

Cécile Van de Velde
Center for Research in Economics and Statistics - CREST/INSEE

Public Policies and Working Conditions in France.
Three Decades of the ANACT.

WORKING PAPER
September 2005

Introduction

The ANACT, the National Agency for the Improvement of Working Conditions, was founded in 1973 by the Jacques Chaban-Delmas Government, at a period marked by strong critics against Taylorism coming from trade-unions. The aim was to create a concertation pole on working conditions. Compared to previous initiatives, the *1973 Law* breakthrough was to acknowledge a qualitative approach to this issue. The agency had for main purpose to produce and promote pilot actions in the field of working conditions, and had for specificity, compared to the other political instruments in that same field, to pursue its objectives through an incentive policy : regulation, control or the grant of subsidies were not part of its prerogatives.

The evolution of the ANACT, which has slowly become a cornerstone for the improvement of working conditions, gives an insight of public policies throughout the three decades of its existence. In France, the improvement of working conditions as a policy is difficult to read and mostly discontinuous. As historian Martine Muller puts it¹, it has been tensed between two distinct fields of public actions since the end of the second World War. On the one hand it is governed by the industrial policy -wanting a technical approach and rational organization- and on the other hand by the employment policy -driven by activity and qualifications-. This explains why the policy regarding the improvement of working conditions had a hard time standing-up for itself. Sociologists Michel Gollac and Serge Volkoff found that the policy was substantially modified at the beginning of every decade². Those successive impulsions have changed the nature of the ANACT's interventions in businesses during the last three decades : it has evolved from concerns on actual physical working conditions at work in the 70's, to employee participation in decision making in the 80's, to the reduction of working hours in the 90's and 2000's. Nowadays the effort is put on age and health management.

This report traces the boundaries and successive measures in France linked to the phrase "Working Conditions" through the 30 years of evolution and development of the ANACT. It first presents the background leading to the creation of the ANACT, and analyzes the position of the ANACT in the panorama of major public orientations within the field of working conditions during 1970's. Secondly, it gives a detailed account of the guidelines which have orientated the evolution of its activity, and confirmed the role of the ANACT as an institutional go-between linking public and private sector. Lastly it will concentrate on the results and evaluate the impact of the missions involved : the question raised is, how can a public organisation have a significant impact on working conditions without being directly involved in negotiations and with little means in relation to its task.

¹Martine Muller (1994), "Politiques publiques et organisation du travail, in René Chilin, Aimée Moutet, Martine Muller, *Histoire de l'ANACT. 20 ans pour l'amélioration des conditions de travail*, Paris, Syros, p.58.

²Gollac M., Volkoff S. (2000), *Les conditions de travail*, Editions La Découverte, Paris.

1 The Anact : An incite-only mission

The spirit of the *1973 Law* was to promote social innovations to do with working conditions. It introduced the creation of boards within companies counting over 300 employees, and listed requirements on hygiene and security³. It more importantly founded the ANACT so as to establish a three-partite concertation pole on working conditions, in order to gather trade-unions, employers and government.

The incite-only mission of the ANACT was confirmed in 1976, when two complementary institutions were created in the field : the "Fonds pour l'Amélioration des Conditions de Travail", a subsidizing fund, dedicated to financially support innovative projects and the "Conseil Supérieur de la Prévention des Risques Professionnels", advising the Government on the prevention of accidents at work.

1.1 The ANACT breakthrough

Previous initiatives were led before the foundation of the ANACT, aimed at increasing productivity through the enhancement of working conditions, but the state of mind was driven by a tayloristic perspective. The 1973 Law marks a change, focusing directly on the improvement of working conditions and seeking for alternatives to taylorism.

Historians Aimée Moutet and Martine Muller⁴ found there were mainly two previous attempts before the ANACT -the COST "Comité d'Organisation Scientifique du Travail" (the Scientific Organization of Labour Comity)- and the CNP "Centre National de la Productivité" (the National Center for Productivity) , both three-partite like the ANACT. Between 1936 and 1940, the COST was created to protect new social rights, granted by the socialist "Front Populaire" Government. The COST's aim was to help companies apply new social policies - wage increase and reduction of working hours - without jeopardizing the country's economy : after the Great Depression, the concern was primarily to preserve purchasing power. Between 1948 and 1953, the CNP was dedicated to post-war reconstruction plans. The objective this time was to convince French manufacturers to adopt the American work organization and Human resources methods. In a context of reduced task force and high inflation risk, the idea was to develop productivity through the integration of up-to-date scientific methods, and to induce a rapid and virtuous evolution of living standards.

The COST failed due to the lack of means and to what was felt as insufficient economic credentials. The CNP staggered for its sake at the beginning of the 1950's on radical positioning from both employers and trade-unionists then influenced by the domination the communist party : in 1953 the CNP was replaced by the CGP - "Commissariat Général à la Productivité" - and took-over until 1959.

³"Conditions de travail : un cadre législatif nouveau" in *Liaisons sociales*, n°4105, 14 January 1974, supplement to n.6734.

⁴Aimée Moutet, Martine Muller (1994), "La naissance de l'ANACT", in René Chilin, Aimée Moutet, Martine Muller, *Histoire de l'ANACT. 20 ans pour l'amélioration des conditions de travail*, Paris, Syros, p.23-56.

1.2 "Humanizing Work"

Towards the end of the 1970's, the general report of the sixth national plan raised the question of working conditions and placed the employment policy as the fourth priority. For the first time, working conditions were mentioned in a plan. In 1972, the creation of the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions had been decided during the conference of heads of State of the European Community, the bill was submitted by the French Government. The Foundation, located in Dublin, opened in 1975. The ANACT came from a political will inspired by the idea of a "new society" dear to Jacques Chaban-Delmas. Working conditions, employees' demands and professional training were at the time considered to be areas of possible innovative social policies. In March 1972, Yves Delamotte handed in a report to Joseph Fontanet, Minister of Labour. The report was entitled "*Towards a more Humane Organisation of Industrial Labour*". Its starting point was a feed-back on French and foreign initiatives. Yves Delamotte -later to become the first General Director of the ANACT in 1974- listed a series of propositions and possible actions which perfectly defined the missions of the future ANACT. It was felt that a new institution was needed to collect and exchange information on working conditions. Means would be granted if generalizable solutions came up.

It is striking that this project was so hastily adopted and did not raise opposition at a time of social tension. At the beginning of the 1970's, "*Humanizing Work*" actually became a central issue for Trade Unionists. In France like in the rest of Europe, strong critics emerged against Taylorism in the industrial world. More especially, critics from major companies - half of which were assembly manufacturers - were focused on working conditions of workers. In March 1971, workers of Renault-Cars started a two-month strike in the town of Le Mans, progressively paralyzing other Renault factories. It was the first in a series of strikes all related to working conditions in the industrial sector and claiming for improvements in chain-work. In February 1972, the CGT appoints a comity demanding better working conditions. The demands are broadly echoed by the Press and Jean-Pierre Dumont publishes in March 1972 in the *Le Monde* (National newspaper) a follow-up article entitled "*Workers Victims of Working Paces*".

In parallel, the publications of the London Tavistock Institute - on employees taking part in technical and organizational change -, as well as the scandinavian experience of tasks "Enrichment" and Volvo-like semi-autonomous teams - were well known to Employers : after the translation of "*Work and the Nature of Man*", F.Herzberg's theory on motivation at work is widespread and fashionable amongst French Employers. The objective was to introduce Human Resource Management in companies so as to reduce shirking and promote mobility - by increasing employees' interest in their work. Some experiments were carried-out for some years in the field of task enrichment, inspired by Northern countries. Renault-Cars assembly chains were specifically concerned. According to the 1979 survey led by Françoise Piotet, it was observed that out of 700 companies that had re-engineered work processes, 40% had created semi-autonomous teams, 25% had "enriched" tasks, 25% had broaden tasks and only 10% had applied job mobility taken in turns. This new organisation was accompanied by the creation of

talk-groups destined to favor employees' views on their work⁵.

Finally, a generation of French researchers directed their efforts towards the sociology of Work, based on the constatations of Georges Friedman. They sought to find "social indicators" and to determine all physical and psychological explanatory variables : in 1972, the Economic and Sociology of Work Laboratory (LEST) of the CNRS published the first elements of a method for the diagnose of Working Conditions. The method known as the "LEST method" is based on social indicators designed by G. Roustang, B.Romagnan, M.N. Beauchesnes et F. Guélaud.

1.3 A concertation pole

At first, the will of the Government was to favor collective negotiations on working conditions. The aim of the law was clearly to create a place where social partners (i.e. Trade Unions, Employers and Government) could talk within a three-partite direction Board. The ANACT was and is to this day administered by a board composed of 9 Employer-representatives⁶, of 9 Worker-representatives⁷, of 3 experts in working conditions, appointed by the Ministry of Labour for three years, and 5 representatives of various ministries.

Among the directives of the founding texts, promoting the improvement of working conditions was essential. The terms defined by the decree were *"to gather and broadcast useful information, organize meetings, exchange views, coordinate and develop research, incite manufacturers to build adapted tools and buildings, provide help in training, encourage initiatives and experiments in the public and private sectors by providing feed-back and expertise"*⁸. The "incite-only" mission of the Agency was emphasized by its limited credits. For its first year, the agency was given a 5 million FF. budget (the equivalent of 3.5 million Euros corrected for inflation in 2004). The agency is now-days still somewhat paradoxical, with its broad mission and little means, it must incite but can not subsidize nor can it regulate.

Firstly, the ANACT diverges from an institutional model with autonomous budget. The agency is in fact placed under the authority of the Ministry of Labour, which provides for its budget. The ANACT is not even a specialized "Superior Council" that can suggest private bills or propose measures to the Government. For that purpose another agency was created in 1976, entrusted by law to control and regulate the prevention of accidents at work : the "Conseil Supérieur de la Prévention des Risques Professionnels" CSPRT - also controlled by a three-partite Board, in which the ANACT is represented.

Furthermore, the ANACT is no research laboratory dedicated to the study of working conditions : it is the INRS' mission - "Institut National de Recherche et de Sécurité" pour la prévention des accidents du travail et des maladies professionnelles-. The INRS was founded in

⁵Françoise Piotet, "Expériences de production et amélioration des conditions de travail", *Lettre d'information de l'ANACT*, mai 1979.

⁶Public sector, MEDEF, CGPME, UPA-CAPEB

⁷CGT, CFDT,CGT-FO, CFE-CGC, CFTC

⁸Decree of the 22nd of Avril 1973. 1st article

Acronym	Name	Creation	Main Mission	Budget (1976)
INRS	Institut National de Recherche et de Sécurité	1968	Research	38 MF
CSPRT	Conseil Supérieur de la Prévention des Risques Professionnels	1976	Consultations	NA
FACT	Fonds d'Amélioration des Conditions de Travail	1976	Funding	24 MF

FIG. 1 – Agencies in link with the ANACT for the Improvement of Working Conditions

1968 from the melting of the "Institut National de Sécurité" and the "Centre d'études et de recherches de Vandoeuvre", and gets much greater State support than the ANACT (figure 1). It is under the authority of the Caisse Nationale d'Assurance Maladie which is itself part of the Social Security. The merger of the two institutes was considered for a time, but the ANACT and the INRS jointly redefined their specificities in the preparation for the eighth plan, in 1978.

The Agency does not regulate or control and can not directly subsidize associations or companies. The FACT - Fund for the Improvement of Working Conditions - is responsible for that. It was given 24 million FF of State aid for its first year in 1976 - It is to be said that contrarily to the ANACT, the funding of the FACT did not progress and was even reduced in the 90's to a mere ten million Francs-. The FACT was to subsidize investment and be of "help" to Prime Minister's Jacques Chirac economic boost policy of 1976. It supports innovative projects led in businesses and professional branches to do with the improvement of working conditions, as well as designers of working equipment and of fabrication processes. The FACT does not subsidize production equipment as such, but only the supplementary effort made by the company concerning working conditions. The subsidies can cover a maximum of 50% of the cost of design and prototypes, 30% of the cost of equipment and 30% of the cost of the time incurred for the completion of the project.

The ANACT does not distribute financial aid, however it is a go-between, both encouraging companies to apply for subsidies and giving the FACT case expertise. This association is a key element to the understanding of the ANACT's evolution, making it a business partner - employers address increasing numbers of applications- which helps the spotting of good and renewable operations.

2 The ANACT and Public Policies from the 70s to the 2000s

The first guidelines of the ANACT, in the years following its creation, were deeply influenced by the "physical" acceptance of working conditions : the efforts were put on the prevention of accidents at work and on the progressive reduction of posted work. The decree of April 22nd 1974 is in that way significant, it focuses on : *"the physical environment of workers*

and the adaptation of their work stations". Furthermore, the ten "negotiable" facets of working conditions which were identified as such by the ANACT's Board in 1974 are *"work environment, hygiene and security, posted work, working paces, adjustable shifts, progressive end of chain work, output dependent wages, reorganization of tasks, employees taking part in reorganization processes, revision of situation grids and common pay grid"*. Those priorities defined the action plan of the ANACT during its first decade. For the prevention of accidents at work, an important law was voted on December 6th 1976, creating professional bodies for hygiene and security in high risk branches, to be coordinated by the ANACT. That same year, the secretary of State, Lionel Stoléru, was asked to "reassert" the value of manual work, he entrusted the ANACT to organize a industrial architectural scheme. The Agency was also on the look-out for pilot-actions, it listed and evaluated some 300 experiments in work reorganization processes in the industrial sector as well as in highly competitive branches⁹.

2.1 80s : The Auroux Laws and "Negotiated Modernisation"

The beginning of the 1980's marked a first change of policy, and saw the emergence of the "professional relations" topic, replacing the initial approach on physical working conditions. The ANACT applied its new policy in the form of missions in companies, and thus developed its expertise in the private sector.

2.1.1 Towards Social Negotiations

Concerning the French Policy, the change of focus is quite explicit in the proceedings of the eighth national plan¹⁰ : the reduction of posted work as an objective is abandoned and the improvement of working conditions is no longer a priority. The focus was then set on *"Employee Participation"*. In September 1981, Jean Auroux, Minister of Labour of the first Mitterrand Government, gave his name to a report dealing with professional relations and public-spirit in firms, called *"The Rights of Workers"*¹¹ encouraging *"a new uprise of true public-spirit in firms"* through the development of employee-direct expression.

The 1982 Laws tried to enforce the application of those principles. The law of January 6th 1982, gave employees the right to refuse what they acknowledged as dangerous working conditions : *"grave and imminent danger"* became a valid motive to be taken-off a job. The August 4th 1982 law gave employees the right to participate in talks over working conditions through representatives. Two later laws come in October and November 1982 to lay-out collective negotiations and the settlement of social conflicts. Finally, on December 23rd 1982, yet another law orders the merger of the Hygiene and Security Commissions with the commissions for the Improvement of Working Conditions which had been founded by the December 1973 law.

⁹Françoise Piotet, Responsible for missions at the ANACT, in a report written following the demand of the European Foundation for the Improvement of Working Conditions, April 1979.
Françoise Piotet, "Expériences de production et amélioration des conditions de travail", *Lettre d'information de l'ANACT*, op.cit, mai 1979.

¹⁰A. Dupont-Jubien (1980), *Les conditions d'exercice des emplois*, Rapport pour le VIIIème plan.

¹¹"Rapport sur le droit des travailleurs (1981), *Liaisons sociales*, n.114-81, october.

This strengthened the CHS -Comité d'Hygiène et de Sécurité- by broadening its mission in the regulation and control of working conditions : in companies of more than 50 employees, the CHS-CT -Comités d'Hygiène et de Sécurité et des Conditions de Travail-, a board composed of personnel-representatives and the general Manager, must see to it that legal standards regarding security and working conditions are observed. The board must also be kept informed of any important decision concerning the working environment.

2.1.2 The development of expertise

By this set of laws, the ANACT was encouraged to pursue its mission for the promotion of working conditions : the circular stated that *"the ANACT should be informed of model realizations. Indeed, the Agency is to play a limited role, but nonetheless the ANACT should take part in the development of Employee Participation, in partnership with the concerned regional directors, so as to become a repository for technical information and a support for those wanting to apply the new laws"*. The "Services Extérieurs du Travail" have the lead role, it advises, controls and sanctions refused or blocked negotiations according to the law. The agency's mission is the result of its long-going involvement in the field, although it has not been given the administrative rank of a public body. At its beginnings, the agency strictly followed the lines of the Auroux laws : in May 1983, the ANACT published a *"Guide for the enforcement and follow-up of employee claims"*, and at the same time a *"Guide for the training of working conditions negotiation management"*. In parallel the ANACT also published a report for the Ministry¹² in which the agency emphasized that the impact of the laws was running out of steam due to the lack of realistic social negotiations.

Following the Auroux laws, the ANACT found a legitimacy in its go-between mission through its counseling operations in companies. Under the impetus of Pierre-Louis Rémy, the newly appointed director, the ANACT had the ambition of *"easing social negotiations"* by developing its support to companies. This support took the form of technical expertise and methodology, mostly aimed at small businesses, in joint venture with the FACT in the case of preexisting missions and new missions (job forecast, training, short missions). The credits for those types of actions nearly doubled between 1984 and 1987, even though the ANACT's whole budget didn't follow that trend.

However, it is more towards the end of the 1980's that the ANACT was recognized as a driving force for working condition policies. In 1989, the Minister of Labour - Jean-Pierre Soisson - drew inspiration from the results of the Agency on the issue of *"social negotiation"* and made use of it for the setting-up of an incentive scheme on *"negotiated modernization"*. The plan of action was composed of three important interprofessional agreements, one of which especially focusing on working conditions : signed on October 23rd 1989, it makes interprofessional branch sommets compulsory in order to produce a regular and detailed survey on security and working conditions, the ordering of priorities, giving short-term objectives and conditions for a

¹²Published by the ANACT in July 1985, written by Michèle Gandon, Senior executive of the ANACT

Year	Budget for pilot actions, missions and methodology	Percentage of the ANACT's budget
1984	4.3 MF	22%
1985	6.3 MF	30%
1986	7.3 MF	25%
1987	7.05 MF	24.1%

FIG. 2 – Budget for expertise. Sources : Aimée Moutet, "L'ANACT et l'entreprise", in Histoire de l'ANACT, 20 ans pour l'amélioration des conditions de travail, op.cit.

prevention policy adapted to small and medium companies. These objectives will have to favor *"negotiation, the concertation of employees and of personal-representatives, an organisation of work reducing difficult tasks"*¹³. The backing philosophy was directly inspired by the Agency's achievements : *"Rethink the organisation of work when technology changes are both an economic and a social necessity"*¹⁴. The other interprofessional agreements respectively deal with technology changes, professional equity, and working time management.

From an observatory, the Agency progressively turned into an policy-inspiring force. The ANACT took part, as an institution, in the enforcement of the scheme and was for the occasion granted better Public funding (see figure 7). The Minister sought to widen the ANACT's field of action to the improvement of employment management methods so as to encourage innovative measures. The high-stakes led the Minister to more than double the amount of subsidies for the "Fonds pour l'amélioration des des conditions de travail" - its total budget rose from 12 to 30 million Francs -, and to increase the ANACT's budget by 50% (from 27 to 40 million Francs). The ANACT augmented its personal by 19 employees.

2.2 90s : Organisation and working paces

In the early 1990's, the question of working hours was put forward, thus setting the ANACT's priority throughout the decade. This field of operation was defined by the Government, so as to lay-out the path for the 1996 Robien Law and the enforcement of the 35 hour-week in 2000. The development of this issue also induced greater demand for the ANACT, especially coming from small businesses - addressing the newly created regional antennas - for short evaluations on the reduction of working hours.

2.2.1 The reduction of Working hours : little chronology

Let us remind that the reduction of working hours was initiated by the Robien Laws in voluntary companies. On June 11th1996 the Robien Law¹⁵ *"favoring employment through the reduction of working hours and time management"* incites companies to reduce and adapt

¹³Jean-Pierre Soissons, Speech of September 27th 1988

¹⁴Jean-Pierre Soissons, Speech of September 27th 1988

¹⁵Law 96-502 of June 11th1996 (loi de Robien)

working hours in exchange for financial aids. This law has since been abrogated except for agreements concluded before June 13th1998. In effect, the two Aubry laws changed the voluntary aspect of the scheme to compulsory. The first orientation law "*related to the negotiated Reduction of working hours*" (RTT)¹⁶ incited companies to reduce working time to 35 hours a week against financial support. The second Aubry law of January 19th2000 confirms the 35 hour week and lays-out the modalities of application. It also marks the beginning of a two-year transition period regarding overtime (sets the maximum allowed and pay increases)¹⁷.

The law on the 35 hour week was softened for private companies at the beginning of 2003. In January 2003, the Fillon Law "*related to wages, working time and employment*" raised the overtime limit from 130 to 180 hours yearly, it also introduced a modulation concerning the remuneration of overtime hours for companies according to their sizes and sector of activity. It also encourages professional branches to start negotiation early on, and not to wait for legal dispositions and decrees. On its side, the Raffarin Government rose the yearly maximum allowed overtime from 180 to 220 hours taking effect on January 1st2005.

2.2.2 An increasing demand from companies

When in 1993, the five-year law on employment was voted, the Ministry of Labour ordered the opening of a new service to businesses, managed by the ANACT : small companies were entitled to a free short assessment on time management and work scheduling. The demand was high, especially in 1996 with the Robien law. There were 22 assessment missions during the first semester of 1995, 63 during the first semester of 1996, and 175 during the first semester of 1997. Those missions took the form of a technical aid by defining the scope of the law's enforcement and by assessing the needs for time management in companies. These assessments accounted for two-thirds of the missions carried-out by the ANACT between 1998 and 1999, this figure was brought back to 13% in 2003.

Year	1995	1996	97-98	1999	2000	2001	2002
Percentage	11%	24%	65%	65%	45%	42%	13%

FIG. 3 – Proportion of missions on time management and work scheduling completed by the ANACT Network.

Sources : Figures worked-out by the author from the "Bilans annuels sur les Conditions de Travail", La Documentation Francaise, 1995 2003.

In the wake of those missions, the Agency raised the question of the links between time management and working conditions, stressing the existence of a "*diffuse risk*" to do with the evolution time management and intensified working paces : "*if difficult working conditions are not yet properly taken into account in the reorganization of time management, different types of missions contribute to the up-rising of the issue. More than 200 assessments on time*

¹⁶ June 13th1998 law 98-461 (loi Aubry I)

¹⁷ Law 2000-37 of January 19th2000 (loi Aubry II).

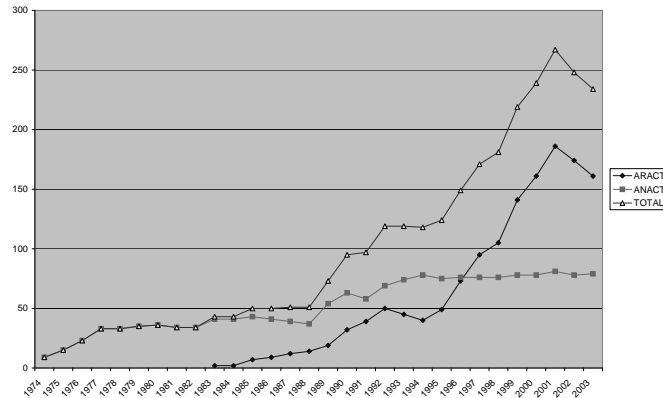


FIG. 4 – Employee Numbers of the ANACT ARACT Network

management were lead by the ANACT in 1996. Far from the initial demands on employment and flexibility, it comes out that in the majority of cases, working conditions are central to the reduction of working hours and time management. The ANACT has developed a joint program with the FSE on the links between working conditions and the organisation of work"¹⁸. Michel Gollac and Serge Volkoff confirm this forecast in 2000, highlighting that the social debate prior to the 35 hour-week was not so much focused on the compensation of wages, but on concrete aspects of working conditions like the number of effective working hours, breaks, shifts and sometimes even on the work itself or on the appointment of representatives¹⁹.

The ANACT's positioning in the public debate on employment and working conditions goes to show how it has become a major partner for government in the enforcement of social laws. However, its role is limited to a technical aid to companies, and its diffusion action is not yet developed. Less autonomous - but with altogether increased powers -, the ANACT is now more legitimate than ever before, thanks to its closeness to local network of business.

2.2.3 Regional focus and missions for small businesses

Started in the 1980s, the regionalisation process was intensified in the 1990s : the first "ARACT" -Regional Association for the Improvement of Working Conditions- was inaugurated in 1983, and twenty years later, 23 ARACT set-up the network. In 1990, the ANACT itself was relocated in Lyon. The number of employees in the ARACTs outgrew that of the ANACT's in 1997, it reached 160 in 2003 whereas the ANACT had settled at around 80 employees. The ARACTs are private law associations and are jointly managed by employee and employer local

¹⁸Ministère du Travail (1998), *Conditions de travail. Bilan 1997*, Paris, La Documentation Française.

¹⁹Michel Gollac, Serge Volkoff (2000), *Les conditions de travail, op.cit*

	1993	1994	1995	1996	96-97	97-98
Short Assessments	384	356	340	323	356	586
Other short missions	96	105	139	182	179	256
Consulting	235	206	215	191	250	213
Long missions	12	22	31	16	22	32
Reduction of Working Hours assessments					150	172
Total	727	689	725	712	957	1258

FIG. 5 – Types of missions carried-out by the ANACT during the 90s
Sources : Figures worked-out by the author from the "Bilans annuels sur les Conditions de Travail, La Documentation Française", 1995 - 2003.

Size\Year	1994	1995	1996	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	2002
<10	8%	7%	8%	12%	12%	18%	34%	14%
10<x<50	31%	30%	29%	37%	45%	48%	38%	30%
50<x<200	35%	30%	31%	31%	29%	23%	15%	27%
200<x<500	16%	20%	18%	12%	10%	7%	7%	10%
>500	10%	13%	14%	8%	4%	4%	6%	16%

FIG. 6 – ANACT missions according to business sizes.

representatives, they are funded by the ANACT, Regional Councils and other regional public institutions. What was at stake was getting closer to the sites and to small businesses through the regionalisation process.

This change came along with a great number of mission demands from businesses in the 1990's : 727 in 1993, which almost doubled in five years to 1278 in 1998. Those missions essentially took the form of short assessments - they were free of charge-. Long missions remained quite rare. At the same time, the ANACT's activity turned to small and very small businesses (less than 10 employees) which accounted for a third of its missions in 2000. Put together, the ANACT progressively changed its national scope to a regional focus and modified its target from big to small and very small businesses (figure 6). It is interesting to note that regional attendance, not only improved response, but also helped undertake follow-up and evaluation missions and establish long-term local partnership.

2.3 2000s : risk assessment in companies

In its present form, the ANACT and its 25 ARACTs carry out around 1100 missions for businesses and organize roughly 110 meetings per year - colloquiums, debates and presentations of business cases- with a total budget of around 26 millions euros²⁰. The network is composed of 270 people, out of which 170 are expert consultants in various types of management. Working hours or time scheduling management are no longer the major issues : the main activity has moved on to the management of Ages and the assessment of risk in companies.

²⁰Figures given by the ARACT Internet site : www.anact.fr

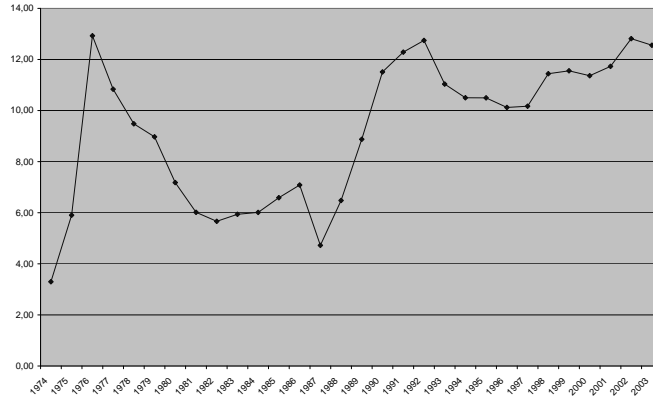


FIG. 7 – Government Funding of the ANACT (corrected for inflation)
 Sources : Worked out by the author from the revues "Les Conditions de travail", La Documentation Française, 1993-2003, et de A. Moutet, M. Muller, R. Chilin, Histoire de l'ANACT, op.cit., 1973-1992.

2.3.1 Stabilised State Funding

It has already been said that the ANACT is not given important financial means compared to other public institutions : during its existence, Government funding has been maintained between 5 million FF in 1975 and 12 million euros in 2003. The figure 7 retraces the evolution of its funding in euros (corrected for inflation (2004)). There are two periods of significant budget increases. Firstly from the late 1980's to the early 90's -which corresponds as it has already been mentioned to the appointment of Jean-Pierre Soisson and the enforcement of his "Negotiated Modernisation" program-, secondly in the late 1990's -which corresponds to the "working hours" issue-. However, it seems that if we correct the budgets for inflation, globally there is no significant positive trend.

Let us also point out that in 1994, the Government committed itself in maintaining the funding (in constant euros), at which date the ANACT had to sign, in return, a "progress agreement", renewable every four years, guaranteeing that its future orientations would be defined jointly with the Government. The last agreement to date is to run until 2008. The Government funding still represents 67% of the 2004 total budget. However this ratio is diminishing, and the network could possibly be entirely funded in the future by the private sector, with its many sources of income (publications, training and long consulting missions).

2.3.2 Multiple business centered missions

For the most part, the missions of the ANACT are based on the promotion of innovative measures for the improvement of working conditions. The operating mode consists in the carrying-out of consulting missions on site. Those methods have in common to assess the situation by taking into account, both the employers' and the employees' points of view, in order to propose possible improvements of working conditions. The ANACT has multidisciplinary teams composed of technicians, sociologists and specialists in ergonomics taking part in missions, on the request of companies, associations or public administrations, operating in three ways : short missions, long missions in transition management and collective territorial missions for specific professional branches. Short missions are aimed at small and very small businesses, they last about 5 days and are free of charge. Long missions are charged, they lay-out new technical processes and transition management methods - specifications are written - and follow-ups are organized in order to evaluate the long-term impact of the projects.

These missions are almost just inciting, but they may sometimes open the way to subsidies if the project is found to be innovative in the fields of health or in the prevention of accidents at work. The subsidies can take into consideration the social issues of the company, and therefore take the shape of a training course put together by the ANACT - the cost of the training course is paid for by either the Ministry of Labour, or by the FACT - if the operation is renewable in the area of working conditions, or even by the Caisse Régionale d'Assurance Maladie if the training scheme is a breakthrough in the prevention of accidents at work. The FACT subsidizes around a hundred projects a year. In 1993, the total amount of subsidies reached 21 Millions FF. Projects should come up with concrete solutions to reduce physical strain and stress, or to improve the organization of work. In parallel, the ANACT develops a broad offer of training schemes and publications. Methodological training is done on the company's premises. For example, in 2004 the themes of these training schemes focus on 4 topics : intervention methodology, health, work load, age management. The ANACT also organizes talks, and publishes twice a month a revue named "Travail et Changement" as well as numerous reports and guides²¹.

2.3.3 Management of Ages and Risk Prevention

In recent years, the ANACT has observed a decrease in time management issues and a parallel up-rise of ages and skills management issues.

The *a priori* assessment of risks and the writing of the "Single Document" are emerging themes for the ANACT's activity. Health Management and the prevention of accidents at work have become a up-most priority, found in former guidelines. The Agency has found that there is a stagnation in the reduction of on-the-job injuries, and that work related illnesses have shot-up, noticeably cancer. Above all there is a strong social demand for health issues at work which emerged with the introduction of the "Single Document". The November 5th2001 decree forces employers - whatever the size and the sector of activity of the company - to write and to update

²¹The last guides are named : "Managing e-projects", and "Managing work load, evaluation and negotiation".

A case example. Source : Internet Site www.anact.fr

Following meetings with the CHCST (Comité d'Hygiène, de Sécurité et des Conditions de Travail), and talks with the company's public health Doctor, a call centre of 487 employees wishes to cut down on personnel and whilst also avoiding stress at work. A short ANACT mission is requested by the various representatives. The ANACT assesses present working conditions : processing time of calls, client requests, coordination with supervisors. Four directions for the improvement of working conditions are identified : Physical working conditions (seats, the synchronisation of timeclocks, digital displays), the creation of a corporate identity (a sense of belonging), external communication in order to improve the image of the call centre, and lastly the redefinition of the supervisors' roles too often contradictory, and more control-prone than helpful. The ANACT proposed the creation of two workshops, one on "Communication and Information", the other on the "Ergonomics of the work stations". Every type of personnel is represented in each workgroup. The people who are not included in the workshops are kept informed.

at least every year a "single document" with an assessment of risks regarding security and the health of employees. The document is based on an "a priori" analysis of risks and on the crossing of medical and technical data. The rules concern ventilation, noise, lighting, the cleaning-up, the risk related to machines, the use of dangerous products, the respect of non-smokers. The Single document gives an inventory of the risks encountered in each working unit of the company. No plan and no heading is imposed, however, the document must be sufficiently clear and coherent so as to define possible improvements for the company. When a substantial change takes place (change of machine, newly identified risks, or after an accident at work) the document must be updated. The "Single Document" initiative is supported by the ESF (European Social Fund). The ANACT wishes that small and very small businesses see "this form of prevention as a time of togetherness for employees²²". In 2002, this topic accounted for 38% of ANACT-missions, whereas only 14% in 2000²³.

Improving the management of ages in France has become another ANACT's priority, the topic was put forward by the third "progress agreement" which set the orientation of the ANACT Network for the 2004-2008 period²⁴. The plan of action is based on the prevention of Seniors' exclusion, with the development of part time work for employees close to retirement, and organize skill-transfers between Senior and younger employees. The Agency has acknowledged that the unemployment rate of Seniors is the worst in the EU, and the age criteria has become a discrimination factor for Seniors. French companies massively employ people in the 25 to 44 age group. The issue of elder employees was already raised by the ANACT in a report on working conditions in 80s²⁵. The authors pointed out that it was generally felt in companies that speed, creativity, learning ability and adaptability to technical changes decreased with age. It was

²²Site Internet : www.anact.fr

²³Ministère des Affaires Sociales, du Travail et de la Solidarité (2001), *Conditions de travail. Bilan 2000*, Paris, La Documentation Française.

²⁴ANACT, Ministère des Affaires Sociales, du Travail et de la Solidarité (2004), *Troisième contrat de progrès du réseau ANACT 2004-2008*, www.anact.fr

²⁵Rémy Pierre Louis, Jean-Paul Dumond, René Elsk, Martine Leygues, Jérôme Lion, *Les conditions de travail dans les années 80 : constats réflexions, expériences*. Editions de l'anact, juin 1990. Montrouge.

also established that aged workers were more often assigned to unskilled tasks and were less enrolled in training. Today the agency wishes to promote a different management of ages, and to favor the staying in position of seniors. The Agency prescribes the reversal of representations by reasserting the Seniors' experience as an asset to companies.

3 Public Action through Incentive Policies : a contrasted outcome

In 1988, Françoise Piotet wrote an article entitled "*The Improvement of Working Conditions Policy in France : Halfway Between Failure and Institutionnalisation*"²⁶. This title is also well applicable to the ANACT itself : the Agency has actually found some private and institutional legitimacy, however the throughput of its incentive policy is not to scale, especially as the Agency comes in as an auxiliary to a procedural law based policy which has yet to prove its efficiency on working conditions in France.

3.1 An innovative institutionnalisation between the public and private sectors

3.1.1 A double legitimacy

According to Martine Muller, the ANACT's main success is to have managed to spread out its action towards private businesses, in a French environment characterized by a strong separation between the public and the private sector. She stresses how ground-breaking the incentive principle was, considering the previous public policies on working conditions. For nearly a century, the improvement of working conditions were "forced" on by the means of decrees and laws mostly centered on modernizing equipment, hopefully inducing the reduction of injuries, health improvement, limiting working hours on machines. . . Given this protective frameset, an incentive policy based on site missions would have been difficult to lead and bound to failure, if employers had felt it was a intrusion from a public institution with too many prerogatives²⁷. Therefore, without mentioning the legitimacy earned from social representatives, the growing numbers of requested missions is in itself a success²⁸ for the ANACT.

One of the present strengths of the ANACT is the regional focus process and its closeness to small businesses. The various assessments of the ANACT's activities led for the preparation of the three "progress agreements²⁹" insist on the agency's legitimacy in regions due to its continuous regionalisation process. The first one confirmed the regionalisation process for the whole of the territory through the creation of the ARACT Network; the second positively

²⁶Piotet F., (1988), "L'amélioration des conditions de travail : entre échec et institutionnalisation", *Revue française de sociologie*, XXIX, p. 19-33.

²⁷Gollac M., Volkoff S. (2000), *Les conditions de travail*, Editions La Découverte, Paris.

²⁸Aimée Moutet (1994), "L'Anact et l'entreprise", in René Chilin, Aimée Moutet, Martine Muller, *Histoire de l'ANACT. 20 ans pour l'amélioration des conditions de travail*, Paris, Syros, p.127-190.

²⁹Between the Ministry of Labour and the ANACT signed in 1994, 1998, 2004.

assessed the network, but asked for better synergy between the ANACT and the ARACTs; and the third acknowledged the success of the regionalisation process and recommended that it be pursued. Let us recall that the two predecessors of the ANACT, the COST and the CNP had both failed due to their lack of legitimacy in the eyes of social representatives - in the first case at an external level and in the latter case at an internal level -. It was also the regional network which earned legitimacy to the ANACT in the eyes of the Government. Since 1990, the ANACT is increasingly seen by the Government as a support for the implementation of measures on working conditions - negotiated modernisation and the reduction of working hours.

3.1.2 Still limited incitive actions

However innovative it be among French public policies on working conditions, the ANACT's incitive policy remains very limited. There is no proper quantitative evaluation of the ANACT's results. More generally, as Michel Gollac has put it, the results of incitive actions are most difficult to quantify³⁰.

Around a thousand missions are carried out yearly by the ANACT. But considering the 1.45 million businesses listed in 2003 (counting one or more wage-earning persons), the ANACT's impact strikes as no more than a drop in the ocean. Out of a thousand or so missions, no more than a 100 eventually led to subsidies from the FACT and the average amount was 21 000 FF (3000 Euros) in 1995.

The incitive action is further limited by the rare follow-up of innovative pilot-missions - which were part of the ANACT's original assignments -. The ANACT intends to improve its notoriety and Communication has become one of the major priorities of development for the ANACT but still remains insufficient according to some annual reports and "progress agreements". Between Juin 2001 and Juin 2002, in preparation for the third "Progress Agreement", a survey on the notoriety of the ANACT was ordered by the "Inspection Générale des Affaires Sociales". The survey showed that among the employers and social representatives who knew the Agency, it had a positive image and was found to be "competent and legitimate on topics related to working conditions" and in touch with social demands³¹. Only 1% spontaneously knew - and 25% had heard of - the ANACT.

3.2 The relative failure of procedural and substantial law

Let us finally note that an incitive policy on working conditions in France takes place in a context of relative failure of procedural law - meant to set the bases for negotiation - and of substantial law - meant to set legal obligations -.

³⁰Gollac M., Volkoff S. (2000), *Les conditions de travail*, *op. cit.*

³¹ANACT, Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité, Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances (2004), "Evaluation du second contrat de progrès du réseau ANACT", in *Troisième contrat de progrès du réseau ANACT*, Annexe I, p.12. disponible sur le site Internet www.anact.fr.

3.2.1 Security and health : no significant impact

The French Surveys on working conditions are carried out by the DARES - Direction de l'animation, de la recherche, des études et des statistiques du Ministère du travail - the statistics department of the Ministry of Labour. The first National survey on working conditions took place in 1978, it was renewed in 1984, 1991 and 1998. Each survey was conducted on a sample of around 20000 people, it is based on the interrogation of employees and their perception of their own working conditions - this is why it is recommended to stay cautious with the data, the employers objectivation is itself variable and socially constructed³². At first aimed at workers and physical work, these surveys were later enriched and redirected towards the organisation of work and its psychological aspect.

These surveys go to show that public action has no positive measurable impact on working conditions³³ : since the end of the 1980's even a deterioration³⁴ is witnessed. The figures of on-the-job injuries stopped improving in 1988. Work related illnesses have increased, and workers complain against increasing exposure to risk and harder physical work³⁵. In parallel with the development of workers' autonomy, working paces and stress levels have increased, following a general European trend³⁶. The sociologist Michel Gollac wonders why, with such directive laws, working conditions remain so low in the fields of health and security.

Concerning the prevention of risks at work, many assessments show that there is a gap between the texts and their actual enforcements. The CHS-CTs are a good example of that. Founded by the fourth Auroux law in 1982, they were supposed to take the lead for the prevention of accidents at work. However, a report from the DARES in 2002 asks "*Where are the CHS-CT ?*"³⁷. This same report points out that 27% of theoretically concerned companies (more than 50 employees) do not comply with the setting-up of the institution. Out of the 22,000 existing CHS-CT, only about 14,000 remain active. Furthermore, in the case of companies with less than 50 employees, the law does not oblige to set-up a CHS-CT except in the case of high risk-levels. This last rule is hardly ever respected. Gérard Filoche remarks that this is precisely where the highest risk levels lie³⁸. Finally, he considers that less than one employee in two can benefit from the actions of a CHS-CT.

Lastly, it comes that apart from easily quantifiable constraints like the number of working-

³²Cézard M., Dussert F., Gollac M. (1993), "Davantage de salariés ressentent les pénibilités et les risques du travail", in Dussert F., Vinck L., *Conditions, organisation du travail et nouvelles technologies en 1991*, DARES-Masson, Paris, P.89-91.

³³Bué J., Coutrot T., Puech I. (coord.) (2004), *Conditions de travail : les enseignements de vingt ans d'enquêtes*, Toulouse, Octares.

³⁴European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions., *Working Conditions in France*, www.eurofound.eu.int.

³⁵The third Progress Agreement of the ANACT gives a detailed chart (in the Appendix) of recent trends. ANACT, Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité, Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances (2004), *Troisième contrat de progrès du réseau ANACT*, op. cit.

³⁶Merlié P., Paoli P. (2001), *Ten Years of Working Conditions in the European Union*, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

³⁷"Où sont les CHS-CT ?", Premières synthèses, DARES, 2002.

³⁸Filoche G.(2001), "Vingt ans de comité d'hygiène et sécurité et des conditions de travail", *Avis et rapport du conseil économique et social*, Les éditions des Journaux Officiels, novembre-décembre.

hours, concentration rates of toxic matter or say noise levels, in spite of regulations, firms neglect to comply. Serge Volkoff and Michel Gollac believe it is the result of the weakness of the control body, l'"Inspection du Travail", which does not penalize one percent of noticed offenses³⁹ in the field of working conditions (this is absolutely not the case for other offenses), but also of the poor defense of workers themselves, who are either scared or misinformed and thus don't claim their rights⁴⁰.

3.2.2 Working time and intensification

The French debate is evolving towards the links between work intensification - related to the 35-hour week - and working conditions in terms of stress and physical pressure⁴¹. The theoretical analysis of the "RTT" -Réduction du temps de travail- on working conditions are scarce, with exception to that of Philippe Askenazy⁴². The first empirical results on the effects of the Aubry Law converged in showing that there had been a slight degradation in working conditions. At the end of 2000, a survey⁴³ on 1600 employees, was first to give a quantitative table of the employees' appreciations on the impact of the RTT. The outcome was lukewarm : a quarter of the employees declared that there had been a deterioration of their working conditions, another quarter found an improvement, and the last half found no change. Concerning stress, over 30% declared an increase, and only 10% felt an improvement. Those results conclude to a leap in "pressure", 40% of employees noted that they had less time to execute a same task.

Another survey entitled *RTT et modes de vie* is conducted in 2001 on a sample of employee having experienced a reduction of working hours for at least a year following either a "Robien" or an "Aubry I" settlement. Indeed, the feeling of improvement, on the whole (life at work and personal life) is globally positive. But, concerning working conditions, the outcome isn't as good. Here again, barely a quarter say they have experienced an improvement in working conditions, for over a quarter conditions have worsened, and the rest (46%) have noticed no substantial change⁴⁴. This degradation is linked to a two-fold perception : the intensification and flexibility demands. Those effects do not concern the same categories. According to this survey, the principal cause for the degradation of working conditions is due to the intensification of work in 34% of cases, managerial employees and middle management employees are especially affected. The intensification of work and the demand for broader skills for almost half of employees go together with a feeling of worsening working conditions, even though those who are most affected are middle management employees, who are normally more positive in

³⁹Gollac S., Volkoff S., *Les conditions de travail en France, op. cit.*

⁴⁰Souriac-Rothschild M.A. (1997), "Vers l'affirmation d'une obligation de sécurité", *Santé et Travail*, n.21.

⁴¹Bué J., Cezard M., Hamon-Cholet S., Rougerie C., Vinck L. (1999), "De l'intensification du travail", *Santé et travail*, n.27.

⁴²Askenazy P., Bloch-Landon C., Roger M. (2004), "La réduction du temps de travail 1997-2003 : dynamique de construction des lois Aubry et premières évaluations", *Economie et Statistique*, n.376-377, p.153-171.

⁴³Estrade M.A., Méda D. and Orain R. (2001), "Les effets de la réduction du temps de travail sur les modes de vie. Qu'en pensent les salariés un an après?" *Premières synthèses*, Dares, n.21.1.

⁴⁴Cette G., Dromel N., Méda D. (2004), *Les déterminants du jugement des salariés sur la RTT*, Economie et Statistique, n.376-377.

their judgements than other categories. Flexible schedules and unexpected workloads are more often mentioned by women, especially the unskilled ones.

According to these reports, the satisfaction given by the RTT is related to the social category of employees, the predictability of work and control over time-management, the spare time "offered" by the RTT, and to some forms of employee-consultations. The study carried out by Pelisse⁴⁵ on six monographs and on over fifty interviews shows that the perception of the 35 hour week by the employee is closely linked to the "quality" of spare time, and to the level of autonomy concerning time-management issues.

Conclusion

Let us come back to the limited but innovative place held by the Anact in the panorama of European policies : its budget is relatively small in comparison to similar European programs⁴⁶, but its long running incitive policy has for specificity not to be limited to the enforcement of pilot-action in a few companies. It is completed by various technical diagnoses by companies demands, and is based thus on a strong local network for the broadcast of pilot-actions.

Compared to other European systems, the French way of regulating working conditions has induced numerous decrees and laws and is strongly dependent on State control. As jurist A. Lyon-Caen points out, this does not mean that French law gives a strong "qualitative" protection, but only that the law has deeply influenced the environment of work and professional relationships⁴⁷. The ANACT is supposed to carry out a policy that still hasn't demonstrated its efficiency, at least if we look at the French position in the panorama of European indicators : the 2000 survey of the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions shows that hard physical working conditions (difficult physical positioning, heavy loads) are above European means⁴⁸, that working paces tend to depend on the demand and that there is little possibility of adjusting equipment to one's self. Concerning work autonomy and participation, France is about average in Europe.

The deep influence of the laws issued by the various Governments on working conditions tells us a great deal about the history of the ANACT as an institution : alike many tripartite concertation poles, the ANACT's autonomy is restricted by the orientations given to public policies. As a consequence, a major part of its activity is dedicated to helping companies comply with new regulations. Founded in the 1970s, the Agency first focused on anti-Tayloristic work,

⁴⁵Pélisse J. (2002), "A la recherche du temps gagné : les 35 heures entre perceptions, régulations et intégrations professionnelles", *Travail et Emploi*, n.90, p.7-21.

⁴⁶In Germany the effort amounts to about 40 million Euros per year, and yet more in Sweden and Finland. Nadia Steiber (2005), *Work Humanisation Programmes in Germany*, Nuffield College Working Paper.

⁴⁷A. Lyon-Caen (1993), "L'organisation fonctionnelle et institutionnelle de la réglementation des conditions de travail", in "La réglementation des conditions de travail dans les Etats-Membres de la communauté européenne - volume II", *Europe sociale*, Commission des communautés européennes, supplément 5/93, p.99-117.

⁴⁸European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. (2001), *Third European Survey on Working Conditions 2000*, Luxembourg, Office des publications officielles de l'Union Européenne.

when posted-work was dominant and the improvement of physical working conditions was at stake. It is in the 1980s that the Agency developed its expertise in social negotiations and the setting-up of the CHS-CTs in the wake of the Auroux Laws, although stressing their limited role. For the first time the ANACT opened the way to new orientations. Today, State funded for two thirds of its budget, its guidelines are still given by the Government. It must however be said that it is quite an achievement for the ANACT, being a public institution, to be both legitimate for private businesses - generally circumspect with public intervention - and for trade unions - historically more concerned with employment than with working conditions-.

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4 Annexes

4.1 The ANACT's Gross Budgets and Budgets Corrected for Inflation

Year	Correction Index	Gross Series	Corrected for inflation
1974	0,65993	5 MF	3,30 MEuros
1975	0,59046	10 MF	5,90 MEuros
1976	0,53866	24 MF	12,93 MEuros
1977	0,49252	22 MF	10,84 MEuros
1978	0,45158	21 MF	9,48 MEuros
1979	0,40772	22 MF	8,97 MEuros
1980	0,35906	20 MF	7,18 MEuros
1981	0,31661	19 MF	6,02 MEuros
1982	0,28315	20 MF	5,66 MEuros
1983	0,2583	23 MF	5,94 MEuros
1984	0,24049	25 MF	6,01 MEuros
1985	0,22724	29 MF	6,59 MEuros
1986	0,22136	32 MF	7,08 MEuros
1987	0,21461	22 MF	4,72 MEuros
1988	0,20899	31 MF	6,48 MEuros
1989	0,2017	44 MF	8,87 MEuros
1990	0,19513	59 MF	11,51 MEuros
1991	0,18907	65 MF	12,29 MEuros
1992	0,18469	69 MF	12,74 MEuros
1993	0,18093	61 MF	11,04 MEuros
1994	0,17796	59 MF	10,50 MEuros
1995	0,17494	60 MF	10,50 MEuros
1996	0,17156	59 MF	10,12 MEuros
1997	0,16947	60 MF	10,17 MEuros
1998	0,1683	68 MF	11,44 MEuros
1999	0,16747	69 MF	11,56 MEuros
2000	0,16468	69 MF	11,36 MEuros
2001	1,063	11,04 MEuros	11,73 MEuros
2002	1,042	12,3 MEuros	12,82 MEuros
2003	1,021	12,3 MEuros	12,56 MEuros
2004	1	NA	NA

FIG. 8 – Public Aid

Sources : Worked out by the author from the revues "Les Conditions de travail", La Documentation Française, 1993-2003, and from A. Moutet, M. Muller, R. Chilin, Histoire de l'ANACT, op.cit., 1973-1992.

4.2 The Evolution of Working Conditions in France : some Facts

	1984	1991	1998
Declare solving problems by them-selves All Employees (Unqualified Workers)	21%	44%	50% (27%)
Managers only fix the objectives All Employees (Unqualified Workers)	78%	82%	86%

FIG. 9 – Source : DARES, Enquêtes sur les conditions de travail, 1984, 1991, 1998.

	1984	1991	1998
Are directly in touch with clients All Employees	28%	46%	56%
Depend on an automated machine Unqualified Workers	36%	43%	51%
Depend on colleagues All Employees	11%	23%	27%

FIG. 10 – Autonomy concerning Working Paces. Source : DARES, Enquêtes sur les conditions de travail, 1984, 1991, 1998.

Question Nb.	All Workers	1990	1995	2000
Q.25.1	No control over task execution order	-	35%	35%
Q.25.2	No control over working methods	38%	28%	29%
Q.25.3	No control over the work pace	35%	28%	30%
Q.26.2	No control over breaks	-	37%	39%
Q.26.3	No choice on days off	-	41%	43%
Q.26.4	No influence on working hours	-	-	55%
Q.26.6	No access to a telephone	-	-	29%

FIG. 11 – Autonomy concerning Working Conditions. Source : DARES, Enquêtes sur les conditions de travail, 1984, 1991, 1998.

4.3 France compared to EU countries

<i>Pourcentage of workers who declare...</i>	EU	EL	S	UK	D	NL	F
Working in a difficult physical position	45%	68%	45%	39%	43%	28%	54%
Not being able to adjust the position of their seats	54%	65%	31%	39%	49%	35%	62%
Not being properly informed of the risks	10%	12%	8%	12%	8%	8%	12%
Working at least one night shift per month	21%	28%	19%	26%	18%	21%	22%
The pace depends on the demand	67%	61%	79%	78%	56%	69%	73%
Not being able to modify the working method	28%	35%	14%	27%	33%	19%	30%
Not having the possibility of being helped by colleagues	17%	32%	9%	6%	19%	8%	21%
Not taking part in decisions	54%	59%	27%	43%	71%	36%	54%

FIG. 12 – Source : Paoli P. (1996), *Second European Survey on Working Conditions*, European Foundation, Loughlingstown-Dublin.

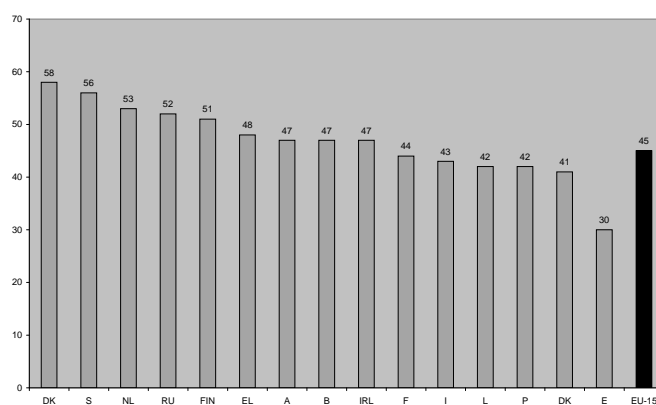


FIG. 13 – Negative Influence of Working Hours on Working Conditions. Source : European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions(2001), *Third European Survey on Working Conditions 2000*

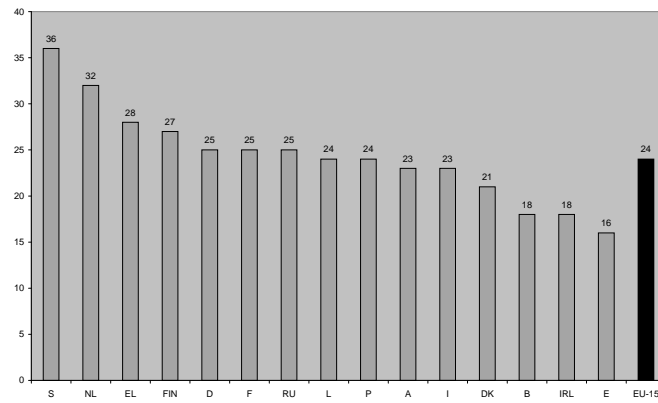


FIG. 14 – Permanent High Working Paces. Source : European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. (2001), *Third European Survey on Working Conditions 2000*