EVALUATION OF THE 2001 GERMAN NATIONAL ACTION PLAN FOR EMPLOYMENT.

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Gender equality and the European Employment Strategy

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Executive Summary

Actually Germany does not fulfil the overall employment target (women's overall employment rate being over 60 per cent). Looking on the development over the last decade, we register a steady increase in women's labour force participation, but only in Western Germany, and mainly for women in the core age groups 25 to 49 years old. In East Germany we observe a trend of decreasing participation rates and an even more dramatic decreasing of employment rates (both for men and women). Actually, Germany has a very low employment rate for older men and women in East Germany – this being the result of an active policy of early retirement and of long lasting unemployment of older people (the difference between employment rates and labour force participation rate are markedly high in the age groups over 50 both for men and women).

The most important gender equality deficits are a substantial gender gap in labour force participation and employment, a substantial proportion of unemployed women (both registered and non-registered), a substantial problem in employment growth both in the private and the public sector of the economy, a persistently high gender wage gap, a low percentage of women in high paid or decision making positions, a high concentration of women in a small range of occupations and apprenticeships, and only a slowly changing family policy taking into account that women want to combine work and family.

Overall, the NAP 2001 is a document of ongoing work which doe not raise real new issues. There is only one new initiative relating to gender mainstreaming institutions -a “competence centre for equal opportunities in the work and service society of the 21st century”- and no totally new programmes. It is therefore a continuation of the policy announced in the NAP 1999 and shows some progress in the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Since the first NAP 1998, which did not respond to the gender mainstreaming approach, there is progress in nearly all points/pillar/guidelines. Pillar I has the most developed gender perspective including gender targets whereas pillar III is nearly free of gender awareness of the policy areas covered. Progress in gender impact assessment is very slow. There is almost no examples of policy evaluation integrated into the NAP, and contradictions in policy, for example in policies towards the employment of older workers which mainly concern men are ignored.

The government’s responses to the council recommendation exclude the more controversial points like taxes and wage and employment gaps. The expressed positive attitude towards the Lisbon targets is not accompanied by initiatives or reflection on the barriers to increasing female employment or by the adoption of a national target. Although the growth in female employment is nearly exclusively in part-time employment, this is not reflected upon in depth.

Some new legal provisions (part-time, parental time) may help women in combining work and family; major problems like the lack of child-care are touched upon, but the solutions seem difficult. Tax reforms to overcome the income tax splitting system have been postponed as well as legal provisions for positive action in the private sector.
1. The employment context, the employment targets and the gender equality deficit

1.1 Lisbon employment targets

Actually Germany does not fulfil the overall employment target (women's overall employment rate being over 60 per cent). Looking on the development over the last decade, we register a steady *increase* in women's labour force participation (Eurostat data: the labour force participation rate in 1999 is 63.4%, the employment rate is 57.1%), but only in Western Germany, and mainly for women in the core age groups 25 to 49 years old. In East Germany we observe a long lasting trend of *decreasing* participation rates and an even more dramatic decreasing of employment rates (both for men and women). Actually, microcensus data (1999) show a very low employment rate for older men and women in East Germany – this being the result of an active policy of early retirement and of long lasting unemployment of older people (the difference between employment rates and labour force participation rate are markedly high in the age groups over 50 both for men and women).

We observe two contradictory developments: growing employment rates for women in West Germany, falling employment rates for women in East Germany, whereby the employment rate level of East German women is still in nearly all age groups higher than the level of employment in West Germany (except the older age groups). East Germany still fulfils the Lisbon criteria easily in the age groups 25 to 54, West Germany fulfils the criteria in the same age groups but on a lower level. The main weakness of the actual employment system with respect to the Lisbon target is the very low rate of employment of older women. The low employment rates of younger women under the age of 25 are mainly due to longer times in the educational systems, which are quite similar now in West and East and between men and women. But – given the differences between labour force participation and employment rate – i.e. given the high rate of unemployment, the dynamics of the overall labour market are not sufficient to include all men and women in employment, even on a part-time base.

On the background of the difficult employment perspectives in East Germany and the specific character of employment growth in West Germany (nearly all of the female per head increase is bound to the increase in part-time employment) it is not easy to predict the further development: experts expect an further increase in women's employment in West Germany and a further decline in East Germany – whether the increase in West Germany is strong enough to level out the decrease in the East is difficult to predict. Actually, given the number of women in the working age population, Germany as a whole would need roughly 800.000
more women in employment to reach the overall 60% target (calculated by FM on base of the Eurostat data, UMIST calculation 805.000...the same result). Compared to the dynamics in employment growth during the last years and the increase in female employment this aim can be reached over a period of 8 years (year 2010) given an average economic growth rate of about 2%. The mere prolongation of previous employment trends will lead to this increase. However, given the ongoing decrease in men's employment the overall employment target of 70% (Germany actually reaches only 64.8%) would need around 3 million new employees (calculated by FM on base of the Eurostat data). Even over a period of 8 years this seems quite difficult to reach. In 2000, the year with an annual growth rate of 3.1%, the number of additional employment was around 584.000, most of them being women in part-time employment (IAB 2001). Calculations of economic development forecast a plus of 290.000 (growth rate 2.25%) to 400.000 (growth rate 3.25%) people in employment in 2001. Even growth rates with around 3% per year would not be sufficient to reach the overall employment target.

Sectoral changes (increase in service related jobs, decrease in production related jobs) and the ongoing increase in part-time working will make it easier to reach the women's target of 60% than to reach the overall target of 70% (given 800.000 women more in employment and the number of men unchanged compared to 1999, this would result in an overall employment rate of about 66% - c.p. the population of working age).

Therefore: the overall gender gap may decrease by growing female and declining/stagnating male employment, combined with a stagnation in employment rates in full-time equivalents, as part-time employment is growing faster.

The task of employment/economic policy is therefore quite obvious: Germany needs an employment oriented policy creating internal demand, allowing people to consume and it needs an increase in services related to families and single women with children. It is not the place here to discuss the guidelines of economic policy – but Germany would have financial resources to increase its public sector child care, or to subsidise child-care in play groups etc.

Tables 1 and Tables 2 give an overview over employment rates, labour force participation rates by age groups and separated by East and West Germany (microcensus data 1999)
1.2 The gender equality deficit and the need for action

Germany’s gender equality deficits are strongly connected with two aspects: the overall economic developments, especially in East Germany, and the socio-economic models of women’s role in the economy and society forming the relevant institutions (both legal, financial and in “real” terms – i.e. child care). Whereas the first aspect is still not satisfying (the economic development in terms of employment creation is rather weak), the second part is subject to more changes as the political power changed in 1998 towards a socialdemocrat/green government which at least proposed a more comprehensive and modern approach to women’s roles. How far this approach results in real changes in the institutional framework, has to be examined in detail.

The most important gender equality deficits are:

- a substantial gender gap in labour force participation and employment: a growing labour force participation of women in West Germany which lies still only around the EU-average and a falling, but still higher labour force participation rate of East German women is accompanied by an unstable labour force participation of women with small children. The duration of time-off of employment is statistically declining (as women in parental leave are counted as employed) but still rather long and influenced by the lack of child-care facilities for children under the age of 3 (in West Germany) and the substantial lack of employment opportunities for women in East Germany. All indicators used by UMIST show Germany on a middle or lower level in the European Community: employment rates in general, in full-time equivalents, for women with children under 7 years, for women of all educational levels. The gender gap is declining in per head counts (as men's employment is declining), but the growth of female employment is highly concentrated in part-time employment

- a substantial proportion of unemployed women (both registered and non-registered): persistently high rates of unemployment are observable in East Germany with women having rates nearly double as high than in West Germany and a growing proportion of long-term unemployment. In West Germany women’s registered unemployment is a little bit smaller than men’s (since 1995), but with a unemployment rate of nearly 10% still very high

- a substantial problem in employment growth both in the private and the public sector of the economy: the overall employment growth is not very strong and as far as women’s employment is growing this is due to the growing of part-time and marginal employment resulting in more skilled women in low-skilled and low paid jobs. The private sector
employment is undergoing a slow structural change with still strong emphasis on Germany's specialisation in manufacturing industries and a dynamic growth in production related services whereas personal services (either private or public) are still underdeveloped and are one major cause of Germany's lack in services. Especially in East Germany the employment development is poor and growing employment does not benefit women.

- **A persistently high gender wage gap**: despite the growing skill level of women in employment the overall wage gap is not reduced but persistently high. The data provided by UMIST show substantial gaps in full-time and part-time wages, putting Germany in the middle rank of the European community. The reflects a mixture of factors influencing the wage position: the unequal distribution of women in the hierarchy of jobs, the concentration of women in low paid sectors and occupations, the difficulties to develop and accept a gender-neutral job classification system by the social partners. The development of less regulated labour and wage contracts in the dynamic growing areas is widening the already existing wage gap.

- **A low percentage of women in high paid or decision making positions**: Germany's performance in this respect is weak as we do have a substantially low proportion of women in leading positions in management of private or public enterprises, in universities and even in public services like health care etc. Women's proportion among the new entrepreneurs is growing but still small. A recent microcensus based investigation shows that 2/3s of all persons in leading positions are male. Of all employed men 19.7% classify themselves as in leading/managerial positions, compared to 11.2% of all females. In younger age groups (under 30 years) the gender gap is zero, it is growing with the age. The UMIST segregation index shows Germany on a middle position.

- **A high concentration of women in a small range of occupations and apprenticeships**: the segregation of the labour market is still as high, with women concentrating in a small range of clerical, trade, social and personal jobs whereas men are less concentrated and more evenly distributed among manual and non-manual jobs both in growing and in declining industries. As a result men are more likely to be employed both in the declining manufacturing and building industries such as steel industry or ship-building, and in the growing industries like production related information and technologies, transport and communication sectors and business related services like counselling, marketing etc. During the last years it was easier for men to enter women’s jobs in higher paid clerical and trade occupations then for women to enter better paid male jobs. Women’s concentration in the
service sector prevented growing unemployment during the 80s and 90s. The implementation of new apprenticeships in IT-related occupations did result in a very low proportion of women having the opportunity to take up these places and a strong segregation of jobs. In the UMIST indicators Germany is on rank 5 in NACE related segregation, which is in European comparison a rather low value.

- a slowly changing family policy: despite all rhetoric of modernisation and free choice the dominant model of family and gender role is still rather conservative which is reflected in high values attributed to women’s work at home. Germany spends still a lot of money for (private) family work, both as direct subsidies, as tax reductions, in the overall tax- splitting systems and in the lack of creation of real infrastructure to combine work and family. In the mixture of parental leave regulations, the tax-system, the family ideology and labour market conditions we discover a model of women’s incomplete labour market integration as the socially accepted norm (including women). Men's roles have not changed remarkably, men's proportion in taking up parental leave is less than 2% of all participants, we observe an increase in long working hours among young fathers. Government campaign to stimulate men's participation in family/house-work are limited to some advertising/spots in television etc., no financial incentives had been created.

1.3 Trends in gender equality

As already mentioned the socialdemocrat/green government announced a more comprehensive and modern policy in gender-related issues. The government programme after the election in autumn 1998 listed a whole series of policy areas in which the government planned new regulations and institutions and initiatives concerning women’s position in the economic and social sphere. Part of these initiatives are put into practice, for example in the programme “women and work”. This includes new apprenticeship programmes, new university programmes and a new legal regulation of the parental leave and parental allowances. There was a reform in the legal framework concerning part-time employment, giving full-time employed people the right to opt for part-time. Marginal part-time work with less than 630 DM a months is now partially integrated in the obligation to pay pension scheme contributions. Other policies included in the programme are still not developed (a law on equal opportunities covering the private sector was just postponed by the Chancellor

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1 Statistisches Bundesamt (2001), Leben und Arbeiten in Deutschland, Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2000,
himself, a reform of the equal opportunities regulation in the public sector is still under way) and again others had already been cancelled (any changes in the tax-splitting system). New investment in public child-care are not under consideration – the new Länder reduce the child care facilities and the old Länder do not develop new ones. Mainstreaming activities seem to have a high priority but are just recently being implemented in the government decision making process in detail – in some programmes we observe a higher awareness and more explicit gender goals. For example: not one women at all, not one representative of the Ministry for Women etc. are participating in the central talks of the “Bündnis für Arbeit” (Alliance for Job – the full Title is “Alliance for Work, Training and Competitiveness”) talks although the meetings cover all areas of the national employment strategy.

Just recently a debate started on Germanys low birth rates and the growing number of childless women/couples. The causes of this development are seen in a far reaching change of norms and values (of the “German family”) to the point that skilled women have only limited possibilities to combine work and children. There is a debate starting on child-care, full-time schools and other possibilities to make life easier for women. But there is also a debate on increasing taxes/social security contributions for childless people, paying mothers a full salary as incentive to stay home etc. The question on how Germany develops its welfare states regulations is open. The debate has a pronatalist bias/source and less a gender or women's related aspect...but women's situation in the family and on the labour market is becoming a part of the debate, as most researchers point to the fact that birth rates and employment opportunities for mothers are positively connected, and given the demographic developments it seems to be necessary to create a society which activates its female labour force and does not longer subsidise passivity in the labour market as housewives.

2. Summary of the development of gender equality/mainstreaming within the NAPS 1998 - 2001

2.1 Summary of developments
Table 3 in the annex gives an overall overview over the developments in the German NAPs. The most important change took place in 1998/1999, when the newly elected government of Social democrat and Green parties decided new approaches in women's/equality policy,
including a positive approach towards female employment/integration in the labour market. Whereas the Christian democrat government had strong reservations against an approach aiming to increase women's employment and to help women to gainful employment, especially mothers, the new government expressed a more modern attitude and integrated the main issues of European employment and equal opportunities policy in the government programme.

Institutional mechanisms: It is no surprise that the old government did not develop institutional mechanisms for gender mainstreaming (except in the Federal employment service), whereas the new government started to build up institutional mechanisms. This process takes time (between 1999 and 2001 the standing orders of government have been changed, first gm training takes place, an inter ministry working group has been appointed, there is the announcement to develop checklist and monitoring processes etc. Some of the Länder developed similar institutional structures so I would state that the implementation of gender mainstreaming is as a “top down” process developing – the impact on policy in different ministries seems to be quite difficult to assess – maybe it is still to early. In some programmes/ministries the gender mainstreaming approach seems to be quite accepted (ministry of Education, Universities and Research, Ministries for Economic Development in Developing countries) whereas others are still not “influenced” by the idea (press speakers of the Ministry for Financial affairs and for Foreign Affairs had recently been quoted in a newspaper as being without any knowledge of even the word gender mainstreaming). The federal structure of Germany, with many policy areas being developed and implemented on the Länder responsibility, makes things even more complex, as the Länder quite obviously follow very different approaches in gender mainstreaming and equality policy.

The most developed institutional mechanisms are today in the Federal employment service, which has appointed women's officers in all branches of the employment services (each local, Länder and Federal employment office has a responsible women's officer) who has the task to develop labour market policy for women and to implement the mainstreaming approach in the daily work of the employment service. The approach is (since 2000) part of the business policy targets of the Federal employment service, targets are formulated (women should have the same proportion in labour market programmes as among the unemployed) and the work on indicators, new instruments, evaluations etc. is under way.

A newly established (federal) infrastructure (which was initiated by the women's section of the Federal Trade Union –DGB) is the “Competence Centre for Equal opportunities in the work and service society of the 21st century” which has the task to guide and counsel regional
and company based activities in integration gender mainstreaming into the central areas of regional, structural employment and economic policy. This agency may help in creating new “bottom” activities in the years to come.

**Evaluation/monitoring/targets:** The old government introduced targets in labour market programmes (women should participate in each single programme to the same proportion as they are among the registered unemployed). It was strongly opposed to any targets in employment policy. The new government develops targets and evaluation in an ongoing process, has kept the targets in labour market programmes, and has set some new targets in 2000 and 2001 in the fields of women in IT jobs, women in university professorships and women among business start ups – all targets are relatively high compared to the actual situation (professorships from 9% to 20% till 2005, start ups from 30% to 40% within the next years, apprenticeships in IT occupations from 26% to 40% till 2005) and the government announced an evaluation of the IT-related programmes and its gender targets.

The process of gender evaluation or GIA etc. is not yet very developed but the Government is working on this issue. It announced a provision for a regular examination of all legislative procedures as to their impact on equality.

**Gender issues in other pillars:** as you can see from table 3, in the NAP1998 women/gender are not even mentioned within the statistics given to each guideline/pillar. This has changed since 1999, women's proportion within each field/programme/activity is given, in most statistical indicators women's proportion in nowadays integrated. There is substantial progress in the “statistical” awareness of gender dimensions. Comparing the pillars, gender mainstreaming is most developed in pillar I (as pillar I covers labour market programmes, training programmes and other activities which involve actors like the Federal employment service which have their own gender mainstreaming approach). It is less pronounced, although still visible in pillar II (especially newly created enterprises), but there is no mentioning of tax and social security regulations and their gender effects – the government tries to avoid this issue which is one of the most controversial points (effects of income tax splitting, marginal employment and social security, concept of spouse-related social security rights without own payments of housewifes/men). In pillar III gender dimensions are nearly invisible, only mentioned in connection with part-time regulations (legal regulations on part-time and part-time early retirement regulations) – although the issues discussed in pillar III do have a gender dimension. I think that the poor state in pillar III is partly reflecting the state of the art in the discussion between the social partners and in the “Alliance for Jobs, Training
and Competitiveness”, which hardly touches gender-related issues in an explicit way. In our opinion these talks are – within employment policy – the least gender mainstreamed area. 

Equal opportunity pillar: after 1998, the equal opportunity pillar develops quite well, the programme “women and work” defined the central issues (explicit in 2000 NAP repeated), and helped to establish an infrastructure and training for gender mainstreaming. Some of the activities had been started by the old government (like Federal employment service, labour market programmes, university programmes, IT-occupations for women) and – very important – the right to a kindergarten place was introduced in 1999. The new government developed these programmes further, set some targets (including the Lisbon target on employment) and adopted the gender mainstreaming approach. Child care is more complicated as this is part of Länder autonomy to decide on the quantity and quality of child care.

2.2 NAP 2001

Overall, the NAP 2001 is a document of ongoing work without real new issues, only one new initiative, no totally new programmes. It is therefore a continuation of the policy announced in the NAP 1999 and shows some progress in the implementation of gender mainstreaming. It finances a new infrastructure (Competence Centre...) which may become helpful in the implementation of gender mainstreaming. For details see table 4 in the annex

2.3 Council Recommendations

Council Policy recommendations (2000):

“Therefore, Germany should:

1. Push to fully expand its preventive approach, with emphasis on using timely measures aimed at individual needs and the prevention of long-term unemployment. Progress in achieving joint and national target goals must be closely monitored;

2. Continue to review potential obstacles and negative factors that could negatively affect employment opportunities for all groups of the population, especially older individuals. Changes in employment of the older population shall be recorded; and additional measures must be used to improve employability of this group of the population;
3. Close the qualification gaps in the labour market by improving framework conditions, including incentives for continuing education and training, and apprenticeships in cooperation with the social partners, through continued development of an overall strategy and qualitative as well as quantitative target goals for lifelong learning. Measures must be developed for schools and companies that train apprentices to guarantee a smooth transition into modern jobs;

4. Continue and monitor efforts to further reduce the tax burden and non-wage labour costs, especially on the basis of the most recent Tax Reform 2000 and the Ecological Tax Reform by reducing taxes and contributions to social security. Further reduction of wage deductions for low wage earners as well must continue especially at the low end of the income scale while considering the necessary consolidation of the budget.

5. Pursue and expand the “dual approach” which combines Gender-Mainstreaming and particular equal opportunity measures. Particular attention must be paid to the effects of the tax and social benefits systems on the employment of women and the reduction of gender-specific wage discrepancies.

The 2000 council policy recommendations are integrated in a special section in the German Nap covering all recommendations (German version page 71 ff.).

- the first recommendation is mainly part of the implementation of labour market programmes, which are under reform. One part of the reforms are the obligations to the employment offices to develop an employment integration plan for each individual (called Eingliederungspfad, explained in guideline 1), following the line to prevent long term unemployment. As shown in Tables 1 and 2 of the NAP, is long term unemployment for young women higher than for young men and the integration of young women into programmes of labour market policy is lower than for young men. Both indicators (target fulfilled and target not fulfilled in table 1 of the NAP) show disadvantages for young women. The same is true for long term unemployment of adult persons (table 2 of the NAP): long term unemployed women's participation in active labour market programmes is lower and the non fulfilment indicator is higher than for men. There are no special initiatives mentioned to reduce this gender gap. Business as usual: gender mainstreaming and the integration of women into the programmes of active labour market programmes are part of the employment plan, but there is no obligation for the employment offices to do so, neither a special separate programme nor an analysis, why women's participation is under men's.

- the second recommendation points to an inconsistency in Germanys labour market policy: on one hand the retirement age for older men and women had been increased, leading to a decrease in pension once a person opts to participate in early retirement schemes. On the other hand, early retirement schemes in form of the old-age part-time option
(mentioned on page 14, guideline 3, page 25) has been prolonged until 2009, thus creating incentives for employers, employees, social partners to make early retirement still an attractive option. The recent changes in the public pension schemes support longer employment of older people due to reduced pensions, the part-time early retirement option opens incentives to leave the labour market earlier. The gender dimension is such that women's employment in older age groups is very low (especially in East Germany) and – given the lower qualifications of older women and the special losses in human capital in the German three-phase-model of mothers labour force participation there is obvious need for training and integration programmes of older women – but no special programmes are mentioned, neither in guideline 3 nor in guidelines 15 nor in the gender guidelines 16 to 18. The female returners mentioned in guideline 18 are – in average – younger women (mid to end thirty), and older women (over 50) are not mentioned as a special target group of labour market and training activities. I have doubts whether the “change in paradigms” concerning the employment opportunities of older women and men has really taken place or is even intended.

- the third recommendation on skills and the educational/vocational and further training systems covers an area which is mainly part of the social partners talks in the “Alliance for Jobs, Training and Competitiveness”. As mentioned in last years comments these talks are nearly exclusively male dominated (only very few female members) and it takes a lot of energy for female trade union activists to include gender as a relevant category at all (not to speak of gender mainstreaming...). It is therefore not a surprise that women, neither old nor young, neither unskilled nor foreign nationalities etc. are not mentioned in the text. Even in guideline 4 and 5 women are only mentioned in the programmes for apprenticeships in new information and communication technologies (page 31), in the paragraphs on lifelong learning women are not mentioned at all.

- the answer to the forth recommendation does not include a gender approach – although the tax and benefit system includes special problems for women (see fifth recommendation)

- the fifth recommendation is answered by pointing to the programme “Women and Job/Work” which covers a whole area of different activities in the field of employment projects, information campaigns etc. The programme itself is o.k. (includes both gender mainstreaming and special women's programmes) but you should keep in mind the financial resources of this programme, which are described on page 67: 22 million DEM in 2001. A small university like mine (3,000 students) has a yearly budget in the same
volume. Some activities mentioned in the answer to the recommendations are financed by other budgets, mainly the Ministry for Education and Research, the Ministry for Economic Affairs and/or by the Länder. But nevertheless, the resources remain very limited.

Progress had been made in the implementation of gender mainstreaming in all governmental decision making processes.

The labour market programmes of the Federal employment office are “mainstreamed” in a programmatic way, but in practical life in the local labour offices this is a rather difficult process. As Table 5 (of the NAP) shows is women's proportion in active labour market programmes a little bit lower than their representation among the unemployed. Comparing 1999 and 2000 shows an increase in programmes like German language courses, short term training, integration subsidies, subsidies for newly created enterprises, structural adaptation funds, long-term unemployed programmes and youth employment programme, but are also decreases, specially in further training programmes and in job creation programmes (the two biggest programmes in labour market policy).

The integration of gender mainstreaming into the official programme lines of the Federal employment service is a success, the same is true concerning the research activities. Concerning the gender pay gap and the employment gap the government points to a study which will be finished in autumn 2001 as if nobody knows anything already....for example the negative impact of the tax splitting system on women's employment propensity, the negative impact of the social security system on the coverage of marginal part-timers (which has been changed a little bit in 1999, a change which is not mentioned at all, although it was/is very important as the highest employment growth is in marginal part-time work).

The reform mentioned in the pension system is intended to compensate for times out of employment or in part-time due to parental leave regulations. This will increase mothers pensions compared to the regulations today. Progress is made in pension payments if someone works part-time within the parental leave period.

To summarise: the NAP avoids answers on weak points like taxes, social security contributions and the integration of older persons into employment which are controversial issues within the German debate.
3. Response to the horizontal objectives

A. Full employment/Lisbon targets
The government explains that its economic, fiscal and employment policy aims to provide satisfactory employment conditions and the ability to earn a living for as much people as possible, the economic policy described is a mixture of supply-side and demand-side measures, including tax-reforms, reforms in the pension schemes, a continuously discussed reform of labour market regulations, a stabilisation of expenditure for active labour market policies etc. There is a positive attitude towards the Lisbon overall employment goals and the employment rates for women. As discussed in part 1 of this report, is the main overall employment/unemployment gap in the older age groups and in the specific way how Germany managed the labour market problems in East Germany. The reach the Lisbon targets does not seem to be quite difficult for women (given a prolongation of the overall employment trends over the last 5 years), but as most of the increase in female employment is in part-time employment, the full-time equivalent rate will not be reached. There is no detailed debate/discussion in the NAP how to reach the Lisbon goals with respect to women's employment (the barriers or initiatives necessary to undertake to enable women to enter the labour market in gainful employment.

B. Lifelong Learning
Germanys occupational training system is still build around the notion of the apprenticeship as a base for a life-long employment. The apprenticeship system itself needs ongoing reforms in single occupations, the invention of new occupational training programmes etc. These processes are mainly bound to the social partners negotiations and the State intervenes by moderation and monitoring. These processes are “under way” and have led to new occupations in the IT-sector. The opening of these new occupations to young women/men in a less segregated way is part of the policy and target setting. How successful these initiatives of employment offices, trade unions, employers etc. are, has to be studied (Table 14 in the NAP annex shows clear segregation in the new occupations). One major problem of the German apprenticeship system are the regional discrepancies with a very small number of apprenticeship-places in East Germany. It is there the State (Länder/employment offices) which offers apprenticeship-places in training institutions as private employers are not willing/able/existing.
Whereas the first vocational training is well organised the life-long learning opportunities for adult people are highly divers, sometimes chaotic, driven by private training enterprises...
without quality standards and not very regulated. The connex between training/learning/skills and position in the employment system is less clear than in first stage training in apprenticeships and universities. Employers associations are in favour of this unclear and unregulated system, trade unions demand a higher degree of regulated training activities leading to certificates, higher positions, higher wages etc. This is a long-lasting debate, which is difficult to solve/move, as the government itself has an unclear attitude towards the necessity of regulation and deregulation of quantitative and qualitative standards in life long learning. The relevant paragraphs are therefore weak and not very clear. Concerning gender differentiated approaches it would have been necessary to analyse women's and men's needs in life-long learning, for example the lack of further training certificates in female occupations like service jobs, clerical jobs etc., the lack of financial support for Master(Meister) courses in non-craft occupations (nurses do not receive the same public subsidies as craft-men...the Government announced a change in the relevant regulations coming in force in summer 2001), a systematic analysis of training necessities of female returners (which seem to be quite differentiated depending from initial occupational training, age, duration of break, etc. – a recently published study on women in parental leave showed interesting results for this group). There should be data on further training differentiated by age groups, skill level and employment status (atypical employment, hierarchical position etc.). I have doubts whether the figures given on participation in further training within company initiative (guideline 15) are correct, but misinterpreted: at least in East Germany the proportion of women participating is with 20% less than the proportion of all workers with 22.6%.

C. Partnership with social partners
The major strategic talks are taking place in the “Alliance for Jobs, Training and competitiveness”. As mentioned in last years comments these talks are nearly exclusively male dominated (only very few female members) and it takes a lot of energy for female trade union activists to include gender as a relevant category at all (not to speak of gender mainstreaming...). It is therefore not a surprise that women, either old or young, either unskilled or foreign nationalities etc. are not mentioned in the text or explicitly included in the relevant guidelines. In daily life social partners have a lot of activities like the reforms in apprenticeship system, talks on payment systems, working time flexibilisation, system of codetermination etc. The new established “Competence Centre...” was initiated by the women's section of the Federal Trade Union – DGB and has the task to guide and counsel

2 see Engelbrech, G, Jungkunst, M. Erziehungsurlaub und Berufsverlauf, in Informationen für die Beratungs-
regional and company based activities in integration gender mainstreaming into the central areas of regional, structural employment and economic policy. This agency may help in creating new “bottom” activities in the years to come.

D. Integrated policy mix with regional and gender dimension
The big regional differences within Germany (East/West, but South/North, too) are not systematically taken into account, nor the gender dimension (sometimes differences in East and West are reported as a statistical category). The systematic use of regional economic instruments is mentioned but no gender targets are set (guideline 11) despite the fact that there is a long-lasting debate about the use of regional economic subsidies and public work to push employment opportunities for women.

E. Indicators/benchmarks
There is no separate paragraph in the version of the German NAP. There are in some guidelines targets, and remarks on statistics to be changed in light of the ESF-money, but nothing systematic on indicators/benchmarks besides the labour market programmes of the employment service (there is the announcement of developing target indicators).

4. Gender mainstreaming, monitoring and evaluation
4.1 Gender mainstreaming
Gender mainstreaming is accepted as a leading principle, but not systematically integrated in all guidelines. Gender awareness in statistical terms (mentioning the proportion of women in all relevant figures) is risen. Pillar I is the most mainstreamed, pillar III the least one, which can be explained by the different actors involved: in pillar I the Federal employment service plays a crucial role – its policy is more gender mainstreaming than that of social partners. I can not judge how the consultative system with gender equality bodies (means in Germany mainly women's organisations) has been developed further – no mentioning in the NAP but we observe a growing public debate/discussion about gender mainstreaming as a strategic concept. There is a growing awareness of the concept among feminist activists, and a growing polarisation in the public debate: strong opposition/critique expressed by some critical feminist and scientists, growing support by feminists working in Ministries, trade unions, women's organisations (=femocrats). The question whether gender mainstreaming is a
patriarchal strategy against women's movement, a pseudo neutral gender ideology aiming to break women's resistance against capitalist logic, a neoliberal market strategy to integrate women into global capitalism etc. or whether it brings new power and money into women's movement, helps to overcome the isolation of women's policy in women only programmes, forces government and other actors to think about gender issues is hotly discussed in journals, public meetings etc.

4.2 Employability
The employability pillar follows mainly the line of the previous years, in the centre is the labour market policy by the Federal employment service, which is supported by the Länder and ESF funds. The Federal employment service is working on new indicators/instruments to fulfill the target, that women should participate in labour market programmes to the same proportion as in registered unemployment. Table 4 and Table 5 in the NAP show that this target is not fulfilled in all programmes and that the retention rate (used as an indicator how successful a measure helped people to escape unemployment) is often lower for women than for men, for example after further training, job creation schemes, structural adjustment measures (these are programmes for job creation and maintenance in private business, with special regulations for East Germany): In other programmes, women's retention rate is higher than men's: integration subsidy (given to an employer who hires an unemployed person), recruitment subsidies for business start-ups, bridging allowance for business start-ups, vocational training in non-company facilities. I have doubt whether the retention rate, as defined here, is really a good indicator to identify gender specific success/failure of programmes, as women which do not find a job after a programme not necessarily register as unemployed (in case they can not claim unemployment benefits, which is quite often the case for women, especially married women). The proportion of women which do not register may be rather high, especially in West Germany (the attitude and the economic situation of families in the East is different, as women in East Germany stay registered even without unemployment benefits, because they want to show their willingness/necessity to work). The announcement of the Government to develop an integration rate (which will measure whether participants are in employment after a labour market programme) is called a medium-term plan – why is it not possible to develop this data now/fast/next year?

Table 5 shows, at the same time, that the Government/Federal employment service reduced the overall number of participants in active labour market policy (1,5 million in 1999 to 1,4 million in 2000) and despite the obligation to increase the participation of women, it remains
on the same percentage of 45.2% (percentage unemployed is 47.2%): There is no explanation for this in the NAP.

Within guideline 2 women (inactive) are not mentioned at all, neither the indirect effects of taxes and social security regulation on married women nor women as a possible group of inactive people are mentioned. In other guidelines covering the tax and social benefit system women do not appear as a possible target groups although this was part of the recommendation.

The new ageing guideline has women as a statistical category but not as a target group of a new ageing policy – as explained earlier (point recommendations), I do have doubts, whether there is a change in age-related policy.

Atypical contracts and life long learning – not mentioned.

The question of bottlenecks/job matching is answered without a gender dimension – it is not in the mind of German employment policy that women are a positive resource in the labour market – they think, women are still a problem (group). The debate on opening the labour market for IT-specialists from non-EU-countries had the same one-sided dimension: increasing women's labour force participation, especially of highly skilled women, offering women IT-training etc. was not a central point in the debate.

Discrimination and social inclusion mentions foreign women and their special skills as a positive aspect.

4.3 Entrepreneurship

Within this pillar, some initiatives had been developed and implemented, like approaches for targeted and gender-differentiated business strategies are developed. The government finances these initiatives which are implemented on local levels by the Chambers, special agencies or groups of banks etc. Special financial support for female start-ups is not intended, although there is evidence that women have a worse access to financial subsidies and bank loans.

In guideline 10 the government points to the fact that women form a high proportion of all employed in the service sector and that therefore “the percentage of women employed in the service sector will grow faster than in the overall economy” – no other comments on women's position in the service sector, part-time employment, marginal employment etc. No initiative with gender-sensitive design are mentioned.

Neither in the guideline on regional/local action nor with respect to social economy is the gender dimension integrated – although there is a paragraph on care work.
4.4 Adaptability
This pillar is even less gender mainstreamed as the others, no gender sensitive recognition of working time and flexibility issues, social partners policy or the requirement that women should have access to flexible working without loss of job quality.

5. Gender equality
5.1 Gender equality measures
No really new measures but some legal regulations came into force (Act on part-time, Act on parental time, pension scheme reform) which will have a gender impact – we will see in the years to come. These Acts are answers to the reconciliation problem and equal sharing of housework problem, as they allow a more flexible working time for parents and all other employees. The problem of low financial compensation during parental leave is not solved. The Government accepts the Lisbon targets, but does not develop a plan/initiatives how to reach it (will be reached by economic growth and further structural change?). No positive initiative regarding wage gaps and gaps in employment (until the report will be finished in autumn –although we already know most of the facts, figures and explanations – if this study will help the government in convincing itself and the public to change policy seems quite open).

Care services, especially child care, is Länder responsibility – the Federal law gives children over the age of 3 the right to a place in a kindergarten – whether this is part-time (which is the case in most Länder), includes meals, etc. and the price to be paid by the parents is decided by the Länder. The idea of Minister Bergmann to invest Federal money into child-care instead of increasing child allowances failed – resistance among the Länder but among the political parties as well. The argument is that giving money to parents allows them “free choice” whereas the support of child-care facilities sets wrong priorities, Nevertheless, there is a lively debate on child care, women's propensity to have children and the difficulties to combine work and family with a pronatalist background. The actual debate is more engaged than in the last ten years. Maybe hope for Germanys mothers and fathers?

5.2 Priority attached to gender equality
My main impression is that gender mainstreaming is not really part of the thinking and conceptual work of the government/ministries. The gender dimension is integrated as a statistical duty, but the programme is not inspired by the idea, that the activities in employment policy do have a gender impact and should help to overcome gender
discrimination as a positive part of economic, fiscal and employment policy. Women's issues are still seen as a separate point. There is no positive attitude within the whole text towards women's gainful employment (even when the government agrees with the Lisbon targets), there is still the old idea of women being a problem group of the labour market, not a potential to overcome bottlenecks, skill matching problems etc. This attitude is deeply anchored in the (West) German society (family policy, social policy, employment policy) and the four years exercise of gender mainstreaming have not yet changed this attitude.

6. Future prospects, priorities and examples of good practice

The NAP-procedure is helping to create gender sensitivity in employment policy...this helped in the German case to develop new initiatives and to evaluate ongoing initiatives. The process of building up gender mainstreaming institutions and mechanisms has started and gives new impetus to gender/women's issues. But most changes are bound to the change in government, which follows a line of positive approach towards gender mainstreaming.

I do have my doubts whether the procedure writing an annual NAP is a good and productive idea, because the changes within one year are often minimal and the drafting/writing of the reports becomes repetition of the previous NAPs. The German NAP tends to ignore the concrete text of the guidelines and to deal with all aspects meant in the guidelines but is written from the point of view of the German government. The obligation to react on all recommendations as concrete as possible should be introduced, because otherwise the government answers only in its own logic. There should be an obligation of evaluation and reporting of results (not only the announcement to do so) of all measures integrated in the NAP after a period of 5 years (depending on measure/programme) instead of inventing annual new initiatives.

Example of best practice:

Gender Mainstreaming Concept of the Government of Sachsen-Anhalt (Saxony-Anhalt?)

The Government of Saxony-Anhalt is one of two Länder governments which has introduced a gender mainstreaming concepts for all governmental policy. In May 2000 the Government decided on the programme, which includes:
- a revision of all employment related data by sex, especially data/indicators needed for the EU-Structural Funds, the Statistical office of Saxony-Anhalt did a first report on “men and women in Saxony-Anhalt” and published sex differentiated data

- all government-papers/initiatives (Kabinettsvorlagen) have to pass an equality-check – the checklist shows the possible gender impact of the proposal and gives hints to analyse and evaluate the gender impact

- project of gender training and organisational reform within the Government administration (Landesverwaltung), started/implemented within the Ministry of Labour, Women, Health and Social Affairs, using a broad approach in gender training with the aim to develop a new awareness, from the highest level of the ministry down to the executive officers. Other Ministries may follow.
ANNEX: Tables

Table 1: Labour Force Participation and Employment Rates by age groups – West Germany
Table 2: Labour Force Participation and Employment Rates by age groups – East Germany
Table 3: Summary Table on the NAPS 1998 to 2001
Table 4: Summary of the NAP 2001
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>57.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>48.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source: Microcensus of the respective year (April-May)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
<td>87.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>37.4%</td>
<td>82.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>32.7%</td>
<td>82.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>81.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>74.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>31.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|       |        |        |        |        |
| 1991 | 59.6% | 88.9%  | 98.8%  | 90.6%  | 99.1%  | 91.6%  | 95.3%  | 87.8%  | 72.8%  | 65.4%  | 26.8%  | 23.0% |       |        |        |        |
| 1993 | 43.9% | 86.4%  | 98.3%  | 87.7%  | 98.3%  | 98.3%  | 98.2%  | 88.1%  | 39.5%  | 30.4%  | 12.3%  | 9.5%  |       |        |        |        |
| 1994 | 41.6% | 86.7%  | 98.0%  | 87.0%  | 98.1%  | 98.2%  | 98.5%  | 97.2%  | 52.4%  | 41.4%  | 14.7%  | 11.3% |       |        |        |        |
| 1995 | 40.5% | 85.7%  | 94.8%  | 94.8%  | 98.3%  | 93.0%  | 97.7%  | 94.0%  | 62.4%  | 50.3%  | 15.7%  | 12.6% |       |        |        |        |
| 1998 | 42.2% | 83.6%  | 96.5%  | 82.9%  | 97.1%  | 83.0%  | 97.0%  | 82.2%  | 55.6%  | 43.1%  | 18.2%  | 14.9% |       |        |        |        |
| 1999 | 42.5% | 84.2%  | 96.8%  | 82.8%  | 97.2%  | 84.6%  | 96.7%  | 83.4%  | 57.6%  | 21.4%  | 16.6%  |       |       |        |        |        |

Source: Microcensus of the respective year (April-May)

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The figures reaching the target

**Table 2: Labour Force Participation and Employment Rates by Age Groups – East Germany**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender evaluation or monitoring of policies/setting of gender targets</td>
<td>government: not in government policy.</td>
<td>Federal employment service: women's proportion in labour market programmes should be as high as the proportion in (reg.) unemployment.</td>
<td>women's proportion should be as high as the proportion in Federal employment service: gender mainstreaming (gm) as a principle.</td>
<td>government: announcement of equality controlling and checklists - Federal employment service: development of new instruments of controlling of targets (women as a proportion...).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3:** Summary Table on the NAPS 1998 to 2001
### Attention to Gender Issues in Employment

**Pillar I: Gender Dimension at Work**

- Gender gaps mentioned in the labour market programmes and youth unemployment.
- Not explicitly mentioned as target group (only statistical information given) in the paragraphs on long-term unemployment.

**Pillar II: Gender Dimension in Policies**

- Gender gaps mentioned in the labour market programmes and youth unemployment.
- Gender gaps mentioned in the programmes for women and IT-skills training.

**Pillar III: Gender Dimension in Programs**

- Gender gaps mentioned in the programmes for women and IT-skills training.
- Gender gaps mentioned in the programmes for women and IT-skills training.

### Criteria

- Monitoring the women's targets in the programme "Innovation and jobs in the Information Society..." which had explicit goals.
- Drafting checklists/criteria for all government activities, gender manual, further training, and virtual resource base.
- Database of female experts/virtual resource base for gender differentiation in statistics relevant in the framework of the Structural Funds.
- Integration of gender equality in the Federal Employment Plan.

### Attention to Gender Issues in Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pillar</th>
<th>Attention to Gender Issues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Gender gaps mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Gender gaps mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Gender gaps mentioned</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
allows for more flexible use of part-time employment (with
the new legal regulation on
employment, indirectly by pointing
pillar III: gender dimension
use of IC-technologies
rather than solely and on the
gender differentiated business
targets: and newly established
women's business enterprises
integrated or partly rather as help for
pillar II: gender dimension
promotion
the "women and work"
foreign women etc. as part of
promotion of "women and
proportion from now 26% up to
proportion in this area. Target set
learning and social patterns
for older people, the long
security/pension scenario policy
unemployment, tax and social
unemployment, measures

pillar II: gender dimension
- unemployment, male
- unemployment, female
- policy concerning families
next years
from now 30% up to 40% in
newly established enterprises
- women's proportion amount
targets: gender gaps as well.
and the Net increase in child
as an aspect, integrate women
| Government announces a new approach to gender mainstreaming in all guidelines | Implementation of parental leave, child-care allowances, and IC-technologies | First programme for women in the public sector: government announces a new Federal regulation on women’s employment in the public sector. Effective in 2005, the new regulation increased the proportion of women in government positions from 8% to 25% in 2005.
| - Increase in child-care places
- Positive attitude towards gender equality
| - Special programme for women at universities
| - Special programme for women at universities
| - Government announces gender mainstreaming in all guidelines and paradigm shift in Federal employment service. The real impact on women’s employment is less impressive. | - Government announces a new Federal regulation on women’s employment. Men and women in government employment are treated equally. | - Government announces a new Federal regulation on women’s employment. Men and women in government employment are treated equally. | - Government announces a new Federal regulation on women’s employment. Men and women in government employment are treated equally. | - Government announces a new Federal regulation on women’s employment. Men and women in government employment are treated equally. | - Government announces a new Federal regulation on women’s employment. Men and women in government employment are treated equally. |

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**Development of equal opportunities pillar**

- Government not in favour of employment targets
- New legal regulation in labour market programmes concerning women’s proportion (should be as high as proportion of women in unemployment)
- Appointment of women’s officers in Federal employment service
- Special attention to female returners in labour market programmes, but not very clear legal regulations in the AFG. First programmes on women and IC-technologies
- Special programme for women at universities
- Important legal entitlement for all children to attend a kindergarten between 3 and school-entering
- Positive attitude towards women’s employment
- Federal employment office: government is implemented as part of the business profile. The real impact of the Federal employment service is less impressive. Government announces a new Federal regulation on women’s employment. Men and women in government employment are treated equally. **Implementation of parental leave, child-care allowances, and IC-technologies**
- Special programme for women at universities
- - Government announces gender mainstreaming in all guidelines and paradigm shift in Federal employment service. The real impact on women’s employment is less impressive. **Implementation of parental leave, child-care allowances, and IC-technologies**
- - Special programme for women at universities
- - Important legal entitlement for all children to attend a kindergarten between 3 and school-entering
- - Positive attitude towards women’s employment
- - Government announces a new Federal regulation on women’s employment. Men and women in government employment are treated equally.

**Government targets:**

- Reduction of unemployment
- Increase in female activity rate
- Narrowing gender pay gap
- More women in leading positions, especially: increase in women’s proportion among professors from now 9% up to 20% in 2005
- Increase in quantity and quality of child-care facilities
- Parental leave act revised, part-time act revised, returner’s position increased in legal system of labour market programmes
- Draft on new Federal regulation on women’s employment in the public sector
- Government announces gender mainstreaming in all guidelines (not fulfilled). Progress has been made in implementing gender mainstreaming in Government policy, new laws on part-time and parental leave are helpful. Positive take up of the Lisbon guideline, no positive take up of target on child care: as pointed out in guideline 18, child care is part of Länder activities – financed by the Länder and regulated by the Länder. No national targets are set, government announces only talks with the Länder and local governments.

**Comparison of gender opportunities with the Länder and local governments:**

- Lack of implementation of new Federal regulations
- Insufficient implementation of new legal regulations concerning women’s proportion (should be as high as proportion of women in unemployment)
- Lack of implementation of new legal regulations concerning women’s proportion (should be as high as proportion of women in unemployment)
- Lack of implementation of new Federal regulations concerning women’s proportion (should be as high as proportion of women in unemployment)
- Lack of implementation of new Federal regulations concerning women’s proportion (should be as high as proportion of women in unemployment)
legal regulation covering women's employment in the public sector (had already been announced for 2000), the preparation of talks with the private employers on a legal regulation covering women's employment in private business (this legal regulation is under heavy attack, as private employers are against any law, employers are against any law, and women's groups just recently started a campaign in favour of a legal regulation covering women's employment in private business).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of measure</th>
<th>Reason for relevance to gender equality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New for 2001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000 measure now implemented</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earlier measure now yielding results</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender impact taken into account in design</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender monitoring/targets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aims to close gender gap</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Should assist gender mainstreaming</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Employability pillar**

- Development of equality targets in labour market policy (includes controlling and monitoring) for Federal employment service – all programmes
- Measures for unemployed
- Measures for regional and local action
- Reform of tax and benefit systems
- Measures for entrepreneurship
- Business start up approaches for targeted and gender-differentiated business strategies are developed
- Development of IT projects for women: target: increase women’s proportion in IT-training from 26% to 40% by 2005

**Discrimination and social exclusion**

- Job matching/bottleneck
- Entrepreneurial approach
- Social security benefit and equal opportunities

**Knowledge society pillar**

- Reform of tax systems for employment and training
- Local action

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Table 4: Summary of the NAP 2001
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lifelong learning</th>
<th>Gender mainstreaming</th>
<th>Equal opportunities</th>
<th>Employment and unemployment gaps</th>
<th>Care provision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Act on Parental Leave (previously called parental leave) came into force (1.1.2001)

Act on Part-time Working and Fixed Term Working came into force (1.1.2001)

Promotion of a new role concept of fathers/men