

MASTER THESIS

European labor reintegration policies for disabled persons since 2000 and their envisioned benefits

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Abstract

European welfare states are known for their concern for disabled persons and for the labor reintegration policies that are implemented to end the stigmatization and discrimination against them present in the social mainstream and lead to their social integration in the labor market. This research paper will analyze the benefits of these labor reintegration policies with regard to the political vision embedded in the policy language deployed in the policy discourses targeting the social integration of disabled persons in the welfare state countries. To sum up, the evaluation of the relevant policy documents (studies, strategies, reports, acts, action plans, evaluations, etc.) and the content analysis of the academic literature concerning the utopian vision of the policymakers will lead to the understanding of the envisioned benefits and their dimensions as well as their implications for a variety of government sectors.

Keywords: labor reintegration, benefits, political vision, social integration, disabled persons, welfare states.

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I started writing this thesis with a great passion that I want to create an inclusive society that gives everyone an equal opportunity to actively participate in the social mainstream and influence the decision-making process affecting their livelihood independently. As huge as this dream may sound, in the future I wish to be the founder of a start-up company that values the diversity and inclusion, where the number one priority will be enhancing the welfare of disabled persons who can do many valuable things for our society if given an opportunity. While writing this thesis, I learned many new things about the current procedures regarding the well-being of disabled persons that not only contributed to my knowledge, but also made me even more enthusiastic to make a positive change in the world. Therefore, I would like to express my utmost genuine gratitude for my supervisor Dr. Ringo Ossewaarde for his understanding, emotional support and valuable knowledge that he provided me with during this period. Besides, I would like to thank my second supervisor Dr. Veronica Junjan for her valuable feedback and compliments.

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List of Abbreviations

EC	European Commission			
EU	European Union			
GDP	Gross Domestic Product			
CA	Capability Approach			
UK	United Kingdom			
UN	United Nations			
WIA	Work & Income Act			
UNCRPD	United Nations' Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities			
WGA	Return to Work Scheme for partially/temporarily disabled persons			
IVA	Fully Disabled Workers Income Scheme			
WAJONG	Young Disabled Persons' Act			
WGP	Werkgelegenheidsplan (Employment Plan)			
NDA	National Disability Authority			

1. Introduction

1.1 Scientific Background

According to the European Commission (2007), 16% of the EU's working-age population is composed of persons who have disabilities and only 40% of these disabled people were able to find employment. Although most of the welfare state countries in the EU have combined a set of integration policies in the labor market with the social protection measures (Böheim & Leoni, 2017), the marginalization of disabled people amongst the society has been a barrier in boosting the effectiveness of the reintegration policies in the labor market. There is a collective belief among the employers that disabled persons are unproductive labor force since the presence of a disability is considered to have a negative influence on the labor market outcomes calculated through the employment rates as well as earnings (Jones, 2008 as in Jones & Latreille, 2011). The existence of such beliefs leads to the fact that disabled people get stigmatized and discriminated not only in the employment sector but also in many other segments of the social life, which can be reformulated as the issue of "social exclusion".

Social exclusion is a multi-dimensional concept embracing economic, social, political, and cultural factors in itself and it can be defined as a process preventing specific groups of individuals from participating in the economic, social, political, etc. life of the society due to their defined incompetence or disadvantages. The employment rate for people with and without disabilities is 47.3% and 66.9% respectively in the EU Member States (Eurostat, 2017 as in Bonaccio et al., 2017) which depicts that although there are a variety of reintegration policies in function in most of the European welfare state countries, the benefits are still vague and undetermined. It should be emphasized that how the concept of social inclusion conceptualized and incorporated in these policies has a huge impact on the envisioned benefits for disabled persons. In general, the attempts of the social policymakers in designing and implementing the labor reintegration measures are directed to the creation of a more inclusive society and a well-integrated job market in which disabled people are treated with an equal of set of opportunities. The realization of this utopian vision for disabled persons that social policy-makers convey is one of the important aspects of the policy-making process that is missing from the empirical literature.

The need for social inclusion of people with several disabilities took its route way back in France in the 1960s and spread all around the Europe after 1980s. In fact, to cope with the social exclusion the European Union included a set of strategies and techniques in its policy-making (Saraceno, 2002 as in Tuparevska, 2020). Particularly speaking, the Lisbon strategy of 2000 led the concept of social inclusion to be embedded in the social policy-makings of the EU (Levitas et al., 2007 as in Tuparevska, 2020). However, during the financial crisis of 2007-2009, austerity measures were implemented which led to a few impediments in the labor reintegration process of disabled people. In fact, this crisis led the EU Member States' GDP rate to shrink by 4.5%, and due to its negative impact, the economy at the European level deteriorated by 1.2% in 2013 compared to its level in 2008 (Matsaganis & Leventi, 2014). Considering the fact that the social firms, sheltered employments, and other types of labor reintegration measures were quite expensive, the government was bound to cancel these expenditures due to the recession the economy was going through.

As it is illustrated earlier, the provision of disability benefits that is designed to ease the livelihood of disabled people constitutes a considerable part of the government expenditures. In addition to the social protection measures (disability benefits, etc.), the countries especially located in the Northern and Continental Europe implement a progressively increasing level of employment reintegration strategies as a part of their policy discourse highlighting the social inclusion of disabled people (Böheim & Leoni, 2017). However, it should not be disregarded that heterogeneity is one of the main qualities of the policies aimed at labor reintegration of disabled people that makes these policies vary across countries (Burkhauser et al. as in Böheim & Leoni, 2017). As a matter of fact, policy variations can be reflected as the scope of reintegration, focus on monitoring, the strength of incentives for persons with disabilities, and the role of different stakeholders (Böheim & Leoni, 2017).

Policy documents demonstrating the type, setting, time, and envisioned benefits of the strategies targeting a successful reintegration of disabled people in the labor market are of significant importance to this study. Therefore, this study will contribute to the understanding of these policies as well as will unmask the main mission of the policy-making entities and individuals while analyzing the utopian visions foreseen for disabled persons in these policy documents.

The policymakers incorporate different strategies in the policy documents to transform the reintegration process of disabled persons in the labor market. As James (1989) has illustrated in his book the reintegration attempts targeting the inclusion of disabled persons in the labor market have not been proven effective, on the contrary, they are useless. The existence of negative beliefs towards the labor reintegration policies indicates that there is a significant issue with the definition of the long-lasting problem of social exclusion of disabled people in the policy language. While Article 15 of the European Social Charter of 1996 states that people with disabilities should have the right to 'independence, social integration and participation in the community' independent of their age as well as the nature and reason for their disability, the ideology of the policymakers to realize this with the reintegration measures is still open to discussion. Moreover, since incentivizing the employers and enhancing the accessibility of the office environment for disabled persons are not always effective, the reintegration measures also include sheltered employments, social firms and etc. (Fasciglione, 2015; O'Brien & Dempsey, 2004). The difficulties encountered in the reintegration measures specifically designed for disabled persons demonstrate the lack of vision in the social policymakers. To elaborate, the ideal society that they

are trying to create with a variety of policies is not in harmony with the actual prototype of the society they are aiming at, which is a big issue in the policy-making process.

Although there are a few policies and measures enforced by the European Member States, the relevant impact on the social inclusion process of disabled people is rather vague as it is formulated earlier. Therefore, another aim of this study is to find out what kind of benefits the policymakers intend to convey for disabled persons and in which sections of their livelihood these benefits are more obvious. The paradigm and the definition of the envisioned benefits among the policy-making units will be clarified throughout this study. Furthermore, the analysis of the policy documents concentrated on the reintegration of disabled persons in the employment sector will signify the benefits in terms of the political vision that the policymakers carry while focusing on the European welfare state countries.

Santero-Sanchez et al. (2016) emphasize the advantages and disadvantages of a variety of different policies and measures taken and factors fostering the integration process of disabled persons in the labor market. Moreover, the authors also analyzed and found out the main obstacles in the way of proper reintegration of disabled people and the role of Social Economy in enabling the faster integration process and creating highly-cohesive societies. On the other hand, Draheim, Schanbacher, & Seiberlich (2021) have demonstrated the case management showing that the employees can be reintegrated into the labor market in case of an emergence of disability, which is rather different from the other pieces of articles. Besides, the illustration of case management as an effective tool for the employees plays a crucial role in accelerating the reintegration process of disabled persons as well as in reducing the social expenses of the governments and in declining the benefit payments of the private insurers and many other positive outcomes. Moreover, in the article by Tuparevska et al. (2020) a specific set of policy documents and interviews have been selected and clearly demonstrated depending on their theme, source and time. Moreover, social exclusion, dimensions and factors of social exclusion, related concepts and vulnerable groups were given bigger attention in this article. Additionally, the authors do not only centralize on the people with disabilities but also young people without qualifications, older workers, women re-entering the job market, etc. Additionally, Böheim & Leoni (2017) have mainly focused on the heterogeneity of the labor reintegration policies across the Liberal, Corporatist and Social-democratic welfare regimes and illustrated the transformation from passive social protection measures to active labor reintegration policies.

To sum up, it has been rather clear that most of the literature in this field has mostly analyzed the concept of social inclusion in the policy-makings of the European Commission (EC), the Council of the European Union (CEU), the European Parliament (EP) and national governments regarding the vulnerable groups. Analyzing the alleged benefits of the labor reintegration policies for the target group of the study, disabled persons, through the understanding of policy language depicted in policy documents has been lacking. Moreover, the indication of these imagined

benefits in terms of the political vision that the policymakers convey needs more attention while having analyzed the policy documents designed by different European welfare state countries.

The scholars in the field of labor reintegration targeting disabled persons have mostly concentrated on the obstacles existing in the policy formulations such as the mindset of the employers, economic and the political formation of each specific country and existing definitions of social exclusion, which relates to the problem definition and remain shallow in terms of specifying the main implications for different actors ranging from disabled people to government sectors. Nevertheless, illuminating the benefits assumed by the policymakers, thereby, understanding the source of problem, that is the way the actions are formulated by the policymakers on the face of specific visions and ideologies. To clarify, the recent studies explores the reintegration mechanism more from a private sector perspective and focuses on the factors influencing the livelihood of disabled persons from different age groups. What is rather absent from the literature is the discussion and analysis of the specific benefits of the labor reintegration measures envisioned by public and private stakeholders and their signification in terms of ideological perspective carried by the relevant stakeholders taking part in this process.

1.2 Research Questions

RQ: What kind of benefits do European labor reintegration policies for disabled persons since 2000 identify and what do such envisioned benefits signify?

The main aim of this study is to demonstrate the benefits of the labor reintegration policies for disabled people envisioned by the national and supranational stakeholders and identify what these benefits signify in terms of the ideology and the vision of these policy-makers that is deployed in the relevant policy discourses. In fact, the ideology and the vision that the relevant policymakers carry lead them to strive for the creation of an ideal world for disabled people with the help of labor reintegration policies. However, the promises made in the policy discourses most often do not get realized. Therefore, the main ideology, visions and missions of the policymakers depicted in the policy documents will play an important role in understanding of the implications of the actions reintegrating disabled people in the labor market for a variety of stakeholders in the public and private sectors. Moreover, the main research questions given below will help to find a more comprehensive answer to the main research question.

1.2.1 Sub-questions

SQ1: How are benefits defined in policy discourses?

Since the main focus of this study is the analysis of envisioned benefits of the labor reintegration policies for disabled persons, the definition of such benefits is very crucial. To elaborate, the

criteria of the benefits as a result of the labor reintegration policies vary across European welfare state countries, which is why the alleged benefits that different policymakers maintain with these policies need to be carefully illuminated. Moreover, the understanding of these imaginary benefits will integrate its connection with the political visions of the policymakers, which will shed light on the long-term ideals regarding the labor reintegration measures.

SQ2: Which ways of understanding of labor reintegration and alleged benefits are diversified across different government sectors?

The alleged benefits of the labor reintegration policies vary from one sector to another. Considering that the actors making up the public and private sectors hold different views over the labor reintegration measures applied, the paradigm of the benefits significantly differs from one sector to another. Therefore, the understanding of the benefits that these sectors embrace also affects the way they get involved in the practice of labor reintegration policies, which indirectly influences the political vision the policymakers have towards the reintegration techniques in the labor market.

SQ3: What do these alleged /imagined benefits signify in terms of political vision?

The benefits of the labor reintegration policies vary depending on the visions and ideologies of the policymakers. In other words, the scale and the effectiveness of these benefits almost completely rely on the political vision that the policymakers convey through the policies designed. Moreover, considering that the concept of labor reintegration is intertwined with a variety of values, the political vision of the policymakers should be analyzed very thoroughly to understand the true dimensions of these alleged benefits.

1.3 Research Approach

The main variables intended for the purposes of this study are the labor reintegration of disabled persons and its alleged benefits. To elaborate, labor reintegration is the set of trainings or projects aimed at preparing and integrating disabled persons in the employment sector and generating more inclusive societies, on the other hand, the benefits are the positive impact on the well-being of disabled individuals, economic and social enhancement for the governments, sector growth and etc. Furthermore, this study will carry out a content analysis that will acquire qualitative data from a variety of sources, mainly policy documents to shed light and unmask the main ideas behind the labor reintegration policies with regard to the political vision of the policymakers. As a theoretical framework, the political vision, that is the ideologies and visions of the policy language is rather crucial to figure out the relation between the political vision and the stigmatization and thus, social exclusion of persons with disabilities.

To sum up, the analysis and the revelation of the labor reintegration policies in terms of the true missions and ideologies of the policymakers, that is the political vision is very crucial to understand the dimensions of the alleged benefits of these policies for disabled people as well as for different government sectors.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will give emphasis to concepts "political vision", "stigmatization" and "social integration" of disabled persons which are of significant importance towards building the base and illuminating the nature of the problem this study refers to. As the Research Question of this study refers to, thorough illustration of the benefits of the labor reintegration measures taken in European countries partly requires the provision of understanding of the main concepts studied by the major scholars in this field. In other words, the concepts that the recent literature suggests are to be investigated explicitly, thereby, providing a basis for the chapter of Analysis focusing on the policy discussions. As a matter of fact, the language deployed in the policy discourses regarding the labor reintegration of disabled persons is rather vague and confusing to understand the true mission of the policymakers in taking the counteractive measures against social exclusion of people with disabilities. While the policy documents will be analyzed in the further sections, in this chapter, firstly, the concept of political vision and its characteristics, alternatives as well as representation in the policy language will be discussed. Besides, shedding light on the concept of political vision with regard to the issues of human dignity will lead to a better understanding of its connection with the practices of social integration and elimination of stigma towards disabled persons. Hereby, the policy challenge of social integration and the stigmatization as an integration challenge will be highlighted in the other half of this chapter. Lastly, this chapter will end in the formulation of two specific hypotheses leading to the chapter of Methodology.

2.2 The representation of the political vision in the policy language

Labor reintegration measures differ from one country to another depending on the relevant economic/political/social conditions, which emphasizes the fact that the representation of these practices through a policy language also varies. In other words, the vision and mission that has been expressed in the policy discourses concerning the labor reintegration of disabled people differ moderately across the European welfare state countries. Additionally, policy language is of great importance when both the process and outcomes of these labor reintegration policies in terms of envisioned benefits are analyzed. To elaborate, without the understanding of the policy language which incorporates the true mission of the policymakers in creating an equitable and just society while eliminating the discrimination and stigmatization embedded in the society, it is almost impossible to determine the true benefits of the labor reintegration policies. In that sense, throughout this section, the arguments provided by different scholars concerning the derogatory policy language as well as the political vision will be discussed. In short, it will be made clear that the policy discourse regarding the social integration of persons with disabilities focuses too much

on the special characteristics one might have while incorporating less of values such as social justice, equality, solidarity, social rights, etc.

Furthermore, the political language established in the policy discourses masks the main ideologies of the social policymakers while partly causing the basis for stigma towards disabled persons in the society. In that sense, the values and beliefs making up the political vision are most often implicitly integrated into the labor reintegration policy discourses. Although Brennan (2003) argues that the policy discussions are "littered" with reference to rights, needs, /etc. of disabled persons, policy language can be disguised and can include different motives and ideologies. Particularly speaking, political rhetoric deployed in the policy discourse can be explained as the fact that the policymakers make use of specific terms and concepts to make their ideologies as appealing, plausible, and effective as possible (Grue, 2011). Additionally, discourse analysis applied by Grue (2011) made it clear that the dichotomy between "able-bodied" and "disabled" people expressed in the political rhetoric led disabled persons to be oppressively categorized in the society. In other words, considering the way the power holders or the policy makers particularly refer to the characteristics that non-disabled people have in contrast to disabled persons issues of stigma towards disabled persons gets deteriorated even more.

Hogelund (2002) maintains that policies regarding the status of disabled people in the labor market can be reflected in two different categories which are the provision of disability benefits allowing disabled persons to leave the employment sector and became isolated and implementation of instruments reintegrating the stigmatized persons in the labor market and ensuring their social inclusion. On the other hand, Böheim & Leoni (2018) argue that the policies in the welfare states regarding health deficiencies or disabilities differ according to three categories of the key motives which are preventing the health deficiencies and promoting the health status of the labor force, reintegrating the persons with health problems in the labor market, and social protection measures and disability benefits. As indicated by different scholars, differentiation among the recent policy actions taken in the labor market regarding the well-being of the labor force implicitly indicates the lack of concentration on the stigmatization towards disabled persons and the ineffective solution process.

Moreover, Tuparevska et al. (2020) have acknowledged that the European paradigm of the labor reintegration policies differs due to their individualistic characteristics in defining the specific target group, their needs, and respective measures. In fact, the European Member States decide on the urgency of the situation and the necessary measures to be taken separately from the ones taken on the European level. On the European level, the policies are designated by powerful actors or entities such as the European Commission, the governments, etc. According to Clements, Rapley & Cummins (1999), the hierarchy present in the practice of policy-making creates a barrier in creating effective policies since the decisions on the matter related to the "powerless group" are made by the powerful actors. Moreover, Veit-Wilson (1998) pointed out a set of features in the

design of policies with the purpose of accelerating the social integration of disabled persons in society that leads to the ineffectiveness of these policies. As a matter of fact, similar to what Clements, Rapley & Cummins (1999) demonstrated, Veit-Wilson (1998) also believes that the power relationships should be given more importance when it comes to designating such policies for this matter and criticized the type of measures deployed. To clarify, it is no doubt that referring to disabled persons as the powerless group, which is drawn from the policy language, illustrates a lot about the long-standing negatively- embedded attitude towards them among the society.

Furthermore, Veit-Wilson (1998) states that the measures taken in terms of labor reintegration of disabled persons most of the time are concentrated on the special characteristics that disabled persons might possess which explain the small degree of influence that the labor reintegration policies have brought about in the elimination process of discrimination against people with disabilities in the society. On the other hand, Bickenbach (2001) stated that the focus of policy-making regarding the reintegration of disabled persons in the labor market has shifted from personalized disability issues to addressing the obstacles in the formation of social inclusion. Besides, Harris et al. (2012) also argue that the "culture of inclusion" is currently more embedded in the policy-makings of most welfare state countries. To elaborate, alongside the reintegration policies, the enhancement of the reforms on structural values will progressively promote the social integration of disabled persons. (OECD, 2009 as in Harris et al., 2012). Therefore, the political vision composed of the values attached to the social mainstream should be further analyzed while understanding the main focus points of the policy frameworks in different European states.

Böheim & Leoni (2018) have demonstrated that many European countries are more engaged in combining disability benefits (social protection) and reintegration policies which also shows the current transformation in the structure of social policy-makings. Moreover, the study conducted by Böheim & Leoni (2018) evidently depicts the fact that the provision of disability benefits has been much stricter since 2000 which indirectly enhances the involvement of people with health problems and disabled persons in the employment sector. In other words, the number of active labor market policies supporting their inclusion in the labor market has increased in countries such as Austria, The Netherlands, Spain, Poland, Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland, and Sweden as Böheim & Leoni (2018) pointed out. Additionally, Bonoli & Natali (2012) have discussed the fact that the current policies concerning persons with disabilities in the welfare states lay a huge emphasis on preventing the social risks by ensuring their inclusion in the employment sector.

Oliver (1996) asserts the importance of transformation in social policy-makings from a needsbased to a rights-based approach. In other words, according to him, the welfare policies should not concentrate on the needs of disabled people, on the other hand, it is crucial that the policies are administered in such a way that they highlight their rights. As a matter of fact, the needsbased approach discursively used by the power holders particularly expands the discriminating views towards disabled persons which becomes rather obvious from the policy discussions to be analyzed further in the Analysis Chapter. Barton (1993) agrees while acknowledging the effectiveness of the social policies if they are built around the principles of equality and autonomy. On the other hand, Jones (1994) emphasizes the needs-based approach and maintains that it is related to minimum quality of life and should be included in the policy-making (as in Drewett, 1999). In this sense, the term "citizenship" is of fundamental value in the social policy discussions related to disabled persons' role in society. Barton (1993) illustrated that citizenship provides disabled people with independence, the value of choice as well as control which basically makes up their human rights in society. Thereby, disabled persons also demand the shift of concern from the needs to the rights with regard to the concept of citizenship. Another reason for this shift is the fact that, as Finkelstein (1993) explained, the barriers disabled persons encounter amongst the society have only been elaborated in terms of individual and medical terms, which is a needbased approach.

Lall (2012) acknowledges that the main purpose of policy-making is to demonstrate the desired ways for societies to function. This can be interpreted as the fact that the policy language used in the policy discourse depicts the ideal version of the society in terms of political vision. Political vision conveyed by the policymakers evidently differs considering there are many alternatives to that including social justice, equality, solidarity, social rights, etc. It is rather obvious that European labor reintegration policy discussions targeting disabled persons' inclusion in society are reflected as a part of social policies. As argued by Lall (2012), the policy discourse is mostly embedded in social, economic, and political affairs rather than incorporating crucial values such as social justice, equality, and democracy. On the other hand, Barton (1993) maintains that social policy discourses incorporate the key terms such as social justice and equal rights which can be interpreted as emancipatory policy techniques that encompass actions to eliminate the barriers such as oppression, inequality, discrimination, etc. in disabled persons' livelihoods that prevents them from freedom. Therefore, while the contents of the policy discussions are expected to include the crucial values such as social justice, equal rights, etc., sometimes the policymakers might concentrate on the social, economic, political affairs that leads to the expansion of the stigmatizing beliefs.

Understanding the Capability Approach (CA) developed by Amartya Sen in the analysis of policymaking and formation of political vision regarding the social status of disabled people is of a big value. In fact, Sen's Capability Approach (1999) concentrates on the fact that each individual has an effective participatory role in creating a change, which is of significant importance towards the creation of an inclusive society. This can be interpreted as collective responsibility, an alternative to the political vision deployed in policy discourse, which requires each individual, both disabled and non-disabled people, making up the society to contribute to the social integration of disabled persons while generating an inclusive society with equal rights. In fact, collective responsibility requires a high degree of solidarity among the members of the community which proves the importance of social relations as a basis of the integration process of disabled people. Considering the fact that human relations incorporate a significant amount of interdependence among the members of the society, the transformation from self-responsibility, that is social inclusion as an individual obligation of disabled persons, to collective responsibility can be depicted as another contested alternative to the political vision deployed in policy discourse (Barton, 1993).

On the other hand, Hedge & MacKenzie (2012) acknowledges that the issue of human dignity is very well-embedded in the Capability Approach developed by Amartya Sen as well as in the policy discussions. In other words, policy frameworks developed by executive social policymakers includes the topics related to the human dignity such as being treated equally as non-disabled persons in different fields of the national structure. In fact, it has clearly been demonstrated that CA requires the labor reintegration policies to shift the focus to individual capabilities with regard to the political vision conveyed by policymakers. To elaborate, capabilities that each disabled individual possesses lead them to choose the option they seek. This indirectly illustrates that it is the "self-responsibility" of disabled persons to socially integrate into society given that the government and policymakers have provided them with the "freedom of choice" (Aswegen & Shevlin, 2019). It should be noted that self-responsibility can be seen as an alternative to the political vision that the policymakers demonstrate. Additionally, referring to self-responsibility, disabled people should have the opportunity as well as the power of making the decisions affecting their livelihood and their contribution to the social mainstream while needing zero or very little intervention of the government or the policymakers (Barnes & Mercer, 2005). The reliance on disabled people would mean that they are expected to illustrate what their needs and their ideals related to the creation of an inclusive and equal society are.

Moreover, while solidarity has a considerable role in the demonstration of collective responsibility as an alternative to the political vision in the labor reintegration policy discussions, according to Abberley (1996) one should put forward the importance of solidarity in a capitalist labor market since the participation in the industrial labor market is one of the crucial factors influencing the degree of social integration. Similarly, Durkheim (1984) lays an emphasis on the social division of labor via industrial settings and points out the fact that industrialization transforms the mechanistic solidarity among the members of the society into an organic one. To elaborate, compared to individualization, within the concept of solidarity people are expected to perform collaboratively as Durkheim explained in his book "Division of Labor in Society" (1984). Not being able to participate in the employment sector is associated with being on the edge of the society, which links to becoming socially excluded, according to Abberley (2002).

Furthermore, the CA, as Aswegen & Shevlin (2019) elaborated, can be considered as a social justice model leading to increased freedom and well-being of disabled people. Sen (1999)

suggests that the framework of CA brings about a participatory change in the society that not only solves the problem of social exclusion but also generates social justice. Similarly, Vaughan (2016) asserts that the term "social justice" as an alternative to political vision gets reflected in terms of elimination of inequality and addresses the problem of social exclusion of stigmatized disabled population via the involvement of societies as well as relevant institutions in the integration process. Likewise, Barton (1993) puts forward that every individual independent of their special condition should have the freedom of speech, thought, faith, as well as the right to possess property and most importantly, the right to social justice which ensures the provision of equal rights to disabled people as others. Moreover, it should be elaborated that in a capitalist setting that is composed of a free market, individual consumers, and the central government as a regulating authority the degree of inequalities has heightened as well as deteriorated social justice. Social justice as a mission of policymakers is incorporated in many welfare state policies, nevertheless, the actual degree realized with these policies is rather insignificant.

Additionally, Quicke (1992) maintains that state intervention is rather inefficient and has led to the generation of "disorder, alienation and a culture of dependency" and deterioration of the freedom that exists in a capitalist setting (Barton, 1993). Furthermore, Quicke (1992) elaborates that the distributive function of the market ensures disabled individuals with the required freedom of choice while the state intervention has been kept to a minimal level. On the other hand, Sen (1999) elaborated that it is important that disabled persons are provided with a proper amount of capability inputs such as policies, resources, changes in social norms and infrastructures, etc. which can be considered a state intervention leading to enhancement of their well-being. To elaborate, the political vision that the policymakers convey in developing new initiatives to reintegrate disabled persons into the labor market can vary depending on the level of state intervention and the market power.

In addition to these alternatives of the political vision explained above, Sen also states that the capabilities of disabled persons should be highlighted instead of focusing on the special characteristics, categorizing people with disabilities as a vulnerable group and generalizing them in one group. In fact, it has been stressed that the welfare state policymakers should eliminate the "dilemma of differences" (between disabled and non-disabled) while designating the respective policies. Barnes & Mercer (2005) also formulated that the concentration on the vulnerability, that is limited qualities of disabled persons paved the way for increasing the social inequality. Additionally, Oliver (1983) illuminates that different from the medical discussions which mostly concentrate on the vulnerability of disabled people, social policy discourse focuses on the barriers present in the mainstream of social life. Similarly, Hahn (1985) argues that historically developed medical model over the condition of disabled people mostly puts emphasis on the biological and physiological inferiority disabled people might have, which explains the false assumptions regarding the incapability of disabled persons.

To sum up, this section provided insightful discussions over the policy language deployed in terms of political vision as well as its various alternatives. It has been made rather clear that welfare state policies directed at the reintegration of disabled persons most of the time encompass measures that would compensate the impairments of disabled persons instead of attempts that would eliminate the obstacles in their participation in society (Trani et al., 2011). Addressing these biases in social formations, promoting adaptive measures by law, and ensuring an equal set of rights and opportunities for disabled people whilst leading to social justice should be a major part of the political vision that the policymakers convey in the policy discourses for more desirable outcomes (ibid.). Furthermore, having demonstrated Sen's Capability Approach, one could point out the fact that human development and creation of a just society where the capabilities and the potential of disabled persons are more emphasized should be the foundation of the political vision transmitted via the policy language. Similarly, Nussbaum (2011) also emphasizes the fact that the terms "social injustice" and "inequality" should be given more importance in the policy discourses considering the fact that they partially explain the existence of orthodox beliefs and assumptions attached to the incapability of disabled people. It should also be brought forward that the values such as social justice, equal rights, solidarity carry huge importance in a society where disabled and non-disabled individuals act together as the idea of collective responsibility suggests which is no doubt the kind of society that the social policymakers are attempting to create in a variety of European states.

2.3 Political vision of social integration of disabled persons

Throughout the first section regarding the policy language, it has been demonstrated that the policymakers desire to achieve a higher level of social integration of disabled persons with the designated social welfare policies. Social integration is considered as a part of the political vision conveyed in the policy discourse regarding disabled persons' well-being and can be associated with the terms "social justice" and "equal rights" since the ability to contribute to the social mainstream of the society should be possible for everyone on equal terms. In this section, definitions of social exclusion as well as the connection between social integration and different ideologies will be discussed having demonstrated different arguments by a variety of scholars. In fact, although social integration is making up a major part of the labor reintegration policies, key measures mostly rely on the differences disabled persons bring to the society while it needs to include the egalitarian ideas as the base to realize the envisioned benefits conveyed via the policy language.

Besides the mental and physical health benefits, measures taken to reintegrate disabled persons into the labor market are also expected to ensure their integration into social networks and to enhance their social status. Policies implemented in most of the European welfare countries maintain this idea as a base and since 1996 incorporated the anti-discrimination law to ensure the social inclusion of disabled persons (Bunt et al., 2020). Although anti-discrimination law requires employers to hire people with disabilities on the ground of equal opportunities, this is not exactly what happens. Social integration is depicted as the major purpose of the policies aiming at reintegrating disabled persons and the political vision of social integration incorporates the promotion of diversity and inclusion and the creation of positive changes in different settings of organizational culture according to Bonaccio et al. (2019). In fact, the structure and patterns of the reintegration measures for disabled persons in the labor market vary rather moderately from one country to another. Hereby, it can be determined that the policymakers approach labor reintegration measures from different perspectives according to the urgency of the situation with the issue of social exclusion in each country.

The definition of social exclusion ranges from one scholar to another considering the multidimensional nature of the problem. As a matter of fact, social exclusion has been defined as a multi-dimensional, dynamic and relational concept (Mathieson et al., 2008 as in Tuparevska et al., 2020). It incorporates social, political, cultural and economic dimensions while functioning at various hierarchical social categories (multidimensional); is interactive, shifting and has an adaptive nature (dynamic); and lays emphasis on the social relations (relational) (ibid.). Moreover, Silver (2007) maintains that the definition of social exclusion gains a new context in each country and culture setting relying on the degree of sense of isolation and belonging. Therefore, the definition of solidarity and individualism across countries contribute to conceptualizing social exclusion. McDevitt (2003) also acknowledged the significance of the country-specific factors in determining the concept of social exclusion. For instance, the financial circumstances and deprivation got highlighted in the Netherlands and the UK respectively while defining social exclusion. Moreover, one of the most common definitions on EU level is maintained as follows:

"Social exclusion is a process preventing specific groups of individuals from participating in economic, social, political, etc. life of the society due to their defined incompetence or disadvantages" (Council of the European Union, 2004).

As Bernhard (2006) asserted under the European regulations the conceptualization of social integration mostly relies on the employment sector while underestimating the effectiveness of other sectors regarding the generation of inclusive societies. In other words, one can notice the fact that the policy frameworks developed for this matter predominantly embraces the employment related subjects such as suitable working conditions, equal treatment, equal employment benefits, etc. Moreover, Levitas (1998) pointed out the inefficiency of focusing on the disadvantages of a group of people who are isolated and excluded from society in the process of formulating the labor reintegration policies targeting disabled persons. Therefore, Gough et al. (2006) stated that rather than focusing on specific incapacities of a certain group of people, social integration should be generated by maintaining the exclusion of disabled persons as a problem

of the whole society and by leading to social transformation. Likewise, Grimaldi (2012) asserts that social exclusion is a condition stemming from "unsuccessful participation" in different dimensions of the society which puts the responsibility of excluding actions towards disabled persons on the people who are morally available to do so, therefore, it should be treated as a problem of the entire society.

Amundson (2000) and Pfeiffer (2001) argue that disability leads to depreciation in one's quality of life and well-being as well as creates a big obstacle in their participation in society compared to others which makes them socially excluded. Similarly, Oliver (1996) pinpoints the fact that the barriers hindering disabled persons from contributing to the social dynamic of society by participating in the job market can be eliminated with the help of effective policies that will lead to ultimate transformation in society. In other words, social formations and the biases towards disabled persons should be the basis for the public policies designated for the purpose of producing social integration (Trani et al., 2011). With the help of transforming policies and measures, society will acknowledge the differences in the capabilities of disabled persons as socially normal and it will lead to an emergence of inclusive society (ibid.). This can be understood as the key political vision that the policymakers carry with the policies reintegrating disabled people in the labor market. In other words, with the generation of the utopian version of the society that the policymakers are trying to achieve disabled people will be accepted as normal and as persons with different yet sufficient set of qualities to participate in the labor market.

As Mays (2016) pointed out, the provision of social protection and labor market programs is a big part of the neoliberal type of policies implemented in the welfare state countries which aim to achieve social integration of disabled persons. However, it should not be underestimated that the neoliberal policies mostly deploy a purpose of reducing the provision of social disability benefits to ensure the economic security of the state (ibid.). This can be considered as a big paradox that has been encountered in the policy-makings of welfare state countries. It is not clear that whether the social policymakers are formulating such policies to ultimately lead to the social integration of disabled persons or to save up the huge amounts of money that have been spent on the social policies highlight the importance of economic rationality, cost efficiencies, etc. rather than the social integration of disabled persons.

Moreover, excluded groups of people with disabilities demand recognition and equal rights in a political, discursive, etc. framework which according to Garland-Thomson (1996) can be identified as a big issue of equalitarian order. Particularly speaking, under the welfare regimes, the dimension of inequalities is getting enhanced rather than shrinking down which is not one of the characteristics of egalitarian society (Mays, 2016). To elaborate, the concept of egalitarianism needs to be a basis for the social integration measures intended for disabled persons (Mays, 2016). Moreover, Mays (2016) also argues that decent income and fair access to resources make

up a proper livelihood for disabled persons where they have their own social identity amongst the society. Therefore, the egalitarian model of society is discreetly intertwined with the idea of social integration and needs to be the foundation of the policies serving the social integration of disabled persons. Furthermore, based on the principles of equalitarian order, the "basic income model" was developed to make sure that disabled persons are not left excluded and they have equitable economic, social, political security, which will lead to the generation of an equalitarian society where the differences are considered normal as well as are appreciated (Mays, 2016).

In this section, the emphasis was on social integration as a crucial part of the political vision conveyed in the policy language. It is illuminated that disability is deliberated as a diverged set of qualities making the person be considered unable to perform certain activities due to accepted social norms, which explains the main reason for the existence of social exclusion (Trani et al., 2011). Furthermore, the attention was drawn towards rather a variable degree of urgent necessity for relevant policies in a variety of European welfare state countries to reintegrate disabled persons into the labor market as well as to transform the social structures, which will eventually lead to the social integration of the people with disabilities. Finally, the equalitarian order was elaborated as the base of the policy discourse, which brings an end to a neoliberal way of thinking in policy-making which results in a big transformation in creating an equitable and just society where disabled persons are able to contribute to the social dynamics of the society (Mays, 2016).

2.4 Stigmatization as an integration challenge

The illustration of the political vision of social integration in the previous section made it evident that disabled persons are socially excluded from the mainstream of society due to the stigmatized views over them. Therefore, throughout this section, the stigmatization of disabled persons as an integration challenge will be emphasized while elaborating on the definitions of stigma towards disabled persons, the derogatory language deployed in policy discourse aiming at integration of disabled people in the society as well as the contrast between political ideals of social integration and political practice of stigmatization. Mainly, that the beliefs regarding the incapability of disabled people embedded in the social mainstream are rather misleading will be elaborated and will be given importance as a source of the stigma existing in the society.

Disability stigma present among the members of the society is one of the sources of the social exclusion problem. Beliefs that disabled persons are incapable of working and providing productive outcomes for their work placements generate a huge obstacle in the way of creating cohesive societies. Goffman (1986) asserted that stigma is originally a Greek word and categorizes people according to their outlooks which led to the creation of "social identity". People were stigmatized due to their unusual characteristics since historical times. Therefore, Goffman (1986) has defined the stigma as a set of attributes that discredits a human being. Likewise,

Dovidio et al. (2000) argue that stigma is a socially constructed term and leads to devaluation of different characteristics one might carry. Furthermore, Stone & Colella (1996) acknowledge that in the case of the labor market, there are a few very stereotypical job requirements and known traditional ways of how to perform at a job which leads to a pile of false beliefs that disabled persons will not be able to satisfy these requirements.

Furthermore, Heymann et al. (2014) lay emphasis on the effectiveness of the labor market policies reintegrating disabled people in terms of eliminating the vastly embedded stereotypes and stigmas among the society, which can be considered as a big obstacle in the development of social equity. Tuparevska et al. (2020), on the other hand, mentioned that the policies designated with the purpose of generating social integration highlight the disadvantages of the target group, disabled persons, which is considered as a negative language and leads to the enhancement of stigmatized views as well as discrimination. The policies concentrating on the capabilities and potential of disabled persons rather than their vulnerability are believed to cause more fruitful outcomes (ibid.). Moreover, the current transformations in the policy-makings of different entities on the EU level have ensured to include the concept of social inclusion instead of social exclusion which depicts the focus on the "structural problems" that has long been defined as an obstacle in the emergence of inclusive societies (ibid.).

Stone and Colella (1996) argue that as a source of the problem the biased stigmatizing opinions and embedded stereotypes existing in the society lead the employers to avoid employing disabled persons. Most of these beliefs have neither logical nor proven foundations, on the contrary, they incorporate false assumptions, for example, lower performance level, higher absenteeism and turnover rates, lower safety records, etc. Furthermore, Stone and Colella (1996) have identified that very little attention has been given to "attitudinal and perceptual biases" in society which is the reason why disabled persons are stigmatized and discriminated against in the labor market. Likewise, Makas (1988) pointed out that the stereotypical characteristics that are associated with disabled persons include not courageous, incapable of competing and needing more breaks, etc. In their research Fichten & Amsel (1986) have also acknowledged that disabled people are stigmatized due to the stereotypical qualities of a disabled person such as helpless, hypersensitive, unsociable, distant, depressed, insecure, dependent, unhappy and etc.

Additionally, Stone & Colella (1996) stressed the fact that the employers' expectations of disabled persons incorporate the traits of being unable to perform, less interactive with others, unqualified for the job, disruptive of the work environment, not able to comply with the norms. On the other hand, Heymann et al. (2014) has demonstrated the importance of interaction with disabled persons in the work placements with regard to the eradication of societal marginalization of disabled persons. However, the reason why the stigma towards disabled persons exist is the discriminative beliefs towards disabled persons that have been diffused among the other participants of the society as well as demonstrated in the derogatory language deployed by the

policymakers, therefore, to understand that the definitions centering the incapability of disabled persons are incomplete and untruthful is very crucial for the whole society (Barton, 1993).

Social integration has been identified as a big part of the ideal society the policymakers are attempting to create by formulating a variety of policies aimed at the social integration of disabled persons. However, the policy language deployed in these documents makes use of negative terms and concepts which is partly responsible for the deterioration of the social exclusion problem. As a matter of fact, Mikton et al. (2014) asserted that in the policy discourses people with different disabilities are most often referred to as the minority group. Moreover, it should be noted that the usage of the term "disabled people" shows the degree of social oppression present in society (ibid.). This can be concluded as although the main purpose of these policies is to accomplish the safe reintegration of disabled persons in the society, the stigmatization towards disabled persons remains in the policy language as well as in the practices of labor reintegration policies.

The derogatory language full of stigmas against people with disabilities deployed in the policy discourses can be recognized when the main ideology of the policymakers is analyzed. In other words, it is rather obvious that the policymakers put a lot of emphasis on defining the problem as a set of characteristics that makes disabled persons less productive in the labor market rather than their potential. Moreover, the policy discourses regarding the social integration of disabled persons draw big attention towards these stereotypes which are mostly overgeneralized assumptions that negatively affect the livelihood of disabled people (Stone & Colella, 1996). To sum up, with this section it has been formulated that the stigma against disabled persons is associated with a multitude of wrong assumptions related to their capability level which can only be eliminated with effective integration policies that shows the otherwise.

2.5 Hypotheses and conclusion



Figure 1: Conceptual Research Model

Source: Author's own illustration

This chapter mainly focused on bringing forward the ideas and opinions of a variety of scholars in the field of reintegration of disabled people in the labor market, thereby, the social mainstream of the society. It has been revealed that the major concepts discussed in the current literature regarding the well-being of disabled people are emergence of their social integration and the elimination of the stigmatization against disabled persons embedded in the mindset and culture of the national structure in different European welfare states. Therefore, the policymakers in this field embrace the understanding of social integration and the stigmatization and consider these concepts crucial as the major parts of their political vision regarding the improvement of the social status of disabled people in different dimensions of the society. Moreover, it should be clarified that the scholars have differentiated two type of society, one associated with the socially inclusive environment and the other with the stigmatizing values, as demonstrated above in Figure 1. According to the recent literature, one could say that the vision held by the policymakers can achieve one of these two societies either by stimulating the triggers of equal human rights, human dignity, social justice, solidarity and collective responsibility or discrimination, oppression, inequality, derogatory attitude. To elaborate, scholars of the relevant field have provided their understanding and arguments regarding the concepts of social integration and stigmatization and their triggers.

On the basis of the main concepts and their triggers as illustrated above in the Figure 1, one could develop the hypotheses given below:

Hypothesis 1:

Policy rhetoric regarding the labor reintegration of disabled persons incorporates a set of negative terms which partly explain the reasons for the stigmatization present in the society.

Hypothesis 2:

The equalitarian order with the provision of social justice and equal rights should be the main political vision of the reintegration policies implemented, on the contrary, the political vision deployed in policy discourse includes absurd utopian ideals which influence the effectiveness of the relevant policymaking.

The above section discussed and summarized the key insights of the scholars regarding the reintegration of disabled people into society, which lead to a partial understanding of the alleged intentions of policymakers in labor reintegration measures targeting disabled persons on national member state level or European supranational level. For instance, while Tuparevska et al. (2020), Bickenbach (2001), Harris et al. (2012) and others mostly focused on the social integration as a part of policymaking process of the reintegration of disabled people in the labor market, Stone & Colella (1996), Makas (1988), Fichten & Amsel (1986), Gough et al. (2006), etc. centralized on

the stigmatizing beliefs and opinions of the society that are the main obstacles in the creation of an inclusive society. Furthermore, while the social integration and stigmatization are in the spotlight of the literature, the political vision conveyed by the policymakers in this sense have not been directly incorporated in the studies although it embraces the vision of generating the social integration and eliminating the stigmatization of disabled people. Moreover, it should be elaborated that since it is the powerful actors who are engaged in designating the policies regarding the labor reintegration of disabled people, the effectiveness of these policies in terms of benefits is under question. In other words, the utopian society that the policymakers are attempting to create might be different than the one disabled people want to be involved in. In fact, the visions of disabled persons themselves significantly differ from the ones these "powerful" actors convey through the relevant policy discourse. Additionally, the analysis of the policy discourses in terms of whether or not the measures taken concentrate on the potential of disabled people and ensure a transformation in the mindset of the society alongside several reforms would add a significant value whilst answering the research questions as well as confirming whether or not the developed hypotheses are correct.

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The chapter of Research Methodology aims at introducing the methods that will be implemented to investigate the policy language deployed in the policy documents designated to enhance the labor reintegration of disabled persons in European welfare state countries. The main source for this investigation will be the policy documents acquired from government websites in the EU as well as the supranational organizations while the main aim is to present how the data necessary for the purposes of this study will be collected and what kind of analysis will be implemented. Moreover, data from the governments involved in the labor reintegration process of disabled persons will be chosen carefully so that the policy documents would be accessible to analyze and that the researchers would be able to confirm the reliability of the statements/arguments mentioned in this study. Therefore, the data selection process will focus on mostly European welfare countries with documents accessible in English to understand the embedded political visions and missions of policymakers within the labor reintegration policies for disabled persons properly.

3.2 Case study and description

According to Baxter & Jack (2008 as in Rashid et al., 2019), the qualitative case study will bring about the revelation of a set of features related to the research object by incorporating data from different sources. Multiple case study will be utilized as a core part of this research study where the European welfare state countries will be analyzed. This analysis will shed light on the political vision carried by governmental organizations, political parties, and other policymakers regarding disabled people's involvement in the labor market by thoroughly interpreting the policy language in the policy documents, legislative acts, newspaper articles, interviews, speeches of political parties, annual or evaluation reports and other legal documents. The political vision, ideology, and mission of the policymakers in the implementation of labor reintegration policies in the European welfare state countries differ a lot, therefore, the units of analysis, hence the European welfare states, will be compared and contrasted. As a result of a comparative case, it will be easier to notice the overlaps or complete polarization of the arguments provided by different politicians, parties with regard to the policy designation and implementation of labor reintegration of people with disabilities. Moreover, the welfare state countries will be selected according to the Esping-Andersen classification which categorizes the welfare state countries as liberal, conservative and social-democratic (Isakjee, 2017). Scandinavian countries are considered social-democratic with the traits of universalism and benefit equality (Arts, & Gelissen, 2001; Van Der Veen, & Van Der Brug, 2013). On the other hand, Anglo-Saxon countries are classified as liberal with a combination of poor relief, private pensions and private health, while the countries located in Continental Europe are conservative with the features of etatism and corporatism (ibid.). It is rather known that the disability schemes and other policies related to disabled persons are a big part of welfare state countries, however, the degree of involvement differs a lot from one another in different categories of Esping-Anderson. In this sense, Esping-Anderson classification is very crucial in terms of comparing different countries since reaching the data of every single country in Europe will be hard to do considering the language barriers as well. Therefore, it will lead to the demonstration of a bigger picture related to the political vision carried by a variety of political actors in the field of labor reintegration of disabled persons and interpret the qualities of each policymaking in different settings accordingly.

To analyze the policy frameworks in more detail, Finland and the Netherlands from the category of 'social-democratic', Ireland from the category of 'liberal', Germany and Italy from the category of 'conservative' welfare states will be chosen. One of the main reasons behind the selection of these specific countries from each category is the availability of policy documents in the medium of English. As a matter of fact, action plans, studies, legislative acts, reports and strategies as the main policy documents will be analyzed and interpreted under indicated categories of welfare states. Additionally, whereas it is no doubt that welfare state countries in each category have a few differences in their involvement in the formulation of disability policies, the chosen countries are the most similar ones in terms of the main vision as well as the actions taken towards the issue of reintegrating disabled persons in the labor market. Additionally, a coding scheme will be designed where the theoretical variables - main arguments regarding the political vision, social justice, equalitarian society with equal rights for persons with disabilities made by public officials such as the members of different parties, parliaments, governments, national authorities, ministries, etc. in the formulation of the policy documents given above will be listed. This will make the "most similar" comparative case analysis more systematic and organized. To elaborate, considering that the most similar case analysis expects the chosen cases are similar in terms of the independent variables but different in the context of specific independent variable which is of interest to the study (Seawright & Gerring, 2008), one can conclude that the welfare state countries are similar in terms of their concern for disabled persons, taken labor reintegration measures and the relevant perceived benefits, yet they differ with regards to the codes developed for the aim of this study. In other words, while the degree of importance given to particular factors in the labor reintegration process are somewhat similar, it leads to a set of different outcomes with regard to the enhancement of the livelihood of disabled persons in the selected welfare states. In fact, it will become revealed in later chapters that the main visions and the relevant dimensions of the measures vary among the countries although all of them pay specific attention towards developing further effective solutions to integrate disabled persons into the labor market and eliminate the long lasting discriminatory stigma towards them.

The EU and the Member States have many directives and strategy plans aimed at the social and economic integration of disabled persons into the social community considering the number of disabled people has dramatically increased. Thereby, the search function of the official websites of the European Commission, as well as OECD, was very helpful to reach these documents and select the ones that are related to the needs of this study. As a matter of fact, European Disability Strategy 2010 – 2020 adopted by the European Commission {COM (2010) 636} is of significant importance for demonstrating the main directives, actions taken during the last decade (since 2010), and aimed at enhancing the involvement of disabled people in the labor market. This Strategy, as a guidance document, is built on the foundations of limited progress made by the EU Disability Action Plan of 2003 – 2010 regarding the social livelihood of disabled persons and their engagement in the community. It also emphasizes the protection of "human dignity" by referring to Article 1 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU. Furthermore, the Council Directive (2000/78/EC) adopted by the Council of the European Union in November 2000 has established a general framework for equal opportunity in employment and occupation for disabled persons and is concentrated on eliminating discriminating behavior in many fields including the labor market. Moreover, Disability Action Plan 2006 - 2015 adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe can be considered another step made to prevent discriminatory behavior in not only the labor market but also other fields of social community where people with disabilities are provided equal rights as others (PATHWAYS, 2015).

It should not be disregarded that the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (A/RES/61/106), adopted on December 13, 2006, is considered as the first legally binding international human rights instrument which requires the EU and the Member states to ensure the protection of all human rights and freedoms, particularly in case of disabled persons (ibid.). Besides the analysis of the supranational policy frameworks, revealing the similarities, connections, co-occurrences, etc. among a set of policies applied by different national governments, particularly, the chosen welfare states in the EU for the matter of labor reintegration of disabled persons is the main objective of the Analysis chapter. Moreover, national policy documents that are examined in this research study are mostly Disability Action Plans that incorporate many fields where disabled persons need some guidance and support to be able to practice their rights properly while it has been mentioned hypothetically on paper in many conventions or legislative acts built by high-power organizations including the UN, the EU, the European Commission, etc.

3.3 Methods of data collection

First of all, it should be clarified that the main theoretical variables for this study are political vision, ideologies, missions of social policymakers as well as its alternatives such as social justice, an equalitarian society with equal rights, etc. concerning disabled persons. The units of observation,

on the other hand, are European welfare states. This research will make use of primary data collected from the legislative acts, legal frameworks, documents on policy programs including evaluation reports, studies and newspaper articles written by the governmental entities, different parties, commissions, etc. As it is clarified before, European countries will be chosen on the basis of welfare state country group they belong to, which strengthens the interpretation of political vision and mission carried by different actors involved in the decision-making and implementation of labor reintegration policies for the well-being of disabled persons via the content analysis. It is important to pinpoint the fact that the stated policy documents and frameworks above will be chosen considering the fact that this study focuses on the actions taken since 2000 which means only the last 20 years of the policy formulation and implementation concerning the reintegration of the people with disabilities will be analyzed comprehensively in the welfare state country categories. In fact, for the purposes of this study the national policy frameworks, legislative acts, action plans published by different national governmental organizations will be the base of the comparative study.

Ireland as a liberal welfare state is one of the countries concentrated on the well-being of disabled persons with the national policy frameworks designated, one of which is the National Disability Authority Strategic Plan 2019 – 2021. This fundamentally aims to generate a society that appreciates the "diversity and full range of human ability" and where disabled persons can practice their civil and political rights while being able to contribute to the economic, cultural and social life of the society (National Disability Authority, 2019). On the other hand, the Dutch government has been involved in many policies and schemes such as the Work and Income (Employment Capacity) Act (WIA) issued by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment in effect since 2006 which fortified the adoption of two statutory regulations regarding the income protection of the "incapacitated" people as well as their re-employment (OECD, 2007). Besides, Disability and Sickness schemes (2006) from the Netherlands (social-democratic welfare state), National Action Plan on the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities published by the National Ministry of Social Affairs and Health (7/2018) in Finland (social-democratic welfare state), Italian Development Cooperation Disability Action Plan (2010) issued by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (conservative welfare state) are a few of the national disability actions taken which mainly aims to create an inclusive and accessible environment for disabled persons where they would be able to practice their civil/political rights equally as others while incorporating different strategies regarding the envisioned benefits of the reintegration policies.

Moreover, verbal methods will be deployed to analyze the language of the documents under investigation for the purposes of this research. Also, data collection can be classified as unobtrusive since the research does not aim to influence the outcomes, on the other hand, it has only an observatory goal. Therefore, in this research study, the content analysis will be implemented which is the appropriate data collection method to find a comprehensive answer to the research question. Alongside, the policy documents will be coded into a scheme to classify the arguments over the theoretical variables and understand the main position held by different welfare states in the EU regarding the labor reintegration of disabled persons.

3.4 Methods of data analysis

The method of data analysis in this study is content analysis which helps to transform the text passages into a set of data useful for the comparative case study. In fact, how frequently one ideology or concept is used in many different contexts and passages will demonstrate a bigger picture where the key paradigm of labor reintegration policies will become evident. On the other hand, the less deployed ideas, beliefs, or philosophies will be brought to the attention which will help to understand the presence of double standards as well as differences among the different government sectors involved in the reintegration process of disabled persons in the labor market. Moreover, analyzing the documents collected from a vast source is very complex, especially, when the main purpose of the research study is to reveal the essential implications of the policy frameworks or other legal documents written by the policymakers in different European welfare countries. Therefore, atlas.ti will be utilized which will lead to a more organized overview of the main concepts, their definitions, and implications. Additionally, this is a proper method to pinpoint key arguments that keep reappearing in different policy documents and to show the connections as well as similarities and differences between them since this research study centralizes on more than one European welfare country.

3.4.1 Coding scheme

First of all, it should be elaborated that the Research Question formulated in this study contains theoretical variables and units of analysis in itself which are arguments related to political vision carried by the policymakers regarding the labor reintegration policies for disabled persons and the European welfare states respectively. Coding of the policy documents will lead the theoretical variables to get transformed into data after going through conceptualization, operationalization and measurement. Likewise, sampling the units of observation will lead to the emergence of data as well in the end. To clarify, the generation of a coding scheme is important considering the fact that a multitude of policy documents from various welfare states in the EU will be analyzed. The documents collected from the official government websites will be coded into a scheme having analyzed and labeled the texts incorporated. Coding the texts of the policy documents will be a part of the operationalization process where the concepts such as the political vision of policymakers regarding the integration of disabled persons in the labor market will be transformed into comparable variables. On the other hand, units of analysis, governments, parties, politicians, political parties in the European welfare states will be compared as a part of data analysis.

Additionally, the coding scheme will utilize a combination of inductive and deductive methods. There are two hypotheses established at the end of the Theoretical Framework consistency of which is going to be analyzed via the policy documents as a part of the deductive method as Chandra & Shang (2019) maintained. On the contrary, the inductive method requires one to develop new concepts and themes having interpreted the policy documents (ibid.) which is important for the matters of this study. To elaborate, the inductive method will simply reveal two-sided definitions, implications, as well as unrealistic visions, etc. incorporated in the policy documents, the data matrix will be created where the codes for units as well as the arguments in the face of theoretical variables will be demonstrated. The main purpose of the coding scheme is to realize the key differences and similarities among the arguments made by a variety of governments in the policy documents etc. and how many times they have been expressed throughout the documents to realize the importance given to each concept and ideology in different countries.

As it has been formulated in the Introduction chapter, this research study seeks to answer 3 subquestions. First sub-question – how are benefits defined in policy discourses? mainly discusses the dimension of benefits envisioned by the policymakers, national ministries, political parties as well as the supranational organizations such as the European Parliament, the Council, the European Commission, etc. In this case, the content analysis deployed via atlas.ti will have a look at the different definitions of benefits incorporated in these legal documents, henceforth, the benefits will be coded as "economic", "social", "political benefits". Hereby, this will mainly lead to analyzing the policy documents constructed on a national and supranational level which will bring about the classification, comparison and contrast of arguments regarding the units of analysis in this study. For the second sub-question – which ways of understanding of labor reintegration and alleged benefits are diversified across different government sectors? ensures to find answers to how these policies and legislative acts aimed at labor reintegration of disabled persons are viewed at national levels. In order to analyze the content of the documents including the national action plans, strategy documents, evaluation reports for this purpose, the relevant passages will be coded under the categories of "inclusive" or "derogatory", "ignorant", "promoting norms maintained by the UN Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities". On the other hand, for the third sub-question - what do these alleged /imagined benefits signify in terms of political vision? the text passages will be coded into "realistic" or "utopian", "disguised/ masked" or "genuine", "double standards", "self-interest" or "sole purpose of social integration of people with disabilities in the labor market". In this sense, the latent analysis utilized in the process of investigating and understanding what the benefits signify in terms of political vision will be of considerable importance.

Theme	Category	Definition	Codes
Political Vision	Benefit paradigm	Depicts the provision of equal human rights as the perceived benefits for disabled people in different segments of the national structure.	Economic Political Social
	Main vision	Demonstrates the nature of social attitude towards disabled people by public and private sector in the political language reflected in the policy discourses.	Inclusive Derogatory Ignorant Promoting UNCRPD principles
	Dimension of actions	Displays the nature of actions taken by the national and supranational stakeholders to reintegrate disabled people into the labor market with regard to their main political vision.	Utopian Realistic Genuine Masked/disguised Self-interest Double standards Sole purpose of reintegration

Table 1: Coding SchemeSource: Author's own illustration

3.5 Reliability and Validity

A study is expected to be reliable as long as the outcomes turn out to be the same while the study is conducted by different scholars in different periods of times, which explains the absence of any random error (Van Der Kolk & Hermsen, 2018). To elaborate, within the contents of this study, the earlier statement refers to the fact that the main argument made in this research study is in harmony with the ones made by other researchers in the same field. In fact, considering the subjective values associated with each research process, two hypotheses proposed at the end of the Theory Chapter that were derived from the theoretical framework need to be in agreement with already existing research analysis and outcomes in the field of 'reintegration of disabled people' so that this study would be reliable. On the other hand, validity refers to the fact that there is no systematic error in this study, to elaborate, what is measured as the outcome of the study is identical to what was intended to in the beginning. Moreover, validity can be measured with respect to the content, criterion and construct of the study (Van Der Kolk & Hermsen, 2018). In case of content validity, it is expected that the categories (benefit paradigm, main vision, dimension of actions) mentioned in the coding scheme of this study will measure all relevant concepts in the field of reintegration of disabled people. To have the measurement of the construct validity, operationalization expects the categories and the main theme "political vision" to be

theoretically related so that the results of the study would be correct. However, criterion validity is not necessary for the purposes of this study since there will not be any surveys included in the process.

3.5.1 Limits of Measurement

First of all, it should be clarified that it is not completely possible to measure all the concepts that are related to the main variable of the study – political vision deployed by the policymakers. On the other hand, to be able to understand the policy documents, only the countries with the documents accessible in English will be taken into account. This might bring about bias in the outcomes of the study since analyzing the situation of disabled persons in every European welfare state country is not possible due to the language barrier. This problem could have been solved by choosing a representative country in each of the three welfare state categories depending on economic, political, social, etc. conditions which would have led to the issue of generalization in the end. Therefore, in the social-democratic, liberal and conservative welfare state country groups at least 2 countries will be taken into consideration while analyzing the primary data collected to handle the problems of bias and generalization in the measurement process of this study.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter the main methods to collect data from different sources are discussed which is very crucial with regard to the accurate analysis, henceforth, well-comprehended and allencompassing answer to the main research question – what kind of benefits do European labor reintegration policies for disabled persons since 2000 identify and what do such envisioned benefits signify? as well as the sub-questions restated above. The analysis chapter will start analyzing the legislative acts, policy programs, action plans, strategy documents, evaluation reports, interviews, speeches and etc. designated by regional and supranational actors with regard to their imagined benefits. The atlas.ti will be of great use in this chapter where the passages concerning the main variables as well as the theoretically related ones will get classified in the coding matrix. Henceforth, the action plans and strategy documents built by the national governments will be taken into account which will lead to the revelation of the differences in political vision, main mission and objective among the government sectors. Although European welfare state countries mostly concentrate on the policies directed to the employment on the accessibility in the employment sector, individualized employment provision alongside the provision of sheltered work, social enterprises, active labor market programs, non-financial incentives for employers as well as incentives for disabled persons to take part in these labor market programs, comparing the main arguments from different policy programs is quite difficult since the countries distinguish from one another culturally, historically and economically a lot. Therefore, in a similar pattern national legal documents will also be coded for the sake of proper investigation of the contents of the documents. In the next section, the alternatives of the political vision such as equalitarianism with equal social rights, solidarity, self-responsibility, collective responsibility, social protection, social justice, etc. at both national, supranational and regional levels will be coded which will ultimately lead to the understanding of the envisioned benefits in terms of political vision while answering the main research question.

4. Analysis

4.1 Mapping the perceived benefits of labor reintegration policies in different European welfare states

The previous chapters emphasized the political vision deployed in the language of policy discourses that incorporate the actions of enhancing the social integration of disabled people while eliminating the existing barriers in their participation in the social mainstream such as the stigma present in the society. The benefits perceived by the policymakers are deeply embedded in the formulation of these action plans and are one of the most important factors to understand the effectiveness of such policy programs and whether or not the utopian society in the minds of policymakers where disabled people contributes to the society equally as others will become realistic. Moreover, as the first sub-question of this research study formulates, the following section which is aimed at analyzing various definitions of perceived benefits also seeks to differentiate the kinds of benefits envisioned by a multitude of stakeholders in the field of labor reintegration of disabled persons. To clarify, this section of the Analysis chapter will shed light on the benefits assumed by not only national governments and authorities but also supranational actors such as the European Commission and the European Council with regard to the categories of economic, political and social benefits comprising the national structure. In other words, the vision of the policymakers embracing the benefit paradigm will lead to the disclosure of how the policymakers define the benefits of the labor reintegration strategies and in what ways these visions differ or seem alike. As a matter of fact, the accessibility will be identified as one of the most important benefits of the reintegration measures targeting the people with disabilities on the supranational level since it is highly interconnected with enhancing the political benefits in terms of exercising one's rights on an equal level with regard to voting, election procedures, etc. On the other hand, on the national level enhancing positive attitudes towards disabled people with the help of awareness raising measures will be encountered frequently and reflected as the social benefits since it requires the transformation of each nation's mindset. Additionally, perceived benefits of the economic category contain the actions on a national level by each Member State since the economic benefits provided for persons with disabilities mostly depend on the financial well-being of a country.

Labor reintegration policies incorporate actions taken not only on a national level by the Member States but also higher power institutions on a regional level ranging from European Commission and European Union to European Council. According to Waldschmidt (2009), the recent policies aimed at disabled persons on the EU level incorporates both the purposes of enhancing the social protection and their integration in the labor market and provision of equal rights and eliminating the discrimination present in the social mainstream. Therefore, it is believed that the policies targeting disabled people have mostly been framed around social protection, labor market integration and civil rights policy on a supranational level (ibid). As Waldschmidt (2009) explained
the actions taken on EU level regarding the well-being of disabled persons distinguish according to the categories of "legal (acts of primary/secondary legislation), financial/regulating (action programmes sponsored and funded by the EU) and cultural/stimulating (public campaigns and activities aimed at transforming the values and norms embedded in the society)". Obviously, the benefit paradigm moderately differs among the national and supranational actors in the field of labor reintegration, which is due to the hierarchy existing in the European governance (Figure 2). In other words, the powers and thereby, the tasks distributed among the different levels of the multilevel system requires close collaboration as it will be emphasized in this section further.



Figure 2: Hierarchy existing in the policy formulation in EU Source: Author's own illustration

"Ensure accessibility to goods, services including public services and assistive devices for people with disabilities." (European Commission, 2010)

Accessibility is one of the most necessary benefits perceived by the European Commission that embraces all the domains of the national structure in itself. In fact, it is believed that the integration of disabled people would not be complete without proper accessibility measures that should be taken in advance to make sure that disabled people are given a suitable condition to demonstrate their potential in the work environment. While accessibility has been emphasized many times in the supranational strategies, it is rather not obvious who is going to take these measures, whether the national government, individual public and private stakeholders or high-powered institutions such as the European Commission. Moreover, it should not be overlooked that the benefit of accessibility is one of those benefits that can be categorized under social, economic and political benefits. As a matter of fact, since accessibility is one of the most crucial factors affecting the livelihood of disabled people, it is very humorous that powerful institutions as the European Commission keep including this in the action plans every decade yet never accomplish realizing

a proper amount in different dimensions of the national structure. To clarify, this is one of the basic thresholds that each society should withstand for a higher level of living standards.

"Achieve full participation of people with disabilities in society by enabling them to enjoy all the benefits of EU citizenship (exercising rights as individuals, consumers, students, economic and political actors; right to free movement – intra-EU mobility; choosing where and how to live; having full access to cultural, recreational, and sports activities) as well as removing administrative and attitudinal barriers to full and equal participation and providing quality community-based services including access to personal assistance." (European Commission, 2010)

Achieving full participation of people with disabilities require utmost level of accessibility which is one of the yet to succeed plans. In fact, incorporating "enabling disabled persons to enjoy the benefits of EU citizenship" into the main vision of the strategies on the supranational level implicitly demonstrates the fact that they were not able to make use of these benefits before due to the low level of accessibility which shows the degree of ignorance in this field and the necessity of government intervention. While the benefit of being able to exercise one's rights is listed under the category of political which can be linked to the creation of an equalitarian society with the values of social justice and equality, acquiring full access to the cultural life of the society is considered as the social benefit. It should be clarified that this paragraph mostly represents the negative attitude that has been present towards disabled persons for decades that the government hesitated to give the full rights to disabled persons, on the other hand, pushed them to the edge of the society by providing them with the disability benefits.

"The expected results and impacts of the intervention were the gradual removal of disability barriers and the improvement of the situation of persons with disabilities in the specific areas of the Strategy." (European Commission, 2020)

The removal of the disability barriers has been formulated as a perceived benefit of the reintegration policies, however, it is not clear enough whether it refers to the lack of accessibility, meaning assistive devices in the work environment, the discriminating mindset of the society, social exclusion of disabled people in the society, etc. While the main disability barrier is the discriminatory and stigmatizing opinions and beliefs of the society over the capacity of disabled persons and as a result, the degradation of their "human dignity", the given attention towards this topic is rather less frequent in most of the supranational strategy plans. One should emphasize the fact that most of the strategy plans adopted on the supranational level are encouraged to be obliged by the national governments in a sense that whether or not the different policies and legislations are effective mostly depends on how the national governments implement them. Therefore, the supranational organizations should be as explicit as possible to avoid any kind of confusion and trouble that can be encountered by the Member States. In the case of the passage given above, the referral to specific areas is rather problematic, to clarify, since it does not emphasize the fields in the order of importance and pinpoint the fields needing more in-depth expertise, it should not be too difficult to predict the failure of such policies on a national level.

"The Strategy does not cover topics such as the right to life, freedom from exploitation, violence and abuse, respect for privacy, respect for home and the family..." (European Commission, 2020)

"...full alignment of the Strategy with the UNCRPD might have been difficult considering that many competencies in the field of disability are the responsibility of Member States." (European Commission, 2020)

Every individual making up the society demand the right to life which is very important to lead an independent livelihood and as long as this condition is not fully met, there cannot be any basis for an inclusive society that provides equal rights. While the provision of rights as listed above lacked the attention in the implementation process of the policy reintegrating disabled people into the society, the policies adopted on a supranational level always place the failure on the national governments by mentioning that the national governments are responsible for most of the action plans. For instance, the ideas such as the fact that Member States lack taking necessary measures in the 7 fields of action (accessibility, participation, equality, employment, education and training, social protection and health) designed in the Strategy which leads to failure of achieving the utopian version of society formulated in the objectives of the Strategy clearly indicates the attempts of high-powered organizations to avoid responsibility in integrating the people with disabilities into the society.

"Participation in political and public life and democratic processes is essential for the development and maintenance of democratic societies. People with disabilities should have the opportunity to influence the destiny of their communities. It is therefore important that people with disabilities be able to exercise their right to vote and participate in political and public activities." (Council of Europe, 2006)

The necessity of providing disabled persons with political rights has been mentioned a multitude of times in the policy plans built on a regional level. However, having political rights does not mean that one actually exercises them properly. In other words, although the action plans on the supranational level centralizes on the fact that disabled persons should get the opportunity to exercise their rights by being politically active, it is rather doubtful that they will be able to do so. In fact, for the political individuality of disabled persons to be present, the political activities should be extremely accessible alongside with other crucial features. Therefore, one could state that most of the perceived benefits are only realistic in a society with already existing accessible environments. In addition to this, while the European welfare states are democratic states with a highest sense of freedom of choice and independent living, the fact that the importance of being active participants in the political and public lives of the social mainstream is only mentioned but not speak of better understanding of the actions to actually provide this for every individual, including disabled persons shows the indifference of the supranational actors in this field.

"Discriminatory behavior and stigmatization should be opposed and replaced by accessible and objective information on the consequences of impairments and disabilities in order to promote a

better understanding of the needs and rights of people with disabilities in society. Action should be aimed at changing negative attitudes towards people with disabilities and should promote mainstreaming of disability issues in all government publication as well as publications of the media." (Council of Europe, 2006)

Preventing discrimination, providing equal opportunities, full participation in society, respect for difference and acceptance of disability as a part of human diversity, dignity and individual autonomy as well as the freedom to make one's own choices, etc. (ibid.) have appeared in the action plans on a supranational level many times which can be regarded as a set of perceived benefits for disabled persons. As mentioned in the earlier passage, the provision of awareness among the members of the society is one of the main action plans on a regional level. However, bringing about a better understanding of the needs and rights of disabled people is not necessarily sufficient to fight against the oppression and discrimination towards people with disabilities. Indication of the methods used in combating the discrimination deeply embedded in the society is a good start, yet it is not enough. In fact, rather a vague description of the awareness-creating techniques would not be effective since the Member States need more straightforward methods to accelerate the integration of people with disabilities into society. On the other hand, similar to the earlier points mentioned in this subsection incorporating this in the Action Plan only demonstrates how unrealistic the vision is considering the fact that changing people's mindset is a long-lasting process that needs to be carefully thought of and therefore, will only bring about optimistic results in the long-term.

It is of significant importance to mention the fact that perceived benefits of the labor reintegration policies alter according to the present societal values and norms that are characteristic to different welfare state countries. As it is elaborated by Waldschmidt (2009), the liberal states are known for their basic social security system for mostly poor populations whose social rights are lower and each individual in this sense depends extremely on the labor market. In the conservative model, social security benefits mostly rely on the social status and occupation of each individual (ibid.). In the third model of welfare state countries, which is social democratic, social security is provided at a moderately high and equal level to everyone while eliminating the attachment of individuals to the labor market (ibid.). Different attitudes maintained by the European welfare states towards the reintegration of people with disabilities considerably affect the type of benefits perceived by the national actors.

Welfare State Regime	Liberal	Conservative	Social-
			democratic
Social Protection	Х	XX	XXX
Integration into the labor	XX	XXX	Х
market			
Civil rights	XXX	Х	XX

Table 2: Disability policy in different welfare state regimes

Source: Waldschmidt (2009)

Moreover, while the perceived benefits of political type (provision of equal rights in voting, election procedures, etc.) are encountered repeatedly many times in the action plans of the Member States, it is undeniable that the welfare states also centralize on the social participation of people with disabilities. As a matter of fact, as it is demonstrated in Table 2, while the liberal states emphasize the actions towards the enhancement of civil rights which is categorized under the political benefits, the conservative states centralize on the integration of disabled persons into the labor market which refers to their participation in the society and thus, the social benefits. Lastly, the social-democratic countries stress the importance of social protection as the economic compensation due to the high development level of these countries.

Social Democratic welfare states

"Separate attention should be given to individuals who are wholly incapacitated but for whom this condition may not be permanent. Such individuals will qualify for benefits under the terms of the WGA scheme. If after a certain period they are still found to be totally incapacitated, they can be transferred to the IVA scheme without further qualifying conditions." (OECD, 2007)

The Netherlands is one of the social-democratic welfare states in Western Europe that spares huge amounts of social protection benefits for disabled people while being engaged in the adoption of policies to get them involved in the labor market. As a matter of fact, while the WGA scheme means the re-employment of individuals whose disability still enables them to work, the IVA scheme leads disabled persons to be pushed out of the labor market and be provided with the income protection to have an equal standard of living like others. The differentiation among the degree of disabilities that people have is important, however, having two different plans might lead to the polarization of the group of people with different degrees of disability which explains the significance of cautiousness with the creation of such policies that bring about different sets of perceived benefits. Furthermore, one should clarify the fact that the policies and schemes which are focused on the well-being of disabled persons while reintegrating disabled persons into the labor market should not pursue the aim of providing disabled people with economic benefits since they were able to live economically well even when they were provided with the social protection benefits. The earlier assumption is only true in the case of social-democratic welfare states since the disability benefits are sufficient enough to have a high-standard livelihood. Additionally, the usage of the phrase "incapacitated" individuals in the description of Work and Income Act (WIA) demonstrates the negative and derogatory language embedded in the policy initiative. However, it should be emphasized that the WIA in the Netherlands gives huge importance to the reintegration of the workers with disabilities by providing them with the sickness and disability benefits until they are fully integrated into the labor force again.

"Young disabled people who have chances on the labor market must not get a benefit at the age of 18, which would drive them out of the labor market forever. However, this is often the case now. The fact of receiving benefits is in itself a disadvantage for them." (OECD, 2007)

As it is obvious from this passage given in the policy description of WAJONG (disability scheme for young people), the government of the Netherlands emphasizes the significance of the young people in the labor market and enforces initiatives to get them highly involved in the labor market rather than providing them with the benefits when they turn 18, which shows the fact that provision of benefits for disabled people will strongly isolate them and push them to the corner of the society. Perceived benefits of the reintegration actions aimed at disabled persons from the perspective of the government of Netherlands also include (re)training and schooling as well as provision of transportation to work, different facilities for blind persons, coaches for the job training, wage dispensation, etc. This is, interestingly, related to the accessibility measures that are considered as one of the benefits perceived by the respective authorities while designating the reintegration measures. The fact that the government of the Netherlands emphasizes this point shows that the government looks at the reintegrating process of disabled people in a more realistic and practical way different from the other Member States. As a matter of fact, the indication of specific labor reintegration techniques such as sheltered employment in the policy formulation proves the practicality of the government in the case of reintegration of disabled people into the society since with the sheltered employment people with different degree of disabilities are supervised and guided to be able to participate independently in the labor market having gained necessary skills to be successful in the work environment which is also adapted according to their needs.

"...a person commissioning work or arranging training shall where necessary take any reasonable steps to help a person with disabilities to gain access to work or training, to cope at work and to advance in their career." (Ministry of Employment and Economy Finland, 2004, p.2)

The earlier passage suggests that disabled persons' access and involvement in the labor force is expected to be provided or supported by the persons responsible for recruiting managers as well as providing trainings. This refers to the collective responsibility of the society with regard to the emergence of highly inclusive societies. However, this is rather vague in a sense that the likeliness of people in charge of recruitment to hire disabled persons almost totally depends on their mindset and whether or not they had any experience with disabled persons before. In case of no experience, recruiting managers do not provide the opportunity for them but others since they are not aware of what to expect if these people are hired. Therefore, having an action plan suggesting this idea is not realistic and not very likely. On the other hand, if one considers the fact that the recruitment of disabled persons with a high degree of disability, especially those who are older than 18 and have gained specific skills alongside the trainings depends on the attitude of the hiring managers towards disabled people and the values that each hiring entity carries, it should be clear that these actions are categorized under the social benefits.

"Providing accessible information about the participation rights, the new roles of municipalities and counties as well as new e-services. Investigating the need for accessible materials and brochures. Responsible body is Ministry of Justice." (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2018)

As it is mentioned quite often in this sub-section the accessibility is one of the most crucial areas of action since that is how disabled people people's integration process into the labor market can be accelerated while ensuring the fact the stigma against them gets abolished from the society. As utopian as it sounds, the fact that all the fields of social mainstream are accessible for people with disabilities already demonstrates the fact that society was able to be transformed into a place where disabled people have the equal possibility of participation in the society. This indirectly, means that in a fully accessible society the number of disabled persons absolutely depends on disabled people individuals themselves. Moreover, in the passage given above it is rather strange that only the Ministry of Justice is responsible for the provision of an accessible environment to boost the participation of disabled persons in the society alongside the labor market while it should be given importance by all the ministries of the state.

Liberal welfare states

"Continue to promote positive public attitudes to disability across all areas of life, including in an employment context" (National Disability Authority Ireland, 2019)

Awareness-raising is one of the most important and common strategies among the national programmes aimed at combating discrimination against disabled persons. While the promotion of positive attitudes towards people with disabilities sounds very conceiving, it is hard to believe that the taken measures will actually lead to the provision of the former. In other words, one can maintain that the statements as such are most of the time not in harmony with the real world, on the contrary, lies deep in the utopian society that the policymakers dream of. Moreover, it is very rare to see the content of these awareness-raising initiatives in the national action plans. In addition to that, promoting positive attitudes as stated in the passage above lies under the category of awareness-raising efforts which are associated with social benefits. In other words, the action plans of the governments should be very comprehensive while giving a hard-core definition of the problem and explanation of the solution with a number of practical methods. Therefore, promoting positive attitudes in the work environment does not seem down-to-earth since there is no explanation given about this in many of the policy plans. Moreover, "full range of human ability and diversity" is two of the phrases that come up frequently in the policy plans of Ireland which actually proves its centralization around the values of independence, equality, respect, engagement, excellence, effectiveness, transparency.

"...have choice and control over how they live their lives and reach their individual potential in a society and environment that embraces, accommodates and values the full range of human ability and diversity." (National Disability Authority, 2019)

Providing the possibility for every individual with or without the disability to be able to reach their potential is important which should be listed as a three-dimensional benefit. To clarify, as absurd as it may appear, the society in which each individual can pursue their goals and make use of their capacity in that sense requires equality on political, economic and social levels. In other words, if just one of them is absent, it would be clear that the aim of creating a society that values the full range of human diversity has not been accomplished. Having referred to the earlier passages, different from what is seen in the social-democratic structure of the welfare states, the existence of vaguer implications is more frequent in the liberal structure. Moreover, whilst the given passage carries a negative value towards the ability of disabled persons to give decisions over their lives, it also brings about an absurd definition of a society that values a full range of ability and diversity.

Conservative welfare states

"... projects that embody actions of capacity-building, capability and empowerment targeted at DPOs, persons with disabilities and their families, so that they may be actively involved in the decision-making processes concerning them." (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate-General for Development Cooperation (MFA-DGCS), 2013)

Capacity building is important when it comes to the reintegration of disabled persons and the fact that the government of Italy emphasizes these actions indicates their level of involvement in this process. On the other hand, mentioning this, to be precise, "capacity-building, capability and empowerment" in a policy document does not reflect as a positive vision but carries a negative connotation. In other words, this phrase adds to the stigma that emerged about disabled people that they are incapable of what others can do in a work environment. It should also be emphasized that mentioning the fact that they may be actively involved in the decision-making process over the issues regarding their livelihoods is really absurd while demonstrating the fact that their standard of living relied on other people or entities for so long that creates the contradiction concerning one's political rights. In addition to that, the earlier passage can be associated with the action plans of Ireland that is a liberal welfare state in terms of stressing the importance of being able to give one's own decisions which can be categorized as a political benefit. Moreover, this Action Plan incorporates many actions and activities dedicated to integrating disabled people in the field of the labor force which are tax easing, vocational trainings, expanding the promotional materials to raise awareness about disabled persons in the labor market.

"The Federal Act on Equal Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities (Behindertengleichstellungsgesetz des Bundes - BGG) of 2002 aims to enforce and ensure the equal rights of persons with disabilities in all areas of public and private life." (Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, 2019)

Although the conservative welfare states usually initiate a set of projects to provide the people with disabilities with equal rights in both public and private fields as it is obvious from the passage

above, it is almost not realistic that these programs do not remain on paper but get transformed into well-arranged policies with effective results. In fact, since German policies are known for making disabled people invisible in the social mainstream of the society rather than leading them to be actively included in the society, the indication of ensuring equal rights for disabled persons in public and private life seems closer to a disguised mechanism adopted by the national government of Germany. Moreover, it is rather strange to see that disabled people are not provided with equal rights in their private life considering the fact that Germany is a highlydeveloped country with a great system of social protection benefits.

This section of the Analysis Chapter clarified the various perspectives taken by different national authorities as well as the supranational organizations such as the European Commission in terms of perceived benefits of the integration policies aimed at disabled persons. It should be emphasized that while it is expected of the national governments and authorities would follow the policies and strategies adopted on a supranational level, their knowledge level of these strategies adopted by high-powered organizations is rather questionable and not sufficient at the same time to lead to effective results in the integration of disabled people into the society. On the other hand, the impact with regard to the perceived benefits mentioned in the policy documents on the supranational level does not turn out to be effective due to the low "competence level" of these organizations in the field of disability such as the EU (European Commission, 2020).

As Böheim & Leoni (2016) stated there are two indicators demonstrating the path chosen by the Member States in this policy field regarding the well-being of disabled persons. The first one is the indicator of the benefits system as a result of the policy implemented, that is the compensation dimension, whereas the second is related to the intensity of measures to integrate disabled people in the employment sector, that is the integration dimension. Therefore, one could argue that while the perceived benefits mostly include the compensation benefits on a national level which is categorized under the economic benefits, they are more concentrated around the political rights and needs of disabled persons on a supranational level.

Moreover, the inadequacy of financial resources and the ineffective and insufficient amount of policies and actions in the plan made it impossible to actually realize the perceived benefits of the integration measures for disabled persons and enhance their livelihood (European Commission, 2020). On the other hand, policies on the national level mostly make huge attempts to deal with the social issues at stake to improve the living standards of disabled people and integrate them into the social life, which indicates that having a sole purpose rather than many aims would have turned out to be more effective.

4.2 Understanding of labor reintegration and alleged benefits across different

government sectors

The first section of the Analysis chapter demonstrated that the supranational actors on a regional level such as the European Commission, etc. are the main actors leading the reintegration actions designated for people with disabilities since it is a more complicated issue than something that can be addressed on a national, even a local basis. Methods deployed on EU level to invigorate the reintegration of disabled people incorporate 'technical solutions' (adaptation of the work environment, etc.), 'working arrangements' (adaptation in the working hours, relocation, etc.), 'training measures', and 'awareness raising measures' (adaptation in the mindset of the work community, etc.) and are mainly aimed at combating the long-lasting exclusion of disabled persons in both the social and economic life of the countries and ensuring their independence (De Norre, J. & Cabus, S., 2020). Besides the initiatives taken on a regional level, it is crucial to have a thorough understanding and overview of the labor reintegration actions adopted on the national level among European welfare states by public sector stakeholders, particularly, the national authorities, ministries, government agencies as well as provincial and local governments and municipalities (Figure 3).



Figure 3: The main actors in the labor reintegration measures aimed at disabled people Source: Author's own illustration

As the second sub-question of this study formulates, how different government sectors perceive the labor reintegration measures designed for disabled persons with regard to the alleged benefits will be clarified in this section. It will be illuminated that national authorities, ministries, etc. as the participants of the government sector define the main paradigm of the labor reintegration measures, which shapes the actions of the stakeholders on the local level such as municipalities as well as a variety of corporate entities in accelerating the social integration of disabled people. As a matter of fact, while the national actors are mainly responsible for developing a set of initiatives and delegating them to different local stakeholders, local actors including the stakeholders on a corporate level are in charge of arranging the labor reintegration process of disabled people according to the amount of their technical and financial resources available for the designated procedure. Therefore, this section will have a closer look at the public composition (municipalities, ministries, national authorities, etc.) of the national structure and at the companies on a corporate level to understand the different existing perceptions of the labor reintegration of disabled people under the categories of inclusive, derogatory, ignorant and promoting the UNCRPD principles. Analyzing the perceptions of different sectors involved in the reintegration of disabled people into society according to the categories maintained earlier will eventually lead to the disclosure of the fact that the way the labor reintegration procedures and their perceived benefits are demonstrated in the publications of the engaged stakeholders is a very first factor affecting the success rate of this process. A significant number of positive connotations related to people with disabilities would mean that realizing an inclusive society where disabled people can exercise their rights freely is more realistic.

Mainly, having analyzed the vision and aims of the action plans on a national level and the initiatives taken on a corporate level, one would indicate that the corporate entities making up the private sector view the reintegration of disabled people from a different perspective, precisely, from the dimension of visibility and reputation. Therefore, most of the time private stakeholders pretend as socially inclusive entities while possessing an "ignorant" perception in incorporating the people with disabilities in their community for the long term. In other words, the private stakeholders give more attention to the status and prestige of including disabled persons in their community having hired them for the traineeships, internships, etc. for a short period of time and do not consider hiring them for a long-term by referring to pretentious reasons. On the other hand, different sectors of the government hold a "derogatory" perception towards disabled persons while condescending and disregarding the true potential and skills of people with disabilities. While this can be associated with the lack of knowledge among the private and public stakeholders (Millet & Vaittinen, 2009), the social factors and the configuration of the mindset also play a role in the formulation of derogatory phrases and expressions about disabled persons. On the other hand, most of the public stakeholders, being the governments and national authorities, promote the principles of the treaty "UNCRPD" in their methods designated for the purpose of reintegrating disabled people into society. To clarify, UNCRPD is one of the internationally recognized treaties that ensures that people with different disabilities have equal rights as others having defined the disability as something emerging from social and environmental factors instead of formulating it as a medical impairment affecting one's abilities (Waddington & Broderick, 2018). Lastly, this section will lay huge significance on the "inclusive" perceptions that, mostly, the public stakeholders hold whilst involving the factor of human dignity in their initiatives which displays a set of positive connotations related to the skills and employability of people with disabilities.

Social-democratic welfare states

"Access to services for people with a disability. Examples include removing physical obstacles for people in wheelchairs, or designing websites so that they can also be used by people with a visual impairment.

Access to information. This is a major condition for freedom of expression, and for transparency of government policy and accountability mechanisms.

Access to justice. Access to justice enables people to assert or defend their rights." (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2020).

This passage displays not only the 'inclusive' perception towards disabled people but also its intentions of 'promoting the principles of UNCRPD'. In particular, as Article 9 of UNCRPD states in its principle of accessibility, disabled people should be able to exercise their rights fully under the accessible physical, social, economic, and cultural conditions with significant importance on the health and education as well as information and communication (UN General Assembly, 2007). Apparently, the passage has considered many domains that the accessibility should be achieved which eventually provides disabled people with such independence that will enable them to exercise their rights in every dimension of the social mainstream. Moreover, while the necessity of accessibility to different services has been mentioned frequently in many policy initiatives, most of the action plans give a plain reference to this term and do not explain how it is predicted to be realized. However, the passage given above specifies the areas of services, information, and justice considering that the notion of accessibility is very broad to define, which demonstrates the socially inclusive perception held.

"...government, in consultation with a wide range of stakeholders, launched the programme 'Oneperkt meedoen!' ('Unlimited participation') in 2018. It focuses on the care needs of people with a physical, intellectual and/or visual disability and of people with chronic disease, and sets out practical steps in seven domains (built environment and housing; work; education; transport; participation and accessibility; care and support; and central government organisation) to make an inclusive society a reality." (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2020)

Interestingly, some policies and action plans actually fortify the fact that the creation of a fully inclusive society is unrealistic and hard to achieve considering that the process of creating an inclusive society is multidimensional and that multiple domains ranging from housing to transport as the passage suggests need to be carefully incorporated. Moreover, while the passage carries an inclusive perception, it puts two different ideas forward, one of which is the polarization among the group of disabled people. As a matter of fact, the public actors as the policymakers sometimes put too much effort into segregating disabled people people and taking specific actions according to the type of disability that they forget the main goal aimed for which is the creation of an inclusive society where everyone gets an equal opportunity. In other words, this segregation might lead to polarization of the group which eventually brings about the economic, social, political, etc.

inequality among disabled people since the focus of the private stakeholders varies a lot as mentioned earlier depending on the available set of resources. The second idea brought up by this passage is the fact that, reinforcement of accessibility is the common feature among the initiatives taken on a public and private level and mostly includes a set of actions shaping different domains of the social mainstream to transform the utopian vision into a goal that can be achieved within a determined set of practical steps.

"Human dignity should be the guiding principle in designing and implementing policy and legislation." (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2020)

The creation of an inclusive society does not seem realistic in many cases, thus, the government sectors feel the need to refer to many inclusive concepts including human dignity to lead to more optimistic results. This passage above holds the inclusive understanding towards disabled people whilst referring to one of the most important concepts 'human dignity' that will eliminate the barrier of discriminating attitudes embedded in the society towards disabled people. Besides, it also promotes the principles of UNCRPD by referring to Article 8 {A/RES/61/106} which mentions that the state actors should take measures that will boost the respect for human rights and dignity. It is also crucial to state that while human dignity has been mentioned as the main concept that should be maintained in all the policy formulations, it is rather doubtful that this is a part of the realistic vision one might carry. In other words, the governments give more importance to the availability of technical and financial resources before getting engaged in labor reintegration techniques aimed at disabled people rather than considering disabled people's perspectives and the approach of human dignity.

"Our society is based on trust." The objective is an ethically sustainable balance between the obligations of individuals and the responsibilities of society. Everyone is taken care of and receive help in good time." (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2008)

The centralization on accessibility and human dignity, as practical as it sounds, is not enough to bring about an inclusive society where disabled people are active participants of the social mainstream with equal rights as others. There is another factor affecting the pace of creating and sustaining an inclusive society which is the mutual reliability, particularly among the employers and disabled people, that is shared trust among all the participants of the society. As a matter of fact, the passage given above is a perfect example of explaining the fact that the actions taken with regard to reintegrating disabled people into the society will result in positive outcomes only if they are supported by all the actors involved in the face of collective responsibility. In other words, there is a good possibility that not all of the people with disabilities want to be involved in the hectic social mainstream of the society but would prefer to be provided with the social protection benefits to lead a high-standard life. In this sense, the programs and action plans taken by the government would not work since this specific percentage of disabled people are not interested in being reintegrated into the labor market or society. This is why, it has been mentioned firmly in

the earlier passage that the desired outcomes can only be achieved in a combination of both the individual and the societal responsibilities, meaning collective responsibility. Fact that the action plans lay the emphasis on boosting the livelihood of every individual with different degree of disabilities concludes it as the "inclusive" perception with regards to the labor reintegration of disabled people.

"Amendments and appendices necessary for the UNCRPD concerning restrictions to the right of self-determination were made to the Act on Special Care for People with Intellectual Disabilities (519/1977) in the summer of 2016." (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2008)

Besides the existence of human dignity, fully accessible environment and shared trust, an equal level of self-determination right provided for disabled people is a significant characteristic of a utopian society where the degree of social justice, equal rights, etc. is heightened to an optimum level which stimulates the emergence of fully-inclusive society. In fact, the passage above explains the importance of self-determination which will enable disabled persons to freely choose their political, cultural, social and economic positions in most of the social-democratic welfare states according to what is formulated in action plans and policies. However, as already mentioned a few times in the earlier chapters, the fact that the right of self-determination is included in the designation of a policy designation does not mean that it has been placed carefully in the implementation as well. It is also noteworthy to mention that in the case of Finland, the public stakeholders (National Institute for Health and Welfare; Ministry of Social Affairs and Health) and the national government that are involved in the designation and implementation process of reintegration initiatives focus on the objective of combatting the moderately-decreasing amount of labor force by reintegrating the people with disabilities into the employment sector (OECD, 2008). The considerable decrease in the magnitude of the labor force available in the EU drives the main actors in the public sector, particularly, the government to be more involved in reintegrating disabled people into the labor market and making use of their acquired skills during the state-level internships and other programs, which is obviously confusing in terms of understanding the main perception that the government sectors hold.

"The WGP is intended to help you gain recent work experience as a stepping stone to a permanent job on the external labor market. Participants who perform well can apply for regular job vacancies at Philips, but they will not be given preference over other applicants." (Philips, 2019)

The public sector of the national structure obviously emphasizes creating an accessible environment while touching upon different social (human dignity) and political (self-determination) features to accomplish an inclusive society where disabled people are fully participating in the decision-making process of the state. However, the perceptions of private sector stakeholders in the topic of disability and integration of the people with disabilities into society are not necessarily in harmony with that of the government sector, in other words, the main motive behind the attempts of involving disabled people in the social community is different for every stakeholder. In that sense, what has been obvious in the private sector's engagement in the reintegration process for people with several disabilities is that they mostly refer to the economic well-being of those people while disregarding their mental well-being and social integration into society. Moreover, whilst the passage given above seems inclusive since many companies, such as Philips, etc. provide mentor opportunities to get disabled people integrated into the employment sector, it vaguely carries a negative connotation. In other words, it represents ignorant behavior in the sense that the company "Philips" does not really care about the future of disabled people and its involvement in the mentoring and guiding process does not necessarily is to create an inclusive society. On the contrary, it is solely designated to gain the reputation of being a company that values diversity and inclusion which is a popular topic for visibility nowadays.

Liberal welfare states

"...which focuses on the development of the participants' life skills, social skills and basic work skills that will enable them to progress to greater levels of independence and integration in their own community." (Health Service Executive, 2019)

Different from what has been discussed earlier which shows the inclusive behavior of the policymakers ranging from governments to national authorities in social-democratic welfare states, the passage above should be listed under the "derogatory" perception. It is very absurd that many policymakers assume that people with different degrees of disabilities do not have sufficient "life" skills to be able to adapt to the social mainstream. Additionally, it is very condescending of them that with this text they make it clear that they do not see disabled persons as human beings that they make an attempt to teach them the so-called "life" skills. Additionally, this passage briefly explains the main objectives of the labor reintegration measures taken on a national level in terms of perceived benefits and refers to the importance of full independence which cannot be achieved without proper methods applied in the labor market that will ultimately integrate them in society. It should not also be overlooked that many welfare states assume that disabled persons lack work skills as if all of them were born with a disability. As a matter of fact, some people become disabled later in their lives due to an accident at work or in other environments. Having considered this information, one could state that most of the national action plans in liberal welfare states refer to the diverse group of disabled people as one, which leads to the generalization" that leads to ineffective results in policymaking.

"Developing a pilot Civil Service internship for people with disabilities that could lead to permanent positions." (National Disability Authority Ireland, 2015)

While it has been identified that most stakeholders in the private sector in many social-democratic welfare states get involved in inclusion-related topics to increase their reputation by providing disabled people with short-term work experience, the situation in liberal welfare states is quite different. For instance, the government of Ireland makes sure that disabled people can be

provided with suitable jobs in the labor market according to their skills and recently gained work experience after they finish their internship, which categorizes this passage under the "inclusive" perception since the future career of disabled people is well-considered. However, it should not be overlooked that this might be disguising and well-masked since not all of the points in an action plan adopted by public authorities get realized in reality. In this case, it is possible that while the government requests specific companies in the civil service to hire disabled persons, the companies would refuse to do so by referring to their financial and accessibility conditions. Therefore, the cooperation among the private and public sectors in this sense is very important to be able to influence the well-being of disabled persons positively. Moreover, besides the resources available, the active involvement of the private stakeholders in the reintegration of disabled people into the social community also depends on the size of the company. In other words, huge companies with a higher number of employees would mean that the people with disabilities have more chance of getting hired and thereby, reintegrated into the social community as well as the labor market (Table 3).

Number of disabled persons hired in the private sector	% of private companies employing disabled persons
1 – 9 employees	38 %
10 – 49 employees	45 %
50 – 249 employees	52 %
250+ employees	88 %

Table 3: Number of disabled people in private sector companies

Source: Employer Disability Information service (2018) as in National Disability Authority Ireland (2015)

Conservative welfare states

"Our aim is to make the vision of an inclusive society reality. This Report on Participation offers a comprehensive view of the situation in terms of the risks and opportunities with regard to participation. Society as a whole has a duty to minimise these risks and ensure that fair opportunities are available." (Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2014)

"Today the image of people with disabilities as dependent and needy is seen as outdated. Their human right to a self-determined life and social participation is recognised, as set out in the UNCRPD." (Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2014)

Although most welfare states refer to the creation of an inclusive society and necessity of selfdetermination right and carry the sense of promoting the UNCRPD principles and the perception of "inclusive", it seems that many acts and action plans designated on a national level, particularly in conservative welfare states, demonstrate a contradictory behavior which also explains to some extent why disabled people are not still well-integrated into the society and are polarized to the end-corner. As a matter of fact, these two passages contradict each other in terms of demonstrating the reality and bring about a challenge in understanding the urgency of the situation related to the reintegration of disabled persons. While the first passage refers to the unfulfilled necessity of creating an equal set of opportunities for disabled persons which will add to their social participation, the second passage confirms that all the problems that were present related to the participation of disabled people in the social mainstream are solved and they are able to freely exercise all of their rights, which is obviously not the case. Additionally, this sample passage also raises an important point of uncertainty prevalent among the public stakeholders in the field of labor reintegration of disabled people, which stems from the fact that the government sectors do not have precise data and information regarding the urgency of the situation.

"The economic incentive is related to the taxable gross salary for social security purposes and varies according to the degree and type of reduction in the working capacity of the hired person. The duration of the contributory benefit also varies according to the characteristics of the hired worker and the type of employment relationship. In particular, for employers who hire people with disabilities for an indefinite period incentives are provided for 36 months for the recruitment of disabled workers with a reduction in working capacity from 67% (the incentive is equal to 35% of the gross monthly salary; it rises to 70% for the recruitment of disabled people with a reduction in the higher working capacity to 79%)." (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, 2020)

One might suggest that the engagement of private companies in the reintegration process of disabled people into the social community is positively correlated with the economic well-being of the country. To clarify, bringing the participation rate of disabled persons up in the social mainstream, including the labor market is expensive since this process incorporates the provision of financial incentives as well as trainings, sheltered employments, investing in the infrastructure to make it more accessible, etc., therefore, it requires the country to be in a decent economic situation. As a matter of fact, the private sector stakeholders perceive the benefits of the labor reintegration as something of an economic nature, that is some percentage of the gross monthly salary obtained from the national government which is well seen from the passage above. The expectation of financial profit from the recruitment of disabled people refers to the fact that the private sector participants do not really care about human dignity, or combating the long-lasting stigmatization against disabled people in the labor market. While the assumption provided is not true in all the cases considering the fact that small-scale companies are in need of these financial turnovers to proceed with the accessibility measures, trainings, etc. different from huge ones, one should list the passage under the category of ignorant referring to its significant focus on economic benefits rather than social.

This section of the Analysis Chapter has shed light on different perceptions held by public and private stakeholders in three types of welfare states in Europe and has listed them according to the categories of "inclusive", "ignorant", "derogatory" and "promoting UNCRPD principles". In a nutshell, different understandings prevalent among a variety of sectors on the national level with regards to the labor reintegration of disabled people lead to the disclosure of the fact that the actors engaged in this process perceive the benefits from different angles. In fact, public stakeholders mostly promote the principles of UNCRPD and make use of inclusive and sometimes derogatory phrases regarding disabled persons in the national action plans and policy formulations. On the other hand, the phrases and connotations deployed by the private stakeholders in their initiatives mostly include the ignorant perspectives while being masked as inclusive. As a matter of fact, private stakeholders that are active on the corporate level make considerable efforts with regard to disability and inclusion initiatives due to a variety of factors including the corporate social responsibility, personal commitment from the founder or the CEO of the company in this field, the presence of financial incentives, the pressure of the society and the peers in the market as well as legislation (International Labour Organization, 2014). Furthermore, one should conclude that the degree of this involvement also relies on the fact that how much of the budget the private companies can invest in the accessibility measures as well as the provision of vocational trainings. The amount of financial resources spared for these initiatives by the local governments and high-powered organizations on a regional level also affects the participation level of the private sector. To sum up, the personal benefits (visibility, financial incentives, defeating a rival, etc.) assumed by the corporate companies contradict the main aim of the measures maintained by the government sector in the reintegration process of disabled people.

Moreover, according to PATHWAYS (2015), there is no universal approach regarding the reintegration process of people with disabilities in some of the welfare states such as Italy, which provides flexibility for the private stakeholders to choose their own path in this process. Nevertheless, this flexibility might lead to the emergence of problems, for instance, the national governments will encounter difficulties in keeping the track of the projects and programs initiated in different sectors which is really important considering the fact that the incentives are provided on a national level. Therefore, the stable coordination among the involved stakeholders in the private and public sector is very noteworthy in terms of designating and implementing the respective labor reintegration measures ranging from development and/or orientation programmes, trainings, to internships. To clarify, the principles maintained by the UNCRPD cannot be achieved under the monitoring of one powerful entity, in other words, the combined efforts of municipalities, employers as well as disabled people who have already been reintegrated into the social mainstream are very encouraged. To conclude, the government sectors of the European welfare states need to carefully consider the methods of labor reintegration from the perspective of demand (the private and public sector) and supply-side

(disabled people with relevant skills) of the labor market to be able to create an inclusive society where people with disabilities will be able to exercise their rights in an equal fashion as others.

4.3 Identifying the signification of the alleged benefits of the labor reintegration measures in terms of political vision

The first and second sections of the Analysis chapter have clearly demonstrated the understanding of different supranational and national actors in terms of perceived benefits of the labor reintegration measures directed at disabled persons. It has been evident that the supranational actors view the labor reintegration measures mainly as a method of raising awareness for political rights of disabled people while national actors mostly focus on the economic dimension of the benefits by incorporating different local actors in the process. Particularly, although most of the actions taken by the public stakeholders on a national level carry an inclusive connotation while promoting the UNCRPD principles, it has been identified that the private stakeholders are more ignorant than the actors in the government sector with regard to the creation of an inclusive society in the long-term. On the other hand, the government sectors moderately made use of passages possessing derogatory connotations referring to the potential of disabled people. Alongside the established information throughout the earlier sections, the main aim of the last section of the Analysis chapter is to elaborate on whether or not the perceived benefits signify utopian, realistic, genuine, disguised/masked connotations and/or self-interest, double-standards, the sole purpose of reintegrating disabled people in terms of the political vision of the policymakers ranging from governments, ministries, municipalities on a national level and highly powered organizations on a supranational level. In fact, the dimension of the perceived benefits varies according to what the major actors engaged in the process of labor reintegration are seeking to create and what kind of political vision they embrace, which represents the values and understandings of the actors involved in the policymaking process such as the governments, public and private stakeholders with regard to the reintegration of disabled people in the society and demonstrates the level of effectiveness of the aforementioned policies. Moreover, since the political vision is rather complex and full of concealed meanings, this section expects to find out the hidden purpose of the policymakers or to shed light on the main motive behind the fantasized vision of the supranational actors as well as public stakeholders on the national level involved in the designation process of the labor reintegration policies.

Furthermore, the multilevel system and hierarchical structure of the European Union makes it necessary to understand the political visions of different powers on supranational and national levels which are European Commission, European Council, etc. and governments, ministries, agencies, authorities on a supranational and national level respectively with regard to the process of creating an inclusive society that provides equal opportunities for every individual. The main

reason for the aforementioned idea is that the visions and missions of the policies designated by the supranational actors get reflected on a national level among the Member States which is demonstrated as "Europeanisation" (Waldschmidt, 2009). As a matter of fact, throughout this section the given citations will display the fact that the supranational actors' political vision is mostly genuine but utopian and refers to the sole purpose of reintegrating disabled people in the society, on the other hand, the national actors hold a self-interested vision which is also more realistic compared to the former.

"In certain countries, financial compensation or fines can be imposed, whereas in others only nonbinding recommendations are issued. In Austria, Bulgaria, Cyprus, France, Hungary, Ireland, Lithuania, Romania and Sweden, compliance of the persons involved can be ensured. The Irish Equality Authority can issue a notice which may set out the steps to be taken to prevent further discrimination, where non-compliance may result in an order from either the High Court or the Circuit Court." (Tymowski, 2016)

The passage above clearly indicates that the national governments view the labor reintegration measures from a realistic perspective as they are actively controlling the actions by placing fines or initiating a court case when there is non-obedience by different stakeholders. As a matter of fact, considering that the main actors regarding the accomplishment of the inclusive society where disabled people become active participants are the national governments and the national agencies with relevant authorization, it is rather necessary from their sides to make sure that the policies designated on a supranational and national level are complied by the demand-side of the labor market, in other words, they do not discriminate while recruiting the employees on the basis of the presence of any disability. It is also noteworthy to indicate that the national actors make huge efforts to transform the fines as well as the order from the courts into a common practice to necessitate the provision of equal chances to everyone at different levels of society. It also should not be disregarded that this practice is implemented by not only the liberal and social-democratic but also the conservative welfare states in Europe, which evidently describes the similarity among their vision in engaging in the reintegration of disabled people to some extent.

"All Member States are shown to offer grants or subsidies to employers to adapt their workplaces for people with disabilities, with evidence suggesting that 'investments in reasonable accommodation are cost beneficial and provide a return in terms of increased productivity and reduced absenteeism'..." (Tymowski, 2016)

"Appropriate measures should be provided, i.e. effective and practical measures to adapt the workplace to the disability, for example adapting premises and equipment, patterns of working time, the distribution of tasks or the provision of training or integration resources." (Council of the European Union, 2000)

As the first passage suggests, creating incentives for the demand-side of the labor market, that is motivating the employers to hire new potentials, gets reflected in many of the policy actions,

which should be concluded as a vision that brings the self-interest forward. Interestingly, the supranational actors as European Parliament embrace a variety of visions held by not only the national governments of the Member States but also the corporate stakeholders. Therefore, since the private and public entities getting involved in the accessibility measures of the working environment mostly look at the economic profit and visibility dimension of these measures rather than the sole purpose of reintegration of disabled people in the labor market, the supranational actors apply the incentivizing measures which define them as actors with the sole purpose of reintegrating disabled people. Alongside, the second passage reassures the realistic vision deployed by the supranational actors in terms of reintegrating people with disabilities in the society having identified practical methods in increasing the accessibility of the working conditions for them.

"With regard to disabled persons, the principle of equal treatment shall be without prejudice to the right of Member States to maintain or adopt provisions on the protection of health and safety at work or to measures aimed at creating or maintaining provisions or facilities for safeguarding or promoting their integration into the working environment." (Council of the European Union, 2000)

This passage also refers to adapting the working conditions within the dimension of health and safety which is very common to encounter in the policy programs, however, it has a utopian connotation in terms of the supranational actors' vision. As a matter of fact, the way the supranational actors refer to the necessity of equal treatment in every field of the social mainstream by eliminating discrimination and accelerating the integration of disabled persons does not seem too realistic. In other words, the paradigm of these actions is very absurd in the sense that it does not convey a specific set of practical actions. Moreover, supranational actors make the national governments in charge of putting the policy plans into action as it is obvious from the passage above, which is doubtful that all the Member States will follow these plans as formulated. On the other hand, as it is mentioned in earlier sections of the Analysis chapter, the reason behind the fact that makes this passage utopian is that the close collaboration between the national governments and the job providers is rarely accomplished and that sustaining the provisions for safeguarding the integrations of disabled people in the society is too good to believe.

"People with disabilities may have limited access to health services, including routine medical treatments, leading to health inequalities unrelated to their disabilities. They are entitled to equal access to healthcare, including preventive healthcare, and specific affordable quality health and rehabilitation services which take their needs into account, including gender-based needs." (European Commission, 2010)

It is a rather common idea among the actors involved in the respective policymaking for the purpose of labor reintegration of disabled people that the services ranging from education to healthcare should be accessible to every participant of the social mainstream which is clearly maintained in the passage above since the equal access to services is one of the indicators of a fully inclusive society. However, while the passage text given above may sound genuine, it is rather questionable that this idea will bring a solution to the prevailing problem of inequality present in society, especially towards disabled people. On the contrary, attaching huge importance to the needs of disabled persons deteriorates the present inequality in that sense and generates a wrong impression of neediness of disabled people among the society. Therefore, it can be maintained that most of the time policymakers' prejudiced views over the potentials of disabled people are disguised in a way that it is rather difficult to see the hidden meaning. One could elaborate that rather than bringing the special needs of disabled people forward, it would be more genuine to incorporate and ensure that the services in different fields are provided equally to everybody independent of their personal background.

Moreover, as it has been clarified, the supranational actors on a higher dimension of the multilevel system hold the utopian vision with slightly disguised matters in the field of labor reintegration of disabled people. It is no doubt that the national position of the Member States regarding the measures taken to improve the well-being of people with disabilities is rather different from what the high-powered organizations assume in terms of the vision and mission. In other words, since the national actors are more active performers of the labor reintegration process depending on the urgency of the situation with regard to the livelihood of disabled persons, the vision of supranational actors is far from what is to be realistic. In fact, the vision deployed by the national actors ranging from the national governments to agencies and authorities is more practical in terms of the actions and measures taken as well as their effectiveness level, nevertheless, when analyzed thoroughly it will imply the self-interest of different parties which is more frequently encountered in the national policy frameworks. Besides, it is evident that the measures are more detailed and clarified further on the national level, which will be further investigated in the following part of this section.

Social-democratic welfare states

"The government is working on an integrated approach that joins up many different domains. Keeping an overview and ensuring close cooperation between the bodies involved can overcome departmentalised and system-focused thinking. The government will also strive to adopt the citizen's perspective as its starting point for new and current policy. This can help reduce the system's complexity and improve access to public services for members of the public." (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2020)

As it has been elaborated earlier, close collaboration is necessary not only among the formal parties but also from the side of disabled people – the center of the attention in the labor reintegration process. The passage given above provides a genuine connotation since the public

actors consider involving disabled persons alongside the respective bodies closely in the process significant. As it is clarified, the segregation of different departments might harm the effectiveness of the process which is not desirable. On the other hand, involving the opinions of the target group - people with disabilities sound rather utopian in a sense that there is a shortage of accessible information from two different sides which are the government and people with disabilities. In other words, the authorized stakeholders cannot acquire all the needed information from disabled persons likewise disabled persons cannot reach all the available information due to lack of accessibility. Additionally, it is not absurd at all that the system is complex as long as the lack of accessibility remains in every dimension of the social mainstream which can be solved with close collaboration among different bodies involved in the process. As a matter of fact, according to the UN Guiding Principle of Businesses and Human Rights, the state, business and disabled people as the victims of the discrimination and exclusion in the society are "interrelated and interconnected" with one another which adds to the complexity of the system as it is obvious from the Figure 4. Before analyzing further, one should clarify the fact that mentioning the word "victims" in a policy discourse of European Parliament shows the derogatory values involved in the working procedures of the policymaking entities on the supranational level. Nevertheless, this figure refers to the fact that while the governments are expected to protect people, including the people with disabilities in case of any violation of human rights in a business environment, the businesses are obliged to respect human rights to its utmost level. On the other hand, the persons who experience any kind of human rights violations have the right to an accessible legal remedy provided by respective bodies. Therefore, one can illuminate that the emergence of an inclusive society that provides equal opportunities, rights and freedom for every individual of the society has taken a big part in the national action plans, nevertheless, the coordination and the relevant involvement of every stakeholder are not highlighted adequately.



Figure 4: The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (or Ruggie framework) Source: European Parliament, (2017)

"...the government announced that it wants to draft and implement policy and legislation that is always in line with a realistic citizen's perspective, that it will seek to tie in better with the capacity for action of the individuals affected by government policy and that policy will be informed to a greater extent than in the past by scientific knowledge on human behaviour." (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2020)

Citizen's perspective carries an important value in the designation process of the policies targeting to amplify the living standards of a specific group of people as it has been clarified in earlier passages. As a matter of fact, the passage given above carries a significant realistic implication since it elaborates on the fact the effectiveness of the policies is considerably dependent on how the target group reacts to the actions and measures taken on the national and local level by different stakeholders. To elaborate, the expansion of the knowledge on human behavior in this sense plays a huge role in realizing the creation of a fully inclusive society. Besides, it is quite noticeable that the main aim here to include the perspectives of separate individuals is to solely reintegrate disabled people into the social mainstream rather than any other aims such as increasing the prestige of the national government among the Member States. Additionally, it is also very prominent incorporating how the target group of the policy initiatives behave in accordance to the actions taken is more common to encounter in the social democratic welfare states rather than the other two modes.

"Article 19 of the Convention, living independently and being included in the community, provided the second most frequently addressed, extensive theme highlighted in the statements and speeches." (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2018)

"...inclusion of persons with disabilities in the decision-making that concerns them, including both the decision-making on issues such as services at the individual level as well as the level of societal decision-making." (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2018)

These two passages clearly communicate the fact that the national policy frameworks give huge importance to the provision of "independent living" for every individual making up the national community, however, the vision related to this held by the national ministries is utopian rather than realistic. To clarify, living independently means that one can give an informed decision after having considered all the options lying in front of them, which does not seem realistic since disabled persons cannot reach all the available information due to the lack of accessibility, especially the ones available digitally as explained earlier. Moreover, the most crucial indicator of independent living is when the people are in maximum control of their lives, not when they can perform all the tasks (Brisenden, 1986), which is a big controversy that most of the policymakers make. The national agencies and ministries take into account that requesting the employers to oblige with the employment quota and hire a specific number of disabled persons will bring independent well-being to the livelihood of disabled people. In this sense, the second passage clearly explains that the national governments view the ability to give decisions freely as a major part of living independently. However, that disabled people get stuck in one position after being reintegrated into the labor market and that most of the time do not get promoted or do not have the flexibility of choosing among different job options prove the fact that the national actors do not perceive the labor reintegration measures from a realistic point of view. Additionally, with the measures taken by the actors on a national level disabled persons can influence the decisions on an individual level but hardly on a societal level due to the socio-environmental (mindset, culture, etc.) characteristics of the social mainstream.

"Promoting the genuine inclusion of persons with disabilities at the levels of both municipalities and counties. Ensuring the inclusion of persons with disabilities in the regional government reform. Supporting the operations of municipal and regional disability councils to ensure their opportunities to exert influence through information steering and spreading good practices." (*Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2018*)

Different from visions carrying genuine and utopian connotations, the vision that is held by the actors on a local level such as municipalities and counties can sometimes imply a hidden meaning as it is obvious from the passage given above, which can be enlightened as a disguised vision. Incorporating genuine expressions in the passage texts of the policy programs such as "inclusion", "support", "good practices", etc. might be disguising. Particularly, the fact that the government makes sure to provide adequate support so that the local actors can play a role in

reintegrating disabled people in the society sounds very convincing alongside being genuine. Nevertheless, the information steering brings confusion to the connotation of this text chosen from a policy action, in fact, steering the information can be dangerous with regards to the effectiveness of the measures taken. To elaborate, by steering the information the governments located on a higher level of the hierarchy can control who has what kind of information concerning the wellbeing of disabled people. In that sense, the necessary and inclusive information can be lost and only the harmful and discriminating values can be transferred through the hierarchical powers in the dimension of the labor reintegration of disabled people. Therefore, this passage has been concluded to have an implication that is disguised and masked.

"In the context of digitalization, accessibility must also be taken into account diversely from the viewpoints of different user groups. The speeches addressed issues such as cognitive accessibility and the user-friendliness of services with special aids for persons with visual impairments. The speakers also emphasized the fact that not everyone is able to use digital services and personal service must be provided to them." (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2018)

The passage above makes a reference to the importance of the area of digitalization that transforms today's world and gets identified as a realistic vision since it incorporates the fact that the accessibility would only be achieved fully if people with a different set of disabilities do not encounter any difficulties in accessing digitally-constructed services. Moreover, it has been acknowledged that visible disabilities have been taken into account in the national strategies more than non-visible ones such as cognitive disabilities (European Commission, 2020) which explains the reason behind the complexity of the system. In other words, the level of accessibility changes within the structure of national services ranging from health to education due to a higher diversity of disabilities present among the participants of the society. In fact, people with visual and cognitive impairments need a higher level of assistance in accessing digital services, which requires the extension of accessibility in a different dimension. Furthermore, as it can be clearly understood, the vision carried by the national policymakers incorporates a lot of discussion over the accessibility of the services while its broad feature makes the policy formulations a bit utopian which is different from what has been displayed above.

"The action plan can also be said to have symbolic value, as it underscores the government's continued focus on human rights in the Netherlands – vis-à-vis parties in the Netherlands as well as other countries – and its willingness to engage in dialogue on human rights. The action plan also bolsters the credibility and effectiveness of Dutch human rights action abroad." (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2020)

"All human rights are founded on the principle of human dignity. That means putting people first, not institutions, procedures, systems or forms." (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2020)

While the importance given to human rights in the formulation of the policy frameworks on the national level is visible from the first passage given above, the presence of double standards gets displayed in a very evident way. Additionally, considering the fact that human rights are a major part of the solution to the long-lasting discrimination and exclusion towards disabled people which creates an obstacle in the reintegration of disabled people in the labor market, it is very common to encounter such phrases in national action plans. On the other hand, this passage obviously refers to the fact that the governments also see the expansion of human rights, especially in the dimension of disabled people more from the reputation and status side. As long as they are involved in the provision of equal rights for everybody this brings the Member States the status which puts the aim of creating an inclusive society to lower degree importance. Alongside, the second passage given above contradicts the first one which explains the double standards deployed by the actors on the national level. In fact, while the second text genuinely expresses the importance of human dignity while emphasizing the fact that people come first rather than any other motives that the governments might carry, the first one obscures the other motive of the governments - the status when getting involved in reintegration measures aimed at disabled people.

Furthermore, likewise that the human rights have been mentioned repeatedly many times in the documentation of the national governments and agencies, it has been identified that Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015 take the human rights in the labor market into account in the formulation of SDG Goal 8 – Decent work and economic growth. One of the social democratic countries, the Netherlands, disregards the rights of disabled people, in other words, does not consider them of importance in the formulation of the action plan regarding SDG Goal 8. Although it is no doubt that disabled people experience discrimination and violation of human rights frequently in a multitude of domains of the employment sector, some of the action plans on Member State level disregard the importance and urgency of this issue as given below in Table 4.

Sustainable Development Goals	Related human rights
SDG (8): Decent work and economic growth	Right to work and to just and
	favourable working conditions (art.
	19 Constitution; art. 23 Universal
	Declaration; arts. 6, 7 and 10
	ICESCR; art. 27 CRPD)



Table 4: Human rights instruments in the agenda of the Sustainable Development Goals Source: Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, (2020)

Liberal welfare states

"A society in Ireland in which persons with disabilities can realise their civil and political rights; have opportunities to participate in economic, social and cultural life; have choice and control over how they live their lives; and reach their individual potential in a society and environment that embraces, accommodates and values the full range of human ability and diversity." (National Disability Authority, 2019)

This passage is a genuine representation of the political vision that most liberal governments carry in the duration of designating the relevant policy actions aimed at people with disabilities. First off, being able to exercise one's civil and political rights is the most important condition to be able to affect the social and cultural dimensions of the society and influence their own livelihood positively by participating in the societal and individual decision-making process of the social community accordingly, which has been centralized above. Furthermore, as it has been illuminated in the Theoretical Framework Chapter, the alternative political visions which are social justice, equality, etc. as the main features of an equalitarian society can be noticed from this passage evidently. In particular, possessing the ability to choose and control the kind of livelihood one wishes to pursue is an important characteristic of the equalitarian society which also leads to the fact that disabled persons will be able to reach their potential if the utopian society mentioned above can be accomplished. Otherwise, an inclusive society with a high level of diversity that gives equal opportunities to everyone independent of their physical or cognitive disabilities is only a fantasy that never gets realized in the real life.

"In the NDA, we recognise that our people are our most important resource, bringing a wealth of expertise and skills to effectively deliver on our statutory remit. We will continue to drive and support a high performance organisation and support staff through training and development, while working to

ensure that workforce planning takes account of available expertise and future knowledge requirements." (National Disability Authority, 2019)

The passage text given above clearly demonstrates the genuine vision that the national actors carry since it focuses on the people – human capital that is the main target in the policies fantasizing to create an inclusive society. However, while the national governments idolize the emergence of a perfect utopian society as it is obvious from the referral to the statutory remit, keeping all the factors (the behavior of different entities involved, disabled people as the target of the measures, etc.) influencing the process of labor reintegration of disabled people under control seems rather unrealistic. Additionally, the process of reintegrating disabled people in the social mainstream relies on the working procedure of the whole system created by high-powered organizations including the measures taken counteractively in different domains of services (National Disability Authority, 2019) all of which one can encounter problems such as complying with the principle of presumption of capacity. As a matter of fact, the vision of the national actors' places too much attention on this principle maintained by the Mental Capacity Act which fortifies the fact that unless the relevant support is provided in the process of performing a task, one cannot assume a person to be incapable of any task. This idea, thereby, makes the policy programs initiated on the national level utopian due to the fact that the national governments have to change the mindset and culture which is a long term process, and that it is almost impossible to make sure that none of the stakeholders violate it in the meanwhile.

Conservative welfare states

"..."social space", with the aim of improving the living conditions of people with impairments, are of more significance for future reports. Social space plays a decisive role in shaping people's real lives. At the same time, it is more than just a specific place, for example a district or neighbourhood. A social space encompasses wider functional relationships, including business and local government (macro level), social milieus specific to an area as well as social networks (meso level), and individual and group-specific patterns of behaviour, perception and interpretation of the people living in that area (micro level)." (Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2014)

Although this might seem as very genuine initiative as they refer to the creation of social space at different levels (micro, meso and macro) of the social structure, the idea is rather vague considering the fact that in a stage where disabled people and non-disabled people come together the main focus will be on the lacking characteristics of the former. To clarify, this level-specific "social space" basically would not be a facilitator of the inclusive society but would polarize the group of people with disabilities to one side of the social paradigm rather than bringing them together with other participants of the society. Additionally, this also seems like a very utopian notion considering the fact that it is not realistic that all the participants on different levels of society will be brought together unless there is any common incentive. On the other hand, the emergence of social space needs to be present in a variety of dimensions of the social mainstream as the main obstacles that occur in the integration process of disabled persons are related to four different dimensions which are economic, political, legal and educational (Gruber, Titze, & Zapfel, 2013). In fact, the solutions such as "social space" have to be supported from many perspectives to reach the ideal outcomes in the duration of reintegrating disabled people into a society that gets transformed into an inclusive one.

"...multidimensional perspective which takes into account the fact that areas of participation are not unconnected, rather one may influence the other. This allows typical participation constellations of persons with disabilities to be presented where risk factors are multiplied in several areas of participation or where they are offset by resources in other areas of participation." (Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2014)

This passage illuminated above signifies the fact that the political vision carried by the national ministries is very realistic in a sense that they consider all the factors that might influence the process of labor reintegration of disabled people rather than fantasizing about the positive outcomes that belong to the utopian world. As a matter of fact, the paradigm of social mainstream embraces a variety of areas in itself that are interconnected with one another. This unified characteristic of the society on some level prevents the creation of an inclusive society where the people with disabilities are living independently and equally. In other words, one can clarify that since one changing factor gets multiplied within the other dimension of the social structure, the whole structure goes through the evolution directly or indirectly which explains why the system has been called complex many times throughout the section. To be precise, any positive or negative action taken towards reintegrating disabled persons in the labor market and the society gets amplified,t therefore, whether or not the action plans of the national actors are utopian or realistic in terms of practicality plays a very significant role in this process.

"This new socio-environmental approach to disability taken by the CRPD creates an inseparable link between human rights and development: human rights reflect the recognition of the dignity, freedom and equality of individuals as human beings; human and social development represents instead the pathway to ensure that individuals fully enjoy human rights, fundamental freedoms and equal opportunities for living a full life." (Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013)

The former passage introduces an important genuine message which brings forward the fact that the presence of equal human rights leads to the acceleration of the development in the society from social, political and economic perspectives. In fact, the national actors ranging from the ministries to agencies and authorities are idolizing the creation of a utopian world where the values such as dignity, freedom and equality are highly respected as major parts of human rights which are necessary requirements in the revival of an inclusive society. Alongside, the growth of a highly developed society that provides everyone, especially people with disabilities with equal opportunities, relies vastly on the presence of the values stated earlier. The social mainstream is a web that gets influenced by many factors that cannot be managed fully by the relevant entities with authorization, on the contrary, it is a self-managed system that makes the utopian vision that different national and supranational actors have regarding the inclusive society impossible to achieve.

"Ensuring equality of rights, freedoms and opportunities to persons with disabilities calls for removing socio-environmental, cultural and economic barriers preventing their participation in the social life on an equal basis with others." (Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013)

As it is mentioned in earlier passages as well, this text also makes a reference to the importance of human rights and of provision of equal opportunities for everyone, however, it has been maintained that it is not possible unless the obstacles in the socio-environmental, cultural, and economic dimensions are brought to the end. As a matter of fact, the obstacles in the former two fields can be related to the mindset of the people as well as the serotypes embedded in the society, on the other hand, those in the latter field can be about the financial aspects that prevent the people with disabilities being included in the society. While the first two dimensions play a huge role in influencing the effectiveness of this process of labor reintegration for disabled people, the financial aspects do not determine one's social status in society. Therefore, phrases as the one above are abstract and not convincing enough to state that the perceived benefits from the labor reintegration measures signify a realistic political vision. Additionally, removing barriers in different dimensions of the society sounds very illogical as the national actors do not clarify any specific action plans that will indirectly result in an ideal society where disabled people will not be discriminated against but will be active participants in every domain of the social mainstream.

This section of the Analysis Chapter has clarified that the political vision carried by the supranational and national actors differ slightly with regards to the main intention as well as the understanding of the engaged actors regarding the reintegration of disabled persons in the social mainstream. In other words, it has been revealed that the national and supranational stakeholders view the process of eliminating the segregation of disabled people and creating an inclusive society from different perspectives. To elaborate, one can acknowledge that while the supranational actors are more genuine, utopian and work towards the sole goal of reintegrating disabled people in the labor market, the national actors have a more realistic vision in spite of self-interested behavior. Moreover, it is also noteworthy to mention that the alternative concepts of the political vision such as equal rights, social justice, human dignity and other values and features of the equalitarian society get reflected to some extent in the passages mentioned above which show the main dynamics in the process of labor reintegration of disabled persons. As a matter of fact, perceived benefits of the reintegration period of disabled people that have been analyzed deeply signify the fact that principles regarding human rights, non-discrimination, equality, indivisibility, accountability, transparency, etc. are determined as the crucial part of the political vision that the powerful stakeholders on the national and supranational level deploy. However, the political vision that fantasizes the creation of an inclusive society with an equal set of rights and opportunities considers close collaboration with different actors involved essential, especially the target group that is disabled with regard to achieving highly effective results. In fact, the main vision of the actors ranging from the national governments to national agencies and authorities to private stakeholders got transformed from making attempts to intensify the 'welfare for' disabled people into fostering a closer 'participation of' the people with disabilities which at the same time provides them with having the self-responsibility of going after what kind of society they would like to live in (Rauch and Dornette, 2009 as in Gruber, Titze, & Zapfel, 2013). To sum up, as it is clarified, the scale and the effectiveness of the labor reintegration measures almost completely rely on the political vision that the national and supranational actors convey which is an intertwined concept in a sense that it embraces many different values in it. In other words, the process of labor reintegration requires the involvement of a variety of actors ranging from public to private sector that are expected to collaborate closely, otherwise, the benefits that are assumed at the beginning of the designation process of reintegration of disabled people will be far from reality and get reflected as a major feature of the utopian society that never gets accomplished in the real world.

5. Conclusion

5.1. Answer to the Research Question and Approval of the Hypotheses

This master thesis aimed to reveal the benefits of the labor reintegration measures targeting disabled people perceived by national and supranational stakeholders in Europe and identify what they signify in terms of the political vision deployed in the policy discourses that are initiated during the last two decades - since 2000. Therefore, the thesis made an attempt to answer the aforementioned question by elaborating on the economic, political and social dimensions of the national structure that widely incorporated the concepts of social integration and stigmatization which contained human dignity, equal human rights, social justice, collective responsibility, etc. and discrimination, oppression, inequality, derogatory attitude deeply-embedded in the society respectively, which were discussed mainly with regard to the political vision deployed by the national and supranational actors. In fact, the main focus of the European policy narrative was the elimination of the stigma towards disabled persons in society by strengthening the understanding of human dignity with various accessibility strategies in the public and private sectors. On the other hand, the concept that has been a minor discussion point throughout the thesis was the equalitarian society enabling independent living with equal rights for the people with disabilities so that they would be able to participate in the decision-making process on national and higher supranational levels as a part of their citizenship.

Answering the first sub-question 'How are benefits defined in policy discourses?', one should state the fact that the definition of the benefits on the national level rather differ with the importance given to each dimension of the society. Particularly, as the Theory Chapter explained the economic well-being of the country influence the benefit paradigm significantly. In other words, the economic terms such as GDP, financial incentives, subsidies, profit takes a huge role in defining the actions of labor reintegration targeting disabled persons. In fact, the provision of financial incentives is encountered more frequently in the conservative welfare states according to the analysis conducted in this thesis. On the other hand, the political dimension of the benefit paradigm in the labor reintegration strategies carried out on the supranational level mostly deploy a language showing interest in boosting the rights of disabled people in every domain of the national structure.

Answering the second sub-question, 'Which ways of understanding of labor reintegration and alleged benefits are diversified across different government sectors?', it has been identified that the political vision in terms of perceived benefits of the labor reintegration policies can be understood from an ignorant perspective that embraces a set of inclusive actions to gain the visibility and prestige among other welfare states as it is obvious from the case of the Netherlands as the social democratic welfare state. In other words, most of the actors involved in the process perceive the labor reintegration measures from their self-interest while not caring about the long-

term well-being of disabled people. On the other hand, although one would not have expected the social-democratic welfare states to make use of expressions diffusing the derogatory values due to the fact that these countries give more attention to human dignity, derogatory phrases have been encountered on the national levels of three kinds of welfare states as well as the supranational level. Additionally, it should also be emphasized that the national actors place huge significance towards promoting the UNCRPD principles from a standpoint that these principles are a big part of a perfectly-inclusive society that got reflected in the policy language.

On the other hand, to answer the third sub-question 'What do these alleged /imagined benefits signify in terms of political vision?, it became evident in the analysis process that the vision and the ideology carried by the national and supranational actors in the formulation of the policy frameworks in Europe are mainly utopian and the code of conduct is disguised and masked with phrases demonstrating the self-interest and double-standards more than the sole purpose of integrating disabled persons in the labor market. As the Theory Chapter suggested, considering that the inclusion and diversity is one of the trendy topics of nowadays, the involvement of the national actors in these measures mostly serve expanding their prestige rather than creating an inclusive society in the long-term since unless the actions taken are consistent, the inclusive society providing everyone with equal opportunities in the vison of the policymakers will remain utopian.

The Theory Chapter with the ideas and opinions of the scholars in the field of disability, resulted in the Hypothesis 1, which states that the main reason for the existence of the stigmatization towards disabled persons is the negative terms that are incorporated in the policy discussions of different actors with relevant authorization and power on a national and supranational level. However, during the Analysis Chapter, it has become evident that the policy programs ranging from the action plans on a national level to initiatives on a supranational level do not explicitly include derogatory terms very often. On the other hand, it is the implicit and disguised meaning that is well-embedded in the policy narrative that comes up to the surface when analyzed thoroughly. In other words, the policy programs of the welfare states, particularly the conservative ones, are very abstract and seem inclusive from the first look. However, in reality, the goals maintained as the big part of the vision held by the policymakers in the field of reintegration of the people with disabilities shadowed the main implications with positive words such as accessibility, inclusion, ensuring equal rights, etc. Therefore, one can agree on the idea that the diffusion of such derogatory values via the policies shaping the society is a big factor, however, not necessarily the main reason behind the existing stigma against disabled individuals. In other words, the office mindset of the recruiters includes one's own subjective opinions and values that cannot be fully influenced even in case of existence of discriminating phrases conveyed by the policymakers in the policy discourses, which approves the Hypothesis 1. Moreover, Hypothesis 2 explains the importance of undertaking actions that shapes the society with equalitarian values and beliefs that lead to enhancement of equal rights and social justice via the action plans formulated as the major part of the policy programs. Nevertheless, these actions incorporate very abstract and utopian ideals that proves the unrealistic vision deployed by the public policymakers on the national and supranational level. This is partly true since specific plans of action are not provided alongside the abstract connotations that leads to confusion in the mindset of public and private actors on the national and local level. In fact, the perceived benefits in the vision of the policymakers are rather different from what expects them in real life. On the other hand, existing hierarchy in the implementation process of the policies designated to reintegrate disabled persons in the social mainstream on a higher level lead to the diffusion of utopian ideals across the levels of the hierarchical structure which leads to ineffective policy outcomes. Therefore, if the emphasis on the equalitarian values are brought forward more with explicit connotations deployed by the policymakers might lead to more effective results in the creation process of an inclusive society, which approves the efficacy of the Hypothesis 2.

5.2. Further Reflections and Suggestions for Future Research

As a result of the content analysis carried out, 22 policy documents that were in English clarified that the benefits envisioned by different actors including the national governments of the selected welfare states, national disability authorities, ministries, European Commission, Council of the European Union etc. are vague and undetermined to some extent. Therefore, this thesis made a huge attempt to bring proper understanding to the field of disability that the policy plans aiming at incorporating disabled people in the society include the disguised sentences with an unrealistic or utopian vision which sometimes deploy pursuing the self-interest, double standards instead of the sole purpose of reintegration. However, besides possessing vague action plans, some parts also lacked the view of disabled persons which can only be achieved if there are surveys distributed and made accessible for the main target group which is disabled people. In other words, the answers to the survey questionnaires should be incorporated in the methodology chapter of the thesis while embracing questions such as the duration of unemployment, the previous experience with discriminating recruiters, the presence of accessible work environment, etc. On the other hand, interviews with companies that hold a central position regarding the reintegration of disabled people in the labor market would be the next step and a considerable addition towards to the process of understanding what the policy documents discussed in this study signify in terms of the perceived benefits as well as the political vision alongside the equalitarian society with equal rights and social justice. In fact, these interviews will lead to thorough understanding of corporate actors' view over the reintegration of disabled people.

Furthermore, the thesis claims that the differentiation made between people with and without disabilities in the formulation of the national action plans as well as the policy programs on a

higher supranational level has clearly led to the oppression of disabled persons as approved by Grue (2011) which became a big obstacle in the integration process of disabled persons in the labor market. As a matter of fact, the policy frameworks in the social democratic and conservative welfare states in Europe have more frequently deployed such phrases that focused mainly on the disadvantages and/or incapability of disabled people than the liberal welfare states as referred to by Levitas (1998) as well. Although it was expected to find out that most of the welfare state countries in Europe focus on fostering an equitable economically, socially and politically secure society within the dimensions of the policy frameworks that allows every individual to show off their potential independent of their disability, one could reveal that the disguised phrases incorporated in the policy narrative of the European welfare states with plausible connotations are more likely to lead to stigmatization rather than the emergence of an inclusive society where disabled people can exercise all of their rights equally and live independently. Therefore, as the theory of this thesis suggested, the alternatives to the political vision such as social justice in the case of the persons with disabilities should be the main part of the policy frameworks so that the type of society fantasized by the policymakers with a low or no level of discrimination and stigmatization can be achieved as Vaughan (2016) agrees. Thereby, this recommends the future researchers to analyze the main reasons why the policymakers do not incorporate the equalitarian values in their policy projects explicitly while formulating an answer to a research question 'to what extent the equalitarian values exist as the benefits for disabled individuals in the policymaking of the European Member states?'.

This study has detected the fact that although the welfare state countries differ from one another according to their basic features, there are a lot of common characteristics once the policy frameworks regarding the well-being and the position of people with disabilities are taken into account. As a matter of fact, the social-democratic countries are more focused on the designation of the specific benefits while ensuring that the laws and frameworks adopted on a national level concerning the integration of people with disabilities into the society are adequately complied by the corporate stakeholders. Besides, the belief of universalism shows the fact that the countries such as Finland and the Netherlands and etc. are concerned about the welfare of every individual making up the society independent of the presence of any kind of disability which obviously requires their active participation in the society. Also, they have shown a self-interested behavior that includes the genuine provisions of accommodation in almost every dimension of society. While the Esping-Anderson classification generalizes the liberal welfare states with a set of pensions that are not effective in the reintegration process of disabled people, the reality is a bit different. As one of the liberal countries Ireland has shown quite an involvement in the implementation of efficient action plans. In fact, liberal countries got reflected as the countries deploying more inclusive phrases that are hardly masked and thereby, more effective. Additionally, the conservative welfare state countries have been classified as étatiste considering that the state intervention is at its highest level alongside the corporatist behavior which led to the
understanding of the fact that the actions taken are utopian in a sense that it does not necessarily include the vision of people with disabilities, on the contrary, only the vision of the formally authorized entities. On the other hand, it should also be pinpointed that the close look at the policy documents helped to interpret the idea that although the welfare state countries on the supranational European level differ to some extent, they share many common characteristics such as manipulating the policy frameworks filled with optimistic phrases to accomplish becoming a highly visible and prestigious country with regard to including the people with disabilities in every dimension of the social mainstream. Therefore, one would suggest the future researchers to continue with the 'most-similar' case study but to choose higher number of welfare states as a part of the methodology chapter in their study, which will eliminate the problem of generalization.

Additionally, the idea of welfare state mainly refers to the fact that the government maintains the protection and promotion of the citizens' well-being in the economic and social fields. The analysis of specific policy frameworks formulated by the European welfare states selected for the purposes of this study led to the understanding of the fact that unfortunately the welfare state countries sometimes lose the track of actions taken within the paradigm of the concept called "welfare state". In other words, self-interested behavior of a few countries leads them to give more importance to other political motives rather than the main goal of reintegrating disabled persons into the labor market as an action within the idea of welfare state. Besides this, disguised aims incorporating the derogatory and stigmatizing ideals in policy frameworks also prevent the governments of welfare states to perform properly with regard to their main principles.

Additionally, different from the original version of a welfare state, modern welfare states that are located in different parts of the world focus on not only the issues related to poverty but also different dimensions of the national structure including the welfare of disabled persons. This particularly shows how powerful the concept of welfare state is, once properly put into mechanism. Moreover, it is rather noteworthy the actions taken by the European welfare states to strengthen the livelihood standards of disabled people are considered as sample mechanisms by the newly developing welfare states in the other corners of the world. Nonetheless, the failure of the concept 'one size fits all' explains the fact that the new welfare states should consider new instruments to build their own welfare structure rather than relying on false methods taken by the European welfare states as given throughout this study. On the other hand, one should also mention the fact that the newly-emerging welfare states should place huge attention towards the reintegration of disabled persons in society and provision of equal social rights to every individual of the society by incorporating these ideas as the basis of their principles and should have a closer look at the mistakes of European welfare states such as Ireland, the Netherlands, Finland, Germany and Italy to not repeat them in their process of building a welfare state.

5.3. Practical Implications

The thesis acknowledges the fact that the policy discourses on the national and supranational level are littered, in other words, full of phrases embracing the human rights, needs, etc. of disabled persons while at the same time possessing a very unclear description of the necessary actions to be taken to accomplish the goals established in the beginning as illustrated by Brennan (2003). As a matter of fact, although the thesis confirms the fact that the inclusive society that is at the center of the policymakers' ideology and that reinforces the provision of equal rights and independence for every individual, particularly people with disabilities is not as utopian as it seems, it is no doubt that to accomplish a fully inclusive society where disabled persons become active participants of the social mainstream while having an equal set of rights to take part in the decision-making process on a national and higher supranational level, the public and private stakeholders should collaborate more closely. In other words, the collective responsibility is an answer to the problem of social exclusion and discrimination towards disabled persons in society. In fact, the thesis accepts the significance of collective responsibility in the vision of the policymaking authorities due to the high level of interdependence existing in the social structure of the society as Barton (1993) states. As the CA Approach developed by Sen (1999) illustrated, the presence of the collective responsibility is more effective than the self-responsibility because of the fact that unless every citizen of the national structure contributes to the realization process of an inclusive society, the emergence of an equalitarian platform where everyone can live and choose independently will not be possible. Therefore, the national governments should take the initiative to bring together all the actors affecting the process of labor reintegration one way or another where the interaction between the people with disabilities and the entities as the source and the major actors of policy programs will lead to more effective results in terms of achieving an inclusive society.

In general, the communication between the national and supranational actors is not sufficient enough due to the hierarchy existing in the governance. While the theory recognizes the hierarchy existing in the society in a sense that the results of the policy programs will not be effective since they decide for the powerless group to create a kind of society that disabled persons desire to live in, it is rather obvious that the communication lacks often between the higher power entities ranging from European Commission to the national governments of the Member States. In fact, information steering plays a big role in the process of communication regardless of any actions taken to provide smooth diffusion of ideas and policies from one level of the hierarchy to the other one. In other words, the biased and incorrect ideals and plans can be disguised in such policy projects that are formulated on a higher level that will be transmitted to the lower national levels. In case of not being detected, the derogatory and discriminating beliefs and values will be embedded in the national structure which requires a long period to encounter and result in an inclusive mindset that will provide equal opportunities to every individual of the society. Therefore,

it would be a practical method for the national government to appoint a separate entity or individual who will manage the relations among the different levels of the European governance ranging from the lower bodies (public and private stakeholders) to higher body (European Commission) to prevent the diffusion of negative and derogatory values among the actors involved in policymaking process and lead to a more transparent policymaking procedure that will result in the emergence of an inclusive society for people with disabilities.

Having analyzed the EU policy framework, it can be concluded that the major focus of this study has been the specific actions taken as a part of the policy plans such as improving the accessibility, transforming the mindset and the behavior of the employers towards disabled people, etc. to accomplish successful integration of people with disabilities. Although the theory of the thesis mainly blames the prevailing barriers in policies such as oppression, inequality, discrimination, the analysis brings the main reasons for the ineffective policymaking forward. The main reason, in fact, is the centralization on the needs of the people with disabilities rather than their rights which can be seen more evidently on the national level (Oliver's, 1996). Therefore, the policymaking units either on supranational or national level should carefully consider the policy language that is deployed throughout the policy discourses as such the way people with disabilities are demonstrated with regard to their vision will be influencing the actions taken on the lower levels of the hierarchy.

Annex

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