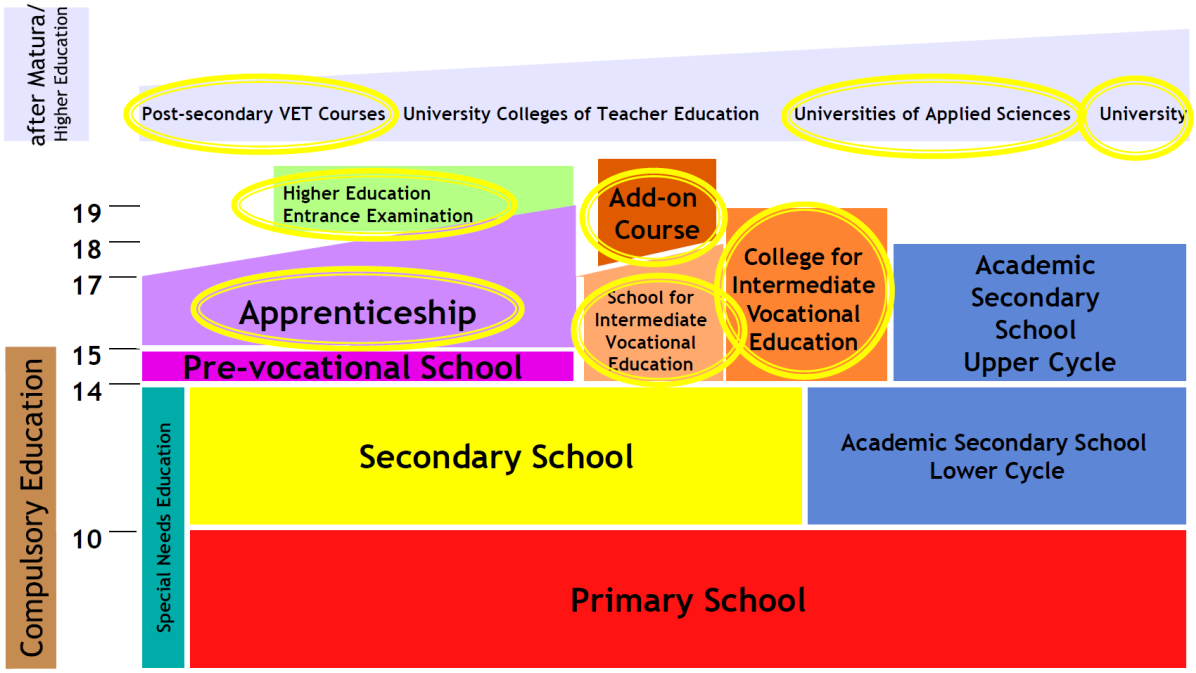
The responsibilities of the WKO are clearly defined within the federalist structure system of Austria as follows:

- The Federal Chamber (Austria Federal Economic Chamber – WKO), which is at the national level the economic chamber responsible for Austria, thereby making it the largest self-governing body within the Economic Chamber organisation.
- The nine provincial chambers (where the WK Wien is one of the nine representatives) are directly responsible for the care of their regional members and affairs within the region. WKO – the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber is responsible for all matters that go beyond the responsibility of a province.
- Representative Professional Organisations are divided into professional associations, which represent the seven (Craft and Trades; Industry; Commerce; Bank and Insurance; Transport and Communications; Tourism and Leisure Industries; Information and Consulting) individual sector-related interest.
- The provincial economic chamber is also assisted in their work by 83 district and regional branch offices throughout the country as a guarantee for individualised services and efficient representation of interests. “The main goal is to create the best conditions for doing business”.

WK Wien – Wirtschaftskammer Wien (the Viennese Chamber of Economics) as a “modern service provider” is the larger *Bildung* – non-governmental provider of vocational training in the country, consequently in the city of Vienna. They call this the “education of the economy” in the perspective of “knowledge as a competitive edge”. This system is organized in all the educational institutions founded and

increased by the WKO. These educational paths correspond to the needs of the companies and reflect the targeted cooperation between these educational institutions – from apprenticeship training to vocational middle and higher schools to professional adult education through the WIFIs (Institute for Economic Promotion) and to the academic offers of technical colleges and private universities. In the areas of management, personal development, languages, business administration, IT/computer sciences and technology, the WIFI continuously develops new educational programs in order to meet the demands of the market.

Figure 15 The education system offered from the WK Wien



Source: WK Wien

The higher-level of technical and vocational colleges are presented after the 8th grade and represent five years with Matura (the high school diploma), which consist in the University entrance qualification:

- Higher technical college (HTL)
- Commercial Academy (HAK)

- Higher Educational Institute (LDS)
- Higher Educational Institute for Economic Professions (CPR)
- Higher Agricultural and Forestry Institute

Figure 16 Educational institutions of the WK Wien

Source: WK Wien

The Business Start-up Service is the start-up and advisory contact point for people who want to start up a business. The Junior Chamber Austria is the community of interests for people in business between the ages of 18 and 40. Besides providing various service products, the networking of young businesspeople with partners looking for potential co-operation is at the forefront of its activities. Three projects are carried forward in the WK Wien (Vienna Economic Chamber):

- **Junior Company Program** when students (14-18) develop a business idea and establish a Junior company for the duration of a school year as part of the school lessons that end in a final state competition.
- **TECmania** when students have insights into a technical company, and this experience is documented by the pupils at their own discretion and then published on Facebook for winning a competition. The most popular documentary can win a prize decided by a panel of experts.

- **Talent-Check Vienna** is a vocational training offer for the students of the 8th grade in terms of their strengths and weaknesses, as well as the usefulness and needs of the economy. It is conducted online in all 8th-grade schools (15.000 students/year).

Logistic: Location between the Messe Wien exhibition grounds the Prater Park and the new campus of the Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU), which is turned into a new inner-city development.

4.4.2 AK – Chamber of Labour

Since the 1920s, the Chamber of Labour (AK - *Arbeiterkammer Wien*) has been representing the legal interests of Austrian workers. The AK is an important actor and has considerable actions and contributions to social and welfare legislation that can be traced back to initiatives and influences through the years. Working closely with the trade unions, but in areas allocated separately, the Chamber of Labour represent the social, economic, cultural and employment policy interest. In accordance with the federalist structure of Austria, there is a Chamber of Labour in each of nine federal states based on statute. In this organisation, the Chamber of Labour in Vienna manages the affairs of the Federal Chamber of Labour, the umbrella organisation of the nine regional Chambers of Labour. As explained in the interview: "the Chamber of Vienna has two brains: one for the City as a Federal State and the other as the umbrella organisation for all the other chambers present in the nine federal states". Both the federal and the regional Chambers of Labour are self-governing public corporations.

Workers, apprenticeship, the unemployed well as persons on maternity/paternity leave are members of the Chamber of Labour pursuant to the law. The compulsory membership means that all Chamber of Labour members automatically benefit from the conceptual work of the Chamber of Labour. Besides, the chamber of Labour also represents the interest of pensioners. The chamber of Labour contribution is used to

finance this organisational structure. It amounts to 0.5% of the gross salary of each member, and 75% of it is used to the direction of specific services for the members (including those who are exempted from subscription payments). As the Austrian Economic Chamber, the Chamber of Labour is part of the system of "economic and social partnership" in this cooperation between government and various bodies of political interest. The guiding principle of this system, as expressed many times during the interview, is solving conflicts of interest primarily at the negotiating table rather than through industrial action such as strikes and lock-outs.

Services and tasks offered by the AK are:

Control of law-making: workers and consumers are integrated into the Austrian law-making by the Chambers of Labour and later evaluate legislative law drafts from the viewpoint of works and consumers. This action consists of the submission of proposals for amendments that are included in the implementation of laws. The Chamber of Labour, supported by studies undertaken by their experts, also provide impetus to initiate legislation.

Research on behalf of workers and consumers: a staff of highly qualified experts that operate as a think tank for the interest of workers and carry out studies on a host of general economic and social policy topics. This knowledge-based is considered as a prerequisite for effective political work on behalf of the employees. The result of these studies are essential and inform a vital part of the political discourse.

Services for members: these services are free of charge and include information and advice on matters of employment law, unemployment insurance and social security, tax law, family and as well as employee and trainee protection.

Education and culture: are considered as key area of activity, and the Chamber of Labour provide considerable funds for education, vocational and further training, as well as training representatives of the workers' movement. The Chamber of Vienna, in particular, is an example of cultural activities and, since 2001, has been promoting

contemporary art projects on the topics "Working Worlds of the 21st Century", "Women and Society", and "Interculturality".

Projects:

AK Project Fund Work 4.0. for projects that improve co-determination and cooperation within the company through digitalisation, calculate work and overtime entitlements at the push of a button, online modules to give employees a stage and be heard, innovative formats with digital support for company meetings or projects that intelligently regulate the inaccessibility of employees in their leisure time. The AK wants to help shape digitisation for the benefit of employees and make them fit for digitisation.

AK Bildungsnavi: comprehensive educational counselling and orientation in the 7th and 8th grades and before the High School level.

We can notice that the dualistic logic created from the beginning of these two institutions of interest representatives' foundation is very defined and creates a logic of oppositions: the inside (representatives of both sides) and the outside (what is new and not represented). The boundaries between WKO and AK are well defined, and it is in the centre of their institution related to the formation of their specific object: the interest between workers and employers. The dynamics of both institutions' origins continue uninterruptedly to be produced in the practises and discourses of borders that unfold daily.

4.4.3 AMS – Public Employment Service

The Austrian Public Employment Service (AMS - *Arbeitsmarktservice*) is Austria's leading provider of labour-market related services. It matches candidates with job openings and assists jobseekers and companies by offering advice, information, qualification opportunities and financial assistance. Commissioned by the Federal Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs Health and Consumer protection, the AMS is

defined as a modern service and an independent public-law company, entirely separated from the state in terms of its legal status and functioning as an enterprise under public law in close cooperation with labour and employers' organisations. The development in the Austrian labour market policy since the 1990s has been characterised both by activation and restriction. Since 1993 a more restrictive regime of benefits has persistently been introduced (Tálos, 2005). Especially under the "black-blue" coalition of ÖVP and FPÖ, the political discourse stressed the non-tolerance of and the fight against the unwillingness to work (Obinger and Tálos, 2006; Atzmüller, 2009; Stelzer-Orthofer, 2011). Accordingly, reasonability regulations have been further tightened, and the systems of sanctions have been expanded and implemented more severely (Atzmüller, 2009). Generally, it can be stated that from the 1990s, the Austrian system of unemployment benefits has shifted, similarly to other countries, from the notion of income maintenance to a stricter regime of benefits-oriented towards conditional minimum income protection matched by increased activation measures.

The most important reform regarding active labour market measures was introduced in 1994 with the Public Employment Service Act (*Arbeitsmarktservicegesetz*), providing a new legal framework both from the normative and the organisational dimension of active labour market policies. Before introducing the Law, the Public Employment Service constituted an integral part of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. After the Law, the Public Employment Service was formally separated from the Ministry. It became a semi-autonomous, tripartite Public Employment Service Agency (*Arbeitsmarktservice*, AMS), with its legal status as a public-law service enterprise (*Dienstleistungsunternehmen öffentlichen Rechts*), establishing an autonomous corporate and management identity. This reform marked an increase in the relevance of activation strategies. Within this context, the establishment of the AMS aimed at transforming the Public Employment Service into a comprehensive service provider pursuing the goals of decentralising the decision making processes and of increasing the flexibility in regional deployments of resources and the better involvement of the

social partners. According to Atzmüller (Atzmüller, 2009), this transformation was also marked by the introduction of new public management strategies with a strong emphasis on management by objective techniques. It is worth mentioning that one of the main goals in this context has been the diminution of long-term unemployed, which affected that unemployment people have often been placed in courses and training measures shortly before their pass over into the status of long-term unemployment in order to break the period of unemployment and, at least statistically, reduce the long-term unemployment rate (Stelzer-Orthofer 2011). Generally, with the establishment of the AMS and the stronger emphasis on active policies, Austria has oriented its labour market policies towards the activation paradigm, prioritising active measures over passive benefit payments. As a result, Austria's response to the economic crisis since 2008 has seen substantial investment in active measures (together with the expansion of short-time work schemes) (OECD, 2009).

With the establishment of the AMS, which combines characteristics associated with different activation models and regimes showing very well the ambiguities and the double-faced nature of activation: on the one hand, there is a strong emphasis on a responsibility-based understanding of unemployment and on bringing benefit recipients back into the labour market as soon as possible (Atzmüller 2009); on the other hand, however, there have been a substantial investment in the Public Employment Service and a notable expansion of active measures for training and qualifications.

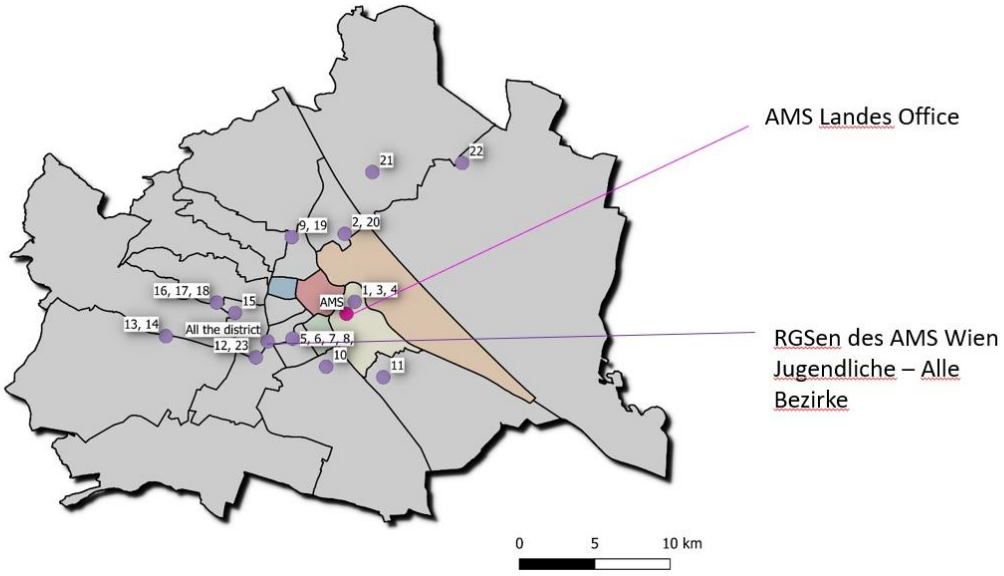
The contracting out of the AMS led to an extensive decentralisation of labour-market policies and the implementation of regionalised organisational structures. Since Vienna is one of the nine Austrian federal states (*Bundesländer*), it is significant to explain the configuration of the AMS at the federal and city level. Each organisation of the AMS is defined as a "business unit" (*Geschäftstelle*). The goal was to generate a more differentiated implementation of the labour market policy measures that should be fitting regional-specific labour-market problems and aims.

Therefore, the Austrian Public Employment Service (AMS) implements the Federal Government's labour market policy and has the overall aims to offer services both for job-seekers and enterprises and promote the adaptability of the labour force generally. The AMS assumes its role as a service provider enterprise in close cooperation with labour and employers' organisations, offering advice, information, qualification opportunities and financial assistance, and matching services to constantly connect job seekers and job openings on the labour market. The organisational structure of the AMS in Vienna comprises the AMS federal-state office for Vienna (AMS *Landesgeschäftsstelle Wien*), twelve local branch offices, the local unit *(Bezirksgeschäftsstellen)* allocated over the Viennese territory and a specialised branch office for a specific target group that of young job-seekers up to 21 years old (AMS *Wien Jugendliche*)[59]. The scaled structures, the federal and the regional (local/district area of the city) are run according to criteria based on "management by objectives" and "output or performance-related pay". The conceptualisation of concrete programmes and goals are created by the federal unit based on parameters and programmes of labour-market policies, which are adopted at the government level, and then implemented on the local units.

AMS is a Key position in multi-level governance coordination with local social services: asylum and integration, youth services, the city's economic agencies, social partners (employers and employees), city council departments for social welfare, industrial association, NGOs etc.

[59] During the field work the branch of AMS Wien Jugendliche which is the only one branch presented for young people in the organisation of AMS, was under restructure. These activities are a key aim to ensure equal opportunities for young people in the labour market by providing services to improve their skill level. The idea then is to separate the office and recreate two offices in order to increase the population of young people under 25 years old and provide further diversification of the service supply.

Figure 17 AMS Viennese district Office distribution



Source: Author elaboration

Considering the processes of economic restructuring dominated by the growth of the service sector, human-capital and software-based economic activities, these had significant consequences in the demand of workforce, and attraction of high-quality workers means 'expulsion' (Sassen, 2014) of the low-skilled workers, which had been increasingly faced with severe problems on the labour market. This phenomenon has been respected in the development of unemployment in Vienna since the late 1980s. While up to the second half of the 1980s, unemployment in Vienna had been only slightly above and varied in parallel to the national average, since then, there has been a growing divergence between the unemployment level in Vienna and the rest of the country. During periods of crisis, unemployment in Vienna rises more significantly, with the highest rates, especially for low-qualified and migrant workers (Atzmüller 2009).

4.4.4 WAFF – Vienna Employee Support Fund

In 1995 the WAFF *(Wiener ArbeitnehmerInnenförderungsfonds* – Vienna Employee Support Fund) was created to complement the activities of the AMS (*Arbeitsmarktservice*" – the Austrian Public Employment Service) and to implement more preventative local labour market policies.

The increased need and demands of availability and implementation of locally sensitive welfare strategies, not only brought up by the economic changes but also the social demands to re-embed labour markets, create attempts for new institutions or reorganise the existing ones in order to develop new forms of cooperation at the city level.

The creation of WAFF in 1995 was a measure for the systematic creation of ALMP (Active Labour Market Policies) at the city level. The abandonment of the Austro-Keynesian strategy and subsequent reforms of labour market policies, which were based on a radical restructuring of the institutional setting of labour market policies (contracting out of the AMS) and a slow shift towards workfare and activation, changed the situation since the second half of the 1980s. Social developments, such as a growth in unemployment and precarious forms of employment accompanying the outlined economic trends, were most pronounced in Vienna (Atzmüller, 2009). Putting a local ALMS institution into practice was made possible thanks to two conditions as explained by Atzmüller (2009, p.7): first "Austrian provinces dominated by the conservative ÖVP (*Österreichische Volkspartei* – Austrian people's party) were more committed to ALMS than Vienna"; second, "there was some dissatisfaction with the rather inflexible approach to ALMS of Vienna's regional AMS branch, whose structure still paralleled the branch organisation of the Austrian trade union movement". The organization of WAFF was then started from the Union of Private Sector Employees, which covers a range of services and manufacturing sectors, and the Chamber of Labour, a mandatory body representing all employees. Furthermore, the creation of

WAFF was necessary for having an institution to run Work Foundations which are high-quality labour market devices for employees and support occupational reorientation and retraining.

The WAFF grew quickly over the following years and was attached to the City Council's Economic and Finance Department. Its status, which is based on the law on regional foundations and funds, can run everyday activities independently of everyday politics. Its overall funds, however, have to be decided by the City Parliament every year. Nevertheless, critics have highlighted a lack of public accountability concerning the WAFF's activities (Becker and Novy, 1999). Moreover, as an institution, WAFF is dominated by all-encompassing rhetoric of cooperation and partnership integrating all relevant actors in the field of labour market policies. In the same way, the board direction of WAFF is controlled by the Social Democrat majority, all political parties, the social partners, and the Vienna branch of the AMS.

Activities and services: WAFF aims to promote the professional development of employees in Vienna who seek to enhance their skills, so not only the focus on the labour market but also the idea of helping people cope with problems for successful reintegration into employment. As a result, they position themselves as "the first port of call for those looking to get ahead in their career". This also means that, as explained by them in the interview, "we identify challenges in the Vienna job market at an early stage, analyse them, and develop appropriate solutions". From an organizational perspective of the local institutions in Vienna, Waff supplements the government's labour market policy in close cooperation with the Vienna Public Employment Service (AMS Wien) and with trade unions and employer associations.

Generally, the WAFF's *''Services for employees''* consist of two types of programmes. On the one hand, a range of measures focuses on individual advice on further education and training opportunities, job change, etc. About 35 per cent of the budget for employees is spent on these kinds of activities. On the other hand, the WAFF concentrates its activities for employees on financial support for further education and

training. This skills-oriented strategy is supported by so-called Further Training Accounts used by 3,600 people in 2008. Generally, the WAFF emphasises training measures that correspond with the existing national educational framework and lead to acknowledged qualifications.

Services for job seekers – and entrants to the labour market: Another important programme strand of the WAFF is measuring for job seekers and entrants to the labour market, which is presented as complementary to the local AMS activities main actor in ALMP in general. In 2008, about 39 per cent of the standard remuneration of the WAFF (about € 10.6 million) was dedicated to these services, which were used by about 13,100 people (female share: 43.7 per cent). In general, the services under this heading are organised around four dimensions. The most important is the support of Vocational Education and Training (VET) (apprenticeships) for school leavers. In this context, another E9.4 million was made available by the Vienna City Council to finance the Training Guarantee programme for young people, which was introduced by the social partners and the government in 2008 to cope with the looming crisis of the dual system of VET. Thus, in total, about E11.4 million are available to provide VET to about 4,000 youths. This means that up to a quarter of all apprenticeships in Vienna (female share: about 37.5 per cent) are financed through public funds. The focus on women outlined above and on policies to support the reconciliation of work and family life forms a second important dimension in this programme strand. The third dimension is constituted by Work Foundations, through which the WAFF offers retraining to employees (in cooperation with companies) who have lost their jobs due to economic restructuring. The fourth focus of the WAFF's services for job seekers and entrants to the labour market is people in danger of social exclusion. Almost 22 per cent of the standard budget under this heading is dedicated to measures for the long-term unemployed, people on social assistance (former) drug addicts, early school leavers, and migrants (especially asylum seekers). The main idea of the different programmes is to combine measures to reintegrate people in employment (placement activities)

with different guidance, social work, training, etc. Additional activities and measures are offered under different programme streams of the WAFF. Most of the activities are organised and financed in cooperation with other national (AMS) and local institutions (Council departments) and international resources such as the ESF.

Services for companies: the focus of WAFF activities is to support human capital development in companies, for which about 33 per cent of the WAFF's standard budget was used in 2008. Altogether about 2,600 employees were supported, 49 per cent of them female, under this programme strand. WAFF's company-oriented strategy has three dimensions. First, the WAFF tries to support companies looking for new staff (e.g. through their ''*Personalfinder*'' programme). Second, it offers support to companies who want to train and up-skill their workforce to cope with structural changes, covering 50 per cent of training costs. The focus here is on companies in manufacturing and production services and training measures in soft skills and intercultural competencies, with another focal point on training measures in health care. Third, companies who hire new employees are supported through so-called Emplacement Work Foundations, which finance training activities at future employers in the IT sector (300 participants) and in healthcare (450 participants).

With the implementation of WAFF, the City Council tried to increase its autonomy with ALMP and to bring forward locally sensitive activities. On a vertical dimension, conflicts quickly emerged when tensions with government departments and the Vienna branch of the AMS came to the fore. On a horizontal dimension, a range of conflicts developed with other local institutions and municipal departments. A further line of conflict transcended (national and regional) public institutions, as private, not-for-profit labour-market policy service providers viewed the WAFF as both a competitor for limited funds and an institution of state control. An interesting set of tensions came to the fore in the evolving relations between the regional branch of the AMS and WAFF. During the process of restructuring labour market policy institutions, the regional AMS branches faced severe pressure to change. Especially after 2000, the

Vienna branch of the AMS became the target of the government's neoliberal restructuring zeal (Atzmuller, 2009).

As explained by the interview, the AMS Vienna was criticised for underperforming because of high levels of long-term unemployment in Vienna. It had to be brought in line with the emerging mainstream of the AMS in Austria. A process of institutional reorganisation was set in place to make the local AMS more ''dynamic'' and ''flexible'' in approach and to transform it into an efficient service-orientated body capable of meeting the performance targets set for the AMS.

4.4.5 MA23 – Municipal Department 23 - Economy, Labour and Statistics

The traditional core of the production-based, political-administrative system in Vienna was built by a universal hierarchical welfare state on a local level. This implies a 'top-down' decision-making structure and institutions providing a relatively narrow range of services in a fairly inflexible and standard way to a large (and formerly homogenous) population.

Statistical districts and statistical areas are the essential spatial classification units for mapping. The size and the socio-demographic characterisation of statistical districts and statistical areas differ significantly from one to another. They are usually relatively small in the central districts but sometimes extremely large at the periphery. It is important to note that a considerable proportion of the statistical districts are not merely artificial 'statistical spaces' but are closely related to historical-topographical quarters or to newly built-up areas at the urban fringe.

The administrative apparatus of Vienna is very complex and articulated. The administrative apparatus is divided into seven Groups of Executive City Councils, each of them in turn, divided into strategic departments (*Magistratsabteilung*) specialised in different disciplines. All the strategic departments are structured and organised to work on special issues and what they have been trying to accomplish in

the last decade to spread the communication and collaboration between departments to achieve interdisciplinary synergy.

For the purpose of this research, we took into consideration its essential role in the institutional architecture of the Municipal Department 23 - Economy, Labor and Statistics (*Magistratsabteilung 23 – Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Statistik – Dienststellenleitung*) in short MA23.

The role of MA23 in the construction of the youth transition system in Vienna was significant and crucial in 2007-2008 as they did all the surveys, statistical analysis and territorial mapping on understanding the needs and necessities of young people in Vienna. In this strategic department, they prepare an analysis of youth policies and the education system from an economic and labour market perspective. Especially they build statistics on the target of young disadvantage the so-called "NEET" (not in employment, education and training). Furthermore, they are currently planning to build a new territorial distribution of the young unemployment thanks to their autonomy and budget capacity, which give the municipality the possibility to plan and organise.

The role of the MA23 is to collaborate with other municipality departments and, for example, with Koordinationsstelle and WAFF, but their specific role is on the economic and statistical analysis. MA23 produce data and qualitative analysis in the labour market, and they look after the index of how employment increases and decreases, especially for the city municipality of Vienna, and they are focused on the technical role. The coordination between the MA23, Koordinationsstelle and the Waff make it possible to have a better understanding of the Viennese labour market thanks to the special case of the Municipality of Vienna, which also can rely on financial support independently from the national state to make local decisions on the needs required in the Viennese territory. The key task of MA23 was to provide a clear picture of the population of young people and based on the collection of data giving a better profile of young people (almost on time) for the design of the policies, planning and

decision making on placing the policies inside the system at the city level. The effort is to re-orient and highlight the importance in line with the "Qualification Plan 2030", a strategic approach to providing more young Viennese with training that will enable them to take advantage of employment opportunities with higher qualification requirements. The guiding lines are to support especially young people obtaining a vocational and educational qualification beyond compulsory schooling in expanding their skills this as confirmed by the interview:

> "if you don't do it, you will be unemployed in the future without the right skills to invest in because the labour market will need specific skills. From our analysis, the risk increases in the youth that don't start from the beginning having the right qualifications in the education system. From my expertise in the territory, Vienna is becoming more competitive, and if you are low educated in the future, you will find it more and more difficult to find a job in the city area".

5 Case study: Milan

5.1 National policy context

The administrative organization and scale are crucial in Italy based on the logic of vertical and horizontal[60] subsidiarity as introduced in 2001 by the constitutional Law 3/2001. Before the 2001's reform of Title V of the constitution, Italy had a system very similar to the French one (the national level continues to be the only one with legislative powers and the regions have a voice only on territorial planning and development local economy) where the powers assigned to the Regions were marginal compared to those of the State. The constitutional reform law was promoted by the centre-left governments run by D'Alema and Amato and confirmed with the first constitutional referendum to be held in Italy[61]. To meet the demands of the wealthier regions that demanded greater powers and avert the secessionist bogey advanced by the *Lega Nord* (North League) party, the left responded with a strong decentralization, without arriving at a form of a federal state. With the new constitutional law (art. 117 of 2001), it is the State that sees the matters of its competence listed while introducing the principle of subsidiarity with more matters of shared competence between State and Regions and all the others matters not expressly mentioned in this area are of exclusive regional competence.

Furthermore, in shared competencies like education, the state determines the fundamental principles and the regions have legislative power. Other matters not expressly mentioned in this area are exclusive regional competence and so for the schools (except vocational training, all under the Regions). With the school system's

[60] Interpreted as the engagement of the various social actors in the community through their involvement in both policy design and provision services.

[61] Constitutional referendum in Italy of 7 October 2001: Yes (64.2%) No (35.8%) - no quorum required and turnout: 34.1% (about 10 million people)

example in mind, the central power is exclusively responsible for the rules on educational systems, programs and qualifications, the function of teachers and school managers, the areas of autonomy of schools, the equal school. To the Regions, the organization of the school network and the distribution of staff. Nevertheless, not to the point of selecting it freely. For example, there is a case with the Lombardy Region regarding the Law 76 of 2013 rejected by the Council, which provided that each school could organize competitions to recruit annual alternates.

What emerges, in this case, is that the rules are flexible, and Italy is not a centralist system, and it is not a federalist system neither, seeking for power often prevails, unbalanced towards the State or towards the Regions. Furthermore, according to Bifulco (2008), in the Italian case, the traditional institutional structure is characterised by the apparent paradox of 'too much State' and 'too little State'. While Title V treats all regions in the same way, the reality is that some have shown that they know how to organize themselves better than the state, while others are not up to even a minimum autonomy[62].

Scale:
The state is responsible for the definition of general objectives and minimum assistance
Regions are responsible for the planning and designing of social policies
Provinces coordinate and support local levels
Metropolitan city[63] – introduced in 2014 by Law 56, are under definitions
Municipalities (divided into Municipi) are in charge of the implementation and delivery of services and supports

[62] source: journalistic investigation of Dataroom Gabbanelli – Corriere della Sera https://www.corriere.it/dataroom-milena-gabanelli/competenze-stato-regioni-chi-comanda-sanita-trasporti-scuola-costituzione-ricorsi-scontri/289baf94-3d50-11eb-943e-95a1c9e91e01-va.shtml

[63] The introduction of the Law 56/2014 changes the role of the Provinces within the scale because the Metropolitan City was thought as a level of government to substitute the Provinces and their role in local policy support.

5.1.1 ALMPs in Italy a slow commitment

Italy has a delicate situation regarding the employment rate (63,1%), which is below the EU average (73,2%) (Eurostat, 2018; European Commision, 2018), particularly for women and young people. Also, the gap of unemployment is substantial between regions, and since 2017, employment growth has been driven by temporary contracts. In February 2018, the leading social partners signed a new framework agreement. This so-called "*Patto per la Fabbrica*" is intended to reform the collective bargaining framework, in particular by better measuring representativeness, also on the employers' side, and avoid uncoordinated decentralisation (European Commission, 2019)

The implementation of active labour market policies (ALMPs) is proceeding slowly. Despite new steps to strengthen public employment services and reduce regional disparities, active labour market policies are barely integrated and coordinated with related policies (e.g. social protection, social services, adult learning, and vocational education and training – VET). Primary competencies lie with regional authorities, which received new resources in 2018 to reinforce public employment services (ANPAL, 2018).

The major challenge in the Italian active labour market system remains the strengthening coordination between the public employment services ANPAL (*Agenzia Nazionale Politiche Attive Lavoro* – ANPAL) and the Regions. Unioncamere plans to conduct surveys and share the results with ANPAL to provide users and operators with information on the forecast of companies' vacancies and training needs. However, the envisaged cooperation with employers has not yet started.

Youth unemployment and the difficulties regarding successful transitions to employment have gained a prominent role within policy discourses in Europe in

recent years in the aftermath of the economic crisis. The Youth Guarantee[64] scheme is supporting an increasing number of young people all over the EU. Since its launch in 2014, 1.4 million young people have registered, out of which 53% have received support through activation measures. However, large discrepancies persist across regions, with 45 % of the young covered by the scheme in the South compared to 71.1 % in the North-West (Tsekoura, 2019). Traineeships are by far the most common provided measure. The share of young people in the programme who have not received any offer for more than four months remains high (83 %). The European Social Fund supports the roll-out of new measures addressed to young people (implementation of Youth Employment initiative), with a particular emphasis on southern regions (idem).

Investment in education and skills formation is considered less effective in comparison with other EU countries (example, Austria), and there is less attention especially the early school leaving rate (14%) remains above EU average (10.6% in 2017) and are considered the worst performer in EU in key competences and basic skills (European Commission, 2018). Italy also has one of the lowest tertiary educational attainment rates for 30- to 34-year-olds in the EU (26.9 % compared to 39.9 % EU average in 2017). Moreover, on average, the wage premium for graduated students is lower than in peer countries (41.2 % in Italy vs 66.3 % in Germany and 54.4 % in France) (European Commission, 2018). This might suggest a low return on education and may discourage tertiary educational attainment (Almalaurea, 2018 and OECD, 2018). The Employment rate of graduates from tertiary vocational education institutes (Istituti Tecnici Superiori) is above 80 % (INDIRE, 2018) after one year. However, they account for less than 1 % of all students in tertiary education (OECD average of 18 % (OECD, 2017b) and are concentrated in the most industrialised regions

[64] Is designed regarding the area of inclusion in 2010 lauched by the EU Youth Strategy Programme and in 2013 the Youth Guarantee (YG).

of Italy. Moreover, according to INDIRE (2018), female participation is very low (under 25 %).

The higher education system is under-financed and understaffed, especially in Southern regions. Total funding for higher education remains one of the lowest in the EU at just 0.3 % of GDP in 2016 (EU average 0.7 %). It was increased by 5 % in 2018 (from EUR 6.981 billion in 2017 to EUR 7.327 billion in 2018). However, most of the increase was devoted to specific initiatives (e.g. "excellent departments"). The proportion of performance-related funding (*quota premiale*) rose to 24 % of available resources, but it was compensated by a decrease in the allocations based on standard costs (22 %), while the fund designed to compensate universities with fewer resources remained unchanged at 2 % (European Commission, 2019).

5.1.2 The importance of the region: Lombardy

The centrality of the regional level is particularly important in the case of Lombardy, where the regional government has, over the years, designed a welfare model with its own strong identity (Pesenti and Merlo, 2012; Gori, 2005). In Italy, regionalization is the political-administrative architecture that institutionalizes the many aspects of active welfare, particularly with reference to the relations between state, market and civil society, the position of citizens and the existing typology of citizen and local community involvement (Bifulco, Bricocoli and Monteleone, 2008). The competencies attributed to the Regions began in 2001 Constitutional Law, led to 2009 Law on fiscal federalism[65], which decreed the transfer of powers/competencies from the National State to the Regions (Poggi, 2010). In this respect, two issues have to be considered: the first is the 2001 reform of Clause V in the Constitution that tried to

[65] Legge 5 maggio 2009, n. 42 "Delega al Governo in materia di federalismo fiscale, in attuazione dell'articolo
119 della Costituzione".

reset competencies and powers between State and Regions, attributing new powers to the Regions and local bodies. The second is that Italian features decentralization[66] processes, especially in the social policy field, leading many Italian Regions to have developed and tested very different approaches according to their political needs. The result is a fragmented policy landscape and ever-increasing inequalities in the welfare system (Bifulco, 2008).

5.2 Brief description of the city of Milan

Milan is a city in northern Italy, the capital of Lombardy, and the second-most populous city in Italy. Milan served as the Western Roman Empire's capital, the Duchy of Milan and the Kingdom of Lombardy–Venetia. The city proper has a population of about 1.4 million, while its metropolitan city has 3.26 million inhabitants. Its continuously built-up urban area that stretches well beyond the boundaries of the administrative metropolitan city, within the wider Milan metropolitan area, is estimated at 8.2 million, making it the largest metropolitan area in Italy and the 3rd largest in the EU.

Milan is considered a global city with strengths in the fields of art, commerce, design, education, entertainment, fashion, finance, healthcare, media, services, research and tourism. Its business district hosts Italy's stock exchange and national and international banks and companies' headquarters. In terms of GDP, it has the second-largest economy among EU cities after Paris and is the wealthiest among EU non-capital cities.

[66] By "decentralisation" indicates a process of devolution of the competences and activities that are formalized by legislation and it is to be understood more broadly and includes those additional initiatives undertaken by the Regions and local authorities beyond the regulation of the legislation.

5.2.1 Mediulanum, the "middle land".

Milan as "land in the middle", following its etymological root Mediolanum is currently the functional-economic capital of a wider city-region that extends to the entire Northern Italy macro-region. The term that characterizes the city as the "land in the middle" together with its status as economic autonomous has a deep-rooted tradition from a medieval religious principle defined "Milanese citizenship" as social standing that anybody coming to the city could obtain by contributing to its welfare through work (Sabatinelli and Costa, 2014).

However, the strong identification with the Lombardy Region has deep roots in the history that dates back to Italy's pre-unification period to what is called the Lombard Enlightenment, that is, the commitment to work as self-realization *"dare il meglio di se stessi,"*[67] a Calvinistic hallmark value. During the nineteenth century, this great relationship between Lombardy and Milan was perceived as the pride of belonging to a small homeland even if the municipal ethos was prevalent in the construction in the values of solidarity ethics (the church) and those deriving from reformist socialism that it has characterized the city since the beginning of the twentieth century (Livolsi, 2016).

In 1914, the Italian Socialist Party conquered the Municipality of Milan. The councils of Emilio Caldara (1914-1920 and the so-called *"socialism ambrosiano"*) and Angelo Filippetti (1920-1922) administer the city in a dramatic moment, during the First World War and in the difficult post-war period until the advent of fascism. At the basis of their idea was a reformist culture and services with the ambition to a profound renewal of society, often combining socialist values with patriotic values, providing assistance to the entire citizens affected by the suffering of war (widows, the mutilated and wounded, the blind). In this context, they had undertaken a set of

[67] Literally translated "giving the best of oneself"

municipalization such as public transport, the creation of a central committee of all the charities to coordinate better the welfare state present in the city fabric, the municipalization of kindergartens, municipal funding for vocational schools.

A significant example to mention here is the legacy of "*Società Umanitaria"* which aimed to offer 'opportunities of redemption' to proletarians, through workers' solidarity activities covered different fields, including the '*Casa del Lavoro'* (House of Work) for the homeless; an employment office for helping jobless people; the building of houses for the working class; the organisation of professional schools; the setting up of co-operatives of workers and so forth (Della Campa, 2003). Furthermore, the municipality was able to create a network of services for the new industrial labour force, the municipal schools for workers created in 1859 with the purpose of providing professional courses for young people who had to interrupt their studies prematurely (Milan Municipality, 1972).

These vast and articulated public actions and designed programs left an indelible mark on society and the future development of social networks, solidarity and mutual aid.

However, the most important of the Socialist initiatives was the radical reform of municipal charity, coordinating all the public and private institutions in this field under the direction of the "*Comitato Centrale di Assistenza"* (Central Committee of Assistance). This was the first step towards the special subsidiarity model, which would characterise Milan's experience: private sources' services were not dismantled, but the municipality was given the leading role (Agnoletto, 2015). The end of the Socialist experience and the rise of Fascism created a new situation for Milan's welfare institutions. During the Fascist regime, in the 1920s and the 1930s, a dualism existed in Milan, with the coexistence of traditional municipal and private institutions on one side and the activities carried out by the Party and the other Fascist organisations on the other (Bressan, in idem).

5.2.2 The alternative: from the movement to municipal reformism

Since the end of World War II, as we gave some considerations in the paragraph above, the city of Milan was a highly dynamic context in terms of welfare provision, with the municipal government having a crucial role in designing and providing social services with a long-term perspective through investment in social, educational policies and as a service provider of vocational schools (Agnoletto, 2006). Therefore, the Milanese tradition is based on deep-rooted municipalism with strong identities and is manifested above all in creating services for citizens.

The pragmatic perspective, which is based on the identification of Milan as the economic and financial capital of Italy it is to be considered during the 1950s-1970s when the former industrial triangle, together with Genoa and Turin, took place in the creation of the Fordist area and with the city capacity to formulate solutions to the problems and challenges.

From 1951 to 1971, the city became an essential destination for internal migration[68] as a consequence of its economic leadership. This massive and incredibly fast increase in the population carried an explosion of social needs that had to be met by the local political class (Foot, 2015). One of the essential institutions directly managed by the municipality, which is worth mentioning here, is the municipal schools and the fight against illiteracy, which was one of the priorities closely related to the mass immigration from southern Italy. Milan's municipality created a large network of educational activities for adults that were a strategic resource and traditionally oriented on vocational and technical courses.

However, the existence of two '*licei*', as well as the very famous municipal school of music, represented another peculiarity of Milan's welfare state and as a strategic 'cultural policy' opened to the working class. In this case, if their economic condition

[68] Between 1951 to 1966 the city gained nearly 400.000 new residents (Agnoletto, 2015)

was the only barrier, workers were not forced to attend vocational courses as a tool for immediate job solutions (Craici 1955, in Agnoletto, 2015).

As highlighted by Agnoletto (2015, p. 70), "the role played by the municipality in providing social services shows the existence in Milan of a network of non-familistic institutions which provided citizens with a system of services typical of a universal welfare state pattern". It challenges Esping Andersen's idea of the Italian model traditionally based on the centrality of the family and that of competitiveness and distrust that Banfield describes as the basic features of inter-family and social relationships (ibidem). In this period, Milan introduced an innovative strategy of the social policy, taking advantage of the pre-existing local tradition of catholic charity and social assistance, the legacy of the socialist and the influence of fascism.

Furthermore, the parties[69] played a positive role, favouring and mediating political participation, giving contents and meanings to "democratic citizenship" (Gualtieri, 2006) considered important until it became (from the 1980s onwards) a place and instrument of clientele, subdivision and corruption. For this reason, this paragraph intends to construct the city's historical process briefly, for example, the student movements of 1968 and later those of the workers 1969, that acts as bifurcations of events and influence the whole transition of the '70s considering these historical moments crucial more than Tangentopoli, cited as the fundamental cause by many authors.

Between the '50s and the '70s, it was the beginning of some important signs of modernization and a new way of managing working relationships; for example, Olivetti, one of the most important companies, began to talk about human relations and theorized the "factory-community[70]". The urban landscape changed rapidly and

[69] Essentially were three parties that favoured this process: PCI, PSI, DC (the left and the left-centre wing) which together in some elections reached about 75% of the total voters. All concentrated with the commitment to the "construction" of republican of Italy that began with the "writing" of the Constitution and participation in the first republican governments.

[70] Recovered even today from The White Book of Assolombarda, (par.) "Investing in human capital" https://www.assolombarda.it/servizi/formazione/documenti/il-futuro-della-formazione.

radically. There were trust and faith in the future, and the focus shifted from the problems of the present to the trajectory of future planning. In this period, life was thought under the perspective of planning and having a vision of a life project. It was a new and important consideration, even if apparently trivial: the point suggested in this period was that one's life could be thought of as a project and no longer as a destiny (Livolsi, 2016). The economic boom of this time is related to the fact that everyone was working, and it was a miracle made of an army of low-cost and hard-working workers that came with the migratory flows from the south.

Throughout the 1950s, the working class was a little-known social group, and those who belonged to it lived in the suburbs of the cities of Milan and worked in large industries far away from the media attention. Nevertheless, the workers found the voice and protection of the trade unions even though their counterparts, the employers, imposed difficult working conditions and low wages. The Italian historian Guido Crainz (2005) marks the year 1958 as a turning point that takes place in Italy, the political framework changed, and the first episodes of great protest had begun by those who had worked hard without having obtained adequate recognition and ever-more distrust on the institutions that were not looking for possible dialogue.

Starting in the sixties, something was changing thanks to two new "collective actors": young people (who invested more and more in education and are the protagonists of struggles with political objectives) and immigrants from the south (being mostly part of the working class and they were the protagonists of struggles with economic objectives). It was mainly the young people of those years who fought for the change of society with the awareness and a common belief that the transformations of the country were not driven only by the political inadequacy but also by a capitalist system that is limited to greater productivity without engaging in the search for new ways of producing or in new products (Livolsi, 2016). They expressed a vision that was increasingly obtaining awareness, that it was not enough

to have only duties such as working hard without protesting, but also rights that were little recognized, which was gathered in a widespread social ferment of dissatisfaction.

The student movement develops through the influence of large international events and highlights the great confusion and the need for urgency towards the change that was possible thanks to the growing presence of students in so-called mass universities, which brought new needs and values (Lanaro, 1992). Furthermore, the condition of young wage-earners who recently graduated from universities simultaneously with the explosion of the number of university students had seen deterioration and their expectations of obtaining autonomous and creative jobs diminish, therefore, they developed a critique of alienation (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2007).

However, the movement was crucial for formation and socialization and later, from its initiatives, some political paths developed, such as the workers' struggles of 1969. The latter began in a period of distrust towards parties and doubting the politics of the trade unions. The workers' demonstrations born with the Base Committees of an individualistic nature, initially, in contrast, are then taken up and brought back into concrete acts by the trade union organization that take shape in the National Contract for metalworkers and then in the Workers' Statute[71]. The latter is the culmination of a season of social and trade union struggles that lead to an expansion of workers' rights and a general modernization of relations between capital and labour.

The great demonstrations and strikes of the two years of 1969-1970 that began with the reduction of working hours and the conquest of trade union rights and equal pay between workers and employees are products of trade union action which had as its objective a more general reform horizon and looked to the creation of a democratic society founded on social justice and dignity of work (Crainz, 2005). In other words, the great majority of workers "became aware" of their rights.

[71] From participation in the exhibition: *"Autunno caldo"* (the warm autumn)

This period highlights the creation of a space of great solidarity but also of tensions between spontaneity and organization that somehow characterizes the unresolved issue still visible today in the city of Milan. However, the meeting of the workers 'and students' movements generated a space of great expectations and contributed more to the cultural and social change of those years than to the political one[72]. Furthermore, these different perceptions and changes are experienced in the private sphere as institutions driven by their conservative inertia are unable to grasp them deeply.

The movement of these years and the institutional blindness of being unable to give vent to the need for change in progress slipped into the *"Anni di Piombo"* (years of lead), where getting around through the streets of Milan became a cause for fear[73]. The annual of Censis reports produced from 1972 to 1978, describes in terms of "adaptation" and "floating" to highlight an economic system that was based on *"Economia del sommerso"* (an underground economy) and characterized by a state of *"elasticità nella precarietà"* (elasticity in precariousness). In the absence of rules, privatization of the public was reached, that is: "an exploitation of public intervention and resources to categorical, corporate, family interests, which has deeply undermined the functionality and credibility of many institutions" (Report Censis 1977, p. 163). In these years, the state system began to lose more and more trust and the image of those who ran the state has lost credibility. Another characteristic of the beginning of the

[72] "Hot Autumn" exhibition: "the demonstrations of the students united with those of the workers and trade unions involve the whole city. It creates a convinced participation of male and female workers in trade union events and attention to social problems that affect everyone: school, home, health, but also a commitment to mobilize for peace to call for an end to the US war against Vietnam . There is a growing awareness that major international problems are linked together. This is the Milan of the workers, the democratic Milan that lived with awareness of its national role. "(own translation).

[73] "The young graduates who, faced with what they called the 'proletarianization' of their positions, demanded more autonomous, more interesting, more creative, more responsible work, did not thereby envisage quitting the wage-earning class. They wanted more autonomy, but within the framework of large organizations that could offer them job and career guarantees. Which 'endlessly debates the need to construct a society "without classes, hierarchy, authority or regulations"'; and in Italy, a country where 'the effects of industrial conflicts and social malaise are constantly combined', and 'minor details of technical progress in workplaces ... provoke conflicts whose violence is out of all proportion to their causes'" (Bontanski and Chiapello, 2007, p. 224).

'70s is having contributed to the institutional transformation such as the establishment of the Regions[74] and the decentralization process, which first includes legislative measures of administrative reorganization arriving at the perspective of devolution (Bifulco, 2010). To these, for example, is added the financial crisis of the municipality and the tax reform of 1972, which removes any tax capacity from the municipality (Bassetti *et al.*, 2005).

During the 70s, Milan was a city that was 'shedding its skin'; the primacy of industrial capital made up of blue-collar workers was in crisis and not yet projected towards the tertiary sector with the majority of white-collar workers. The new spirit, between the 80s and 90s, denounced the mechanization of the world (post-industrial society against industrial society) and stressed the intolerable character of the modes of oppression by capitalist mechanisms for organizing work expanding the transformation of capitalism and the emergence of a new set of values intended to justify it.

Moreover, this is where the much-debated history in recent literature opens and that some scholars consider it as a crucial point of the watershed in the history between the 80s and 90s of Tangentopoli and the context of the race for intense consumption that would have been the atmosphere of the *"Milano da bere"* (Milan to drink) of the 1980s.

It is crucial at this point to highlight the transition of the years before Tangentopoli highlighting a perspective of history more relaxed in the distinction between a period of stability and periods of transitions (Sabel and Zeitlin, 1997) with the idea that they coexist simultaneously and especially that of Tognoli's councils (1976-1985) which

[74] The regions were established with the creation of the constitution in 1946 but until 1970, when the councils were elected for the first time, there was no regional power. The regions are not part of the local authorities, but are intermediate institutions for the government of the nation. The regions were seen as important tools in the ambitious process that was intended to be implemented with economic planning: the Moro government, in 1963, linked the two issues to each other, also with a view to helping to overcome the north-south gap. The regions, therefore, are considered active protagonists, with the state, for the development of the living conditions of the populations of the whole of Italy.

marks the start of a different and particular political experiment. In this period after the crisis of 1973, when the large firms were in the struggle, they started giving space to small and medium-sized firms and the service sector (as business services). With the crisis, the dimension of the city was under shape again. In the first place, with great work and social relations opportunities, the city had an attractive capacity and grew its population. However, in this period of crisis takes place an inverse movement which is characterized by the increase of rents price and lack of social housing, and the city begins to lose inhabitants. Martinotti (2013) highlights how the population who lived outside the city started commuting, and he defines them as "city-users".

It is in this period that the metropolitan[75] dimension takes place concretely, causing administrative and organisational issues. This complex form of the city, which is expanded beyond its municipal boundary, is a relevant issue as it characterizes an impediment in collective initiatives such as urban development and planning. During Tognoli's council, there was an attempt for the application of the urban development plan focused on the conversion of abandoned industrial areas due to the irreversible crisis of some large companies. To do this, the municipality adopted informal structures: consultants and institutes such as PIM and IReR[76], to promote studies and research, and the urban complex plans with a narrative form are replaced by more technical "area projects". This new way of doing is called reformism based on the *"politica del fare"* (politics of doing) (Mottini, 1985 in Livolsi, 2016). A feeling in line with the spirit of the times. In Milan, the progressive diffusion of well-being was naturally connected with phenomena such as the work culture, which was considered a social value.

[75] Thus was born the question of the metropolitan area which groups several municipalities from an administrative point of view and can also have a form of fiscal management such as an umbrella effect.

[76] PIM: *Centro Studi per la Programmazione Intercomunale dell'area Metropolitana* - Provides operational and technical-scientific support activities to associated local authorities in matters of territorial governance, environment and infrastructures limited to the regional context.

IRER: *Istituto regionale di ricerca della Lombardia* - provides studies relating to institutional, territorial, economic and social structures and processes, aimed at the planning activity of the Region

The reformism of these years means the political action of the movements (students and workers) that have tried to transform the political-economic order and the institutional organization through the struggle, but also the libertarian[77] sentiment which is based on new categories of experience, calling for a new meaning of life and redrawing the social contract which was not acknowledged by the established institutions.

5.2.3 Urban development strategies and the modernisation of the city

In the paragraph above, we briefly introduced that the city of Milan, from the '50s to the '80s, was highly dynamic in terms of welfare provision with the consideration that the municipal government was a crucial actor in designing and providing social services as tools for social and economic development. The achievement of the Milanese reformism of those years (the advent of the centre-left in advance with respect to the national choice) had underestimated two factors: a) the reaction of the professional and economic establishment leading to a break in the political and social coalition that had constituted it (Dente, 2005 in Bassetti et al. 2005); b) the "localistic trap" in respect to the dynamics of policymaking leading to the difficult broader territorial vision.

After the de-industrialisation phase, which took place in the 1980s, with the proliferation of the vacant industrial areas, the city has laid out a significant level of adaptability with a diversity of economic sectors and a manufacturing industry in the hinterland urban area (OECD, 2006; Balducci, Fedeli and Pasqui, 2011). The beginning of the '80s opened up a new phase leading to the formation of a service sector metamorphosis characterized by a new development estate of the city and a

[77] Based on an ideological construct constitutive of modernity: contrast between the "traditional societies" defined as oppressive, and "modern societies", the only one capable for permitting individual self-fulfilment (for more in depth understanding of the concept of liberation during this historical period see Bontanski and Chiapello, 2003).

reorganization of its urban change process. This process – that spread from the urban core to the surrounding areas – contributed to substituting both former large industrial plants and small manufacturing buildings with new urban functions and activities. In these years, the introduction of the service-based economic sector ('*terziarizzazione*') has changed the city climate, creating a period of great experimentation, but also of great difficulty and great fragility from a political point of view. This social, economic and political climate of uncertainty and confusion has opened up spaces for protest and unease that crystallized in the emergence of the Northern League (*Lega Nord* 1993-1997) as the highest expression of protest against the national state. The Northern League (*Lega Nord*) was able to take up the challenges, and the opportunities opened during the post-Tangentopoli crisis of 1993, however, expressing positions that did not go towards a renewal of politics or institutions, but on the creation of narratives, rhetoric and networks of actors, down-scaling the problems and opening up space for market-oriented policies for economic growth entrusting the relationship between administration and society to the introduction of a business model of management the NPM[78] in contracting-out or privatization of the provision of public and welfare services (Gori, 2005). The governance model that characterizes the period of the nineties sees a decrease in the levels of conflict (Bifulco, 2010) and an increase in implementation and management skills. The network remains verticalized with an inclination towards the Region, which becomes an increasingly important actor.

In the years between the 1990s and the explosion of the economic crisis in 2008, the city has maintained a trend of growth, especially in comparison with other former industrial cities in Italy and in Western countries and has been consolidating a certain Italian main epicentre toward the financial and economic hub, and developed as the

[78] New Public Management (NPM) is an approach to running public service organizations that is used in government and public service institutions and agencies, at both sub-national and national levels. The term was first introduced by academics in the UK and Australia to describe approaches that were developed during the 1980s as part of an effort to make the public service more "businesslike" and to improve its efficiency by using private sector management models.

core of knowledge and creative economy and society (Armondi and Di Vita, 2018). Furthermore, from the "*Documento Direttore del Progetto Passante*" to the "*Documento di Inquadramento Ricostruire la Grande Milano*", approved by the Milan City Council in 1984 and in 2000 respectively, according to these plans, the priority axis for the development of the entire urban region corresponded to the new suburban railway tunnel within the Milan municipal area, which was gradually opened starting in 1997 (Bolocan Goldstein and Bonfantini, 2007; Morandi, 2007 in Armondi and Di Vita, 2018) enabling Milan to consolidate itself as a gateway city for connectivity. Running from the northwest of the city to the southeast, this new infrastructure enabled the activation of a new suburban train network that integrated the already existing regional train by contributing to re-directing the urban change process of the urban core towards an urban region perspective (idem). This project led to a first change of scale for the city that strengthened the relations between urban regions and cities.

Nevertheless, this growth had been more sustained before 2000 but weaker afterwards, between 2000 and the first sign of economic turbulence in 2007 (Cucca and Ranci, 2017). From the 1990s to 2011, the municipal government played a weak role within the system of governance in which welfare was residual and was based on the involvement of non-profit and private organizations, but only as providers (Cucca, Torri, 2014, 2016). During those two decades, the right-wing coalition governing Milan adopted a basically market-oriented style of governance (Molotch and Vicari, 1988). The period was dominated by the rhetoric on the creation of a "good business climate", and in terms of local development, the city started to adopt 'entrepreneurial' policies aimed at the maximization of property values which closely mirrored the ideal type of pro-growth urban regimes (Harvey, 1989). Consistently with this approach, housing policies aimed at fostering affordability were almost abandoned for more than two decades, and this can be considered one of the most important institutional factors worsening the conditions of social and spatial inequalities in Milan, which is regarded as an unequal city in Italy (d'Ovidio, 2009) and one of the most unequal urban contexts

in Europe (Cucca, 2010). The approach adopted during this period of time led to disinvestment in welfare services directly provided by the municipality in favour of more residual welfare systems based on the involvement of non-profit and private organizations and investment in market-oriented tools((Costa, Cucca and Torri, 2014, 2016).

The world financial and economic crisis has affected the economic and social, but also the institutional and spatial dynamics of the city of Milan[79]. This is also due to fragmented local governance and the consequent difficulties for local actors in building a broad and shared urban vision, able to orient public policies and address complex issues. The environmental structure of Milan has changed with the establishment of the role of multiple private organizations, but especially non-profit actors (third sector) who contribute to the transformation of the approach on social policies more oriented on short-term projects giving a picture of Milan as a "self-governing-city"[80]. As a consequence, Milan is described as a "polyarchic city"(Dente, Bobbio and Spada, 2005) not linked to just a unique centre of power, in which the governance coalition and the interests in the urban making and remaking are multi-layered and multi-faceted (Perulli, 2017).

Furthermore, the awareness of the crisis being more structural increased the demand for new social policies able to overcome the dominant and no longer sustainable growth-dependent development model. Accordingly, cities need to develop innovative urban strategies and plans (Rydin, 2013).

The new urban plan, with the change in local administration, won by the centre-left party, was approved by the Milan Municipality in 2012, reclaiming for a new style of urban government more oriented in social justice and participation of citizens in the

[79] Since the 2008, the economic downturn has led to an increase in unemployment and short-time work schedules in addition with the austerity measures and related cuts of budget from the national to the local level which has contributed in the reduction of 53,3% (for further review see Polizzi et al. 2013)

[80] For this reason, bottom up innovative initiatives, in particular in business, as well as in social and cultural sectors, are very frequent.

decision-making process. 'Participation'[81] then became one of the mottos of the new municipal administration, particularly in the field of social policies, as reported in the Development Plan for the Welfare of the City of Milan (Milan Municipality, 2012)[82]. The new municipal coalition oriented the focus on welfare as "a tool for local economic development that cannot be removed merely by following the rhetoric of the financial crisis, because welfare enables people to be creative, business-oriented and productive" (Milan Municipality 2012, p. 5).

Table 4 Social participation process architecture for the design of welfare plan

Social participation process architecture for the design of welfare plan		
	Conference	Actors
Intra-institutional level	Local social insurance agency/municipality	Representatives of the municipality and the local welfare agency
	Intra-departments	Municipal deputy mayor
Municipality	"Local Welfare Tomorrow"	Young people under 30
	Citizens and associations	Citizens and associations
	"Cultures of Welfare"	Representatives of social service and professional
	Neighbourhoods	Representatives of neighbourhood councils
	Negotiation	Unions and employers' associations
Metropolitan region and Italy	Large Italian municipalities	Deputy mayor on social policies at metropolitan level
	Metropolitan municipalities	Deputy mayor on social policies at metropolitan level

Source: Costa, Cucca and Torri, 2016

[81] For more in depth overview see Costa, Cucca and Torri (2014, 2016)

[82] With the strategic Welfare Plan the city promote the idea of moving beyond the traditional logic of the Area Plan (*Piani di Zona*) and to cultivate the original Ambrosian spirit combining solidarity with creativity and the capacity to innovate.

Another important variation[83] includes innovative workplaces (such as incubators, co-working spaces, maker spaces) within the system of city services in order to facilitate their development. At the same time, it identifies not only large areas for the development of future big projects but also entire districts to be subject to renovation (Di Vita, 2017a). Furthermore, Milan institutions were able to promote a new attractiveness of the city, contributing to change its image[84] and social perception for tourists, buyers, and investors, taking into consideration the fact as highlighted by the interviews "Milan has a great attribute 'does not throw anything away"[85] and recovers ideas and initiatives that even if they do not come from the political part of belonging if it has a value it is not set aside but continued". Nevertheless, the pressure by the economic crisis and the austerity measures has had little room for manoeuvre in establishing a new municipal agenda that can significantly make the difference. The new urban agenda promoted by the centre-left-wing administration, therefore, partially continued some of the goals of the previous centre-right-wing agenda, such as large-scale redevelopment projects (Porta Nuova and City Life) and the mega-event of EXPO 2015 and strengthened the internationalization strategy.

The Territorial Government Plan (2012) (Piano di Governo del Territorio – PGT) undertaken by the new administration promoted the reuse of abandoned and underused spaces located throughout the urban fabric and the process for social innovation, especially in the fields of creative production and sharing economy. In these years, there is underway an urban agenda that recognized the potential to redefine a new urban development model. During a shortage in public resources, the

[83] Specifically, the 2011–2016 Municipal Administration provided economic support to private initiatives aimed at developing co-working spaces and makerspaces, and it has directly invested in incubators. In particular, since 2013, economic incentives have been made available to favour the proliferation of mainly spontaneous new workplaces; that is, to support activities of co-workers and makers, and to improve the physical quality of new working spaces registered in a qualified list in relation to requirements specifically established (Armondi and Bruzzese, 2017, Di Vita, 2017a).

[84] For more in depth consideration see books "*Identity of Milan: workshop on the evolution of the brand*", edited by Brand Milano Committee, (2015) and "*Brand Milano: Atlante della nuova narrative identitaria*", edited by Brand Milano Associazione (2017).

[85] An idiom phrase for saying "leave nothing to waste" but retrieve anything that believes has value.

role of the Municipality was, first of all, to give immaterial support to the experiences promoted by the civil society and by the new makers, offering a platform for the exchange of information and support to the spontaneous processes of networking and self-promotion (Milan Municipality and Fondazione Brodolini, 2016). These initiatives were fuelled by the idea that social innovation and community mobilization may be part of a wider policy that tries to support the private production of public goods with interaction and promotion of supporting policies that could strengthen social and entrepreneurial innovation. Experiences like the Participatory Budget – in 2015, Milan decided to manage nine million euros of its budget through a participatory approach – or civic crowdfunding, a bottom-up fundraising program targeted at social innovation projects in the city and for the city. The attraction of skilled workers is connected with the policies promoted by other actors (for example, by universities) to strengthen internationalization and attractiveness. In this perspective, this new image of the city may be considered part of a new urban agenda that is changing not only the attractiveness of the city but also its development model (Armondi and Di Vita, 2018)

EXPO 2015 was won by the city of Milan in 2008 with the theme "Feeding the Planet, Energy for life" and was considered as an opportunity for innovation and improvement of city services and infrastructure and of reconsolidating the local and international attractiveness of the city as well as contributing on renewing the city image for tourist. The mega event had lots of criticalities pointed out by scholars (Costa, 2014)[86] as well as social movements[87] who claim for transparency in the use of public funds as well as for positive social and economic legacies for the local community.

Nevertheless, besides the event, even the Department for Innovation, Economic Development of the Milan Municipality and Universities has been investing in

[87] The local actions against Expo were opposing critics and alternative issues to the mainstream positive narrative of the exhibition program and social impact. The witness of the alternative narrative is in www.noexpo.org.

technological innovation together with social inclusion in terms of knowledge economy's growth. For instance, the approval of the Milan Smart City Guidelines (2014) and the Milan Sharing City Guidelines (2014)[88] highlight the importance of ICTs as engines of urban change and the meaning of cooperation and sharing economy for future urban development (Gascó, Trivellato and Cavenago, 2015; Armondi and Di Vita, 2017). Between the 2015 World's Fair and 2016 Triennale International Exhibition, art and cultural events increased in several facilities and city districts[89]. However, the realization of Expo seems to have worked as a catalyst of resources which continues to foster the current phase of affluent change of the city to merge development and social cohesion and to focus on social and spatial problems of the urban and metropolitan periphery while several urban and metropolitan districts still suffer from the condition of urban inequality (Ranci and Cucca, 2017).

In the post-EXPO 2015, the city administration started to realize the importance of finding the contents and priorities for the development of an urban agenda with the focus on regeneration of urban peripheries relating not only to spatial localization but also to social inequalities. To general issues in the urban agenda aimed at fostering diffused processes of urban regeneration, encouraging bottom-up practices of reuse and appropriation of public space through cultural events and experimenting with innovative approaches in welfare (Bricocoli and Savoldi, 2014; Bricocoli, 2017)

[88] http://economiaelavoro.comune.milano.it/sites/default/files/2019-02/milano%20smart%20city%20-%20linee%20guida.pdf;http://economiaelavoro.comune.milano.it/sites/default/files/2019-02/milano%20sharing%20city_finale.pdf

[89] The new most important and attractive art and cultural centres are the ones of the Prada Foundation and the Feltrinelli Foundation, together with new museums such as the Museo del Novecento and the MUDEC (by reusing former industrial buildings or vacant spaces). The most important and attractive Milan districts – also involved by yearly events such as Design Week and Fashion Week (widespread in the city) – are Brera, Isola-Porta Garibaldi-Porta Nuova, Porta Genova-Tortona, Porta Romana, the so-called Quadrilatero, or Ventura-Lambrate, just to mention the most famous (Bolocan Goldstein, 2009; Bruzzese and Tamini, 2014; Bruzzese, 2015).

Table 5 Milan City Council Coalitions 1946-2021

	Years	Centre-Left	Centre-right	Lega Nord
Mayors elected by the City Council	1946-1993			
Mayors directly elected by the citizens	1993[90]-1997			
	1997-2006			
	2006-2011			
	2011-2016			
	2016-2021			

Source: Author Elaboration

5.3 School-to-work transition: development lost in scale

The Regions within the Italian system have established themselves over time as spatial units of reference for responding to "new risks", including the planning of active policies and vocational education and training (VET system). In this ongoing process, the Lombardy region, in particular, has greatly strengthened its role by creating a sub-national welfare model; in this case, the Lombardy region has most profoundly changed its general welfare arrangement giving reason to the definition in the literature of the so-called "Lombardy welfare model" (Carabelli and Facchini, 2011).

The transition of the post-Fordist labour markets has brought to light the need for tailor-made placement, training and retraining services, not envisaged by the unemployment insurance schemes. Life situations are determined not only by age, sex and physical and educational condition but also by the opportunities and concrete support offered by the surrounding area and, in particular, by the local availability of adequate social and work services. Therefore, the Lombardy region has configured over time a clear orientation towards activation policies and marketization of employment services. Together with a cost containment policy and the redefinition of

[90] After the political collapse of the early 1990s was introduced an electoral system change which established the direct election of the mayors for municipalities with more than 15.000 inhabitants based on two-ballot system.

the financial relationship between the centre and the periphery, they have led to the fiscal autonomy of local governments but with a set of rigid institutional spending constraints. This is called "decentralization of the scarcity" by discharging more responsibilities to the local level but in the absence of an adequate allocation of resources (Bifulco, 2012).

The "Lombardy welfare model" is strongly inspired both by a liberist orientation towards marketisation and New Public Management approaches and by a consequent interpretation of the notion of subsidiarity, both vertically and horizontally. Vertical subsidiarity is, however, interpreted in the light of strong centralism on the regional level and less recognized towards sub-regional entities, such as municipalities. What is given a strong emphasis is horizontal subsidiarity, implying the notion that the public sector should not provide services which citizens, families and private bodies (both not-for-profit and for-profit) can supply themselves. Accordingly, both the market and the private not-for-profit sector are strongly included in the welfare provision system making public provision considered almost as an interference (Bifulco, 2011).

With regard to labour market policies, the Lombardy region has deliberated the introduction of three main regional laws:

- regional Law 1/1999 has regulated the regional governing tasks (addressing, planning, coordination and evaluation) in matters of active labour market policies as well as the administrative decentralisation for their implementation, assigning to the Provinces the competencies of planning and management of the public employment services (including matching and monitoring functions);
- regional Law 22/2006 made, however, a step back to a stronger concentration of competencies on the regional level on the one hand, but pushing, on the other one, towards a system of competitive provision of employment services by both private and public providers and leaving to

the provinces the tasks of planning and implementing local policies. (Ambra, Cortese and Pirone, 2013)

- Regional Law 30/2015 (changes to Law 22/2006 and 19/2007) that place in the foreground the vocational education and training – VET system introducing the Lombard dual-model. In the art. 23bis the VET system is considered the "only and most convincing recipe to tackle youth unemployment and early school leavers". The Region promotes the integration to school-to-work and apprenticeships, and for the planning of the training, supplies are valued the research and development from the territorial representative associations (in this case are considered both sides, not only the employers as previously). The principle of the *dote*-system[91] remains valid.

From 2006 the regional system of active labour market has pushed towards a stronger marketization of employment services giving the priority of the individualization of the services by introducing the *dote*[92] system (Sabatinelli and Villa, 2011)

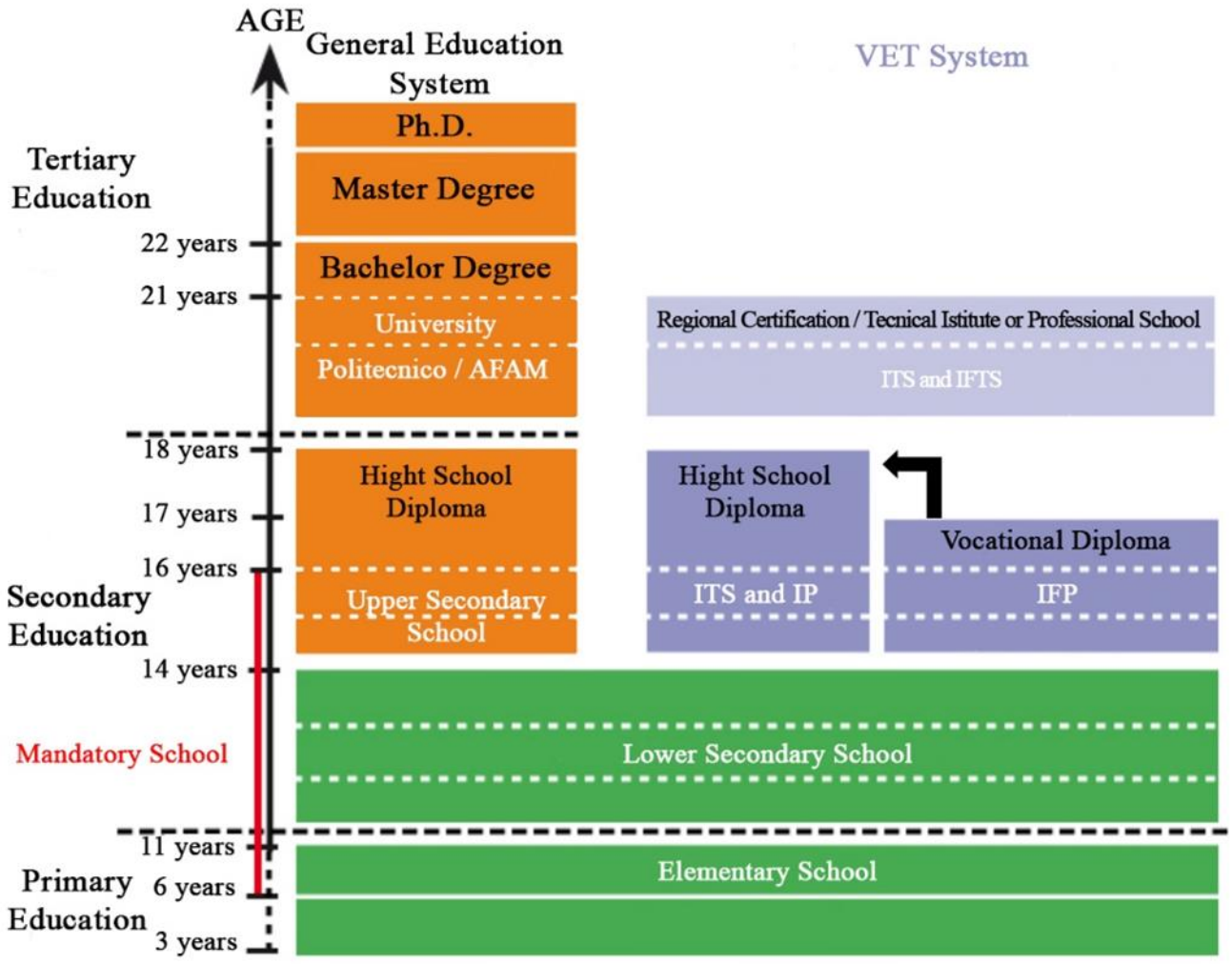
The *dote* system is a kind of voucher, an economic entitlement (defined, however, on a category related basis) that the person can spend in order to purchase different services. The extension to this system also to employment services has been intended on the one hand to foster the marketisation and competition in this field and to better connect training and labour market policies. On the other hand, relating to the individual person, the dote should stimulate them to activate themselves, maintaining at the same time their freedom of choice as consumers of services. The implications of this system from an analytical point of view is that both authorities and accredited bodies are almost excluded from the planning process and reduced only as service

[91] the principle that the activities are, through a law with annual planning, financed with the dowry (*dote*) system, as an instrument for allocating financial resources to the individual person.

[92] Literally translated as endowment or voucher

providers from an environment-oriented only on market perspective. In this context, the individualization of the services is defined and considered only on the level of administrative, financial and relational strict regulation with the consequence of the loss of quality and continuity of the services: on the one hand, stressing the level of financial and organisation of the local providers, and on the other hand, strengthening the centralization and authoritarian power of the region.

Figure 18 Education system in Italy



Source: author elaboration and translation

As represented in Fig.18, the system works along three hierarchical educational paths:

- High schools (general): the programmes' disciplines are planned and designed to build up a general knowledge but not for training on specific professions/ specialisations or technical training.
- TVET is divided into (a) Technical Secondary Schools (ITS) that last for five years. Two main tracks: Business (2 sub-tracks) and Technology (9 sub-tracks). A mix of academic and practical subjects. (b) Professional Secondary Schools (IP): last for five years. 11 tracks: most relevant are handcrafts, hotel training, health and social services. Mostly practical subjects, with workshop experience.
- Vocational institutes (IFP): last for 3 or 4 years. Most are developed in the North. Courses according to local industry characteristics, which lead to technical/professional qualifications for direct integration into the labour market.

The attention of youth transition policies in the Milan territory is fragmented because the spatial dimension is fractal through the issue of scale and comes naturally to focus more on the territorial context in a material and concrete way.

The history of vocational training in Italy has two characteristics that are typical of the country: a strong initiative from the society and poor ability of governments to synthesize and rationalize what society has created. For this reason, as regards the transition from school-to-work and, in particular, the transition of young people to companies, it has always been entrusted on both sides to the individual initiative at local level "bottom-up". A model that worked in the past with big industries but in decline after the 1970s (Ballarino and Checchi, 2013).

Since the 1990s, various institutional actors, in particular employers' associations, chambers of commerce and various local authorities, have tried to relaunch the relationship between technical-professional education and companies based on the German model. The creation of networks between institutions, schools and companies was promoted, with orientation programs, internships and collaborations. This movement was put into practice by the Lombardy region with the central objective of the transition from school to work.

5.4 Mapping the Institutional Architecture: relevant actors

5.4.1 CamMi – Chamber of Commerce Milan, Monza, Brianza and Lodi

The Chamber of Commerce[93], Industry, Crafts and Agriculture of Milan, Monza, Brianza and Lodi is a public institution with functional autonomy which, within the area of competence, ensures the development of the entrepreneurial system taking care of its general interests (Law 580/1993). In 2016 the Ministry of Economic and Development decided with the legislative decree 219/2016 for the reorganization of functions and financing the establishment of a merged institution: the three separated Chambers of Milan, Monza-Brianza and Lodi were united under the same institution as representatives of the interests of the companies of the entire territorial area involved in the merger.

Activities of the Chamber of Commerce, now extended under the jurisdiction of Milan Metropolitan area, are the association of the companies of the territory of Milan, Monza, Brianza and Lodi and to protect their collective interest, for this reason, the Chamber has a public register "Business Register" with the mandatory registration of all the companies in the area. They need to register a series of information and their business development and also the payment of an "Annual Fee[94]", which consist of the primary financial revenue. Furthermore, the Chamber of Commerce conducts systematic monitoring of the main economic trends of the territory through sector analyses, technical assistance for the creation of businesses and start-ups,

[93] After the unification of Italy the "Chambers of Commerce and Arts" are established by the law in 1862. From this moment on the Milan Chamber of Commerce followed the national provisions that regulated the functions and representative bodies of all the Chambers of Commerce in Italy. The new tasks carried out consisted of: holding the stock exchange, credit institutions, technical-professional schools, commissions for determining the price of silk, general warehouses, expert institutes, essential services for trading abroad.

[94] The reform of 219/2016 imposed 50% cut of the right to the "Annual Fee" reducing the budget of the Camber of Commerce by half.

enhancement of cultural heritage, development and promotion of tourism, and orientation work and professions.

The reform law of the chamber system (legislative decree 219/2016) has assigned to the Chambers of Commerce the new tasks of orientation to work and professions, also through collaboration with the competent public and private entities, in coordination with the Government, the Regions and the ANPAL (National Agency for Active Labour Policies). In particular, the Chamber of Commerce maintains and manages the National Register for school-to-work alternation, collaborates for creating the skills certification system, supports the job matching of supply-demand, and supports the transition from school-to-work also from university-to-work. Nevertheless, this new task inserted within the Chamber of Commerce mission is still under the phase of only promotion in the territory and under observation regarding trends and results of the three-year period 2016-2019.

However, the Chamber of Commerce has an important role in constructing the governance process for the development of the city of Milan. The chamber system, precisely as a network (regional[95], national[96], European, and a more international[97] vision) and an organization of a functional nature, has an institutional specificity towards development and innovation approaches.

The Chamber of Commerce has a main role within the institutional structure of the city of Milan with some fundamental functions:

• As an organized expression and an institution of synthesis, it stands as a “place of the story” for the actors in a network of interests.

• As an expression of companies (and the main recipient of their data) and more generally of the world of the economy, it stands as a "place for data analysis

[95] Regional Unions of Chambers of Commerce
[96] Italian Union of Chambers of Commerce
[97] Italian Chambers of Commerce abroad

measurement" capable of promoting statistical management by systematic monitoring in the territory.

• The Chamber of Commerce, as an institution of public administration, also acts as a place for discussion capable of promoting meeting and dialogue between the actors, even going beyond the debate on the territories and their territorial administrations, carries out a comparison by function on the city, transversal to the territories and the regulatory and administrative competences, according to the "logic of purpose" capable of overcoming the logic of role and institution.

• As a forum open to the dialectic of interests and values, the Chamber of Commerce is a "place for shared planning of policies" as it can contribute to the construction of possible policies.

Regarding the vocational education and training, it is organized under the "Special Agency[98]" created in 1987 *Formaper* which deals with the development of small and medium-sized enterprises in the province of Milan through professional, managerial and entrepreneurial training programs, information and technical assistance and support for economic and territorial development.

Services offered by Formaper:

- Orientation towards entrepreneurship and the labour market towards young people
- Training and internship programs for young people and entrepreneurs
- Intermediation and retraining of workers
- Project for young people: participation in "*MiG-Work - MiGeneration work in progress*[99]", a network of integrated services and training opportunities.
- Projects with schools for the "school-to-work alternation."

[98] in the Italian legal system, it is a non-profit public economic company defined as an "instrumental entity"

[99] A project of the Municipality of Milan and funded by the Lombardy Region targeting services for young people between 16 and 34 who need support for job search, who wish to change their studies or career or need vocational and training.

5.4.2 CdLMM - Chamber of Labour Milan Metropolitan

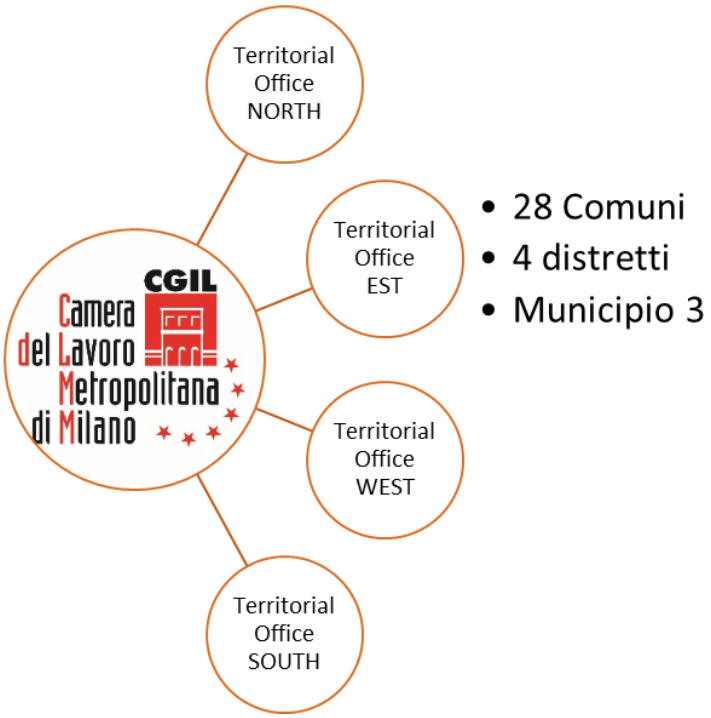
More than a century ago, the trade union was conceptualized as a continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of improving the conditions of their employment. This definition already conveyed the modern view of unions as a coalition of workers meant to strengthen their hands in bargaining with their counterparts. However, as we saw in Vienna's case, different unionism types have developed under different institutional settings.

The Milan Chamber of Labour has a troubled history and a discontinuous evolution over time[100] , and it was never configurated as an institution.

Currently, the Chamber of Labour is again under territorial organization following the local distribution of the main Chamber of Labour Milan Metropolitan and other operatives in the assigned territory but dependent on it (Fig. 19)

[100] The Milan Chamber of Labour draws its origins from the French *"Bourses du travail"* on the Paris model of creating a labour exchange supported economically by the Municipality. Later they are called the Chamber of Labour as it linked the action of the future to the labour market and to the representation of workers as opposed to that of the Chamber of Commerce. During their creation, their essential purpose is to serve as an intermediary between supply and demand for work, education, assistance and to advocate the interests of workers in all the contingencies of life. The functioning of a public service would badly explicate its action by restricting it only to the associates, therefore the Chamber of Labour is established for all workers and attempted a difficult balance between the class principle (the working one) and the associative one. In this case, the most effective means of functioning is considered to be that of the association in order to have full autonomy in the purposes and tasks. The operation of the chamber would also work for non-associates - counting on premises and subsidies from the Municipality of Milan. It was then established in 1891. (For more in depth understanding see Antonioli and Torre Santos, 2006).

Figure 19 CGIL territorial organization



Source: Author elaboration

The Chamber of Labour is a territorial organization of the CGiL[101] (Italian General Confederation of Labour) and includes the various trade union divided into categories of the CGiL existing in a geographical area. The Chambers of Labour tasks are regulated by art. 10 of the statute of the CGIL.

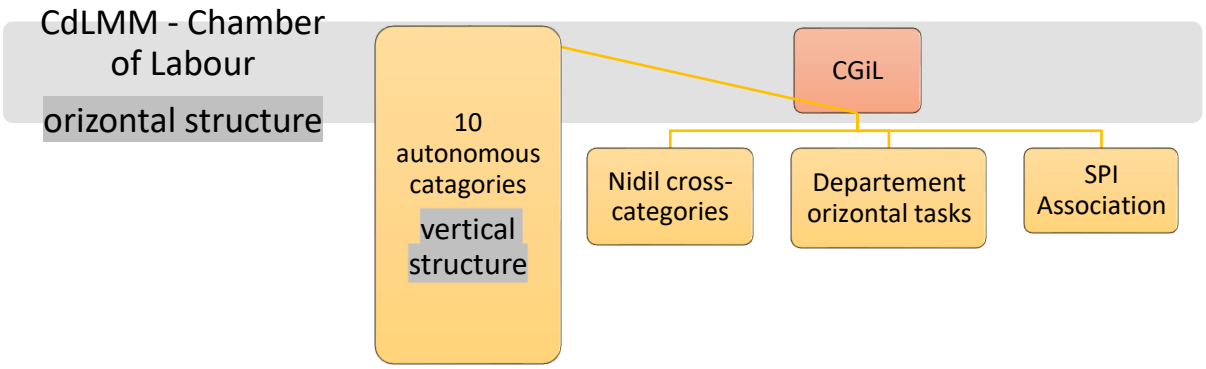
Therefore, in Italy, the Labour Chamber and the trade union coexist in the same space and structure and are defined as non-recognized associations[102] of workers, founded with the aim of protecting the professional interest of their members[103]. This is a crucial difference compared to the Viennese Chamber of Labour (described in the previous chapter), which instead is structured as a public institution representing all workers and perfectly opposed to the Chamber of Commerce, which represents employers.

[101] Is an association representing workers and labour and it is the oldest Italian trade union organization and is also the most representative.

[102] Art. 36 *organization and administration of non-recognized associations* of the civil code.

[103] As defined by the art. 39 *The trade union organization is free* of the constitution and

Figure 20 Chamber of Labour organization structure



Source: Author elaboration

This peculiar situation has deep historical roots, as highlighted by the interviews: "the Italian trade unions have their foundation of a political nature". In the immediate post-war period, the political parties re-founded the CGiL as a free and unitary union (Rome pact '44). Subsequently, in various stages, the unitary nature will disappear with the split into other unions such as CISL and UIL. The chamber of labour thus remains interconnected with the CGiL, "which had a sort of non-formal contract with the parties that divide the roles within it according to the political component (...) and there is not even an incompatibility, at least until 1968, between party roles, parliamentary office, and CGiL roles ".

Services and tasks offered by the CdLMM:

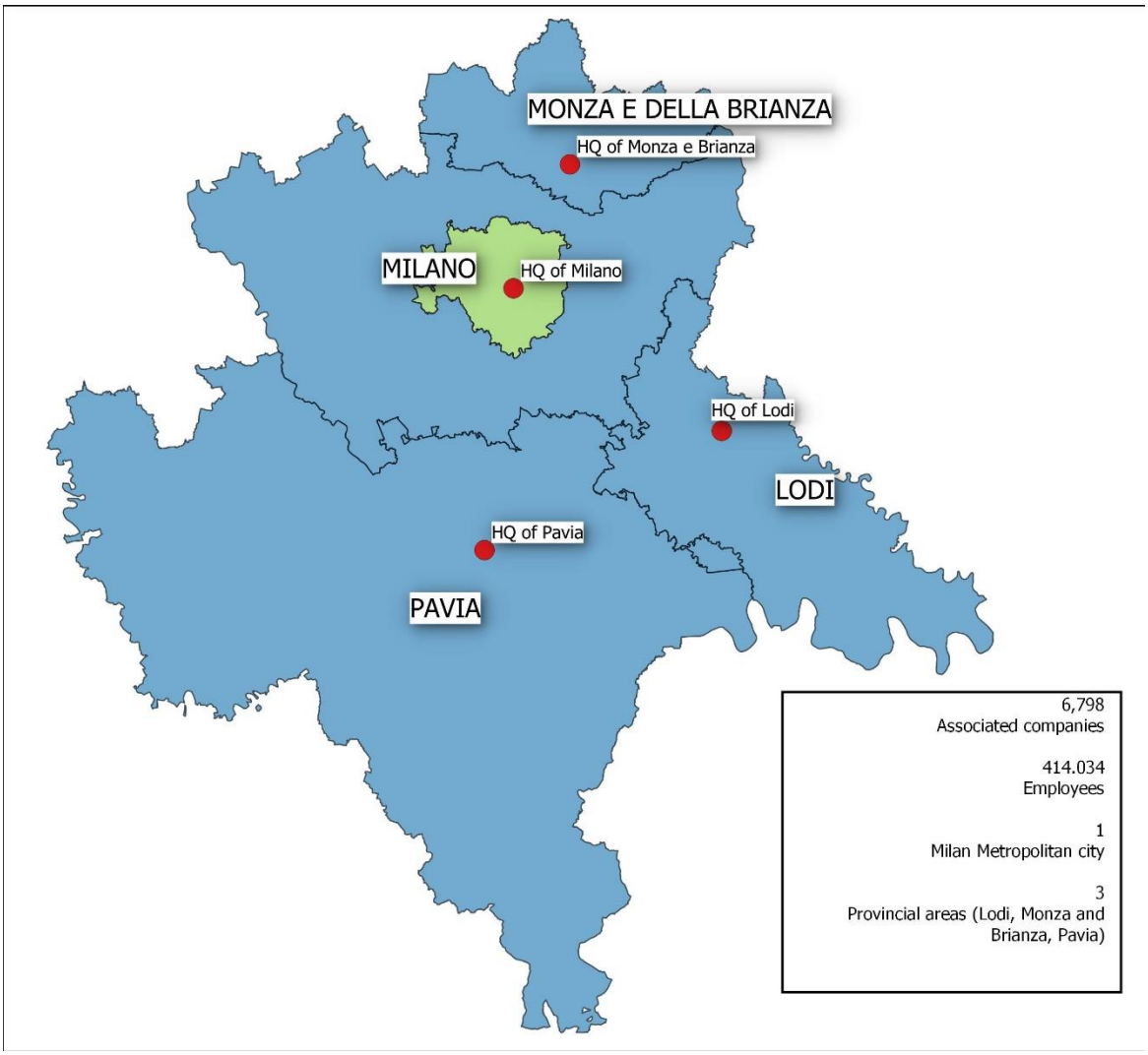
- Caaf – tax advice
- Inca (national confederal assistance institute) - advice, assistance and protection
- Sol – job orientation
- Uvl – Disputes and legal offices

5.4.3 Assolombarda - Industrial territorial Association

The history of Assolombarda has roots between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Since 1890 and 1924, they structured the first employers' associations established in Milan, which were born in opposition to the workers' movements of that period, with the slogan "industrial, associate: the future will be yours if you are organized". With a strongly unionized structure throughout the twentieth century, they are opposed to the workers' struggle and demands by representing the interests and needs of Italian industries and companies. After the fall of the fascist regime that had transformed them into state corporations, they were reconstituted in 1946 in the form of free association – Industrial Association of Lombardy – with the name Assolombarda. They will accompany with their lobby the economic history of Milan up to the current events.

Since 2015 they have been under territorial reorganization and merged, creating the Assolombarda Confindustria Milan, Monza and Brianza and then continuing their territorial extension boundaries with the merger of AssoLodi and Pavia with a more quantitative (increasing the number of companies, especially the manufacturing) perspective than qualitative (in the mission or modus operandi).

Figure 21 Assolombarda territorial distribution



Source: Author Elaboration

The aim of Assolombarda is the development and well-being of associated companies, and they represent the interest of the companies at an international, national and local level; improve competitiveness and attractiveness of the territorial context and promote values of entrepreneurship.

The Assolombarda Training Service (Area *Sistema formative e capitale umano*) provides support to companies that intend to invest in their human capital and improve recruiting policies, accompanying them through all the necessary

interconnections with the local training system in collaboration between companies, high schools, universities.

Furthermore, they organize orientation meetings for students to support them in the decision making of study paths, and they facilitate companies in receiving young people in school-to-work alternation paths. They build bridges between companies and schools to ensure students the acquisition of skills that can be spent in the labour market. With regard to post-diploma training, they collaborate with seven ITS-*Istituti technici superiori* (higher technical institute) foundations to design vocational courses aimed at higher technical trainers, and also they collaborate with the nine universities in the Milan and Pavia areas to develop educational partnerships with the active presence in universities of associated companies that guide young people on corporate issues.

Synthesis of three main goals of their services:

- They have a "360-degree vision of training" but taking into account the changeability of our times, and as shown by the interviews, they have adopted an innovation area to formulate a double need, "training on the one hand and human capital on the other with investment in people and the main value that comes from people". From this point of view, they have also added to their area expertise and knowledge of the active labour policies, highlighting a delay at the level of the Italian system in which active policies were not designed and created, but they have been developed during the economic crisis in 2008.
- They have formulated a double perspective: an inner vision not only towards their companies considered as primary and direct stakeholders but also external towards the territory and their secondary and indirect stakeholders such as public institutions (Municipality of Milan and Lombardy Region), the university network and specific targets of young people.

- Orientation is an activity that they have offered for more than 20 years in close collaboration with schools and young students in their transition period. They are present in the area and are recognized as an orientation agency. The focus of their orientation is towards technology and digitalization with the launch of the STEM disciplines - Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics. These are all issues related to modernity and functional to the needs of human capital for their companies.

Assolombarda also elaborates reports in its research centre to update the benchmarking of Milan's competitiveness and attractiveness in comparison with Lyon, Barcelona, Munchen, and Stuttgart (Assolombarda 2017). While Milan shows a very good performance in attracting multinationals and high-end real estate commercial market, sports events, and International Exhibitions, it has a low position in attracting young talents, despite its prestigious high education system and vibrant cultural offer. They report that access of young people and women to the labour market is challenging, and the rate of long-term unemployment and school dropouts is high.

5.4.4 AfolMet – Agency for Training Orientation and Work Milan Metropolitan

AFOL Metropolitan is a special consortium enterprise[104] with the participation of the Metropolitan City (composited by 133 municipalities), the Municipality of Milan and 70 Municipalities.

[104] A special enterprise in the Italian legal system, is a non-profit public economic entity defined as an "instrumental entity" of a local entity with managerial autonomy. The special companies are today provided for by Title V, of the legislative decree 18 August 2000, n. 267 (also consolidated act of the laws on the organization of local authorities, abbreviated TUEL) which may possibly constitute them for the management of local public services, therefore those services that have as their object the production of goods and activities aimed at achieving social purposes and promoting development economic and civil affairs of local communities (Article 112).

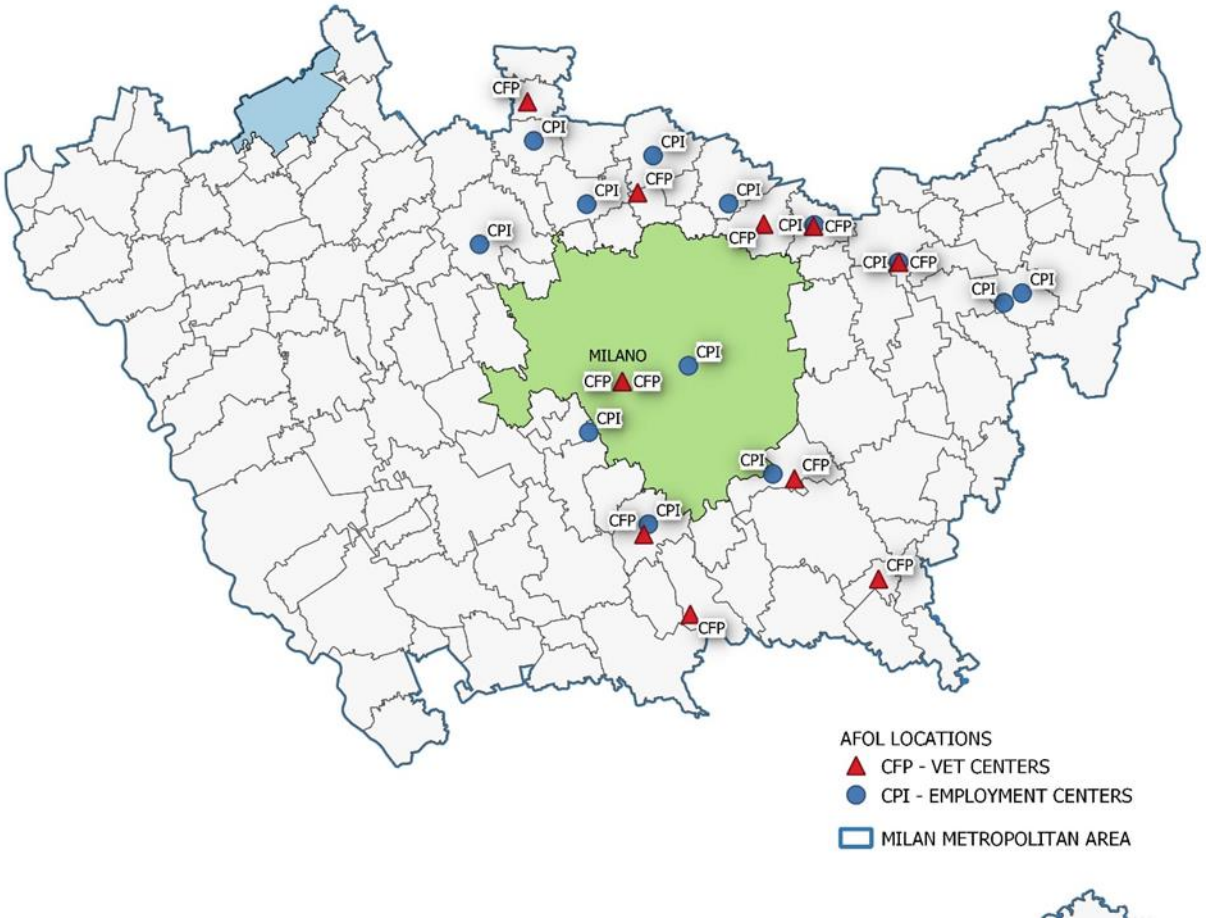
This territorial configuration is still underway of a reorganization of the Agency AFOL, both internal and external. AFOL was created between 2006 and 2007, despite the strong promotion of marketization of employment services in the Lombardy Region, the Province of Milan (which has been emptied of politics and organizational capacity of policies over time) set up the special agencies for training, orientation and work. The territorial configuration process has taken different shapes throughout time to then arrive at the management of three territorial management offices:

Figure 22 AfolMet Territorial Organization

Source: Author Elaboration

They have been founded with the idea of a general relaunch of the public employment, orientation and training services and their integration and institutional coordination. In the current phase of a reorganisation, these territorial offices are under the process of reunion and replacement under a more central organization office following the Milan Metropolitan territorial structure. AfolMet is set up as an umbrella organization that has incorporated different former separated services, such as the public employment service (*Centro Per l'Impiego – CPI*) and career guidance and vocational education and training centres - VET (*Centro di Formazione Professionale – CFP*) as represented in the map (Fig.23) of territorial distribution.

Figure 23 AfolMet Territorial distribution



Source: Author elaboration

The general aim of the AfolMet is to offer a spectrum of services to both citizens and employers intended to:

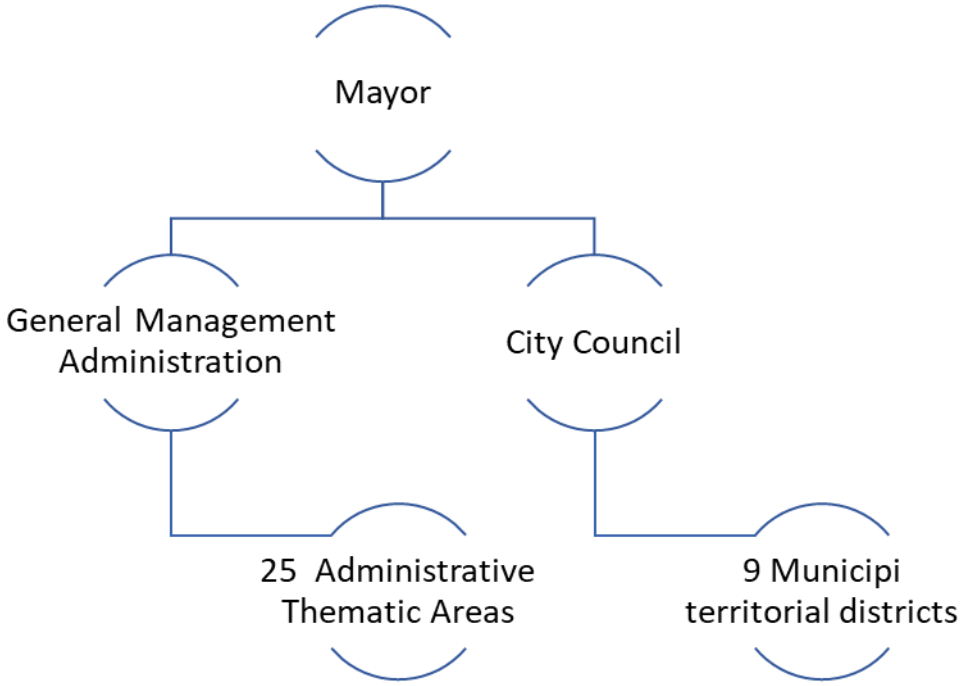
- reduce and to prevent unemployment,
- to improve the quality of work,
- to invest in the development of human resources,
- to support economic development on the local and regional scale.

They also work on regional projects and European funding such as "Youth Guarantee". They use the regional dote vouchers system both considered for the employment services (*dote-lavoro*) and for the VET centres (*dote-formazione*).

5.4.5 Milan Municipality – Urban Area

The Municipality of Milan is a reality under structural and organisational construction. The first attempts of re-making began in the period before and after the financial crisis of 2008 but materialized with the change of the municipal government in 2011. The advent of the centre-left after twenty years of centre-right administration brought about a sort of change of pace. Thus began the first attempts of awareness-rising and formulation of long-term strategies. The municipality does not have direct competence in the field of planning economic development and innovation (these are competencies of the Lombardy region), but by gathering some elements already built previously, the municipality of Milan begins to have a vision of what the economic development of the city should have been. Following this direction, the "Economic Development, University and Research Management" area is then translated into "Management of Urban Economy and Labour", in the attempt as explained from the interview: “to further raising the vision of the economic development of the city by promoting it towards an attention to an overall development that does not forget the less advantaged and that of the future of a big city”. The process of the transformation of the city has then been synthesized and concentrated in the last ten years with an idea of the regeneration of the city of Milan. In addition, in this phase of reconstruction, Milan's administrative apparatus is very complex considering its mobile and fluid property, but also confused, vague and fragmented.

Figure 24 The administrative structure



Source: Author elaboration

For the purpose of this research, we took into consideration its essential role in the institutional architecture the - Management area of Urban Economy and Labour - as it promotes the economic and employment development of the city of Milan based on the guidelines of the Department of Labour Policies, Productive Activities, Commerce and Human Resources of the Municipality of Milan.

This unit does not have a stable and precise structure but is being built working as a project meeting point both on local and European funding. The structure, therefore, consists of the development of ideas in a processual way based on projects. These projects are mostly open to multi-stakeholder participation.

Services and projects:

In compliance with current legislation relating to National (ANPAL) and Regional Active Policies, the Employment Office of the Municipality of Milan offers orientation and guidance for approaching the labour market, initiatives and projects to facilitate the meeting between supply and demand. The Employment Office provides

preparatory training for approaching the labour market networking also with the services offered by the special agency AfolMet and elaborates statistical analysis.

They also offer direct professional training services as Milan's municipality has a long tradition in VET (managed separately from the regional VET offer, the so-called civic schools).

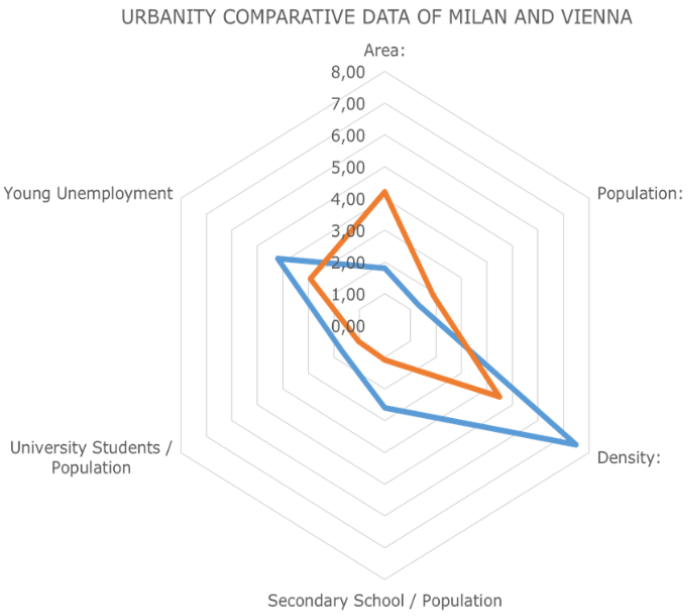
6 Conclusion: Linking perspectives, an attempt for explaining change

« Invisible forces shape visible realities « [105] *– Arjun Appadurai*

Before going into a more institutional dimension as illustrated below, the figures and statistical data offer an impression of the urban configuration, representing the peculiarities of the two cities, that are useful to keep in mind while constructing the discourse on the central theme of this study: the mutual interaction between institutional architecture and youth transition policies.

As is pointed out in the chapters above, Vienna and Milan are mid-sized cities, with a population of around 1.888.776 and 1.372.810 people and a dense presence of Universities and students (see Fig. 25).

Figure 25 Comparative graphic Milan and Vienna



VIENNA
Area: 414,90 km²
Population: 1.888.776 (2018)
Density: 4.436 ab./km²
Secondary Schools: 207
University Students: 194.000 (2017/2018)

MILAN
Area: 181,67 km²
Population: 1.372.810 (2018)
Density: 7.556 ab./km²
Secondary Schools: 338
University Students: 216.000 (2017/2018)

[105] Triennale di Milano event "Meet the Media Guru", 2016

Source: Author Elaboration

Figure 26 Mapping Knowledge Institution in Milan

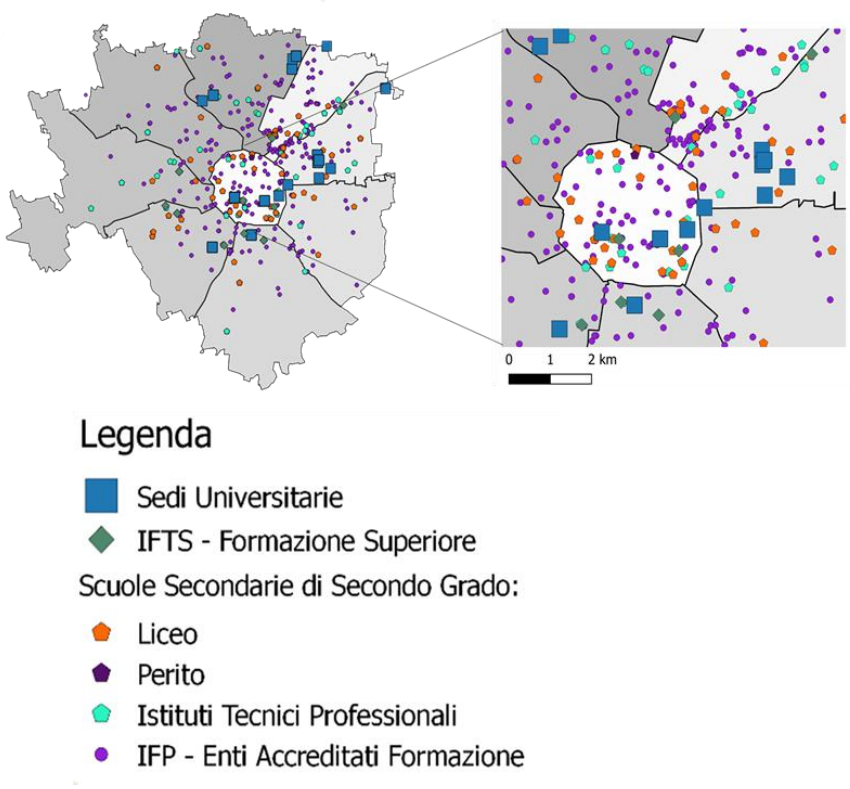
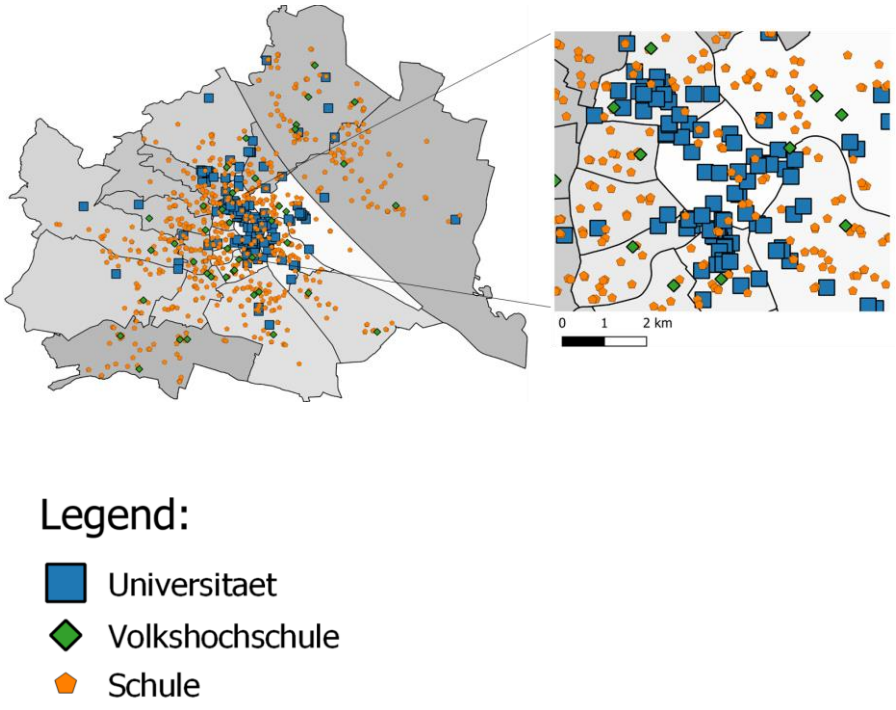


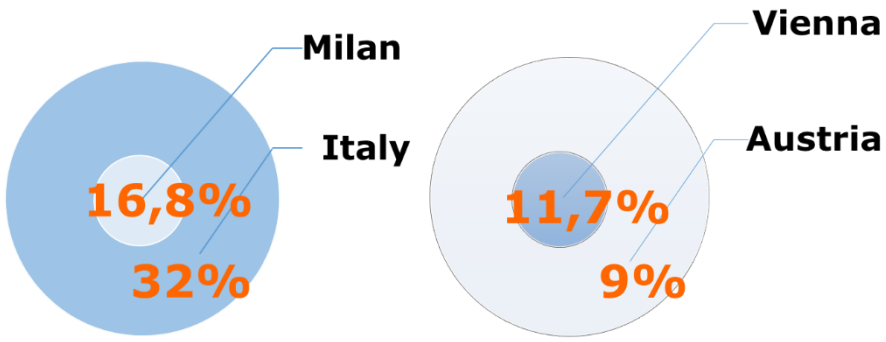
Figure 27 Mapping Knowledge Institution in Vienna



Source: Author Elaboration on Open Data Municipality of Milan and StadtWien/statistics

The level of youth unemployment is higher in Milan compared to Vienna. Still, the latter has a peculiarity in respect to the national level, which results to be higher.

Figure 28 Youth unemployment in Milan and Vienna in 2017



Source: Municipality of Milan Sistema SIS, 2017; Statistik, Wien 2017

The city of Milan is considered an economic centre and a global city in the ranking of Globalization and World Cities Research Network and is considered a node in the international economy (GaWC, 2018). On the other side, the city of Vienna is considered a city of high quality and top-ranking for the quality of life and among the best cities worldwide in the areas of infrastructure, housing, innovation and culture (Mercer, 2019 and The Economist Intelligent Unit, 2019) [106].

However, like many other European cities, the two cities are considered crucial for their strategic economic position on the national and international level and by the advantages offered by innovation, specialization, and attraction.

Furthermore, the differences in the institutional context play a relevant role in the definition and construction of youth transition policies first for the reason that they are based on different transition regimes and as a consequence, the institutional context is more developed in Vienna than in Milan based on the EU approach on the activation

[106] See website https://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2018t.html ; https://mobilityexchange.mercer.com/Insights/quality-of-living-rankings ; http://www.eiu.com/topic/liveability ;

paradigm and on the demand-supply matching of intervention given the particular centrality of the AMS and WAFF institutional structures.

On the other hand, Milan has its singularity on the institutional configurations in respect to Italy, which as a country it is characterized by the weakness of active labour market policies and weak youth-oriented labour market inclusion policies at the national level. Nevertheless, Milan as a city highlights its differences compared to the national level considering that it continues to recreate and reinvent the institutional construction for youth transition policies.

In this conclusive chapter, we are going to try to respond to the research questions presented in the third chapter that link some key interpretation aspects of what Sen (1999) points out is focusing on the relevant "informational basis of evaluation, the kind of information we need to examine in order to assess what is going on and what is being seriously neglected" (p. 285) highlighting the "included" and "excluded" information. Therefore, the effort here of understanding is to connect empirical knowledge and analytical argument, aware that this is laborious and a challenging process.

6.1 Institutional dimensions of youth transition policies

The 2008 financial crisis further stressed the social and employment structure, highlighting the resulting emergence of the new social risk (NSR) characterized by the reshaping of welfare state, as presented in chapter two, from the socialization of risk and collective protection towards more individualized responsibility and activation. This was based on the ideal model of the economic citizen who is self-responsible and self-sufficient through labour market participation. Turning the focus on the substantive content of ideas, narratives were addressed on behavioural perspective over-lending to the individual instead of structural, contextual change on the institutional level. Influenced by the crisis emergency, policies and programs on the European and national levels were focused on a negative narrative of youth category as at-risk and dependent (family and education system). Consequently, the status of adulthood becomes harder to attain at the same time that austerity measures critiqued social welfare dependency. The austerity policies based on "one size fits all" structural reforms pushing wage devaluation, labour market deregulation and cutting the welfare state were planned on the conceptual level taking for granted the plurality of territorial situations, stressing more the individual level as living in abstract, opaque space, highlighting through employability rhetoric only on the adaptation to the labour market supply. The assumption behind the behavioural narratives was first driven by the lack of economic dynamic; therefore, increasing "labour market flexibility" lowered the workers' wage and job protection and increased competitiveness (Schmidt, 2020), constructing a "mobile human capital". Second, the social investment is perceived as "rationalising" welfare state, meaning cutting spending, and with this, the labour market reforms based on "one size fits all" approach which was blind to the difference in between territories (local and national political economies and their growth models) and complexities on labour markets. Furthermore, according to Schmidt (2020), the adaptation to the rules without

understanding how to consider the "varieties of capitalism" (Hall and Soskice 2001) and diversities of context and territories was driven by neoliberalism hegemony (mostly the ordoliberalism variant), which pushed the social partners towards a win-win pact of negotiating conditions on the policies undertaken, especially those of minimum wage and vocational training, to contribute to the greater dynamism of the economy based on the market logic: matching of supply-demand (Fig. 29). This focus on the labour market reform was diverging considerably by the neo-Keynesian frame of investment, ensuring a demand-led recovery (Schmidt, 2020).

Figure 29 Transformation in Economic Dynamics

Source: Author Elaboration

The measurement of success-failure and positive-negative reform policies under this formulation theorize individual development as a problem for social stability and economic growth (in a neoclassical way), and policy intervention was considered a method for tethering individual development to economic growth. The skills learned and developed by young people are thus placed at the centre of an economic development model, and the acquisition of human capital is positioned as the primary purpose of training and education. As highlighted by the interview with the AMS[107], policies are based on the labour market matching, for this reason:

[107] Arbeitsmarktservice – Agency of Labour Market Service in Vienna

> "in my opinion pushing the policies in the active labour market is the only thing which makes sense. When you have the interest of the employers and employees, on the one hand, there is the economic interest looking for someone, on the other hand, there are people who are looking for the working places. This match of supply and demand will never fit perfectly because of time. So the employers almost have to adapt, on the other side, the employees have to change their wishes and also adapt a little bit more (…). The AMS has to organize, and they have to prepare for what kind of need. In the active policy, you need someone in the middle of the system to mediate between supply and demand of the labour market, and the other thing is that you need to make them (unemployed young people) fit for the job that they (employer) require."

Therefore, in this perspective, obviously, there is a high level of negotiation on both sides based exclusively on labour market exchange. Another particular element regarding active policies and matching is the important factor of time and the increasing applicability of information technology (IT). As explained by the interviewee:

> "to understand a workplace, you need to ask an employer how long you need this or that potential employee. Perhaps you don't have an exact answer because they cannot tell you exactly. Even for the employer is not a clear idea they ask for potential employees (…) the real active policy depends on the IT adoption".

The increasing instability and uncertainty explain this situation as AMS has to anticipate the demand in a shortening time, and to read it correctly, time becomes a crucial factor since the education system is a long time investment with unpredictable outcomes. The orientation in the labour market for the new entrants is becoming very vague, and the only permanent option to solve this contradiction and problem is to prevent it. The labour market is presented as dynamic and not static or fixed. Thus nothing results stable in the long term, and change is considered as the constant change of your job.

The idea about the young people presented by the AMS is oriented to the present time:

> "Young people do not think about things that they need to accomplish. With what they are struggling with is their everyday life, and they do not think about what their life will be like in 10 years or so. Their view projection of the future is rather short. I think young people are happy when they are pushed a little bit to their own luck. (…) Especially in the training guarantee which is successful for everyone".

In this case, young people are considered as malleable and flexible to the need of the labour market, and in this perspective also with higher potential and great adaptability. Furthermore, the image of youth is considered resilient and into the justification of scaling back income support and linking youth services with traineeship under the perspective of "dutiful youth".

In the Milanese case, free choice is much more privileged both at the level of policy management and at the individual level of young people, thus in this case, as the interview with AfolMet[108] highlights:

> "In Lombardy, the Youth Guarantee funds are not exclusive to the public, but any other accredited private body can manage those funds. Every citizen, in this case, young citizens, can choose by whom to have the services. In this case, the Region has decided, given its autonomy, to guarantee better and universal services to all (...) that every citizen is not forced to be in public but can also go in the private sector if the citizen requires it."

In this perspective, citizens are considered as rational, interest-oriented and perfectly able to make their choices between a wide plural offer and supply interpreted as a universal level of the services provider. Based on this logic of free choice and universal services provider, the idea of young people (young citizens) is perceived as free to choose from a wide range of choices, and they can choose the services that suit

[108] Agency of Training and Orientation and Work Milan Metropolitan area.

them best. In this case, the individual level and choices are even more stressed. Policies of activation and investment in the issue of youth unemployment are seen as a matter of individual responsibility.

However, the roots of the youth unemployment challenge are increasingly located in the "behaviour" of young people with the implementation of activation policies rather than in the powerful vested interests that so actively constrain and construct the public investment, associated with growing individualism consumerism and materialism. This explains the fact that often the analyses on the policies for the transition of young people do not take into account the territory, the place of the historical, social context and the various welfare regimes where they are preconditions for the policies aimed at them. Furthermore, we can see as these cases can go with different emphases on relative claims of efficiency (in the Viennese case) and equity (in Milan) based on Sen's (1999, p. 285) "freedom-oriented approach" generating a conflict of "having less inequality of freedoms and getting as much freedom as possible for all, irrespective of inequalities".

However, there is a conflict of ideologies and values in the outlined context, and social change mostly happens in the transformation of institutions. In this respect, institutions are in the process of changing. In this case, the youth transition policies have served as shaping the definition of crucial institutions oriented by competition and the market process, such as the shift in educational concept and goals towards employability, flexibility and increased investment in human capital; with forms of narratives based on foreground levels in policy (ALMs and VET) and programs (Youth Guarantee) and the background ideational abilities in the level of activation and investment philosophies of the welfare state.

6.2 Governance dynamics, the scale issue and the role of the city

Contemporary literature predominantly understands cities as administrated by governance regimes rather than "ruled" by traditional city governments. However, the understanding of fundamental aspects – which issues and the interest groups should be included in the governance process – varies greatly between the city's constituents. Consequently, "problems in urban governance (…) are explained by differences in priorities, objectives, and strategies between different segments of the local state" (Pierre, 1999, p. 390). In this perspective, governance is understood less as a function and more as something that opens or restricts certain fields of action. The city capacity to act is another crucial aspect to consider because such governance configurations can be deliberately constructed. In this case, the focus is oriented on the institutional framework in which a city is embedded, and their background ideational abilities that often are not considered but taken-for-granted in current urban governance literature when the focus, as Pierre (1999) highlights, is on the normative and instrumental notion of network governance. Thus, we attempt to understand the configuration of governance and the cities capacity to act and govern that simultaneously treats institutions in a dynamic and interactive perspective as a given context within agents think, speak and act and a contingent as the result of agents' thoughts, words and actions (Schmidt, 2008).

In both cities since the 1970s, there was a shift from government to governance, and the letter is a term referring to the flexibilization of the institutional organisation of the public sector. In Vienna, a reorganisation of the political-administrative system took place, focusing on more horizontal and vertical integration of political structures creating a more integrated city autonomy. Simultaneously, in Milan, attempts were made to supplement the formal dimension of politics by informal rules and noninstitutional forms of governing. The city council established more open planning procedures and new participation processes. Competencies were transferred from the

local municipal government to public-private partnerships and private agencies, both profit and not-for-profit organizations resulting in a more fragmented city autonomy.

However, the crucial difference between the two cities is manifested in the scale issue: the city of Milan is characterized by a complex interplay of different levels of policies and scale of governance, and in the city of Vienna, where policies are interconnected and in the interaction between different levels, the scale of governance is played by the same actors of the city municipality having a double role as local and regional. This relevant difference in scale emphasizes the opportunities for development, economic and political redemption that open up for the territories capable of grasping them. From this perspective, Vienna can ensure that the city does not undergo restructuring, but as highlighted by the interviews with the MA23[109], they can manage them:

> "We take for granted our double role as a *Bundesland* and a city municipality, but we have decision both in planning and implementing the policies (…) For this double control of the policies we have different experts on different areas of interest and within the same *Magistrat* (administrative area). We talk and collaborate with each other (between different administrations). Sometimes the coordination can be better, but we're working on that".

Still, considering this double role, local-regional (city-federal) can govern it by transforming itself into an active subject that intervenes in its own development with significant degrees of autonomy. Therefore, in relation to the policy analysis of the long-term agendas and lasting cooperation schemes that support them in the complex city-wide profile, the municipality is an important body both in framing the policies, planning the programs and having their vision and philosophical perspectives in the direction of public action towards objectives such as the youth transition policies. Highlighting this autonomy and development of choices, power, in this case, assumes

[109] Municipal Department 23 – Economy, Labour and Statistic

more a vision of "social control" through formalized expert-based, managed by decision-making and negotiation inside an institutionalized system.

In the case of Milan, the social complexity and fragmentation of the policies through scale has created an absence of centralized command and control structures such as to open up space and make it necessary to involve policy-making actors not formally appointed to take a binding decision but able to offer collaboration on specific topics and areas. Thus, urban governance systems tend to be set up and function as arenas of governance, in which local authorities and organizations collaborate with private actors for the formation and implementation of public agendas. Therefore, power here assumes a vision of "social production" through non-formalized decision-making and negotiation devices. As expressed in the interview with the Milan Municipality Urban Area:

> "Fundamentally, we have a qualifying characteristic of the action administered in recent years that of the search for a dialogue, not a dialogue taken for granted, but for a real confrontation. What we have done in recent years has not been just to promote services, but to bring together different subjects for a common purpose. Our main role has been that of mediators to promote initiatives. (…) We have set up a network on projects concerning the labour market in which we are able to promote and support initiatives that benefit Milanese citizens (including young people). The networks serve as a synthesis, and we do not favour anyone, only dialogue. We have a role as promoter facilitator of this dialogue also from the point of view of the topics, and we take into account that the rules of the game are respected substantially. Things happen, and we make sure that the preconditions are in place, and we dialogue with all the parts of the network."

All the multiple actors inside the network collaborate with each other on very specified questions and are purpose-oriented without an institutionalized system. The dialogue is highlighted by distinct aspects or problems to discuss and solve organized around specific worktables. There is not such an attempt to a more systematic way of

coordination between stakeholders or social partners on different scales, and the interaction is less interconnected.

Another significant fact to consider here, based on the concept of fixity/motion (Brenner, 2019), is the municipality boundaries, which is more flexible and mobile in Milan than in Vienna. This is because Milan, as a municipality, is immersed within a very dense and complex urban context. Instead, Vienna has a morphologic urban context naturally shaped by its geographical fabric. These cities, due to their important and strategic socio-economic and political characteristic, are in constant development. Their size and capacity have increased in an accelerated way hosting a larger amount of population. Thanks to the amount of geographical data and Open sources, as we can see in the following Fig 30, 31.

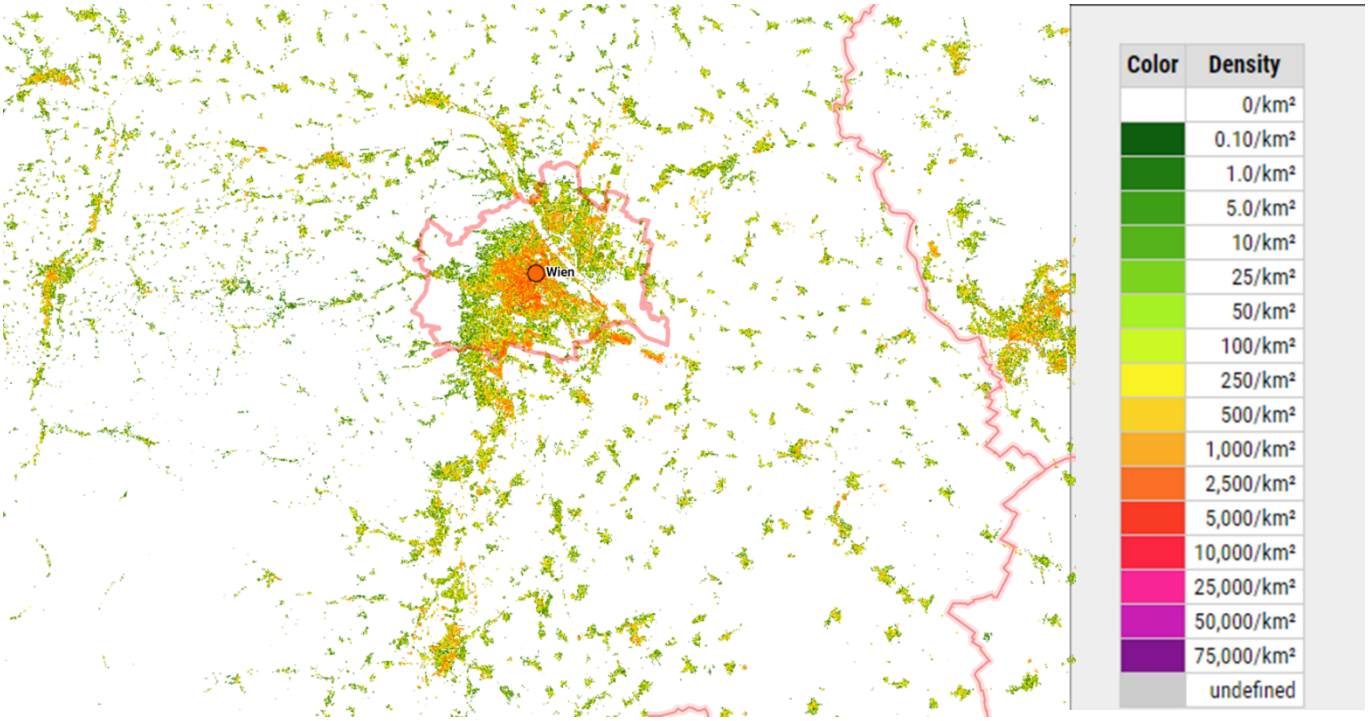
Figure 30 Milan urban footprint and density

Source: www.citypopulation.de

As we can see from Fig. 30, the evaluation of the urban footprint gives us an idea of the quantity of the dimension and density distribution where Milan urban density

and expansion is higher in confronting with Vienna, and this increases the complexity of the city of Milan to deal with the territory and the scale issue.

Figure 31 Vienna urban footprint and density



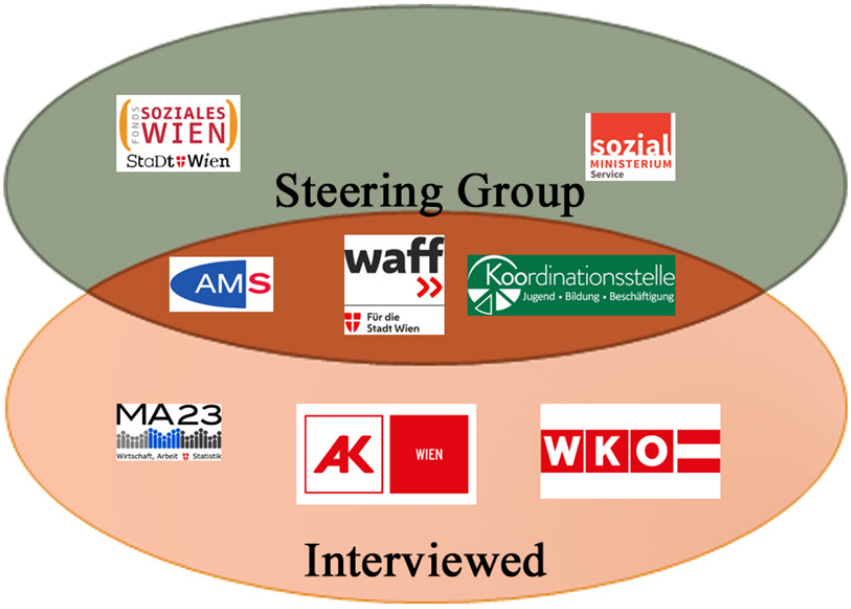
Source: www.citypopulation.de

6.3 The institutional context: actors, goals, and interactive discourse

This section focuses on the Institutional context, which will present two ways as meaning-based structures and rules of meaning and communication. The focus of the analysis is to broaden the perspective on the related actors and cooperation schemes that support them. And this is because these kinds of institutions, in the face of significant new challenges and changes, are under the constant pressure of (re) creation and (re) invention. The dynamics, however, as expressed in the paragraph above, comes from foreground discursive abilities which are made by success and change in policy and programs, that not only depend on cognitive aspects capable of satisfying policy matter but also on the normative ideas capable of satisfying policymakers and finding solutions to problems which also serve as the underlying values of polity (Schmidt, 2008). The background ideational abilities, on the other hand, are based on knowledge of the worldview of the sentient agents, which are organized in "advocacy coalition framework" (Sabatier, 1993), with their capacity to think beyond their structures of meaning as much as within them, creating new rules as well as following old ones. In this case, they seek to translate competing beliefs systems into public policy. Each of these actors has potentially different values, interests, perceptions of the situation, and policy preferences.

This said, following the framework of discursive institutionalism, agency is placed back into the institutional change by explaining these dynamics in structures through an interactive process of discourse: by considering agents' ideas and their discursive legitimisation as they coordinate with one another and communicate to the public (Schmidt, 2020).

Figure 32 Institutional mapping in the city Vienna



	TOPICS		
EDUCATION	YOUTH	EMPLOYMENT	WORK

Source: author elaboration

The importance of coordinative discourses and interaction between institutional actors and levels is well developed and integrated into the Viennese case with both top-to-top, top-down and bottom-up coordination between measures in different sectors (education, training, employment and social services for young people) and the possibility of intervening with a combination of general education, vocational training and practical working experience in coherence with the application of social investment approach. For this reason, as expressed by the interviews, "involving the social partners in decision-making processes could facilitate the acceptance of youth-specific legislation that seeks to both promote greater labour market participation and safeguard the quality of employment of young people". In this perspective, the social partner's involvement overcame the limit of legislative negotiation as their

involvement in educational programs has a positive impact adapted to reflect employer requirements for a better guide of ALMPs and VET policies.

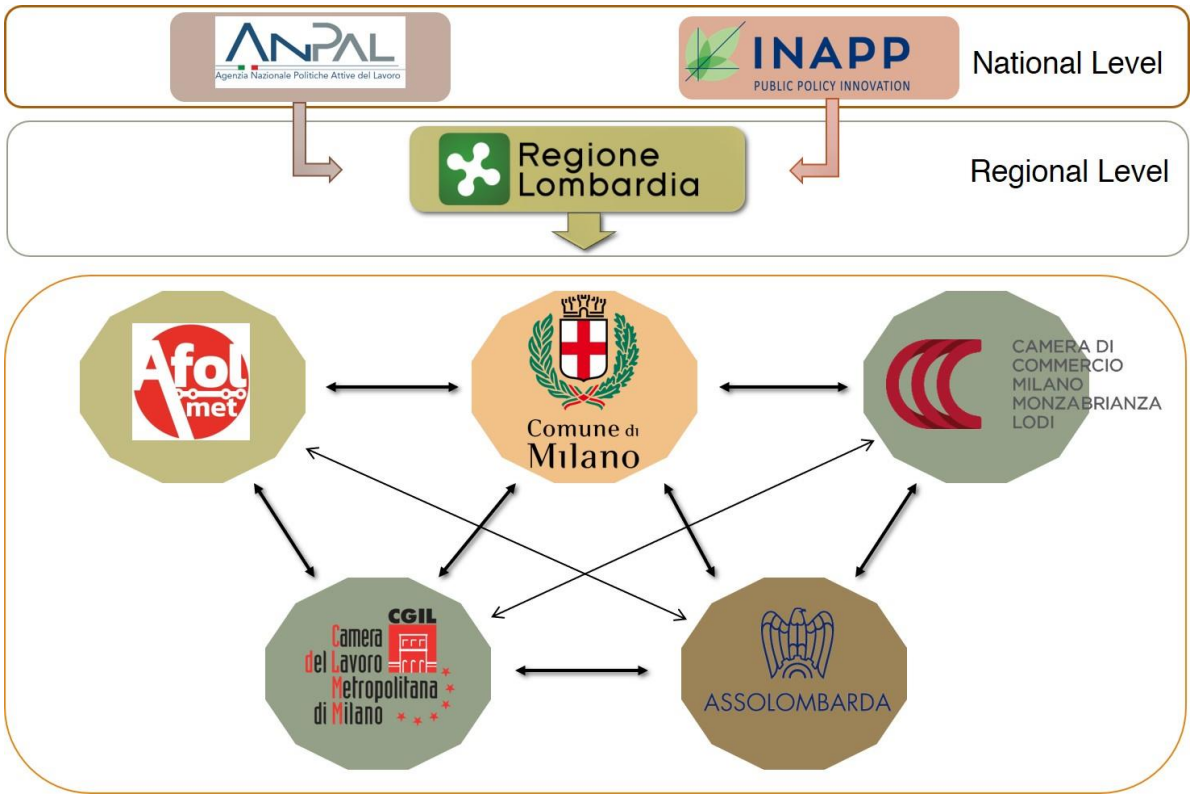
In the case of Vienna, the shape of Fig.32 can give just an impression of the institutional connection and organization context (which is wider and involve many other actors besides those illustrated for this study), and it depends on their own perspectives and the interrelation of actors involved. Inside this institutionalized system, the role of Kordinationsstelle in strict collaboration with WAFF is crucial for the coordination and communication within the network, between different stakeholders and with the beneficiaries and the civil society. As expressed by the interviews:

> "The coordination units started the work in 2007, when all the major organisations in the field of school-to-work transition, meaning the representatives of the public employment services the Federal social office and the Vienna social Fund came together to discuss the current situation to the youth transition policies in Vienna also with all sorts of projects provided. During these meetings and various discussions came out that there is a lot of measures and projects. Still, there was no order in the organization and the systematisation lacking in the city because of all these sorts of projects. So consequently, the pathways of young people going from school to working are becoming complicated. They are sending back and forth between measures or dropping out of the system. There was no overview of what was happening, and with different funding, organizations offer etc. So they decided that there is a need for a coordination unit that basically help to encourage communication between all the players in the field (…). So, at this moment, it was not only a discussion of the adoption of good practices and other tools but even a political discussion on the young people on the transition from school to work."

In the case of Milan, the fragmented and polycentric governance draw a mobile space of conflict, dynamics of change and complex geometries of power. Thus, we can attempt to say that the institutional context is very puzzling. The relation,

interrelations, and connections between stakeholders are very complex and characterized by flexible boundaries not oriented to creating an institutionalised coordination and communication system but working more on specific projects and specific problem solutions.

Figure 33 Institutional mapping in the city of Milan



Source: author elaboration

The coordination between actors is less top-to-top. There is a lack of communication between different levels and scales; for example, the relations between the Regions and the local level are not enough integrated with the national level. The focus of coordination is mainly top-down and bottom-up. Still, while in the Viennese case for bottom-up is to be understood as the city municipality within a systematic system as presented above, in the Milanese case, the bottom-up intervention and coordination are based on the variety and plurality of actors (both public, private for-profit or not-for-profit actors) that are not necessary interconnect with each other in a

stable systematic, institutionalized coordination. The communication is confused and based on the persuasiveness logic and the capacity to better influence, as in the case of the interview with the Assolombarda. In this case, given the lack of central and systematic coordination from the Municipality, they take more space to prevail their perspectives and ideas in the youth transition policies oriented mainly towards professional training and investment in human capital. As expressed by the interviews:

> "If we remain in the context of the transition understood as the VET system or educational system, in fact, the Municipality intervenes with projects to enhance the training offer (civic schools), which is also and above all guaranteed by the Region. There has been an enhancement/improvement of the school-work alternation (dual system) with a focus on the digital skills of the students in alternation or with laboratory collaborations (...). We (Assolombarda) have been carrying out public orientation activities for young students in moments of transition for the last twenty years. (...) with regard to young people and technology, the start-ups, entrepreneurship, STEM disciplines, issues related to modernity and functional to the needs of human capital for our companies. For us, this was a moment of rethinking and profound innovation both in terms of methods and contents."

To sum up, according to Schmidt (2020), the lack of effectiveness in austerity policies, applied mainstream by the European governments, was a consequence of the misframing, misdiagnosis, wrong remedies and inadequate solutions to the financial crisis of 2008, as evidenced by the statistical data and in the Eurozone performance in terms of austerity and structural reform. In addition to this reason, youth transition policies were planned and implemented in asymmetry orienting the attention only to supply, constructing youth as at-risk and stressing the individual level for more dutiful and responsible youth. The consequence of these narratives was a drift on the

institutional level: contributing to a paradigm shift of social policies from protection to activation and institutional change in the very concept of legitimation of these policies no longer based on the guarantee of citizens' rights, but as containers and providers of services for consumers, focusing on the individual scale.

The two main drivers of change were first introducing the logic of following the rule for more adaptation to the labour market with concentration on the supply need and pushing away the attention from demand. Second, based on the interactive discourses both on coordinative policy construction and communicative policy legitimation: the advocacy coalitions in both cities were more oriented on using assertive language to control the narrative of learning and unlearning based on policy performance, creating feedback loops of reasoning on the construction of abstract concepts like "youth category" justifying and propagating policies as "for young people". Nevertheless, the policies were decontextualized with a process of upscaling, flattening territorial differences and lacking understanding of the complexity of a multiscalar level.

In the case of Vienna during 2007 and 2008, there was an attempt for more coordinative and communicative interaction through actors synthesising it on the construction of the Koordinansstelle system that could help to better translate policies and languages through a variety and plural decision-makers.

As a conclusive remark, we can further highlight the importance of context-based effort and the logic of meaning for understanding policy planning and implementation in two cities. An attempt to revel in the whole moving picture, using a more comprehensive and lateral perspective on institutional analysis, emphasises the interconnected coordinative policy construction and communicative policy legitimation, which create feedback loops based on persuasive narratives and logic of reasoning. Nevertheless, also driving attention to the context-based effort for understanding the logic of meaning that combines reasoning with intuitive use of information in the creation of knowledge.

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