

# **Policies and performances. The case of Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Spain, Hungary and Iceland.**

**Lilja Mósesdóttir (ed.)**

Rósa G. Erlingsdóttir, Chantal Remery, Joop Schippers & Maria Caprile

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### **WELLKNOW group of experts:**

Lilja Mósesdóttir and Rósa G. Erlingsdóttir, Bifrost School of Business, Iceland

Maria Caprile, CIREM, Barcelona, Spain

Joop Schippers and Chantal Remery, Utrecht University, The Netherlands

Karen Sjørup and Kenneth Reinicke, Roskilde University, Denmark

Pertti Koistinen and Seppo Roivas, University of Tampere, Finland

László Neumann and Teréz Laky, Institute of Political Science of the Hungarian

Academy of Sciences, Hungary

Ute Behning and Margit Leuthold, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, Austria

Amparo Serrano, European Trade Union Institute, Brussels

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## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this fourth report of the WELLKNOW project is to identify whether a European approach to employment and gender mainstreaming in the Knowledge Based Society (KBS) has developed as a part of European Employment Strategy (EES). The focus is also on the role of actors in shaping policy measures, particularly at the national level. In addition, our goal is to evaluate the (lack of) progress towards the KBS involving more and better jobs and gender equality in Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Spain, Hungary and Iceland. In other words, our intension is to study the extent to which policy measures and performances in the area of KBS, employment and gender equality are converging or reflecting divergent institutional and social contexts at the national level (path-dependency).

This report serves as a synthesis report of the WELLKNOW project as it puts the analyses of previous workpackages (WP1, WP2 and WP3) into a comparative and theoretical framework. In chapter one, Lilja Mósesdóttir and Rósa G. Erlingsdóttir compare the results of national studies of employment, KBS and gender equality policies produced as a part of workpackage two. The purpose of this comparison is to study, on the one hand, how EU and national governments have sought to regulate labour markets through identification of policy problems and solutions and, on the other hand, how this regulation has strengthened certain actors and weakened others. During the period under consideration, Iceland and Hungary were not obliged to participate in the EES as was the case with Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands and Spain. However, by contrasting developments and conditions across five EU member countries, an accession country (Hungary) and a non-member country with associate status to EU (Iceland), we are able to identify to what extent EU has been able to use the EES to pressure the member states towards common policy aims and solutions.

In chapter two, Lilja Mósesdóttir and Rósa G. Erlingsdóttir discuss the results of their comparative analyses of actors and policy measures in view of *policy paradigm*. Moreover, they highlight the institutional and social forces challenging and/or reinforcing the dominant patterns of gender relations in Europe as we move towards

the KBS. The notion of policy paradigm refers to: (1) gender problems, (2) policy solutions implemented to tackle these gender problems, (3) the ultimate policy goals of these solutions and (4) the appropriate role of government and actors. The goal of the analyses in this chapter is to evaluate whether the integration of the gender mainstreaming strategy into the EES has strengthened EU's regulation of gender relations at the national level and the extent to which EU and the national governments are pursuing the goal of gender equality. In addition, the authors study the path-dependency of EU's policy paradigm or the compatibility of gender objectives of the EES and existing values and institutional arrangements at the national level. The chapter concludes with suggestions about how the gender mainstreaming strategy needs to be improved to ensure that the transition towards the KBS has positive implications for gender equality.

In the final chapter of this report, Chantal Remery, Joop Schippers and Maria Caprile identify to what extent Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Spain, Hungary and Iceland have managed to achieve EU's goal of becoming the most competitive and dynamic knowledge based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion (Lisbon 2000). Statistical performances of the seven countries in different dimensions of KBS, employment and gender equality calculated as a part of work-package three are compared in this chapter and viewed in light of country-specific institutional and social conditions. Moreover, (limited) achievements in the different dimensions are discussed within a broader theoretical framework of public goods and transitional labour markets. The purpose of this analysis is to gain insights into how the gender perspective can be integrated into KBS in order to ensure progress towards gender equality.

## **I. COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF POLICIES**

*Lilja Mósesdóttir and Rósa G. Erlingsdóttir*

In this chapter, we will study employment, gender equality and KBS policies in Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Spain, Hungary and Iceland. The aim of our analyses is to contrast developments across the national levels during 1997-2003 in order to highlight divergences and similarities in the regulation of labour markets in Europe. Our focus will be on the interaction of the European Employment Strategy (EES) with national policies, especially in the five EU member countries. We will start by discussing the main actors shaping employment, gender equality and KBS policies and then move on to the main policy approaches applied in the seven countries. In our comparative study of policy approaches, we will identify aims and problems highlighted by these policies, policy solutions implemented to solve the problems, and then assess the effectiveness of these policies. The analyses are based on our summary of the main results of the previous work packages of the WELLKNOW project. Moreover, we have collected additional information from the national experts engaged in the WELLKNOW project in order to enhance the comparability of information on actors and policy approaches across the seven countries.

### ***1.0 Main actors shaping employment, gender equality and KBS policies***

In this section, we will study actors shaping policies on employment, Knowledge Based Society (KBS) and gender equality in Austria, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Hungary, the Netherlands and Spain. Iceland is not a EU member country but belongs to the European Economic Area together with countries such as Norway and Lichtenstein while Hungary joined the EU this year. During the period under consideration (1997-2003), Iceland and Hungary were not obliged to participate in the EES as was the case with Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands and Spain.

Hence, we have compared actors involved in national policymaking in Iceland and Hungary with actors engaged in the EES in the five EU member countries. According to the Amsterdam Treaty, the role of the EES is to facilitate convergence of employment objectives through Open Method of Co-ordination (OMC). The OMC involves establishing common guidelines for policy (Employment Guidelines or EGs), regular reporting by the member states on implementation (National Action Plans or NAPs), peer group review and assessment, leading to specific recommendations and, finally, to the refining of the common guidelines. The EU recognises that the success of the EES largely depends on the strong involvement of all relevant actors such as parliamentary bodies, social partners and non-governmental bodies (NGOs) (European Commission 2003/2004). In the following, we will use information provided by national experts participating in the WELLKNOW to identify the main actors shaping employment, gender equality and KBS policies in the seven partner countries. Table 1 at the end of this section gives a summary of the main actors in each of the seven countries. In addition, we will examine how, if at all, the different actors such as politicians, bureaucrats, experts, social partners, NGOs and civil society have affected the policy processes of employment, gender mainstreaming and KBS.

## **1.1 Employment**

In all the seven countries, greatest effort has been put into the employment policies. The EU has used the EES to achieve, on the one hand, a convergence in objectives of employment policies at the member state level and, on the other hand, to facilitate a policy learning process across the union (Mósesdóttir and Thorbergsdóttir 2004). The national authorities in the member states are given the responsibility of reporting annually about the implementation of the EGs. Hence, the owners of the NAPs and the employment policies are the national authorities. The main responsible actors in the Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands and Spain for writing the NAPs are usually the same as those working on the national employment policy in each country. These are, for example, the ministries of labour or the ministries of social and economic affairs in cooperation with other ministries (e.g. ministries of finance) and EU officials through the OMC. In most of these countries, there is either a ministerial

directorate or a NAPs project team consisting of governmental officials and experts on employment policies that shapes the NAP processes and makes policy recommendations to the government. The NAPs play a secondary role in public discussions of national employment policy and are often neither discussed in political organs (government/parliament) nor in media.

During the period 1997-2003, Hungary went through an accession process to become a member of the EU at the same time as successive changes of government took place. During the accession negotiations, the objectives of the EES influenced the discussions between the Hungarian authorities and the representatives of the Commission leading to an implementation of a national employment policy for the whole country (JAP) from 2001 onwards. The national employment policy contained a summary of the main tasks of the employment promotion and laid the ground for the country's accession to the EU. The accession process resembles to a certain extent the OMC applied in the European Employment Strategy. The national development plan (NFT) is another key policy document as its main role is to enable the government technically to utilise the EU Structural and Cohesion fund. As a result of repeated changes in government during the political transition period, the central administration has been reorganised several times and ministries have been dissolved as well as new founded. This situation has resulted in a lack of cooperation between the special administration staff in different ministries and other governmental institutions. The National development plan made some attempt to counteract this development or to force cooperation between different ministries as the main source of their infrastructure development. The employment policy is a government responsibility in Hungary that is led and coordinated through the Ministry of employment and labour (see Laky and Neumann 2003).

Iceland does not participate in the European Employment Strategy (EES) but adopts EU labour market directives as a part of the European Economic Agreement (1994) either as laws or in collective agreements. The Confederation of Icelandic labour (ASÍ) and the Directorate of labour have closely followed the development of the EES and they have encouraged the Ministry of affairs to adopt the methodology (OMC) to ensure greater coordination of the diffuse initiatives in the area of employment, lifelong learning and regional policy. The Directorate of labour is the main

responsible actor for the implementation of employment policies and it cooperates closely with the social partners both in the private and public sector.

Our comparative analyses of the information presented in table 1 show that the involvement of the social partners in the NAP processes differs from one country to another depending on the tradition of each country or whether a formal system of tripartite consultations existed prior to the introduction of the EES. In most of the countries, the government either consults with the social partners through meetings organised by public officials or the social partners contribute by making comments on the NAP drafts after joint discussions. The involvement of the social actors in the NAPs is, however, dependent on the “goodwill” of the government as the responsibility for and the ownership of the processes lies with the national authorities. In countries like Denmark, Austria and Finland, the social partners’ contributions are incorporated directly into the drafts. However, the social partners claim that the NAPs include only governmental employment programmes and policies which are decided elsewhere in the administration. Government officials and key representatives of the social partners in Hungary traditionally discuss main employment policies like the JAP in a tripartite national reconciliation council. The council was restructured in 1998 and 2002 or whenever a new government came into power. In Iceland, the government regulates the labour market in close cooperation with the social partners. This cooperation depends, however, on the political situation at hand. In all the seven partner countries, women are underrepresented in policy-making bodies shaping employment policies. Employment policies are the responsibility of government officials who collaborate with representatives from the social partners who are in most cases men.

## **1.2 Gender equality**

In all the seven countries, specific measures to improve the position of women and to implement gender mainstreaming are a governmental responsibility. Aims of equality legislations are followed up by national action plans and their implementation involves different ministries and the public administration units. Frequent changes in governments (Hungary) and a political change from “social democratic” government

to “conservative” government (Austria, Denmark and the Netherlands) have influenced the selection of actors involved in gender mainstreaming. It appears from our analyses that political changes have greater influence on what actors are involved in the policy making processes as concerns gender equality than is the case with employment policies around which a stable system of consultation has long been established. A lack of cooperation between social partners, bureaucrats, experts on gender equality and political actors hamper the implementation of gender mainstreaming which requires the involvement of all actors at each stage of the policy-making processes (see discussion in Verloo 2001 on the velvet triangle<sup>1</sup>). In recent years, there has, however, been increased cooperation in countries like Austria, Finland, Denmark and the Netherlands between responsible ministries and the social partners as concerns equal pay programmes and equal pay analyses which often seek to establish a common analytical reference framework for equal pay discussions. In addition, the regional employment offices in Austria and Denmark are called the flagship of gender mainstreaming policies and gender equality work in general. A new General secretary for equality has been created in Spain that has clearly defined responsibilities and position within the public administration. In the Netherlands, there is a tradition for ad hoc advisory committees of experts on gender mainstreaming from different universities, the labour market and the industry. These committees work on a temporary basis. In other partner countries, different ministers or the government nominate committees on gender equality and gender mainstreaming and work also on an ad hoc temporary basis assigned to collect statistical data and make recommendations for policy changes or special action in the field of gender equality. The instability in who is selected as an actor shaping gender policies and the narrowly defined tasks given to temporary committees on gender issues, constrains the opportunities of actors to exhibit long-lasting influence on policy-making in various policy areas affecting gender (in)equality.

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<sup>1</sup> Verloo, Mieke (2001) "Another Velvet Revolution? Gender mainstreaming and the politics of implementation", Vienna: IWM Working Paper No. 5/2001  
[<http://www.iwm.at/p-iwmwp.htm#Verloo>]

### **1.3 Knowledge based society, KBS**

Key actors shaping the KBS policies are governmental officials and experts making policy recommendations or given the responsibility of carrying out different projects and action programmes. KBS is a new comprehensive policy area containing in some cases old policy instruments such as educational and technical programme. It is even younger than the gender mainstreaming strategy but both are still at the experimental stage and characterised by an intensive learning process (see discussion in Hall 1993). Policy learning involves adjusting methods and techniques in response to past experience and new information about best practices in other member countries. At the national level, specific measures and different projects or programmes are tried out to achieve EU's goals as concerns the KBS and gender equality. The outcomes or the lack of results at both the national and EU level are then an important source of information about how to rethink or reshape these efforts. The fact that policies to promote KBS and gender equality are still at the experimental stages means that certain actors have not yet been able to claim ownership over them. Hence, various actors are involved in policy-making such as ministerial appointed committees, governmental organs with officials, politicians and experts on ICTs from various universities that have clearly defined tasks and permission to implement specific measures and action programmes. These committees have a clear gender bias whereby women are underrepresented. In Spain and in the Netherlands, special action projects have been carried out nationwide, with large budget (ad-hoc committees) and headed by top politicians or business-managers which contrasts sharply with the low budget and low profile action programmes in the area of gender equality. EU structural funds play an important role in financing the work of regional employment offices that in turn initiate special projects aimed at increasing gender equality in the labour market (e.g. in Denmark, Austria and Hungary).

### **1.4 NGOs, media and civil society**

The European employment guidelines (EGs) implemented during the period 1997-2002 included efforts to foster the involvement of stakeholders in the EES, especially of the social partners and regional authorities in the EES. The European Commission

(2003:18) complained, however, that the NAPs were too often perceived as “owned” by ministerial departments such that the parliament and the civil society were absent in the processes. The EU recognises that the success of the EES largely depends on the strong involvement of parliamentary bodies, social partners and other relevant actors (European Commission 2003/2004). In most member states, women are, however, poorly represented in elected bodies and among the social partners. It appears from table 1 that social groups and NGOs are almost invisible as actors shaping employment, gender mainstreaming and KBS, with only a few exceptions. This can be explained by the administrative nature of the NAP processes and the secondary status of the NAPs in the countries’ employment policies. As a result of the low interest in media and civil society, there is a limited external pressure shaping the content and the progress of the NAPs. Debates about national employment policies mainly take place between the political actors and the social partners. NGOs are not required to contribute directly to the processes but in some of the countries they are able to influence the final version of documents through external pressure. In Finland, the NAPs are discussed within the national association of unemployed people, a central organisation of more than 200 local organisations. In Denmark, the national council of NGOs representing the disabled participated in the 2003 NAP process without, however, a formal involvement. In the majority of the countries, the NAP documents and processes are more formal or bureaucratic than political. Moreover, the NAPs are often only a summary of earlier policy measures and developments that have been integrated into the discourse of the EES. NGOs and other actors have, therefore, limited opportunities to influence directly the content of the NAPs and the EES can be characterized as a top–down focus of doing politics. The NAPs are governmental processes where ministries are the responsible actors in the decision-making processes. Women as social actors are underrepresented in the policy-making and more so in the area of employment and the KBS than in gender mainstreaming. In Hungary, NGOs are not visible in shaping the employment policy. In the field of gender equality the forum of civil organisations fund projects on a tendering basis and they have an informal involvement in the making of the national action plan on equal opportunities. In Iceland, there is no tradition for the direct involvement of NGOs in policy-making processes at the ministerial level, except in the area of gender equality. Women’s groups have been active in using external pressures to pressure through their perceptions of and solutions to the “women’s

problem”. The Women’s collateral fund, which was established in 1997, is a good example of active lobbying of various groups of women, from both outside and inside of party establishment.

### **1.5 Influence of the EU on the selection of actors at the national level**

The influence of the EES on the selection of actors is more visible in the younger policy areas of gender mainstreaming and KBS than in employment. Moreover, the degree to which the EES has affected which actors are permitted to shape these policies differs across the member states. The five member states have put greatest emphasis on the national employment strategy and the involvement of national actors is more visible than that of EU. In the Netherlands, the EU and the EES have a limited influence on the selection of actors while there is some impact on the content of policies (e.g. quantitative goals in the field of employment policies). The accession process has given the EU greater space to shape policies in Hungary than in other member countries. When designing institutional framework for gender equality issues and policies, Hungary has adopted principles laid down in the United Nation’s CEDAW Agreement. The EGs have so far failed to define what the EU means by gender equality which has given the authorities in, e.g. Hungary, the freedom to include various minority groups (e.g. the disabled and the Roma) into equality actions. In Iceland, it is possible to identify a clear influence of the EES on the views of the Directorate of labour and the Icelandic Confederation of Labour in Iceland but these actors have suggested that a national action plan in line with the Luxembourg process is implemented in Iceland.

**Table 1. Main actors shaping policies on employment, gender equality and KBS in the seven partner countries.**

Country	Employment	Gender Equality	Knowledge Based Society	NAPs: Main responsible actors.
<b>Austria</b>	<p>Ministry of social and economic affairs. Ministry for economy and labour.</p> <p>Social partners:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Austrian Federation of Trade Unions, ÖGB.</li> <li>-Federal chamber of labour, BAK.</li> <li>-Austrian chamber of economy, WKÖ.</li> <li>-Federation of Austrian industry, VÖI.</li> </ul> <p>-Public employment service, AMS.</p>	<p>AMS – Austrian labour market service.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Public employment service</li> <li>-Official counselling centres for Women in the provinces.</li> </ul> <p>Ministry for women's affairs Austrian ESF.</p> <p>Governmental working group on gender mainstreaming with officials from different ministries.</p>	<p>Ministry for education, science and the arts.</p> <p>Federal chancellery.</p> <p>Higher education institutions, universities and several training facilities.</p> <p>Institutes for economic development –WIFI. Institutes for vocational advancement –BFI. – Institutes for adult education – VHS.</p>	<p>NAP and AES: Austrian employment strategy.</p> <p>Responsibility: Ministers of social and economic Affairs. Leading and coordinating: Ministry for economy and labour.</p> <p>Social partners: SP is not signatory parties of the NAP.</p> <p>NGO's: Are not visible in shaping the Austrian NAP or the AES.</p>
<b>Denmark</b>	<p>Ministry of employment.</p> <p>Governmental officials from different ministries.</p> <p>-National association of municipal authorities (KL).</p> <p>Social partners:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Confederation of Danish trade unions (LO).</li> <li>-Danish employers confederation (DA).</li> </ul>	<p>Ministry of social affairs and gender equality.</p> <p>Equal status department (2000).</p> <p>National Danish knowledge centre for gender equality (2000).</p> <p>Public employment service (PES). (GM-projects in different regions).</p> <p>Social partners LO &amp; DA (Cooperation in Equal pay analyses).</p>	<p>Government / Parliament (Different action plans)</p> <p>Ministry for knowledge and science.</p> <p>Public employment service, PES</p>	<p>Leading and coordinating: Ministry of employment.</p> <p>Co-operation and contribution:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Ministry of finance,</li> <li>-Economic and commerce,</li> <li>-Social affairs and gender equality, refugees,</li> <li>-Immigrants and integration.</li> </ul> <p>NGO's: One NGO has been involved in the NAP process.</p>

Country	Employment	Gender Equality	Knowledge Based Society	NAPs: Main responsible actors.
<b>Finland</b>	<p>Government: (Government Employment programme) -Ministry of Labour.</p> <p>Social partners:</p> <p>-Palvetyöntajat, service employer organisation. -Teollisuus ja Työntajat, industrial employers organisation. -Employees unions (SAK, STTK, AKAVA). Public Employment Services, PES: -Labour-Force Service Centres (Regional-40). -Job-Hunting Services.</p> <p>NGO: National Association of Unemployed People (without formal involvement in the NAP-process).</p>	<p>Government. (Governmental equality programme)</p> <p>Ministry of social affairs and health.</p> <p>-Equality unit.</p> <p>Statistics Finland.</p> <p>Finnish equality commission.</p> <p>Government /Social partners (Equal pay programme).</p> <p>Women's NGO's and Institutions (such as pressure groups without formal involvement in the NAP-process).</p>	<p>Government. (Governmental KBS programme) (Finnish National Workplace Development Programme).</p> <p>Educational Institutions.</p> <p>Regional employment Centres.</p> <p>Finnish ICT-Industry (with a strong R&amp;D policy).</p> <p>SITRA: National R&amp;D fund.</p>	<p>Leading and coordinating: Ministry of Labour.</p> <p>Ministerial NAP-project team.</p> <p>Committee on Labour policy: -Social partner's forum with a special NAP section.</p> <p>NGO's: One NGO has expressed outside interest.</p>
<b>Hungary</b>	<p>Ministry of Employment and Labour (and its predecessors): Public Employment Service (PES). Trade union confederations:</p> <p>National association of Hungarian trade unions (MSZOSZ) plus five other confederations. Employers' organisations (Nine confederations).</p> <p>National interest reconciliation council (OÉT).-Labour market committee. -Equal opportunity committee. -Economic policy committee.</p>	<p>Ministry of Justice.</p> <p>Secretariat for equal opportunities (1996).</p> <p>Secretariat for women's representation (1998).</p> <p>General directorate for equal opportunities (2002).</p>	<p>Ministry of Education: -Strategies of life long learning etc. Ministry of Informatics and Communications. -Hungarian information society strategy 2003.</p> <p>Ministry of Employment and Labour. -Telework Information Centre (run by the PES). -Telecottages movement.</p>	<p>JAP's (NAP's in 2004) main responsible actors: EU and Hungarian authorities in line with the OMC since 1999. Ministry of Employment and Labour (and its predecessors).</p> <p>Weak point: Co-operation with other ministries.</p> <p>National interest reconciliation council NGO's: Are not visible in shaping the Hungarian JAP.</p>

Country	Employment	Gender Equality	Knowledge Based Society	NAPs: Main responsible actors.
<b>Iceland</b>	<p>EEA</p> <p>Ministry of social affairs. - Directorate of labour. - Regional employment offices (8). - Vocational board</p> <p>Social partners: -Icelandic federation of labour, ASÍ. -Confederation of Icelandic employers, SA.</p>	<p>Prime minister's office. -Governmental committee on GM in public policy-making. (2000-2002)</p> <p>Ministry of social affairs. -Division of gender equality. -Centre for gender equality. -Directorate of labour. (Women's collateral Fund).</p>	<p>Ministry of social affairs. -Vocational board.</p> <p>Ministry of education. -Joint committee on Vocational education and training at the secondary school level. -MENNT -Life long learning strategy.</p> <p>Prime minister's office. - Governmental committee on IS. - IS steering group. - IS taskforce.</p> <p>Social partners in the public and private sectors.</p>	<p>Directorate of labour has suggested to the Ministry of social affairs that Iceland implement a national action plan in line with the Luxembourg process.</p>
<b>The Netherlands</b>	<p>In a decisive role: 1. Ministry of social affairs and employment.</p> <p>2. Parliament: -Committee for Social Affairs</p> <p>3. Local governments (responsible for re-integration policies for unemployed and partly disabled workers)</p> <p>In an advisory role: 1. Social and Economic Council. 2. Labour Foundation: A consultative and cooperative body between the social partners. 3. Social Partners: -Employer's federations -Confederation of trade unions</p>	<p>In a decisive role: 1. Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment: -Department for the co-ordination of emancipation policy, DCE. 2. Parliament.</p> <p>In an advisory role: 1. NGO's/external gender experts: -Alliance of Women's Organisations. - E-quality (expertise centre on emancipation issues) (Informal influence through external pressure). 2. National Gender Audit Committee (Visitatiecommissie Emancipatie): the evaluation of gender mainstreaming.</p>	<p>In a decisive role (even though there is no clear and balanced KBS-policy: 1. Ministry of Economic Affairs. 2. Ministry of Education, Culture and Welfare. 3. Parliament</p> <p>In an advisory role: 1. Advisory Council for Science and Technologies Policy. 2. Education Council. 3. Social and Economic Council. 4. Innovation platform. 5. NGO's: Alliance of Co-operating Universities, VHTO (Foundation for Women in Higher Technical Education). HBO-raad (Alliance of Co-operating Polytechnics).</p>	<p>Responsible: Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment.</p>

Country	Employment	Gender Equality	Knowledge Based Society	NAPs: Main responsible actors.
<b>Spain</b>	<p>Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.</p> <p>Ministries of Economy, Treasury, Education, Culture and Sport, Environment, Science and Technology and Public Administrations.</p> <p>Authorities in the autonomous regions.</p> <p>Institute of Women's and Social Affairs.</p> <p>Regional public employment services, PES. Parliament:</p> <p>-Social Policy Commission.</p> <p>Social partners.</p>	<p>Institute for Women and Social Affairs.</p> <p>-Autonomous body of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.</p> <p>General Secretary for Equality (created in 2004).</p>	<p>Ministry of Science and Technology.</p> <p>Ministry of Education.</p> <p>Ministry of Economy.</p> <p>Ministry of Treasure.</p> <p>Special governmental committee to study the development of the IS-Society.</p>	<p>Responsible: Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.</p> <p>The process involves several ministerial departments in Ministries of Economy, Treasury, Education, Culture and Sport, Environment, Science and Technology and the Public Administrations.</p> <p>Institute for Women and Social Affairs.</p> <p>(Autonomous body of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.)</p>

## ***2.0 Main policy approaches***

In this section, we will summarise the main results of previous workpackages of the WELLKNOW project and make a comparative analyses of policy approaches and measures to promote employment, gender equality and KBS in the five EU member countries, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Spain and the Netherlands, as well as in Iceland and Hungary. Hungary was an accession country during the period under consideration but prepared its employment policy in line with the Open Method of Coordination, OMC and in close cooperation with EU authorities. Iceland does not participate in the EES but adopts EU labour market directives as a part of the European Economic Agreement either as laws or in collective agreements. Our comparative analyses will be based on the information presented in tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 (see the appendix 1). These tables summarise relevant results of the national reports written as a part of the WELLKNOW project (see annexes of report 2) and additional information provided by the project partners to enable us to make a more systematic comparison across the seven countries. In our comparison of the five EU member countries, we also applied the results of Seppo Roivas' discourse analyses of the NAPs in 1998, 2000 and 2003 (see chapter 3 of report 2).

In the following, we will identify the main problems and aims of efforts to promote employment, gender equality and KBS across the seven countries (see column 1 in tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3). Thereafter, we will study solutions or measures used to solve policy problems or to achieve policy aims (see column 2 in tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3). Our goal is to highlight the extent to which aims and problems as well as policy measures are in accordance with the main objectives of the EES and complementary across the three policy areas. Finally, we will discuss assessments of these policies and demonstrate their effectiveness with examples from the national reports (see column 3 in tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3).

### **2.1 Aims and problems**

We will now discuss aims and problems of employment, gender equality and KBS related policies and our analyses will be based on the information in column 1 in

tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 (see appendix 1). The task of identifying aims and problems of policies proved to be more difficult than anticipated as measures are often discussed at the national level without any reference to the particular deficiencies to be solved. The partner countries emphasise, for example, the need to enable, especially women to combine work and family life without indicating that this kind of policy measure has in most cases the aim of raising low female employment rate. Moreover, the NAPs focus almost exclusively on efforts to carry out the objectives of the EES and often exclude policies implemented at the national level which are outside the scope of the EES. The NAPs are, thus, a rather limited source of information about similarities and divergences in policy approaches across the member states. We base, therefore, our analyses on additional contextual information provided in the national reports of the WELLKNOW project (see WELLKNOWs report 2, national reports)

### **2.1.1 Employment**

Based on information in table 2.1, we were able to locate four aims and problems behind employment policies in the seven partner countries. These are full employment, ageing of the workforce, gender gaps, especially the female employment rate and skill gaps. The degree to which each of the seven countries stressed these aims and problems varies.

Our comparative analyses show that the overall aims of the active employment policies in the five EU member countries reflect the key objectives in the European Guidelines (EGs) during the period under consideration (1997-2003). Until 2003, the employment priorities of the EGs were structured into four pillars; improving employability, developing entrepreneurship and job creation, encouraging adaptability of business and their employees and finally strengthening equal opportunities for women and men. In addition, EU has increasingly applied quantitative targets such as the Lisbon and Stockholm targets of the overall employment rate of 70%, 60% female employment rate and 50% employment for older workers aged 55-64 to pressure the member states to attain the objectives of the EES. It is also possible to identify a clear influence of the EGs on employment objectives in Hungary that implemented a national employment policy in 2001 as part of the accession process. Objectives of the

employment policy in Iceland are different from those stated in the EGs as they reflect a more favourable national labour market situation where frictional employment has traditionally been the main sources of unemployment.

During the period 1997-2003, the five EU member states were working towards the objective of full employment or striving to achieve the Lisbon target of an overall employment of 70%. The main emphasis of employment policies implemented to achieve this objective has been on measures to enhance employability and on efforts to prevent long-term and regional unemployment as well as further growth in youth unemployment. Other issues of growing concern are the ageing of the workforce and low female employment rate expressed as a need to enable, especially women, to reconcile work and family life. In some of the partner countries, older workers are also a special focus group of training and education policy that seek to improve the skills of the unskilled and to promote active ageing. The employment situation in Denmark and Iceland diverges to a certain extent from that of the other partner countries as these countries have already reached the Lisbon and Stockholm targets of the overall employment rate of 70%, female employment rate of 60% and 50% employment for older workers aged 55-64 (see table 2). Finland and Denmark mentioned as well other important employment problems such as social exclusion, growing absence because of sickness and safety at work.

**Table 2. Employment rates in 2003\***

	<b>Overall ER</b>	<b>Female ER</b>	<b>55-64 years</b>
<b>EU targets</b>	<b>70%</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>50%</b>
Austria	69,2	62,8	29,7
Denmark	75,1	70,5	57,9
Spain	59,7	46	39,7
Finland	67,7	65,7	47,8
Netherlands	73,5	65,8	42,3
Hungary	57	50,9	25,6
Iceland	82,8	79,8	84,4

\* figures for 55-64 are for the year 2002 and the figures for Iceland are also for the year 2002

Sources: European Commission (2004a) and OECD (2004)

It appears from our analyses that the gender problems identified in the national employment policies of the EU member states and in Hungary are almost identical with those presented in the EGs. These gender problems are low female employment rate, gender segregated labour markets and the gender pay gap. Policy solutions to these gender problems or gaps are measures to improve women's employability by facilitating female (re)integration into the labour market and by enabling especially women to combine work and care responsibilities. In Iceland, issues of gender equality are not addressed in the national employment policy but dealt with in special equality action programmes. Icelandic women have already attained a high employment rate due, among other factors, to extensive public child care and long periods of overdemand for labour which has, until recently, not been met by an inflow of foreign workers. However, the labour market is gender segregated with the majority of women working in the public sector while the majority of men work in the private sector. Moreover, the size of the unadjusted gender pay gap (around 29%) is unacceptable in light of women's high employment rate.

Austria, Hungary, Spain and the Netherlands place greatest emphasis on efforts to increase the female employment rate. In Hungary and Spain, the employment rate of women is below the Lisbon target of 60% and a large share of employed women work part-time in the Netherlands and Austria (European Commission 2004a). Moreover, occupational segregation and/or a large gender pay gap are identified as major

employment problems in Austria, Hungary and Spain. During the period 1998-2002, employment grew in Austria and Spain whereby most of the new jobs were in the service sector and taken up by women. At the same time, there was an increase in short-term work contracts and the gender pay gap widened as well. In Hungary, there is a growing concern about high inactivity rate, low educational level of women over 45 years and high share of undeclared work among inactive women who are in most instances covered by social security provisions. Another area of priority in the Nordic countries, the Netherlands and Spain is the need to stimulate women's entrepreneurship and to strengthen women's participation in decision-making processes at the level of the state and the economy (Finland and Iceland).

In all the partner countries, lifelong learning strategies or special efforts to increase training and education opportunities of those with insufficient skill levels are implemented as a part of the active employment policy. This is in line with EU target to increase the proportion of the labour force which is taking part in some form of education. By 2010, the EU's average level of participation in life-long learning should be at least 12.5% per cent among the adult working-age population (25-64 age group). The goals of life-long learning in the partner countries is to invest in the individual work career based on fast changes in technology and economy (Finland), to enhance the skills of the unskilled (Iceland), to improve the quality of labour (the Netherlands) or to open up the path for a new economy which will lay the ground for an information society (Hungary). In Austria, Finland, Hungary and the Netherlands, training is a part of the active employment policy aiming at developing the skills of people entering the labour market (preventing youth unemployment) and elderly people (activation). The integration of the gender perspective into the lifelong learning strategy is not well developed across the seven partner countries (see further discussion in section 2.2.1).

### **2.1.2 Gender equality policies**

The aims of gender equality policies in the five EU member countries are heavily influenced by pillar IV on equal opportunities in the EGs. The overall objective of pillar IV until the revision of the EES in 2003 was to strengthen equal opportunities

for women and men by applying gender mainstreaming across all four pillars, tackling gender gaps in employment and by enabling reconciliation of work and family life. This implies a two-track strategy adopted by the EU involving, on the one hand, special measures to improve the situation of women and, on the other hand, integration of the gender perspective into all policies and measures implemented to improve the employment situation in Europe (Mósesdóttir, Thorbergsdóttir 2004). The objectives of gender equality policies have a strong orientation towards employment in the seven partner countries, except for Iceland, where they have a much broader scope. It seems that employment priorities have been “imported” into gender equality policies in the five member states (see column 1 in table 2.2) while employment policies are not necessarily gender mainstreamed (see column 1 in table 2.1).

In all the seven partner countries, the overall objective of legislations and policies promoting gender equality is to ensure and maintain equal opportunities for women and men within the principle of equal opportunities for all. This goal is to be achieved by gender mainstreaming of all public policies. Some countries also mention non-market hindrances to women’s emancipation such as violence against women (Finland, Spain) and the lack of women in decision-making processes at the state level and in the economy (Iceland, Finland, Hungary, The Netherlands). The strong orientation towards employment appears in efforts to achieve better reconciliation of work and family life (Austria and Finland), an increase in women’s entrepreneurship and a reduction in short-term work contracts (Finland). The Dutch government is preparing a special policy document, *Long range plan emancipation*, where the goals of the equality policy are formulated by using benchmarks. The government wants, for example, to raise the share of men in care to at least 40%, increase the female participation rate in the labour market to more than 65% in 2010 and increase the female share in public and private decision making processes with special targets for companies, parliament, advisory boards, etc. In addition, Finland and the Netherlands emphasise the importance of evaluating the progress of equality policies during a specific period of time.

The aims of the Icelandic equality act covers a broad range of good intentions such as the need to improve the status and opportunities of women, increase education in

matters of equality, strengthen research in gender studies and to enable both women and men to reconcile occupational and family obligations. Benchmarks and time limits have seldom been included and aspects not realised in a particular period have been integrated into the next action program. The situation of women in Hungary is in several aspects different from the other partner countries. The employment rate of women (50%) is, for example, well below the EU's female employment target. Moreover, 47% of working age women are inactive and more women than men have a low educational level, although young women constitute now one of the highest educated groups in the Hungarian society. The national action plans on gender equality are meant to tackle these problems by helping women to enter and re-enter the labour market, promoting the idea of reconciling work and care responsibilities and revising welfare provision for children and the elderly. Top priorities of the government are, on the one hand, to increase part-time jobs for the purpose of better balance between work and family life and, on the other hand, to make access easier to training and education during working life.

### **2.1.3 Knowledge based society (KBS)**

At the Lisbon council (2000), the EES strategy was linked to the broader economic and social agenda of the EU. The council set a ten-year strategy to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion. As a means to achieve this ten-year strategy the EU encouraged the member states to strengthen priorities on, for example, skill development and occupational and geographical mobility. These priorities were integrated into the EGs in 2001 and the member states have responded by emphasising lifelong learning strategies to prevent skill gaps from arising (see column 1 of table 2.3). However, efforts to promote KBS have not only been restricted to the active labour market policies. Most countries have also adopted special Information Society/KBS policy strategies/programmes which focus on the needs of society at large. Common objectives are not easily identified across the seven partner countries as references to KBS are often indirect and measures dispersed. We were, however, able to identify an emphasis on the creation of new jobs and better employability through training and education, access to ICTs,

increased expenditure on research and development and competitiveness of the national economy in the global market. Knowledge is also recognized as a factor of growing importance resulting in greater emphasis on improving training and education in advanced technology and IT.

In Denmark and Finland, the focus has been on fostering innovativeness and measures to guarantee the adaptation of national industries to global competition. In Hungary, Iceland and Spain, special governmental strategies refer to the need of providing all citizens with digital literacy and access to information technologies. In Hungary, one major objective is to provide all citizens with digital literacy and an access to information technologies with a special attention to digital divides whereby women are not among the target groups. The aim of the two governmental strategies on the Information Society in Iceland has been on enhancing equality in general, e.g. between the public and the private sector, and not gender equality in particular. In Austria, one aim of the KBS policy is to facilitate women's return to the labour market after maternal leave by providing training in IT. With a reference to the low number of women in technology related studies in higher education and the ICTs in general, the Dutch government has formulated a target stating that the share of women should reach 30% in 2010. The synergy of policies promoting gender equality and KBS involves plans to stimulate girls' interest in IT and to increase the share of women studying IT related subjects in, for example, Austria, Finland and Iceland.

## **2.2 Policy solutions**

In the following, we will discuss solutions or methods applied at the national level to promote employment, gender equality and KBS in the seven partner countries. Policy solutions refer to legislative measures, policies such as active employment measures and strategies/special programmes. Our analyses in this section will be based on the information in column 2 in tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 (see appendix 1).

### **2.2.1 Employment**

In section 2.1.1, we claim that the aims and problems behind employment policies in the seven partner countries during 1997-2003 were full employment, ageing of the workforce, gender gaps, especially the female employment rate and skill gaps.

Legislative measures undertaken to facilitate employment include tax changes to make work more rewarding in Austria, Denmark, Iceland and Spain and pension reforms to foster active ageing in Austria, Denmark, Finland and Hungary. The employment rate of older workers in Iceland is the highest among the seven partner countries. For many years, the pension policy has been used to encourage active ageing of the workforce by enabling workers to postpone retirement until 70 with a corresponding increase in pension payments. Hungary and Spain, where the employment rate of older workers is below 50%, have also reformed their pension system in order to make the system more sustainable. In Denmark and Austria, a reform of the public pension system has been undertaken. In Austria, Denmark, and Finland efforts are being made to enable workers to postpone retirement from the labour market while Denmark seeks to increase the employment rates of older workers by reducing the number of people taking early retirement. Contrary, Hungary's measures force withdrawal at the retirement age, especially in the public sector. Legislative reforms of the welfare benefit system have also been implemented in some of the partner countries. The insurance system in the Netherlands has, for example, been changed to improve the effectiveness of various social security schemes in activating the unemployed and to stop the growth in the number of work-disabled people and immigrants living on benefits.

Traditionally, active employment policies have included special provisions for those seeking employment as, for example, public employment services. In all the five EU member states, public employment services are being re-organised in order to make them more user-friendly and efficient. The re-organisation involves increased and more individualised services such as personal interviews, shorter job waiting periods and special training and education programmes adapted to the needs of the unemployed person. The main emphasis of active employment policies in the partner countries has been on enhancing employability and on efforts to prevent long-term and regional unemployment as well as further growth in youth unemployment has been (see column 2 in table 2.1). Conversely, employment policy in Iceland primarily

involves inactive measures such as the payment of unemployment benefits due to low level of unemployment. Unemployment benefits are kept low in Iceland as a means to prevent a rise in unemployment and the pension policy is used as an instrument to stimulate active ageing.

Active employment policies in the EU member states are also meant to tackle problems of low female employment, gender segregated labour markets, gender pay gap and/or low paid and insecure “female” jobs by, on the one hand, making the labour market more flexible and, on the other hand, by improving the (re)integration of women into employment. All the seven partner countries emphasise the need to enable women to combine care and work responsibilities in order to solve “gender problems” in the labour market. This policy priority has induced many of them to increase the availability of childcare provisions. However, recent changes to reconciliation policies involve a switch from childcare facilities to financial provision for care (Denmark) and the extension of leave entitlements instead of development of care facilities (Austria). The Hungarian government intends to stimulate female employment by creating family friendly workplaces, expanding child-care possibilities and through special courses, funded by the EU, organised for women returning to the labour market. In Spain, the focus is on measures to improve the opportunities for the second earner (women) to combine work and family life.

The EU has encouraged the member states to implement special efforts to increase training and education opportunities of those with insufficient skill levels as a part of the active employment policy. In Denmark, Austria and Finland, the lifelong strategy is a part of the general education and research policy whereas in Iceland and the Netherlands, it involves to a greater extent funding of educational and training courses which are often organised on private initiatives and in cooperation with the social partners. In Denmark, a national action plan on upgrading IT skills at all levels of the educational system has been implemented and different initiatives have been undertaken to make investment in R&D activities more attractive. The integration of the gender perspective into the lifelong learning strategy is not well developed across the seven partner countries, although evidence shows that the access of men and women to skill development at work differ (OECD 2003). However, the Austrian labour market service (AMS) has integrated the concept of gender mainstreaming into

its employment programmes and women are, for example, offered education and training in order to enable them to keep contact with regional employment offices as a first step of returning to work. In addition, special training programmes (train-the-trainer moduls) have been developed to create awareness among trainers of the issues of gender mainstreaming. These programmes are considered to be of great importance for the introduction and promotion of gender mainstreaming in Austria.

### **2.2.2 Gender equality policies**

The seven partner countries follow the two-track gender strategy involving, on the one hand, special measures to improve the situation of women and, on the other hand, the integration of the gender perspective into policies. Policy solutions of the EU member states to gender problems harmonise with the objectives of the EES and have, therefore, a strong labour market orientation. Measures are, for example, implemented to improve opportunities to combine work and family life, to increase child care provisions and to provide training for women to facilitate their (re-)entry into the labour market.

All the seven partner countries have already implemented laws or regulations prohibiting discrimination based on sex (e.g. the principle of equal pay). The legislations promoting gender equality differ, however, across the countries. In the Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland and Iceland, special acts on gender equality include provisions on the principle of gender mainstreaming and the elimination of all discrimination according to sex. In Finland, the act is being reformed to ensure equality assessment (benchmarking and evaluation of policy measures) and equal wages. The Austrian Constitutional law includes a legislative baseline which demonstrates the realisation of gender equality. The legislations on gender equality are more labour market oriented in the Netherlands and Spain. Spain has, for example, implemented the *Law on reconciling family and working life* (Spain) and the Netherlands has the *Work and care act / Working hour adjustment act* to ensure more flexible work arrangements involving unpaid leave and opportunities for part-time work. In Hungary, the Constitution ensures the formal equality of men and women in civil rights and prohibits all form of discrimination, including those based on sex. Moreover, the Hungarian law on equal treatment and promoting equal opportunities

(Act CXXXV, of 2003, the so-called *Anti-discriminatory law*), focuses on different fields of discrimination as, for example, in employment, social welfare and housing and prohibits as well discrimination of all minority groups (e.g. Roma, the disabled and women).

Governmental programmes or national equality action plans are implemented in Finland, Iceland and recently also being prepared in Hungary and Spain. The action plans are implemented every four years and in most cases follow the election period of each government. The programmes are based on the concept of gender mainstreaming and involve several special measures to be implemented within the four-year period. In Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands and Spain, governmental policy on gender mainstreaming obligates each ministry to draw up an action plan for its policy area. Gender mainstreaming has been actively pursued by the public employment services in Austria and Denmark which has resulted in specific measures to improve the position of women. In Denmark, these measures include efforts to achieve equal pay in cooperation with the social partners, and in Austria, there are public counselling centres for women in each of the provinces. Other policy measures to promote gender equality in Austria and Denmark have a strong employment orientation and they focus on flexible labour market conditions for women to enable them to reconcile work and family obligations. Policies implemented in Hungary and Spain seek, on the one hand, to improve women's labour market situation by vocational training and education during, for example, child care leaves and, on the other hand, to facilitate their (re-)entry into the labour market by creating more flexible conditions such as part-time work and family-friendly workplaces.

Policy efforts to promote gender equality in Finland and the Netherlands appear to be more result-oriented than in the other partner countries as they include, for example, to a greater extent quantitative targets (the Netherlands) and assessment tools (Netherlands and Finland). In Finland, an equality barometer calculated on the basis of statistical data and opinion polls is published on a regular basis and the Dutch government issues bi-annually an emancipation monitor in order to examine progress in the policy area. Our analyses reveal that the authorities in the seven countries rely to a greater extent on special actions/measures to promote gender equality than on gender mainstreaming of all policy areas. The problem with gender mainstreaming is

that the concept is vague and open to different interpretations. Hence, the methodology to solve gender problems relies on the political will of actors in power who may understand the concept differently, have insufficient resources to pursue it and even be unwilling to apply it (see Mósesdóttir and Thorbergisdóttir 2004). Moreover, the special actions/measures are in most cases temporary and labour market orientated.

### **2.2.3 Knowledge based society (KBS)**

The majority of the partner countries have implemented a two-track strategy to promote the KBS involving, on the one hand, lifelong learning policies within the active labour market policies and, on the other hand, special measures or action programmes to promote the Information Society or the KBS. Moreover, all the seven partner countries have adopted a socio-economic approach to KBS, although greater emphasis is put on economic growth through better employability than social issues such as the digital divide, regional differences or gender equality.

The main emphasis of the lifelong learning strategies in Austria, Denmark, Spain and the Netherlands has been on measures strengthening the employability of the adult population through training and education. In the Netherlands and Iceland, the lifelong learning strategy is implemented in close cooperation with the social partners. In Finland, Iceland and Hungary, there is no direct synergy between policies to promote the KBS and other policy areas. KBS related policies often include measures to promote education and employment in ICTs but these efforts are in most cases not related to traditional education and employment policies. The Finnish governmental Information Society programme includes a broad concept of KBS which stresses active citizenship and training in IT to prevent digital divide or social exclusion of weak groups such as women and elderly people.

In Iceland, the main emphasis has been on realising goals such as a broad access to ICTs to enhance quality of life and a better security of the ICTs and information while in Finland and the Netherlands the strategy includes measures to prevent digital divide. In the Netherlands, the policy measures include, for example, training of

school staff in ICTs skills and a guideline for e-learning for every citizen. In addition, ad-hoc committees with high-level governmental officials or business managers have been formed in the Netherlands and in Spain in order to increase public awareness of the importance of ICTs and the relevance of scientific and technical training for the future economy. Hungary provides IT training for potential teleworkers, mostly inactive women, in order to enable them to re-enter the labour market. Few examples could be found of the integration of the gender perspective into KBS related policies. These are training in IT for female workers and women returning to employment after maternal leave (Austria, Hungary and Spain) as well as efforts to increase the number of women choosing traditionally male dominated fields of studies such as computer science and engineering (Austria and Denmark, Finland, Iceland and the Netherlands).

## **2.3 Assessment**

We will now discuss assessments of policies to promote employment, gender equality and KBS and demonstrate their effectiveness with examples from the national reports. Our analyses are based on information presented in column 3 of tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 (see appendix 1).

### **2.3.1. Employment**

In the five EU-member states, the main focus of employment policies has been on activation as the countries are working towards fulfilling the EU target of an overall employment of 70%. Denmark is the only EU member country in our study which has reached this target with an overall employment rate of 75.1%. In the seven partner countries, there is also a clear emphasis on efforts to increase employment by strengthening the flexibility of workers through life-long learning and reconciliation policies. In addition, some countries pursue policies to increase flexibility of organisations such as the public employment services and/or enterprises. In addition, pension and tax policies have been liberalised in order to facilitate employment, especially among women and older workers and to make work pay for those who are inactive, unemployed or on state benefits. During the period under consideration, there has been a distinct tendency towards a liberal-economic approach to

employment arising from political pressures and concerns about the competitiveness of national economies in a global market.

Across Austria, Netherlands and Spain, various measures have been undertaken to reach the EU-target of 60% female employment rate. Both Austria and the Netherlands have managed to reach this target while Spain has still far to go (see table 2 in section 2.1.1). However, the rise in female employment rate in Austria, Spain and the Netherlands has mainly been the result of job growth in the service sector involving in most cases part-time work. In spite of the objective to achieve higher employment rate among women, active employment policies are constrained to measures focusing on improving women's opportunities to reconcile work and family life and to return to the paid workforce after maternal leave. The latter measure is often connected to life-long learning strategies where women are in some cases identified as a target group. These efforts are often time limited and lack innovation as they seldom question or seek to counteract the gender segregation of the labour market by, for example, promoting more equal sharing of full-time work among men and women. The public employment services in Austria (AMS) are, however, an example of how gender mainstreaming has been used as a strategic labour market guideline for those counselling and training the unemployed. It appears from our comparative analyses that the lack of awareness and knowledge of the term gender equality is still a major obstacle for a successful implementation of gender mainstreaming. In recent years, employment of Hungarian men and women has stagnated but more women than men are inactive. Concrete actions including steps to meet the EU requirements of adding the gender dimension to the employment policy have, so far, mostly been at the level of planning. The slow progress in Hungary may be attributed to lack of cooperation across, for example, ministries and frequent changes in the political administrative environment or to the establishment of new ministries and new actors responsible for planned policies after each election.

Lifelong learning strategies are implemented in all the partner countries as a part of the active employment policy. It is mainly understood as continuing training throughout the life course, essential both for personal development and for economic growth. It focuses on strengthening the skills of the unskilled and the employability of groups with low labour market participation. The Icelandic federation of labour has

criticized the employment policy for its lack of active support for the unemployed. The lifelong learning strategy has focused more on those highly skilled and in employment than socially weaker groups such as the young, those older than 55 years or the unemployed. Moreover, the strategy has increased even further the division between the low skilled and highly skilled in the labour market. In Spain, the division between the low skilled and the high skilled has been growing as well and the trade unions have called for a reorientation of the employment policy emphasising the need for efforts towards a higher quality of work e.g. by increased investment in education and training.

The most visible influence of the EES on the national employment policies is procedural involving greater coordination between different initiatives in the area of employment. In other words, the EES has pressured the member states to adopt a more comprehensive approach to employment involving, for example, a greater emphasis on lifelong learning within the active employment policies. Moreover, the EES has created a forum for increased cooperation across ministries and the social partners (e.g. Spain). The main benefit of the EES is that it has led to a more result-oriented employment policies involving statistical monitoring and benchmarks such as quantitative goals in the field of employment and life-long learning. The impact of the EES on employment approaches has been weaker in countries, where the main employment targets have already been achieved as for, example, in Denmark. By failing to acknowledge that some member countries have already achieved the employment objectives, the EES does not give enough impulse for these countries to intensive efforts to achieve progress in more difficult areas or to tackle gender segregation of labour markets and the gender pay gap. Iceland is the only country in our study which has not adopted the methodology of the Open method of coordination (OMC). Its implementation has, however, been followed closely by the trade unions and officials in the Directorate of labour which have encouraged the responsible ministry to use the OMC for a better coordination of policies. In Hungary, the relevance of the EES increased during the assessment period. The EES has improved the quality of policy documents and enabled the government to utilise the EU structural and cohesion fund to finance, for example, the implementation of gender equality measures and efforts to improve living condition in rural areas.

The employment policy is still seen as an important area of national policy autonomy/interest, although most member countries have a positive view of the EES. In Iceland, there has not been a political will to take up the EES as it is believed to constrain the actions of the national authorities to respond to employment problems that may arise in the Icelandic labour market. Moreover, the national economies of the EU member states are influenced by the EU fiscal policy which pressures them to maintain or achieve "zero-budget" which means that economic and labour market policies are subject to budgetary constraints. Under such conditions, it is clear that financing of the active employment policy comes secondary to the maintaining of economic stability.

### **2.3.2 Gender equality policies**

As discussed earlier, the seven partner countries in our study tend to follow EU's two track strategy involving, on the one hand, gender mainstreaming of public policies and, on the other hand, implementation of special measures. It appears from our comparative analyses that the implementation of gender equality policies is first and foremost a bureaucratic procedure administrated by the state. This bureaucratic procedure involves legislative work, implementation of gender mainstreaming and special action programmes as well as evaluations of progress based on the collection of statistical facts on a regular basis. The work in the field of gender equality is managed by public officials who in most cases have a limited power to act and insufficient funding to administrate gender mainstreaming and to implement special projects/measures. As a result, measures to promote gender equality are more like statements of good intentions than action programmes. Public officials are often uncertain about the content of gender mainstreaming leading to frequent misinterpretation and misunderstanding of the term. This was confirmed in interviews with public officials in the seven partner countries (see the national reports). The national reports stress the importance of adopting a comprehensive gender approach, a clear definition of the term gender mainstreaming and of providing education for all actors responsible for drafting and implementing gender equality issues.

Gender equality measures have a strong labour market orientation in the five EU-member states as well as in Hungary while the national employment policies are far from being gender mainstreamed. Moreover, assessments show a slow progress as concerns the integration of the gender aspect into the other pillars of EES (entrepreneurship and adaptability). In most of the partner countries, the main emphasis has been on strengthening the employability of women by means of flexible leave arrangements and working time. Less attention has been paid to the gender pay gap, the still rigid occupational segregation or parental leave for both men and women. This narrow focus on women/mothers gives support to traditional gender roles in the labour market as employment policies seldom address the situation of men/fathers. The new act on parental leave in Iceland is an exception as it seeks to ensure that children have access to both their parents by reserving three months for each parent of the total nine months leave.

In the seven partner countries, the social partners and the women's movements play a limited role in the design and the implementation of gender equality policies which is a reflection of the administrative nature of gender mainstreaming. The term gender mainstreaming has induced the national authorities to introduce a much more technical approach to gender equality than was earlier the case. Hence, a certain distance has been created between gender efforts on the one hand and social and political actors as well as the media on the other hand. Moreover, external pressures on national authorities to achieve gender equality have been weakened; some believe that gender mainstreaming will take care of the gender problems and indeed consider that it has already done so in certain cases. In countries like Denmark and the Netherlands, many are of the opinion that gender equality is more or less achieved, although gender segregation is extensive and gender pay gaps show little sign of change. Knowledge of gender mainstreaming and gender equality issues is in most cases a province of experts and academics who are seldom consulted or involved in the policy-making processes. A closer cooperation between public authorities, experts and social actors is needed, if a more successful implementation of gender mainstreaming is to be achieved. In addition, an effective monitoring process of gender equality policies is lacking. Common to all the partner countries is the commitment to gender mainstream public policies. It is, therefore, legitimate to raise the question, like the authors of the Dutch national report did, why the Prime minister

offices are not heading the process of gender mainstreaming instead of the ministries for social affairs or justice (see table 1.0 below).

In Hungary, the progress towards gender equality has been very limited. This is due to contradictory perceptions of gender mainstreaming and gender equality policies which are coloured by the past, the political transition, ideological differences between political parties and other types of discrimination, e.g. against the Roma. In addition, national action plans in the field of gender equality have been delayed because of frequent changes in governments while projects with international or EU funding have been carried out irrespectively of the political situation. Changes in government and lack of interest in gender issues among actors engaged in the EES have meant that some countries (e.g. Denmark and the Netherlands) appear to be going in circles instead of forward when it comes to the implementation of measures to promote gender equality. This has also been the case in Austria and Iceland where previous approaches involving gender specific targets have with few exceptions been set aside.

The impact of the EES on gender equality policies has resulted in a political commitment to gender mainstreaming. The gender objectives of the EES serve as important indicators of progress in the countries, although actions do not always match the commitments. In Austria, Finland, Hungary, the Netherlands and Spain, the gender mainstreaming policy relies heavily on pillar IV of the EES as discussed in the previous sections. In Denmark and Iceland, there is a tendency to measure gender equality in terms of the female employment rate which in both countries is much higher than the Lisbon target of 60%. In Denmark, gender equality issues are seldom on the agenda of the national political debate which may be attributed to the good performance of the country when it comes to the employment objectives of the EES. In Iceland, the general view of the public administration is that the country cannot learn from the EES when it comes to achieving high employment rates and gender equality. In Denmark and Finland, national measures to promote gender equality have in most cases been integrated into the NAPs while the EES often serves as an important source of information for other countries about different ways to tackle gender gaps.

### **2.3.3 Knowledge based society (KBS)**

The majority of the partner countries follow a two track strategy to promote the KBS involving, on the one hand, lifelong strategies under active labour market policies and, on the other hand, special measures/action programmes to promote the Information society (IS) or the KBS. Our comparative analyses reveal that this relative young policy field has applied a rather general approach to technical change or makes frequent references to the needs of society at large rather than of specific groups. Moreover, few partner countries discuss how the new technology and knowledge will change society as we know it today and what obstacles are likely to hinder a successful transition to the KBS. Some policies recognise the need to achieve structural change through modernisation of work organisation and training of the workforce. Special measures/action programmes do not distinguish between information technologies and knowledge and measures have often only a technological dimension such as universal access to ICTs. Moreover, lifelong strategies and special measures/action programmes are insufficiently linked with other policies such as education, gender equality or social inclusion resulting in limited attention to social and gender implications of the transition towards the KBS. This overemphasis on technology and its diffusion means that the partner countries are passing up on opportunities to transform social and gender inequalities.

In Finland and Spain, emphasis has been put on enhancing the competitiveness of the economy by integrating the technical aspects of KBS into a broader range of policies in the field of science, innovation and business. The main objective of the IS-strategies in Iceland has been to ensure universal access ICTs. This objective has already been achieved through an extensive investment in the infrastructure and a diffusion of appropriate knowledge and technology through the educational system. However, the new IS strategy does not tackle gaps in use of ICTs by age, gender and regional differences, although evidence points to a digital divide. In Austria, government expenditure on research and development has increased and different projects in the educational system have been successfully implemented. In spite of aims to increase the share of those with technical education across the partner countries, little progress has been made. An exception is Finland where the share of women in technical education has been rising. In the Netherlands, there has been a

standstill in the number of students choosing technical education and fewer women are now studying subjects such as computer science and engineering than has earlier been the case. In Austria, Denmark, Finland, Iceland and the Netherlands, action projects and different campaigns to push more women into IT and technical education have proven to be of little success. This is due to the fact that the projects last only for a short period of time and do not question or change the nature and structure of these subjects which have proven to be very male oriented.

In the seven partner countries, the drafting and implementation of KBS related policies have been a governmental responsibility. In some of the partner countries, committees at the ministerial level with senior governmental officials, university experts and managers have drafted national action plans or packages of measures promoting the IS/KBS. Few women have been given the responsibility of drafting IS/KBS strategies. The strategies make in most cases a general reference to gender mainstreaming by stressing that both men and women will benefit from flexible working arrangements and training possibilities. In Hungary, the share of those performing knowledge intensive activities is well below the corresponding share of the top-EU countries. The membership in the EU is expected to speed up the development towards the KBS. The Hungarian IS-strategy is co-funded by the national government and the EU through the national development plan. The overall impact of EES on the development of KBS related policies is that some member states have followed the two track strategy and implemented a policy mix reflecting the different pillars of the EES (e.g. the Netherlands, Spain and Austria). There is no direct influence of the EES on the Icelandic IS strategy but the authorities are aware of the country's good performance in comparison with the EU member countries as concerns access to ICTs.

### ***3.0 Conclusion***

We will now summarise the main results of our comparative analyses of the actors and policy approaches as concerns employment gender equality and KBS policies in Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Spain, Hungary and Iceland. The impact

of the EES on these policies will also be considered. We will start by discussing briefly the main actors shaping these policies and then move on to the main findings of our study of employment, gender equality policies.

The EU recognises that the EES can only succeed if all relevant actors such as parliamentary bodies, social partners and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are able to contribute directly to its implementation. However, our analyses reveal that the involvement of “external actors” such as the social partners and NGOs is limited to external pressure or informal consultations and is in some cases non-existing. The participation of the social partners in the design and making of employment policies, especially, depends on the tradition of each country or whether a formal system of tripartite consultations existed prior to the introduction of the EES. The governments either consult with the social partners or they are asked to make recommendations to the drafts after joint discussions. The involvement of the social actors is, however, subject to the “goodwill” of the particular government as the responsibility for and the ownership of the processes lays with the national authorities. In the five EU-member countries in our study, the NAPs are seldom discussed in political organs or in the public sphere since they mainly summarise the annual implementation of national employment policies. This secondary status of the NAPs affects the number of actors involved and explains the absence of NGOs in the policy processes. Hence, the EES can be characterised as top-down focus of doing politics.

The selection of actors in the policy field of gender equality is more sensitive to frequent changes in governments (Hungary) and political changes from a “social-democratic” government to “conservative” government (Austria, Denmark and the Netherlands) than is the case with employment policies around which a stable system of consultation has long been established. A lack of cooperation between social partners, bureaucrats, experts on gender equality and political actors hinder the implementation of gender mainstreaming which requires, the involvement of all actors at each stage of the policy-making processes. In all the seven partner countries, women are underrepresented in the policy-making processes – more so in the area of employment and KBS than gender equality. So far, the seven partner countries have put greatest effort into employment policies. Government officials are responsible for employment policies and they often collaborate with representatives of the social

partner who are in most cases men. Lack of a consistent selection method of actors shaping gender policies and the narrowly defined tasks given to temporary committees on gender issues, constrain the opportunities of actors to exhibit long-lasting influence on policy-making in various policy areas affecting gender (in)equality.

The KBS and gender mainstreaming are both young policy areas and characterised by an intensive learning process. Hence, certain actors have not yet been able to claim ownership over these policies. In some countries, ad-hoc committees at the ministerial level with senior government officials, university experts and managers have been formed to draft and fund national action plans or packages of measures to promote the Information Society or the KBS. These committees and actors shaping KBS policies have in most cases a clear gender bias in favour of men. The responsibility for the KBS policy area has in most cases been given to prime ministers offices and to ad hoc committees at the ministerial level that distribute a relatively large budget to individual projects and measures. This contrasts sharply with the low budget and low profile action programmes in the area of gender equality. Experts on gender equality, who often work within the academia, are seldom consulted when it comes to drafting and implementation of gender equality measures. Moreover, the respective offices of the prime minister in the seven countries have not yet been given the responsibility of implementing gender mainstreaming, although governments are committed to the integration of the gender perspective into all policy areas and not only into particular areas such as employment and social affairs.

The influence of the EES on the selection of actors differs across the member countries. It is more visible in the younger policy areas of gender mainstreaming and KBS than employment. In Hungary, the accession process has given the EU greater space to shape policies than in the other partner countries. As concerns gender equality, the EGs have not defined what the EU means by the term which has, for example, given Hungary, the freedom in designing the institutional framework for the young policy field and to include various minority groups into equality actions. In Iceland, a clear influence of the EES could be discerned in the views of officials and the Icelandic Confederation of Labour that has suggested an implementation of a national action plan in line with the EES.

Main aims and problems of national employment policies across the EU member states in our study reflect key objectives of the EGs during the period under consideration. Common aims and problems of the employment policies in the seven partner countries are full employment, ageing of the workforce, gender gaps, especially the female employment rate and skill gaps. There is a clear influence of the EGs on employment policies in Hungary while the objectives of the Icelandic national employment policy differ from those of the EGs as they reflect a more favourable labour market situation than on average in the EU. During the period under consideration, the five EU member states were working towards the objective of full employment or to achieve the Lisbon target of an overall employment of 70% but Denmark is the only country which has reached a higher overall employment rate than this target or 75,1%. As a result, the main emphasis of Danish employment policies has been on measures to enhance employability and prevent long-term and regional unemployment as well as further growth in youth unemployment. All partner countries are working towards strengthening the flexibility of workers through lifelong learning and reconciliation policies. There is a clear tendency towards a liberal-economic approach to employment influenced by growing pressures of competitiveness of national economies in a global market. Main policy solutions undertaken to enhance employability are legislative measures such as tax changes to make work more rewarding and pension reforms to foster active ageing. In addition, the public employment services of the EU member states are being reformed in order to make them user-friendlier through, for example, increased individual service and staff training. The unemployment rate is at a relatively low level in Iceland and the employment policy involves primarily inactive measures such as the payment of unemployment benefits.

The main gender problems identified in the employment policies of EU member states and in Hungary are gender segregation and the gender pay gap. Iceland has already achieved the highest female employment rate among the seven countries. However, issues of gender equality have not yet become a part of the active employment policy, in spite of large gender pay gap and rigid gender segregation in the labour market. In the EU member states, active employment policies are meant to tackle “gender problems” by making the labour market more flexible on the one hand and by

improving the (re)integration of women into employment on the other hand. All the seven partner countries emphasise the need to especially enable women to combine work and care responsibilities. Different measures are implemented under this policy priority including child care provisions and extended care leave entitlements as well as special programmes as, for example, training for women returning to the labour market, which often are funded by the EU. Efforts to improve reconciliation of work and care mainly focus on women and fail to question the unequal gender division of work in paid and unpaid work. The gender perspective is not well integrated into lifelong learning strategies across the partner countries. These strategies emphasise the need to invest in the individual work career based on economic and technological changes. In some cases, mothers (re)-entering the labour market are addressed as a special target group of training measures. The Austrian labour market service has integrated gender mainstreaming into their work and offers trainers education in gender issues. It appears from our analyses that lack of awareness and knowledge of issues concerning gender equality hampers the successful implementation of gender mainstreaming into employment policies.

Overall, the partner countries have a positive view towards the EES. The main influence of the EES at the national level has been procedural resulting in a better coordination of policies in the field of employment. Moreover, the EES has pushed the member states to implement measures to achieve quantitative employment goals. The influence of the EES has, however, been weaker in countries where the main employment targets have already been achieved, as is the case of Denmark. Hence, the EES does not appear to give enough impulse to countries like Denmark to tackle more difficult issues such as gender segregated labour market and the gender pay gap which requires measures to transform gender relations.

In the five EU member states and in Hungary, gender equality policies are employment-orientated. This employment-orientation appears in measures to improve opportunities to reconcile work and family life, child care provisions and special training for women to facilitate their (re-)entry into the labour market. Less attention has been paid to the common problems of occupational segregation or the gender pay gap. The general objective of gender equality policies in all the partner countries is to achieve and maintain equal opportunities for women and men within the principle of

equal opportunities for all. This goal is to be achieved by gender mainstreaming of all public policies on the one hand and by special measures to improve the situation of women on the other hand. In practice, the authorities in the seven partner countries rely to a greater extent on special actions/measures than on implementing gender mainstreaming into public policies. Special actions/measures are, however, in most cases temporary, low budget initiatives which do not challenge the male-dominated structures of labour markets or societies. In all the partner countries, there is a political commitment to gender mainstreaming due to among others international agreements at the UN and EU levels. Our analyses show, however, that the term gender mainstreaming is still vague and open to different interpretations among political actors and public officials responsible for implementing gender equality policies. The adaptation of gender mainstreaming has induced national authorities to adopt an administrative-technical approach to gender equality, which has weakened external pressure and involvement of social actors, such as the women's movement and the media. If Europe is to move towards greater gender equality, national governments need to apply a more comprehensive approach to gender equality with a clearer definition of the term gender mainstreaming and provide education for all actors engaged in issues of gender equality.

As in the field of employment, the gender objectives of the EES have served as an important indicator of progress and a source of information on how to tackle gender problems in all the partner countries. The influence is, however, weak and even counter progressive in countries that have a higher female employment rate than the Lisbon target of 60%, as is the case with Denmark and Iceland.

In the young policy field of the KBS, it is rather difficult to identify common objectives across the seven partner countries since measures and references to the KBS are often indirect and dispersed. The majority of the countries follow a two-track strategy involving, on the one hand, lifelong strategies under active labour market policies and, on the other hand, special measures/action programmes to promote the Information Society or the KBS. The overall approach to the KBS in the partner countries is socio-economical as universal access to ICTs and the creation of new jobs and better employability through training and education are emphasised. References are made to the needs of society at large rather than of specific groups. Moreover,

social and gender implication of technical changes are seldom mentioned. In the majority of the partner countries, efforts to increase the number of students choosing technical education have been implemented but have been largely unsuccessful. The reason for the ineffectiveness of policies striving to enhance women's educational and job opportunities in the KBS is that the measures are in most cases temporary and do not question the male-oriented nature of natural and technical science.

The influence of the EES on policy approaches to KBS at the national level has, so far, been limited or constrained to the integration of lifelong educational and training strategies into active employment policies. KBS strategies involving special programmes and actions have in most cases high profile at the national level, as they are associated with competitiveness and economic growth. In Hungary, the accession to the EU is expected to have a positive impact on the implementation of KBS related policies while public officials in Iceland are well aware of the country's good performance as concerns the access to ICTs in comparison with the EU member countries.

## II. GENDER MAINSTREAMING – ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONS

*Lilja Mósesdóttir and Rósa G. Erlingsdóttir*

In this chapter, we will analyse how the EU has influenced political relations at the national level and how it has sought to create a policy paradigm in order to pressure the member states to tackle more effectively employment issues and gender (in)equalities. We will use our previous comparative study of actors engaged in employment and gender equality policies in Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands and Spain as well as in Hungary and Iceland to highlight the extent to which the EU has strengthened certain groups of actors and depoliticised other groups at the national level through the EES (see chapter one). According to Jenson (1990:19), political discourse is at certain points in time in turmoil creating space for alternatives and at other moments the systems of social relations crystallize stalling contradictions. The aim is to identify how the supranational state shapes political struggles at the national level and to determine whether it has created space for alternatives as concerns interest representation. The EU's main means of intervention into employment and gender issues at the member state level has been the European Employment Strategy (EES). In 1999, the EU urged the member states to use the gender mainstreaming strategy as a part of the EES to tackle gender gaps or gender inequalities. So far, scholars have mainly focused on the structural framework or on whether the gender mainstreaming strategy is “integrationist” involving the introduction of a gender perspective into existing policy processes without challenging existing policy paradigms or “revolutionary” leading to a fundamental change in structures, processes and outcomes (see discussions in Rees 1998; Pollock and Hafner-Burton 2000; Verloo 2001). There is, however, a growing interest in how power relations or voices and structures are reflected or framed in policy texts on gender (in)equalities (e.g. the MAGEEQ project).

In order to better define the forces that challenge and/or reinforce the dominant patterns of gender relations in Europe, our focus will not only be on contradictory constitutions of social relations but also on the policy paradigm that regulate gender relations. The notion of policy paradigm refers to: (1) gender problems, (2) policy

solutions implemented to tackle these gender problems, (3) the ultimate policy goals of these solutions and (4) the appropriate role of government and actors (see more on policy paradigm in Hall (1993:279) and Taylor-Gooby (2004:11)). It is important to integrate the actor-perspective into our analyses of policy paradigm as the implementation of proposed gender solutions may be difficult due to, for example, lack of political will or to other conflicting political priorities, as public sector austerity. Our goal is to evaluate whether the integration of the gender mainstreaming strategy into the EES has strengthened the EU's regulation of gender relations at the national level. We are also interested in assessing how and to what extent the EU and the national governments are pursuing the goal of gender equality. Moreover, we will identify the consistency between objectives of the EES and existing values and institutional arrangements at the national level (path-dependency). Finally, our analyses will give insights into how the gender mainstreaming strategy needs to be improved in order to ensure that the development towards the Knowledge Based Society (KBS) plays a role in reducing disparities between men and women.

In section one of this chapter, we will summarise the main results of our previous study of actors engaged in the design and implementation of employment and gender equality policies in Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Spain, Hungary and Iceland. The EU's policy paradigm regulating employment and gender relations will be the focus of sections two and three. In section two, we will examine the regulation of gender relations at the EU level and at the national level through the identification of gender problems and measures to solve these problems. In section three, we will study how the concept of gender equality has been understood and applied at both the supranational and the national levels. Finally, our focus in section four will be on how the EU's policy paradigm interacts with values and welfare structures at the level of the EU15 member states.

## ***1.0 The political project***

EU recognises that the success of employment policies largely depends on the quality of their implementation and calls for strong involvement of parliamentary bodies,

social partners and other relevant actors (Council of Europe 2003/2004). Our comparative analyses of actors shaping employment and gender equality policies in Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands and Spain reveal that the EU has strengthened the role of national authorities, in particular officials working in the area of employment, as they have been given the responsibility to report about the progress at the national level (cf. NAPs). The involvement of the social partners in the NAP processes depends on whether a formal system of tripartite consultations existed prior to the introduction of the EES. In most of the countries, the government either consults with the social partners through meetings organised by public officials or the social partners contribute by making comments on the NAP drafts after joint discussions. The engagement of the social partners in the NAPs is, however, dependent on the “goodwill” of the government as the responsibility for and the ownership of the processes lies with the national authorities. Moreover, women are poorly represented in elected bodies and among the social partners in the majority of the countries. Hence, the EES does not appear to have altered or created alternatives as concerns the selection of actors engaged in the design and implementation of employment policies at the national level.

So far, a group of actors have not yet been able to claim ownership of the gender mainstreaming strategy in the seven countries. This policy area is characterised by an intensive learning process involving adjustment of methods and techniques in response to past experience and new information about best practices in other (member) countries. Hence, various actors are engaged in the setting of the gender mainstreaming agenda and in implementing the strategy. The responsibility for drafting and implementing gender equality policies lies, however, with the national authorities (ministries for justice or social affairs). In addition, political changes at the national level appear to have greater influence on which actors are involved in the policy making processes as concerns gender equality than is the case with employment policies around which a stable system of consultation has already been established. Lack of consistent methods in the selection of actors shaping gender policies and the narrowly defined tasks given to temporary committees on gender issues, constrain the opportunities of actors to exhibit a long-lasting influence on policy-making in various policy areas affecting gender (in)equality.

The influence of the EES on the selection of actors is more visible in the younger policy areas of gender mainstreaming than in employment. The EU encourages the member states to involve different actors at all levels when implementing the gender mainstreaming strategy and this pressure has created space for alternative interest representation in those countries that prior to the introduction of the EES had not already a tradition of an extensive system of representation across different policy areas as is, for example, the case in the Netherlands. The EES has reinforced the commitment of the EU member states to the gender mainstreaming strategy, although actions do not always match commitments. Moreover, policies and legislations promoting gender equality at the national level are influenced by various international agreements and projects in this area are often financed by external funds such as the European Structural Funds. International committees and expert groups of the EU and UN review the implementation of policies and actions in the area of gender equality and make recommendations that often result in discussions and improvements of national policies. Hence, international institutions (e.g. the EU) and mechanisms (EES) impact the development and implementation of gender equality policies at the national level, especially in “new” democratic countries such as, for example, Spain and Hungary. This influence of supranational institutions has created opportunities for women and NGOs at both the international and national levels to act as political actors and experts shaping and reviewing, on the one hand, definitions of concepts such as gender mainstreaming and gender equality and, on the other hand, institutional structures and processes created to promote the goal of gender equality.

## ***2.0 The policy paradigm: problems and solutions***

We will now move to the policy paradigm regulating gender relations and discuss briefly gender problems and solutions implemented to solve them. Our focus will first be on the supranational level and then shift to the national level. In the annual Employment guidelines (1998-2002), the member states were encouraged to implement measures to reduce gender gaps in employment, unemployment and pay as well as gender segregation. Measures suggested in the EES to reduce gender gaps were to enable reconciliation of work and family life (flexible work arrangements and

childcare) as well as to facilitate return to work. For the sake of unity among the member states, EU officials do not openly acknowledge that some member states actually outperform or are more competitive than the US when it comes to narrowing the gender gaps in employment (e.g. Nordic countries). Instead common gender gaps across the EU15 are identified and addressed by the EES without proper recognition of variations in the size of these gaps across the member states. Since 1998, the member states have also been encouraged to adopt the two-track strategy of gender mainstreaming and specific gender policy measures (mostly directed towards improving the situation of women) as part of the EES in order to tackle gender gaps. Gender mainstreaming involves the integration of the gender perspective into every stage of the policy processes (design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation) to promote equality between men and women while special measures focus on improving the position of the undervalued and/or underrepresented sex which in most cases applies to women.

In 2003, the Employment guidelines were altered in order to make them more result-orientated and more adapted to the general framework of the Lisbon strategy (2000). The proposal by the European Commission for new targets to eliminate the gender gap in unemployment rates by 2010 and to halve the gender pay gap was not passed by the Council (Rubery 2003). The new Employment guidelines include instead a commitment to *substantial* reductions in gender gaps in employment rates, unemployment rates and pay by 2010. Hence, the new EES reinforced EU's earlier identification of gender problems within the union as being gender gaps in employment rates, unemployment rates and pay. The new Employment guidelines state (paragraph 16) that gender gaps in employment and pay should be reduced without "...calling into question the principle of wage differentiation according to productivity and labour market situation". Here, the EU subordinates the justice argument to that of the efficiency argument when it comes to promoting gender equality. As pointed out by Rubery et al. (2004:50), paragraph 16 is in conflict with equality laws which gives clear right to equal pay for work of equal value independent of conditions prevailing in the labour market. Finally, the new Employment guidelines fail to address directly criticism that the EES needs to encourage men to change their

behaviour if gender equality is to be achieved. Instead member states are urged to encourage sharing of family and professional responsibilities.

Over the years, the EU has made incremental changes to the EES which have resulted in steady expansion in the scope of the objectives as, for example, the shift from equal opportunities to gender equality as a policy priority. Moreover, the EU has increasingly applied quantitative targets to pressure the member states to attain the objectives of the EES. The female employment rate in the EU is e.g. to reach 60% by the year 2010 (Lisbon Council 2000) and the member states should provide childcare for least 90% of children between the age of three and the mandatory school age and at least 33% of children under three years of age by 2010 (Barcelona Council 2002). However, the EES does not acknowledge tensions and contradictions between different policy objectives. One of the main priorities of the EES (2003) is to eliminate gender gaps in employment, unemployment and in pay. However, evidence shows that the gender pay gap is smaller in countries with low female employment rate (e.g. Italy). The gender gap in employment may also become smaller due to a growth in bad or low paid jobs (e.g. Spain) and gender segregation is high in countries with high female employment rate (e.g. Nordic countries) (Mósesdóttir and Thorbergsdóttir 2004).

## **2.1 The national level**

It is not easy to distinguish between policy approaches adopted by the EU on the one hand and the member states on the other hand as many member states have integrated their past and present measures into the employment discourse of the EES (see Roivas 2004a). This means that approaches adopted by the member countries are far from being as similar as they appear to be. Hence, it is difficult to infer from our study, which focuses to a large extent on the impact of EES in the member states, whether the introduction of the gender mainstreaming strategy, has transferred the regulation of gender relations to the supranational level. However, we are able to claim that the accession process has given the EU greater space to shape policies in Hungary than in Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands and Spain. At the same time, the failure of the EU to define its meaning of gender equality has given the Hungarian authorities

the freedom to include various minority groups (e.g. the disabled, and the Roma) into equality actions. In Iceland, that does not participate in EES, gender equality problems and measures are less focused on employment. Hence, the integration of the gender mainstreaming strategy into the EES appears, therefore to have led to greater emphasis on employment as a means to promote gender equality in the member states.

Gender equality problems and measures have a strong labour market orientation in the five EU member states as well as in Hungary while the national employment policies are in most cases far from being gender mainstreamed. The main emphasis of efforts to tackle gender problems has been on strengthening the employability of women by means of flexible leave arrangements and working time. Less attention has been paid to the gender pay gap, the still rigid occupational segregation or paid parental leave for both men and women. This narrow focus on enabling women/mothers to reconcile work and family life gives support to traditional gender roles and women's secondary earner statuses as employment policies seldom address the situation of men/fathers. On the contrary, the new act on parental leave in Iceland seeks to ensure that both men and women have an equal opportunity to combine work and care of young children. The failure of the EES to tackle men's behaviour means that problems such as high drop-out rates of men from secondary education is not adequately addressed in the EES.

The gender objectives and targets of the EES serve as important indicators to evaluate progress towards gender equality. In Denmark and Iceland, there is, for example, a tendency to measure gender equality in terms of the female employment rate which in both countries is much higher than the Lisbon target of 60%. In Denmark, gender equality issues are seldom on the agenda of the national political debate which may be attributed to the good performance of the country when it comes to the employment objectives of the EES. In Iceland, the general view of the public administration is that the country cannot learn from the EES when it comes to achieving high employment rates and gender equality. In addition, gender targets set to support the objectives of the EES fail to address the most important gender problems in all the member states. There are, for example, no specific targets to be achieved on the gender pay gap and gender segregation which the EU considers to be the most pressing gender problems in the Nordic member countries (cf. past recommendations to these countries). The

absence of these targets, at the same time as Denmark, Iceland, Finland and Sweden have already achieved the employment target, gives support to dominant claims in the Nordic countries that the EES is only relevant to other member countries (on the Continent) when it comes to promoting gender equality (Mósesdóttir 2001 and 2004; Reinicke and Sjørup 2004).

The seven countries in our study tend to follow the EU's two-track strategy involving, on the one hand, gender mainstreaming of public policies and, on the other hand, implementation of special measures. The main advantage of the gender mainstreaming strategy is that it pressures the EU and the member states to take a holistic view of gender (in)equalities involving different actors, institutional levels and measures. Moreover, the integration of the gender mainstreaming strategy in the EES has stimulated a policy learning process across Europe which has resulted in greater awareness of gender issues, more ambitious and integrated equal opportunity agenda and policies, setting up of institutions (women's departments) and spreading of practices (gender mainstreaming) and statistical tools (indicators). However, the EES and gender mainstreaming strategies are based on a soft-law approach without any sanctions to punish those countries that do not comply with the European guidelines or respond to non-binding recommendations made by the EU. In addition, the encompassing concept of gender mainstreaming is vague and open to different interpretations (Mósesdóttir and Thorbergisdóttir 2004). Hence, the methodology to solve gender problems relies on the political will of actors in power who may understand the concept differently, have insufficient resources to pursue it and/or be unwilling to apply it.

A successful implementation of the gender mainstreaming strategy requires cooperation between the social partners, bureaucrats, experts on gender equality across various policy areas. Few member states have, so far, been able to achieve this cooperation as it often requires cutting across traditional partnerships and ignoring strict segmentation of policy areas. The implementation of gender equality policies is often first and foremost a bureaucratic procedure administrated by the state. This bureaucratic procedure involves legislative work, implementation of gender mainstreaming and special action programmes as well as evaluations of progress based on the collection of statistical facts on a regular basis. The work in the field of

gender equality is managed by public officials who, in most cases, have limited authority to act and who receive insufficient funding to administrate gender mainstreaming and to implement special projects/measures. Moreover, public officials are often uncertain about the content of gender mainstreaming leading to frequent misinterpretation and misunderstanding of the term. As a result, measures to promote gender equality resemble more statements of political intentions rather than action programmes.

### ***3.0 The policy paradigm: policy goal***

We will now examine how the concept of gender equality or the ultimate policy goal of gender measures at the national level has been understood and applied. Our analysis is based on information provided by the WELLKNOW partners and our examination of EGs and NAPs for the year 2003. The meaning of gender equality in the EES has, so far, been unclear but a continuous progress or development towards gender equality is emphasised. A fundamental task of the EU is to promote equality between men and women by adopting a dual approach to policies on gender equality, involving on the one hand specific measures targeted at improving the situation of the under-privileged or under-represented sex and, on the other hand, gender mainstreaming into all policies (see EGs). Moreover, the EU member states are encouraged in the European Guidelines (2003), to work towards closing gender gaps in employment and pay by 2010 through an integrated approach combining gender mainstreaming and specific policy actions. Special attention should, on the one hand, be paid to measures addressing a reduction in the gender pay gap and underlying factors such as sectorial and occupational segregation and, on the other hand, on reconciliation of work and family responsibilities through provision of care services.

Gender equality is usually understood as a goal or an outcome of policy processes, whereby three main perspectives of policies can be distinguished. These are the equal treatment or equal rights perspective (sameness), the women's perspective (difference) and the gender perspective (transformation or gender mainstreaming) (see Walby 2003-4). We will in the following discuss the extent to which these

perspectives or approaches can be identified within the policy areas of employment and gender equality across Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Spain, Hungary and Iceland.

The aim of the equal treatment approach is to ensure that women enjoy the same formal rights as men in law, policies or special actions in order to guarantee women the same rights and opportunities as men in the public sphere. The approach was the most dominant perspective during the so-called first wave feminism and influenced by liberalist political thoughts of the 19th century. The equal treatment perspective follows the idea of 'sameness' between the sexes, whereby the existing male norm remains the standard. Equal rights legislation based on the principle of non-discrimination is the most obvious form of the equal treatment perspective. This kind of legislation is understood as a necessary and a formal basis of gender equality policies, action projects and of different equality programmes in the public sphere (sees Rees 1998; Daly and Clavero 2003:4-6).

In the seven countries of our study, the equal treatment approach can be identified in equal rights or anti-discrimination legislations. An overall objective of these legislations is to promote gender equality to ensure and maintain equal opportunities on the one hand and to prohibit discrimination based on sex on the other hand. They are influenced by or adopted from international conventions, recommendations and agreements as, for examples from directives through the EU membership or associated agreements, the European Convention of Human Rights, the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) or the Platform of action from the fourth UN conference on women's rights in Beijing 1995. Legislation promoting gender equality differs across the countries in our study. In the Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland and Iceland, there are special acts on gender equality while in the Netherlands legislation in the field of employment includes the principle of non-discrimination according to sex. In Austria, the constitutional law promotes gender equality and in Hungary there is a new general non-discrimination act which focuses on different forms of discrimination, including those based on sex.

The equal treatment approach is influential in several measures implemented as a part of gender equality and employment policies. Within gender equality policies, the equal treatment approach is the core of action projects aiming at increasing women's share in certain occupational groups such as among managers and entrepreneurs and across the economy as well as in decision making processes (Denmark, Finland, Iceland). These action projects focus primarily on increasing the number of women and do not emphasise women's empowerment in general as they do not address or question the norms and traditions of these traditionally male dominated fields.

In active employment policies, the equal treatment perspective can be found in life-long learning strategies which have the overall goal of improving employability through better quality of labour and increased skills of the unskilled. Emphasis is put on equal opportunities for all in education and training or on enhancing equality in general and not gender equality in particular. Life-long learning policies have in all the countries a close connection to or are used to promote the Information Society/KBS. The gender perspective is not always well developed in life-long learning strategies while special action programme concerned with the promotion of women and girls in technology, computer sciences and engineering in higher education have been implemented in Austria, Denmark, Finland, Iceland and the Netherlands. In Hungary and Spain, women are a special target group of technical training. These efforts are in most cases introduced on a short-term basis and have been criticised for failing to address the male-dominated nature and structure of the subjects of natural science and engineering. Finland is, however, an exception as the percentage of women among students of information technology and media has increased steadily from 20% in 1997 to 35% in 2001 (Finish NAP 2003:29).

The women's perspective was dominant during the period 1960–1980 among feminist scholars and the women's movement and associated with the second wave feminism. The underlying assumption behind this perspective is that women and men are the same but unequal due to their different social and economic situation in the capitalist society. Women's weaker position is, thereby, put in the context of social and economic inequality and linked to the many different forms of discrimination affecting their status. This perspective recognises that discrimination against women has a long history which justifies and requires special treatment in order to correct

their weaker position in society. Measures applying the women's perspective aim to achieve an equal evaluation of the contributions of women and men in a gender segregated society and focus, for example, on reducing the gap between men and women in employment, unemployment and the pay gap (see Rees 1998; Daly and Clavero 2003:4-6). When used, this perspective is most often applied in policies involving positive action, equality projects or programmes rather than legislations.

Gender equality policies in the five member countries are heavily influenced by pillar IV on equal opportunities in the EGs. The overall objective of this pillar was to strengthen equal opportunities for women and men by applying gender mainstreaming across all four pillars, tackling gender gaps in employment and by enabling reconciliation of work and family life. In our study, the EU member states and Hungary as well emphasise efforts to close gender gaps in employment and pay by various special action projects focusing on women. Austria, Finland, the Netherlands, Spain and Hungary have mainly concentrated on efforts to increase the overall employment rate of women to achieve the Lisbon target of 60% female employment rate. Women's activation has been promoted by facilitating flexibility of work arrangements resulting in an expansion of work for women mostly in the service sector (Austria, Spain and the Netherlands).

Efforts to facilitate the reconciliation of work and family life focuses almost exclusively on women. Other measures applying the women's perspective include training for women during and after maternal leave, counselling and active-job searching service offered by public employment offices in Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Austria and Spain. In the countries of our study, efforts to close the gender pay gap have been implemented with the aim of eliminating women's pay discrimination. Equal pay analyses in Denmark, Finland and Iceland are implemented to raise awareness among women and employers about existing pay differences. Income agreements in Finland include decisions to raise women's pay and income in low paid female-dominated sectors. Moreover, the social partners are developing incentive pay systems aimed at eliminating unfounded pay differences between equivalent jobs. Projects seeking to increase women's skills and interest in male-dominated occupations have been implemented in Finland. Austria has introduced a special programme to improve school standards from the point of view of women. In

Iceland, Denmark, Finland and Spain, action projects aiming at increasing female entrepreneurship and women's self employment through guiding, training, special funds and micro credits have been implemented. Finally, Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Netherlands have plans to increase the number of women in the economy and among decision-makers but have not specified how they will achieve this goal.

The so-called gender perspective has been linked to the third wave feminism which became influential in discussions on gender equality during the late 1980s. According to the gender perspective, new standards for both men and women should be promoted and the focus should be on transforming the gender segregated society, its contents and structures, so that women and men can enjoy equal possibilities in different spheres of life (see Rees 1998). This perspective has been integrated into the method of gender mainstreaming involving the reorganisation of policy processes to incorporate the gender equality perspective in all policies. It is, however, debated whether and the extent to which the notion of sameness (e.g. equal participation) and difference (special actions for women) have also been included into the gender mainstreaming strategy (Rees 1998; Booth and Bennett 2002; Walby 2003-4).

The countries in this study have been pressured to adopt gender mainstreaming measures because of their EU membership or their associated status to the EU (Iceland and Hungary). Member states are, for example, required to gender mainstream projects funded by the EU and adopt the gender mainstreaming method in employment policies. Hence, all partner countries have integrated the concept, at least to a certain extent, into their efforts to strengthen equal opportunities of women and men. Moreover, they have all promised to incorporate gender mainstreaming throughout the public administration while very few countries have managed to develop a well functioning institutional framework around the gender mainstreaming method. There are, however, great variations across the countries as concerns measures and actions to promote gender mainstreaming.

Our comparative study of the seven countries reveals a growing emphasis on increasing opportunities to combine work and family life with respect to both women and men in the countries of our study. This trend is, however, less apparent in Spain and Hungary. In Denmark and Finland, flexible work arrangements for parents are

promoted through a broad availability of quality childcare provisions. In Austria and the Netherlands, legislations and regulations have been reformed to enable both parents to take care leave while raising young children. In Iceland, a new act (2000) on parental leave ensures paid parental leave for both sexes whereby three months of nine in total are reserved for the father. In Spain, a new parental leave is under revision to promote unpaid birth and family leave for fathers. Examples of successful integration of gender mainstreaming to change work structures can be found in measures to increase gender awareness among the staff (trainers, counsellors) in the public employment offices (Denmark and Austria). The objective of these efforts is among others to increase the placements of women in non-traditional sectors.

The countries in our study appear to rely more on special action/measures based on the perspectives of equal treatment and the women's perspective (difference) than on gender mainstreaming. This is especially the case when examining, for example, measures which are implemented to promote the reconciliation of work and family life as most of them focus on enabling women to combine "their" work and care responsibilities. At the same time, there are growing attempts to improve working conditions for both women and men by transforming norms, structures and values of the gender segregated society by, for example, changing patterns in traditional male and female occupations. Overall, a combination of all three approaches is applied across the partner countries but the extent to which they are implemented in each differs. It is easier to identify the equal treatment perspective and the women's perspective than a progress in the promotion of the gender mainstreaming perspective across the countries in our study. However, it may be more difficult to find gender mainstreaming projects as the strategy involves the integration of the gender perspective at different stages and into various measures.

The gender perspective is the youngest policy approach and the countries appear to be at the stage of discourse and institutional building, not quite having reached the implementation phase. However, the gender mainstreaming method appears to be more integrated into policy making in Finland and the Netherlands where the method has been developed further by introducing new targets, benchmarking and evaluation of outcomes. So far, gender equality has not been a political priority in Hungary due to the political transition and frequent changes in government. Gender equality

remains, therefore, at the level of legal regulations and political intentions. In Iceland, the national employment policy does not include efforts to promote gender equality and more emphasis is put on implementing projects that focus to a large extent on improving women's position.

#### ***4.0 Path-dependency of the policy paradigm***

So far, we have studied political relations and policy paradigms regulating gender relations. In the following, we will analyse the path-dependency of EU's policy paradigm or the compatibility between gender objectives of the EES and existing values and institutional arrangements at the national level. The common problems identified in the Employment guidelines since 1997 are gender gaps in employment, unemployment and in pay as well as gender segregation. EU's objective to tackle gender gaps as a part of the EES was in line with the view of most Europeans living in a member state when the strategy was introduced. According to the latest survey on equal opportunities in the union (1996), most Europeans were of the opinion that women's employment would have a positive effect on the wellbeing of women and that they were disadvantaged in comparison with men as regards unemployment, salary/wage, the number and variety of occupations open to them and the chances of promotion. It was, however, not until the year 2000 when childcare targets were introduced that the EU responded to fears expressed by 50% of Europeans that women's employment would have a negative effect on the wellbeing of children. In 1996, this concern was widespread in countries like Austria and Germany but it came as a surprise that the southern countries – Greece, Spain, Portugal and Italy – had the highest percentages of people who thought that women's employment tended to be positive for the wellbeing of children (see European Commission 1997:chapter II). The EES has, so far, been vague when it comes to encouraging men to engage in care to ensure the wellbeing of children when women increase their participation in paid work.

As discussed earlier, the main focus of the employment objectives and their implementation has been on changing women's behaviour or on activating women by enhancing opportunities to reconcile work and family life. Limited attention has been

given to long working hours among men in some of the member states and the low share of men caring for children and dependents inside and outside the labour market. This unbalanced approach to gender equality does not benefit disadvantaged men and contradicts to certain extent common views in Europe. In the survey of equal opportunities (1997), 40% of Europeans surveyed said both men and women had to change their behaviour to eliminate gender inequality while 39% said men should change first and 9% that women should change their behaviour (European Commission 1997:64). The emphasis on changing women's behaviour while men's behaviour is more and less left aside reveals that the EU continues to apply the equal treatment perspective to achieve gender equality or to follow the idea of 'sameness' between the sexes, whereby the existing male norm remains the standards (see Rees 1998).

#### **4.1 Institutional diversity**

At least four welfare state models exist within the union which vary in their capacity to integrate and realise employment and social objectives of the EES. These are the Nordic social democratic welfare states (e.g. Denmark and Finland), where access to services and social protection is based on citizenship principles; Continental corporatist welfare states (e.g. Austria), where the family or voluntary organisations are responsible for care of dependents and the state provides 'last resort' services and the social insurance systems reproduces labour market hierarchies (insiders-outsiders distinctions as well as statuses); Mediterranean welfare states (e.g. Spain), where pensions, health care and education are highly developed while other services are catching up with the average EU levels and where the family plays a prominent role in the provision of social services; and the liberal regime (e.g. Britain and Hungary to a lesser extent), where the public provisions are more targeted and private initiatives encouraged. Countries like the Netherlands and Iceland have been classified as hybrid cases; the former having both social democratic and corporatist features while the latter has both social democratic and liberal characteristics (universal services and limited social projection due to low flat rate benefits) (see Taylor-Gooby 2004; Soede et al. 2004; Mósesdóttir 2001b; Olafsson 1999; Esping-Andersen 1990 and Szalai 2005).

In the Continental and the Mediterranean welfare states, the organisation of social services is based to a large extent on the assumption that women provide care within the family. The institutional structures of these welfare states are either based on the unpaid care work of women (Spain and Italy) or cash-for-care provisions (Austria and Germany) which are low in relation to wages in the formal labour market. The Continental and the Mediterranean countries have, so far, had greater difficulties in adhering to the EU's objective of closing the gender gap in employment and to provide childcare facilities than the Nordic countries that had already in 1997 ensured universal access to social services and high female employment rates. The approach of the EU to gender equality is, however, more market-orientated than has traditionally been the case in the Nordic member countries as it has, so far, abstained from intervening directly into the demand side of the labour market and from encouraging measures leading to higher fiscal spending. The childcare target is an exception and signals a growing awareness within the union that economic, employment and social objectives (e.g. gender equality) are difficult to achieve without a more universal provision of social services. However, a more extensive provision of social services outside the family will be difficult to integrate into the Continental and the Mediterranean welfare states without a dramatic change in their structures while the Nordic countries have been able to integrate new needs such as universal access to ICTs and skills into their welfare model without a major change in its organisation (see Taylor-Gooby 2004; Rovias 2004a).

## **4.2 Activation**

Analyses of gender gaps in employment, unemployment and segregation reveal extensive gaps across the EU member states (Mósesdóttir 2003; Caprile and Potrony 2004). However, a positive development has taken place since the implementation of the EES as all the gaps, except for the gender pay gap, have narrowed somewhat. However, Caprile and Potrony (2004) observe a greater progress as concerns closing of gender gaps in the area of the Knowledge Based Society, quality of working life and gender equality in those member countries starting at a low point in 1997 than in those starting at a high point that actually lost momentum during 1997-2002. Hence,

we can argue that the policy paradigm based on the dual-breadwinner model is slowly becoming a reality, although this was more the result of favourable economic climate than the regulation power of the EU. The speed at which this development has and will take place varies across the member states due to different political and institutional frameworks. In the Nordic countries, a dual-breadwinner model exists. The difference between men's and women's hours of work is small in the Nordic member countries and motherhood has a limited effect on women's engagement in paid work. In the liberal welfare state (United Kingdom) and the Continental welfare states (Germany and the Netherlands), the male breadwinner model has been modified as women have increasingly entered the labour market as part-time workers, especially after having children. These countries have a less extensive public childcare than in the Nordic countries, although expenditures on these services are rising (Taylor-Gooby 2004:16). Moreover, the British government has actively promoted part-time work to enable women to combine wage and domestic work (half-earner model), although part-time work has, so far, been concentrated in low skilled and low paid occupations.

A modification of the male breadwinner model has also taken place in the Mediterranean welfare states, although this is more the case for young skilled women who have entered the labour market as full-time workers than other groups of women. Motherhood has a great impact on women's employment in the Mediterranean countries, as many women remain outside the labour market to care for dependents. However, Spanish women are becoming less willing to have children and leave the labour market (cf. falling birth-rate). The long unpaid care leave is likely to enhance further divisions among Spanish women or those integrated into the male breadwinner model and those able to construct their life around the dual-breadwinner model. Across the member states, women are still much more likely than men to make use of extended care leave rights and those who do run the risk of losing attachment to the labour market and of being penalised in terms of career progression and pay (European Commission 2004a; Rubery et al. 2004:20; Eurostat 2002).

### 4.3 New demands

The various welfare state models existing in Europe do not only affect the ability of the EU member states to activate women but also their capability to meet new needs associated with the KBS. Men and women need, for example, to have access to the new technology and maintain an adequate level of skills and training through their life-cycles if they are to obtain and remain in stable and well paid jobs. As suggested by Caprile and Potrony (2004:97), the development towards the KBS and a more inclusive society is closely related to the different welfare state models existing within the EU. In 2003 the Nordic social democratic welfare states (Denmark, Finland and Sweden) scored highest on a KBS index consisting of indicators on the access of households to the internet, digital literacy, and labour productivity, revealing a comparative advantage of high-tech and medium high-tech industries, tertiary educational attainment, youth upper-secondary education attainment, employment rate (FTE) and poverty rate. The Mediterranean welfare states (Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain) were at the other end of the scale or scored lowest on this index while the continental welfare states (e.g. Austria, Germany and the Netherlands) and the liberal welfare states (UK and Ireland) occupied middle positions on the scale. The main difference between the continental and liberal welfare states was that the latter had higher levels of social exclusion.

The EU has responded to the needs of the KBS by integrating targets on educational attainment and the life-long learning strategy into the EES. By 2010 at least 85 per cent of 22 year olds in the European Union should have completed upper secondary education and the European Union average level of participation in life-long learning should be at least 12.5% percent among the adult working-age population (25-64 age group). The educational target reflects EU's view that more and higher educational credentials will produce more human capital and thereby greater productivity at work. Young men in the EU are on average less educated than young women and adult women are over-represented among life-long learners. The indicator on lifelong learning is defined as persons (25-64 years) in employment who answered that they had received education or training in the four weeks preceding the survey (Caprile and Potrony 2004:51 and 66). This advantage of women in terms of skill attainment and lifelong learning has, so far, facilitated an increase in women's employment but not

led to narrowing of the gender pay gap. An important explanation for this lack of progress has been the growth of low paid jobs which have been taken up by women in countries like Portugal, Spain and Greece (see Caprile and Potrony 2004 and section III in this chapter).

## **5.0 Conclusion**

In this chapter, we have analysed how the EU has shaped political relations and sought to create a policy paradigm to regulate employment and gender relations across the member states. The EES signals a shift in EU's policy paradigm as it is a soft-law approach which acknowledges national diversity while earlier efforts aimed at achieving harmonisation of employment and social law. Moreover, the objective of the EES has primarily been to enhance the effectiveness of active employment policies and to achieve greater coherence across different policy domains such as fiscal, educational and social policies without increasing the burden on the welfare states. The soft-law approach of the EU to employment and gender issues leaves space for political choices at the member state level when it comes to when and how to achieve EU's goal of gender equality. However, the opportunity of alternative interest representation is in most cases constrained to new policy areas in which international organisations (the UN and the EU) have taken interest. Moreover, national divergent institutional and political conditions across the member states has meant that progress towards, for example, gender equality has been slow and uneven within the Union.

EU has encouraged the member states to apply the gender mainstreaming strategy to tackle gender problems such as gender gaps in employment, unemployment and pay as well as gender segregation to achieve gender equality. The focus of EU's efforts has been on changing women's behaviour or on encouraging women to become like men. The failure to focus on men's behaviour in the EES contradicts both the gender perspective on which the gender mainstreaming strategy is based and the interest of young men in Europe. Evidence show that young men are more likely, on the hand, to have insufficient skill levels as compared with young women and, on the other hand,

to want to take greater responsibility for the care of their children than the previous generation of men with children<sup>2</sup>. The solutions provided by the EU to solve gender problems (gender mainstreaming and special measures) within the framework of the EES has, so far, been successful in raising awareness of gender issues across the member states and in creating institutional learning processes. Gender mainstreaming has, however, been applied differently in the member states. Some member states have used the approach as a rhetorical concept (e.g. Spain) while others have applied it as a systematic method to integrate the gender perspective into policies (the Netherlands and Finland). There are also recent examples of lack of progress as concerns the application of gender mainstreaming within the EES as e.g. in Austria, Denmark, Portugal and the UK (Rubery et al. 2004:96). Moreover, changes in government and lack of interest in gender issues among actors engaged in the EES have meant that some countries appear to be going in circles instead of forward when it comes to the implementation of measures to promote gender equality.

So far, the EU has used its policy framework to regulate gender relations in the member states or to push member states towards the dual-breadwinner model involving dual labour force participation and not dual or equal care and earner models (Mósesdóttir 2003). However, in 1997 the member states were at different stages of development as concerns women's position which has influenced their ability to progress towards the dual-breadwinner model. Important explanations for these variations across the member states are different institutional contexts and actors involved in policy-making and implementation of policies. In countries, where the welfare state gives only limited support to female employment, women have greater difficulties entering the labour market and those able to attain jobs are more likely to have a secondary status in the labour market or to be part-time and low paid workers. Moreover, limited availability of social services may also create divisions among women or between those who are able to pay for private provisions and those who are unable to pay for them and forced to provide unpaid family care.

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<sup>2</sup> When granted the independent right to 3 months of paternal leave on 80% of the previous earnings, far more eligible fathers (80%) than expected by the Icelandic government, left the labour market to care for their child(ren) during the first year of the introduction of this arrangement. (Mósesdóttir 2004).

The weak regulation power of the EES and institutional diversity in the member states prevents a full convergence around the dual-breadwinner model. Instead the EU has managed to use its policy paradigm to reduce the distance between the different developmental paths of the member states (cf. path-dependency). However, incremental expansion of EU regulation of gender relations through the EES in the member states will continue to take place and the effects of this expansion will eventually accumulate and lead to a radical change in countries where the welfare state model has traditionally supported the male breadwinner model, as e.g. in Spain. The forces behind the incremental expansion of EU regulation are, on the one hand, the growing need to activate women to ensure economic growth and, on the other hand, the soft-law approach of the EES which will gradually legitimate EU's intervention into the social sphere across the members states.

The EU recognises that the success of employment policies largely depends on the quality of their implementation. Women are in most cases poorly represented in elected bodies and among the social partners and their opportunities to influence gender policies are in most cases dependent on the political situation. The integration of gender mainstreaming into the EES has pressured the national authorities to adopt a more administrative approach to gender equality than was previously the case which has weakened external pressure and involvement of actors, such as the women's movement and the media. Hence, gender interests are inadequately represented in the EES and the EU treats gender problems first and foremost as a technical problem preventing the member states from achieving economic growth comparable with that of the US, as well as being a hindrance to economic efficiency.

The strive to achieve economic goals can, to a certain extent, contradict the objective of gender equality as women are encouraged to enter the labour market at the same time as many jobs have become less rewarding (low skill and low paid) and deregulation of pay system in Europe has led to less transparency and growing inequalities in many countries. Hence, the need to move from reliance on economic growth to solve gender gaps to active integration of women's interest into economic, employment and social policies has become more pressing. Women need to reclaim the gender mainstreaming strategy which has become too much a question of problem-solving (administrative or technical) approach rather than transformative

procedure leading to gender equality. In addition, a lack of cooperation between social partners, bureaucrats, experts on gender equality and political actors hamper the implementation of gender mainstreaming which requires the involvement of all actors at each stage of the policy-making processes. The focus of the gender mainstreaming strategy needs to be broadened to include men's behaviour as well as redistribution of resources among women and men and women's representation. In addition, the strategy must be improved to deal more effectively with diversity among women and men. If Europe is to move towards greater gender equality, national governments need to make gender mainstreaming a political priority with the same status as economic policies and to promote its application not only in the public but also in the private sector.

### **III. PERFORMANCES WITH RESPECT TO KBS, QUALITY OF WORK AND GENDER MAINSTREAMING**

*Chantal Remery, Joop Schippers and Maria Caprile*

The Lisbon European council in 2000 set the strategic goal for the EU to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion. The empirical underpinnings of this normative model, in general and from a gender mainstreaming point of view, are unclear yet. This section focuses on the progress of the seven countries. The central question that guided the analyses was: to what extent do country performances differ across the seven partner countries?

Progress may be measured in several ways. First, we will briefly discuss progress towards the three overarching objectives the EU has formulated as part of the Lisbon Council, referring to overall employment targets and employment targets for women for 2010. These were completed at the Stockholm European Council in 2001 by intermediate targets for (January) 2005 and a new target for 2010, reflecting the demographic challenge, for the employment rate of older women and men. These objectives do not take all relevant aspects of KBS in account. As part of the Wellknow project a system has been developed to measure, rank and benchmark progress in the (15) EU member states as well as in Hungary and Iceland towards KBS from the perspective of gender mainstreaming and focusing on the main employment and gender challenges. This has resulted in the development of four indices (Caprile and Potrony 2004). In this section we will elaborate on the results with respect to these indices of the seven countries involved in this study, which are Austria, Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Spain, Hungary and Iceland. Calculating index scores and ranking countries should never be a goal in itself, and should always be contextualised. Therefore, the results of the quantitative analyses will be combined with the main results of other workpackages of the Wellknow project. These workpackages contain more qualitative analyses of national policies and practices and are used to put the quantitative analyses into perspective. It should be noted that it is

not the intention to explain the performances in terms of policy measures. Performances of countries are the result of a complex of factors, such as institutional structures and the economic situation. At the same time, however, one could argue that there is room for political choice (Serrano-Pascual & Mósesdóttir 2003). Therefore, the results of the policy analyses serve more as an illustration of the context.

In addition, in order to understand the (limited) performances on the different dimensions we will analyse and discuss the empirical results within a broader theoretical framework. Using this framework that deals with the macro (especially the economic theory of public goods) and the micro level of gender equality (especially the transitional labour market approach), we will elaborate on the conditions that have to be fulfilled to improve the process of gender mainstreaming of the KBS.

### ***1.0 Progress towards EES Targets***

Table 1 summarises the performances of the seven European countries with respect to EES targets in 2000 and 2003.

**Table 1. Performances of seven European countries with respect to EES targets, 2000 and 2003**

	<b>Overall employment rate</b>		<b>Female employment rate</b>		<b>Employment rate for older workers</b>	
	2000	2003	2000	2003*	2000	2003
Austria	68.5	69.2	59.6	62.8	28.8	30.4
Denmark	76.3	75.1	71.6	70.5	55.7	60.2
Spain	56.2	59.7	41.2	46.0	37.0	40.8
Finland	67.2	67.7	64.2	65.7	41.6	49.6
Netherlands	72.9	73.5	63.5	65.8	38.2	44.8
Hungary	56.3	57.0	49.7	50.9	22.2	28.9
Iceland*		82.8	81.0	79.8		84.4
EU-15	63.4	64.3	54.1	56.0	37.8	41.7
<b>EU target 2005</b>	<b>67.0</b>		<b>57.0</b>		<b>50.0</b>	
<b>EU target 2010</b>	<b>70.0</b>		<b>60.0</b>			

\* Figure for Iceland refers to 2002

Source: figures for EU member states: European Commission (2004a and 2004b); figures for Iceland: OECD (2003)

With respect to the performances of the countries, it is difficult to isolate the effect of the EES. The evaluation of the EES showed that convergence occurs (European Commission 2002). However, the employment figures in the seven countries differ quite substantially. Denmark and Iceland have traditionally high overall and female employment rates. The Netherlands also has high employment rates. However, with respect to the female employment rate, it should be realized that the rate is in head counts. The majority of working women has a part-time job. Calculated in fulltime equivalents the employment rate is considerably lower. Low employment rates are found in Hungary and Spain.

The EES targets are the result of a political process. When determining the targets, differences in employment situation had to be taken into account but targets also had to be above the average in order to stimulate progress. At the same time, they also had to be in reach of most countries in order to create commitment. This implies, however, that some countries already had reached the overall and female target in 2000, when the targets were set. This is the case for Denmark, Iceland and the Netherlands. These countries show that the targets are realistic and as such could serve as a stimulus for

the other countries. However, the countries that already realised the targets may have little incentive to increase the employment rates further.

Austria and Finland approach the target for 2010 and have reached the target for 2005. For other countries where the distance between actual situation and target, such as is the case in Spain and Hungary, the targets may be rather high.

With respect to older workers, Denmark and Iceland are the only countries that have an employment rate that is clearly above the target; in Finland it is almost equal to the target. The distance is largest in Austria and Hungary (employment rate of older workers of 30.4 resp. 28.9%). Given the emphasis of the EU on the importance of gender mainstreaming, it is striking that this target is only general and does not take gender differences into account. In most countries the gender differences in this respect are larger than with respect to the overall rate. For example, in Denmark the male employment rate of older workers is 67%, of women it is 53%.

## ***2.0 Methodology of indices***

In order to measure progress towards the KBS, in workpackage 3 of the Wellknow project, four indices have been developed for measuring, ranking and benchmarking KBS (for specific details, see Caprile and Potrony 2004). The use of indices and indicators for policy-goals has been widely discussed. Salais (2004), for example, points out that indicators often conceal value judgements and that behind quantitative performances very different realities are hidden. Using indicators and indices may, however, be a useful tool for monitoring, evaluating and assessing complex processes. As was already emphasised in the introduction, in this report the point of departure is that calculating index scores and ranking countries is not a goal in itself but helps us understanding the complex reality with respect to KBS. Also, the performances will be contextualised by means of the results of the qualitative policy analyses.

As the first workpackage of Wellknow makes clear, there is considerable controversy on the term KBS (Serrano-Pascual and Mósesdóttir 2003). Given the importance the EU attaches to quality of work and gender mainstreaming, in workpackage 3 four

indices have been developed. Firstly, based on the general goal to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, a general KBS-index was created. In this index technical and economic performance are integrated. Moreover, given the goal of greater social cohesion, also social performance is taken into account. Secondly, given the policy emphasis of the EU on more and better jobs, a quality of working life-index, QWL-index, has been developed. In addition, given the central perspective of gender mainstreaming, two gender-indices have been developed: one on KBS (GE-KBS-index) and one on the quality of working life (GE-QWL-index).

Each index consists of several dimensions, whereas each dimension consists of two indicators. The aim is to compare performances and the indicators can be considered as outcome indicators (i.e. dependent variables). In order to compare country performances, scores are standardised. With respect to the general KBS- and QWL – index the data are standardized to z-scores. Z-scores are very useful to compare variables that are measured in different units. A positive (negative) z-score implies that the observed score is above (below) the sample mean. The sample consists of the EU before the accession of the ten countries in 2004 (EU15) and Iceland and Hungary. With respect to the gender indices, indicators are based on gender gaps. These are measured in two different ways: 1) the difference between men's and women's average scores as a percentage of the men's average score when the purpose is to compare men's and women's average scores, and 2) the difference in percentage points between the percentage of women in the reference population and the percentage of women in the subpopulation analysed when the goal is to compare male and female rates. To compare country scores, another standardization method had been applied: the min-max procedure. This procedure results in a value that gives information on the distance to total equality (again, for specific details, see Caprile and Potrony 2004).

A major problem in international comparative research is the lack of reliable, harmonised data. This also proved to be the case in this study. In some cases data were lacking, which is solved by using average scores for the country (see for an overview appendix 2). In the discussion this is taken into account, that is, the focus will be on the results calculated with data that were actually available.

### **3.0 Performances of the Wellknow countries**

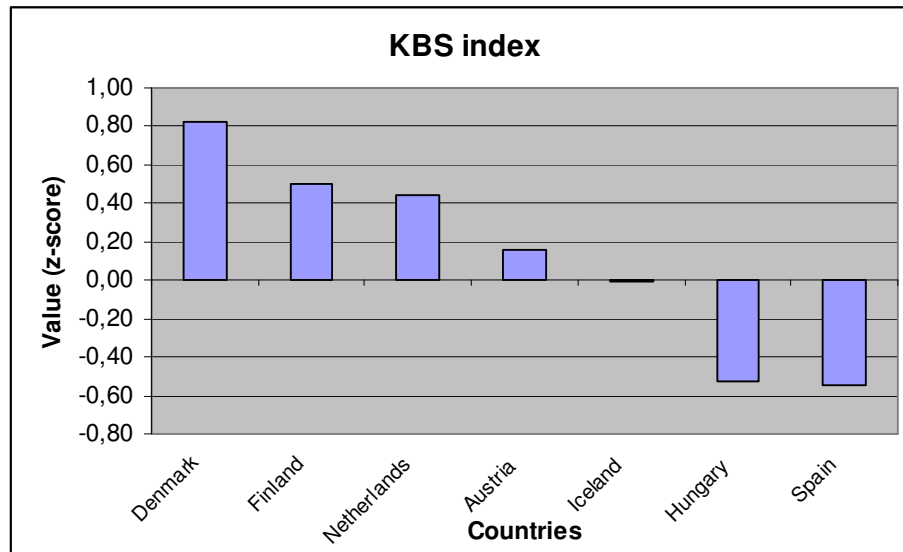
#### **3.1 KBS-index**

As has already been discussed extensively in other reports of the Wellknow project (Serrano-Pascual and Mósedóttir 2003), there is no general accepted definition of KBS. In addition, the implications of KBS with respect to quality of employment and gender equality are not clear. Empirical research is needed in order to evaluate these implications. Based on the discussion, Caprile and Potrony (2004) identified four key dimensions in order to monitor the technical, economic and social performance of countries in the transition towards KBS. These are summarized in table 2, together with the indicators used. In addition, figure 1 provides a graphical presentation of the index scores of the seven countries. Appendix 2 provides graphical presentations per country and per index of all dimensions.

**Table 2. Dimensions and indicators of KBS**

<b>KBS</b>	
<i>Dimensions</i>	Indicators
<i>1. ICT</i>	1 Households with access to the Internet
	2 Digital literacy
<i>2. Competitiveness</i>	1 Labour productivity
	2 Revealed comparative advantage of high-tech and medium high-tech industries
<i>3. Knowledge</i>	1 Tertiary education attainment
	2 Youth upper-secondary education attainment
<i>4. Social inclusion</i>	1 Employment rate in FTE
	2 Poverty rate

**Figure 1. Scores of the Wellknow countries on the KBS index (sample is 15 EU countries + Hungary and Iceland)**



Source: Caprile and Potrony (2004)

Denmark has the highest score on the KBS index, followed by Finland and the Netherlands. Austria and Iceland have a score around the European average, whereas Hungary and Spain score clearly below the average. The countries show a mixture of positive and negative scores on the four dimensions (see appendix 2).

The only country that has above average scores on all dimensions and indicators is Denmark. Especially, Denmark has high scores on both ICT indicators (digital literacy and internet). The KBS policy of Denmark is targeting individuals, organizations and public policies (Reinicke and Sjørup 2004; see also Mósesdóttir and Erlingsdóttir 2004a). Training and education of all citizens in all educational levels form an important part of this policy. This is also reflected in the positive scores on the dimension knowledge; especially the tertiary educational attainment is above average in Denmark. Also Denmark performs well on the social dimension. It has the highest score on the employment rate in fulltime equivalents. This is related to the active labour market policy that Denmark is pursuing; the employment rate has been high for quite a period.

Finland is another Nordic country performing above average compared to the other European countries. The favourable score of Finland is especially based on high scores on the knowledge dimension, which is in line with the government policy to increase availability of education and training (Roivas 2004; see also Mósesdóttir and Erlingsdóttir 2004a). Finland is also doing well in the social dimension: the employment rate is rather high and the poverty rate low. Finland has negative scores on the economic dimension. Both productivity and revealed comparative advantage of high-tech and medium high-tech industries have a score below average. Given the emphasis in the policy of Finland to foster national economy into international competition, these low scores seem remarkable. At the same time, economic factors can only be influenced to a limited extent. Finland seems to be the only country where the ICT-industry is one of the main actors shaping KBS policy.

The KBS score of the Netherlands is also above average. Especially the number of households with access to internet is high. In addition, the Netherlands have a positive score on productivity. For quite a period the economy of the Netherlands has been growing, which is related to the increased flexibility. One of the elements of this flexibility is the high part-time rate. This implies, however, that the Netherlands have a negative score on the fulltime employment rate (Remery and Schippers 2004). Comparing Finland and the Netherlands clearly shows that a high KBS-score can be the result of different underlying dimensions. This also opens up the possibility that both countries may do even better if they learned from each other how to perform better on their 'weak' dimensions.

Austria scores rather average on most indicators. The only indicator on which it has a clear positive score is youth upper-secondary education attainment. This fits with the socio-economic approach to KBS of the government that stresses education (Behning and Leuthold 2004; see also Mósesdóttir and Erlingsdóttir 2004a).

For quite some years, Iceland has a strategy to ensure the access of citizens to ICT (Mósesdóttir 2004). This is visible in the clear positive scores on the technical dimensions Internet and Digital literacy. In addition, high fulltime employment rates are quite common. This seems in line with policy of the government to push people

into the labour market as employment benefits are quite low. With respect to comparative advantage of high-tech and medium high-tech industries, Iceland scores significantly below average. Moreover, it has a relatively low share of youth with education at upper-secondary level. This is related to the lack of sufficient funding of secondary schools and the fact that in Iceland general education is valued more than vocational education.

Hungary and Spain both perform below average with respect to KBS. Hungary scores especially low on internet and digital literacy. The government is aware of this and has developed several initiatives to improve this. For example, Hungary has been promoting telework since 1997 with the aim to create home-based jobs and has subsidised computers in public institutions, such as telecottages in rural areas. These initiatives were, however, incidental. In 2003 the government presented a more coherent policy, 'the Hungarian Information Society Strategy'. One of the aims is to provide all citizens with digital literacy and access to information technologies. The accession of Hungary to the EU is expected to speed up the development towards KBS (Laky and Neumann 2004; see also Mósesdóttir and Erlingsdóttir 2004a). Spain has negative scores on almost all dimensions/indicators. The policies so far are mainly aimed at the technological dimension. At the same time, R&D investments are considerably lower in Spain than in other European countries (Caprile 2004; see also Mósesdóttir and Erlingsdóttir 2004a).

### **3.2 QWL**

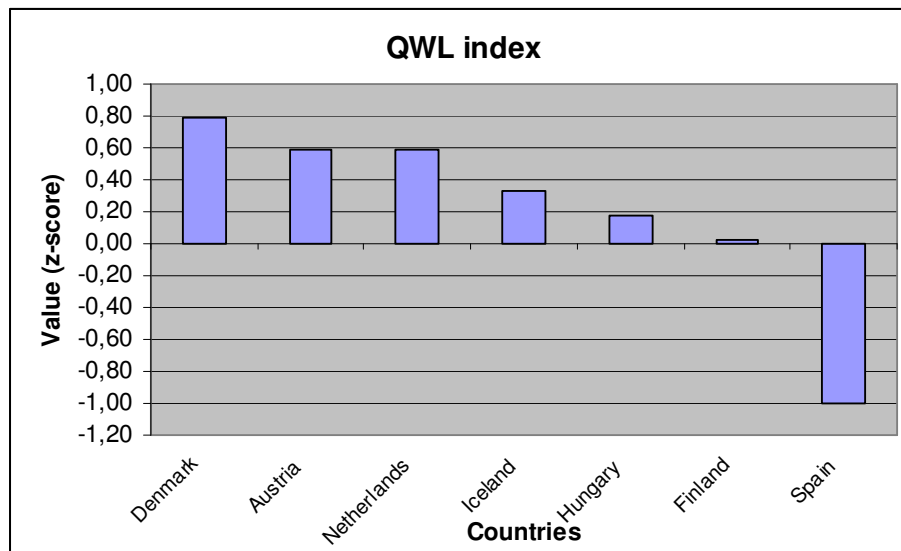
With respect to the transition towards KBS, the EU strives for more and better jobs. There is a lot of debate what the main employment changes actually will be. 'Optimists' claim that employment will be more skill-intensive and more challenging, with better working conditions, whereas a more pessimistic approach suggests that there will also be process of downskilling, more instability (unemployment) and worse working conditions (see for a discussion Serrano-Pascual and Mósesdóttir 2003; Caprile 2004). The dimensions and indicators that have been chosen to benchmark the quality of working life are summarized in table 3. Figure 2 provides a graphical presentation.

**Table 3. Dimensions and indicators of quality of working life**

<i>Dimensions</i>	Indicators
<i>1. Decent pay</i>	1 Low-wage 2 Working poverty
<i>2. Healthy work</i>	1 Serious accidents at work 2 Satisfaction with health
<i>3. Skilled work</i>	1 Professional work 2 Life-long learning
<i>4. Autonomous and complex work</i>	1 Work autonomy 2 Work complexity
<i>5. No entrapment</i>	1 Downward mobility from the lowest pay quintile 2 Upward mobility from the lowest pay quintile
<i>6. No unemployment</i>	1 Unemployment rate 2 Long-term unemployment rate
<i>7. Decent work/life balance</i>	1 Satisfaction at work 2 Compatibility between work and family-social commitments

As is shown in figure 2 the ranking of the seven countries on the basis of the index ‘quality of working life’ shows a slightly different picture than the KBS index, though the top- and bottom position are the same.

**Figure 2. Scores of the Wellknow countries on the QWL index  
(sample is 15 EU countries + Hungary and Iceland)**



Source: Caprile and Potrony (2004)

Again, Denmark has the most favourable scores of the seven countries under study. On almost all dimensions Denmark has a score above the European average. Especially, Denmark has high scores on both indicators of the dimension decent work-life balance. One indicator is compatibility between work and family-social commitments; the high score on this indicator seems in line with the well-developed arrangements Denmark has in this field in terms of child care arrangements and leave facilities. An exception is downward mobility, where Denmark has a score below average.

Austria and the Netherlands have a comparable score with respect to quality of working life. The two countries differ, however, on the dimensions. The Netherlands has lower scores on the dimension decent pay and healthy work. With respect to (absence of) unemployment the Netherlands has a score above average, which is related to the favourable economic condition of the late nineties. Also, the Netherlands is doing well with respect to work autonomy. In Austria this is not the case, as the score on work autonomy is below average. Another dimension on which Austria has a lower score is the dimension skilled work (both the indicator

professional work and life long learning). Austria has high scores on downward mobility from the lowest pay quintile, suggesting that the work at this level is rather secure, and satisfaction at work.

On most indicators, Iceland has a score about equal to the EU average. This is related to the fact that for only five indicators actual data were available, whereas for the other ten indicators the EU average was inserted. The value of the QWL index should therefore be treated with caution. On two dimensions for which actual data were available it is doing better than average: skilled work and no employment. Unemployment levels in general and long term unemployment levels in particular are traditionally rather low in Iceland. According to Mósesdóttir (2004) this is related to low replacement rates of unemployment benefits, the flexible nominal pay and the Nordic labour market that is open to all Nordic countries. Iceland has a positive score on life long learning. There are several initiatives with respect to supply of education and training, especially for the un- and semi-skilled. The government and social partners are all involved in this process. It seems, however, that especially the highly-skilled benefit from lifelong learning (Mósesdóttir 2004).

The score of Hungary and Finland on the quality of working life index is around the average. Hungary has a peak with respect to accidents at work, but the data seem not completely comparable with those of other countries. Finland has positive scores on the dimensions decent pay and skilled work.

Compared to the sample, Spain scores clearly below average. More detailed analyses shows that this is the case for almost all dimensions. The employment rate has risen considerably since 1997. This rise, however, seems to have gone at the expense of the quality of work (Caprile 2004).

### **3.3 Gender mainstreaming**

In order to benchmark gender mainstreaming, which in this context is defined as the extent of equal results for men and women (see also Caprile and Potrony 2004:28), the gender gaps with respect to the indicators of the KBS and quality of working life

are investigated. These are summarized in table 4. With respect to the KBS index, the four dimensions are supplemented with 3 additional dimensions that, from a gender mainstreaming point of view, are very relevant with respect to the transition towards KBS. These dimensions are gender segregation, equal pay and equal sharing of caring work. The assumption is that in the KBS gender segregation should be low, there should be no inequality between men and women with respect to pay and care should be divided equally among men and women.

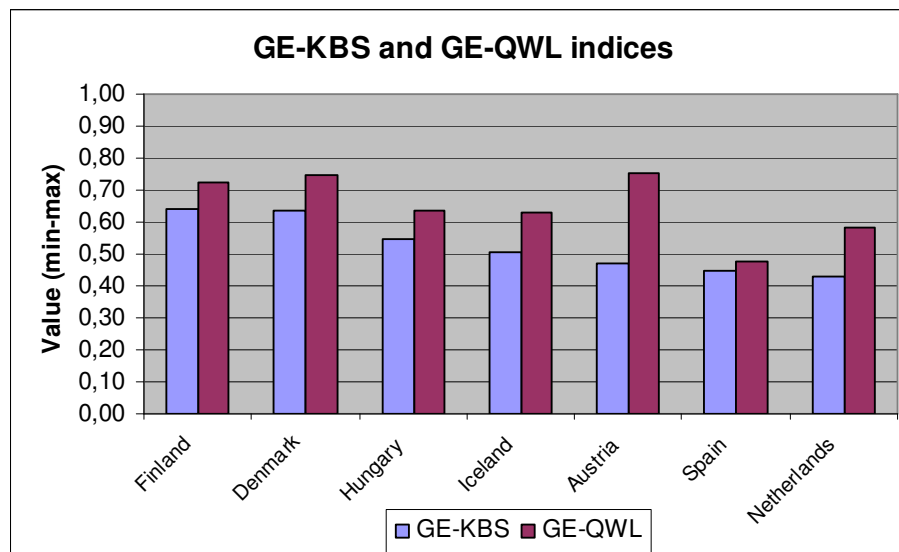
**Table 4. Dimensions and indicators of gender mainstreaming of KBS and quality of working life**

<b>GE-KBS</b>	
<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Indicators</i>
1. <i>Equal access to ICT</i>	1 Gender digital gap 2 Gender gap in digital literacy
2. <i>Equal contribution to competitiveness</i>	1 Gender gap in managerial and professional positions 2 Gender gap in high-tech and medium-high-tech industries
3. <i>Equal access to knowledge</i>	1 Gender gap in tertiary education attainment 2 Gender gap in youth upper-secondary education attainment
4. <i>Equal access to social inclusion</i>	1 Gender employment gap in FTE 2 Gender gap in income vulnerability
5. <i>Gender desegregation in the KBS</i>	1 Gender gap in science and engineering 2 Gender pay gap for tertiary education graduates
6. <i>Equal pay</i>	1 Hourly gender pay gap 2 Monthly gender pay gap
7. <i>Equal sharing of caring work</i>	1 Gender gap in caring time for children 2 Gender gap in caring time for dependent adults
<b>GE- QWL</b>	
<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Indicators</i>
1. <i>Equal sharing of decent pay</i>	1 Gender gap in low-wage 2 Gender gap in working income vulnerability
2. <i>Equal sharing of healthy work</i>	1 Gender gap in serious accidents at work 2 Gender gap in satisfaction with health
3. <i>Equal sharing of skilled work</i>	1 Gender gap in professional work 2 Gender gap in life-long learning
4. <i>Equal sharing of autonomous and complex work</i>	1 Gender gap in work autonomy 2 Gender gap in work complexity
5. <i>Equal risk of entrapment</i>	1 Gender gap in downward mobility from the lowest pay quintile 2 Gender gap in upward mobility from the lowest pay quintile
6. <i>Equal risk of unemployment</i>	1 Gender gap in unemployment 2 Gender gap in long-term unemployment
7. <i>Equal sharing of decent work/life balance</i>	1 Gender gap in satisfaction at work 2 Gender gap in compatibility between work and family-social commitments

Figure 3 shows a graphical presentation of both the indices for the seven countries. Overall, it is clear that in all countries there is still considerable inequality between men and women. The value 1 corresponds with total equality between men and women, but the highest value that is found is 0.75. This is the value of the GE-QWL-index in Denmark and Austria. The highest value of the GE-KBS index is 0.64 and is

found in, again, Denmark and Finland. In addition, the indices show that gender mainstreaming seems more successful with respect to quality of working life than KBS: in all the seven countries the score on the QWL index is higher than the score on the KBS index. This is partly related to the way the indices are constructed. The GE-QWL-index is based only indicators that are work-related, whereas the GE-KBS-index takes a broader range of indicators into account, such as the gender division of caring work. Especially with respect to these indicators, gender inequality proves to be rather high. Next to methodological reasons, the on average lower scores on the GE-KBS index may be related to the fact that KBS is a relatively new comprehensive policy area (Mósesdóttir and Erlingsdóttir 2004a). The field of labour has a long policy tradition with a considerable number of stakeholders involved. The comparative analyses of Mósesdóttir and Erlingsdóttir (2004a) shows that gender equality measures have a strong labour market orientation. The EES, with its gender employment guidelines, seems to have had a clear impact in this respect.

**Figure 3. Scores of the Wellknow countries on the GE-KBS and GE-QWL indices**



Source: Caprile and Potrony (2004)

A more detailed analyses of the composition of the GE-KBS index shows that Denmark and Finland are quite similar. Both countries have high scores (that is at

least 0.80) on the gender digital gap and the gender gap in management profession. Denmark has a high score on the gender gap in tertiary educational attainment and Finland is doing well with respect to the gender gap in employment. Both Finland and Denmark rank rather low with respect to gender segregation as measured by gender gap in science and engineering and difference between men's and women's average gross hourly earnings for paid employees with tertiary education. This result is similar to results of other research (e.g. Emerek et al. 2001). Both countries are well-developed welfare states and have long traditions with respect to gender equality policies. Both countries also have high scores on the general KBS index.

Hungary also has a relatively high score on the GE-KBS index. It should be noted, however, that for several indicators data are missing and were estimated by inserting the average. Therefore, the overall score of Hungary should be interpreted with caution. Hungary has a high score on the dimension equal access to knowledge, where the gender gap is rather small. Though the educational attainment of the Hungarian population is generally quite low, the educational attainment of (young) women exceeds that of men. In addition, the gender gap with respect to employment in fulltime equivalents is rather small.

The value of Iceland on the GE-KBS index is just above 0.50. Iceland has, similar to the other two Nordic countries, high scores on the gender gap in management professions and the gender gap in tertiary educational attainment. At the same time, Iceland scores low on both indicators of the dimension equal pay.

Austria's score is just below 0.50. Austria is doing well with respect to the gender digital gap and gender gap in youth education, but has relatively low scores on the gender gap in income vulnerability, gender pay gap for tertiary education graduates and gender gap in caring for children. The lifelong learning strategy of Austria has women as a special target group of IT training and education.

On most indicators, Spain has a score between 0.20 and 0.50, indicating quite some inequality between men and women. The only indicator on which Spain performs well is the gender gap in tertiary education.

Though the Netherlands is doing rather well with respect to the general KBS index, it is closing the rank of the GE-KBS index for the seven countries. The Netherlands has especially low scores (0.20 or less) on the gender gap in high-tech and medium-tech industries, gender gap in income vulnerability, gender gap in science and monthly gender pay gap. The Netherlands is doing better with respect to gender gap in youth educational attainment and the gender digital gap.

The highest scores with respect to the GE-QWL index are found in the Nordic countries Finland and Denmark, and in Austria. Denmark and, to a lesser extent, Finland have a long tradition with respect to gender equality policy and are well-known in this respect. The high ranking of these countries is also in line with other research on gender equality issues (e.g. Plantenga et al. 2003). Denmark has high scores on most indicators. An exception is the low score on accidents at work. It should be taken into account though that men are disadvantaged in this respect

The high ranking of Austria with respect to GE-QWL is more striking. Austria has no gender gap in satisfaction with health and only a very small gender gap in the dimension of equal sharing of decent work-life balance. Lower scores for Austria are found on the dimension equal sharing of decent pay and the indicator accidents at work (again however, the note that this score is at the disadvantage of men).

Hungary and Iceland have similar scores. Hungary and Iceland both have small gender differences with respect to downward mobility, satisfaction at the job and unemployment.

The Netherlands has no gender differences with respect to skilled work and relatively small differences in unemployment and satisfaction at the job. Female unemployment used to be higher than male unemployment, but women have benefited strongly from the growth of the care industry during the late nineties. On the other hand recent unemployment growth has primarily hit 'male' industries.

Spain has the lowest score on the GE-QWL dimension. The only indicator on which Spain has a relatively high score is the gender gap in satisfaction with health. This low score seems related to the conservative politics of Spain that implicitly supports

traditional gender roles (Caprile 2004). Moreover, in the gender related policies are rather limited in focus and there is no systematic attention for the quality of employment

### **3.4 Development of the indices between 1997 and 2002**

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, the EU intends to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge based society, with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion. In this section the performances will be evaluated with respect to these aims by means of analysing trends. In addition, performances will also be evaluated from a gender mainstreaming point of view. To investigate developments, changes in the indices in the period between 1997 and 2002 have been studied. 1997 was chosen because this year marks the beginning of the EES and results in monitoring a five-year period. Moreover, the period is chosen because of practical reasons. Lack of data hinders investigation a longer period. Even for this period of five years some data are not available. Therefore, the data on monitoring are not completely comparable with those discussed above (for a more elaborated and technical clarification, see Caprile and Potrony 2004). Monitoring change proves to be a complex issue and we will discuss only the most salient results. As also stated in the introduction, performances of countries relate to numerous factors; changes in the performance cannot be attributed to one single factor. This implies that the data should be treated with caution.

#### *KBS*

With respect to the KBS index, developments can be monitored in three of the four dimensions: competitiveness, knowledge and social inclusion. All seven countries show an increase with respect to the KBS-index, though the annual average growth rate varies. Hungary has the highest growth rate, the Netherlands the lowest. In addition, the 'point of departure' in 1997 differs per country. In the words of Caprile and Potrony (2004), Hungary is catching up, since in 1997 it had an index score below average. The same applies to Spain and Iceland. The Netherlands, on the other hand, together with Denmark, seems to lose momentum. Both countries have an index score in 1997 above average, but a rather low annual average growth rate between 1997 and

2002. Finland and Austria both have an above average index score in 1997 and a high annual average growth rate and may therefore be considered as moving ahead.

An important question is whether progress towards the KBS implies a higher level of social inclusion. As Caprile and Potrony (2004) concluded with respect to the EU15 and Hungary and Iceland, there seems to be no clear relation between the level of social inclusion and the level of performance in ICT, competitiveness and knowledge. Investigating more specifically the situation in the seven countries in the Wellknow study shows two striking features. Firstly, the two countries with below average scores on both KBS and social inclusion in 1997, Hungary and Spain, have done well in the period 1997 and 2002 with respect to social inclusion. In both countries the employment rate in fulltime equivalents, which is one of the indicators for social inclusion, shows a significant increase. Spain also shows a decrease in the poverty rate. For Hungary data on the poverty rate are not available in 1997 and data had to be estimated. Secondly, Denmark, ranking rather high with respect to both KBS and social inclusion in 1997, shows between 1997 and 2002 a deterioration with respect to poverty (that is the poverty rate has increased). This indicates that progress is possible but at the same time, even a long tradition in social inclusion is not a guarantee for continuous progress.

### *QWL*

Is there a trend towards better jobs between 1997 and 2002? The development of the QWL-index provides some preliminary answers. Monitoring the QWL index is, again, based on a limited number of dimensions. Data are lacking for the dimension of autonomous and complex work and the indicator compatibility between work and family of the dimension decent work/life balance. The available data show between 1997 and 2002 a clear increase in the QWL-index in five of the seven countries in the Wellknow study: Austria, Iceland, Hungary, the Netherlands and Spain. Denmark has an above average score in 1997 and seems to have remained more or less stable. Strikingly, Finland shows a slight decrease, whereas this country has an average score in 1997. This is related to a decrease in the dimensions 'skilled work', 'decent pay' and 'no entrapment' and the indicator satisfaction at the job (as part of the work-life balance). Spain had a score below average in 1997, but seems to have caught up in 2002. Especially with respect to the dimensions 'no entrapment', 'skilled work' and

‘no unemployment’ the situation has improved. To summarise: though there seems a development towards better jobs, progress is not self-evident.

#### *GE-KBS*

It was concluded above that in all seven countries gender-inequality is still considerable, both with respect to KBS and QWL. The question is whether there is, in spite of this situation, at least general progress visible. Studying the development of the GE-KBS index in the Wellknow countries reveals that the score on the index has improved in most countries: Austria, Hungary, the Netherlands, Iceland and Spain. However, the answer is negative for Denmark and Finland as the value of the GE-KBS index is slightly lower in 2002 than in 1997: for Denmark the values are 0.66 in 1997 and 0.63 in 2002, for Finland the values are 0.62 and 0.61. Though both countries are still among the highest-ranking countries, the decrease deserves attention. In terms of Caprile and Potrony (2004), the countries seem to lose momentum.

Caprile and Potrony (2004) also concluded that there is not a single dimension that shows a consistent improvement or deterioration in the period under investigation. Countries have their own unique constellation. Therefore, points of special interest differ between countries. For example, Austria and Finland show a decrease in the value of social inclusion, which is related to an increase of the gender gap in the individual risk of poverty. In Denmark, the Netherlands and Spain, the value of dimension pay has decreased, which is reason for concern. This is especially the case for the Netherlands, where the value on this dimension was already low (0.27 in 1997, 0.19 in 2002).

With respect to desegregation, only Finland shows a clear improvement. Denmark and Spain, on the other had, show a decrease, that is an increase in segregation.

Equal sharing of caring work seems a point of particular interest for almost all countries. The only country where the gender gap in caring time has clearly decreased is Finland. In Austria and Spain, the situation has hardly changed and the gender gap is still rather large (0.26 for Austria and 0.25 for Spain). The same applies to the Netherlands, though the index score, which is 0.56, is a clearly higher (that is the

gender gap is smaller). Denmark had the highest score on the dimension caring time in 1997 (0.69). Remarkably, however, this score has clearly decreased in 2002 (0.59).

#### *GE-QWL*

The country scores on the GE-QWL index were on average higher than the scores on the GE-KBS index. The development of the index scores between 1997 and 2002 shows a (slow) upward trend for Austria, Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands. A downward trend is found for Hungary, Iceland and Spain. Since for Hungary and Iceland a lot of data were not available and had therefore to be estimated, this trend should be treated with caution. The situation in Spain is worrisome as this country had in 1997 already among the lowest scores on the GE-QWL index compared to the other Wellknow countries. Points of attention seem especially the gender gap in the dimensions decent pay, no entrapment and work-life balance.

### ***4.0 General conclusions with respect to performances***

This chapter investigates the empirical underpinnings of the KBS model as formulated by the EU: the most competitive and dynamic knowledge based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion. It focuses on the general model and the model from a gender mainstreaming point of view.

Table 5 provides a general summary of the performances of the Wellknow countries on the indices. With respect to the KBS- and QWL-index, performances relate to the EU15 sample and Hungary and Iceland. Scores on the GE-KBS- and GE-QWL-index have a maximum of 1, corresponding to complete gender equality. Countries are rated a plus in case the value is above 0.50, a minus when below 0.50.

As becomes clear from the table, the performances in the seven countries in the Wellknow study vary considerably. All seven countries have their own specific pattern with respect to employment, KBS and gender mainstreaming. Denmark seems to be doing rather well, as it has high scores on all dimensions. Denmark is a well-developed welfare state, with a high educational level and a rather long tradition with

respect to gender mainstreaming. Spain, on the other hand, has less favourable scores. On the KBS-index it has a score around the average, but on the QWL-index the score is below average. In addition, there is still considerable gender inequality. The other countries show a mixture of positive and negative results. It should be noted that with respect to Hungary and, to a lesser extent Iceland, several data are missing and the EU average was inserted instead. Therefore, the results for these countries have to be treated with caution.

Moreover, the indices are composed of different dimensions and indicators. Behind comparable scores on the index, countries may differ considerably in the scores on the dimensions.

**Table 5. General summary of the performances of the Wellknow countries**

<b>Country</b>	<b>KBS-index Above EU average: + Below EU average: -</b>	<b>QWL index Above EU average: + Below EU average: -</b>	<b>GE-KBS index Score &gt; 0.50: + Score &lt; 0.50: -</b>	<b>GE-QWL-index Score &gt; 0.50: + Score &lt; 0.50: -</b>
Austria	±	+	-	+
Denmark	+	+	+	+
Finland	+	±	+	+
Hungary	-	±	+	+
Iceland	-	+	±	+
The Netherlands	+	+	-	+
Spain	±	-	-	-

What may be concluded with respect to performances in terms of the model as the EU strives for? Does progress towards the KBS implies a higher level of social inclusion. As Caprile and Potrony (2004) concluded with respect to the EU15 and Hungary and Iceland, there seems to be no clear relation between the level of social inclusion and the level of performance in ICT, competitiveness and knowledge. According to Serrano-Pascual and Mósesdóttir (2003) there is no direct link between the ICTs and social progress because it is shaped by political choices and national-specific

institutions. Investigating more specifically the situation in the seven countries in the Wellknow study shows that progress is possible. At the same time, Denmark, ranking rather high with respect to both KBS and social inclusion in 1997, shows between 1997 and 2002 a deterioration with respect to poverty (that is the poverty rate has increased). This indicates even a long tradition in social inclusion is not a guarantee for continuous progress.

A second question is whether progress towards KBS implies better jobs. The development of the QWL-index shows a similar result as the KBS-index. There seems a development towards better jobs, but, as illustrated by Finland where the index score seems to decrease slightly, progress is not self-evident.

With respect to gender mainstreaming, a first conclusion is that in all seven countries there is still considerable inequality between men and women. The (theoretical) maximum score on the gender indices is the value 1; this value corresponds to total equality between men and women. However, the highest value that is found is 0.75, which is the value of the GE-QWL-index in Denmark and Austria. The highest value of the GE-KBS index is 0.64 and is found in, again, Denmark and Finland. The results seem to indicate that gender mainstreaming is more successful with respect to quality of working life than KBS: in all the seven countries the score on the QWL index is higher than the score on the KBS index. This is partly related to the way the indices are constructed. The GE-QWL-index is based only on indicators that are work-related, whereas the GE-KBS-index takes a broader range of indicators into account, such as the gender division of caring work. Especially with respect to these indicators, gender inequality proves to be rather high. Next to methodological reasons, the on average lower scores on the GE-KBS index may be related to the fact that KBS is a relatively new comprehensive policy area ( Mósedóttir and Erlingsdóttir 2004a). The field of labour has a long policy tradition with a considerable number of stakeholders involved. The comparative analyses of Mósedóttir and Erlingsdóttir (2004) shows that gender equality measures have a strong labour market orientation and focus on reconciliation of work and family life, child care-provisions and special training for women to (re)enter the labour market. The EES, with its gender employment guidelines, seems to have had a clear impact in this respect.

Problem areas in the field of employment remain occupational segregation and the gender pay gap. In addition, the situation with respect to caring work hardly seems to change in the period of study, but the unequal gender division of paid and unpaid work is hardly addressed in EU and national policy. Problematic is also that Denmark and Finland, countries that score rather favourably with respect to gender equality, show a slight negative development on both gender indices. This implies that progress is not self-evident or that women will be the winners of the KBS in countries where they have on average higher educational attainments than men, as is often claimed (see for discussion Serrano-Pacual and Mósesdóttir 2003).

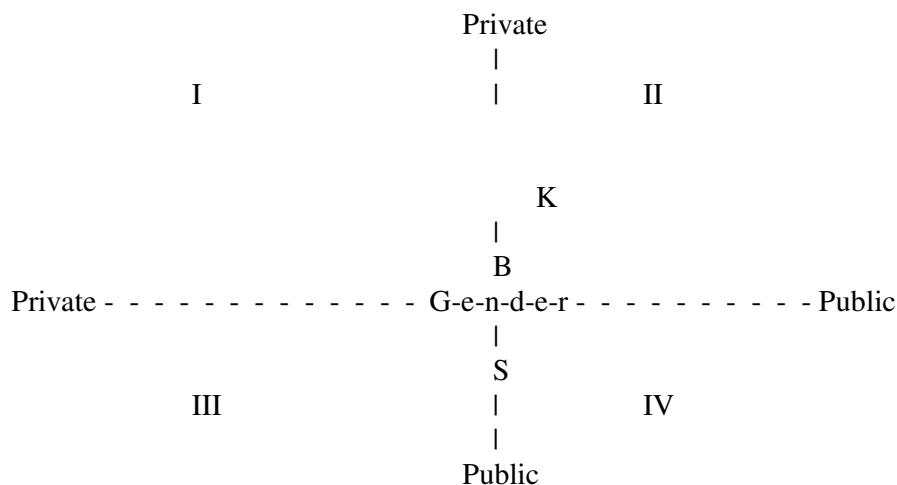
In line with the conclusions of the Kok reports (2003 and 2004), we may conclude from our analyses that still a lot of effort has to be made before the KBS model as defined by the EU will be a reality. Guaranteeing gender equality in the KBS will ask for even more effort. In the next section, we will discuss the empirical results within a broader theoretical framework. Using this framework, we will elaborate on the conditions that have to be fulfilled to improve the process of gender mainstreaming of the KBS. Doing so we will try to provide a provisional answer to the question how gender mainstreaming as a method should be applied to ensure that men and women benefit equally from the transition to the KBS.

### ***5.0 Gender equality and the integration of the gender dimension into KBS as a public good***

In order to better understand the forces behind gender mainstreaming and the incorporation of the gender dimension into the development of KBS and to derive measures that might be successful in improving the scores on the indices discussed above, we will stop for a moment to look at some theoretical notions that may be relevant for the explanation of the (lack of) attention for gender mainstreaming and the integration of gender equality into the development of KBS. Within the economic theory of public finance researchers have developed the concept of public goods, as opposed to private goods (Musgrave and Musgrave 1984). Private goods, such as shoes or a cup of coffee, are generated by market forces. Private parties (consumers)

are prepared *and* able to pay such a price that another private party (a producer) is willing to supply the good. The price the producer asks reflects all of his costs (and some profit margin), while the price the consumer is willing to pay reflects the benefits (s)he expects from the consumption of the good (s)he buys. So, if supply meets demand and a price is settled between parties, this price reflects all costs and benefits involved. In more technical terms: the price reflects the marginal costs of production. There is however, also a series of goods (and services) that will not easily be brought about by market forces. Who is, for instance, on a voluntary basis willing to pay (enough) for a dike, the army, clean air, social security or technological development? All these 'goods' are well beyond the possibility *and* the willingness of any private party to pay for it, because the benefits resulting from such a good are not limited to just one consumer or even a small group of consumers, but extend to the whole region, a whole nation or even go beyond that. These so-called *external effects*, i.e. effects that are not (and often cannot) be reflected in market prices, can explain why such goods are not being brought about by private initiatives, but call for some form of public intervention or collective action.

When we look at gender mainstreaming and the development of a knowledge based society we may use the following scheme.



Both gender and KBS have a public and a private dimension. A woman who chooses to follow a course on technics, who joins a group on the internet or who installs a GPS-system in her car participates in the knowledge based society. Equally, an

employer who hires a female employee for a technical job or who develops a system to monitor elderly people living on their own contributes to the inclusion of the gender dimension into the knowledge based society. These are all private based activities that contribute to the integration of gender equality into the knowledge based society. Also private companies may be willing to invest in KBS or gender issues as far as it serves their own interest. This is not a matter of 'selfishness', but the result of a proper calculation of costs and benefits. This may imply that a company will offer childcare facilities to the highly educated part of its female staff, because they find these workers difficult to replace. Female staff for which replacements are easy to be found will not benefit from these arrangements. Similarly, a company in car construction business may want to develop an economic engine, but they will not feel responsible for the dissemination of that technology to the world of medicine or to further develop this technology in order to contribute to the saving of the environment. All these private actions can be found in the first quadrant (I).

However, individual actions may not be restricted to this first quadrant. Both individual citizens and companies may also be involved in public action, i.e. in bringing about collective goods. Individual citizens may get together as an interest or pressure group, may constitute an non-governmental organisation (NGO) to lobby for new legal rules, to promote a change in employers' behaviour, to promote women to stand up for their rights etc. Such actions that result in public goods in the field of gender can be found in quadrant II. The majority of public goods with respect to gender equality (in the form of legal rules, public childcare facilities, educational budgets for women re-entering the labour market, financial contributions for university departments on women's studies) will be 'produced' by the government, be it the national government or even the EU-authorities.

So, it does not come as a surprise that countries where the government holds a rather strong position in economic life, like the Scandinavian countries in our research, perform relatively well on gender issues. Those countries where the realisation of gender equality is left to the market or to the family perform less well on the issue of gender equality.

Similar collective action may be found in quadrant III. Captains of industry who worry about the future of the national economy may get together and decide to create a platform for the exchange of new technology. Or they may sponsor university research and in doing so contribute to the development of new ideas that may be beneficial for the goals of their own company, but may also contribute to the development of a knowledge-based society at large. Here, in many countries the interference from the part of the government is rather limited. In market oriented economies governments usually refrain from actively participating in the development of technology, except for their contribution to educational budgets (which varies strongly between different countries). Exceptions are those countries with a large national aviation or space industry or countries where the government is deeply involved with the exploitation of natural resources. If the development of KBS is primarily left to market forces there is – just like with the work on gender equality – the risk that some dimensions (like digital illiteracy or social inclusion) will be ‘forgotten’. Usually it is the government that feels responsible to pay attention to these ‘forgotten’ dimensions as well. As can be seen from the earlier WELLKNOW-report on the implications of the KBS for employment and gender relations (Serrano-Pascual and Mósesdóttir 2003), ideas on public tasks in the field of the development of the knowledge based society and about government intervention have been changing over the past years and the EU is now striving to be the most competitive economy in the world by the year of 2010. This competitiveness will to a large extent depend on the development of a knowledge-based society. So, a larger role of the government in quadrant III of our scheme can be expected.

While quadrant II and quadrant III show a mix of activities by private actors and the (public) government the situation in quadrant IV is different. It will only be by coincidence that NGOs ‘working on gender’ will focus on the KBS-dimension. Of course, the KBS-dimension may be involved in a lot of activities, but NGOs promoting gender equality in social security or the reduction of violence against women do not have the knowledge-based society as their natural focus. In some cases however, the KBS-dimension may be central to the promotion of gender equality, for instance when it comes to the promotion of gender equality in education. Many of the discussion in this field relate to the educational segregation between male and female

students. Similarly, unions may bring up KBS-issues when discussing job segregation or on-the-job training.

Looking from the other angle one may conclude that discussions and actions promoting the development of a knowledge-based society (i.e. actions from quadrant III) hardly ever involve gender issues. So, while there is some spill over from quadrant II to quadrant IV, there is almost no spill over from quadrant III to quadrant IV. This implies that major goals set for the integration of the gender dimension into the development of a knowledge based society (i.e. goals for quadrant IV) will only to a minor extent be realised through private initiatives. Usually, government intervention will be necessary to realise goals in this field. As governments have been already active on the issue of gender equality for a longer period of time, whereas they have only recently ‘discovered’ and recognised their responsibility in the field of KBS, it does not come as a surprise that the scores on general gender issues are better than the specific scores on the integration of gender into the knowledge based society.

## ***6.0 How to improve the integration of gender into KBS?***

At a collective level several actors are engaged in KBS or gender activities. However, there seems no ‘natural (private) actor’ to integrate KBS and gender, except more or less incidentally and by coincidence (cf. Mósesdóttir and Erlingsdóttir 2005). Integrating gender into the development of the KBS seems especially a task for policy makers at the national or the EU-level. Based on this conclusion we will in this section address the question how to improve the scores on the integration of gender into KBS? We will try to answer this question using a two-step approach. First, we will – elaborating on the analysis by Sjørup and Behning (2003) – address in some more detail the issue of gender mainstreaming. In the second step we will explore the possibilities and conditions for successful integration of gender into the development of KBS.

## 6.1 Conditions for gender mainstreaming

As Sjørup and Behning (2003:75) point out the EU-website on gender mainstreaming mentions the following tools for gender mainstreaming: 1. dual approach, i.e. the combination of gender mainstreaming and specific actions, 2. gender impact assessment and gender proofing, 3. mobilising all Commission services, 4. anchoring responsibility, 5. training and improving awareness among the staff, and 6. monitoring, benchmarking and breaking down data and statistics by sex. These tools are partly analytical and partly aimed to start or facilitate the change process.

In its final report to the government the former Dutch National Committee on Gender Mainstreaming (TECENA, 2000) has elaborated on the conditions for gender mainstreaming and the tools presented by the EU and concluded that successful gender mainstreaming is very unlikely unless a series of prerequisites on the following issues are met.

### *1. Problem ownership*

Gender mainstreaming cannot be successful if there is no one who feels a clear responsibility for the realisation of gender mainstreaming or – as the former chair of the committee used to say – ‘someone must lose sleep if the goals are not being realised’. This implies that just like with other organisational goals (at the government level: reducing unemployment to a certain level, raising GNP-growth, limiting the budget deficit to the EU-norms) gender mainstreaming should be translated as much as possible into concrete targets. If such targets are being set on annual base the official responsible will have to report on to what extent the targets have been realised and, if so, why the targets have not been met. Mósesdóttir and Erlingsdóttir (2004b) concluded that, at the moment, at the EU-level there is no clear problem owner for gender mainstreaming.

### *2. Structure and organisation*

For gender mainstreaming to be successful it is necessary that the person or the department that is and feels responsible for gender mainstreaming matters within the organisation, i.e. the responsibility for gender mainstreaming must lie high enough within the organisation. If it is ‘just some civil servant’ who cares about gender mainstreaming that will not do. The official in charge of gender mainstreaming must

belong to the higher/senior management officials. In a similar way the staff supporting this official should be part of the line management instead of a service department outside the line management. One may also argue that on the national cabinet level or at the EU-Commission level gender mainstreaming should be the responsibility of someone who is in the centre of power and decision-making, e.g. the prime minister or the president of the Commission. Experiences from the Netherlands show that an assistant secretary (under minister) with emancipation policies or gender mainstreaming as her/his only tasks usually operates less effectively than a cabinet minister who is responsible for instance for employment and social security *and* who attends all cabinet meetings. In this respect it is useful to realise that gender mainstreaming is still a 'merit good', i.e. a product of which consumers buy too little, even though it would be beneficial for them to consume more (Musgrave and Musgrave 1984). Just like parents supply their small children with vegetables because that is good for their health, even though the children would prefer sweet candy, the cabinet minister in charge of gender mainstreaming must be in a position to convince his colleagues that it is useful to have some gender mainstreaming. In exchange he (given the state-of-affairs in most countries preferably a man should be in charge to underline the serious nature of gender mainstreaming) can offer a deal on the other part of his portfolio or support his colleague on another issue. (Again, there is a striking similarity with parents' behaviour, that holds out the prospect of a sweet desert for children who eat their vegetables).

### *3. Gender expertise*

Within the organisation there must be enough gender expertise and awareness available to recognise gender problems or – if it is not present within the organisation – the organisation must be able to recruit this expertise from outside. That is why gender mainstreaming has also to do with the internal personnel management of the organisation. If gender is not on the recruiters' agenda there is the risk that no one in the organisation will have enough gender expertise to contribute seriously to gender mainstreaming. At this point it may be useful to note that it is not necessary that every official (nor every cabinet minister for that matter) is an expert on gender. In a similar way not everyone is supposed to be a financial expert. Every civil servant and every politician however, knows that (s)he cannot ignore the financial implication of his/her actions. And so, if someone launches a proposal (s)he gets in touch with someone

who is familiar with the financial consequences. So, what matters is the awareness that there may be gender aspects involved with a particular policy measure and that it might be useful or necessary to mobilise adequate support and expertise on gender. This expertise should preferably be available within the organisation. Another possibility is to hire this expertise from outside (specialised organisations, universities), just like is often being done for IT-services and other special know-how. In their analysis Mósesdóttir and Erlingsdóttir (2004b) point however, to the fact that this second possibility also holds the risk that the responsibility for gender mainstreaming is laid down *outside* the organisation (for instance with a temporary committee that is disbanded after a few years).

#### *4. Integration instruments*

Gender mainstreaming cannot be successful without adequate instruments to integrate gender into everyday policies. In the meantime the literature on gender shows that several instruments have been developed, like gender impact studies, gender budget analysis, gender audits etc (see for instance Verloo 2001; Behning and Serrano-Pascual (eds.) 2001). There is however, still much discussion going on about what instrument should be applied in what situation and under which conditions. Gender expertise (see under 3) also implies knowledge about these instruments, on how to apply them and on how to interpret and implement the results. The effective application of these instruments also requires a certain level of awareness among those who work with these instruments (usually the small circle of gender experts who for instance are assigned the task of writing a gender impact study) with respect to the way ‘mainstream’ policy makers think and operate. Successful gender mainstreaming makes high demands on communication between gender experts and ‘ordinary men’. It is important that the results of a gender analysis are communicated to policy makers in such a way that they think these results are useful and can help them to solve *their own* problems and improve the quality of the policies for which they carry responsibility.

#### *5. Gender relevant information*

To be able to signal any gender related questions or problems it is necessary to have enough information on gender effects. This requires in the first place the collection of a lot of statistical information. One example is that information should not be

collected at the household level, but at the level of individual women and men. Keeping in mind the growing diversity of the European population the information should not only be collected separately for women and men, but should also include dimensions like education, ethnicity and age ('what is good for *some* women is no longer the right thing for *all* women anymore'). Official (national and EU-)statistics show that there is still a lot to be done in this field. Statistical information however, is only part of what we need to know. Figures often do not speak for themselves; more interesting are causal relations. So, it is not only important that proper statistics are being collected in a systematic manner. It is also important that these statistics are analysed in a systematic way. The bi-annual Dutch Emancipatiemonitor is an example of such a systematic analysis (SCP/CBS, 2004). It reports on the state-of-affairs and developments with respect to women's enrolment in education, their labour market activities, their health situation, the division of care within families etc. Of course, such a monitor report cannot cover but only a few dimensions of gender equality. Next to this regular reports on a few key issues it is important that enough research money and capacity is made available for the analyses of the other dimensions of gender equality that are not included in the monitor report. These analyses may be performed by a government agency, by specialised NGOs or by university departments, as long as the information becomes part of the public debate and is properly disseminated.

#### *6. Staff capacity and budget*

Gender mainstreaming not only requires that there is someone responsible. It also requires that (s)he who has been made responsible for gender mainstreaming also has the tools to deal with this responsibility. This implies that the gender mainstreaming-official or the department that is responsible for gender mainstreaming should not only have gender mainstreaming as a task, next to a series of other tasks and without enough time, capacity and budget, but also the means to work on this task. Of course, this point is strongly linked with the second point discussed above on the organisational embeddedness of the responsibility for gender mainstreaming. If the policy maker or the official is senior enough (s)he will be more successful in securing enough money and capacity for the task of gender mainstreaming. Something similar holds with respect to the position of the department or agency.

These prerequisites can be formulated at the level of a specific organisation, but also – as the examples show - at the national level. Meeting these prerequisites is a necessary, but certainly not a sufficient condition for successful gender mainstreaming. Successful gender mainstreaming will be made or broken by the willingness and the mindset of those responsible for policy making. They will have to be convinced that gender equality is both a matter of equity and of efficiency. This is a political process and requires political decisions that are more in the field of ethics than in the field of scientific analysis.

## **6.2 Conditions for successful integration of gender into the KBS**

The next step involves the – even more difficult - discussion of the integration of gender into the development of the knowledge-based society. As Mósesdóttir and Serrano-Pascual (2003) have pointed out the development of and growth towards a knowledge based society presents several challenges from the gender perspective. These have to do with education, necessary skills, the organisation of work, the reconciliation of work and family life and the risk of social exclusion – to mention just a few items. As Mósesdóttir and Serrano-Pascual (2003) have discussed these items at length and in a thorough way it is not necessary to go into them again. It is more interesting to focus on the translation of the conditions for gender mainstreaming formulated in the previous section in the light of these challenges presented by the knowledge-based society.

First, there is the question of problem ownership. It is not always clear whether gender mainstreaming and the (European) employment strategy do have the same owners. The overview of the actors responsible presented by Mósesdóttir and Erlingsdóttir (2004a) shows very different actors for employment, gender mainstreaming and KBS, respectively. Those policy makers responsible for improving women's labour market participation and for the reconciliation of work and family life do not always seem to realise that working in 21<sup>st</sup> century Europe will – to a large extent – be working in a knowledge based society. The other way round those responsible for the development of the knowledge based society do not always fully recognise that this development is bound to fail if they do not embrace women as major partners and contributors to this development. Not only constitute women half

of the work force in ageing societies where there will be increasing shortages of workers. They are also key actors in raising children and in the educational choices children make (especially where it concerns their daughters). So, even after the highest political officials agreed on the Lisbon targets in 2000 this does not automatically imply that they also take full responsibility for the integrated implementation of these targets. Many EU-countries show a structure where the targets with respect to employment and gender mainstreaming were assigned to one branch of government, while the targets with respect to the development of the knowledge based society were assigned to another branch, usually with strong connections with large companies and a strong market orientation. As a result no one and no department or agency feels responsible for the integration as no one is on a day-to-day base responsible for both issues. The heads of government are, of course, but this usually remains a paper responsibility (until they meet again at some other European summit). And even in countries where the prime minister has expressed a special responsibility for and interest in the development of a knowledge-based society (like the Dutch prime minister Balkenende who chairs the Dutch national platform on technological innovation) he seems to have 'forgotten' the gender dimension.

As has been demonstrated earlier in this report in most countries the development of the knowledge based society is a matter of both private and public initiatives. Technological development often results from innovations made by large companies with extensive laboratories (for instance in electronics, chemistry, car industry, aviation, food industry). Given the so-called 'glass ceiling' women are often underrepresented in the boardrooms of these large companies and do not play a part in the decision making process on technology and innovation. Of course, governments support all kinds of projects (for instance through ESF-EQUAL-projects) to break this glass ceiling. This is however, a matter of holding out long. In the meantime it is important that women, or better: gender expertise is available on every government or mixed committee in which the government participates that advices on the knowledge based society, develops new initiatives etc.

In this field we also have to deal with a lot that we do not know yet. We do know that women are underrepresented in so-called male jobs and that women do not seem to be

fond of technology. We also know that in most countries female students prefer to choose 'soft' topics like law, psychology and care-oriented courses and refrain from mathematics, physics and chemistry. But we do also know that in several countries the majority of medical students is female nowadays. And we also know that if boys and girls have their math classes separately girls' marks show a remarkable increase and that more girls are inclined to opt for technical studies and jobs. So, there is a lot of gender relevant information to be acquired and gender impact studies to be written. From this perspective it is a pity that specialised NGOs and gender departments in universities have been hit by budgetary cut backs during the last few years in several countries. This relates to another problem of gender mainstreaming, which is the problem that policy makers often seem to think that one incidental injection is enough to safeguard gender mainstreaming ('but there has been a project on gender mainstreaming three years ago'), whereas gender mainstreaming is a continuous process that requires permanent maintenance (just like for instance controlling the budget. Everyone would laugh if someone argued 'but we already controlled the budget three years ago'). The empirical results for Denmark and Finland, where the scores on the gender indices have not improved but deteriorated, may be seen as an illustration of this problem.

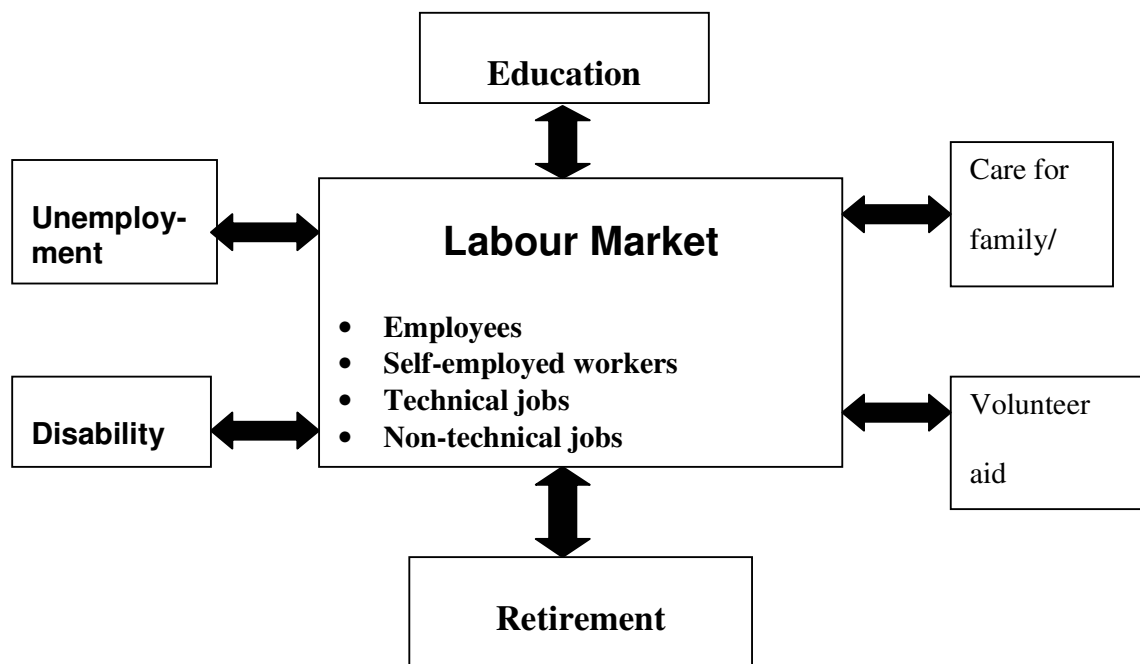
A final point in this analysis relates to a well-known discussion in feminist literature: should women adapt to the male standard or should we develop a new standard. A similar argument holds with respect to technology and the knowledge based society. Already in 1994 the former Dutch National Council on Equal Opportunity (Emancipatieraad) pointed to the fact that technology was usually male-oriented and primarily reflected "designers' value" in stead of "users' or practical value" (Emancipatieraad 1994). Technological progress was (and still is) usually defined in terms of more complicated designs or – in simple terms – 'a machine with more handles and more buttons to press'. That is why technology is often associated with the idea of art-for-art's sake, nerds and loners. The Council concluded that this kind of technology is not very popular among men and boys as well. So, maybe it's not women who have a problem, but the problem may lie in the nature of technology itself. A series of examples (not definite evidence!) illustrates the Council's view that if technology is problem oriented, designed to solve real problems and has practical value women (and men) show less reservations and are much more inclined to show

an interest in the development of and working with technology. So, next to the other steps that have to be taken to improve the integration of gender into the development of the knowledge based society, it may be worthwhile to pay more attention to questions like what do we really mean by and want with a knowledge based society. What kind of knowledge is it all about? Is it primarily about technical knowledge (on how things work) or is it also about knowledge about the needs of other citizens or the knowledge of the European history and culture or about the knowledge how to organise the workplace in an efficient and still social way? Discussing this question, which is of course primarily a political question, may shed a new light on the opportunities and risks for the integration of gender into the knowledge-based society.

Of course, in the end individual women have to and will benefit from gender mainstreaming and the inclusion of gender equality into the KBS. Next to these rather indirect effects we may also look more directly to life courses and labour market careers of women and men. On the *individual level* it might be useful to connect to the so-called transitional labour market approach (Schipper 2004). This approach offers a powerful tool to monitor the consequences for individual women and men in terms of life courses and labour market careers of the development towards a knowledge based society. The concept of a transitional labour market has been primarily developed at the Wissenschaftszentrum in Berlin, but in the meantime several researchers from economics, law and sociology – especially from the European continent - have adopted it as a useful concept for their analyses. The basic, normative idea behind the concept is, to put it very briefly and without acknowledging all kinds of subtle differentiation brought forward in different studies, that institutional boundaries between working and not working and between the labour market and other domains should not be treated rigidly. In stead, these boundaries should be ‘fluid’, depending upon the state of the economy. This may imply for instance that policy measures with respect to the unemployed may differ depending on the macroeconomic situation. When the whole economy is in a deadlock and overall unemployment is high, it may be worthwhile to relax unemployed workers’ obligations to apply for (not available) paid jobs. In stead they might be encouraged to take up unpaid, voluntary work in order to: a. do something useful for society and b. maintain some sort of rhythm and not to pine away at home on the sofa. When the economy and unemployment starts growing, the obligations to look for a paid job may

be accentuated again. So, the unemployment regime breathes along with economy. A similar argumentation may apply for the transition between the educational system and the labour market and for the transition from the labour market into retirement. As a matter of fact many European countries have experienced with pre-pension and early retirement schemes to relieve the pressure of excess supply on the labour market during the last two decades. So, several authors present the transitional labour market in schemes like the one from figure 4.

**Figure 4. Transitional labour market**



Looking at the transitional labour market concept from an analytical perspective Schippers (2001) has argued that this concept offers an interesting framework to study flows at, from and towards the labour market. With respect to each of these flows (the arrows between the domains in figure 4) one can ask questions like:

- Which institutions rule the transition between two domains, i.e. the flow from one domain to another?
- Are different groups (women, low-educated, older workers) equally present in the flow from one domain to another or are some groups under or over represented?

- Is the bridge between two domains a one way street or can the bridge be crossed in two directions and does this hold equally for different groups?
- What is the price of making a transition, for instance in terms of foregone earnings, career opportunities and future pension benefits and does this price differ between different groups in the labour market?

Together the answers to these questions provide policy makers with the relevant information they need for their labour market policies. After all, labour market policy is usually about blocking off, stimulating or guiding flows. It is about preventing workers from becoming disabled, stimulating workers to make the transition from unemployment to work, or enabling people to combine work and family life in such a way that it does not damage their professional career (too much).

When it comes to the integration of gender into the knowledge based society relevant questions – and the results of the analyses by Caprile and Potrony (2004) give some answers to these questions already - may be:

- Do jobs in a knowledge-based society offer better or worse opportunities for women and men for the reconciliation of work and family life?
- Do these jobs offer better or worse opportunities for re-entering the labour market after a career interruption?
- What does the development towards a knowledge-based society imply for the opportunities for recurring education for women and men?

Some authors (see for instance Sap and Schippers 2005) argue that the fact that an increasing share of men have to update their education in order to be able to perform their jobs during later stages in life compensates the disadvantage of women who interrupt their labour market careers because of caring for children.

Answering these questions – once again this stresses the need for more and more detailed analyses – will also reveal, for instance, whether the development towards a knowledge based society will not only have different implications for women and for men, but also for high versus low educated women, young versus old women or for autochthonous women versus women from immigrant ethnic minority groups.

## CONCLUSION

In this report, we have sought to identify whether policies and performances in the area of Knowledge Based Society (KBS), employment and gender equality across Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Spain, Hungary and Iceland are converging. In addition, the role of actors and country-specific institutions in shaping policy processes and performances has been highlighted. Finally, we have used our analyses in this report to evaluate how the gender mainstreaming strategy should be improved in order to ensure a progress towards gender equality as we move towards KBS. In the following, we will summarise the main arguments and results presented in the three chapters of this report.

### *Policies and performances*

It is not easy to distinguish between policy approaches adopted by EU on the one hand and the member states on the other hand as many member states have integrated their past and present measures into the employment discourse of the EES. However, Lilja Mósesdóttir and Rosa G. Erlingsdóttir argue in their chapters that EU has managed through the EES to achieve a convergence in the objectives of employment, gender equality and KBS policies at the national level. These common objectives are activation throughout the life course and elimination of gender gaps and skill gaps. However, the EES is a soft-law approach which leaves space for political choices at the member state level when it comes to when and how to achieve the objectives of the EES. EU has, thus, set quantitative targets in order to push the member states to implement measures to achieve the objectives of the EES. The influence of the EES has, however, been weaker in countries where the main employment targets have already been achieved, as is the case in Denmark. By failing to acknowledge that some member countries have already achieved the employment objectives, the EES does not give enough impulse for these countries to intensive efforts to achieve progress in more difficult areas or to tackle gender segregation of labour markets and the gender pay gap.

According to Lilja Mósesdóttir and Rósa G. Erlingsdóttir, most of the seven partner countries studied have adopted a liberal-economic approach to employment and

implemented measures to “make work pay”. These measures are tax cuts and changes to pension policies to create greater incentives to participate in paid work as well as active employment policies (re)integrating more people into employment. The seven partner countries follow the two-track gender strategy involving, on the one hand, special measures to improve the situation of women and, on the other hand, the integration of the gender perspective into policies. In practice, the authorities in these countries rely to a greater extent on special actions/measures focusing on women rather than on implementing gender mainstreaming into public policies. Special actions/measures are, however, in most cases temporary, low budget initiatives which do not challenge the male-dominated structures of labour markets or societies. Measures implemented are, for example, to improve, in particular, women’s opportunities to combine work and family life and to provide training for women to facilitate their (re-)entry into the labour market. The majority of the partner countries have also adopted a two-track strategy to promote the KBS involving, on the one hand, life-long learning policies within the active labour market policies to prevent skill gaps from arising and, on the other hand, special measures or action programmes to promote the Information Society or the KBS. In most cases, the KBS strategies make only a general reference to gender mainstreaming by stressing that both men and women will benefit from flexible working arrangements and training possibilities.

Since the Lisbon Council (2000), the overall aim of EU is to become the most competitive knowledge based economy with more and better jobs as well as gender equality. EU has used the EES as a policy instrument to achieve this goal. As demonstrated by Chantal Remery, Joop Schippers and Maria Caprile, the extent to which EU15 as well as Hungary and Iceland have managed to attain the various dimensions of this aim differ widely. In 2002, Denmark ranked highest on the dimensions of KBS, quality of working life and gender equality while Spain had the least favourable position among the seven partner countries. In addition, it is not possible to cluster countries around certain performance patterns during 1997-2002. A shift towards better jobs occurred in most of the seven countries. However, the statistical analyses did not pinpoint a direct link between the KBS on the one hand and social inclusion and gender equality on the other hand. Large gender gaps exist in all the countries and trends during 1997-2002 were both positive and negative in relation to gender dimensions of the KBS and quality of working life. It is noteworthy, that

gender outcomes were more favourable with respect to quality of working life than the KBS but EU has sought to gender mainstream the employment objectives of the EES. Moreover, the development in Denmark and Finland as concerns the gender dimensions was negative during the period. In other words, it is not evident that the KBS will have positive implications for gender equality and the progress in this area can easily be reversed. Chantal Remery, Joop Schippers and Maria Caprile therefore argue that both EU and national states need to take on a much greater responsibility for the progress towards gender equality than they have done so far.

#### *A European approach?*

The analyses in this report reveal that EU has been able to use the EES to influence the various policy paradigms<sup>3</sup> at the member state level as concerns the identification of problems (low employment level, gender gaps and skill gaps) and to a lesser extent solutions to solve these problems (e.g. activation, reconciliation policies and life-long learning). As argued in chapter one, policies implemented to achieve the objectives of the EES are still seen as an important area of national policy autonomy/interest, although most member countries have a positive view of the EES. Hence, a European approach to employment and gender mainstreaming or a European policy paradigm is slowly developing across the member states, although still patchy and more at the rhetoric level than the level of implementation. However, the EES has, so far, not altered or created alternatives as concerns the selection of actors engaged in the design and implementation of employment policies at the national level.

As demonstrated by Lilja Mósedóttir and Rósa G. Erlingsdóttir, EU has strengthened the role of officials working in the area of employment, as they have been given the responsibility to report about the progress at the national level. The social partners are able to influence the implementation of the EES in countries where a tri-partial system of interest representation existed prior to 1997. Gender equality and KBS are relatively new comprehensive policy areas that have not yet become the “property” of specific group(s). Hence, governments at the national level play an active role in selecting representatives when designing and implementing policies in these areas.

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<sup>3</sup> Policy paradigm refers to: (1) gender problems, (2) policy solutions implemented to tackle these gender problems, (3) the ultimate policy goals of these solutions and (4) the appropriate role of government and actors.

The responsibility for the KES policy area has in most cases been given to prime ministers offices and to ad hoc committees at the ministerial level that distribute a relatively large budget to individual projects and measures. This contrasts sharply with the low budget and low profile action programmes in the area of gender equality which are in most cases the responsibility of an individual ministry. However, EU has created opportunities for women and NGOs to act as political actors and experts by intensifying its pressure on the member states to give them access to policy processes.

The policy goal of EU's efforts to create a European approach to employment and gender mainstreaming is among others to achieve gender equality across the union. If this goal is to be achieved, structures, processes and relations underlying men's and women's unequal position need to be transformed. However, the EES is a soft regulation and as such unable to transform divergent institutional and political conditions prevailing across the member states. Hence, the progress towards, for example, gender equality has, so far, been slow and uneven within the Union as demonstrated in chapter three. Moreover, the focus of efforts to achieve gender equality at both EU and the member state levels has been on changing women's behaviour. Limited attention has been given to long working hours among men in some of the member states and the low share of men caring for children and dependents inside and outside the labour market. As pointed out in chapter two, this unbalanced approach to gender equality does not benefit disadvantaged men and contradicts to a certain extent common views in Europe that both men and women need to change their behaviour. Finally, EU's goal of achieving economic growth through a greater coordination of economic, fiscal, employment and social policies undermines the objective of gender equality as women are encouraged to participate in paid work at the same time as the structures and process crowding women into less rewarding jobs (low skill and low paid) are not tackled.

As discussed in chapter two, at least four welfare state models exist within the union which vary in their capacity to integrate and realise employment and social objectives of the EES. These are: (1) Nordic social democratic welfare states (e.g. Denmark and Finland); (2) Continental corporatist welfare states (e.g. Germany and Austria); (3) Mediterranean welfare states (e.g. Spain) and (4) Liberal regime (e.g. Britain and Hungary). Countries like the Netherlands and Iceland have been classified as hybrid

cases; the former having both social democratic and corporatist features while the latter has both social democratic and liberal characteristics. The Continental and the Mediterranean countries have, so far, had greater difficulties in adhering to EU's objective of closing the gender gap in employment and to provide childcare facilities than the Nordic countries that had already in 1997 ensured universal access to social services and high female employment rates. It is, and will be, difficult to integrate an extensive provision of social services outside the family into the Continental and the Mediterranean welfare states without a dramatic change in their structures. At the same time, Nordic countries have been able to successfully integrate new needs such as universal access to ICTs and skills into their welfare model. Lilja Mósedóttir and Rósa G. Erlingsdóttir argue that EU's incremental influences at the national level will continue to accumulate and lead to a radical change in countries where the welfare state model gives traditionally supported the male breadwinner model as e.g. in Spain. The forces behind the incremental expansion of EU regulation are, on the one hand, the growing need to activate women to ensure economic growth and, on the other hand, the soft-law approach of the EES which will gradually legitimate EU's intervention into the social sphere across the members states.

strive

EU's endeavour to achieve economic growth comparable with that of the US will not in itself lead to or enable the member states to attain gender equality. Gender equality can be viewed in terms of what economists call public or collective good (Mósedóttir 2004:19). Individuals struggling for gender equality cannot exclude other non-participants from reaping the benefits of more gender equality. Moreover, struggle for gender equality may come at a cost as those at the forefront of the struggle run the risk of being denied jobs, pay increases and career progression by those who fear that greater gender equality will be to their detriment. Hence, the private costs of promoting gender equality are often higher than the benefit to the individual of such efforts. This discourages individuals from pushing for gender equality, which justifies state actions or what Chantal Remery, Joop Schipper and Maria Caprile call public actions such as the implementation of the gender mainstreaming strategy to promote it. Moreover, the gender mainstreaming strategy can only lead to lasting progress towards gender equality if it tackles structures, processes and relations subordinating women to men.

### *Gender mainstreaming*

Lilja Mósedóttir and Rósa G. Erlingsdóttir found that a political commitment to gender mainstreaming in all of the seven partner countries was to a large extent due to international agreements at UN and EU levels. Moreover, the countries have adopted an administrative-technical approach to gender mainstreaming as opposed to a transformative approach and the strategy appears to be at the stage of discourse and institutional building rather than at the stage of implementation. Hence, gender interests, structures and processes are inadequately integrated into the gender mainstreaming strategy and thus insufficiently tackled. In view of this and the fact that gender equality is a public good, Chantal Remery, Joop Schippers and Maria Caprile identify the prerequisites for a successful implementation of the gender mainstreaming strategy that is able to ensure a progress towards gender equality as we move towards the KBS.

According to Chantal Remery, Joop Schippers and Maria Caprile, these prerequisites are:

#### 1. Problem ownership

Gender mainstreaming cannot be successful if nobody feels a clear responsibility for its realisation. In all too many instances, dynamic interaction (e.g. feed-back mechanism) between gender mainstreaming and the EES is lacking, for the simple reason that responsibility for the two strategies is split between two different owners/entities/institutions. Moreover, the actors influencing KBS policies are in most cases different from those shaping other policy areas. Hence, it is difficult to identify those who are responsible for achieving policy objectives. Also, the actors appreciating the importance of integrating the gender perspective into different policy area are not always involved in policy-making.

#### 2. Structure and organisation

For gender mainstreaming to be successful, a person or a department high enough in the hierarchy must be given the responsibility for the implementation of the strategy. In many EU countries, the responsibility for achieving targets of the EES is given to different ministries and seldom to the prime minister's office.

### 3. Gender expertise

The organisation must have access to gender expertise to be able to recognise gender problems and the appropriate solutions to them. In too many organisations, everyone is expected to be able to integrate the gender perspective into their work without any prior knowledge of the issues at stake.

### 4. Integration instruments

Gender mainstreaming cannot be successful without adequate instruments to integrate gender issues into everyday policies. Various tools to ensure and monitor progress need to be implemented on a permanent basis to ensure progress. Policy makers often seem to think that one incidental injection is enough to safeguard gender mainstreaming.

### 5. Gender relevant information

Statistical information and policy studies are essential when identifying gender related problems and best practices.

### 6. Staff capacity and budget

Gender mainstreaming requires that the one who has been made responsible for gender mainstreaming within an organisation also has the tools – time, money and authority – to deal with this responsibility.

To sum up, the partner countries are making a progress towards the KBS, although this transition does not automatically lead to greater equality among men and women. Hence, EU and national governments in Europe need to intensify their commitment to gender equality by implementing gender mainstreaming as a transformative tool. The unequal position of men and women can only be transformed if the focus is not only on women's behaviour but also on men's behaviour. Finally, the strategy must be capable of tackling structures, process and relations underlying unequal position of men and women.

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## **APPENDIX 1: tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3**

**Table 2.1. Main approaches to employment policies in the 7 partner countries.**

Country	Aims	Solutions	Assessment	EU/EES impact
<b>Austria</b>	<p>The overall goal of the active employment policy is to improve the employability especially among elderly people and women.</p> <p>-Promote the employment of older workers 55-65, both male and female.</p> <p>- Raise the female employment rate from 60% in 2001 to 65% in 2005.</p>	<p><u>Legislative measures and policy reforms:</u></p> <p>-Employment friendly tax reform in 2000: A reduction of cost related to labour, a major simplification of the tax system and a reduced taxation of profits of individually owned firms.</p> <p>-A reform package to safeguard the public pension system by reducing the number of people taking early retirement and through measures to increase older workers employment rates.</p> <p><u>Active employment measures:</u></p> <p>A change from a passive income substitution measures to a more active approach to encourage those actively seeking jobs. A number of policies have been designed to foster employment and investment in human resources.</p> <p>-Encourage new business start-ups, to increase self-employment and promote young entrepreneurs.</p> <p>-Re-entry of women into the labour market through training, special courses and by improved childcare.</p> <p>The labour market service is currently going through a re-organization to make life-long learning user-friendlier and to reduce the placement time of the unemployed to a max. of 90 days.</p>	<p><u>Overall:</u></p> <p>There has been a transition from social partnership to a liberal approach to employment since 2000.</p> <p><u>Employment policy:</u></p> <p>The focus is on training or on the supply side instead of the demand side. The focus is mainly on creating new jobs through training, education and R&amp;D policies.</p> <p>The increase of (female) employment was mainly due to the growing number of part time jobs in the service sector.</p> <p>Women's employment is mainly promoted by means of flexible working hours, improvements in the work-life balance and affordable childcare facilities. The active employment policy does, however, not include measures to ensure female full-time employment in the same amount as male full-time employment. The latest Eurostat data shows that 85% of all part time jobs in Austria are carried out by women.</p>	<p><u>Overall:</u></p> <p>The national employment policy has to be in agreement with the fundamentals of economic policy or in line with zero budget.</p> <p><u>More specified:</u></p> <p>The overall budget for employment policy is decided by the government and co-ordinated by the ministry of financial affairs. Under the pressure to fulfill the "zero budget line" it can happen, that the annual amount of money for specific measures can be cut down in relation to the overall budget line, which is the responsibility of the ministry of finance.</p>

Country	Aims	Solutions	Assessment	EU/EES impact
<b>Denmark</b>	<p>The overall objective of the active employment policy is to create an inclusive labour market, to increase activation, to finance the welfare state and to ensure continued economic growth.</p> <p>Concerns about ageing labour force, sickness absences and safety at work.</p> <p>The aim of the government is to improve the entrepreneurship culture and to put forward a legislative reform for private enterprises.</p>	<p><u>Legislative measures and policy reforms:</u> Structural reforms in taxation and labour market policies.</p> <p>A reform of the pension system to postpone retirement from the labour market.</p> <p>Competitiveness package to improve the conditions for running a business including different initiatives, which aim at making it attractive to invest in R&amp;D activities.</p> <p><u>Active employment measures:</u> -An action plan on upgrading IT skills at all levels of the educational system. -A reform of the adult vocational training system since 2001. -From 2002 governmental action plan on better education programmes. -A governmental report on sickness absence and safety and health at work. A broad range of measures to reduce the absence days. -Awareness-initiatives undertaken to make it possible for the disadvantaged to retain and or to obtain a new place in the labour market. Focus on measures against discrimination against groups of ethnic minorities. -Measures to promote flexible forms of employment contracts.</p>	<p>Structures and organizations need to change so that individuals will be able to use their full potentials.</p> <p>The government wants to modernize the organization of work, create a better framework conditions for entrepreneurs and small enterprises and support their adaptability.</p> <p>The focus of the activation policy has been on groups with low labour market participation and those that have not yet benefited from the economic prosperity such as immigrants, elderly people and women. It emphasizes the need to upgrade the skills of the unemployed. The purpose is to limit the number of people on pension or welfare benefits.</p> <p>Funds have been established to improve the access to capital, for example the “Growth fund” and the “Entrepreneurship fund”.</p>	<p><u>Overall:</u> When Denmark submitted the first NAP in 1998, the country had already for five years pursued a stable economic growth and growing employment.</p> <p>This means that it is difficult to assess the direct impact of the EES.</p> <p>A reason why the EES was not given priority is also due to the fact that Denmark had already met the Lisbon employment target for 2010 of a 70% employment rate and a special employment rate of 60% for women.</p> <p><u>More specified:</u></p>

Country	Aims	Solutions	Assessment	EU/EES impact
<b>Finland</b>	<p>The active employment policy focuses on increased employability, long term / regional unemployment, the ageing of the population and the enterprise competitiveness.</p> <p>Aims:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Increase employment at least by 100.000 persons by the end of the election period in 2007.</li> <li>-Keep workers active in the labour markets for longer periods of time.</li> <li>-Increase the productivity of labour and to improve the quality of work.</li> </ul> <p>The life-long learning strategy is implemented</p> <p>The education and training policy aims at developing the skills of people in all labour market groups.</p>	<p><u>Legislative measures and policy reforms:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Revisions of the pension and labour legislation.</li> </ul> <p><u>Active employment measures:</u></p> <p>The employment policy programme will be carried out through sub-programmes which include several special measures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Develop and reform the public employment service and its service structures with new Labour Force Service Centres and Job-hunting Centres.</li> <li>-Activation of labour market support benefit.</li> <li>-Active labour market programmes and training.</li> <li>-Prolongation of work carriers.</li> <li>-Emphasis on support for entrepreneurship with a special governmental entrepreneurship policy programme.</li> <li>-Increased governmental spending on R&amp;D.</li> </ul>	<p>An economic approach to employment.</p> <p>Political demands to achieve global competitiveness of the economy and to ensure individual protection against social risks.</p> <p>A transition is taking place involving a shift from individual support measures to measures aiming at improving the labour market functionality and performances.</p>	<p><u>Overall:</u></p> <p>Government programmes have in most cases been the basis of employment policy. The employment policy has traditionally been a part of the national economic policy. The tripartite system has been effective. EES serves as an extra justification for policies that would have been introduced anyway.</p> <p><u>More specified:</u></p> <p>EES has put pressures on the traditional employment policy to take gender equality issues more seriously and in a different, more European manner.</p> <p>EES principles strongly support the Finnish selection of competition-skills approaches in the labour market.</p>

Country	Aims	Solutions	Assessment	EU/EES impact
<b>Hungary</b>	<p>Low level of employment, especially for women and older generations.</p> <p>High level of inactivity, especially for women.</p> <p>Gender gap (labour market activity, income, occupational, segregation etc.).</p> <p>JAP 2001, Joint Assessment of the Employment policy priorities, a programme laying the groundwork for Hungary's accession to the EU.</p> <p><u>Aims:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-to increase overall employment rate.</li> <li>-to establish a more flexible labour market (part-time work, etc.).</li> <li>-regional mobility.</li> <li>-investment in human resources.</li> <li>-initial education and training.</li> <li>-continuing vocational education and training.</li> <li>-equal pay for equal work.</li> <li>-to reconcile work and family life.</li> </ul>	<p><u>Legislative measures and policy reforms:</u></p> <p>Pension reform in 1997 that aims at increasing the retirement age of women and men. It should attain 62 years in 2008.</p> <p>Revision of taxation and welfare benefits.</p> <p>Diminishing non-wage labour cost.</p> <p><u>Active employment measures:</u></p> <p>Promoting family friendly workplaces, expand child-care possibilities (NAP 2004) and courses organized for women returning to work.</p>	<p>The JAP did not discuss the special employment problems of women. In a follow-up report after EU evaluation, the gender dimension was added to the JAP. NAP (2004) deals more specifically with this issue.</p> <p>Political environment changing after each election such that there is a major change in policies every four years. Moreover, a rapid change at the ministerial level as concerns that is responsible for particular policy that in turn hinders implementation of planned policies.</p>	<p><u>Overall:</u></p> <p>Increasing relevance of the EES since 2002. It has effected and improved the quality of policy documents such as JAP and NFT.</p> <p><u>More specified:</u></p> <p>National development plan, NFT, is divided into five policy areas. Its role is to enable the government technically to utilize the EU structural and cohesion funds.</p> <p>Long term objective:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Improve living conditions in the country in general.</li> <li>-Decrease the territorial differences in the degree of development in compared to the EU.</li> <li>-Limited number of gender equality measures. They are partly financed by the EU-funds.</li> </ul>

Country	Aims	Solutions	Assessment	EU/EES impact
Iceland	<p>Active employment policy implemented to prevent disequilibrium in the labour market and to stimulate women's entrepreneurial activities.</p> <p>The life-long learning strategy implemented to enhance the skills of the unskilled.</p> <p>Pension policy used to encourage active ageing of workers older than 67 years.</p>	<p><u>Legislative measures and policy reforms:</u></p> <p>Tax rate cuts to increase rewards from working and cuts in enterprise taxes.</p> <p>Active employment policy</p> <p>A comprehensive employment strategy has not been developed but job-related education and training has become an integrated part of activities to improve the position of the low skilled that are the most prone to unemployment.</p> <p>1. <u>Active employment policy</u> involves mostly inactive measures or the payment of unemployment benefits</p> <p>2. <u>The life-long learning strategy</u> involves funding of educational and training courses/programmes organized by private initiatives and the social partners</p> <p>Legislative measures and policy</p> <p>Pension payments increase if retirement postponed to 70 years. No early retirement available.</p>	<p>The employment policy involves dispersed activities and there is hardly any co-ordination with other related policy areas.</p> <p>No impact studies have been made of the overall impact of the employment policy but it has been reviewed by the Icelandic federation of labour (ASÍ):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- unemployment benefits are too low to cover the basic cost of living.</li> <li>- regional and local offices spend too much time on registration at the cost of assistance to those in search of work.</li> <li>- The young, unskilled, the long-term unemployed and those older than 55 years need more active support.</li> </ul> <p>Impact study of the Women's collateral fund revealed that it had succeeded in enabling women to engage in entrepreneurial activities. However, women ventured into low wage/profit areas such as handwork/handicraft and souvenir production.</p> <p>The Icelandic labour market is characterized by a relatively large share of low skilled workers on the one hand and highly skilled workers on the other hand. Life-long learning has increased even further the division between the low skilled and the highly skilled in the Icelandic labour market as it mainly benefits the latter group</p> <p>The gender perspective has not been integrated into active employment measures and life-long learning strategy.</p>	<p>Iceland does not participate in the European Employment Strategy (EES) but adopts EU labour market directives as a part of the European Economic Agreement (1994) either as laws or in collective agreements.</p> <p>The Confederation of Icelandic labour (ASÍ) and the Directorate of labour have closely followed the development of the EES and they have encouraged the Ministry of affairs to adopt the methodology (OMC) to ensure greater coordination of the diffuse initiatives in the area of employment, life-long learning and regional policy.</p> <p>So far, there has not been a political will to take up the EES as it is considered to constrain the actions of the national authorities to respond to employment problems that may arise.</p>

Country	Aims	Solutions	Assessment	EU/EES impact
<b>The Netherlands</b>	<p>Main employment problems:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-High inactivity rates of women, older people and ethnic minorities</li> <li>-Large number of people on social benefits, unemployment benefits and on disability benefits.</li> </ul> <p>Main aim of employment policy to increase the participation rate.</p>	<p><u>Legislative measures and policy reforms:</u></p> <p>The wide range of policy measures includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Reform of the disability insurance system to stop the growth in the number of disabled person and re-integrate disabled persons.</li> <li>-Reform of the unemployment benefits.</li> <li>-Reform of the Act on social assistance in order to encourage employment.</li> </ul> <p><u>Several legislative measures such as:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Working hours (adjustment) Act.</li> <li>-Work and Care Act.</li> <li>-Major tax reform (aimed at reducing high marginal tax rates and making work more rewarding, especially in the low income segment).</li> </ul> <p>During the nineties: extension of the supply of childcare and after school facilities (followed by cut-backs after the year 2002).</p> <p><u>Active employment measures such as:</u></p> <p>Activation through comprehensive approach: (unemployed people receive a work offer within 12 months or participate in a social activation programme).</p> <p>Life-long learning action plan has been developed and is implemented in collaboration with the social partners. Measures include extra funding of vocational education, introduction of a system of recognition of prior learning, promotion of the dual system and experiments with individual learning accounts.</p>	<p>Relatively low unemployment figures for men and for women.</p> <p>Increased participation of women, especially of women with children. Increased participation of older workers.</p> <p>Formal childcare facilities for about 20-25% of children 0-4 years old.</p> <p>After school facilities for up to 10% of children 5-12 years old.</p>	<p>Overall:</p> <p>Aspects / Affects of EES and related EU policies:</p> <p>The Netherlands benefited from the EES on four points in particular: encompassing comprehensive approach for the unemployed, life-long learning, statistical monitoring and the quantitative goal for female labour participation.</p> <p>EES serves as an extra justification for policy that would have been introduced anyway.</p> <p>The EES has stimulated the development of a policy for life-long learning aiming at increasing the quality of labour. The strategy adopted is in line with EU policy and includes benchmarking aiming at increasing the number of people taking part in education and training. Emphasis is put on the involvement of the social partners and that training should be a part of collective agreements.</p> <p><u>More specified:</u></p>

Country	Aims	Solutions	Assessment	EU/EES impact
Spain	<p>The employment policy has focused on flexible labour markets and is considered complementary to flexibility policies.</p> <p>Main problems in employment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Long-term unemployment.</li> <li>-Women's unemployment.</li> <li>-Youth unemployment.</li> <li>-Low labour market participation of women, vertical and horizontal gender segregation and a large gender pay gap.</li> <li>-Lack of vocational qualifications.</li> </ul>	<p><u>Legislative measures and policy reforms:</u></p> <p>New employment laws in 1997, 2001 and 2002.</p> <p>Changes in taxation to foster stable employment and to reduce the taxwedge, especially among second earner, unskilled workers and part-time workers.</p> <p><u>Active employment measures:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Significant increase in the resources aimed at active policies.</li> <li>-More individualized attention to unemployed, greater emphasis on the prevention of long-term unemployment and specific measures for disadvantages groups.</li> </ul> <p>The active employment policy includes active measures coherent with the policy of increased flexibility:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Emphasis has been on improving the opportunities for the second earner (women) to combine work and family life.</li> <li>-Decentralization and reorganization of the PES; A transfer of the management of the active employment policies from central government to the Autonomous Communities.</li> </ul>	<p>An economic approach to employment.</p> <p>Since 1997 the employment rate has risen from 51% to 58% in 2002.</p> <p>Growth in employment led to detriment of employment quality at the same time as the conservative government has supported traditional gender roles.</p> <p>EU-evaluation pointed out that employment growth is mainly due to favourable economic context. The need for a greater coherence in employment policy is emphasized.</p> <p>The trade unions have called for a reorientation of the employment policy emphasizing the need for efforts towards a higher quality of work, gender equality, integration of immigrants and increased investment in education and training.</p>	<p>Overall:</p> <p>The priority of the national employment policy has been on maintaining the macro-economic stability in order to achieve and maintain the “zero-deficit” in line EU’s fiscal policies. The government stresses the need to extend structural reforms, with wage moderation and increased flexibility of the labour market.</p> <p>More specified:</p> <p>EES has led to greater emphasis on activation and awareness that the unemployment problem is that of women.</p> <p>The impact of the EES has, however, been more relevant in procedural terms rather than in political terms. The EES /NAP’s has, to a certain extent, created a forum for increased cooperation across ministries and the social partners. However, social partners remain very critical of NAPs consultation procedures.</p>

**Table 2.2 Main approaches to gender equality related policies in the 7 partner countries.**

Country	Aims	Solutions	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
<b>Austria</b>	<p>Equal opportunities policies aims at:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Gender mainstreaming all policies</li> <li>-Improving reconciliation of work and family life</li> <li>-Facilitating (female) reintegration into the labour market.</li> </ul> <p>Gender specific inequalities on the labour market such as segregation and the large gender pay gap should be tackled.</p>	<p><u>Legislative measures:</u> National legislative baseline of realization of Gender Mainstreaming. Art 7, Abs. 2, Austrian Federal Constitutional Laws, Inter-departmental Working group (IMAG GM), 11.07.2000 Working program Gender Mainstreaming 03.04.2002, Decision on Implementing Gender Mainstreaming according to already set decisions, 09.03.2004</p> <p><u>Special measures:</u> Various special measures and projects have been implemented.</p> <p><u>Active employment measures</u> Gender related policies have a strong labour market orientation. The measures undertaken concentrate on women returning to paid work and special training programs to foster employment.</p> <p>Gender mainstreaming initiatives and different measures aim at improving the labour market situation of women:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Official counseling centres for women in each province.</li> <li>-Measures towards better reconciliation of work and family life.</li> <li>-Official GM projects involve education and training for women.</li> </ul>	<p>In the public sector there is administrative / organizational approach to GM.</p> <p>The conservative-liberal government mainly tries to 'promote' women by means of flexible working time models and measures to improve the work-life balance. Little attention is paid to the quality of part time work for women, their carriers and families. Previous approaches such as the setting of gender specific targets have with few exceptions been left aside without implementation or evaluation.</p> <p>Gender-specific statistics, targets and indicators are only given in connection with active labour market policy and qualifying measures implemented either by the AMS or within the ESF framework.</p> <p>The closing of the gender pay gap has not been tackled and is still larger in Austria than the other EU-15 member states.</p> <p>The present government has promised to develop childcare but not taken active steps according to the needs of employed women (opening times of childcare institutions; regional offers).</p>	<p>Gender Mainstreaming policy relies heavily on pillar IV of the EES including special measures to improve the situation of women and integrate the gender perspective into all policies and measures.</p> <p>Other counseling services on issues like women rights, employment etc (NGO, civil society groups) than the AMS have lost their financial support from the authorities because (in part) new official counseling centres could take the advantage of being pre-financed by the government which guarantees financial support from the EU.</p>

Country	Aims	Solutions	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
<b>Denmark</b>	<p>The Gender Mainstreaming approach is applied to ensure equal opportunities for women and men within the general principle of equal opportunities for all.</p> <p>Gender specific inequalities on the labour market such as segregation and the gender pay gap tackled.</p> <p>The industrial policy objective is to increase the share of female entrepreneurs.</p>	<p>Legislative measures: Equal opportunities act is based on the principle of gender mainstreaming. The equal remuneration act states that there must be no wage discrimination in breach of the law.</p> <p>Special measures: The public service has concentrated on measures to achieve equal pay, gender desegregated labour market and balance between work and family life.</p> <p>Active employment measures Equality action programme involving both gender mainstreaming and special measures to improve the position of women are in most cases carried out by the Public Employment Service, PES: -Cooperation with public and private enterprises towards a more flexible labour market and dismantling barriers to appointment according to sex. -Reduce the higher rate of long-term unemployment of women. -Data collection on men's and women's employment and the consequences in terms of equal opportunities. -Reconciling work and family life and to facilitating female reintegration into the labour market.</p>	<p>Main emphasis of different measures and action programmes by the PES has been on the balance between work and family life. Less attention has been given to the gender pay gap and the gender segregated labour market.</p> <p>Within the public service there is a confusion about the meaning of the term gender mainstreaming. It is not always regarded or used as a progressive tool but adopted as a method without any detailed description of its content and goal.</p> <p>The gender mainstreaming approach does in later years define aspects of context, method and output of gender mainstreaming.</p> <p>An effective monitoring of the gender equality policy and its implementation is lacking.</p>	<p>When gender equality themes are put on the public agenda it is rarely as a consequence of the EES.</p> <p>The main reason for the reduction in the gender employment gap was more a consequence of economic growth than the implementation of the EES</p>

Country	Aims	<u>Solutions</u>	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
<b>Finland</b>	<p>The Equal opportunities policy aims at:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Improving the reconciliation of work and family life.</li> <li>-Narrowing the gender gaps.</li> <li>-Creating equal opportunities for the skills development.</li> <li>-Reducing short-term work contracts.</li> <li>-Increasing the number of women in decision-making and the economy.</li> <li>-Increasing women's entrepreneurship.</li> <li>-Reducing violence against women and women in prostitution especially (this is not very explicit in the discussion).</li> <li>-Evaluating the gender equality issues from among others the point of view of women.</li> </ul>	<p><u>Legislative measures:</u> An ongoing reform of the law on equality between women and men from the point of view of equality planning and equal wages.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Family policy moderations</li> </ul> <p><u>Special measures:</u> -A governmental project on mainstreaming gender equality throughout the central administration. -National equality action plan on a four-year basis. -A governmental practice ensures that legislations and the national action plans are always accompanied by an assessment on gender equality (at least at the rhetorical level). -Gender distinctions in all statistical data and development of gender barometer on several issues. -Regular equality barometer on the basis of statistical data and surveys. -Gender impact of employment contracts has been studied. -Equal work project carried out by the ministry of labour and the social partners. -Gender budgeting of the central government budget meaning that gender effects are to be evaluated during the preparation of the budget and law (at least on the rhetorical level).</p> <p><u>Active employment measures:</u> -Support measures for female entrepreneurship. -Specific PES career and training guidance for women. - Specific IT training for women.-Gender equality development projects in the field of gender segregation. -More flexible and extensive measures in the field of reconciliation of work and family life.</p>	<p>Gender mainstreaming involves large-scale universal public policies and development of projects administrated by the state. The public funding for these assignments and projects is however unsatisfactory that leaves many of the projects as statements of good intentions. There is no clear definition of the content of the Gender mainstreaming concept. Although emphasis is put on reconciling work and family life, efforts focus mainly on women / mothers and do not address the need of flexible work or fixed paternal leave for both sexes. In spite of numerous projects towards closing gender gaps in the labour market, no significant changes have taken place as concerns the gender occupational and professional segregation. EU statistics indicates that the segregation in Finland is one of the most rigid in the whole of Europe. Present government (2003-) has many targets on gender equality and has taken a socially demanding role in promoting gender issues. The coordination and financing mechanism of different projects has been improving during recent years. Policies and work on gender mainstreaming are, however, still confined to administrative practices involving formal procedures with the EU as a role model which "forces" the government to take gender issues into account.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Traditionally, Finland has put its trust in the universal Nordic welfare-state type policies treating both sexes "similarly".</li> <li>-EES has brought to the fore the Central European tradition of "Gender Mainstreaming" of active measures and the engagement of actors.</li> <li>-EES has highlighted the problematic occupational gender segregation in Nordic welfare states.</li> </ul>

Country	Aims	<u>Solutions</u>	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
<b>Hungary</b>	<p>Low employment levels among women and gender gaps in the labour market. A part of women (the elderly) have a low level of education.</p> <p>High share of undeclared work among inactive women. At the same time, most of them are covered by social security provisions.</p>	<p>Legislative measures:</p> <p>Article 66 of the constitution ensures equality of men and women as concerns all civil rights and prohibits all form of discrimination including those based on sex.</p> <p>Law on equal treatment and promoting equal opportunities (Anti-discriminatory law) focuses on different fields of discrimination such as employment, social welfare and health care, housing, education and training, trade and services.</p> <p>The principle of equal pay is included in the Labour code.</p> <p>Special measures:</p> <p>National action programme on ensuring equality between men and women 2003-2006. The programme specifies a variety of tasks to be carried out during the current governmental term. It is meant to promote equality in different policy areas such as social policy, employment and regional development.</p> <p>Various special measures and projects are to be implemented.</p> <p>Active employment measures</p> <p>Tackling the gender gap in the labour market:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-A special action plan to promote the labour market reintegration of women that includes various actions such as:</li> <li>-Help for women entering the labour market by vocational training.</li> <li>-Revise welfare provision for children and elderly people.</li> <li>-Reconcile work and family life</li> <li>-Promote the idea of family-friendly workplaces.</li> <li>- Subsidized learning opportunity in the course of childcare leave.</li> </ul>	<p>Gender Equality issues are mainly at the level of legal regulations and political intentions. Concrete actions, including steps to meet the EU requirements has, so far, mostly remained at the level of plans and hopes.</p> <p>The first measures to increase part-time employment have already been implemented.</p> <p>There are contradictory perceptions of gender mainstreaming that are coloured by the past (labour market emphasis), ideological differences between left and the right and other types of discrimination (e.g. Roma).</p> <p>Frequent changes in government and in the organizations of public administration is responsible for delays in implementing national action plans and special measures on gender equality. Projects with international funding have gone on irrespectively of the changes.</p>	<p>The UN-CEDAW Committee and EU-authorities have repeatedly requested improvements concerning female employment, the need for measures against sexual harassment of women, establishment of nationwide institution monitoring the needs of women and the set up of a governmental institution to ensure equal opportunities.</p>

Country	Aims	Solutions	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
<b>Iceland</b>	<p>Equality law seeks to establish and maintain equal status and equal opportunities for women and men in general.</p> <p>This goal is to be achieved by:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. gender mainstreaming in all spheres of the society;</li> <li>2. working on equal influence of women and men in decision-making and policy-making</li> <li>3. enabling both women and men to reconcile occupational and family obligations</li> <li>4. improving the status and the opportunities of women</li> <li>5. increasing education in matters of equality;</li> <li>6. analysing statistics according to sex;</li> <li>7. increasing research in gender studies.</li> </ol>	<p><u>Legislative measures:</u> Equality law</p> <p>Equality action programme involving both gender mainstreaming and special measures to improve the position of women. The main goal of the present program is to gender mainstream all policy-making, decision-making and action in the public sector.</p> <p><u>Special measures:</u> Projects have been funded to increase the economic power of women and women's participation in politics.</p> <p>Efforts to increase the number of women studying technical subjects at the university level.</p> <p><u>Active employment measures:</u> Funds established to stimulate women's entrepreneurial activities.</p>	<p>Gender mainstreaming is a public policy strategy driven by the equality law and applied without the active involvement of the social partners and women's groups.</p> <p>Gender mainstreaming adopted as a method without any detailed description of its content and goal. No benchmarks and time limits.</p> <p>Impact study of the gender mainstreaming strategy revealed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Gender perspective unevenly adopted in public policy-making processes.</li> <li>-Insufficient knowledge of gender mainstreaming and gender issues.</li> <li>-The Gender equality coordinators at the ministerial level have no status.</li> <li>-Low share of women (18.7%) among senior officials in the public sector. Gender ratios in public committees, boards of directors and councils vary widely across the ministries.</li> <li>-Only one third of the ministries have written a gender equality program.</li> <li>-Gender equality programmes at the ministerial level are often only a statement of good intentions and not an action plan.</li> <li>-More progress being made at the municipality level than at the ministerial level.</li> </ul>	<p>EU's influences are constrained to directives, as Iceland is not obliged to participate in the EES.</p> <p>The general view in the public administration is that there is not much new Iceland can learn from others regarding high employment rates and gender equality.</p> <p>The Icelandic authorities consider the country at the forefront as concerns gender equality since the employment rate of Icelandic women among the highest in Europe and men's right to paternal leave equals that of women's right to maternal leave.</p> <p>In 2000, the Icelandic authorities changed the law on parental leave in accordance with the EU directive (96/34/EC) from 1996 on parental leave, which states that parents should be granted individual right to at least 3 months of parental leave. According to the Act on maternity/paternity leave no. 95/2000), the aim of the new parental leave is to ensure children's access to both their fathers and mothers as well as to enable both women and men to reconcile family and work outside the home. The parental leave was extended stepwise or during the period 2000-2003 from 6 months to 9 months. Of these 9 months, 3 months are now reserved for the mother, 3 months for the father and the remaining 3 months can be shared between the mother and the father.</p>

Country	Aims	<u>Solutions</u>	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
<b>The Netherlands</b>	<p>In a policy document <i>Long range plan emancipation</i> governmental goals to be fulfilled by the year 2010 concerning equality are formulated by using benchmarking:</p> <p><b>Aims:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-increase the female participation rate to more than 65% in 2010.</li> <li>-a share of financially independent women of at least 60%.</li> <li>-a share of women in the total labour market income of at least 35%.</li> <li>-a share of men in care of at least 40%.</li> <li>- increase the female share in public and private decision-making (with specific goals for parliament, local government, advisory boards).</li> </ul>	<p><u>Legislative measures:</u> Work and care Act. Working hours adjustment act</p> <p><u>Special measures:</u> Main emphasis is on measures to promote the labour force participation of women, enabling reconciliation of work and family life, ensuring provision of childcare, leave scheme and working time regulations.</p> <p>Several special measures and awareness raising projects have been put forward in order to fulfill the governmental emancipation plan.</p> <p>Policy instruments on equal pay and tools to examine the gender neutrality of job evaluation systems have been developed for employers on a voluntary basis.</p> <p>Special projects on women mobility towards increasing the number of women in senior positions and to enhance women skills in computers and ICT.</p> <p>To implement the gender mainstreaming policy of the government every ministry has to draw up action plans and several instruments are developed and coordinated by the Ministry of social affairs. Biannually the government publishes an Emancipation Monitor in order to monitor the progress.</p> <p>The government has established a temporary committee of experts to analyze the ministries' progress in the field of gender mainstreaming and to advise them on improvements.</p>	<p>The number of childcare facilities has increased considerably and more flexible leave arrangement as result of the <i>Work and care Act</i>. These are however often unpaid which is a barrier for men and does not lead to redistribution of care duties between men and women.</p> <p>Flexible work does not necessarily have negative implications for women who take up such employment to combine work and family life. The disadvantaged is that women with small jobs are not economically independent and keep main responsibility for care activities</p> <p>Policy measures on gender equality have proven to be rather soft and action projects are not always implemented or completed.</p> <p>Evaluation demonstrates a very slow progress in integrating the gender mainstreaming method under the different pillars of the European employment policy.</p> <p>Extensive knowledge on gender mainstreaming is available among few 'academic' experts who are not involved in the policy-making.</p>	<p>The emancipation policy relies heavily on pillar IV of the EES including special measures to improve the situation of women and integration of the gender perspective into all policies and measures.</p>

Country	Aims	<u>Solutions</u>	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
Spain	<p>In the field of employment policies, equality policy is meant to tackle the low participation rate of women in general which should be solved with efforts under Pillar IV.</p> <p>Special emphasis is on policies on reconciling work and family life, the establishment of training for returnees to the labour market and women entrepreneurship.</p>	<p><u>Legislative measures:</u> Law on reconciling family and working life with particular attention to unpaid parental and family leaves. Different regulations of part-time work</p> <p><u>Special measures:</u> - Political commitment that women should benefit from active measures (training, counseling, etc) in the same proportion as their proportion in unemployment. - Setting up of some gender mainstreaming mechanisms.</p> <p><u>Active employment measures:</u> - General active employment measures (training, counseling, technical assistance). - Specific active employment measures for returnees. - Promotion of stable contracts for women. - Promotion of part-time work. - Promotion of unpaid parental and family leaves.</p>	<p>Gender mainstreaming is understood rhetorically without concrete definition and contents. Furthermore, conservative policies have implicitly supported traditional gender roles (the woman as main caregiver and second earner )</p> <p>Gender related policies concentrate on women's poor situation in the labour market due to their low skills, inflexible work organizations and family and care responsibilities. The emphasis on integrating women into the labour market is not accompanied by coordinated actions to raise the quality of employment and to reduce existing gender gaps in pay and working conditions. Nor is it accompanied by effective actions to promote an equal sharing of unpaid work between women and men and actions to improve the supply of care services for dependent persons.</p> <p>There is a standstill in planned activities towards better monitoring and gender evaluation of employment policies.</p> <p>EU-Evaluation stresses that Spain has not sufficiently prioritized gender equality policy given the difficult starting point and the extensive challenges.</p>	<p>The gender mainstreaming policy reflects pillar IV of the EES including special measures to improve the situation of women and integration of the gender perspective into all policies and measures.</p> <p>Through the EES there has been an extensive rhetorical political commitment to gender mainstreaming but actions do not match this commitment.</p>

**Table 2.3. Main approaches to KBS related policies in the 7 partner countries.**

Country	Aims	Solutions	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
<b>Austria</b>	<p>Main emphasis in KBS related policies is put on training and education in high technology and IT.</p> <p>The aim is to make persons more employable, overcome skills shortages, reduce the number of low skilled workers and facilitate women's return to the labour market after maternity leave.</p> <p>Another emphasis is on the development of knowledge intensive firms and their competitive strengths.</p> <p>The government intends to increase the overall economic expenditure on R&amp;D to 2, 5% of GDP by 2006. A national foundation will be established to provide more money for R&amp;D.</p>	<p>The life-long learning strategy has a comprehensive approach emphasizing skill enhancement for both unemployed and employed people. Women and older workers are special target groups of IT training and education.</p> <p><u>Special measures:</u> Pact for youth employment and training aiming at keeping at least 40% of the annual class in the dual system and at using various measures to enroll every young person either in apprenticeship, training or in extended education.</p> <p>Additional funding to universities to finance expenditure on R&amp;D.</p> <p>E-government initiatives to simplify administrative procedures and in cooperation with the business, e-business and e-government services are under development.</p> <p><u>Active employment measures:</u> Life-long learning strategy implemented to enhance employability.</p>	<p>Austrians have adopted a socio-economic approach to KBS as they stress the creation of new (technology) jobs through training, education and R&amp;D policies. Life-long learning and continuing training are understood as essential both for personal development and for economic growth.</p> <p>Limited emphasis put on social issues such as participation in training regardless of age, sex, differences between urban and rural areas.</p> <p>Some R&amp;D policies have been implemented and there has been an increase in expenditure on R&amp;D (from 1, 84% in 200 to 1, 95% in 2003).</p> <p>Measurements in regards to adaptability of work are selective, reduced to terminated projects that are partly non-supportive. The aim is, for example, to support adaptability in enterprises as a component of life-long learning.</p>	<p>EU / EES have mainly influenced policy field of research and the academia.</p>

Country	Aims	<u>Solutions</u>	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
<b>Denmark</b>	<p>The KBS policies target individuals, organizations and public policies.</p> <p>The KBS-policy is two-fold:  1) Training and education of all citizens at all educational levels.  2) The government seeks to modernize its enterprises and their work organizations. This means general training for workers, opening of work organization for education and initiatives fostering innovation.</p>	<p>Special measures:  During the period 1998-2001, commitments were given for 30 development contracts for co-operation between institutions and enterprises about development projects focusing on management, organization and competence development.</p> <p>A two-year pilot project 2002-2004: A business Innovator scheme aiming at strengthening the exchange of knowledge between knowledge institutions and SME's with little experience in IT.</p> <p>Active employment measures:  The life-long learning strategy implemented to improve continued education and training for adults aiming at upgrading the skills of the labour force in general.</p>	<p>Denmark has a socio-economic approach to KBS as it stresses the benefits for individuals.</p> <p>The policies have, however, a very general perspective. It is emphasized that structures and organizations have to change so that individuals will be able to use their full potentials. It is also stated that there are needs to modernize work organizations and training of the workforce to achieve competitiveness.</p> <p>There are limited discussions about the perspectives and obstacles on the way to a KBS society.</p>	<p>There are several campaigns going on emphasizing how people with an academic education can contribute to a higher knowledge based production in the firms.</p> <p>It is, however, difficult to define whether the new discourses on the knowledge-based society is initiated by the EU impact or the increasing unemployment among young academic people.</p>

Country	Aims	<u>Solutions</u>	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
<b>Finland</b>	<p>The KBS related policies aims to improve the quality of labour force, the functionality of labour markets and R&amp;D policies.</p> <p>Main objective of the KBS policy is to foster national economy into international competition. Emphasis is put on enhancing the skills of workers through flexible training in a flexible labour market. Aim is to guarantee the adaptation of industries into the global competition.</p> <p>Social aspects are mostly coming from the consumer perspective.</p>	<p><u>Special measures:</u> The main emphasis of the governmental Information Society programmes has been on implementing different national IT strategies and special projects. Some programmes have included a broader concept of KBS including citizenship, and equality measures as concerns the digital divide. However, most of the strategies and programmes have been based on an industry-related consumer perspective.</p> <p><u>Active employment measures:</u> KBS related employment measures are mainly: -The basic ADP skills learning modules of vocational education. -Special education programmes of IT sector professionals.</p> <p>Policies guaranteeing the development of educational institutions, with emphasis on technical education and flexibility related to life-long learning.</p>	<p>Finland has adopted an economic and technology approach to KBS to enhance the competitiveness of the economy.</p> <p>Most of the measures/ projects mentioned in the NAP's have not been effective at least not as concerns structural changes.</p> <p>There has been no coordination between different policy measures.</p> <p>The main emphasis is on increasing availability of education and training whereby the demand side and the content play a secondary role.</p> <p>Efforts aimed at increasing the number of women in IT has led to an increase in the percentage of women among students of IT and media.</p>	<p>Finland has tried to respond to the challenges of EU of becoming a developed and leading Information Society. This effort is, however, more a result of the process started by the Bangeman report than the EES.</p> <p>EES is latecomer from the perspective of KBS development in Finland.</p>

Country	Aims	<u>Solutions</u>	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
<b>Hungary</b>	The Hungarian Information society strategy aims at opening up the path for a new economy which will be able to create an information society. One major objective is to provide all citizens with digital literacy and access to information technologies with a special attention to digital divides. (Women are not among the target groups of the strategy, save telework.)	<p>Special measures: Suli net: A governmental projects on ICT in schools.</p> <p>Active employment measures: Telework: An experimental programme which aims at creating home based jobs especially for women. Establishment of Telecottages by civil organizations to provide different types of local services; educational, economical, administrative, job creation and other.</p>	<p>The rate of those performing knowledge intensive activities is well below the corresponding rates of the top EU-countries. Low share of knowledge intensive branches and governmental R+D expenditure. The Hungarian Information society's strategy implementation will be funded by the government and by EU funds in the framework of the National Development Plan. The strategy does not include a gender dimension. ICT and knowledge based education and industries are male dominated. There are no efforts on changing this situation. However, general educational attainment of young women exceeds that of males.</p>	<p>Hungary's membership in the EU is expected to speed up the development towards the KBS. EU report has expressed concern over the current situation and there are expectations of progress in the coming years.</p>

Country	Aims	<u>Solutions</u>	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
<b>Iceland</b>	<p>The aim of IS strategies (1996 and 2004) has been to ensure the access of citizens to the ICTs, enhance the competitiveness of the economy and to improve quality of life.</p> <p>The strategies stress the importance of partnership between the government, education system, social partners and individuals.</p> <p>The aim of the two strategies has been to enhance equality in general and not gender equality in particular.</p>	<p><u>Special measures:</u> IS strategy implemented in 1996 had the main goal of ensuring that Iceland stays at the forefront of the world's nations in utilizing information technology to enhance quality of life and increase prosperity.</p> <p>This was also the main goal of the new IS strategy implemented in 2004 which is based on 4 pillars:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. utilizing opportunities.</li> <li>2. ensuring partnership.</li> <li>3. enhancing the security of the ICT and information.</li> <li>4. improving quality of life.</li> </ol> <p><u>Active employment measures:</u> No synergies with other policy areas such as employment and gender mainstreaming measures.</p>	<p>The focus of the strategy has been on the technical aspects of KBS and few measures have been undertaken to ensure that the benefits of technology development trickle evenly down to members of society.</p> <p>Five-year impact study stated that the objective of ensuring access of all Icelanders to the IS had been achieved. Few projects were implemented to improve the competitiveness of the Icelandic economy. Most efforts concentrated on the diffusion of technology in the public sector (the educational sector).</p> <p>The new strategy does not tackle regional access gaps and knowledge gaps across groups. The most disadvantaged group as concerns the use of ICTs are the elderly and then there were some gaps as regards gender, education and occupations.</p> <p>Few women were involved in the drafting of the policy. The impact study included information on the effects of the earlier IS strategy on men and women as well as other groups. The new strategy fails to target any specific group such as women.</p>	<p>There is no direct influence but it is obvious from the text of the two strategies that Icelandic authorities are aware of the IS strategy of the EU as well as its good position as compared with other EU countries as concerns access to ICTs.</p>

Country	Aims	<u>Solutions</u>	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
<b>The Netherlands</b>	<p>Key aspects of KBS policy mix:</p> <p>No specific KBS-policy.</p> <p>- KBS aims to support the competitiveness of the Dutch economy and to increase the attention of young people (boys and girls) for technical education and technical jobs (without concrete goals)</p> <p>Given the low participation of women in the ICT branch, the government has formulated a target of 30% for women in 2010.</p>	<p><u>Special measures:</u> Different temporary policy measures and special projects that involve institutions of the educational system and private companies. Claused in collective labour agreements (supported by the government). Emphasis is on implementing the life-long learning strategy in cooperation with the social partners.</p> <p>The life-long learning strategy is twofold: -improvement of vocational education. -improvement of the post-initial training component.</p>	<p>Economic approach has been applied to KBS. The term has been extensively discussed but policy and measures are not always developed in a broad cooperation and with attention to social and gender implications.</p> <p>Scientific and technical training gets a very limited attention. There has been a standstill in the share of those with technical education during the last ten years and the share of women has fallen. Different campaigns to promote more women into technical education last only for a short period of time and do not challenge the image, nature and therefore structural problems of these subjects.</p> <p>Discussions about and drafting of a KBS policy are primarily a matter of male dominated bodies and there is a limited attention for gender issues. The attention for KBS in emancipation policy has proven to be only of short duration and little implementation.</p>	<p>The combination of policies is meant to reflect the different pillars of the EES.</p>

Country	Aims	<u>Solutions</u>	Assessment	EU/EES Impacts
Spain	<p>The concept of KBS as displayed in the Spanish NAPs is twofold:</p> <p>1.) It refers to the development of specific actions to promote ICTs, in particular the infrastructures and supply of telecommunication services.</p> <p>2.) It is included in various measures for promoting human capital and the life-long learning strategy.</p>	<p><u>Special measures referred to in the Spanish NAPs:</u></p> <p>General R&amp;D policies: I+D+I: R&amp;D plan to implement the National R&amp;D policy.</p> <p>Specific policies for promoting the “information society”:</p> <p>Strategic initiative INFO XXI (1999-2000). Action plan INFO XXI (2001-2003). Action plan “españa.es” 2004-2005.</p> <p><u>Active employment measures:</u></p> <p>Priorities in IT-training of women and unskilled workers over 45 of age to increase their employability.</p> <p>FLORINTEL: A pilot project that strives to improve knowledge in IT among workers. At the professional level it trains workers in the telecommunication sector.</p>	<p>KBS is integrated in numerous public policies for the promotion of science, technology, innovation and business competitiveness, some of them very recent. However, there is not a comprehensive KBS strategy.</p> <p>There is little distinction made between 'information' and 'knowledge' and most of the measures aims at ICT (technological dimension).</p> <p>KBS is not yet of relevance to the employment policy as it is not sufficiently linked with other areas of intervention such as policies on education and social cohesion. Hence, the policies are deepening existing social and gender inequalities.</p>	<p>EES guidelines on KBS have been taken into account in the NAPs. However, commitments have been essentially rhetorical and without clear links to employment policy.</p>

## APPENDIX 2: country graphs of dimensions per index

Per country and per index a graphical presentation of the dimensions is given. The figures are all based on Caprile and Potrony (2004). For Hungary and Iceland, and in one occasion also for the Netherlands, harmonised data were missing. In those cases, the average of the available data was inserted. The next table provides an overview per indicator.

**Table A1. Overview per indicator of Wellknow countries with missing data**

<b>KBS</b>		
<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Indicators</i>	<i>Countries with missing data</i>
1. <i>ICT</i>	1 Households with access to the Internet	
	2 Digital literacy	
2. <i>Competitiveness</i>	1 Labour productivity	Hungary
	2 Revealed comparative advantage of high-tech and medium high-tech industries	
3. <i>Knowledge</i>	1 Tertiary education attainment	
	2 Youth upper-secondary education attainment	
4. <i>Social inclusion</i>	1 Employment rate in FTE	
	2 Poverty rate	

<b>QWL</b>		
<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Indicators</i>	<b>Countries with missing data</b>
1. <i>Decent pay</i>	1 Low-wage	Hungary
	2 Working poverty	Iceland
2. <i>Healthy work</i>	1 Serious accidents at work	Iceland
	2 Satisfaction with health	Hungary, Iceland
3. <i>Skilled work</i>	1 Professional work	
	2 Life-long learning	
4. <i>Autonomous and complex work</i>	1 Work autonomy	Iceland
	2 Work complexity	Iceland
5. <i>No entrapment</i>	1 Downward mobility from the lowest pay quintile	Hungary, Iceland
	2 Upward mobility from the lowest pay quintile	Hungary, Iceland
6. <i>No unemployment</i>	1 Unemployment rate	
	2 Long-term unemployment rate	
7. <i>Decent work/life balance</i>	1 Satisfaction at work	Hungary, Iceland
	2 Compatibility between work and family-social commitments	Iceland

<b>GE-KBS</b>		
<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Indicators</i>	<b>Countries with missing data</b>
1. <i>Equal access to ICT</i>	1 Gender digital gap	Iceland
	2 Gender gap in digital literacy	Iceland
2. <i>Equal contribution to competitiveness</i>	1 Gender gap in managerial and professional positions	
	2 Gender gap in high-tech and medium-high-tech industries	
3. <i>Equal access to knowledge</i>	1 Gender gap in tertiary education attainment	
	2 Gender gap in youth upper-secondary education attainment	
4. <i>Equal access to social inclusion</i>	1 Gender employment gap in FTE	
	2 Gender gap in income vulnerability	Hungary, Iceland
5. <i>Gender desegregation in the KBS</i>	1 Gender gap in science and engineering	
	2 Gender pay gap for tertiary education graduates	Iceland, Hungary, Netherlands
6. <i>Equal pay</i>	1 Hourly gender pay gap	
	2 Monthly gender pay gap	Hungary
7. <i>Equal sharing of caring work</i>	1 Gender gap in caring time for children	Hungary, Iceland
	2 Gender gap in caring time for dependent adults	Hungary, Iceland

## GE- QWL

<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Indicators</i>	<b>Countries with missing data</b>
<i>1. Equal sharing of decent pay</i>	1 Gender gap in low-wage	Hungary
	2 Gender gap in working income vulnerability	Hungary, Iceland
<i>2. Equal sharing of healthy work</i>	1 Gender gap in serious accidents at work	Hungary, Iceland
	2 Gender gap in satisfaction with health	
<i>3. Equal sharing of skilled work</i>	1 Gender gap in professional work	
	2 Gender gap in life-long learning	
<i>4. Equal sharing of autonomous and complex work</i>	1 Gender gap in work autonomy	Iceland
	2 Gender gap in work complexity	Iceland
<i>5. Equal risk of entrapment</i>	1 Gender gap in downward mobility from the lowest pay quintile	Hungary, Iceland
	2 Gender gap in upward mobility from the lowest pay quintile	Hungary, Iceland
<i>6. Equal risk of unemployment</i>	1 Gender gap in unemployment	Iceland
	2 Gender gap in long-term unemployment	
<i>7. Equal sharing of decent work/life balance</i>	1 Gender gap in satisfaction at work	Hungary, Iceland
	2 Gender gap in compatibility between work and family-social commitments	Iceland

