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**Labour Market Policy if the General Public
Was in Charge**

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ABSTRACT

Labour Market Policy if the General Public Was in Charge

This study uses survey data among both a random sample (N = 500) and a convenience sample (N = 2,919) of Flemish adults to assess public support for 24 potential labour market reforms. The results show that there is a lot of public support for (both encouraged and mandatory) training and community service for the unemployed and for the so-called ‘job bonus’, which are all reforms planned by the Flemish government Jambon I. However, there is little public support for reforms which should make the – apparently strongly desired – increase of the minimum pension to 1,500 euro after taxes possible, such as gradually eliminating early retirement possibilities, decreasing how much equated periods (such as periods of sick leave and unemployment) count towards pension accrual, and (partly) unlinking wages from seniority. This indicates that the end-of-career-debate that the Belgian federal government De Croo I wants to have will not be an easy one. For the planned increased monitoring to fight social and fiscal fraud, there is, however, a lot of public support. Somewhat surprisingly, there is little public support for reforms which aim to strengthen the position of women on the labour market, such as more quota for women in boards of directors in private companies, more parental leave for couples who divide this leave more equally, and increased paternity leave from 10 to 20 days.

JEL Classification: J0, J28, J38, J58, J68, J78

Keywords: labour market policy, labour market reforms, public support

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1 Introduction

There are many potential labour market reforms which will be discussed by the Flemish government Jambon I and the Belgian federal government De Croo I. It is not an easy task for (these) policy makers to prioritise different labour market reforms and incorporate them into a clear and consistent strategic framework. Indeed, many factors play a role in this prioritisation exercise, such as (but not limited to) (i) financial feasibility, (ii) practical feasibility to implement the reforms in a reasonable amount of time, (iii) possibility to agree on a set of reforms with different parties and therefore with different ideologies, (iv) current and predicted state of the labour market, and (v) support among the general public (Bryson & George, 2020). Additionally, policy makers should watch out for a so-called *too-much-of-a-good-thing*-effect, in which too many – although positive – initiatives are implemented haphazardly and therefore ultimately lead to negative societal outcomes (Pierce & Aguinis, 2013). Policy makers should therefore – in discussion with societal partners – reflect on which labour market reforms are (i) feasible, (ii) fit in a long-term view of the labour market, and (iii) offer sufficient flexibility to anticipate diverse future scenarios with respect to socio-economic development (Bryson & George, 2020).

This study provides policy makers with clear statistics and insights into one of the abovementioned factors in prioritising labour market reforms, namely the public support for these reforms. More specifically, we assess in this study the public support for 24 potential labour market reforms among those who would experience the consequences of those reforms: the adult Flemish population.

This study is structured as follows: in Section 2 we discuss the methodological approach of this study; in Section 3 we present the results and discuss the most remarkable findings; in Section 4 we conclude and formulate suggestions for future research.

2 Method

The statistics in this study are based on survey data from a random sample of 500 Flemish adults collected between January 28th and February 1st 2021, gathered by research bureau 'Bilendi'. To ensure that the random sample is representative for the broader population, the sample was *a priori* composed by means of a proportional stratification and was *a posteriori* weighed based on official statistics from the 'Centrum for Information about the Media' (literal translation from 'Centrum voor Informatie over Media') and Statbel. The margin of error – which indicates to which extent the results of the sample can

deviate from those of the broader population – is 4.4%. The findings were compared to survey data from a convenience sample of 2,919 Flemish adults collected between January 19th and February 1st 2021, gathered through a broad distribution of the survey through Flemish media channels. The findings from this convenience sample were not substantially different compared to those of the random sample.

In the survey the respondents indicated on a scale of 0 to 10 to what extent they were in favour of 24 potential labour market reforms. It was indicated that 0 represented ‘completely against’, 5 represented a ‘neutral position’, and 10 represented ‘completely in favour’. A respondent is considered to be in favour of a labour market reform if the reform obtained at least a score of 6 out of 10. The 24 potential labour market reforms were based on (i) pending labour market reforms in the coalition agreement of the Flemish government Jambon I, (ii) pending labour market reforms in the coalition agreement of the Belgian federal government De Croo I, and (iii) the expertise of the authors.

Additionally, the findings were compared between different subgroups. More specifically, the following comparisons were made:

- Women versus men
- Older versus younger respondents
- Higher education degree versus no higher education degree
- Single versus in a relationship
- Living in a village versus living on the countryside
- Living in the suburbs versus living on the countryside
- Living in a city versus living on the countryside
- Employed versus unemployed or inactive

The comparisons between these subgroups discussed below are based on linear regression analyses with standard errors corrected for heteroskedasticity. To measure the differences between these subgroups categorical variables were added to the regressions, except for the differences between older and younger respondents, for which a linear variable was added. Ordered logistic regressions led to similar findings. The significance level was set at 5%. Regression models in which there are additional controls for contract type, sector, and experience with the employer or in the function led to comparable findings. Some differences between subgroups were not found in the convenience sample. This is mentioned in the online appendices to this study.

3 Results

The statistics in Table 1 show what percentage of the respondents in the random sample (N = 500) are in favour of the 24 potential labour market reforms.

< TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE >

In the following six subsections we discuss the most remarkable results, in which we group 18 of the 24 potential labour market reforms in six clusters.

3.1 Social and fiscal fraud

The most public support in our random sample is found for intensifying the fight against social fraud, i.e. increasing monitoring to prevent illegitimately obtained social benefits (86.6% is in favour). Related, intensifying the fight against fiscal fraud, i.e. increasing monitoring to prevent moonlighting (undeclared work) is ranked as the fourth labour market reform with the most public support (75.0% is in favour).

We propose three potential explanations for the finding that the public support among the adult Flemish population is larger for intensifying the fight against social fraud in comparison to intensifying the fight against fiscal fraud. First, fiscal fraud – both as an undeclared worker and as a person employing an undeclared worker – is more ubiquitous in Flanders compared to social fraud. As a result, a potential *not-in-my-backyard*-effect is at play, in which people are in favour of reforms that do not have an impact on them but are against reforms from which they could experience negative consequences (McAvoy, 1999).

Second, when conducting fiscal fraud, it is mainly the state that is disadvantaged as it misses out on taxes, while when conducting social fraud, it is mainly the working tax payers who are disadvantaged, as they will in the end have to pay for the illegitimately obtained benefits. Given that many of our respondents identify more with the latter group of working tax payers, they are more in favour of intensifying the fight against social fraud – a reform which has as goal that the working tax payers are less disadvantaged – compared to intensifying the fight against fiscal fraud – a reform which has as goal that the state is less disadvantaged (McAvoy, 1999).

Third, the perception of someone conducting fiscal fraud may be different from the perception of someone conducting social fraud. While the person conducting fiscal fraud is still working and therefore – albeit undeclared – contributing to the labour process, the person conducting social fraud is not working and may be more often perceived as someone who is taking advantage of the system.

Additionally, results from the survey show that respondents who live in the suburbs or in the city (compared to respondents who live on the countryside) are less in favour of intensified monitoring to prevent social fraud while older respondents (compared to younger respondents) are more in favour of intensified fights against both social and fiscal fraud. This is a remarkable finding throughout the results of the survey: respondents who live in the city are less in favour of strict reforms and support more left wing opinions while older respondent are more in favour of strict reforms and support more right wing opinions.

3.2 Training and community service for the unemployed

The second most public support among the 24 proposed labour market reforms exists for the encouragement of training for the temporary unemployed (84.8% is in favour). 73.6% of respondents are even in favour of making this training mandatory, although policy is at the moment not even close to implementing such mandatory training. A possible explanation for these findings are similar to the abovementioned proposed explanations for the substantial public support for social fraud: temporary unemployment benefits are in the end paid by the working tax payers. Respondents who identify with these working tax payers are therefore in favour of reforms which have as goal to guide the temporary unemployed towards a job. That way, tax money can again go to public investments from which these working tax payers can benefit themselves instead of to temporary unemployment benefits.

The substantial public support for these labour market reforms is good news for policy makers, given the high need for the (re)training of the (temporary) unemployed and inactive to fill bottleneck vacancies on the labour market (Debackere et al., 2020; VDAB, 2021). That way, also the gap with Scandinavian countries with respect to (re)training of the labour market reserve can be closed (Madsen, 2005; Bjørsted, Bova, & Dahl, 2016). However, we believe that policy makers should be cautious when making training for the temporary unemployed *mandatory*, as this may come across as too controlling and therefore as demotivating. Better would be to find a way to intrinsically motivate the labour market reserve to (re)train themselves. This may necessitate to revalue certain jobs (and sectors) which may have as a result that also the training for those jobs (and for those sectors) would become more attractive. Additionally, policy makers should look for ways through which they can increase labour mobility within and between sectors, so that employers do not feel restrained to (re)train people out of fear of quickly losing these (re)trained people to another employer who would then reap the benefits of their investments. If labour mobility could be increased within and between sectors, this could reduce restraints for employers to (re)train people (Verhaest et al., 2018).

Related to the public support for training for the temporary unemployed, the third most public support exists for the reform that the long-term unemployed should be deployed in community service (78.8% is in favour). This reform was included in the coalition agreement of the Flemish government Jambon I. A possible explanation for the large public support among the adult Flemish population for this reform is similar to abovementioned explanations with respect to (encouraged and mandatory) training for the temporary unemployed. Given that the benefits for the long-term unemployed are eventually paid by the working tax payers, the latter are in favour of reforms which have as goal to guide the long-term unemployed to a job. We suggest that the realisation of such community service – if this would ultimately be implemented – should ideally be done in agreement with the long-term unemployed themselves. That way, these people can engage in community service that they believe is valuable and in which they can develop skills that they wish to develop. Additionally, that way community service could be perceived as an advantage on one's resume, comparable to how volunteering is perceived as an advantage on one's resume (Baert & Vujić, 2016; 2018), instead of as a punishment for the long-term unemployed which would then potentially be perceived as a disadvantage in later job applications.

It is again remarkable that the public support for reforms such as (encouraged and mandatory) training for the temporary unemployed and community service for the long-term unemployed is especially large among the older respondents (compared to younger respondents), while respondents who live in the suburbs or in the city (compared to respondents who live on the countryside) are less in favour of mandatory training for the temporary unemployed and community service for the long-term unemployed. Additionally, respondents who are working are more in favour of community service for the long-term unemployed compared to respondents who are unemployed and inactive. Here too, potentially a *not-in-my-backyard-effect* is at play (McAvoy, 1999).

3.3 Activating the labour reserve

One of the main goals of the Flemish government Jambon I at the start of its legislature in 2019 was increasing the employment rate to 80%. As at that time Flanders had a very low unemployment rate but a substantial amount of inactive people, in the coalition agreement the focus was on tempting the inactive people towards the labour market (Baert, 2021). One action to do so was the introduction of the so-called 'job bonus'. The 'job bonus' had to make sure that the unemployment trap and the inactivity trap were reduced, i.e. that those who work would financially be better off compared to those who do not work. Our results show that for this activation reform public support is large: 74.8% of all

respondents are in favour of this reform, ranking it the fifth most supported reform in our study. It is remarkable that both working respondents and non-working respondents are equally in favour of this labour market reform, indicating a very broad public support for this activation measure. Additionally, older respondents are more in favour of this reform compared to younger respondents.

There is remarkably less public support for the activation measure to make unemployment benefits more degressive, i.e. by making them start at a higher level and then let them decrease faster compared to now (Baert, 2019). (Only) 57.6% of all respondents are in favour. Despite this limited public support among the Flemish population for this reform, the Belgian central bank ('Nationale Bank van België') is in favour of this reform and wants the Belgian federal government De Croo I to reconsider the implementation of this reform after the COVID-19 crisis (NBB, 2020), but is apparently not broadly supported in this stance by the adult Flemish population. Again older respondents – just as with the 'job bonus' – are more in favour of this activation measure compared to younger respondents. Also working respondents are more in favour of this potential labour market reform compared to unemployed or inactive respondents. A possible explanation for this latter finding is that the working tax payers – similar to the findings on community service for the long-term unemployed (*supra*) – are more in favour of reforms that have as goal to encourage people who receive unemployment benefits to find a job.

3.4 End-of-career-debate

72.2% of all respondents in our random sample are in favour of a minimum pension of 1,500 euro after taxes, which is also an ambition of the Belgian federal government De Croo I – although it is still somewhat unclear whether this ambition of the government is 1,500 euro before or after taxes. In order to make this labour market reform affordable, experts argue that the career length in Belgium needs to be increased. Especially given the fact that at this moment Belgian careers are among the shortest in Europe (Eurostat, 2020). Therefore, it is surprising that there is only little public support for reforms which are necessary to increase the career length and which could therefore help to make the ambition of a minimum pension of 1,500 euro after taxes affordable. Indeed, the two reforms which have as goal to increase career length are among the five reforms for which there is the least public support among the adult Flemish population.

First, there is the reform to gradually eliminate early retirement possibilities (41.0% is in favour), as in Belgium it is still possible to already retire at age 62 (and in some circumstances even at age 58 or 59) instead of at the official retirement age of 65. What we believe to be crucial in gradually eliminating early retirement possibilities is to ensure 'workable work' so that careers can be continued also at a

higher age. This entails that policy makers should reflect on how people can keep doing their job in a healthy and sustainable manner also at a higher age. Also part of this discussion is the potential labour market reform of an earlier retirement age for people who work in physically demanding jobs. 71.2% of Flemish adults is in favour of this reform. However, in practice it is difficult to construct a list with physically demanding jobs as it is difficult to formulate a consistent definition of a physically demanding job. Illustrative for this difficulty is that since the intention to construct such a list in 2014, no noteworthy progress has been made.

A second potential labour market reform that could lengthen careers and therefore could make the ambition of a minimum pension of 1,500 euro after taxes affordable is decreasing how much equated periods – such as periods of sick leave and unemployment – count towards pension accrual. Also for this reform there is only limited public support with 41.8% of Flemish adults who are in favour.

A final measure which may increase chances of employment for people older than 50 is (partly) unlinking wages from seniority. The current situation in Belgium is such that the more experienced an employee is, the more she/he earns. This can lead to a situation in which two colleagues who are doing the exact same job and who only differ in age can earn substantially different wages. This may in turn have as a consequence that older job candidates have decreased chances on the labour market because of the perception that they are expensive (Van Borm, Burn, & Baert, 2019). However, also for this (partly) unlinking of wages from seniority there is little public support (only 35.0% is in favour). Even more, it is the labour market reform with the least amount of people in favour of all proposed labour market reforms in this study. Both from the perspective of employees as from the perspective of employers there are potential explanations for this finding. On the one hand, the link between wages and seniority is so commonplace in Flanders that employees may not be in favour of this reform because of fear of the unknown. Additionally, older employees may fear that they will be disadvantaged by such a reform because their current wage raise due to seniority may disappear. On the other hand, employers may not be in favour of this reform as wages based on performance reviews may cause practical difficulties and bring about additional hard choices that need to be made by managers with respect to wages of personnel.

Related to making the minimum pension of 1,500 euro after taxes affordable, it is remarkable that although the social partners (unions and employer organisations) are mentioned 39 times in the coalition agreement of the Belgian federal government De Croo I – among others to facilitate reforms to increase the employment rate – there is little public support among Flemish adults to let them co-ordinate labour market policy (only 39.2% is in favour). A potential reason for this limited trust in the social partners may be that earlier reforms that they were put in charge of – such as the

abovementioned construction of a list with physically demanding jobs and (partly) unlinking wages from seniority – were unsuccessful.

3.5 Work and family

More than two out of three respondents (67.4%) are in favour of giving priority to the employed in day care centres. It is remarkable that the public support for this reform is equally large among the employed and the unemployed or inactive. Apparently, also the unemployed and inactive think it is only fair that the employed should be given priority in day care centres, making this a reform with very broad public support. However, we believe it is important that also the unemployed and inactive maintain sufficient access to day care centres in order for them to be able to actively search for a new job and to be able to go through the application process.

Only 44.6% of the respondents are in favour of more parental leave for couples who divide this leave more equally and only a slight majority (53.8%) are in favour of increasing paternity leave from 10 to 20 days – the latter reform was included in the coalition agreement of the Belgian federal government De Croo I. This rather low public support is remarkable as research from Norway has shown that more paternity leave leads to a more equal division of household tasks and even to better school performance by children (Kotsadam & Finseraas, 2011; Cools, Fiva, & Kirkebøen 2015). Additionally, it is remarkable that for both reforms women are more in favour compared to men. This finding is in line with findings from earlier research on the punishment for motherhood on the labour market. Such punishment became clear in research with fake resumes which showed that women are discriminated against because they will potentially drop out of the labour market (for a while) because of motherhood (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Capéau, Eeman, Groenez, & Lamberts, 2012; Baert, 2014).

3.6 Discrimination on the labour market

Although women are still discriminated against on the labour market – be it as punishment for motherhood (*supra*), be it for other reasons – only 44.8% of Flemish adults are in favour of more quota for women in boards of directors in private companies. This despite the fact that in Norway the amount of women in boards of directors has doubled to more than 40 percent because of such quota (Wang & Kelan, 2013). Additionally, also Spain, France, Italy, and Iceland try to increase the amount of women in boards of directors by means of such quota (Axelsdóttir & Einarsdóttir, 2017; de Cabo, Terjesen, Escot, & Gimeno, 2019; Comi, Grasseni, Origo, & Pagani, 2020). Additionally, multiple studies have shown that

quota may improve labour market success of women (and of ethnic minority groups) (Ng & Stephenson, 2015; Seierstad, Healy, Sønju Le Bruyn Goldeng, & Fjellvær, 2021).

Although quota – be it ‘soft’ target numbers or ‘hard’ imposed numbers – may be effective as a temporary measure until a certain balance is achieved, they are not necessarily the best solution to fight discrimination on the labour market in the long run. Indeed, it is practically impossible to introduce quota for every minority group that is discriminated against – see Baert (2018) for an overview – as the combination of those quota would create a nearly insolvable puzzle with as consequence hiring decisions based on minority traits instead of on capacities of applicants. Some people from minority groups may even be against such quota, as they may lead to the perception that they were hired because of the quota instead of for their capacities. That is why quota are only one measure of what should be a combination of measures to fight labour market discrimination (Deros & Ryan, 2019; Seierstad, Healy, Sønju Le Bruyn Goldeng, & Fjellvær, 2021). Additionally, the specific context and need for quota should be taken into account, which will differ between hiring decisions for the board of directors versus hiring decision for other functions in organisations.

Consequently, experts point to additional instruments, for example those which may detect (and then punish) unequal treatment on the labour market (Baert, Lamberts, & Verhaeghe, 2021). Such detection can be achieved by means of field testing, a reform that 51.8% of respondents in our survey would be in favour of. Crucial in the potential implementation of such field testing is that it is done in a general policy and judicial framework to avoid tests that may be carried out in ways that would not always comply with important ethical and scientific principles, which is important given the apparent delicacy of field testing. However, field testing is again only one instrument of what should be a larger fight against labour market discrimination. Indeed, field testing for instance only looks at the first phase of the recruitment and selection procedure. Therefore, simultaneously a broader strategy against labour market discrimination should be set up with among others (i) guidance of applicants, (ii) sensibilisation of recruiters/HR-professional/employers, and (iii) detection of labour market discrimination also during later phases of the recruitment and selection procedure (Deros & Ryan, 2019) and during later stages of the career (King, 2008).

4 Conclusion

In this study we examined by means of a survey the public support among Flemish adults for 24 potential labour market reforms. This study provides insights for policy makers into one of the factors in

prioritising labour market reforms. The results show that there is a lot of public support for reforms that are planned by the Flemish government Jambon I: (both encouraged and mandatory) training for the temporary unemployed, community service for the long-term unemployed, and the so-called ‘job bonus’. Although there is a lot of public support for the ambition of the Belgian federal government De Croo I to increase the minimum pension to 1,500 euro after taxes, there is little public support for labour market reforms that should make this ambition possible, such as gradually eliminating early retirement possibilities, decreasing how much equated periods count towards pension accrual, and (partly) unlinking wages from seniority. There is, however, a lot of public support for the fight against fiscal and social fraud. Potentially, what is at play here is that respondents are in favour of reforms from which they will benefit and are against reforms from which they will experience negative consequences. This also becomes clear when assessing the public support for reforms that could strengthen the position of women on the labour market, for which the – in general little – public support is consistently higher among women.

Although this study provides insights into the public support for *individual* labour market reforms, it provides no insights into the public support for *combinations* of labour market reforms. Policy makers should be aware of this when taking into account insights from this study when deciding on the optimal combination of labour market reforms. Future research should build on this study by setting up discrete choice experiments which allow to assess public support for *combinations* of labour market reforms (see for example Gallego and Marx (2017)).

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6 Tables

Table 1. Public support among Flemish adults for 24 potential labour market reforms.

n°	Potential labour market reform	% in favour
1	Increased monitoring to prevent illegitimately obtained social benefits	86,6%
2	Encouraged training for the temporary unemployed	84,8%
3	Community service for the long-term unemployed	78,8%
4	Increased monitoring to prevent moonlighting (undeclared work)	75,0%
5	Job bonus: those who work for a low wage keep more of it after taxes	74,8%
6	Mandatory training for the temporary unemployed	73,6%
7	Minimum pension of 1,500 euro after taxes	72,2%
8	Earlier retirement for those who work in physically demanding jobs	71,2%
9	Priority for the employed in day care centres	67,4%
10	More degressive unemployment benefits: higher starting level but faster decrease compared to now	57,6%
11	Limiting employment based on day and week contracts	57,0%
12	Increased paternity leave from 10 to 20 days	53,8%
13	Reduction of working hours while maintaining wages	52,8%
14	Field testing on the sector level to measure labour market discrimination	51,8%
15	Subsidies for companies who allow telework also after the COVID-19 crisis	51,2%
16	Subsidies for companies who allow flexible working schemes	49,4%
17	Let social benefits depend on wage, rather than on statute (such as the statute of unemployment)	46,8%
18	More quota for women in boards of directors in private companies	44,8%
19	More parental leave for couples who divide this leave more equally	44,6%
20	Decrease how much equated periods (such as periods of unemployment) count towards pension accrual	41,8%
21	Gradually eliminating early retirement possibilities	41,0%
22	Let social partners (unions and employer organisations) co-coordinate labour market policy	39,2%
23	Discourage classic performance and evaluation reviews	37,4%
24	(Partly) unlinking of wages from seniority	35,0%

7 Online appendix: statistics for each potential labour market reform

7.1 Increased monitoring to prevent illegitimately obtained social benefits

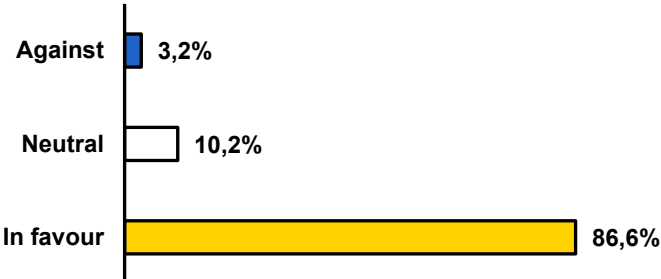
1. Public support in general

Against	3,2%
Neutral	10,2%
In favour	86,6%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	No significant difference
Older (compared to younger)	More respondents in favour
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	Less respondents in favour
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	Less respondents in favour
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

**INCREASED MONITORING TO PREVENT ILLEGITIMATELY
OBTAINED SOCIAL BENEFITS**



7.2 Encouraged training for the temporary unemployed

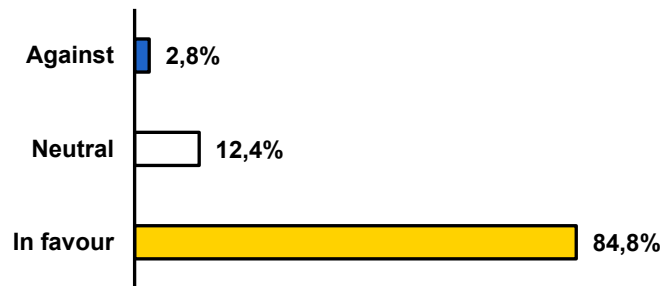
1. Public support in general

Against	2,8%
Neutral	12,4%
In favour	84,8%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	No significant difference
Older (compared to younger)	More respondents in favour
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

ENCOURAGED TRAINING FOR THE TEMPORARY UNEMPLOYED



7.3 Community service for the long-term unemployed

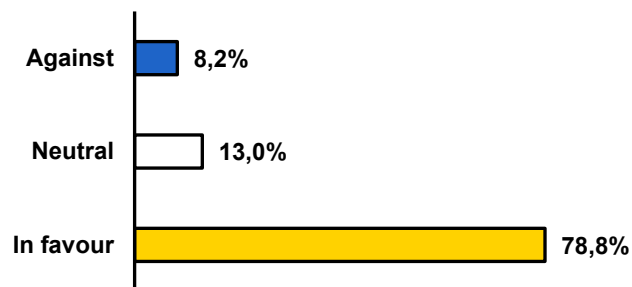
1. Public support in general

Against	8,2%
Neutral	13,0%
In favour	78,8%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	No significant difference
Older (compared to younger)	More respondents in favour
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	Less respondents in favour
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	Less respondents in favour
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	Less respondents in favour
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	More respondents in favour (not significant in convenience sample)

COMMUNITY SERVICE FOR THE LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED



7.4 Increased monitoring to prevent moonlighting (undeclared work)

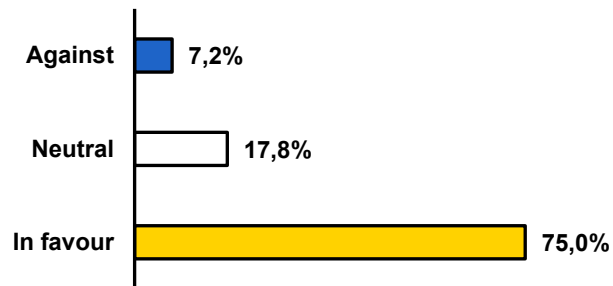
1. Public support in general

Against	7,2%
Neutral	17,8%
In favour	75,0%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	No significant difference
Older (compared to younger)	More respondents in favour
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

INCREASED MONITORING TO PREVENT MOONLIGHTING (UNDECLARED WORK)



7.5 Job bonus: those who work for a low wage keep more of it after taxes

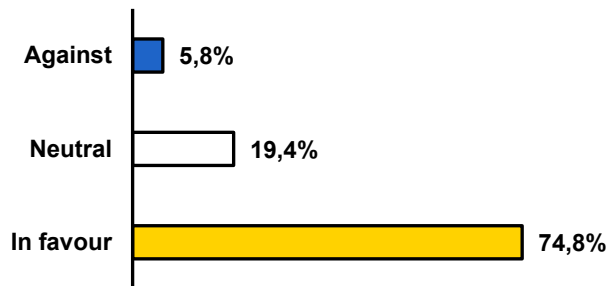
1. Public support in general

Against	5,8%
Neutral	19,4%
In favour	74,8%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	No significant difference
Older (compared to younger)	More respondents in favour
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

JOB BONUS: THOSE WHO WORK FOR A LOW WAGE KEEP MORE OF IT AFTER TAXES



7.6 Mandatory training for the temporary unemployed

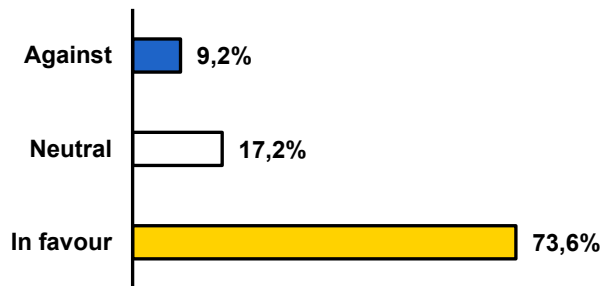
1. Public support in general

Against	9,2%
Neutral	17,2%
In favour	73,6%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	No significant difference
Older (compared to younger)	More respondents in favour
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	Less respondents in favour
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	Less respondents in favour
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	Less respondents in favour
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

MANDATORY TRAINING FOR THE TEMPORARY UNEMPLOYED



7.7 Minimum pension of 1,500 euro after taxes

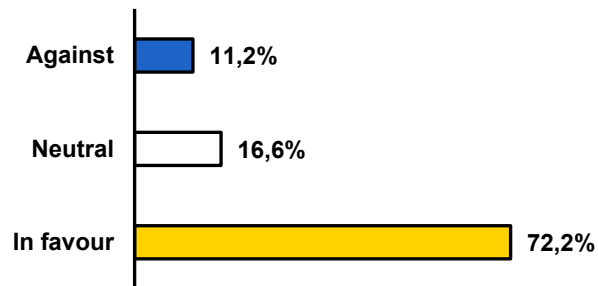
1. Public support in general

Against	11,2%
Neutral	16,6%
In favour	72,2%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	More respondents in favour
Older (compared to younger)	No significant difference
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	Less respondents in favour
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	Less respondents in favour
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

MINIMUM PENSION OF 1,500 EURO AFTER TAXES



7.8 Earlier retirement for those who work in physically demanding jobs

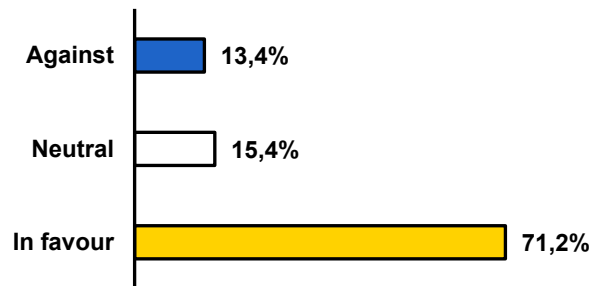
1. Public support in general

Against	13,4%
Neutral	15,4%
In favour	71,2%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	More respondents in favour
Older (compared to younger)	No significant difference
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	Less respondents in favour
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

EARLIER RETIREMENT FOR THOSE WHO WORK IN PHYSICALLY DEMANDING JOBS



7.9 Priority for the employed in day care centres

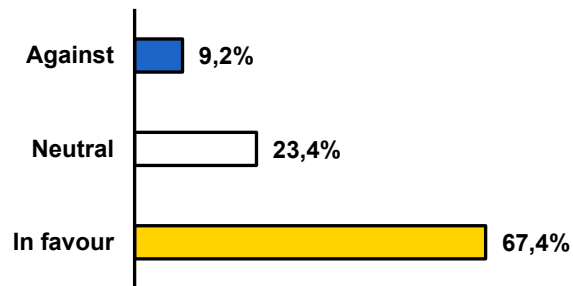
1. Public support in general

Against	9,2%
Neutral	23,4%
In favour	67,4%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	No significant difference
Older (compared to younger)	No significant difference
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

PRIORITY FOR THE EMPLOYED IN DAY CARE CENTRES



7.10 More degressive unemployment benefits: higher starting level but faster decrease compared to now

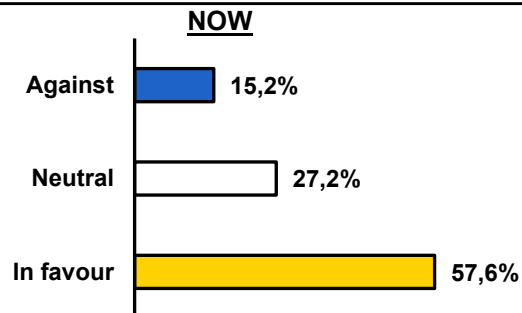
1. Public support in general

Against	15,2%
Neutral	27,2%
In favour	57,6%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	No significant difference
Older (compared to younger)	More respondents in favour
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	Less respondents in favour
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	More respondents in favour

MORE DEGRESSIVE UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS: HIGHER STARTING LEVEL BUT FASTER DECREASE COMPARED TO



7.11 Limiting employment based on day and week contracts

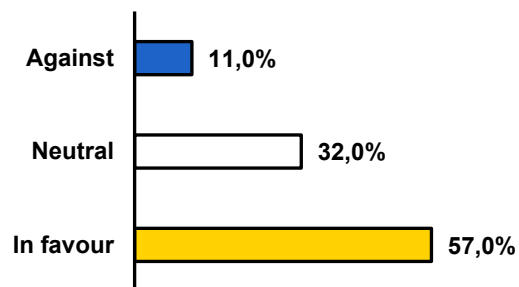
1. Public support in general

Against	11,0%
Neutral	32,0%
In favour	57,0%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	No significant difference
Older (compared to younger)	More respondents in favour (not significant in convenience sample)
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

LIMITING EMPLOYMENT BASED ON DAY AND WEEK CONTRACTS



7.12 Increased paternity leave from 10 to 20 days

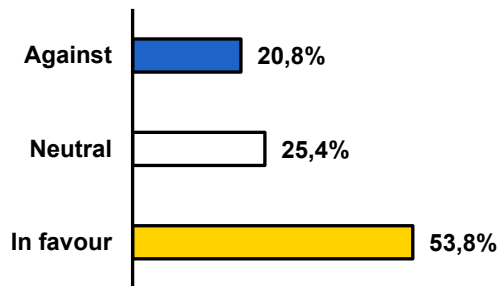
1. Public support in general

Against	20,8%
Neutral	25,4%
In favour	53,8%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	More respondents in favour
Older (compared to younger)	Less respondents in favour
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	Less respondents in favour
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

INCREASED PATERNITY LEAVE FROM 10 TO 20 DAYS



7.13 Reduction of working hours while maintaining wages

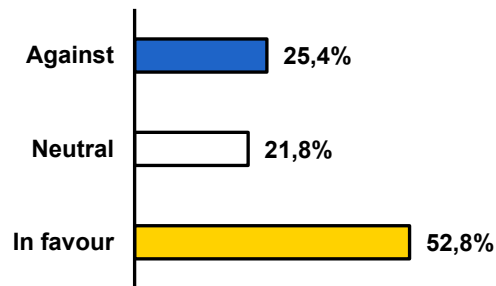
1. Public support in general

Against	25,4%
Neutral	21,8%
In favour	52,8%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	More respondents in favour
Older (compared to younger)	Less respondents in favour
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	Less respondents in favour
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	More respondents in favour

REDUCTION OF WORKING HOURS WHILE MAINTAINING WAGES



7.14 Field testing on the sector level to measure labour market discrimination

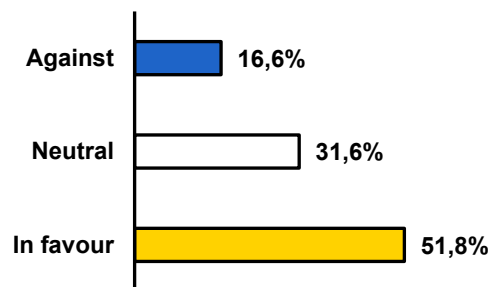
1. Public support in general

Against	16,6%
Neutral	31,6%
In favour	51,8%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	More respondents in favour
Older (compared to younger)	Less respondents in favour
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	More respondents in favour (not significant in convenience sample)
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	Less respondents in favour

FIELD TESTING ON THE SECTOR LEVEL TO MEASURE LABOUR MARKET DISCRIMINATION



7.15 Subsidies for companies who allow telework also after the COVID-19 crisis

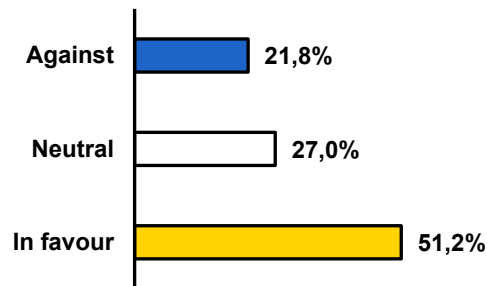
1. Public support in general

Against	21,8%
Neutral	27,0%
In favour	51,2%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	More respondents in favour
Older (compared to younger)	No significant difference
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	More respondents in favour
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

**SUBSIDIES FOR COMPANIES WHO ALLOW TELEWORK
ALSO AFTER THE COVID-19 CRISIS**



7.16 Subsidies for companies who allow flexible working schemes

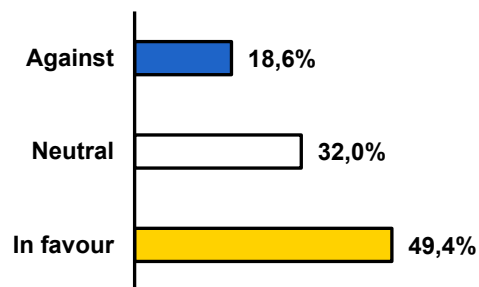
1. Public support in general

Against	18,6%
Neutral	32,0%
In favour	49,4%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	More respondents in favour
Older (compared to younger)	No significant difference
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	More respondents in favour (not significant in convenience sample)
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

SUBSIDIES FOR COMPANIES WHO ALLOW FLEXIBLE WORKING SCHEMES



7.17 *Let social benefits depend on wage, rather than on statute (such as the statute of unemployment)*

1. Public support in general

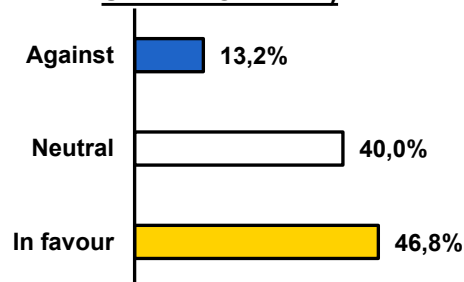
Against	13,2%
Neutral	40,0%
In favour	46,8%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	No significant difference
Older (compared to younger)	No significant difference
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

Note: this item was potentially misunderstood by the respondents (“advantages” would have been better than “benefits”).

LET SOCIAL BENEFITS DEPEND ON WAGE, RATHER THAN ON STATUTE (SUCH AS THE STATUTE OF UNEMPLOYMENT)



7.18 More quota for women in boards of directors in private companies

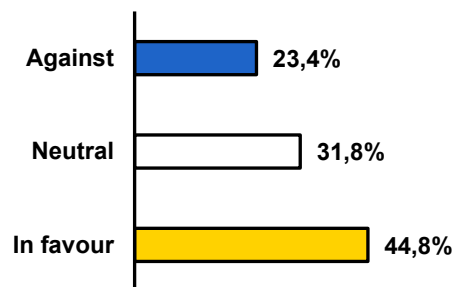
1. Public support in general

Against	23,4%
Neutral	31,8%
In favour	44,8%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	More respondents in favour
Older (compared to younger)	No significant difference
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	Less respondents in favour
Single (compared to in a relationship)	Less respondents in favour (not significant in convenience sample)
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

MORE QUOTA FOR WOMEN IN BOARDS OF DIRECTORS IN PRIVATE COMPANIES



7.19 More parental leave for couples who divide this leave more equally

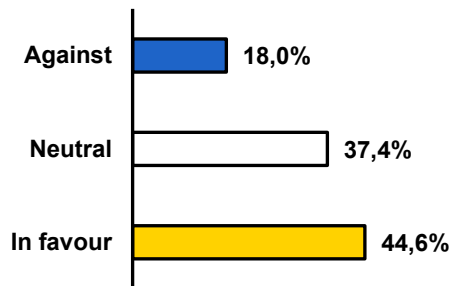
1. Public support in general

Against	18,0%
Neutral	37,4%
In favour	44,6%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	More respondents in favour
Older (compared to younger)	No significant difference
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	Less respondents in favour
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	Less respondents in favour

MORE PARENTAL LEAVE FOR COUPLES WHO DIVIDE THIS LEAVE MORE EQUALLY



7.20 Decrease how much equated periods (such as periods of unemployment) count towards pension accrual

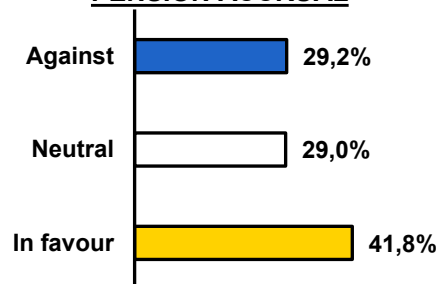
1. Public support in general

Against	29,2%
Neutral	29,0%
In favour	41,8%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	No significant difference
Older (compared to younger)	No significant difference
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	More respondents in favour

DECREASE HOW MUCH EQUATED PERIODS (SUCH AS PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT) COUNT TOWARDS PENSION ACCRUAL



7.21 Gradually eliminating early retirement possibilities

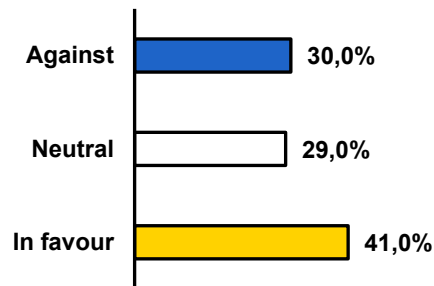
1. Public support in general

Against	30,0%
Neutral	29,0%
In favour	41,0%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	Less respondents in favour
Older (compared to younger)	More respondents in favour
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	More respondents in favour
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

GRADUALLY ELIMINATING EARLY RETIREMENT POSSIBILITIES



7.22 Let social partners (unions and employer organisations) co-coordinate labour market policy

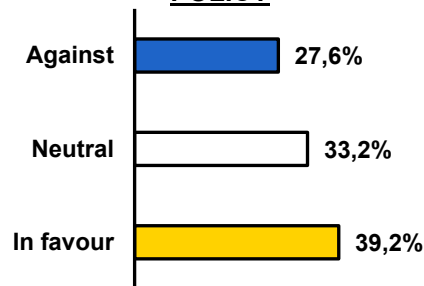
1. Public support in general

Against	27,6%
Neutral	33,2%
In favour	39,2%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	More respondents in favour
Older (compared to younger)	No significant difference
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

LET SOCIAL PARTNERS (UNIONS AND EMPLOYER ORGANISATIONS) CO-COORDINATE LABOUR MARKET POLICY



7.23 Discourage classic performance and evaluation reviews

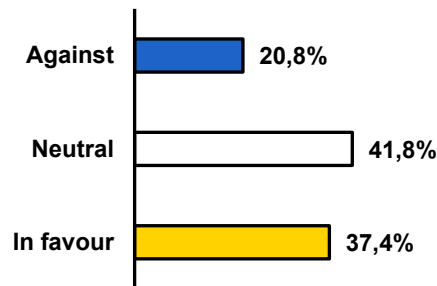
1. Public support in general

Against	20,8%
Neutral	41,8%
In favour	37,4%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	No significant difference
Older (compared to younger)	More respondents in favour
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

DISCOURAGE CLASSIC PERFORMANCE AND EVALUATION REVIEWS



7.24 (Partly) unlinking of wages from seniority

1. Public support in general

Against	37,2%
Neutral	27,8%
In favour	35,0%

2. Public support by subgroups

Women (compared to men)	No significant difference
Older (compared to younger)	No significant difference
Higher education degree (compared to no higher education degree)	No significant difference
Single (compared to in a relationship)	No significant difference
Living in a village (compared to on the countryside)	No significant difference
Living in the suburbs (compared to on the countryside)	More respondents in favour (not significant in convenience sample)
Living in a city (compare to on the countryside)	More respondents in favour
Employed (compared to unemployed or inactive)	No significant difference

(PARTLY) UNLINKING OF WAGES FROM SENIORITY

