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National report

Policies shaping employment, skills and gender equality in the Dutch labour market

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1. Introduction

This national report is part of workpackage 2 of the WELLKNOW project. The aim of the WELLKNOW project is to assess policy approaches to the Knowledge Based Society (KBS) in the European Employment Strategy including the European Employment Guidelines and the National Action Plans from the perspective of gender mainstreaming. The main task of workpackage 2 is to identify how the employment and gender challenges of the KBS are addressed in countries that participate in the project. This is done by means of content analyses of the National Action Plans that are written as part of the European Employment Strategy, and which cover the years 1998 - 2003. In addition, relevant policy documents on KBS and gender mainstreaming are studied. Finally, attention is paid to the political role of the NAPs and the actors involved. In addition to the document analyses, several experts have been consulted:

Mrs. C. Booy, Director of VHTO, a national organisation women in higher technical education and positions;

Drs. S.L.van Knippenberg, Directorate General Social- Economic Affairs (ASEA), Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment;

Prof. Dr. J. Plantenga, Dutch member of the EU Expert Group Gender and Emloyment;

Several civil servants of the department for the Co-ordination of Emancipation Policy of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment.

Structure of the report

In the next section background information will be given on de Dutch NAPs, employment policies, gender mainstreaming and KBS. Section 3 focuses on the main employment problems and approaches in the Dutch NAPs, followed by a section on gender problems and approaches. Subject of section 5 is the KBS strategy in the NAPs and other policy documents. In section 6 the conclusions are summarised.

2. Background information on the NAP's, employment policies, gender mainstreaming and KBS

This section addresses the actors involved in the making of the NAPs, policies on gender mainstreaming and knowledge based society.

Status of the NAPs and partners involved

The Netherlands has been one of the strong supporters of a European employment policy. This supportive attitude is not limited to European employment policy, but includes almost all fields of European policy making. It is the inheritance of the strong beliefs of Dutch politicians from the nineteen fifties that co-operation between former European enemies would not only be a guarantee against new armed conflicts on the 'old continent', but that it would also contribute greatly to the member countries wealth. In 1997, under the Dutch Presidency, the Employment title was included in the Amsterdam Treaty. Later that year, at the Luxembourg Jobs summit, the EU member states agreed on a European Employment Strategy. According to a Dutch evaluation study of the first five years, the EES receives broad political support in the Netherlands and is taken seriously (Zijl et al., 2002).

The policy adviser responsible for the Dutch NAP stressed the fact that in the Netherlands the NAP is primarily a summary of existing policy measures. The NAP is not meant to develop new policy measures. That is why the NAP does not need explicit approval by the Dutch parliament. The topics that are being included in the NAP are always part of earlier and broader policy discussions at the national level.

Who draws up the NAP? The minister of Social Affairs and Employment is responsible for drafting the NAP. This task is done by civil servants of the department General Social- Economic Affairs. The director general of this department is member of the Employment Committee (EMCO). Other departments that are involved more indirectly are the Labour Market department and the department Employment Relations. This last department takes care of contacts with social partners. Next to the ministry of Social Affairs and Employment the ministry of Education, Culture and Science and the ministry of Economic Affairs (directorate for Economic Policy) contribute to the NAP. A senior policy adviser of this last directorate is also member of EMCO.

The educational ministry contributes on issues concerning schooling and training. The ministry of Economic Affairs is mainly concerned with stimulating entrepreneurship. Both can be considered as supportive for the KBS-concept, but this concept has never been related to the Dutch NAP explicitly.

The EES is discussed on a regular basis in the Committee for Social Affairs in the Dutch Parliament. The EES is also described in the annual policy document "Sociale Nota" (Social Policy Note), which is the most important policy document on labour market issues and labour market policies, and in several other policy documents. As a result, civil servants should be informed. In addition, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment announces the NAPs in a press release (Zijl et al., 2002). In the media there is, however, very little attention for the NAPs.

Traditionally, in the Netherlands social partners play an important role in the design of socio-economic policy. The government and the social partners meet on a regular basis in the Social and Economic Council, where all major socio-economic and labour market policy issues are discussed. There is a standard procedure that the government asks the council for advice on all important bills and policy measures in this field. Moreover, the Special Expert Committee (Commissie van Economische Deskundigen) or some ad hoc committee of the council reports occasionally on particular issues (like work-family arrangements or life course policies). So, all the issues that are included in the NAPs have been discussed at some stage with the social partners. The NAPs are sent for comments to the Labour Foundation. The Labour Foundation is a consultative and cooperative body between the employers' federations (in industry, small and medium sized businesses, agriculture and horticulture) and the confederations of trade unions.

The different NAPs give evidence of the involvement of the social partners. For example, the NAP of 1999 mentions that the social partners have been involved in drawing up the NAP, and have especially been consulted on guidelines 5, 6, 17 and 21. In addition, the entire NAP was submitted for comments to the social partners united in the Labour Foundation. However, their comments are not discussed upon in the NAPs. It is also unclear to what extent the social partners have commented on gender equality issues. One exception is the NAP of 2000, which mentions that the social partners have commented upon family friendly policies. However, the content of the comments are unclear.

One could expect that the content of the NAPs and the extent of the influence of the social partners on the content of the NAPs depends on the political coalition of the government. From 1998 until July 2002 social democrats and liberals formed the coalition, together with the social liberal party. Then, for a little less than a year, a coalition of Christian democrats, liberals and LPF, a right wing populist party, primarily concerned with the issues of reducing the number of foreigners in the Netherlands, was in charge (until May 2003), followed by a coalition of Christian democrats, liberals and the social liberal party. These changes seem, however, not to influence the NAPs very clearly. This does not imply that employment policies do not change, but the broad terms used in the NAPs may cover a variety of policy measures. Since the NAP is more an official than a political document there is no need to be very explicit about policy changes (and maybe provoke inconvenient questions from the EU or other member states.

Gender mainstreaming and NAPs

All ministries are responsible for the integration of emancipation in their policy field (gender mainstreaming) (SZW, 2000). The minister of Social Affairs and Employment is responsible for co-ordination of the emancipation policy and has to support and stimulate the ministries in this respect. The ministry of Social Affairs and Employment has a special section called Department for the co-ordination of emancipation policy (Directie Coordinatie Emancipatiebeleid, DCE) that is occupied with these tasks.

DCE is always asked to comment on the draft of the NAP, but they do not contribute to the NAP on a structural basis. For example, DCE commented in 2000, but not in 2003 (Plantenga, 2000; Plantenga & Remery, 2003). This is partly related to the very tight schedule that is available for comments. The contributions from the ministry of Education, Culture and Science and from the ministry of Economic Affairs do not include explicit attention for gender mainstreaming issues. Gender mainstreaming is included in the NAP along the lines of the EES. After the NAP has been formulated there is no additional and explicit check on the inclusion of the dimension of gender mainstreaming.

When it comes to involvement of external gender experts, firstly it has to be noted that the infrastructure with respect to equal opportunities has been cut back rather

drastically the last decade. There used to be an Equal Opportunities Board (Emancipatieraad, ER) with a high level of gender knowledge and expertise. However, in the nineties of the last century, the number of advisory bodies in the Netherlands has been drastically reduced in order to diminish the number of people and organisations involved in decision making, to reduce the length of the policy making process and to give priority (again) to political decision makers. Therefore, this Board has demised in 1997. The assumption was that the knowledge of the ER could be mainstreamed within the ministries and the remaining advisory councils. In the period 1998-2000, a temporary committee of gender experts was set up with the task to stimulate the remaining advisory bodies to incorporate emancipation aspects in their recommendations on policy intentions. At the moment there is an expertise centre on emancipation issues, called E-quality, that is fully subsidised by the government. In addition, there are a few NGO's on equal opportunity issues, of which the Alliance of Women's Organisations (Vrouwenalliantie) is the largest. However, their influence is not very big.

External gender experts do not seem to be consulted with respect to the NAPs on a regular basis. In 1999, when gender mainstreaming was added as a guideline, Equality was asked for comments, but it subsequently appeared to be the only time. In 2000, the women's bureau of the trade unions have been sent a draft version of the NAP, but they could not make any substantial amendments (Plantenga, 2000). This lack of direct influence is not surprising, given the nature of the Dutch NAP – a document summarising earlier policy measures and developments. However, NGOs do play a part in the process of policy making on different labour market and other socio-economic issues. When there is a policy debate on work-family arrangements the Alliance of Women's Organisations (Vrouwenalliantie) is likely to contribute to the debate. Depending on the coalition, politicians lend an ear to NGOs' opinions more or less. For instance, politicians from the opposition are rather keen to use arguments supplied by NGOs for underpinning their criticism on government measures. Once they are within the ruling coalition they are far less likely to still lend an ear to NGOs' arguments (even though the arguments may not have changed). Recently, striking examples of such 'changes of mind' could be noticed in the field of child care and that of disability arrangements.

KBS

With respect to policy issues related to knowledge-based society, the two main actors are the ministry of Economic Affairs and the ministry of Education, Culture and Welfare. The first one is mainly concerned with innovation and entrepreneurship, the second one with educational issues. The ministries also co-operate on issues relating to KBS (see section 5).

Several KBS-related issues have been discussed in bodies like the Advisory Council for Science and Technology Policy (Adviesraad Wetenschaps- en Technologiebeleid, AWT), the Education Council (Onderwijsraad) and (special committees of) the Social and Economic Council. Besides, several ad hoc committees of representatives from Dutch universities, polytechnics and (large) companies have occupied themselves with questions like how to stimulate research and development, how to prevent brain drain of Dutch specialists (e.g. to the United States), how to attract talented students from abroad and how to win the public's sympathy for technology and research. The latter goal is one of the main objects of the Innovationplatform (Innovatieplatform) that was established recently by the government. To realise this goal a committee chaired by the Dutch prime minister and with captains of industry, union representatives, politicians and scientists will start a campaign to inform the Dutch people about the necessity to invest in knowledge and the way knowledge and technology can and will be incorporated in ordinary life.

However, as stated above, the concept of KBS has never been related to the Dutch NAP explicitly. Moreover, women are significantly underrepresented in the discussion on KBS.

3. Main employment problems and approaches in the NAP's/employment policies

At the time the EES was introduced, the Dutch economy performed rather well; the labour force participation rates were increasing significantly and the unemployment rates dropped steadily. At the same time, however, there appeared to be significant differences between groups. Especially the participation rates of women and elderly persons proved to be rather low. Moreover, long-term employment was high, though

this decreased rapidly as of 1999. Finally, though the unemployment rates were rather low, the share of persons on disability insurance was rather high. At the start of the EES these were the four main problems on which Dutch labour market policy focussed.

When reviewing the different NAPs it is clear that the main emphasis is on activation policy. Since 2001, the growth in the Dutch economy has slowed considerably, which is partly related to the downturn in the world economy. As a result the unemployment rate is rising. In the NAP 2003 (SZW, 2003a) the main focus of employment policy is to increase the employment rate. The emphasis in this respect is on improving the effectiveness of various social security schemes, that is activating the unemployed, and putting a stop on the growth in the number of work-disabled people. Especially the comprehensive approach for young people and adults is an important element of the government's policy to combat youth employment and prevent long-term employment. Municipalities and the Employee Insurance Schemes Implementing Body (UWV) implement this approach, which entails that all adults newly registered as unemployed who are obliged to accept work and who are unable to find a job through their own efforts are made an offer within 12 months aimed at getting them back to work or into a social activation programme; young people must be made an offer within six months. Another important group are the work-disabled. The Netherlands has a fairly high rate of work-disables persons; according to the NAP 2003 in 2001 14 percent of the population aged 15-64 was disabled (SZW, 2003a). The government wants to reduce the number of new claims by reforming the invalidity insurance system. In addition, existing claimants who can work need to be reactivated.

The EES has also stimulated the development of a policy for life long learning in order to increase the quality of labour. Already in 1998 the government agreed on a national Lifelong learning action plan that has been developed in collaboration with the social partners (SZW, 1998). At the moment, the Lifelong learning strategy is in line with EU policy; the aim is to increase the proportion of the labour force that is taking part in some form of adult or other education by the year 2010. The benchmark in this respect is the performance of the top two Member States. In addition, the aim is that in 2010 at least 85% of 22-year olds should have completed upper secondary education. In 2001 this percentage amounted to 55% for women and to 62% for men. Looking more specific at the youngest age group (of 25-34 years old in 2001) that

completed initial education then we find a figure of 76% for women and 74% for men (SCP/CBS, 2002, 51).

The policy to support lifelong learning consists of two parts: improvement of vocational education and improvement of the post-initial training component. Policy measures include extra funding of vocational education (e.g. for developing new educational theories and teaching methods, to strengthen the exchange of knowledge between the vocational education sector and the business community), introduction of a system of Recognition of Prior Learning, promotion of the dual system and experiments with individual learning accounts (SZW, 2003a). There is a heavy emphasis in the policy on the involvement of social partners: collective labour agreements are seen as an appropriate mean to make agreements on training. There is also a rather strong orientation on measures to combat early school-leaving and directed at unemployed job-seekers. See also section 5 on KBS.

4. Gender problems and approaches in the NAPs/employment policies

With respect to equal opportunities, the EU has a two track strategy:

- special measures to improve the position of women;
- integration of the gender perspective into all policies and measures implemented to improve the employment situation in Europe.

Firstly, we will focus on the special measures. From the start of the EES, one of the priorities in Dutch employment policies is to increase the labour force participation of women. The NAP 1998 makes clear that this is not a goal in itself, but the aim is to avoid problems in the take-up of vacancies. At that time, no target is specified in this respect (SZW, 1998). The NAP 2000 refers to the agreements of the Lisbon summit, one of them being the aim to raise the employment rate of women to more than 60% in 2010 (SZW, 2000a). In the NAP 2001 a higher national target is added: the government now strives for a female participation in the labour force of 65% in 2010 (SZW, 2001a). The formulation of this quantitative goal has certainly been stimulated by external pressure from Europe (Van Zijl et al., 2002).

At the moment (NAP 2003a) this is still the official target. It seems positive that this national target is even more ambitious that the Lisbon target. According to the NAP 2003, the Lisbon target is already realised when based on the European

definition of employment rates, which includes all jobs from one hour per week. According to the Dutch definition of the labour force, which is also used in the Dutch NAP 2003 and which includes only persons working at least twelve hours per week, the labour force participation of women is 54% and thus lower than both the Lisbon and the national target. It should, however, been taken into account that these targets are set in headcounts, differences between men and women in working time are not taken into account. In the Netherlands, only 34% of the working women work at least 35 hours per week (men: 86%). When calculated in fulltime equivalents, the participation rate of women would be substantially lower (Plantenga, 2001; Plantenga & Remery, 2003).

Remarkably, the NAPs hardly pay attention to other goals in the field of emancipation. According to the policy document 'Long range plan Emancipation' (SZW, 2000) the following goals are formulated for 2010, in addition to the net female labour participation rate of 65%:

- a share of financially independent women of at least 60%;
- a share of women in the total labour income of at least 35%;
- a share of men in care of at least 40%.

The ways to achieves these goals were drawn in rather broad (and therefore rather vague) terms: improving women's opportunities for the reconciliation of work and family life by extending the supply of childcare and improving leave arrangements, improving their possibilities to break through the 'glass ceiling', partly based on campaigns aimed at employers, and campaigns aimed at men to 'seduce' them to take up their responsibilities as a father.

As Plantenga (2001) for example remarks, the NAP of 2001 does not refer to these goals. There is only a reference to the last goal **in a footnote** ("in order to complement the objective of a labour force participation of women of 65% in 2010, the proportion of men in unpaid employment must rise to 40% by 2010", SZW, 2001a: 26).

Policy measures

Over the years, the NAPs show a fairly constant picture as far as policy measures concerned that are part of the equal opportunities policy. The main emphasis is clearly on measures to increase the participation rate of women: provision of childcare, leave schemes and working time regulation. The number of childcare facilities has increased considerably the last decade due to governmental subsidies. For example, between the end of 2000 and the end of 2002, the number of childcare places in day care for children between 0 and 4 years old, increased with 35% (to 107.211 places). Now childcare is available for about one quarter of Dutch children between 0 and 4 years old. However, one should keep in mind that most children in the Netherlands attend childcare for only few days a week. Many parents combine formal childcare facilities with informal arrangements (like care by family, neighbours or friends). Less than ten percent of children between 4 years old (the age at which most children go to nursery school) and 12 (the age at which they leave primary education) can make use of a place in post-school care (so between the hours of three and six in the afternoon, when school is out and parents may be still working). Again, such places are often used for about two times a week.

Problematic at the moment, though, is the rapid increase in costs of this form of childcare. There are signs that due to this rise, parents, especially those in lower income categories give up this arrangement (Plantenga & Remery, 2003). With respect to working time regulations and leave arrangements, two important acts are the Working hours (adjustment) Act, which entitles employees within certain conditions to reduce the number of working hours, and the Work and Care Act, which bundles a number of leave arrangements. These policy measures are, however, not taken because of the EES, but would have been implemented anyway (Van Zijl et al., 2002). A more recent initiative is the life cycle approach. This approach was launched in 2002 and aims at helping people to lead a more relaxed life, according to their own preferences (SZW, 2002). More particular, leave arrangements should help people to combine paid work and unpaid care in the 'rush hour of life' (when people have the responsibility for making their career, caring for young children and often also for parents, who become more dependent), while additional investments in human capital should help people to extend their working life (more in accordance with the fact that on average people remain healthy for a much longer period). So far, the life cycle approach has only resulted in a life cycle savings scheme, implying that people should save for leave etc.

In addition to more structural measures, a considerable part of the equal opportunity policies consists of temporary initiatives. Without being complete, we will give a few examples. Between 1999 and 2003 the Daily Routine Incentive Scheme was in effect, a project to promote pilot schemes that help to improve the

balance between work and family life. Examples of projects that got funded are cooperations between different organisations such as childcare centres, shops, schools and other social services, development of new forms of personal services such as flexible child care and 'care junctions' in which different provisions of care and services, such as child care and shopping, are clustered at a public sector interchange. Another part of the policy focuses on female returners. The government has set itself the task of placing 50.000 women returners in paid jobs (SZW, 2003b). Remarkable detail is that this task has been adjusted downward in 2003; originally the goal was set at 70.000 (Plantenga & Remery, 2003). The reasons for this adjustment are the decreasing demand on the labour market and the low number of female returners that are available for the labour market in the short term. In addition, supply and demand do not always match, for example because female returners often prefer working times that match with school hours. The policy measures are, however, rather soft: the most important measure is voluntary covenants between relevant parties, such as employers and municipalities on the number of women to help finding a job and how this should be done (see Plantenga & Remery, 2003). Moreover, other policy initiatives seem in contradiction with the goal to increase the number of female returners. For example, the ministry of Social Affairs and Employment funded for a significant period of time special schools (Vrouwenvakscholen) for women with a large distance towards the labour market. These schools also provided courses in the field of ICT (such as word processing, working with spread sheets etc.). However, at the end of 2002, this funding was ended because the association that manages these schools could not fulfil the conditions of funding (SZW, 2002b). At the moment, it is being sorted out whether another association will take over the work.

The last years, the gender pay gap has been on the agenda. Policy instruments include the development of an instrument for employers to assess whether their pay systems comply with the principle of equal pay and an assessment tool to assess the gender neutrality if job evaluation systems. These are, however, tools which employers can apply voluntarily. Finally, mobility issues/the glass ceiling get some attention.

As part of the EU-initiative EQUAL almost hundred projects started in 2002/2003 to improve the labour market position of disadvantaged groups. Even though the first evaluation shows that the gender dimension has been given little attention during the selection of the projects to be financed, many projects include or

are primarily aimed at women (De Koning et al. 2003). One of the bigger projects is called 'Mixed' and was launched in 2002 to improve women's mobility. For various branches of industry targets with respect to the growth of women in senior posts have been set. Companies can co-operate on a voluntary basis. Other projects try to stimulate women's skills with respect to computers and ICT and thus contribute to gender mainstreaming KBS. One remarkable feature of the EQUAL-initiative in the Netherlands is the fact that so many women are involved with the organisation and implementation of the projects.

As stated above, one of the targets in the emancipation policy of the Dutch government is to realise that men have a share in care of at least 40%. Even though this is an ambitious target, it does not get much attention in the NAPs, let alone policy measures to realise it. The main instruments used in this respect are information campaigns. For example, subsidised by EQUAL the project 'Men in the leading part' is developed to inspire men to become more involved in care activities. The project consists of a multimedia campaign, a television series, internetsites, conferences, campaigns at schools etc. (TK, 2002-2003).

Gender mainstreaming

The NAPs of 1998 up until 2002 were structured according to four pillars, with the fourth being strengthening equal opportunities for women and men. Since 1999, one of the guidelines of the EES is that 'Member states will adopt a gender mainstreaming approach in implementing the guidelines of all four pillars. In order meaningfully to evaluate progress on this approach, member states will need to provide for adequate data collection systems and procedures'. When analysing the attention paid to gender issues in the first three pillars, the conclusion is that this attention is very limited (Plantenga, 2001; Plantenga & Remery, 2003). For example, figures are often not broken down by gender, whereas the issues addressed, such as unemployment and training, often have a clear gender aspect. The NAP 1999 seems to be an exception (SZW, 1999). In this NAP, the description of each pillar ends with a box in which the gender perspective of the pillar is taken into account. However, the status of these boxes and the relation with the main text is not clear (Plantenga, 2001). For example, in the box described at the first pillar, improving employability, it is recognised that the distribution of unpaid caring work between women and men is hardly changing, whereas the labour participation of women is rising and that this has consequences for

the employability of women. However, it remains an open question what the government intends to do about this.

In addition, as far as gender aspects are addressed, this seems rather arbitrary, and not very consistent. For example, under the second pillar Entrepreneurship, the NAP 2000 mentions that special attention will be devoted to encouraging entrepreneurship among women and ethnic minorities (SZW, 2000a). However, this topic has disappeared in later NAPs.

The fourth pillar refers explicitly to strengthening equal opportunities policies for women and men. In the different NAPs several specific policy measures are presented. As described above, the main emphasis seems to be on measures to facilitate the combination of work and family life: child care, leave arrangements, measures with respect to working hours, experiments with respect to the daily schedule. In addition, there is also attention paid to issues as equal pay, upward mobility of women (glass ceiling) and opportunities to work part-time in senior posts. Off course these measures are all very important, but from a mainstreaming point of view, several issues should (also) have been integrated under different pillars. There seems little progress in this respect.

In the NAP 2003, several policy measures are presented under the guideline 'Address change/promote adaptability and mobility in the labour market' that in former NAPs were described under the heading of equal opportunities. These concern the working hours adjustment act, introduction of long term leave and the life-cycle approach. This seems positive from a mainstreaming point of view, but now the description of policy measures remains general and the gender aspects are not addressed. In addition, with respect to the other guidelines, gender mainstreaming is hardly applied; in proposed policy initiatives there is very little recognition of gender issues involved (e.g. Plantenga & Remery, 2003).

Within the Dutch emancipation policy, the method of gender mainstreaming has been a topic for several years. However, in the NAPs little attention is paid to the view of the government in this respect. The NAP 1999 only mentions that the Dutch emancipation policy has followed two tracks during the 1990's (SZW, 1999):

- modernisation of the emancipation policy;

 integration of emancipation aspects into the mainstream of policy; within this framework, the cabinet has established the Emancipation Tasks Action Plan, in which each department has laid down three tasks for the present cabinet period (ending 2002).

With respect to the second track TECENA's evaluation of this plan showed that many of the self chosen tasks were rather traditional (e.g. tasks with respect to increasing the number of female staff or improving the facilities to combine work and private life), and not aimed at a real break through in the structures governing male-female inequality in Dutch society (TECENA, 2000).

The government is still committed to gender mainstreaming (SZW, 2001b). Ministries still have to draw up action plans. Several instruments have been developed to support this process, such as a guideline for gender mainstreaming and for gender impact analyses, and a pilot gender sensitive budgeting. In addition, the ministry of Social Affairs has developed a website Emancipation Web (Emancipatieweb <u>http://www.emancipatieweb.nl/</u>) where information can be found on the emancipation policy, guidelines (for example on gender mainstreaming), background information etc. Moreover, since 2000, the government publishes a yearly Emancipation Monitor, in order to monitor progress in this field (e.g. Portegijs et al., 2002).

The government's plan on gender mainstreaming (SZW, 2001b) also included the intention to establish a new (again: temporary) committee of experts to analyse the ministries' progress in the field of gender mainstreaming and to advice them on improvements. The committee will start its work in the course of 2004 and will present its final report in 2006.

How are the arrangements presented actually working

The Dutch government has initiated a lot of policy measures in the field of equal opportunities, which have without any doubt improved the position of women. With respect to employment, important contributions are the subsidies for childcare, which resulted in a significant increase in the number of child care facilities, and the leave arrangements, as part of the Work and Care Act. In addition, the Netherlands seems frontrunner with respect to the regulation of working times. In the EU part-time jobs are often dead end jobs with bad terms of employment. In the Netherlands, this is not the case. All these facilities have contributed to the increase in the share of women in the labour force. At the same time, however, the share of women in the labour force is

a rather general number that obscures several facts. For example, there prove to be large differences between groups of women: the labour participation rate of women with a low education and women from ethnic minority groups is significantly lower than that of women with higher education and native women. In addition, though working part-time has several advantages, most women have such small jobs that they are not economically independent. Moreover, these women often keep the main responsibility for care activities. With respect to leave arrangements it may be noted that these are often unpaid. Especially for men this proves to be an important barrier for take up (e.g. Grootscholte et al., 2000). This implies that no redistribution of care activities between men and women takes place.

From a gender mainstreaming point of view it can be considered a problem that many policy measures are rather soft/not coercive and require the participation of social partners. Sometimes (e.g. when working time schedules or options in terms of employment are involved) the government presents basic rules or the possibility for tax deduction, but employers and unions have to negotiate the rules governing the substance of the matter. In a similar way employers are involved as one of the three parties that have to contribute to financing child care. As both employers and unions are not gender neutral it depends to a large extent on the industry where one happens to work or on the willingness of the employer whether one has access to proper arrangements. There is no tradition in the Netherlands that the government takes up its own responsibility with respect to gender equality and 'goes its own way'.

5. The KBS strategy in the NAP's/employment policies and other policy documents

In the NAPs the concept Knowledge Based Society is not very often referred to explicitly. The few references are very general. From the response to guideline 13 of the NAP 1999, under the heading Employment in the information society, it becomes clear that 'it is the government's ambition to place Holland among the leading countries in the EU in the field of ICT' (SZW, 1999: 42). Policy measures that are mentioned are investments in the knowledge infrastructure and new ICT companies. In addition, a Task Force 'Working on ICT' has been installed to draw up an action plan.

The NAP 2001 states that 'the government is pursuing a combination of policies which fully reflect the different pillars of the employment strategy (SZW, 2001a). The key aspects of the policy mix are (1.) investment in the economy, (2.) promotion of labour force participation and (3.) development of a new social agenda for the future. This combination should prepare the Netherlands for the challenges of the knowledge-based society (Information and Communications Technology) and for wider developments such as the ageing of the population, issues on which Lisbon and Stockholm European Councils have focused (SZW, 2001a: 8).

Knowledge is recognized as a factor of growing importance. As a result there is considerable attention for education and training. As stated above, the government has, in cooperation with the social partners, developed a strategy for lifelong learning. The measures seem to focus rather strongly on prevention of young people dropping out of the school system early, the improvement of the quality of education and dual courses combining training and employment. The NAP 2001 includes a guideline on E-learning for all and the transition to an ICT society (SZW, 2001a). Here, the government stresses the importance that everyone has the necessary skills to live and work in the information society and recognises that there are disadvantaged groups in this respect (less educated people, benefit claimants and older workers). The description of specific measures already implemented includes a Task Force and prevention of the digital disadvantaged. In this case, women who want to return to work are also mentioned as a target group. The NAP 2002 does not mention disadvantaged groups, but shows that less educated persons have less access to ICT products and make less use of them (SZW, 2002). The described policy measures include all schools on the Internet and the training school staff to acquire ICT skills.

Scientific and technical training

From a KBS point of view scientific and technical training is very relevant. This is, however, an issue that gets only limited attention. In several NAPs the underrepresentation of women in technical training is addressed. For example, the NAP 1999 describes that women take less of an interest in technical training courses. In order to increase the flow of women into these programmes, subjects of Technology and Information Studies were introduced in the first phase of secondary education. At

the same time the subject care was introduced, specifically to arouse more interest among boys for caring and caring responsibilities (SZW, 1999). The NAP 2003 makes a reference to an agreement by the EU education ministers to work towards an increase of at least 15% in the number of science and technology graduates in 2010, *among which more women* (not further specified) (SZW, 2003a). Currently 6% of all Dutch women and 38% of Dutch men has an educational background (at different levels) in science and technology (SCP/CBS, 2002, 54).

Innovation

In order to boost labour productivity the government wants to enhance the economy's capacity for innovation. The NAP 2003 states that an Innovation Platform has been established for this goal, consisting of leading authorities of the government (including the Prime Minister himself, though this is not mentioned in the NAP) and the business and academic community (SZW, 2003a). Critics point to the fact that – contrary to the idea of stimulating innovation - government's policy promoting a moderate wage development that has been carried out throughout the last two decades in the Netherlands in effect has been a restraint on innovation (Kleinknecht & Oostendorp, 1998).

Entrepreneurship

Since entrepreneurship contributes to both sustainable growth and employment, the government is seeking to increase the number of entrepreneurs and improve the business climate. In a few NAPs it is noticed that entrepreneurship among women and ethnic minorities should be encouraged. For example, according to the NAP 2000, 31% of new businesses in 1999 were started by women (SZW, 2000a). However, this is not further elaborated upon and in recent NAPs the attention for women entrepreneurs seems to have disappeared.

Other policy documents that focus explicitly on the information society also have been analysed. In 2001, the policy document 'Kenniseconomie in zicht' (Knowledge economy in sight) was published (TK, 2000-2001). The Netherlands have the ambition to belong to the leading group of Europe with respect to the Lisbon targets. The document seems very much in line with the Lisbon strategy of the EU. The five policy goals, which are a regrouping of the themes of Lisbon, are: - realisation of an adequate framework condition for the information society ('an information society for all'); this refers to the electronic infrastructure but also to rules and legislation, e.g. with respect to internet trade;

- anticipation on the knowledge dynamics of the modern economy by means of an excellent research infrastructure and innovation climate;

- stimulating an attractive climate of innovative entrepreneurship of dynamic and new markets;

- realisation of a highly educated and employable labour force by means of an attractive human capital climate;

- modernisation of the welfare state and combat of social exclusion.

There is little attention for gender aspects in the policy document. An exception is the fifth goal, where it is observed that the labour participation rate of women is still rather low, which may result in a permanent leeway. In order to increase the participation rate, the policy document falls back to the traditional instruments such as the creation of more facilities to combine work and family life, such as childcare and leave arrangements.

The second goal aims to create a stimulating climate for starting and developing innovative companies. Entrepreneurship should be stimulated, also among women. However, recent policy notes, for example the Letter on Innovation from the Ministry of Economic Affairs (2003), do not pay attention to women entrepreneurs at all. During the last decade several policy measures have been taken to facilitate entrepreneurship. Many of these measures can be grouped under the heading of deregulation policies. Occasionally, small projects were undertaken to stimulate female entrepreneurship (see also in section 4). After several incidents and problems in the seventies and eighties the Dutch government has been reluctant to subsidise technological innovations by private companies. This reluctance even increased after the implementation of EU-competition law and the adaptation of Dutch competition law. As a consequence many Dutch entrepreneurs complain that the Dutch government acts too reserved – and more reserved that other EU-governments - when it comes to stimulating the development of KBS.

The Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment presented the policy document 'Social Digital' (Sociaal Digitaal) (SZW, 2001c). This document is a thorough inventory of the consequences and opportunities of ICT for the policy fields of the

ministry (work, income and social security). There is limited attention for gender issues. For example, the inventory elaborates on the opportunities of ICT for combining work and care. It also takes gender differences in use of ICT, such as the Internet, into account. The document, however, does not propose any policy targets or measures.

In the past the ministry of Education, Culture and Science has launched several campaigns to promote the desegregation of the educational system and to seduce women (and more men) to opt for technical studies. Usually these campaigns last for a short period only and as a consequence the results are limited. Moreover, as the Equal Opportunities Board has pointed out already in 1994, these campaigns do not really challenge the real problem, i.e. the image of technique as unattractive and primarily something for nerds (see below). Recently, a policy document has been published on the shortage of beta's and technicians in the Netherlands (Ministerie van OCW, 2003a, 2003b). This document is a combined effort of the ministries of Social Affairs and Employment, Economic Affairs and Education, Culture and Science. According to this document about half of the Dutch labour force is a knowledge worker, which is defined as a person who creates, applies and uses knowledge and as such contributes significantly to innovation. This seems rather favourable, but only a relatively small group has a beta or technical education. In addition, the number of persons in a R&D job is rather small: 105.000. Only 15% of these R&D employees are women (EU average is 26%). For a medium term period, shortages are expected. There are several factors related to the low share of beta's, technicians and persons R&D. With respect to education, drop out and limited moving up into higher levels is one of the problems. In addition, the number of students who chose a beta of technical study is low because students perceive these studies as too difficult; the studies have a negative image and are not attractive. There are also bottlenecks with respect to the labour market: the labour market is not flexible, there is a lack of career opportunities and opportunities for personal development, there is hardly any mobility between the private and public sector (such as universities) and women and ethnic minorities are unutilised. A third group of factors related to migration: it is hard to get a residence permit and there is a lack of internationally recognised top educations and top research institutes. The action plan focuses therefore on four issues:

- attractive education;

- attractive jobs;
- attractive choices (extra measures in addition to attractive education and attractive jobs to influence the choices of youngsters, such as financial incentives);

- attractive residence (in order to attract foreign knowledge workers). According to the policy document women and persons for ethnic minorities are an important group of unutilised talent. How this group should be addressed, however, is not elaborated. The document refers to a study that will be published in 2004.

The lack of women in technical and beta studies and jobs seems quite persistent. The Equal Opportunities Board that was demised in 1997 advised on the topic in 1994. Their conclusions seem still very relevant, though no references are found in recent policy documents. According to the Board, linking the goal to increase the share of women in beta- and technical education and occupation with shortages is rather vulnerable. According to the Board, realisation of equal opportunities should have a weight as such. The link with shortages may easily result in emphasising specific, short-term projects with hardly any structural impact. Moreover, there is a risk that it is less threatening to focus on unutilised talent (e.g. men). Another problem is that the choices and behaviour of women are seen as problematic, whereas the nature of technology is not under discussion. Technology seems to be mainly supply driven, wishes and needs of users are usually ignored. This seems to affect the occupational culture and the choices that are made with respect to nature and direction of technological development. This may prevent women (but also men) to chose a career in this field. According to the Equal Opportunity Board a re-orientation on technology should take place: the demand for products and the practical value should become more central; technology should be at the service of people in order to get a grasp on the environment (ER, 1994). According to the director of VHTO, who also subscribed to the relevance of this report, there are a few initiatives that relate this re-orientation, such as the development of new forms of education in which technical studies are combined with other studies. But in general there still seems a world to win.

The analysis of the NAPs suggests that there is hardly any combined attention for equal opportunities/gender issues and knowledge based society. However, within the equal opportunities/emancipation policy of the government, there has been incidental

attention for the topic of KBS. The long-range policy document Emancipation (SZW, 2000b) and the document on emancipation policy of 2002 (TK, 2001-2002) each have a separate chapter on 'the knowledge society'. The basic assumption is that men and women should be able to participate in the knowledge society in a balanced manner. An important part is focused at gender differences in ICT education. Another focus is on the ICT branch. Given the low participation rate of women in the ICT branch, the government has formulated a target of 30 percent women in this branch in 2010. In 2004 it should at least be 15%. A taskforce 'Working on ICT', with the task to reduce the labour shortages in ICT at that time, has to stimulate women to pursue a career in ICT. Specific goals were:

- increase of the educational routes for women in ICT;
- redesign of ICT education to make this education more attractive for women;
- changing the culture and conditions of labour within the branch, so that more women choose an occupation in ICT.

The focus on education and the ICT branch is also illustrated in the Emancipation Monitor 2002. This has a chapter on the knowledge society that mainly provides figures on ICT skills among young children and adults, and figures on the ICT branch by gender ((Portegijs et al., 2002).

The policy document of 2002 makes a distinction between four policy clusters:

- regulation and organisation of ICT infrastructures; in 2001 funds became available to improve the digital infrastructure and level of ICT expertise within women's organisations;
- stimulation of the use of ICT in society; especially to improve the personal and social situation of deprived women;
- development of e-government: e.g. trying to reach less educated youngsters through Internet with subjects related to emancipation issues;
- anticipation on the societal consequences of the knowledge society and the changing role of the government; research on the question how ICT can be used to influence emancipation processes.

The attention for the knowledge based society within the emancipation policy seems of short duration. In later policy documents on emancipation the concept is not longer an issue. According to a civil servant of the department for coordination of emancipation of Ministry of Social Affairs, the knowledge society is 'part of gender mainstreaming', implying that there is no special task for this department anymore to promote gender aspects of KBS. An exception seems to be the use of ICT as instrument to promote equal opportunities, such as the creation of Emancipation Web which provides information on gender mainstreaming, and websites to stimulate men to become more involved in unpaid care (see also section 4).

6. Conclusions: statues and impact of NAPs, the meaning and implementation of KBS and GM

General remarks on EES

The Netherlands has been one of the strong supporters of an European Employment Policy. According to an evaluation study of five years EES, EES receives broad political support in the Netherlands and is taken seriously (Van Zijl et al., 2002). 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. With respect to the last one, the Dutch policy view regarded employment by women as an individual choice, whereas the EES guidelines demanded policy to stimulate women to participate in the labour market. From a gender perspective this EU-approach seems favourable. But many labour market measures and instruments would have been introduced anyway. Moreover, the authors also conclude that the improvement of the macro labour market performance is primarily the result of the positive development in the economic environment (Van Zijl et al., 2002: 64). This study shows also several weaknesses. For example the general impact of EES is moderate; EES serves as an extra justification for policy that would have been introduced anyway. Moreover, a general conclusion is that de focus of EES is not clear and that no learning from failures takes place. In addition, EES does not help to bring more structure into labour market policy, which is rather fragmented. EES also did not help in decreasing fragmentation of labour market policy over bureaucratic divisions of the Dutch ministries.

In line with the conclusions on EES similar conclusions can be drawn with respect to the NAP as an instrument for policy making. In the Netherlands the NAP is primarily a summary of existing policy measures. The NAP is not meant to develop new policy measures. That is why it is difficult to assess Dutch policies on

Knowledge Based Society and Gender Mainstreaming on the basis of the NAPs only. For the same reason the NAPs do not get much official, political and public attention.

Gender mainstreaming

The gender mainstreaming approach of the EU has three dimensions: *context* or the unequal position of men and women; *method* or the integration of the gender perspective into all policy process at all levels; *outcome* or gender equality"(Serrano-Pascual & Mósesdóttir, 2003: 90). What can we conclude with respect to the Dutch NAPs?

Gender mainstreaming: context

There are still significant inequalities between men and women. Many of these inequalities are well documented, based on several reports of e.g. the Social and Cultural Planning Bureau and Statistics Netherlands (e.g. SCP/CBS, 2002). At the end of the economic upswing in 2001 unemployment among women was – even though there were also large shortages in the labour market – still twice as high as unemployment among men: 4.7% versus 2.5%. About 15% of the female labour force draw a disability benefit; the figure for men is 13%. In 2001 the increase of workers on disability benefit was 68.000 for women and 58.000 for men, even though men's labour market participation is much higher than women's. In 2000 women's personal income is about 47% of men's. This figure – measured over all women and men - has increased over the years: in 1990 it was only 38% and in 1995 it was 43%. Women are overrepresented among low-income households: 48% of low-income households are households of single mothers, while another 24% of low-income households consist of single women. These reports also show (some) developments towards less inequality (higher educational enrolment of women, higher labour market participation, more childcare facilities). Many politicians, especially from the conservative coalition that is currently in power, like to point to these developments. These developments support their conclusion that there is no urgency any longer for specific policy measures aimed at bridging the gender gap in society, with the exception of measures aimed at women from immigrant ethnic minority groups. Financial problems, the growing demand for health care and the integration of foreigners are problems of a much higher order than gender mainstreaming. That is why many politicians and many civil servants are not inclined to pay much attention

to the gender dimension when developing and implementing new policy measures. And only if there is much external pressure or political pressure from the opposition, responsible cabinet ministers are inclined to spend time and money for a Gender Impact Assessment Study (Emancipatie-effectrapportage).

Gender mainstreaming: method

Despite the fact that there are several strong points in the Dutch emancipation policy that could be used to present oneself in this area, such as the legislation on working times and on the combination of work and care, gender mainstreaming has only very limited attention in the NAPs. The state of affairs with respect to gender mainstreaming looks worse than the actual situation when only the NAPs are taken into account. According to Plantenga (2001; 2002) three elements pay a role. A first element is that gender mainstreaming has not a very high priority for the Dutch government. There seems to be a certain satisfaction on the results so far: the number of working women has increased considerably and the traditional division of tasks between men and women has given way for a diversity of lifestyles and working time patterns (e.g. Plantenga, 2001; 2002). Another factor of importance is the unclear division of responsibilities. The spirit of the time is neo-liberal, assuming responsible persons being capable of looking after one's own interest. Finally, gender equality has left the domain of easy solutions and is being confronted with the toughness of old structures. According to Schippers (2001) ministries are not unwilling to include emancipation and gender in their analyses, but it takes a great deal of time and energy to build up the necessary expertise.

A complicating factor is that the infrastructure in the field of emancipation has crumbled off. The co-ordination of emancipation policies is still the responsibility of the minister of Social Affairs and Employment, but the scope for policy making of the department for the coordination of emancipation issues seems to diminish. In addition, gender mainstreaming seems rather associated with labour and employment issues. There is a risk that, though gender mainstreaming is the responsibility of all ministries, no one feels responsible to keep an eye on the process. As gender mainstreaming concerns all government wide policy issues, one may wonder why the process is not guarded by the prime minister.

On a more practical level it plays a part that the civil servants involved in writing the NAPs are not involved in the subject of equal opportunities/gender mainstreaming. Moreover, the NAPs have to address a large variety of topics in the field of employment policy and have to be written within a rather limited time-frame. In this respect, expectations may not be too high.

According to Plantenga (2001) one of the biggest problems with regard to gender equality measures in the Dutch Naps, is that there is no clear focus on the gender equality deficit that the national action plan should reduce. Gradually, there seems even loss of focus. At the end of the nineties, during a short period of time, the 'combination scenario' was a guide for mainstreaming equal opportunities. This scenario aimed for an equal distribution of paid and unpaid work. The NAP 1999 makes an explicit reference to this scenario. In later NAPs this has disappeared which is related to the fact that the government reformulated the goals with respect to emancipation. These comments are in line with earlier observations that with respect to emancipation policies the Netherlands seem primarily responsive to EU policy measures (like for example in the field of equal pay and equal treatment) instead of developing its own framework.

Gender mainstreaming: outcome

With respect to gender mainstreaming one may conclude that in the Netherlands there is still a long way to go. There is no sense of urgency and the extensive knowledge on gender mainstreaming that is available among a few experts, e.g. within Dutch universities, is not transferred to politicians and civil servants and therefore not included in the policy making process. Many people, including many – young – women, think that the emancipation process is more or less completed already and will go on automatically, and that there is no case for intensive government intervention. Given the nature of the NAP in the Netherlands, which is only a document summarising existing policy measures, it does not come as a surprise that the NAPs do not have much relevance for gender mainstreaming.

KBS: context

Discussions on KBS in the Netherlands concentrate primarily on the way knowledge, science and technology can contribute to a better performance of the Dutch economy.

There is relatively little attention for questions like what KBS will do to people's individual life, to the organisation of society and for the impact on social cohesion. Given the political focus on deregulation and more room and responsibility for private initiatives during the last decades the government only plays a limited part in the development towards KBS. Initiatives are primarily left to companies in the private sector. Moreover, during a period of several years there have been cut backs in the government's budget on higher education, which has resulted in universities becoming more dependent on money from research commissioned by private companies. This development has been detrimental for new, 'risky' scientific initiatives.

KBS: method

As indicated before, there are several parties involved in the discussion on KBS. So far, this discussion has been at a rather high and abstract level. Concrete actions are left to private initiatives; especially the ministry of Economic Affairs relies heavily on the innovative capacity of Dutch companies. Earlier bad experiences with state support and a rigid interpretation of EU-law on competition prevents the government to provide substantial financial support for initiatives aimed at stimulating KBS. This constitutes a problem, as the Netherlands, contrary to e.g. Germany or France, does not have a strong tradition of industrial investment banking. Discussions about and policy making with respect to KBS are primarily a matter of male dominated bodies. KBS is primarily the concern of the ministry of Economic Affairs and – to some extent – the ministry of Education, Culture and Science and the ministry of Social Affairs and Employment is primarily responsible for the annual NAP. As a consequence there is not much impact of the KBS-discussion for the NAP, except perhaps in the field of stimulating entrepreneurship.

KBS and GM: outcome

Fragmented policy responsibilities and fragmented policy making prevent the coming about of a coherent view on and a coherent set of policy measures aimed at implementing KBS in the Netherlands. As Frissen (2000) has stressed, the orientation of Dutch KBS-policy on economic and technological aspects does not favour a fullgrown discussion on social implications, let alone the gender dimension. The only favourable exception has been the long-range policy document on emancipation

(SZW, 2000b), that stressed the importance that women and men should be able to participate in a balanced matter in the knowledge based society. Unfortunately, this initiative did not get much follow up (so far). As a consequence, one may conclude that the – underdeveloped - world of gender mainstreaming and the – not much better developed - world of the knowledge based society in the Netherlands have thus far been separate worlds. This problem of two separate worlds that has already been pointed out by the Equal Opportunities Board in 1994 (ER, 1994) has not come much closer to a solution during the last ten years. And there are no signs yet that the two will meet in the near future.

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