EGGE – EC’s Expert Group on Gender and Employment

Gender Impact Assessment – Policy Evaluations

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Gender Impact Assessment

Policy Evaluations
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GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Active Labour Market Policies
Denmark [1]

Author(s): Ruth Emerek


An example of 'gender neutral' legislation with a gender discrepancy, the Labour Market Reform of June 1993 marks a change in Danish employment policy. It meant a drastic change in administration of the labour market policies through a higher degree of regionalisation. At the same time, by use of action plans, a new method to organise efforts in relation to the unemployed was introduced. This reform has been followed by similar reforms. One of the central tools for renewal was the limitation of the period that the unemployed are able to receive unemployment benefits.

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
The unemployment rate for both men and women had, with few fluctuations, been increasing since the mid 1970s, and apart from a short period in the middle of the 1980s it was increasing fairly rapidly. The unemployment rate had reached 11.3% for men and 13.7% for women in 1993. But there were, however, large variations in unemployment in the labour force. The highest unemployment rates were 24.4% for members of the KAD (a women's trade union) and 23.5% for SID (trade union of special workers), however, the Danish trade union of nurses experienced the lowest unemployment rate at 0.9%. (Statistics Denmark 1999).

Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:
There was no indication whatsoever that the unemployment trend would alter course without any intervention, and there were no indications that the unemployment situation would change for those trade unions who were hit the hardest, i.e. the KAD and SID whose members are primarily non-skilled workers, and who represent almost 20% of the labour force.

Three: The priority attached to gender equality:
In order to turn the tide, the Danish Parliament (Folketinget) introduced a labour market reform to tackle the unemployment trend. The important elements of this reform were:

- The opportunity of early retirement was introduced for persons aged between 50 and 55. In the period 1994-1996 unemployed persons in this age group could join a special scheme of early retirement benefits amounting to 82% of the highest unemployment benefit.

- Another element of the reform was the possibility of up to one year’s paid leave for education, sabbatical or child care. The leave schemes for
education and child care were open to unemployed persons as well as persons in employment. Compensation for the education leave was 100% of the highest unemployment benefit (but reduced to 80% in 1995), while compensation for child care and sabbatical leave was 80% in 1994, reduced to 70% in 1995 and 60% in 1997. The sabbatical leave scheme closed in the latter part of 1999.

- As previously mentioned, an important aspect was the new limit of the period a person was allowed to stay on unemployment benefit. The reform introduced a limit of 9 years (it was later reduced to 4 years in 1999). At the same time job training and activation measures were intensified (activation and job training rules have subsequently been tightened up since the reform).

There was no special gender dimension in the reform.

**Four: Impact of policy:**
The impact of the reform was immediately evident. Unemployment figures dropped to 9.0% for men and 12.0% for women in 1995 and to 7.8% for men and 10.1% for women in 1996; what is more, they have continued to fall. Outside Denmark this labour market reform has been recognised as being very successful because of the continuing decline in unemployment since its implementation. Labour market researchers in Denmark have given the reform part of the credit for the reduction (Kongshøj Madsen, 1999).

The impact of the reform was, however, also a reduction of the labour force. This meant that small improvements in employment looked like big successes when they were measured by the declining unemployment rate.

Another result was lowering of the average age of retirement - particularly for women. The retirement age was the lowest in the 1995 with 57 years for women and 60 years for men. The irony is that the government is now fighting a heroic battle to raise the retirement age, as unemployment has reached its lowest levels in 25 years.

**Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:**
Though the reform's intention was to be gender neutral - the result of the reform turned out to have a gender discrepancy.

The retirement age dropped to 57 years for women and 60 years for men in 1995 with the introduction of the special early retirement scheme, and since then women constitute more than two thirds of the people receiving early retirement benefits (see table 1).
**Table 1.** Women and men (50-55 years old) on special early retirement scheme 1994-1998.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
<th>Women (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>8449</td>
<td>73.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>23438</td>
<td>71.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>46049</td>
<td>67.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>41922</td>
<td>67.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>36170</td>
<td>68.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>30528</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: From 1999 the figures are not broken down on gender. It was only possible to enter the scheme in 1994-1996

Moreover the legislation on leave also generally revealed a gender discrepancy. Since its introduction, women constitute over two thirds of the participants in the sabbatical and educational leave schemes. In the parental leave scheme women constitute the majority. Furthermore, the development of female participation shows a slightly rising tendency in the parental scheme as well as in the educational scheme from 1994 to 1998. The less attractive the scheme is, the greater the percentage of female participation (see table 2).

**Table 2.** Women and men on parental, educational and sabbatical leave 1994-1998.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Parental leave</th>
<th>Educational leave</th>
<th>Sabbatical leave</th>
<th>Leave in total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of participants</td>
<td>Women (%)</td>
<td>Number of participants</td>
<td>Women (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>35791</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td>12272</td>
<td>69.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>42135</td>
<td>91.4</td>
<td>32502</td>
<td>70.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>30580</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>31415</td>
<td>72.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>22228</td>
<td>92.8</td>
<td>23882</td>
<td>74.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>19624</td>
<td>93.0</td>
<td>22856</td>
<td>75.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>13826</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>13826</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: From 1999 the figures are not broken down on gender.

The 1993 Labour Market Reform thus has a genuine gender discrepancy that could have been predicted before implementation, by means of gender impact assessment.

The parental leave scheme has as an extra agenda, to improve conditions for families with children. However, as Olsen illustrates, parental leave is only a tool in the labour market policy and it does not promote equality as it is mostly used by women. This means that women may lose contact with the labour market and that equality between women and men may be difficult. She argues that the leave schemes should be revised so that men will also find them attractive.
The question, however, is whether or not it is the schemes that are indeed the problem.

Although it is assumed and argued in the NAP that Danish men and women have equal opportunities according to legislation, as the practical aspects of child care are fulfilled by nurseries and kindergartens part of the time, women and men act differently according to the leave schemes. Various explanations for this phenomenon have been suggested:

- One explanation is the difference in wages, i.e. men earn more, this normally also applies to the spouses in a family.

- Another explanation is based on the different expectations of men and women in the gender segregated labour market. In the male dominated labour market, the man is the 'norm', and leave caused by childbirth and children are more visible and thought of as handicaps. In the female dominated labour market, leave caused by childbirth and children are seen as inconvenient but nonetheless a necessary evil (Kold, 1997). As most women are employed at the female dominated labour market, it seems, in general, more acceptable that they take the leave with reference to children.

- Finally, the leave schemes are used though it means a considerable drop in income - for women too. Time is in short supply and more valuable in certain periods of a life cycle than others. The introduction of women as full-time employees in the labour force has, in actual fact, the result that the two breadwinner family has had an increase of more than 50% in working hours (compared to a one-breadwinner family) in spite of the fact that the working hours for the individual have been reduced by 25%. This increase in working hours leaves less time for other aspects of life.

**Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:**
The legislation for parental leave has had unintentional consequences for the labour force. One of these became obvious very quickly. Quite a number of nurses did choose to take parental leave and subsequently unemployment among Danish nurses, which was already among the lowest dropped a further 50% and was, in the period from 1994 to 1997, between 0.4 and 0.5%. Many hospitals were short of nurses.

Equality consultants pinpointed another problem, namely 'the leave trap'; the difficulty of returning to the labour market after a long absence with parental leave eventually combined with unemployment. The equality consultants in the Frederiksborg-region discovered that in unemployment funds, where a high rate of paid leave was combined with a high unemployment rate, the unemployment figures for women aged 25-39 revealed a lower rate of decline in comparison to other unemployment funds.
Immigrants in Denmark, especially women, experience lower labour market participation in comparison to other sections of the population. At the same time they have a high unemployment rate, which has not dropped as much as the unemployment rate for the rest of the population. It appears that the differences between the unemployment rates are currently narrowing. The result for women from some of the large immigrant groups, however, is due to the fact that the activity rate has declined between the early 1990s to the late 1990s, while the increase in the rate of employment has been low. For female immigrants from Turkey, the activity has dropped from 63% to 46% in this period, while the employment rate has only increased by 2 to 3%. As such, what appears to be a success may actually be a failure if one of the aims of the policy is to include more persons in the labour force. We do not yet know the reason for this drop in activity rate. It may be due to the intensifying of activation.

Seven: Policy modifications:
The recognition of the existence of ‘the leave trap’ has motivated the regional labour market councils to an early activation of unemployed women who have had a considerable absence from the labour market on the grounds of maternity and parental leave. (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, 1998).

References:
Kold, Vibeke (1997): Det kønne arbejde - faktorer, processer og aktører på det kønsopdelte arbejdsmarked (Factors, processes and performers at the gender segregated labour market) in Emerek et al. (ed.) Brydninger, Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Copenhagen.
Kongshøj Madsen, Per (1999): I medgang og modgang .... Om behovet for en fleksibel arbejdsmarkedspolitis (For better or for worse ... on the need of a flexible labour market policy) in Arbejdliv 1:1, Odense Universitetsforlag.

1 After the latest revision in 1998 the mother has the right to maternity leave 4 weeks before the birth and 24 weeks after. She is obligated to take leave for 2 weeks after giving birth. The father has the right to paternity leave 2 weeks after the birth and in week 25 and 26 after the birth. Moreover part or all the leave in weeks 15 to 24 after the birth can used by the father instead of the mother.
France [1]

Author(s): Rachel Silvera

Policy Measure: New Departure Programme

Since 1998, the 'New Departure' programme aims to improve the integration of the most vulnerable unemployed, for example, young people who have been unemployed for more than 6 months and long-term (more than one year) unemployed adults. The aim is to offer each unemployed person proposals that are designed to engage with their specific difficulties. This includes assistance and support in the process of starting to look for work; personalised support by a specific advisor; access to training (and, where necessary, personalised support for defining a training project) and social support for those in greatest difficulty.

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
This measure involves all the unemployed, a priori, but it targets two groups who are considered priorities by French employment policy: young people and the long-term unemployed. The measure does not openly target unemployed women as a priority; however, the participation of women is sought indirectly. Between November 1998 and September 2000, 1,400,000 people benefited from the programme, 54% of whom were women. The declared aim of the 1999 NAP Programme was, however, slightly higher (55%). Moreover, support for defining a training project was provided for 217,419 job seekers by AFPA (Public Adult Training Agency), but only 37% of them were women. There is, therefore, a declared aim of ensuring balanced participation between men and women in this measure, but, in fact, the situation does not meet the real specific needs of women, particularly with reference to training.

If one observes the results of the programme, the proportion of women is relatively disappointing. Overall, the measure is relatively effective, because, on average, it is estimated that the probability of leaving unemployment has increased by 27%: in 1999, 81.7% of young people left unemployment before the 6th month, but 83.9% of young men and 79.4% of young women did so; 84.1% of adults left unemployment before the 12th month (85.5% of men and only 82.5% of women). But leaving unemployment does not mean entering employment and we will examine the impact of this measure in terms of employment in point 4. At best, the overall participation of women only reflects their presence amongst the unemployed or sometimes even less than that.

Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:
The phenomenon of above-average unemployment of women in France is well known. Despite efforts to fight unemployment and the significant drop in its level (from 12.6% in 1997 to 11.5% in 1998 and 10.6% in 1999), overall, as the following table shows, this drop in unemployment has not really led to a reduction of the gap between men and women.
Development of unemployment rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gap</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NAP 2000

Overall, women represent 45% of the economically active population, but 53% of the unemployed. The target of 55% women in the measures is therefore logical, especially as they concern two categories of unemployed (young people and long-term unemployed), where there are still more women. Unemployment of young people has dropped by 16% since 1998, but unemployment of young women is still high: at the end of 1999, 22.3% of young women and 17.8% of young men were unemployed, i.e., a gap of 4.5%. Finally, the share of long-term unemployment is still greater amongst women (39.5% of unemployed women and 37.6% of unemployed men).

Three: The priority attached to gender equality:

Overall, as we have shown above, French employment policy did not introduce, at the beginning, an explicit will to actively promote equality, but rather to introduce measures that are supposedly neutral from the point of view of gender. However, there are changes on some points. Thus, new measures in 2000 have attempted to take women’s unequal access to employment more into account. Thus, the above measures are accessible to all women in difficulty regardless of the length of unemployment or their age. In other words, the full vulnerability of women is at last recognised in the same way as that of young people and the long-term unemployed. This measure is, therefore, a form of positive discrimination, even though French law is usually rather reluctant to take such an approach. Before now, specific measures (which were quickly abandoned) regarding women were linked to specific criteria such as long-term unemployment and single parents. Here, their situation is taken into account better and they are integrated in general measures, rather than in specific, separate ones.

Moreover, in order to promote an active policy concerning equality, one should take into account other dimensions in addition to the difficulties women encounter with reference to entering the labour market. For example, child care and travelling in order to participate in training schemes, as well as the values and perceptions of family roles (especially those in difficulty), for example, whether women have sufficient free time so that they are able to participate fully in training courses (time for reading and revision at home, etc.). The government has also studied this dimension, but in a limited way. Henceforth, one-off financial aid (from 2,000 to 3,000 francs) will be given to economically inactive women who take up a job or training in order to help towards paying for
childcare. This approach should be followed up and not just in terms of financial encouragement but also concrete help for finding childcare and making families more aware of the issues involved when mothers return to work, etc. Equality training is planned for all employment public services (ANPE and AFPA). It is necessary to generalise and perpetuate this approach.

**Four: Impact of policy:**
The potential impact of the measure should not be limited to observing the number of beneficiaries, but, rather, the results obtained in terms of return to employment. Let us look closer at preliminary results of monitoring those who have benefited from the measure.

**'New Departure' results (4 months after entering the measure from January to August 1999)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taken up employment</th>
<th>Entered training</th>
<th>Other reasons for leaving unemployment</th>
<th>Worked +78 hours since the measure</th>
<th>TOTAL who have left unemployment</th>
<th>Search for employment with results</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>56,238</td>
<td>27,933</td>
<td>141,868</td>
<td>58,343</td>
<td>284,382</td>
<td>518,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of women</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NAP 2000

This analysis of monitoring the unemployed shows that 4 months after entering the measure, 55% of them have left unemployment. It is estimated that about 32% of them have taken a job, whatever its length, and 11% have worked at least half-time (+78 hours per month).

One can also, therefore, observe that 45% of the unemployed benefiting from the measure have failed in their search for employment and 54% of them are women. It would be useful to know what the real reasons for failure are, especially by studying company recruitment procedures, in order to isolate possible sources of indirect discrimination against women.

There is also little information concerning 'other reasons for leaving unemployment'. This population represents half of all those who left unemployment and is, therefore, significant. According to NAP, it is a matter of people, who have taken jobs, that have not been declared to ANPE, but there is nothing to indicate what proportion of them fall into this category and whether there are not also unemployed people, who are discouraged and have left to join the economically inactive.

Finally, the data is also limited by a lack of information about the nature of the jobs that were found and their stability (short-term contracts, etc.). Longitudinal
monitoring of those leaving unemployment for employment is necessary in order to know whether these people are still in employment after six months or a year.

**Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:**
This measure does not take into account differences between social groups of an ethnic, family or other nature. The only specific category referred to concerns exclusion. Indeed, this programme is one of the elements of the action plan to fight exclusion launched two years ago. Thus, amongst the 1,400,000 job seekers concerned, 54% are considered to be 'people under threat of exclusion'. Amongst those in great difficulty, 52% are women. They are mainly people living below the poverty threshold, on RMI, with problems of integration, not only regarding employment, but also socially and regarding their family (homelessness and women who are victims of violence, etc.). It is difficult to assess the potential impact of this measure on this group. Direct access to a job is, in any case, very difficult. It is therefore possible to imagine that such personalised support would be a preliminary stage on the way to reintegration. The training of those responsible for such support is therefore crucial, in order to take all dimensions of exclusion into account, especially with reference to those women who are victims of violence. The following data thus confirms that for this group, the results of the measure are less effective: 51% left unemployment (compared with 55% of all those concerned); 20% took up a job (compared with approximately a third of the total). The proportion of women concerned is however identical to all those involved in the measure.

**'New Departure’ results for people under threat of exclusion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Taken up employment</th>
<th>Entered training</th>
<th>Other reasons for leaving unemployment</th>
<th>Worked +78 hours since the measure</th>
<th>TOTAL who have left unemployment</th>
<th>Search for employment with results</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>27,792</td>
<td>13,206</td>
<td>70,952</td>
<td>27,999</td>
<td>139,949</td>
<td>133,483</td>
<td>273,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% of women</strong></td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Employment and Solidarity

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Ministère de l’emploi et de la solidarité, Construire ensemble une place pour tous, bilan de deux ans d’action de lutte contre les exclusions, 2000.
Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:
The indirect impact of this measure in terms of equality is difficult to measure. As we have observed, the consideration of equality essentially involves introducing a quantified objective (55% of women beneficiaries) into the measure. Other dimensions of social and family organisation for female job seekers are not really taken into account. However, as a complement to this measure, special effort will be made for those women who resume economic activity. For example, the introduction of 2,000 to 3,000 francs to be given to women for childcare, and the possibility of accumulating 2 months of APE with their wage. But the question is not limited to specific financial aspects alone. These proposals seem insufficient. Such financial incentives do not resolve all the problems concerning childcare: for example, access to sufficient high quality childcare places that are financially feasible for these families remains a real problem and means that some women (provisionally) leave the labour market via APE. These measures indirectly suggest that the question of childcare only concerns mothers - there are no incentives for fathers. These measures run the risk of indirectly shoring up traditional roles and they only consider the financial dimension of choices concerning work and childcare. However, such choices depend also on other aspects, such as autonomy and freedom, that access to a job represents for mothers, and the development of children, thanks to access to high quality collective structures.

Seven: Policy modifications:
The 'New Departure' programme is a policy for fighting unemployment which takes into account the dimension of gender equality, however, efforts still have to be made in order to make it possible to monitor such job seekers and, above all, ensure real access to employment for these populations. Indeed, leaving unemployment does not always mean entering and staying in employment. From the point of view of equality, two issues should be analysed: firstly, monitoring should not just occur upstream from the labour market, but should also intervene more directly in relation to companies. Indeed, forms of indirect discrimination persist in company recruitment policies, particularly concerning these groups and particularly women. However, direct intervention in companies is not an aim that really exists in equality policies. Such intervention is, however, necessary, if one is to fight effectively against women's unemployment. Secondly, another important aspect concerns private life and the family. French family policy is relatively ambiguous concerning equality in employment. We have already shown (in Part 1) that the Parental Childcare Allowance (APE) could be an unemployment and economic inactivity trap for mothers. One should, therefore, improve arrangements for these women to return to employment and also, perhaps, challenge this allowance, which is a disincentive for these women to work (substantially improving collective childcare would partly meet their needs). However, the budget devoted to APE (about 18 billion francs) is much greater than that devoted to collective childcare (2.8 billion francs). Even though the last Family Conference announced improved childcare structures, the gap remains substantial.
Germany [1]

Author(s): Friederike Maier

Policy Measure: Active Labour Market Programmes.

Since German unification, labour market policy has been used to ease the breakdown of the East German labour market. Since 1994 all parts of labour market programmes have been reduced: there have been cuts in unemployment benefits, unemployment assistance, and short-time work benefits by 1% for people with children. Active measures such as training/training allowances, job creation programmes in the private and public sector, etc, have been reduced, both in East and in West Germany.

Training allowances for unemployed participants in further training programmes have been reduced in line with unemployment benefits and, since 1996, training allowances are no longer a legal right for those who meet the eligibility criteria. Funding has been cut for the training of employees who have already completed their vocational training. Training is being concentrated on the long-term unemployed without vocational training and subsidies for employers who recruit long-term unemployed persons now have better conditions now than before 1996. Participants in further training do not renew their entitlements for unemployment benefits by attending training courses.

In job creation programmes that are allocated in the public sector, the private sector and very often in the third sector of charities and other non-profit organisations, wages or working hours have to be reduced to 90% of the usual (collectively agreed) wage level. In December 1996 the special conditions for job creation programmes in East Germany was phased out. The new regulations now have the same conditions for East and West Germany, so that the job creation programmes in East Germany should now mirror those of West Germany. The wage subsidy paid to employers in job creation programmes has been reduced to 50 to 75% of the wages to pay; and only in those regions with unemployment rates which are 30% above average are labour offices allowed to pay higher wage subsidies (and only for the long-term-unemployed benefit receivers).

The overall spending for active programmes was reduced in the mid 1990s, as most of the budget of the employment services went to passive measures such as unemployment benefits. As the calculations of the OECD illustrate, labour market policy spending went down from 3.92% of the GDP in 1996 to only 3.42% in 1999. Since 1998 the ratio of active to passive has increased which means that the relative relevance of active measures increases when combined with a falling budget for overall labour market programmes. To target the budget on the passive measures, which are legally binding obligations, is the automatic mechanism, because active programmes are 'voluntary' programmes. This
means that the quantitative and qualitative level and financial support depends on the Government's political decision making.

Women have been a target group of labour market policy since the AFG (Arbeitsförderungsgesetz) was first introduced. Between 1969 and 1987, paragraph 2 (5) stated that labour market policy was to support women's integration into the labour market (especially married women and those women who wish to return to employment after having fulfilled family duties). The idea behind this paragraph was clearly influenced by the traditional role allocated to women and was seen to be out-dated; as such it was changed in 1987. The revised formulation states that labour market policy should help to overcome the gender-specific structure of training and employment as well as to support women's integration into the labour market.

Women have been underrepresented in nearly all labour market programmes and activities over the past few decades, particularly in East Germany (see the detailed analysis of Henninger, 2000). As such, in 1993 an additional commitment was introduced to the AFG stating that women were to participate in labour market programmes in proportion with their presence amongst the registered unemployed. The fact that this regulation is a non-compulsory target makes it easy prey for critics who argue that it is too vague to exert a major influence on labour offices' implementation strategies. In the paragraph 8 of the new legal framework (SGB III) we find the same formulas again.

Despite the fact that one of the target groups of labour market policy comprises of female returnees and women with children, and although some regulations have been changed in favour of returnees (such as the introduction of a part-time further training allowance, the option of paying for child care on behalf of participants in further training and an obligatory wage subsidy for on-the-job training if an employer hires a returnee), the proportion of women in a series of labour market programmes is below their proportion among the unemployed or of those in employment in both West and East Germany.

The latest figures on women's participation in programmes are available for 1999. In West Germany the target has not been attained in all programmes except further training for adults (48.1% women). In East Germany the implementation is more successful as women's proportion could be increased in some programmes and attained the aim in job creation programmes and further training programmes. However, women are still underrepresented in self-employment programmes and the wage subsidy programmes in private firms (see table labour market programmes).
### Proportion of Women in Employment, Unemployment and Labour Market Programmes

#### West and East Germany, 1992 and 1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>West Germany</th>
<th>East Germany</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population (microcensus)</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour force (microcensus)</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees subject to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- social security (June)</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thereof: in vocational training</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short-time work (annual average)</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered unemployed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- entry into unemployment</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- annual average</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- unemployed longer then 1 year</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>43.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recipients of unemployment benefits/assistance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- annual average</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thereof: early retirement programme</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(§ 105c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East German early retirement programme</td>
<td></td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job placement (total)</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in employment more then 7 days</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- in employment less then 7 days</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- with financial subsidies</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job creation programmes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Placements (regular/East progr.)</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(reg./East progr.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Employees (annual average)</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(reg./East progr.)</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further occup. Training</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Participants</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidies for self-employment</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applicants for apprenticeships</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- annual average</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- not placed by end of year</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, ANBA several years and Tischer/Doering 2000a, p. 2315 ff.

In general, the exclusion of women from labour market programmes in West Germany results primarily from the eligibility criteria which penalise women's withdrawal from the labour market (a maximum of 6 years non-employment is allowed; on average West German women spent 8 years out of the labour market). In East Germany, however, women's exclusion is not yet a result of eligibility criteria but of the organisational processes implemented by labour offices, local training and job creation firms and employers. Nevertheless, the
observation was that women’s integration in labour market programmes is easier than women’s integration in jobs in real private firms, i.e. regular employment. One indicator for that is that women's share in job placements is very small in the East and West and this leads to increasing long-term unemployment among women which is then interrupted by programme participation. The interruption by programmes decreases registered unemployment and long-term unemployment, but is only partially effective in terms of successful employment due to the re-entering of previously unemployed persons.

The integration of gender mainstreaming in the guidelines of the Federal Employment Service and the implementation of new administrative instruments on the local and regional level, which allow much easier control and redirecting of programmes and resources, combined with some legal changes concerning returnees, has now changed the situation which is now much more transparent and easier to assess.

The first analysis on gender impact used the newly created evaluation instruments and statistics of the BA called Eingliederungsbilanz (employment integration balance), which is thought to be an instrument of evaluation and control both on the local and the macro level of labour market policy (Tischer/Doering, 2000a). This employment integration balance is compiled for all 'voluntary' labour market programmes (i.e. the active programmes), and includes information not only about the participation rates of men and women (percentages as in the table), but also about the effects of the programmes concerning the subsequent integration of the participants into the regular labour market via paid employment. The first employment integration balance was published in 1999 and included the year 1998. It was published in July 1999 and Tischer/Doering present a gender impact assessment based on these figures. The quantitative indicator concerning participation is the aforementioned rule that women should participate in proportion to their presence among the unemployed. This aim, however, is not achieved in all programmes. What is of particular relevance is the low proportion of women among those programmes that aim to integrate unemployed people into work with an (private) employer. The programmes, counted in a separate statistical category since 1999, are shown in the following table. It includes all financial subsidies for employers hiring an unemployed person and shows only data for 1999 as the programmes had been introduced in April 1998.
Programmes to support employment integration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>West Germany</th>
<th>East Germany</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number p.</td>
<td>prop. women %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recruitment subsidy for business startups</td>
<td>2861</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integration contract</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integration subsidy</td>
<td>21651</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subsidy for starting a business</td>
<td>7568</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tischer/Doering 2000a, p. 2315 f.

The programmes do have quite different quantitative levels, with the largest programmes having very low female participation rates. Tischer/Doering point to the fact that women's low participation in all these programmes, and in the job placement activities of the labour offices indicates a weak labour market integration performance.

Furthermore, the employment integration balance of the different labour market programmes shows that women do encounter more problems in finding regular work after having completed the measures. With reference to all those participating in further training, 66% of participants found employment six months after finishing their training, but only 61% of the women. The same problem arose with job creation programmes, only 41% of participants found work and this figure falls to 39% when we look solely at women. Further, with the integration contracts, 51% of all participants had a job after 6 months but only 41% of the women. The lower proportion of women in employment after participating in these programmes needs to be analysed more precisely because the qualitative side of the different programmes may be influential. We know that women participate in different training programmes than men and have different jobs in job creation programmes, etc. As such, the segregated participation concerning the concrete fields of training and employment may contribute to these results (for analysis of former times, see Henninger, 2000).
Women have a higher and better performance in other programmes. For example, in those programmes where subsidies are available for starting up a business, 89.4% of female recipients (the overall rate was 88%) found employment. Further, in integration subsidies, 76% of all women (but only 72% of all participants) had a job six months after the subsidy ended (data taken from Tischer/Doering, 2000a: 2313).

In general, the analysis shows that women in higher age groups and long-term unemployed women had high employment integration risks and their integration rate was, in all measures, lower than the average rate for all women. There is a general difference in the employment integration for East and West Germany, as the lower employment growth in East Germany led to lower integration rates, especially for women. The difference between women in the East and the West had been greater than the differences between men in the East and the West leading to a persistently high proportion of long-term unemployed women in East Germany. The employment opportunities of these women are much lower than the employment opportunities of female returnees. The employment integration rates of the latter had been quite high in nearly all programmes and often above average.

Although all these groups of women (returnees, long-term unemployed, higher age groups, handicapped) are identified as special target groups of the active labour market policy (§7, Abs. 3 SGB III), the employment integration balance shows an imbalance which should encourage local labour offices to change policy and formulate concrete actions. The Federal Employment Office has a checklist of several indicators which may help the local office to find an appropriate new strategy (see, the examples in Parsch-Haertel, 1999 and Wenner/Tischer, 2000).

The rules in the SGB had caused fears that the employment integration criteria could counteract women's participation. In the comment on the 1998 NAP I therefore wrote:

> The general objective to use labour market policy to promote women's opportunities in the labour market is partially counteracted by the regulation in §7 of the same law, in which all labour market programmes are bound to the criteria of 'positive expectation concerning the integration in gainful employment' and that the individuals are recipients of unemployment benefits (eligibility-criteria). Both criteria serve as an exclusion of women.

This fear did not materialise as there had been an internal directive not to interpret §7 regulations in this way so that labour offices should not screen out more and less successful candidates within labour market programmes. Further, the eligibility criteria has been modified in favour of female returnees.
However, as the employment integration balance shows, female returnees are not the most vulnerable group (the reasons may be perhaps that they are younger, equipped with higher skill levels and more human capital than the average unemployed female). As such, more attention should be given to the long-term unemployed, higher age groups and, in general, to women in East Germany.

The first results of the new instruments of gender impact assessment now being used by the Federal Employment Office are: more transparency in the input and output indicators of active labour market policy; a better database on the results of policy (what is still lacking, however, is more detailed analysis concerning the different types of measures and programmes); the different factors influencing success and failure (such as the differences in training programmes and occupational segregation, etc.) and a more complex analysis (see, for example, Henninger, 2000). On the whole, however, the overall procedure in the Federal employment office reveals changes in a more positive direction.

References:
Ireland [1]

Author(s): Ursula Barry

Policy Measure: Long Term Unemployment Preventative Strategy

The stated aim of the preventative strategy towards long-term unemployment is to prevent the drift into long-term unemployment of those already on the Live Register. The Irish EAP 2000 outlines a strategic objective as:

the promotion of social inclusion with particular reference to the re-integration of the socially excluded and, in particular, the long term unemployed into the open labour market... The most significant new dimension of policy has been the implementation of the preventative strategy of engaging systematically with persons, at an early stage of the unemployment spell.

The ‘Employability Pillar’ receives priority resource allocation within the Irish EAP 2000, accounting for over half of the IR£14 billion specified in the Plan for the period 2000-2006. Within that Pillar, the preventative strategy is described as the most important new policy initiative. The preventative strategy commenced in September 1998 targeting under-25 year olds who were about to become unemployed for a period of time greater than six months. It was extended to the young unemployed as they crossed 18 months of unemployment in March 1999 and to 25-34 year olds as they crossed 12 months unemployment in May 1999. It is to be extended to the remaining groups of adult unemployed over the year 2000. A key element to the preventative strategy is the establishment of a Local Employment Service with the objective of ‘systematic engagement’ with those at risk of, or already experiencing, long-term unemployment.

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development: Registered long-term unemployment affects a large portion of the unemployed and was running at a level of 2.1% of the labour force at the end of 1999. While there is very little difference in the recorded unemployment rates among Irish women and men, women’s rate of registered long-term unemployment 1.4% is lower than the male rate of 2.5%.

Table 1 Long-term Unemployment (LTU) by Gender 1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>All Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbers LTU</td>
<td>9,900</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>36,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate LTU</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of LTU</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>72.4%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women experience significant labour market disadvantage in Ireland that is only partially reflected in their position on the Live Register of unemployment. A majority of women are not on the formal labour market due largely to their carrying the responsibilities of carers and homemakers and also to the household nature of the social welfare system (based predominantly on single male claimants). Consequently women are strongly under-represented among the unemployed, and particularly the registered long-term unemployed, accounting for just 27.6% of the 36,000 of the total in 1999 (see Table 1 above). Irish women tend to slip off the unemployment register categorising themselves as ‘engaged in home duties’ even when many would like and/or are seeking paid employment. The inappropriateness of the Live Register as the central measure for measuring labour market disadvantage was recognised in the Irish Employment Action Plan 1998.

In targeting resources, the live register (of unemployment) has been widely used as a means of identifying those perceived to be in greatest need, but it has drawbacks from a gender perspective as a gateway for labour market intervention programmes. (EAP 98)

Lack of support services is a key factor in the significant gender gap in employment rates in Ireland between women and men – over twenty percentage points in 1999. Childcare and other care services are experiencing a state of acute crisis due to the large increase in women’s participation in paid employment, education and training and the related demand for childcare. Publicly funded childcare has increased to an important degree over recent years, concentrated mainly in disadvantaged areas, but the level of unmet demand is extremely high. Childcare costs are also extremely high and Ireland has emerged as the country within the EU in which the highest percentage, 20% of parent’s income, goes on childcare services, compared to an 8% average across the EU (Goodbodies Economic Consultants 1998).

Data from the Quarterly National Household Survey indicates that a large number of women, over 70,000, who had previously held a regular job had given it up for domestic or family reasons (Central Statistics Office QNHS, 1998 Q2). Domestic and family responsibilities constitutes the most frequently cited reason women give for leaving a regular job, for not looking for a job (among those who want a job) and for working part-time (by part-time women workers), (Dept of Social Community and Family Affairs 2000, Central Statistics Office QNHS, 1998 Q2).

Significant numbers of women seem to make choices about the nature of their participation in the labour market based on what may either be a need or a desire to combine such participation with family responsibilities. In a situation where there is a lack of adequate and affordable childcare provision, such decisions may have to be made on the basis of need even where the desire might be otherwise. The
acknowledged unavailability of affordable childcare in Ireland therefore represents a significant barrier to the full and equal participation by women in the labour market, and by extension in labour market programmes (Dept of Social Community and Family Affairs, 2000).

On a more general level, women with low levels of educational attainment in low to middle income households experience definite disadvantage on the labour market and have a very low participation rate in the labour force. Lone parents (of whom about 87% are women) also have a low participation rate although this has increased in recent years, due largely to improved access to labour market schemes. Significant labour market disadvantage is also experienced by women who have three or more children. For many women who are categorised as ‘economically inactive’ access to education, training and employment schemes can be problematic due to the eligibility criteria (including unemployment registration), inflexibility in course delivery and lack of support services.

Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:
From a traditional position of a comparatively low rate of participation on the formal labour market, Irish women’s employment rate has risen dramatically over the last decade now reaching the EU average rate of female employment. In the early 1980s only just over one-third of working-age women in Ireland were on the formal labour market – by 1999 46% of women of working age were in the labour force. Two out of five of those in employment today are women.

Women’s participation rate has grown at a much faster rate than men’s resulting in a narrowing of the gender gap. Women’s participation rate rose from 39.7 in 1995 to 46.0 in 1999 while men’s rate rose from 68.0 to 70.2. This has brought about a significant narrowing of the traditionally wide gap between women and men’s labour force participation in the Irish economy from 28.3 in 1995 to 25.8 in 1997 and to 24.2 in 1999. At the same time the gender gap in the employment rate of women and men has reduced from 24.9 in 1995 to 23.1 in 1997 to 22.7 in 1999. Despite this significant narrowing of the gender gap it remains wide. Irish women’s employment rate at 70% of men’s ranks Ireland in 11th position among the EU fifteen Member States in relation to the ratio of female to male employment rates. (NESF 2000) While the significance of the narrowing of the gender gap should not be underestimated, it is evident that women’s latent or potential labour market supply remains considerable and under appropriate conditions women’s employment rate could rise much higher than its current 43.4% level.
Table 2 Labour Market Trends 1995-1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Participation Rate</th>
<th>Employment Rate</th>
<th>Unemployment Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wmn</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>67.8</td>
<td>54.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>70.2</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ratios calculated on basis of population of 15+

Registered unemployment levels have fallen off dramatically in Ireland over the second half of the 1990s, from a level of 12.2% in 1995 to 5.7% in 1999. At the same time employment growth has been extremely rapid averaging at around 5% per annum over the same time period. Women and men’s unemployment rates have remained at similar levels, while women have consistently been under-represented among the registered long-term unemployed.

The nature of employment in Ireland continues to change. One-third of the net addition to employment between 1992 and 1998 consisted of part-time jobs. One in six of those in the labour force are in part-time employment and over 70% of these are women. Given that women account for just over 40% of the labour force, their representation among part-timers is extremely high. Part-time employment has more than doubled among women and men over this period, but among men the increase was from a much lower base.

Three: The priority attached to gender equality:
There has been increasing recognition over recent years that the Live Register is not a gender-neutral approach to labour market disadvantage and that women are severely underrepresented among the registered long-term unemployed. Despite this recognition, this long-term unemployment preventative strategy policy measure makes no reference to the potential or actual gender discrimination inherent in its policy design.

This policy measure places its emphasis on tackling and preventing the drift towards long-term unemployment through a local employment service, and related programmes targeted at early school leavers and older unemployed workers. There is no specific reference made within this strategy to the many, overwhelmingly women, who have been off the labour market for a prolonged period of time due largely to care responsibilities and under-provision of care services. While there is a clear concern to mobilise additional labour supply there is no direct connection made to women’s substantial latent labour supply. Preventing the drift into long-term labour market disadvantage would provide a policy framework that would give much greater priority to gender equality without
lessening the targeted nature of the measure. For example, educational qualifications are crucial to women’s access to the labour market (Report 2000, Women’s Education Initiative).

Four: Impact of policy:
The core feature of the preventative approach, initially targeted at those who had been registered as unemployed for a period of six months, has been referral for an interview aimed at matching each individual with potential training or employment opportunities. 16,492 left the Live Register by end of January 2000 following referral for interview and/or interview attendance representing 16% of the 104,700 unemployed and 46% of the 36,000 long-term unemployed at the end of 1999. Those under twenty-five years of age made up the majority of those referred for interview and leaving the Live Register. 47% of those who left the Live Register by the end of January 2000 were women - 78% were under 25 years of age -. Up to one third of those referred left the Live Register without attending for interview – the percentages are very similar for both women and men. (Irish EAP 2000)

Women accounted for about 45% of the total under 25 year old referred for interview by end of January 2000. In the older age group 25-34 women accounted for the majority (55%) of those referred. A similar percentage (53%) of young women and men were placed in jobs or training following interviews, although more young men were placed in jobs (32%) compared to young women (26%). Similar patterns were evident among the 25-34 age groups. 44% of men aged 25-34 and 40% of women were placed in jobs or training. Within this age group 24% of men were placed in jobs compared to 18% of women. Of those placed onto training men were far more likely (16%) to go onto FAS skills-based training whereas only 4% of women were placed on this kind of training. (Irish EAP 2000)

An important criticism of the impact of the preventative strategy is that it has frequently being perceived as more focused on the issue of benefit fraud than on the securing of skills and employment for the long-term unemployed. In its Report on the Local Employment Service, the National Economic and Social Forum argues that ‘while recognising the achievements of the National Employment Action Plan (NEAP) thus far, …considers that the Plan does not give sufficient emphasis to the objective of re-employing the long-term unemployed. This objective should constitute a key Guideline under the Plan’ (NESF 2000).

While women account for a minority of the long-term unemployed they account for almost half of those targeted under the preventative strategy. To the extent that this has facilitated the securing of employment and training this is a positive outcome for women and has the potential to narrow the gender gap in employment. What is less evident is the nature of the training and employment opportunities arising from this strategy. To effectively assess the impact of the policy an analysis of the nature of those opportunities is critical, together with
longer term research tracking the situation of the targeted groups over time – information necessary for such an analysis is not currently available.

Despite the new EU guideline on mainstreaming gender equality, the objectives of the preventative strategy (the key new policy under the Employability Pillar) give rise to a number of concerns from a gender equality perspective. The exclusive focus on the long-term unemployed, among whom women have been, and continue to be, under-represented leaves significant groups of labour market disadvantaged women marginalised. In fact it can be argued that the main thrust of the strategy is to shift the current high rate of employment growth taking place in the Irish economy towards the long-term unemployed and away from women returnees. Such an objective is in danger of negatively impact on women's rising employment rate and on the potential growth in the overall employment rate. The disproportionate targeting of women under this strategy to date, however, has ensured that such an outcome has not occurred.

Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:
This policy has had a positive impact on women registered as long-term unemployed. The extent of that positive impact will need to be measured over time as the nature of increased training and employment opportunities are analysed. Important groups of women are, however, marginalised by this strategy:

1. women partners of the long-term unemployed, 30,000 in total, of whom 11,000 have three or more dependants
2. women in low-income households outside the labour market who are not on the Live Register married to, or cohabiting with, partners who are employed in low paid work (exception of Return to Work and Enterprise Training).
3. women lone parents, disabled women and others who are dependent on welfare but are not registered as unemployed and are claiming an alternative welfare payment such as the One Parent Family Payment or Disability Benefit.

Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:
By strengthening women employment and skill base, this strategy has the potential to increase women’s economic independence.

The focus in policy language and design continues to favour the traditional male unemployed over women who have experienced long-term absence and disadvantage on the labour market.

Due to increased level of women’s economic activity, children and others who have depended on women’s unpaid care work, will be increasingly reliant on over-stretched and under-resourced caring services.
**Seven: Policy modifications:**

Women entering paid employment have accounted for the majority of the increase in the Irish employment rate over recent years yet Irish employment strategy rarely favours women and others that experience more complex and diverse forms of labour market disadvantage. Targeting women’s labour market disadvantage requires a much more complex and flexible targeting strategy than is reflected in the preventative strategy. A definite strategy towards women’s latent labour supply also needs to be articulated and applied consistently.

This policy should be redesigned to target different groups of women and men experiencing labour market disadvantage including the long-term unemployed. Provision should also immediately be made for tracking the training and employment outcomes of those who have been targeted by this policy to date to provide the means for comprehensive policy impact assessment.

**References:**


National Economic and Social Forum (2000): Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Local Employment Service. NESF.

Luxembourg [1]

Author(s): Robert Plasman

Policy Measure: Fresh Start for the Unemployed.

Unemployed adults are offered a fresh start before reaching 12 months of unemployment via a number of different measures.

Workshops
Motivational, information and job-hunting workshops
These workshops are primarily designed to motivate people to actively seek employment. The programme therefore covers specific expectations of employers and detailed information on various occupations in which there are openings. Twenty workshops were held in 1998.

Recruitment workshops
Recruitment drives are organised either at the request of enterprises or on the initiative of the ADEM placement service as soon as there are a certain number of jobs on offer with the same profile. The aim of these workshops is to provide the unemployed with all the information they need about the jobs that are on offer, which is mostly done in the presence of a representative of the employers. Ninety-five workshops were held in 1998 with an attendance rate of 65%.

Awareness-raising workshops
These are aimed at those unemployed persons who are difficult to place because they lack training.

Individual psycho-social support for the unemployed
1. Target groups
The unemployed are those persons without jobs, registered with the ADEM, available for the labour market, either receiving benefit or not, who have complied with ADEM's monitoring requirements.

2. Aims:
For each unemployed person, the aim is to:
– map their technical and social profiles and skills;
– determine employability;
– define learning potential;
– verify possible means of occupational integration or reintegration;
– examine aptitude for participating in training activities.

An integration or guidance plan is drawn up on the basis of the above, the aim being to provide the unemployed with individual support designed to encourage them to take a more active part in seeking employment and to remove any obstacles to returning to work by:
encouraging them to develop their skills and attitudes so that they are capable of making their own decisions and assuming responsibility for them;
- taking stock of their occupational potential and encouraging them to take the initiative;
- promoting a better understanding of themselves;
- increasing their potential.

3. Implementation procedures
There are three stages:

Stage 1:
- invitation of unemployed persons to individual interviews carried out by the assessment and guidance unit, which is a team of psycho-social and education specialists (occupational psychologists, social workers, highly qualified educationalists and placement officers).
- devising of an individual integration or guidance plan.

Stage 2:
- submission for a decision of the individual integration or guidance plan to the Co-ordination and Decision Committee (CDC), made up of representatives of the assessment and guidance units and representatives of the Ministry of Labour and Employment and the Ministry of National Education vocational training department;
- co-ordination by the CDC of activities proposed by the assessment and guidance units at national level.

Stage 3:
- implementation of individual support, integration and guidance plans for unemployed persons benefiting from active measures (cf. Guideline 3);
- Following adoption of the Law of 12 February 1999 on implementation of the NAP, occupational reintegration courses have been introduced comprising alternating periods of practical and theoretical training which can be offered to unemployed persons over the age of 30.

Indicators measuring compliance and policy effectiveness
Guideline 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(A) number of adults who become unemployed in month X</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) number of adults who are still unemployed in month X+12</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio (B) / (A) (output indicator)</td>
<td>0.136</td>
<td>0.135</td>
<td>0.137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) number of adults who became unemployed in month X are still unemployed at the end of month X+12 and have not started an individual action plan.</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio (C) / (A) (input indicator)</td>
<td>0.112</td>
<td>0.109</td>
<td>0.117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio (C) / (B) (input indicator)</td>
<td>0.827</td>
<td>0.805</td>
<td>0.857</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NAP 1999 Luxembourg
Data to measure the scale of the effort undertaken

Guideline 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of adults registered unemployed (average over the time period considered)</td>
<td>4,362</td>
<td>2,379</td>
<td>1,983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of the target population (average)</td>
<td>3,403</td>
<td>1,825</td>
<td>1,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of adults unemployed for less than 12 months who entered into measures, broken down by category of action:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Induction traineeship contract</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• preparatory traineeship in enterprise</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Division of temporary auxiliaries</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Adem training</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Pool of assistants</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Special measures</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Work programmes for the unemployed</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender impact assessment

1. Unemployment rate of women is significantly higher for women in 1998: 4.1% versus 1.9% for men.
2. Even if the unemployment rate in Luxembourg remains quite low compared to most other European countries, the last few years have shown a disproportionate evolution of the male and female rates. In 1994, men were unemployed at a rate of 3.0% and women 4.3%. In 1998, the male rate had significantly decreased to reach 1.9%, whereas female unemployment remained at the same level, 4.2%. The economic recovery was not of equal benefit to women and men.
3. An equality policy concerning reducing unemployment rate should thus imply that more emphasis should be placed on reducing unemployment for women.
4. The measure itself should not have a negative gender impact. Its results will depend heavily on ways in which the individual psycho-social support for the unemployed is organised. In fact, the results reveal that women were underrepresented in this policy. The target group (unemployed adults with less than 12 months of unemployment) consisted, on average in 1998, of 1,825 men and 1,578 women (due to the lower activity rate of women, it means, in fact, a higher unemployment rate for women). The number of women who entered into the different measures during 1998 was only 359, in comparison with 656 men. Among the different existing measures of the programmes, the only measures where the under-representation of women is less concerns the training provided by the employment agency (ADEM). But it is also the measure that offers perhaps the least possibility of getting a job in comparison to the two first measures. The traineeship contract and the traineeship in enterprise both take place within a company and probably lead, more often, to employment. Unfortunately no information is available on the
other characteristics of the results of the programmes and on the characteristics of their implementation.

5. Irrelevant
6. Irrelevant
7. Concerning this policy, the best suggestion would be to guarantee that the persons and services that are in charge of the psycho-social support receive specific training in gender equality issues. For example, a representative of the Ministry of Women's Affairs should work with the Co-ordination and Decision Committee (CDC)
Policy Measure: The Wage Subsidy

The wage subsidy is a demand stimulating measure. The objective is to increase the possibilities for handicapped people to obtain employment in the open labour market. This is done through employment subsidies. An employer who employs a handicapped person receives a subsidy to compensate for the reduced working capacity of that single individual. The level of the subsidy is related to the work capacity of that individual, the degree to which there is a reduction in his/her capacity to work and the demands of the work itself. Wages and benefits should follow, or be comparable with, collective agreements in question. A period of employment with a wage subsidy often follows after a period in a business cycle related labour market policy programme. The subsidy cannot be higher than 80% of the wage cost, with the exception of certain public organisations. If the wage is higher than 13,700 SEK (1612 ECU) per month, the additional amount cannot be a basis for the subsidy.

Assessment:
During 1999, 10,092 persons began employment with a wage subsidy. In total, an average of 50,077 persons per month took part in this programme (AMS programredovisning 1999). Women constituted 39% and men 61% of all participants. In relation to other programmes the turnover was low. The age distribution is fairly equal and most of the newly employed with a wage subsidy were over the age of 25 (there are special programmes for young people with disabilities or reduced working capacity). The proportion of men starting employment with a wage subsidy was larger than the proportion of women, 63% versus 37%. This fact has been observed by the government which, in 1999, then directed the National Labour Market Board to report (in the yearly regulation bill) on the gender differences in the wages that are basis for the subsidies (AMV:s regleringsbrev 1999). Secondly the Board was given the task of suggesting ways of increasing the proportion of women employed with a wage subsidy.

The number of persons having a wage subsidy has not varied according to the business cycle; it has been on the same level since, for example, 1995. There are no gender differences in educational levels, but in relation to all unemployed, those in wage subsidy programmes had a much higher proportion of people possessing just a basic compulsory education of no more than 9 years. The distribution of different types of work disabilities among those employed with wage subsidies has not changed much over the last years. The majority of participants were disabled in terms of mobility and the second largest group had other somatic disabilities. These two groups constituted 63% of all those employed with wage subsidies in 1999. Historically, different government agencies have had a large responsibility for those employed with a wage subsidy. But during the 1990s there has been a
shift toward public utility and non-governmental organisations. There has also been an increase in the proportion of wage subsidy employees in private companies. Employment with a wage subsidy is meant to be for no more than four years, however, it is possible to prolong this and, in 1999, 54% of all women and 51% of all men had had their wage subsidy employment for more than four years. The existing rate for non-subsidised employment was 3.0% in 1999, an increase from 2.6% in 1998. Men found permanent employment more often than women, and continued to be employed by the employer where they received the subsidy. The proportion of women finding a part-time, temporary work, and becoming partially unemployed, is far larger than that experienced by men.

According to the assessment made by the Labour Market Board, in relation to the regulation letter from the Government, there are large gender differences in the wage cost forming the basis for the subsidies. Among men, 79% were in employment with a wage cost of 15,000 SEK (1772 EURO) or more. The corresponding figure for women was 51%. After allowing for hours worked, the gender differences in wage costs almost disappeared, however, there were large gender differences in hours worked. Only half of all women worked full time, in comparison to with four fifths of all men. This is the same relation for all disabled women and men in the labour market. What is more, half of all men were employed in private companies but only one quarter of all women (28%). Women also seem to remain for longer periods in wage subsidy employment in comparison to men. There are also regional differences. As part of the Mainstreaming Project conducted by the National Labour Market Board, the regional Labour Market Board in Östergötland analysed gender differences in relation to the subsidy; in this region women received a lower wage subsidy in comparison to men. When these facts were discussed in the follow-up study of the project, the explanations provided by the local labour market exchange officers were that the reasons behind the results were beyond their control (Hampusson, 1999). The gendered structure of the labour market and the wage differences were given as conditions for the policies, not something to change through the employment policies. Further, part-time and full time were seen as exogenous factors.

One explanation for the higher proportion of men employed with a wage subsidy is that they can probably, to a large extent, continue to work with their handicap in their former occupation. This might also mean that men, to a greater extent, could use their skills and training in employment with wage subsidy. These suggestions are supported by the fact that unemployed women registered at the employment exchange with a handicap code, want work in the health and care sectors to a lesser extent than those women in the labour market with a physical disability. These women, to a larger extent, tend to ask for administrative and office work where job opportunities have been considerably reduced during the 1990s.

The conclusion is that - considering the previous occupational experiences of the single individual, it has been much easier for the employment exchanges to find
jobs in traditional male occupations for men than it has been to find jobs for women. And in relation to possibility to support them, one must ask the question if women on wage subsidised employment really can do that.

It would seem that this labour market measure is an example of how a political tool used in a gender blind way recreates the gender segregation of the labour market, i.e. women get part-time, temporary jobs. In addition, if women are injured or physically disabled, they remain in their traditional employment and use their occupational experience to a lesser extent than men.

One way to work in the mainstreaming project was to start study circles on local and regional levels in the Labour Market Agencies. The proportion of resources given to women respectively to men will be discussed. Further, special seminars are going to be held in certain regions for administrators of the wage subsidies.

One further action could be, according to the report from the National Labour Market Board, to discuss with the employer the possibility of employing a person from the under-represented gender in, for example, the manufacturing industry or in the public sector. Also if it is easier to find work for men in traditional sectors, the support for getting women into the new sectors of the labour market could be strengthened, for example, information technology and other related areas. To recruit both women and men to these sectors, education and training is needed and this should then proceed employment with a wage subsidy (AMS 1999).

References:
Arbetsmarknadsprogram, Anna Spånt, Stockholm.
Hampusson K., Utvärdering av Arbetsmarknadsverkets Mainstreamingprojektet i Östergötlands län. Slutrapport, Linköpings Universitetet.
UK [1]

Author(s): Jill Rubery & Katherine Rake

Policy Measure: New Deal

The employment-focused New Deals consist of six distinct, targeted programmes aimed at supporting labour market (re)insertion. These are:

1. The New Deal for Young People (NDYP)
2. The New Deal for the Long Term Unemployed (NDLTU)
3. The New Deal for Lone Parents (NDLP)
4. The New Deal for Partners of the Unemployed (NDPU)
5. The New Deal for Disabled People (NDDP)
6. The New Deal for the over 50s (ND50+)

The size, the type and quality of support and the compulsion to participate varies between the different New Deals, making it difficult to generalise across them. Nevertheless, it is possible to distinguish between NDYP and NDLTU which are aimed at the claimant unemployed, and therefore at reducing the numbers of the unemployed and duration of unemployment, and the remaining programmes which target the particularly low levels of employment found within other claimant groups (namely, lone parents, disabled people and the over fifties). NDYP and NDLTU offer the most extensive programmes. Both begin with a ‘Gateway’ period in which assessment and guidance is offered. If employment has not been found after this period, the client moves on to one of a series of options. For both programmes these options include subsidised employment, training and education with the NDYP also offering voluntary work and work on an environmental task force. For the remaining New Deals the emphasis is on support and guidance offered by a personal adviser. For example, the NDLP offers measures such as free childcare to cover interviews as well as advice on building up a successful c.v. The emphasis across all New Deals is on ‘work first’, although some programmes offer provision aimed at enhancing the human capital of participants.

The New Deals have been one of the most heavily evaluated British social policy programmes. Nevertheless, the ability to get a true measure of the New Deals’ gender impact is compromised by the short time that many have been running and, for those programmes that were launched without a pilot, by the lack of a true comparator without which it is difficult to obtain a measure of ‘additionality’ (e.g. the impact of the programme in isolation from the generally favourable economic conditions). While gender disaggregated statistics are usually available, the evaluation of the gender impact of the programmes has been quite limited, and there has been no discussion of issues such as, for example, the contribution of the programmes to labour market segregation.
One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
Prior to the introduction of the first of the New Deals in 1997, a national programme of active labour market support was not in existence within the UK (Gardiner estimates that there were some 42 ‘welfare-to-work’ programmes in operation in 1997, but none operated at a national level or with the level of funding commanded by the New Deals). In most cases, the claimant unemployed drew upon the (rather limited) support of the Employment Service, with financial support in the form of Job Seeker’s Allowance (JSA).

Participation
Overall women had a lower labour employment rate than men, and lone mothers experienced particularly low employment rates. Men’s rate of registered unemployment was higher across all groups. Although there are well known difficulties in capturing fully levels of female unemployment, women are nevertheless less likely either to be registered as unemployed or to be classified as unemployed using the broader ILO definition. However, women’s share of ILO unemployment is notably higher than their share of unemployment measured on the basis of claimant count. Moreover if we take into account those among the inactive who say they wish to work but are not counted as unemployed as they are not immediately available for work, the gender gap in numbers seeking work disappears (see table 1).

In 1997 at the start of the New Deal, of those classified as economically active, 5.9% of women and 8.2% of men fell within the ILO definition of unemployment. The figures in Table 2 shows that women experienced, on average, shorter spells of registered unemployment. Unemployment rates for young people were higher than for the general population but demonstrated the same gender differential.

Resources
The principal benefit targeted at the claimant unemployed was, and remains, JSA. Where both partners in a couple are unemployed, it is mostly men who register as the job seeker, compromising women’s direct access to resources. Women with an employed partner who have sufficient National Insurance contributions may claim contribution based JSA for 6 months, after which they will not be able to claim independent support if their partner is in work. For lone parents out of the labour market, it is more usual to be making a claim on Income Support. In all cases, the Government identified the negative consequences for family income of transiting from benefits to earnings as being the key barrier to taking up employment (Taylor, 1998). Multiple interventions (i.e. the New Deal in combination with the Working Families Tax Credit) was seen as the solution, bringing with them the additional benefit of reducing the size of the claimant population and spending on social security (WFTC expenditure appears in tax records rather than as direct expenditure).
Norms and values
The Government identified two principal problems with the system prior to the New Deals. First, the lack of practical support to individuals who wished to overcome particular barriers to employment (for example, the organisation of childcare for lone parents). Support for the young unemployed was singled out as particularly important given the ‘scarring effects’ that an early experience of unemployment had on later attachment to the labour market. Second, the benefits system allowed the unemployed and lone parents to remain ‘passive’ welfare recipients who received automatic entitlements. The architecture of the New Deals reflects the desire to introduce active policies which expect, and in some cases mandate, the participation of particular groups of benefit claimants.

Rights
Where both partners are unemployed, household based assessment of JSA means that individual rights to an independent income are compromised. For those partners of the employed who have a contributions record, an individual claim to JSA may be made for a six-month period only. Partners without a contribution record will have little financial incentive to register as unemployed with long-term consequences for their eligibility to National Insurance benefits such as the Basic State Pension.

Two: Trends in women and men's position independent of the policy:
In the five years prior to the introduction of the New Deals, the unemployment rate for all women and men had fallen (albeit with an upward ‘blip’ for both in 1993) and similarly for young unemployed men (see Table 2). The picture is less clear for young unemployed women and for the long-term unemployed of either sex who experienced fluctuations in the rate of unemployment from 1992-97 rather than a consistent fall. The economic circumstances in the three years following the introduction of the New Deals have been favourable and the overall ILO unemployment rate (5.8%) is now almost one and a half percentage points lower than it was in 1997.

Three: The priority attached to gender equality:
Gender equality is not an explicit objective of the main New Deals (NDYP or NDLTU) which have a largely male clientele (see below). Rather than ‘mainstreaming’ these New Deals, the approach has been to introduce separate programmes targeted at the predominantly female groups of lone parents and the partners of the unemployed. This has allowed for a tailoring of provision, for example, great emphasis is placed on help with childcare arrangements for participants in NDLP. In line with other UK policies, increased female employment may be desirable more as a means for achieving the goals of decreasing the numbers of benefits claimants, and lowering levels of child poverty, rather than as an end in itself. Thus, no programme is available to those women with an employed partner who are not part of the claimant population.

Four: Impact of policy:
Participation

Participation in NDYP and NDLTU is compulsory and conditioned on a particular duration of registered unemployment. Attaching this condition to participation means that considerably fewer women are brought into these programmes. Up to the end of July 2000, 28% of the 519,000 participants in the NDYP were women and 16% of the 287,000 participants in the NDLTU (DfEE, 2000a). These shares are lower than women’s share of ILO unemployment and reflect their lower share of unemployment benefit claimants. By contrast, 94% of the 172,000 participants in NDLP are women (DfEE, 2000b) and when fully rolled out, the sex composition of participants in NDPU is likely to be similar.

Gender differentials appear in the types of support received by New Deal participants. As Table 2 shows, in NDYP there are notable gender differentials in participation in the Voluntary Sector option (were women predominate) and the Environmental Task Force option (with a majority of male participants). In addition, women are slightly less likely to be in an employment option with a slightly higher chance of being in education and training. For the NDLTU, women are slightly less likely to be on the employment option. Of those who have already passed through NDYP, 41% are currently in sustained unsubsidised jobs compared to 16% of those who have left NDLTU (DfEE, 2000a). Given that the other New Deals consist of just an advisory stage, there are no equivalent figures on the immediate destination of participants. However, for the longest running of these programmes, NDLP, some initial figures exist as to the short-term effect on their claimant and employment status. Following participation in the New Deal, 13,000 lone parents (or 35% of all participants at that date) had moved into employment and ceased to claim Income Support, while 43% had withdrawn from the programme and continued to claim Income Support (Hasluck, 2000: 36). Fully estimating the impact of participation in the New Deals would, of course, require a longer time span in which to assess employment sustainability and the continuing employment prospects of participants. Several researchers have concluded that such programmes have a small, but positive, impact on employment among the client groups (e.g. Hasluck et al., 2000).

Resources

One can conceive of the New Deals as a resource to which individuals have access. From this perspective, the generosity of provision matters greatly, and from a gender perspective it is a matter of concern that of all New Deal expenditure 80% has gone on NDYP and NDLTU with their mainly male clientele. There are considerable differences in the unit cost of the New Deals. While the Government has yet to come up with official figures, one can make an initial, rough estimate of the unit cost, which is of a similar magnitude for NDYP and NDLTU, standing at £1560 and £1370 respectively. For the NDLP, by contrast, the per participant spend is estimated to be approximately £700 or about half as generous reflecting the more limited support for training and education and the lack of a subsidised employment option.
At the individual level, there are also different resource implications of participation according to which New Deal is accessed, the options taken and the individual’s prior package of benefit claim. For example, participants on the subsidised employment option in NDYP receive the wage for that job in addition to any other benefits to which they are entitled, while those participating on the voluntary sector or environment taskforce option receive no more than when they were registered unemployed. For lone parents, there are no pecuniary incentives placed on participation in the New Deal per se, rather the calculation of whether to move into employment is made on the basis of the specific job offer and changes in welfare entitlement (which, following the introduction of Working Families Tax Credit are likely to be particularly advantageous). For those participating in NDPU, finding employment will mean a pound by pound reduction in benefits received by the participant’s partner (see below), opening up the potential for conflict within the household.

**Norms and values**

For lone parents, personalised support during the transition to employment the New Deals, in combination with other tax and benefit changes and increased childcare provision, may enhance the employment rate of this group. However, targeting provision at lone parents creates a possible tension in the long term. The expectation that lone parents should combine their caring duties with employment is not matched by any similar expectation for partnered mothers. Conversely, demands for support may come from women whose lack of employment is not considered problematic by virtue of the fact that they have an employed partner. Possible gender stereotyping of the jobs taken by New Deal participants is also not seen as problematic. Hence, a much publicised option for lone parents is to take employment in the childcare sector, with just under a quarter of those lone parents who found employment working in personal and protective services, with clerical and secretarial, sales and routine unskilled jobs accounting for most of the remainder (Hasluck, 2000: 37).

**Rights**

The combination of a New Deal programme targeted at individuals operating alongside a benefits system which employs family based assessment for benefits creates a number of difficulties. For example, where a partner of the unemployed participating in NDPU is successful in finding employment the earnings brought into the household will result in a pound for pound reduction in the payment made to the (usually male) Job Seeker. There is also a contradiction in granting partners of the unemployed the right to participate in the New Deal programme even though they have no right to receive benefits directly. In the near future, lone parents who have a child over the age of 5 will be required to attend an interview and assessment, with a penalty of a partial withdrawal of benefits if they do not comply.
Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:
A conclusion to emerge from most evaluations of the New Deals is that they have been more successful in getting those who were already closest to employment into work, with those who have multiple disadvantages or who are among the longer term unemployed requiring more sustained intervention (Millar, 2000). There has been close monitoring of participation among minority ethnic groups. Currently, 6% of all NDLP starts are from minority ethnic groups, with slightly lower proportions of minority ethnic lone fathers. Of all starts on NDYP 14% and 17% of female starters were from minority ethnic groups. Lastly, 10% of all starters in NDLTU were from minority ethnic groups, with similar figures holding across male and female starters. The percentages of those entering employment from the New Deals has varied considerably by region, reflecting local unemployment rates. A notable group excluded from all New Deal provision are those women with an employed partner.

Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:
As the programme is recent in origin, the long term effects of the New Deals on gender equality within the labour market are not possible to assess fully at this point in time. However, as the vast majority of New Deal participants are men, drawn from a pool of claimant unemployed there may be a negative effect on the employment rates of women where they are in direct competition with New Deal participants in subsidised employment. However, the fears about substitution and of participants making repeated cycles through the New Deals appear not to have been realised (Millar 2000: 17). The emphasis on ‘work first’, particularly in NDLP and NDPU, does not address the longer-term problem of low skills or, indeed, of the quality of jobs and longer-term earnings prospects of these participants. Sustainable employment must be a longer term aspiration for New Deal participants and for lone parents, in particular, the constraints placed by caring responsibilities on sustaining employment need to be monitored closely.

Seven: Policy modifications:
The Government has introduced policy modifications to the New Deals since their inception. These include the establishment of further New Deals, such as that for the over 50s, and the extension of the training option for lone parents. Increasing participation in NDLP and the constraints of childcare responsibilities for participants in NDPU have also been identified as particular problems (Hasluck, 2000: Stone et al., 2000). The possibility of adding a New Deal for Labour Market Returnees has also been discussed. Modifications could be made to the pool from which the different New Deals draw their participants. For example, NDYP and NDLTU could draw on those who had experienced repeated spells of unemployment or indeed other forms of absence from the labour market rather than the most recent spell of registered unemployment. Such changes would, however, be rendered more complex given the compulsory nature of these programmes. An alternative would be to improve the provisions, especially for training and possibly for subsidised employment, made by those New Deals that draw their participants from beyond the registered unemployed. Finally, it
has been suggested that support provided through the programme could be sustained over a longer period of time.

References:
Table 1: Mothers’ employment rates by age of youngest child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment rate by age of youngest child, %</th>
<th>Lone mother</th>
<th>All mothers in couples</th>
<th>Mothers with working partner</th>
<th>Mothers with non-working partner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 to 1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to 4</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 10</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 to 15</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Household LFS, Spring 1998 (HM Treasury 1999)

Table 2: WFTC and FC (Family Credit) awards by family type- Great Britain (thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All cases</th>
<th>Couples</th>
<th>Lone parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 1997</td>
<td>733.5</td>
<td>397.9</td>
<td>335.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1998</td>
<td>760.5</td>
<td>390.9</td>
<td>369.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1999</td>
<td>789.1</td>
<td>388.7</td>
<td>400.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1999</td>
<td>786.4</td>
<td>379.1</td>
<td>407.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1999</td>
<td>930.9</td>
<td>448.8</td>
<td>482.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2000</td>
<td>988.9</td>
<td>479.8</td>
<td>509.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Inland Revenue (2000)

Table 3: Family type by employment status, average size of award and recipients of 30 hour credits (thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Self employed</th>
<th>Employ -ees</th>
<th>Average size of award £</th>
<th>Number receiving 30 hour credit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>1025.5</td>
<td>140.8</td>
<td>884.7</td>
<td>70.78</td>
<td>571.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples</td>
<td>499.7</td>
<td>100.4</td>
<td>399.3</td>
<td>67.73</td>
<td>365.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male main earner</td>
<td>393.6</td>
<td>82.9</td>
<td>310.3</td>
<td>66.48</td>
<td>322.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female main earner</td>
<td>106.1</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>72.37</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lone parents</td>
<td>525.9</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>485.5</td>
<td>73.67</td>
<td>205.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>62.69</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>504.6</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>468.7</td>
<td>74.13</td>
<td>189.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Inland Revenue (2000)
### Table 4: Partners’ economic activity in couple households claiming WFTC/FC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number (thousands)</th>
<th>Average award £</th>
<th>Average net partner earnings per week £</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All couples</td>
<td>499.7</td>
<td>67.73</td>
<td>9.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples partner not working</td>
<td>425.9</td>
<td>71.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples partner working</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>44.77</td>
<td>62.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Inland Revenue (2000)

### Table 5: WFTC and FC awards for help with childcare (thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All cases</th>
<th>Couples</th>
<th>Lone parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 1997</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>87.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Inland Revenue (2000)

### Table 6. Estimates of the impact of Working Families Tax Credit on Employment Rates (1998 budget figures for WFTC rates)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gregg et al. (1999b)</th>
<th>Blundell et al. (1998)</th>
<th>Paull et al. (1999)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Estimated increase in employment thousands</td>
<td>Estimated increase in employment rate</td>
<td>Estimated increase in employment thousands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Single parents</td>
<td>+28,600</td>
<td>+1.85</td>
<td>+34,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married women, partner not working</td>
<td>+14,610</td>
<td>+1.75</td>
<td>+11,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Married women, partner working</td>
<td>-29,050</td>
<td>-0.83</td>
<td>-20,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Married men, partner not working</td>
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<td>+0.48</td>
<td>+13,000</td>
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<td>Married men, partner working</td>
<td>+ 1,790</td>
<td>+0.05</td>
<td>-10,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>+32,770</td>
<td></td>
<td>+27,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Blundell and Reed (1999)
GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Training & Life Long Learning Policies
Austria [1]

Author(s): Ulli Pastner

Policy Measure: Improving qualifications & training for the unemployed.

As a main focus in the Austrian NAP, qualification measures constitute one of the most important instruments in active labour market politics. They are mentioned in the guidelines 1 to 3 and 63, and, in accordance with gender mainstreaming (GM), the consideration of women is explicitly stated. In addition, qualification measures are also referred to in the guidelines 19 to 214 as a means to attain equal opportunities for women and men.

For about three years, the Public Employment Service (PES) has been formulating its target indicators gender-specifically, which, compared to the procedure applied before, can be assessed as a very positive development. Thereby, gender-specific monitoring and evaluation possibilities have also improved significantly, although improvements are still called for. The detailed ex-post evaluations of the Austrian NAP, which, inter alia, contains GM as a main focus area, have already worked out valuable foundations for this (see ERI/HIS, 2000 and Leitner/Wroblewski, 2000).

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
In spite of an improvement in the labour market situation, the unemployment rate of 6.9% for women in 1999, (EUROSTAT: 4.5%), was higher than men’s which stood at 6.5%, (EUROSTAT: 3.1%). Here, a clear correlation between educational level and unemployment exists: the lower the education the higher the risk of unemployment. A generally inferior starting position for women is mirrored in the educational structure of the unemployed and despite major improvements, at the present time, young women are less qualified than young men (see Papouschek/Pastner, 1999).

Participation: In recent years the PES has reacted to the discrimination against women in the labour market and has increasingly included women in active labour market measures. Parallel to the participation rate, participation in

---

3 New start for young people; Fresh start for long-term unemployed adults; Increasing the number of people benefiting from active labour market measures; Lifelong learning.
4 Tackling gender gaps in the labour market; Providing care services, parental leave schemes and family-friendly working hours, alleviating return to working life.
5 41% of the unemployed (women: 44%, men: 38%) have, as their highest level of education / training, finished compulsory / secondary school, 40% (women: 31%, men: 47%) an apprenticeship and 6.5% (women: 11%, men: 3%) have taken GCSEs. (see Leitner/Wroblewski, 2000)
6 The participation rate provides the proportion of unemployed people in active labour market measures (training measures, subsidised jobs and apprenticeships, employability measures, childcare benefit, etc.) In the context of the NAP the target for the participation rate has been fixed to reach at least 20% by 2002. In compliance with the equal opportunities objective, this
training measures has also grown significantly between 1996 and 1999. The target of achieving at least a 50% participation rate for women in these training measures, which had been set in the 1999 NAP, was actually reached: the proportion of women (subsidy cases) in training programmes was 52.7% in 1999; an annual average of approximately 26,600 people, with 13,900 women and 12,700 men participating in training measures (see table below).

### Participation in PES measures 1996-1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unemployed</strong></td>
<td>102,482</td>
<td>104,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unemployment rate (EU)</strong></td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participation rate</strong></td>
<td>11.41</td>
<td>15.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participants in active measures</strong></td>
<td>13,622</td>
<td>19,979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thereof: participants in training measures</td>
<td>8,848</td>
<td>11,418</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: PES; implementation report 2000

**Resources:** Only recently has it become possible to make statements on the gender-specific allocation of financial means of the labour market policy budget. This is not only an effective indicator for the distribution of resources but also, roughly, an indirect standard for the quality of measures. In 1999 female participation in skills training was nearly 53%; measured in subsidy spending, the share for women was about 50% (see implementation report 2000). Thus, the measures for women were somewhat cheaper. As will be seen below, the structure of the measures is also very different.

**Norms and values:** In accordance with the existing segregation lines in the educational system, gender-specific differences can also be found in the qualifications of the unemployed. Even though the PES is legally bound to take steps against labour market segregation, the activities are relatively modest and the outcome small. Due to the structure of vocational training, segregation boundaries are perpetuated, if not enforced. The organisation, to some extent, is indeed encountering societal boundaries (existing education levels and occupational biographies; job placement wishes of unemployed persons and employers etc.); in addition, there are also people within the PES that share the very stable gendered norms and values and act correspondingly. Not least, norms and values determine ideas about whether women should want to pursue gainful employment and how they (should) set priorities between work and participation rate is to be higher for women (22.8%) than for men (18%). The target value for 1999 was 15.7% and, at an actual participation rate of 17.7%, was exceeded by far. A particularly encouraging fact is that, at 20.6%, the rate of female participants could be greatly increased and rose much more than that of men, which was 15.5%. (see implementation report 2000)
family. These value judgements again correspond to the quality of consultation or whether women are sent to participate in training measures.

**Rights:** Rights do play an indirect role in qualification measures. This is about who gets access to the training measures of the PES. Hidden unemployment, which is not registered by the PES, is exceptionally high among women. When a person is long-term unemployed and receiving unemployment assistance benefit, the spouse’s income is included, with the consequence that many women drop out of benefits and no longer register at the PES. The job returner initiative, which was established a couple of years ago, was the first step to qualify those women without any benefit claims.

**Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:**
As previously argued, the risk of unemployment is strongly connected with educational and qualification levels. If an improvement of qualifications is neglected and the disadvantages experienced by women are not compensated, their disadvantageous situation is perpetuated. In comparison, men have better starting conditions than women (higher qualification levels, continuous occupational biographies, no care duties, etc.) and they also have better chances to obtain further training within the company (see Papouschek/Pastner, 1999).

Yet, it has to be stated that the general economic situation certainly has a stronger influence on the demand for labour than the qualification measures of the PES. Besides, and this circumstance is frequently ignored, further qualifications are not a universal remedy for unemployment. Thus, 46% (!) of unemployed women (24% of the men) are registered as 'hard to place', 62% of these people experience mobility restrictions (primarily due to childcare responsibilities). Here, deficits in public childcare facilities have to be addressed. However, work organisation and the HRM of companies also exerts an influence on the usability of qualifications. On the one hand, women are, in many areas employed below their qualification levels (for example, in part-time work). Secondly, further training for some of the female workplaces is of little use because the job requirements are too low or women will not be financially compensated for their improved qualifications. These arguments do not speak against efficient qualification of women within labour market policy. But they should make transparent that training alone, without additional measures, is not sufficient to eliminate the problems women experience.

**Three: The priority attached to gender equality:**
Women have to be actively supported in qualification measures because they are disproportionally affected by unemployment in comparison to men. When pseudo-gender-neutral policies are enacted, women will experience additional discrimination in terms of access to training measures. When no gender-specific target quota are fixed and no corresponding attention is directed towards women, training participation rates are bound to decline (as they did before the

---

7 Data from I-III/1999 (see IHS/ERI, 2000: 28)
introduction of gender specific indicators). With that, the probability to find work and to take up stable employment diminishes. Men will thereby be able to extend their relative advantage and the unequal distribution of income and societal influence will continue to increase.

With reference to women’s participation in training (described above), the positive picture is somewhat fading when the level of aggregated data is left behind. Thus, the evaluation of the training system in one province of 1993 and 1995 showed that, although the number of participating women had increased relatively and absolutely, there had been, at the same time, a change in the structure of training. Skills qualifications have decreased whereas activation groups increased. Women were affected by this more than men: in 1993 every second woman participated in a skills qualification measure, in 1995 only every fourth (men 1993: 70% in skills qualification, 1995: 54%) (Lassnigg/Wroblewski, 1998 quoted in: Leitner/Wroblewski, 2000).

Also in recent years a very large part of training measures consisted of activation groups that are not aimed at further vocational training. The Job Coaching initiative, for example, launched in April 1999, uses early intervention to enable people to return to the labour market soon. Training in job search techniques and assistance with individual application strategies are the focus of this programme. Between April 1999 and December 1999 32,400 people enrolled in this programme; 49.4% of them were women.

It is important, however, that women are not only attending job finding courses but that they get the chance of further vocational qualification. The special problem constellation women frequently encounter demands not only corresponding representation in existing vocational qualification and training measures. Furthermore it is necessary to offer training especially tailored for women. This approach is already realised in initial stages, but most often it does not leave the stage of individual measures or pilot projects.

**Four: Impact of policy:**

In the implementation report 2000, as previously mentioned, the number of participants in the totality of training measures, the female quota in individual new qualification measures and the distribution of financial resources are dealt with. However, two further, very interesting indicators are ascertained:

To ensure and verify both the quantity and the quality of measures targeted on women a special target value has been defined by the PES, namely the ‘flow of women into employment following skills training’. The PES set a target value of 15,742 women, which was clearly exceeded by the actual number (25,821) of women integrated into the labour market. The same applies to another indicator, namely that of ‘training courses lasting more than 3 months’. The average duration of training courses totalled 72 days;
men, on average, were trained 5 days longer than women (implementation report, 2000: 22).

These indicators are of great relevance. But they describe the picture inadequately and require monitoring and review-procedures with more differentiated methods. This necessity is also made apparent by the outcome of the evaluation of the Austrian ESF-measures: within the framework of ESF-objective 3, equal opportunities, was realised insofar as women (in comparison with their share of all unemployed) were frequently and disproportionally included in qualification and training measures. What is more, after the measures, women showed better employment effects than men. However, it was, only indirectly, brought to light that they received lower income levels than men (Armstroff et al 1999).

With the data and indicators available so far, it is not possible to find out what direct effects completed training has on the ensuing occupational career and its quality (stability, income, working conditions, etc.). Least of all, effects on resources outside the employment system (such as time and quality of both home and work life needs) can be evaluated.

On the level of norms and values, an interesting influence could be established: due to the job returner initiative the gender specific awareness of the PES consultants has increased. Women are now more consciously perceived as target groups for measures (Lassnigg et al, 1999)

Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:
So far, qualitative evaluation studies of individual measures have shown that some groups of people actually benefit from qualification and training measures and some groups are, to a large extent, excluded from them. Training of unemployed people used to focus on the further qualification of skilled male workers. However, in the last couple of years this exclusive focus was left behind and in training measures of active labour market policy the PES now proceeds according to defined target groups which are determined by the structure of unemployment (young persons, long-term unemployed, older persons, women etc), nonetheless, deficits continue to exist.

The aforementioned evaluation of the PES job returner initiative revealed that individual groups of women returners are difficult to reach by measures of active labour market policy, that is: women without basic vocational education, women with long breaks in gainful employment as well as women from rural areas with poor transport (Lassnigg et al, 1999). In particular, women with low basic qualifications, who in fact have the highest qualification needs, are included, below average, in training measures. These findings are also confirmed by the evaluation of the ESF-objective 3 measures. Besides, women without completed vocational training are primarily sent to 'job finding courses'; this does not apply,
however, to unqualified men to the same extent. Men are far more often included in skills training (Armstroff et al, 1999).

Most of the skills training measures require specific basic qualifications. Measures that are especially designed for persons without vocational training are already offered, but they are insufficient.

Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:
A lot of things could be said about the indirect consequences of discrimination against women on the labour market. Women suffer from this discrimination individually, and furthermore society at large loses an inconceivable amount of resources of knowledge and creativity. In comparison, the training of unemployed persons can only gain modest compensation. But the effect should not be underestimated. After all, unemployed women not only acquire new knowledge and nowadays very important social skills in these courses, they are also provided with new self-confidence and an occupational identity. These are also valuable requirements for returning to work, a continuous occupational career and economic independence. Eventually, the children of these women can also gain from this, particularly daughters, who continue to lack positive role models with regard to the satisfactory compatibility of work and family.

Seven: Policy modifications:
By and large the increasing consideration of the gender aspect in Austrian labour market policies in recent years can be described as positive. The quantified gender-specific indicators in the PES are a first step in the right direction. But the development is only in its initial stage. Monitoring, the shaping of politics and evaluation now has to be further differentiated and elaborated gender-specifically in order to enable the measuring and comparison of actual gender-specific effects of the measures on occupational careers (see also the recommendations in Leitner/Wroblewski, 2000 and ERI/HIS, 2000). Thus, the measures have to be offered according to the fine structure of the unemployed and tuned to respective regional and economic conditions. Therefore, one must be careful to really reach all subgroups (women with low educational levels, women from ethnic groups, women living in rural areas, women with care responsibilities, etc.) and not to exclude any groups. Because of their heterogeneity, training measures must be evaluated according to differentiated categories, for example, the main focus as

---

8 In the NAP 1999 the target of raising the percentage of women with only compulsory schooling (or less) in PES skills training measures is mentioned. The proportion of women with a compulsory school background within all female training participants was 44.5% in 1999 and thus 0.6 percentage points above last year's value (43.9%). Within the framework of 'lifelong learning' one can find the target of raising the proportion of low-skilled workers in skills training and continuing training programmes per year to that of participants with medium-level qualifications (in 1997, their share was roughly 8%). Participation-boosting policies increasingly have women and older workers as their target groups. (see implementation report 2000)

9 In recent years conditions for unemployed persons have been deteriorating but this cannot be dealt with further here. Thus, the participation in training measures (above all job coaching) has become compulsory and the refusal to participate in training measures is linked to sanctions.
regards content (skills/non-skills), length, costs, framework conditions, etc, so that meaningful effect analyses can be carried out. So far it has also been difficult to assess combinations of measures with regard to their effectiveness. Also the quality of data collecting procedures has to be included in evaluations.

The present plan of the PES to increasingly influence training institutions to consider gender-specific aspects has to be welcomed. Besides, the composition of the participants should be ascertained in detail in order to be able to analyse the extent to which the representation of diverse groups of people (ethnic minorities, parents, single-parent mothers, etc.) is ensured.

The success of training measures would have to be measured with regard to their ability to remove the problem constellations of all subgroups effectively and in a lasting way. This, however, can only be assessed on the level of individual occupational careers and by including qualitative indicators such as occupational length, income, promotion prospects, job satisfaction and the compatibility with private needs/duties.

One final criticism is that the existing training measures are too much connected with the administrative logic of the PES. Successful employment policies should be set out more broadly and reach all those persons experiencing problems with the employment system, independent of their being registered as unemployed or not. This approach would particularly support women.

References:
Belgium [1]

Author(s): Danièle Meulders, France Marage, Julie Lumen & Maria Jepsen

Policy Measure: Pillar I: Royal Decree 495: 'agreement on work and training, part-time schooling, apprenticeship’ (Convention emploi formation, obligation scolaire à temps partiel et apprentissage).

Three different measures are covered by this policy aiming at facilitating the integration of the under-25s with low educational attainment in employment by a limited reduction of employers’ social contributions. The first measure is an agreement with an employer who hires a young unemployed person, pays him/her for the work s/he performs and trains him/her at the workplace. A second initiative is part time schooling and part time employment in enterprises for those young people who are still obliged to attend school (school is compulsory until the age of 18 years in Belgium). The third initiative concerns apprenticeship.

The target group is those young unemployed people with low educational attainment and those students who are obliged to continue to attend school on, at least, a part time basis.

In Belgium, the level of education of young women is higher than the level of education of young men. And, in 1999, the unemployment rate of young women (22.4) was lower than the unemployment rate of young men (22.7).

The total cost of the policy was 134 million BF in 1997 and 128.5 million BF in 1998:

- The percentage of men: 69.7%.
- The percentage of women: 30.2%.
- Total of the cost devoted to men: 68%.
- Total of the cost devoted to women: 32%.
### Agreement employment training:
#### Number of people concerned

<table>
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<th>Women</th>
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<td>641</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>969</td>
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<td>619</td>
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<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} trimester 1997</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4\textsuperscript{th} trimester 1997</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>879</td>
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<table>
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### Part time scholarship:
#### Number of people concerned

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<td>927</td>
<td>1.076</td>
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<td>1.114</td>
<td>1.392</td>
<td>2.506</td>
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<td>761</td>
<td>773</td>
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<td>1.194</td>
<td>1.151</td>
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<thead>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>9.4</td>
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### Apprenticeship:
#### Number of people concerned

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<td>11.656</td>
<td>4.507</td>
<td>16.163</td>
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<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} trimester 1997</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4.134</td>
<td>15.162</td>
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<table>
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<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1\textsuperscript{st} trimester 1997</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} trimester 1997</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} trimester 1997</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Other characteristics:**
Low administrative load: it is quite easy for employers to benefit from this measure.

The reduction of social contribution is limited to a maximum period of three years or by the age of the young people hired.

The reduction is proportional to the earned income with a ceiling corresponding to the social contribution paid on the monthly minimum wage.

**Impact on sector segregation:**
In order to measure the impact of the measure on sector segregation we have drawn two graphs:

The first graph represents the percentage of women who benefit from the measure in each sector (NACE 2). The ‘x’ axis represents the percentage of women employed in each sector. The left part of the graph depicts the situation for the sectors in which women are underrepresented (percentage of women inferior to the percentage of women in total Belgian employment: 41%). The right part of the graph represents those sectors where women are over-represented.

The impact of the policy can be interpreted as follows: if women were benefiting from the policy in the same proportion as their presence in the sectors, all the points would be on the diagonal. If they were benefiting more than proportional from the measure, the points would be above the diagonal, on the contrary if they were benefiting less, the points would be under the diagonal.

The second graph shows the same calculation using the percentage of reductions which have benefited women within each sector.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>4th trimester 1997</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ONSS
Both graphs indicate a strong reinforcement of segregation in their left part: women in male dominated sectors benefit less than proportional in these sectors (most points are under the intercept). On the contrary, the right part of the graph (the ‘female’ sectors) indicates that women benefit less from the policy than their relative share in the sector (most points are under the intercept), hence men benefit more. Women’s participation in this policy is low (30.2%), this means that young women are under represented in on-the-job-training and in apprenticeship. Moreover, although the measure allows for the better integration of men in women’s sectors it does not do a very good job of integrating women in men’s sectors.

**Conclusion**
This measure aims to train and integrate young people into the labour market. The incentives are social security contribution reductions given to those employers who employ the young people either -
Within the framework of the agreement on work and training, by hiring a young person still obliged to attend school on a part-time-basis within the framework trainee contract, PEP or apprenticeship.

In 1998, 128.5 million BF was allocated to this measure. As few formalities are necessary to benefit from this measure, access is easy for the employers.

Female participation in the measure is low (30.2%), furthermore the above analysis has indicated that it reinforces sector segregation in the male dominated sectors although the integration of men into female dominated sectors has improved. The proportional way the measure computes the social security reductions, is, at this time, proportionally more favourable to women than men (32% of budget used). This implies that the women benefiting from the measure have a slightly higher level of wages/salary than men.
Greece [1]

Author(s): Maria Karamessini

Policy Measure: Vocational Training Institutes.

The Vocational Education and Training Organisation (OEEK), which runs 118 public Vocational Training Institutes (VTIs)\(^{10}\) and supervises the functioning of all 81 private ones, has announced the restructuring of existing, and the introduction of new, training specialities. The total number of specialities will increase from 145 to 225. Vocational Training Institutes are a relatively new institution created to provide initial training to upper secondary education graduates or graduates from 3-year technical and vocational post-obligatory education. \(^{11}\) The first VTIs were public and started functioning in 1992.

The main question is whether the introduction of new specialities will alter the participation of men and women in initial training and whether new specialities offer better perspectives for gender equality in the labour market (desegregation, employment opportunities, pay).

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
In 1999, about one out of four upper secondary education graduates registered for the first time in a VTI. In the same year women represented 55% of new registrations in VTIs (table 1).

VTI graduates are in direct competition in the labour market for the same or similar jobs with higher technical education graduates. They are as attached to the labour market as the latter, but have higher unemployment rates because they are less skilled (table 2). Moreover, male VTI graduates have the highest activity and unemployment rates among all educational groups of the male population. As for female VTI graduates, their activity rates are slightly lower than those of higher technical education graduates and nearly twice those of upper secondary education graduates, while their unemployment rates are the second highest among all educational groups of the female population, after lower secondary education graduates.

In 1999, the female ratio among VTI graduates was 57%, among employed graduates 49%, among unemployed graduates 69% and among inactive 73% (table 3)\(^{12}\). The comparison between ratios clearly indicates that women VTI graduates have more difficulty finding work than men. Indeed, the female unemployment rate is twice that of men, in spite of the fact that women VTI

\(^{10}\) Public VTIs also include other 36 VTIs run by the Manpower Employment Organisation (OAED).

\(^{11}\) VTIs also offer 9 training specialties to obligatory education graduates (3-year secondary).

\(^{12}\) Unfortunately data do not correspond only to VTI graduates but also to graduates from pre-existing technical and vocational schools of similar level.
graduates have lower activity rates than men VTI graduates. Thus, it is plausible that greater difficulties in finding jobs than those faced by their male counterparts push women VTI graduates to both unemployment and inactivity.

After studying the concentration of employed VTI graduates in two-digit occupational groups and average net monthly pay in the latter we observe the following (table 4):

- Men are more concentrated than women in managerial, other science and artistic and craft and related trades occupations, whereas women are more concentrated than men in the major occupational groups of technicians and associate professionals, clerks and service workers.

- Within the group of technicians and professionals, men are concentrated much more than women in physical and engineering science technicians, whereas women much more than men in life science and health associate professionals and a little more in finance, sales and business services associate professionals;

- Regarding pay of wage/salary earners, 31.1% of men compared to 13.0% of women are employed in highly paid occupations, 45.5% of men compared to 75.2% of women are employed in medium paid occupations and 23.4% of men compared to 11.8% of women are employed in poorly paid occupations. It follows that male VTI graduates occupy the extremes and female VTI graduates the middle of the occupational pay hierarchy.

Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:
In order to study the trends in men and women’s position prior to the introduction of new specialities in VTIs, we have used the following methodology. First, we examined changes in the gender composition of newly registered VTI trainees between 1992 and 1999 (table 1). Second, we studied the distribution of newly registered VTIs in 1999 in broad groups of specialities and estimated the male and female proportion of the newly registered in each group (table 5). Third, we made the correspondences between each speciality and the three-digit occupational group according to an adjusted version of ISCO-88 used by the National Statistical Service of Greece (table 5). Fourth, we examined the changes in female and male employment between 1994 and 1999 in the three-digit occupational groups corresponding to VTI specialities (table 6). Fifth, we divided these occupational groups into two groups according to the over- and under-representation of women, in order to relate changes in employment to de- or re-segregation phenomena (table 6).

We present hereafter the results of the exercise:
- In the first three years of operation in the VTIs men were the majority of newly registered trainees, however, since 1995 it is women that constitute the

- In 1999, women represented more than 60% of the newly registered VTI trainees in the specialities of finance and administration, health and social services, chemistry, clothing and footwear, applied arts (upper secondary education). In the same year, men constituted more than 60% of the newly registered VTI trainees in the specialities of electronics and automation, mechanics and electrical sector, sports and applied arts (lower secondary education); they also represented 50-60% of newly registered VTI trainees in the specialities of information technology, transport and tourism, geotechnical sector, construction works and communications and mass media. The female proportion of new registrations was 55% in 1999, because of the great number of registrations in finance and administration and health and social services specialities, where women trainees dominate.

- The 28 occupational groups that correspond to VTI specialities are dynamic, since employment in these occupations increased by 36% between 1994 and 1999, while employment in all occupations only by 4.8% across the same period. Moreover, female employment in these occupations increased 5.4 times more than total female employment and male employment in the same occupations 13 times more than total male employment. Finally, female employment in the occupational groups that correspond to VTI specialities grew by 50.5% between 1994 and 1999, whereas male employment by 28.6%.

- In half of the 28 occupational groups that correspond to VTI specialities women are over-represented, relative to their participation to total employment, which rose to 36.8% in 1999. In the other half they are under-represented. Female employment grew more than male employment between 1994 and 1999 both in the occupations where women are over- and under-represented. This means that a process of desegregation by gender has been taking place in the male dominated occupations corresponding to VTI specialities, together with the reinforcement of segregation in the female dominated occupations. The female participation rate passed from 11.8 to 12.1% of total employment in the male dominated occupations and from 56.8 to 61% in the female dominated occupations.

**Three: The priority attached to gender equality:**
Measures that actively promote gender equality are not needed so much in the area of training but in placing VTI graduates to jobs, since the unemployment rate of women VTI graduates is twice the rate of men graduates. Measures aiming at the desegregation by gender of VTI specialities would have negative effects on gender equality in employment rates, since employment growth is more important in the occupations corresponding to VTI specialities where women are over-represented, than in those where they are under-represented.
Anyhow, the coexistence of high unemployment rates of women VTI graduates with high employment growth rates in the female dominated occupations corresponding to VTI specialities points to intensive competition of VTI, higher technical education and 3-year technical and vocational post-obligatory education graduates over the same jobs.

Four: Impact of policy:
The proposed changes in VTI specialities are presented in a concise way in table 7. Most new specialities appear in transport and tourism, applied arts (lower secondary education graduates), construction work, the geo-technical sector, mechanics, the electrical and electronics sector, sports and culture, health and social services and applied chemistry. Yet, if we also take into consideration the abolishment of specialities, then the most privileged sectors are the following: transport and tourism, construction work, the geo-technical sector, sports and culture, applied chemistry and food and beverages. Except for the last sector, which is new, and applied chemistry where gender proportions are misleading because of the low numbers of trainees in this sector, all the other sectors are those in which male participation is higher than female. So, if the number of trainees is not augmented at the same time in the sectors with high female participation, the reform of specialities announced by OEEK is very likely to reduce the female share in new registrations to VTI training courses.

Reduced female participation to initial training results in widening of the gender gap in employment rates for two reasons. First, because the difference between male and female activity rates among upper secondary education graduates is 24.8 percentage points, whereas the same difference among VTI graduates is 13 percentage points. Second, because unemployment rates of female upper secondary education graduates are 2.5 time higher than male rates, while unemployment rates of female VTI graduates are 2 times higher.

We can therefore deduce that improving the human capital of women is not sufficient for tackling gender gaps in employment rates, but is definitely a necessary precondition. Any policy measure that directly or indirectly reduces the participation of women to education and training relative to that of men undermines progress towards gender equality in employment.

Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:
We have not been able to identify any differential impacts of the reform of VTI specialities on particular groups of women and men.

Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:
As it has been previously stated, the indirect impact of both the current state and the proposed policy is associated with competition between different groups of men and women for the same jobs, even in occupations with high employment growth when supply of labour exceeds demand. In this case, better employment
prospects for VTI graduates means higher unemployment rates for higher technical education and/or secondary education graduates.

Seven: Policy modifications:

a) Continuous monitoring of participation ratios by gender in each speciality and sector and in the corresponding occupations;

b) Adjustment of the number of available training places in different specialities to ensure that overall participation ratios by gender in initial training are equal to gender shares in unemployment of the upper secondary education graduates.

c) Pilot training courses for women in male-dominated specialities with good employment prospects and for men in female-dominated specialities in order to promote desegregation;

d) Assistance to VTI graduates in finding jobs with special focus on women.
Portugal [1]

Author(s): Maria do Pilar González

Policy Measure: Sub 21 Programme

In the Portuguese NAP 2000 (p.49) this programme is presented as follows:

The Sub-21 programme was launched in 1999 which is aimed at unemployed youngsters under 21 years of age who have not completed the 3rd cycle of basic education, or if this has been concluded, have not concluded secondary school. This programme aims to improve the school and professional qualifications of young people, strengthen the conditions whereby young people can finish 9 years of schooling and also improve social skills in a number of areas, notably oral and written communication, arithmetic, citizenship and new information and communication technologies.

It is also explicitly announced amongst its objectives, that priority will be given 'to the under-represented sex in the access to training in the different areas' (p.50)\(^{13}\).

**Brief analysis of the measure**

*Participation by gender:* the promotion of this type of policy, i.e. increasing social skills, developing education and citizenship of individuals, aims to promote their participation in the labour market but also, if the issue of Equal Opportunities is included in the topic of citizenship, it also aims to increase male participation in family life;

*Resources:* The question is, at least directly, more related to social resources in terms of human capital. There is an explicit objective of acting in the sense of equalising access to knowledge but also to act in the sense of reducing gender segregation. The fact that it is explicitly stated that priority is given to 'the under-represented sex in the different areas' is one indication of the desire to place greater importance on equality, assuming that the same importance is given to making 'male' jobs accessible to women and making 'women's' jobs more accessible to men;

*Norms and values:* the argument developed in the previous point is of crucial importance. Acting, with adequate actions, in the field of the development of

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\(^{13}\) It is worth noting that in other aspects of the presentation of the measures to be promoted under pillar I, there is some explicit reference made to women and to the importance of giving them greater incentives to guarantee equal access to training. In this respect, more clarification should be attained to allow the user of the Plan to understand the reasons why, in some cases, the gender dimension is related to a explicit reference to the under-represented sex and in others it refers explicitly to the group of women.
citizenship, and acting in terms of signalling that it is of equal social importance to ensure that women can accede to traditional male jobs as it is to ensure that men can (and must) accede to traditional female jobs, will be an important contribution towards changing norms and attitudes;

*Rights*: this type of measure acts in the sense of reinforcing the existing formal rights by clearly stating the importance agreed to equal access to training and to equal access to employment.

Applying the steps in a gender impact assessment:

**One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:**
We hope that some preliminary evaluation can be made after the publication of the indicators previewed in the NAP 2000. Under this topic it is necessary to stress the importance of having 'Indicators of results' as well as 'monitoring indicators' desegregated according to gender. Also, and again, a clear link should be stressed between this measure and the ones undertaken under pillar IV, namely those regarding the supply of information to the enterprises related to the diffusion of good practices of the reconciliation of work and family life; and those identified positive results that they show to the enterprises help to strengthen the link between the institution and the worker;

**Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:**
In training, as well as in employment, there is strong gender segregation, indicating that political action is necessary in order to correct it. Taking into account the centrality that pillar IV has on the process of promoting Equal Opportunities, explicit references on the necessary existing link between the two pillars and between the proposed measures has, in my opinion, to be more explicitly considered.

**Three: The priority attached to gender equality:**
The main link that is assumed in this measure has already been made explicit and argues that in order to act to reduce inequality, action is needed in both the labour market and the reconciliation of work and family life which consequently implies positive action regarding men as well as women.

**Four: Impact of policy:**
The major points have been presented on the previous point.

**Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:**
This measure, aimed at young people, also applies to those less favoured families, in terms of revenue, as it concerns those young people who will not remain in the educational system after secondary school.

14 From this perspective it is important to stress that the Portuguese NAP should be made more uniform. In some of the guidelines explicit reference is made to the importance of having 'Indicators of results' desegregated by gender while in other guidelines that is not the case.
Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:
Here, the most relevant element regards the importance given to the inclusion in training programmes to the issue of citizenship. The way in which those responsible for Equal Opportunities in Portuguese politics see the role of training in this area relates essentially to three dimensions: i) to give shape to the existing legislation on the area; ii) to disseminate information about the existing situation in Portugal (namely characterising the existing gender deficits); iii) to develop those areas related to learning about autonomy, including basic knowledge on domestic tasks and care.

Seven: Policy modifications:
The most important element to stress here is the importance of having access to information allowing the follow-up of the results. The reading of these indicators, together with access to the information obtained through the data basis made available by the registration of the information related to the ISERJOVEM initiative (individual follow-up of the youngsters in the process of their integration in the labour market) can help use develop a better understanding of the most relevant obstacles that prevail in terms of gender related discrepancies in terms of entering to the labour market.
Spain [1]

Author(s): María Luisa Moltó & Celia Valiente

Policy Measure: Job Training Policies.

It is necessary to provide the reader with some historical background regarding the policy area of professional training. During the Francoist period, the most important job training scheme developed in the 1960s and was managed through the Program for Professional Workers’ Promotion (Programa de Promoción Profesional Obrera, PPO). Short-term occupational courses were given in order to provide people of agrarian background with the basic skills needed to work in industries and the service sector. Agricultural workers were also trained in the use of agricultural technology. Other occupational programs, different and less important than the PPO, were also developed (Pérez-Díaz, 1995: 9; Pérez-Díaz and Rodríguez, 1994: 24).

During the transition to democracy, these job training programs languished. In 1978 the National Institute of Employment (Instituto Nacional de Empleo, INEM) was created with three main functions: to administer unemployment benefits, to be an employment agency, and to manage training courses. The PPO (which had changed its name in 1973) became part of the INEM. In practice, the INEM fulfilled its first function (managing unemployment subsidies), which was an immense task given the rising levels of unemployment. Mainly due to the small number of INEM employees, the INEM hardly performed its second function (matching job searchers and job suppliers), and the same was true for its third function (administering training programs). As a result, the number of people who attended occupational courses sank: from approximately 300,000 in 1975 to around 60,000 in 1985 (Pérez-Díaz and Rodríguez, 1994: 25).

Spain became a member of the European Community (EC) in 1986. Spanish policy-makers knew that the European Social Fund financed up to 65% of occupational training activities in EC member states, provided that member states financed the remaining part. Spanish decision makers realized that Spain would risk missing this opportunity to receive European money in the absence of a comprehensive job training policy. Therefore, in 1985 they approved a comprehensive national plan on the matter, the so-called National Plan of Professional Training and Insertion (Plan Nacional de Formación e Inserción Profesional, ‘FIP Plan’ hereafter). One of the objectives of the FIP plan was to develop occupational programs directed to some groups, among them the unemployed.

The amount of resources dedicated to job training rose immediately after the approval of the FIP plan. Public expenditure on this matter was (in monetary

15 From the mid-1930s to 1975 Spain was governed by a right-wing authoritarian regime headed by General Francisco Franco.
terms): 15,306 million pesetas in 1985; 47,710 in 1986; and 134,000 in 1989 (Fundación Encuentro, 1993: 186). The number of people taking these courses also mounted, from around 60,000 in 1985 to more than 400,000 in the early 1990s (Pérez-Díaz and Rodríguez, 1994: 25). These courses were mainly directed to the unemployed and to young people looking for their first jobs and not to people already employed (Fundación Encuentro, 1993: 187). In general, beneficiaries of job training programs had a low level of education: in the late 1980s and early 1990s approximately 50% of them had only attended compulsory school (whether having completed this level of education or not) (Fundación Encuentro, 1993: 188).

In the early 1990s it was clear that the training of workers (and not only of the unemployed or young persons searching for their first jobs) needed attention. On December 16, 1992 two pacts were signed between the state and the social partners. Up till then, the National Institute of Employment (Instituto Nacional de Empleo, INEM) was in charge of the management of training programs for the unemployed and the employed. Since then, the INEM remained responsible for the management of occupational courses for the unemployed. Courses for the employed would be managed jointly by representatives of workers and employers (but not of the state). Bipartite foundations with representatives of workers and employers were created for this purpose. The foundation at the national level was called the Foundation for the Continuous Training in the Enterprise (Fundación para la Formación Continua en la Empresa, FORCEM). The aforementioned agreements also established the promotion of on-the-job training activities in big enterprises, and in groups of small or medium enterprises (Consejo Económico y Social, 1997; Pérez-Díaz, 1994: 10).

On December 19, 1996, the state, trade unions and employers' organizations signed other three agreements. These contain the commitment to elaborate a National System of Certificates (sistema nacional de cualificaciones) to assure the validation among certificates obtained in vocational training courses, job training

16 The two 1992 pacts were: the National Agreement on Continuous Training (Acuerdo Nacional de Formación Continua) signed by trade unions and employers’ organizations; and the Tripartite Agreement on Continuous Training for the Employed (Acuerdo Tripartito en Materia de Formación Continua de los Trabajadores Ocupados) signed by the state, trade unions and employers’ organizations.

17 Although the management of occupational training for workers was transferred to the social partners, the money to finance these programs is collected by the state. As explained before, the money for all programs (whether directed to the unemployed or the employed) comes from two sources: the European Social Fund and mandatory contributions by employers and workers (0.7% of the payroll).

18 The three 1996 pacts were: the Draft Agreement on Job Training Policy (Acuerdo de Bases sobre la Política de Formación Profesional); the Second National Agreement on Continuous Training (Segundo Acuerdo Nacional de Formación Continua); and the Tripartite Agreement on Continuous Training (Acuerdo Tripartito sobre Formación Continua). The first agreement was signed by the government, the two main unions (UGT and CCOO) and employers’ organizations (CEOE and CEPYME). The second and third agreements were signed by the government, UGT, CCOO, CEOE, CEPYME and another trade union, the Confederación Intersindical Gallega (Consejo Económico y Social, 1997:249-250).
courses for the employed and for the unemployed (Consejo Económico y Social, 1997:251). The agreements also established more incentives for small companies to provide training for their workers (Consejo Económico y Social, 1997: 259). More categories of workers were included among the potential beneficiaries of on-the-job training programs including the self-employed and agricultural workers.

During the Francoist dictatorship, the state was highly centralized. During the transition to democracy, a broad process of devolution of powers from the central state to the regions (not so much to the localities) was set in motion. Responsibilities which had previously belonged to the central state, such as job training, have been transferred to some regions, for instance, to Catalonia (1991); Valencia (1992); Galicia and Andalusia (1993); and Canary Islands (1994). Thus, in the 1990s, the job training system has become more open, including new players from the regions.

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:

Participation: over the past decades, an increasing number and proportion of women had participated in job training schemes. For example, according to the Spanish 2000 NAP, 281,909 unemployed women and 226,441 unemployed men took part in job training schemes for unemployed individuals in 1999.

Resources: we have not found any specific study on the resources used to finance job training courses for women and men respectively. Nor have we found reliable primary data with which to assess the amount of money spent on occupational training received by men and women.

Norms and Values: to our knowledge, there is no specific survey on norms and values regarding gender and job training.

Rights: according to the Constitution, women and men are equal before the law. Thus, in theory, women and men have equal rights to benefit from job training. The increasing number and proportion of women enrolled in job training schemes over the past years means that barriers against women in the policy area of occupational training are not insurmountable. To our knowledge, there are no micro-studies on the access of women and men to job training in specific companies and trades. These studies are necessary in order to know whether or not there are de facto differences in the access of both sexes to occupational schemes in specific companies and trades.

Some job training courses are delivered during the workday, while many others are not. Given the division of labour within most families, women with small children have more difficulties than men with small children to participate in activities not included in the workday. Given the limitations in the provision of public childcare in

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19 In Spain, the majority of companies are very small ones: in 1995, 58% of the companies did not employ any person, 24% employed one or two people and 13% employed between 3 and 9 people (Consejo Económico y Social, 1997:258).
Spain (Valiente, 1995a), some (or many) women with family responsibilities have, in theory, the right to job training but may find it difficult to exercise this right in practice.

Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy: Independently of the effects of the job training policies proposed in the Spanish 2000 NAP, it is likely that what has been described in 'one' will also apply to the future. Women will participate in job training activities in a number and proportion not significantly smaller than men. Women with children and other family responsibilities will find it difficult to take part in occupational activities that do not take place during the workday.

Three: The priority attached to gender equality: In the Spanish 2000 NAP, job training policies which actively promote gender equality are given a considerably lower priority than job training policies which are simply gender neutral. Job training policies which actively promote gender equality are not negligible, but usually appear in pillar 4 (on gender equality) and are going to be financed with a very small amount of money. In practice, this means that job-training policies that actively promote gender equality will be programs affecting a very small number of women. Job training policies that actively promote gender equality are briefly described and assessed in the following section of this evaluation.

Gender-neutral job training policies (and not only job training policies which actively promote gender equality) can be beneficial to women. However, other gender-neutral measures can disproportionally benefit men. The Spanish 2000 NAP contains the latter type of measures. This is the case of job training schemes targeted at workers with family responsibilities. For instance, pillar 1 (guidelines 3 and 4) describes an Insertion Program of Active Income (Programa de Renta Activa de Insersión), which will offer training and other active labour market programs and income to 90,000 long-term unemployed people older than 45 with family responsibilities whose right to receive unemployment benefits has been exhausted. These people tend to be male bread-winners. This is the reason why women’s departments within the main trade unions have criticised labour market policies in general (and not only job training policies) targeted to workers with family responsibilities. Women's departments within the main trade unions have instead demanded programs targeted to any type of worker.

Four: Impact of policy: The following six job training measures of the Spanish 2000 NAP include references to gender and are assessed now. Generally speaking, we value these specific references to gender positively, and consider that these measures (if de

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20 In order to understand the position of women's departments within the main trade unions regarding job training policies, we have exhaustively consulted all articles on women's matters on all issues of Unión and Gaceta Sindical in the last two decades. Unión and Gaceta Sindical are the periodical journals of the General Workers' Union and the Workers' Commissions respectively.
facto applied) will help to erode gender inequality. However, we consider negatively that at times: a specific budget is not clearly associated with the concrete measures; that numerical targets are not specified (for instance, how many women will be the beneficiaries of a given scheme); and that some measures are of pilot nature (being financed with a very limited budget and affecting a very small number of women).

- The Spanish 2000 NAP declares that women will participate in active labour market policies (which include job training) according to their presence in unemployment (pilar 1, guidelines 1 and 2; pilar 4, guideline 18). We assess this goal positively for two reasons. First, job training can be a tool to combat unemployment, which disproportionately affects Spanish women. Second, this is a numerical goal, and it will therefore be easy to evaluate after the implementation of the Plan.

- The Spanish 2000 NAP states that job training in companies will be preferentially directed to groups of workers likely to be expelled from the labour market, such as older workers, women, and low-qualified workers (pilar 1, guidelines 5, 6, 7 and 8). However, there is no numerical target specified for this goal. This means that this may end up being a symbolic declaration.

- The Spanish 2000 NAP declares that special attention will be given to job training for people who re-enter the labour market (pilar 4, introductory paragraph). Presumably, the majority of these people are women. Later on, this target is repeated in more concrete terms, for instance, in the commitment to dedicate 484 million pesetas (2.91 million euros) to programs of training and orientation of people who re-enter the labour market in the cities and the countryside (pilar 4, guideline 21). However, the amount of money dedicated to the program is small. Generally speaking, this tends to be the case of the policies which actively promote gender equality (in any policy area in Spain, and not only regarding job training in the Spanish 2000 NAP). As a result, policies which actively promote gender equality tend to have an experimental nature, and consist in pilot projects put in practice during a short time span which affect a very low number of women.

- The Spanish 2000 NAP affirms that people who are on leave from work because of family responsibilities (for instance, taking care of a child) can participate in job training programs in companies on equal terms as people working. We assess this commitment positively, since it will allow some women to gain useful skills to re-enter the labour market. However, attention should be paid to the de facto implementation of this measure in order to find whether it is in fact applied or not (and therefore becomes a symbolic declaration of principles, with no real beneficial effects for women).

- The Spanish 2000 NAP affirms that 903 million pesetas (5.4 million euros) will be dedicated to active labour market policies oriented towards two aims: i) to
foster female entrepreneurship and; ii) to encourage women to learn skills in the field of new technologies. The acquisition of these skills will make possible the diversification of women's professional options (pillar 4, guideline 19). We value in positive terms this measure, although given the small amount of money dedicated to it, this measure will be another pilot program affecting very few women.

- The Spanish 2000 NAP includes the commitment to continue job training and orientation programs directed to lone mothers with family responsibilities (pillar 4, guideline 21). There is not any specific budget allocated for this measure, nor any numerical target (for example, how many women are going to participate in these training and orientation activities). Therefore, there is a potential risk that this measure is finally not implemented.

Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:

**Ethnic minority groups**: the main ethnic community in Spain is the gypsy community. It is likely that gypsy women benefit less than non-gypsy women from job training policies included in the Spanish 2000 NAP, because gypsy women participate in the labour market to a much lower extent than non-gypsy women, and because there is not any job training program specifically directed to the gypsy community.

**Parents or non parents**: it is probable that 'non-parents' will benefit more than parents with small children from job training programs that take place after the work day, since there is no child care associated to job training schemes.

**Age groups**: in general, younger cohorts of women are significantly more educated than older cohorts of women. Younger cohorts of women participate in the labour market to a remarkably higher extent than older cohorts of women. For these two reasons and other things equal, younger women will probably benefit more than job training schemes in the Spanish 2000 NAP than older women (although the Spanish 2000 NAP declares that special attention will be paid to job training of people specially vulnerable to be expelled from the labour market, such as older workers).

**Educational groups**: what has been said regarding age groups also applies to educational groups. Broadly speaking, the higher the level of education of women, the higher their likelihood to participate in the labour market (as employed or as unemployed individuals). Thus, women with high levels of education will probably benefit more from job training policies in the Spanish 2000 NAP than women with low levels of education.

**Those in work and those out of work**: for the reasons already described, women in the labour market (whether employed or officially registered as unemployed) will benefit from job training schemes included in the Spanish 2000 NAP. Women who are not employed and are not officially registered as unemployed are considered in
public policy terms as people outside the labour market. Job training policies are not targeted to people who do not participate in the labour market.

*Handicapped workers, immigrants, and returning emigrants:* Pilar 1, guideline 9, is dedicated to handicapped workers, immigrants, and returning emigrants. Guideline 9 refers, among other programs, to job training schemes. Thus, in principle, handicapped women, and female immigrants and emigrants can benefit from these schemes.

**Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:**
The impact on children of both the current state of gender inequalities regarding job training and the proposed job training policies in the Spanish 2000 NAP is extremely indirect. In principle, if job training allows women (and men) to be better qualified and have better jobs, this could be translated into an improvement of the economic situation of their children. However, given the high rate of unemployment in Spain, and the surplus of potential workers in many (but not all) occupations and trades in comparison with the available jobs, people with more training find difficult to find better jobs.

**Seven: Policy modifications:**
From what has been stated in this report, the following recommendations are made regarding job training policies in future NAPs:

1. Apparently gender-neutral measures that *de facto* tend to benefit a significantly higher number and proportion of men should be eliminated, reduced or compensated with measures that tend to benefit women. An example of the former are job training programs directed to long-term unemployed individuals with family responsibilities, older than 45 years, and whose right to receive unemployment subsidies has been exhausted. An example of the latter type of policy is job-training schemes for people on leave from the labour market because of family responsibilities.
2. Job training measures which do not have a budget associated to them should be avoided.
3. Job training measures which are not accompanied by numerical targets should also be avoided.
4. Pilot programs (of an experimental nature, financed with a very limited budget, of a short-term duration and without continuity in time, and affecting a small number of women) are important devices for policy makers to learn how to construct more efficient gender equality policies. However, while it may be reasonable that some job training policies which actively promote gender equality are of a pilot nature, this should not be the general rule.
5. The evaluation of the job training measures included in the Spanish 2000 National Plan should be made with statistics desegregated by sex for all job-training programs. This evaluation (or at least part of it) will presumably be a part of Spanish 2001 NAP, since the first part of the Spanish 2000 NAP is a symmetric evaluation of the implementation of the 1999 Spanish NAP.
References
Sweden [2]

Author(s): Lena Gonäs

Policy Measure: Adult Education Initiative.

This programme started July 1, 1997 and was planned as a five-year activity. In the Governmental Bill suggesting this programme the objective was stated as a means to increase the general educational level among the part of the population that needed this most (Governmental Bill 1995/96: 222). The target group was those unemployed persons who totally or partially lacked three years of upper secondary education. Also those who lacked this educational level were allowed to take part and thirdly other adult students. This action was, in part, meant to develop new forms for adult education, and after five years the plan was that it could be followed by a new adult education system. One of the motives of the government for this action was, of course, the high unemployment level and education was seen as one of the tools for reaching the government’s target of reducing the open unemployment level to 4% by the year 2000. Another objective of the Bill was to increase the possibilities and preconditions for economic growth.

A special educational grant was introduced SUB, (särskilt utbildningsbidrag) which gave the unemployed the possibility for up to one year to study their compulsory or upper secondary education. The grant was on the same level as the unemployment benefit (A-kassa /KAS). Employed women and men, aged between 25 and 55 and with more than five years of full or part-time employment were also eligible. One pre-condition in this case was that the social partners on local level had made an agreement where the employer promised to take in one long term unemployed person enlisted at the local branch of the Labour Market Board, the Labour Market Exchange, as a substitute.

This action for increased adult education also was meant to affect the open unemployment level and ease the possibilities to reach Government’s unemployment goal of 4% in the year 2000. This could be done in two ways: either by getting those who were unemployed into education or by getting the unemployed into a job as a substitute, while the ordinary staff was in training.

It is important to say that at the same time as the Adult education programme started, the labour market programmes for unemployed decreased, as did the labour market training (SOU 1999: 39). The programme was a way of restructuring adult education policy and labour market policy by linking them together. This has also meant that it is extremely difficult to make an assessment of what has actually happened. The School Administration Board is the agency that evaluates the effects of the programme. However, the Board has decided to report on the whole adult education system and has merged the Adult Education Programme with the traditional Adult Education, with the consequence that it is,
in principal, impossible the evaluate this programme, the largest education effort in decades. The reasons for this difficulty are that it is difficult for the local municipalities to report reliable data as the goal as been to integrate the different types of adult education, what is more, the governmental grants do not give any motivation for reporting the Adult Education Programme separately. Further, the Board reports on the number of course participants and points achieved in total, but this is not based on the single individual's educational activities. This means that it is very hard to make an estimation of the effects of the programme from an economic, labour market or societal perspective. When the Governmental Committee on the Adult Education wanted to make a summary of its work they had to ask Statistics Sweden to support them with individually based data.

The proportion of women in adult education is around two thirds. Between 1997 and 1998 there was a slight increase in the proportion of women. During the spring of 1997, women constituted 66% of those in the upper secondary education level of adult education, in total, 87,000 women. When the Adult Education Programme started in the fall of 1997 the proportion of women increased to 67% on that level, including 124,500 women. During 1998 data suggests that women have increased their proportion to 68%. According to an external evaluation made by the Department of Economics at the University of Umeå, the proportion of women in adult education is very different from the proportion of women in labour market policy measures or their proportion of the open unemployed (see following table).

Table 1. Proportion of women and men (Fall 1997) among students in adult education, unemployed and participants in Labour Market Education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult education</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Market Education</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SOU 1999: 39: 101

Women have a high presence in the adult education system and the specific program for those unemployed or threatened to become unemployed did not change that pattern. Looking into the types of courses women and men follow in the adult education, women primarily follow courses in different fields related to care. Physics is one of the few subjects where men are in the majority, but, for example, in computer knowledge, 57% of all students are women. During 1998 the proportion of men decreased in fields related to care and social science. It is obvious that the traditional gender patterns are not broken by adult education. The competence level in the labour force is increased by the gendered structure of education and does not seem to change much. One issue is, of course, computer training and information technology. This material does not say anything about the level of the courses. The sub-report from Jämít (the Gender Equality Council for Transportation an IT), suggests that the educational
approach at all levels from compulsory education to universities and institutes of technology, should be changed so that it is generally based on a philosophy of gender equality (SOU 2000: 58). Suggestions are also made on teaching materials and teachers training.

The merger of adult education and labour market policy education and training has to be analysed further moving on to any further evaluation of what has happened. What is obvious is that the system of education for the adult population has changed and the ways of evaluating these changes are still unclear. There are no suitable or reliable ways of evaluating what has happened to those unemployed women and men starting adult education and leaving unemployment benefit and getting other types of benefit.

The potential impact of the Adult Education Initiative or Programme is the increased competence level in the labour force, specifically among women as they constitute two thirds of the students. The proportion of women increases with age among the students in adult education. This might increase the possibilities for women to change career pattern during their working life, but as the traditional patterns seems to be manifest in the choice of education, the result might be more of increasing competence rather than to change occupational field. This is something that we need to know more about. Do the policies of long learning and skill development lead to changes in the gender segregation in the labour market? Or do they just manifest an already existing pattern? Is it possible to use adult education and a more active way to change gendered educational and occupational choices?

I have, very briefly, touched upon important matters which need much more elaborated. I hope to continue to work on the Adult Education programme and consider how it has functioned in a couple of local labour markets. Due to the confusion concerning the methods for follow up and the statistics needed it will take some time to do this.

Concerning the ways and policies of mainstreaming it is clear that there are very obvious risks that the different employment policies will cement gender segregation if no action is taken to counter this. This means that the policies need to have a clear objective to tackle gender divisions, and that those performing activities in relation to different policies need to be aware of these risks and have a clear mandate to act against them. Awareness training is insufficient to actively support changes in gender divisions at any level and in every area of the labour market and the education system.

References
GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Tax & Benefit Policies


Netherlands [1]

Author(s): Janneke Plantenga

Policy Measure: The revision of income tax 2001 process.

In September 1999, draft legislation for the new Income Tax Act was submitted to the lower house of the Dutch Parliament, together with draft legislation governing its implementation. These bills represent the core of a major revision of the Dutch taxation system known as The Revision of Taxation 2001 process. The proposed legislation aims to create a robust taxation system with a broader base and lower rates. More concrete, the objectives of the revision of the taxation system include:

- stimulation of employment opportunities, and strengthening of the Netherlands economic structure and international competitive edge;
- reduction of the burden of taxation on labour;
- promotion of sustainable economic development (‘greening’);
- creation of a balanced and just burden of taxation;
- broadening and strengthening of the taxation base, through reduced and amended deductions;
- promotion of emancipation and economic independence;
- simplification of the taxation system.

The bills were accepted by the Lower House of the Dutch Parliament on February 2000 and have been ratified by the Upper House in May. It is intended that the new Income Tax Act will come into effect on 1 January 2001.

Designing a new taxation system is a major operation, which covers not only taxes on wage, but also savings and investments, wealth, home ownership, exceptional expenses, travelling costs etc. In order to do justice to the available time and pages, this report will only focus on the headlines of new wage and income taxation.

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
Current Dutch taxation is characterised by a so-called progressive graded system based on income brackets with a basic allowance. In principle, the system treats men and women as individuals. However, in cases of marriage or cohabitation, the non-active partner is allowed to transfer the unused part of the allowance to the breadwinner. This transferable allowance provides a reinforcement of the breadwinner role and may discourage the labour market participation of women, especially at the lower wage levels. The breadwinner allowance is also a clear indication of the prevailing norms and values with regard to the most desirable division of paid and unpaid work. As a result of the transferable tax free allowance, the fiscal support for a traditional breadwinner family is estimated at approx. NLG 7bn (Bekkering & Jansweyer, 1998). As such, the fiscal regime can be seen as one of the many (financial, cultural and social) obstacles in the way of a more balanced distribution of paid and unpaid work. The unequal division of paid and unpaid work
translates into an unequal division of (monetary) *recourses*. In 1998, only 38% of all women aged 15-64 were financially independent (defined as earning an income which equals 70% of the statutory minimum wage), compared to 67% of men. For women with children the percentages are even lower.

**Two: Trends in women and men's position independent of the policy:**
During the last decades, women's labour market behaviour in the Netherlands has been highly 'dynamic'. Their labour market participation has risen, partly as a result of the favourable economic situation. The traditional division between 'caretaker' and 'breadwinner' is no longer taken as a given and men and women are searching for new forms of sharing with regard to labour and care. At the same time, the actual changes in the division of paid and unpaid work are rather disappointing and seem to refer particularly to highly educated and autochthonous women. Among lower educated and allochthonous women the changes are considerably less. Another point for concern is that Dutch society is transforming rather quickly, not into a dual earner society, but, rather, into a one-and-a-half-earner society; and there are large differences between women and men with regard to working times. This development is highly influenced by government policy. In the Netherlands, an explicit policy in terms of childcare facilities and/or leave arrangements, has developed slowly. This lack of an explicit care policy appears to be compensated by a working time policy geared to individualised arrangements. The result of this strategy, in terms of equal opportunities, however, seems dubious. A policy focus on working time without a complementary policy of care seems insufficient to achieve a certain level of gender equity in terms of work, income and care.

**Three: The priority attached to gender equality:**
The new Dutch tax system implies a clear break with the current system that still contains breadwinner perks such as the transferable tax free allowance. In contrast, the new tax system is individualised. The transferable tax-free allowance will disappear and will be replaced by the levy rebate ('heffingskorting'). Because the rebate is independent of the incremental tax rate, non-working partners will find it more attractive to seek paid employment under the new system.

The individualisation of the tax system should be seen as a real step forward, both from a practical point of view (the disincentive for secondary workers (mostly women) is abolished) and from an ideological point of view (the fiscal regime no longer reflects traditional (breadwinner) notions about society). In this respect, the transformation of the fiscal system fits into a broader agenda in which there is a clear emphasis on increasing the level of participation. All too obvious disincentives, should be abolished and replaced by (at least) a neutral incentive scheme.

The emphasis on increasing the participation rate is also obvious from the introduction of the employment rebate, which has been introduced for all employed and self-employed persons. Due to the sophisticated structure of the specifications, this employment rebate is an increasing percentage of disposable income until
approximately the minimum wage. This creates an incentive to seek and take up work, especially at the lower income levels.

The focus on individualisation and in 'making work pay', is not, however, based on a broader analyses of the changing position of men and women in society, let alone on a clear view on the gender equality deficit. Obviously, labour market implications are taken into account, and there is a strong focus on increasing the participation rate, but the analysis does not go beyond the traditional boundaries of employment policy. More specifically, the combination of work and care hardly gets any attention in the new proposals, which seems a clear case of 'missed opportunities' (see: Dierx et al. 1999).

The former taxation system, through the transferable tax-free allowance, created time and money for (full-time) care. This marriage relief was a rather 'blunt' instrument, however, where the facilitation of specific care activities was concerned. Essentially, the transferral system was based exclusively on the presence of a dependent partner, regardless of whether the partner looked after the children or not. As a result, a major part of the funding involved in provisions for breadwinners found its way to (older) married couples without children living at home. By gradually converting their provisions into direct support for households with children, government could have adopted a more positive attitude towards labour market participation of both men and women. Instead, in the new tax reforms, the revenues of abolishing the tax-free allowance are recycled to the private sector through the general levy rebate and a reduction in the marginal tax rates. That is, the revenues are used for an overall lowering of the taxes. Only after pressure of the parliament, the child rebate and the combination rebate were introduced. The combination rebate implies a tax advantage for working parents with children under the age of 12. Although the financial advantage is limited, the actual introduction of a reduction for task combiners is an important break through within Dutch society.

Four: Impact of policy:
Given the changed incentive structure, an increased participation rate of women seems likely. Depending on actual changes, this will have a positive effect on a more equal sharing of paid work and the revenues of paid work, however, major labour market implications are not expected. The restriction on income neutrality implies that the consequences for the labour market are not, presumably, very large, neither in terms of persons nor in terms of hours worked. In addition, one of the most important obstacles towards a higher participation rate of women, i.e. the cost of childcare, is not addressed. As a result, the potential impact of the proposed changes in terms of participation and resources will be limited.

Further, large changes in the division of unpaid work are unlikely. Indeed, the combination rebate, although important, can be criticised as a too general instrument. In order not to complicate the implementation of the rebate, every working parent with a child under 12 receives this rebate, that is: also the traditional
The single earner breadwinner household is eligible for this rebate. The only difference with a dual-earner household is that in that case both parents are eligible.

**Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:**
The tax reform aims at increasing the labour supply in general and low skilled labour in particular. Statistics indicate that the participation rate remains low, particularly amongst low educated women. There is also evidence that lower educated women are over-represented amongst employees with small part-time jobs (12-19 hours) and the gendered nature of the lower end of the labour market is not taken into account. General policy, by focusing on lowering the replacement rate, is supposed to effect the participation rate of both men and women.

Single mothers are another important category. The Netherlands is one of the few countries in which the participation rate of single mothers is below the participation rate of mothers in two parent families (see Bussemaker et al. 1997). Since 1996, due to a restructuring of the system of social security, single mothers are also obliged to work, or at least to apply for work. A general exception is made, however, for a parent who has to care for one or more children under five. In the tax system, the specific position of single parents and the importance attached to paid work is underlined by the single parent rebate and the supplementary single parent rebate. Single parents who are responsible for children under 27 are eligible for the single parent rebate. Single parents who have an income and have a child under 12, are also eligible for the supplementary single parent rebate. This rebate is calculated at the rate of 1.94% of the income earned outside the home, up to a maximum of 1206 Euro.

**Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:**
A fiscal system, in a very concrete way, changes the incentive structure with regard to paid work. In a more indirect way, the fiscal system also sends out signals about the most optimal (profitable) division of paid and unpaid work. The former fiscal system actively supported the breadwinner model. The new system is more neutral in this respect. However, given the fact that a levy rebate is granted to every citizen, independent of the actual labour market status, the new system might be criticised as not being explicit enough. If labour market participation is seen as an important element of participatory citizenship, then labour market participation should be taken as point of departure. A common element of both the old and the new fiscal system is that a carer (a woman) should have the right to say 'no' to the labour market. An alternative system would start from the opposite, namely the employee who in some cases has the right to say 'yes' to (full-time) care. At this time, however, a complete re-thinking of this principle in fiscal terms, is seen as a bridge too far.

**Seven: Policy modifications:**
Tax systems are often complex in their structure and consequences. Taxes are primarily an instrument for raising revenues, but the fiscal system can also be a policy tool in other areas, including equal opportunities. Within the Netherlands, the
equal opportunities movement has strongly criticised the 'old' system as creating a disincentive for secondary workers (mostly women) relative to an individual system. With the Revision of taxation 2001 this battle has been won: the transferable tax-free allowance will disappear and will be replaced by an individualised levy rebate. However, the impact of the perceived policy changes are presumably relatively small, particularly as the emphasis on income neutrality means that major effects in terms of income or substitution are not predictable.

This opens up a new debate which focuses on the fundamental goals of the fiscal regime. Quite apart from collecting revenues, the question seems to be whether the fiscal regime should be geared towards income security or towards labour market participation. In the Dutch case the answer is clearly in favour of income security (although labour market implications have been taken into account). The levy rebate, for example, is not connected to income earned outside the home (see, also, the previous section. One of the suggestions of the equal opportunities movement has been to connect this rebate with earning an income or at least to being available for the labour market (see Dierx et al. 1999). In this proposal the general levy rebate would merge with the employment rebate. Presumably, the labour market implications of this regime would be far more positive than the current revision. At the same time, the rights to childcare should be firmly established by additional policy measures, such as, for example, leave arrangements. This refers to a more general debate about the division of responsibilities between the individual, the market and the state. Basically the question is which behaviour should be 'rewarded' by the fiscal regime and which should be 'punished'. The Revision of Taxation 2001 has made a small step towards answering that question, but the debate is far from over.

References:
The Working Families Tax Credit (WFTC) is designed to overcome some of the perceived problems of low participation in paid work associated with the twin problems of moving off benefits into work and the low wage levels available to those who are on benefits (Gregg and Wadsworth, 1995; Gregg et al. 1999a). Making work pay has been one of the major objectives of the new Labour government. While the National Minimum Wage has a role to play in this strategy, the government has placed more emphasis on making work pay, not through raising wages but through providing more generous in work benefits to those in work with childcare responsibilities and by providing a smoother transition between reliance on benefits and entry into paid work. WFTC replaces the existing Family Credit in work benefit system; the main differences between the two schemes are:

- a) a more generous level of in work benefits, providing higher subsidies and to those in households with higher levels of income
- b) a lower rate of withdrawal of benefits (reduced from 70% to 55%)
- c) more extensive and generous allowances for childcare costs
- d) payment as a tax credit rather than as a benefit and as a result, payment through the wage packet rather than to the carer unless otherwise specified by the household.

The policy is designed to move households off welfare and into work; there is no explicit gender equality objective, but the development of childcare credits and the focus on moving single parents into work has been cited by the government as evidence of their commitment to women’s employment. In its discussion document on modernising Britain’s tax and benefit system, the Treasury acknowledged the important role of women’s employment in couple as well as lone parent households in helping families and children move out of poverty (HM Treasury November 1999) but the impact of WFTC on women’s employment did not form part of the analysis. As with all policies aimed at households, the likelihood of differential effects by gender is very strong. Our aim here it to identify the likely gender effects, using both a priori analysis of the different position of men and women in the labour market and drawing on the existing evaluations of WFTC, carried out by other bodies, providing gender disaggregated data.

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:

*Participation:* Overall, women have a lower participation in employment than do men. However, the focus of the policy is to reduce the number of households dependent on welfare; thus the major perceived policy problem was not the low
employment rate of women but the rising share of ‘work poor households’. Unemployed breadwinners, most of whom were either male heads of couple households or female single parents were perceived as being excluded from entering the labour market, firstly, because of the high risks associated with moving off benefits. These risks include, not only potential loss of income where benefits pay more than the job, but also the risk of losing entitlements to benefits if the job proves unsatisfactory and the job taker is deemed to have quit the labour market voluntarily. The second barrier to entry is the low level of pay (both hourly pay and part-time hours) associated with the jobs available to the unemployed. Most new jobs were seen as being taken by those in households with already someone in work, i.e. mainly married women, and this trend was identified by the government as a policy failure. As such, the lower integration of women in the labour market was not taken to be a problem unless they were in workless households. Women’s individual right to seek employment was not seen as a policy priority.

*Resources:* Second income earners were discouraged under the previous in-work benefits system (Family Credit) both by the high rate of marginal tax on second earners (70%) and by the absence of significant help with childcare costs. However, Family Credit was paid direct to the main carer, a policy which increased women’s direct access to income even if the overall system discouraged their participation in wage work. This discouragement to participation, however, has long term implications for women’s access to income and to pension entitlements: the problems apply to lone parents as well as to women in partnerships.

*Norms and values:* Family Credit was considered to be insufficient to overcome male prejudice over taking on low paid and/or part-time jobs, deemed more suitable for women. Minimum reservation wages for men in couple households have been found to be higher than for female lone parents or wives (Marsh and McKay, 1993). Gender segregation in the labour market has therefore tended to be preserved despite high unemployment among men, which might be expected to increase competition in the low-wage segments. Childcare costs remain primarily an obstacle to women’s participation as they are seen as a charge against women’s current earnings and not as either a joint responsibility nor as a necessary cost (or form of investment) to maintain links with the labour market.

*Rights:* Individual rights to enter or to remain in work or to have an independent income were compromised by a household based benefit system which restricted entitlements to retain earned income to very low levels of £5 per person or £10 per household. However, within the taxation system the principle of independence has been established, a principle potentially jeopardised by the development of WFTC.
Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:
Employment rates of lone parents and among female partners of the non-employed have been a source of policy concern as they are low by international standards and are associated with the growth of workless households (see table 1 for employment rates of mothers by family type and age of youngest child). Lone parent employment rates have fallen since the 1970s (from 66% in 1979 to 44% in 1998) but had been rising prior to WFTC but by a lower rate than the rise in mothers’ employment in couple households (Moss et al. 1999). The share of the population of workless households rose from 10.9% in 1981 to 17.9% in 1998 (Gregg et al. 1999a)

Three: The priority attached to gender equality:
The main objective of the government is to reduce work poor households and to reduce child poverty, not to promote gender equality: mothers’ employment appears to be seen in positive light by Treasury primarily as it assists in removing children from poverty. Two factors suggest a low priority to gender equality; there is little or no attention to the impact of WFTC on incentives to participate for women in couple households, nor is the situation of lone mothers once their children reach the age of 18 addressed.

Four: Impact of policy:
Participation: Table 2 shows the considerable rise in the number of claims under WFTC compared to Family Credit: an increase of over 25% between August 1999 and February 2000, with the WFTC coming on line in October 1999. The largest rise over this time period has been in couple household claimants, but taking the period 1997 to 2000 there has been a 50% increase in lone parent households receiving in work benefits and only a 20% increase in couple households. Lone parent households now constitute more than half of all claimants. Table 3 shows that among lone parent claimants the female share is 96% while among couple households only 21% have the female partner as the main earner. Overall among the couple household claimants less than 15% have both partners in work (table 4), but we do not have data on the distribution of working partners by male or female main earner categories. If we assume that all the households where both partners work have male main breadwinners, we could estimate that out of the couple households, around 36% of the female partners are in work. This represents the upper limit. This corresponds to the overall employment rate for mothers with a non working partner, much below the share of all mothers in couples who are in employment at 69% (see table 1). WFTC may therefore be helping the non working male partner into work but this process does not alleviate the disincentive effects on the second partner moving into the labour market.

There has also been a notable rise on the share claiming childcare credits, from 40.5 thousand in 1999 to 96.6 thousand in 2000 (table 5). The majority of claims are made by lone parents, both under the old and under the new system, but the greater opportunity for couple households to claim under WFTC is evident in the
rise from 1.4 to 9.1 thousand households between 1999 and 2000, while claims by lone parent households rose from 39.1 thousand to 87.2 thousand.

While there is some data on claimants, assessment of the impact on participation rates in employment must still rely on model building for the effects, as there is not yet sufficient information related to actual impact. According to estimates by the Institute for Fiscal Studies, the WFTC reform is likely to bring between 29 and 34 thousand female lone parents into the labour market and between 11 and 15 thousand currently inactive female partners of the unemployed. However, at the same time it is likely to lead to the withdrawal from the labour market of 20 to 29 thousand women currently in work but in households where the man is already in employment (see table 6). Although the IFS has identified this potential negative impact of WFTC on women in married couples, they state that as the aim of the policy was to reduce workless households, this effect would probably be regarded as less important than the positive impact on lone parents and spouses of the non-employed (Blundell and Reed 1999). The two main models shown in the table differ in their estimates of the impact of WFTC on male participation in households where the man’s partner is working. This is because Gregg et al.’s (1999b) model only considered entry to employment not exits. The relatively high decline in male participation in Blundell et al.’s (1998) model reflects an assumption that men will also respond to incentives to leave the labour market brought in by WFTC when their partner is in work. However, it is a point of debate whether males are likely to withdraw voluntarily from the labour market and allow their spouse to be the main earner simply in response to these incentives. Even if it were more beneficial for the man to leave as the lower earner, this might not be the behaviour in practice. Overall tax disincentives to participation are likely to have a more significant impact on women, particularly as the non-working spouse would be responsible for childcare and the childcare credit is not available to couples where only one person is in work.

Resources: With respect to the value of WFTC awards, there is evidence of somewhat higher awards on average to female lone parent households and to couple households where the main earner is female (see table 4). These higher awards are likely to reflect the large gap between earnings and income needs in these households and not because of a more generous treatment for these households. Indeed there is strong evidence that households headed by women are likely to be treated less generously on average than male headed couple households or male single parent households. That is because the latter are much more likely than the former to receive an extra credit for one person working for at least 30 hours per week. Three fifths of households receiving these extra credits are headed by men, while overall these households only account for around 40% of all claimant households. This thirty hour credit appears to discriminate against those who can only participate between 16 and 30 hours in the labour market, a category to which most lone parents are likely to belong. Moreover couple households are not allowed to pool their hours of work to qualify for the additional credit; there are thus built-in resource disincentives for dual,
part-time working in the WFTC system (Women's Budget Group, 1999; Kelly, 2000). Overall there is some evidence that the whole package of benefit changes including the introduction of WFTC, has led to more resources being directed towards women in the economy (Sutherland, 2000). Nevertheless there may be some longer-term costs associated with this redistribution. A critical question must be the effect of more generous in-work benefits on the dynamics of wages at the bottom end of the labour market. If employers become increasingly familiar with the effects of WFTC and assume that those taking low paid jobs can rely on the government to provide additional income subsidies there may be increasing unwillingness to improve pay at the lower end of the scale. This could have negative consequences for the gender pay gap as many women are in low paid jobs but are not eligible for WFTC. Moreover, the major benefits for lone parents are held to derive from the reintegration of groups such as lone parents into the labour market, to provide a basis for the development of skills and the long term escape from poverty and social exclusion. However, even government ministers are beginning to be concerned that current policies for one parents focus simply on getting lone parents into work and do not pay enough attention to providing the training and other resources needed to turn that employment opportunity into the basis of an employment career. Instead many lone parents return to unemployment and inactivity as jobs prove unstable, unsatisfactory or incompatible with childcare (Guardian 7.9.2000).

Norms and values: The availability of childcare credits may help to facilitate women’s return to the labour market as childcare costs are often seen by households as a charge against women’s earnings, thereby inhibiting women’s participation. However, within WFTC a non-working spouse would have to take responsibility for childcare and childcare credits would not be available. This may prevent women in non-working households from taking the initiative in moving the household off benefits and into work, with support form WFTC, as their male partners would be required to supply the childcare. WFTC, in principle, should allow men to take low paid/part-time jobs but these jobs may still not be acceptable to men. The decision to move from Family Credit to WFTC was, in part, related to an attempt to overcome prejudice against receipt of benefits; under WFTC recipients receive tax credits not benefits. This, however, has the consequence of changing the main recipient from the main care-giver to the main wage earner, unless couples opt for a different arrangement.

Rights: The introduction of WFTC raises some issues for rights related to equality. First of all, the switch form Family Credit to WFTC takes money taken from the carer as a right and gives it to the wage earner unless the couple opts for a different distribution. Secondly, the WFTC is based on household income assessment, thereby effectively contravening the right to independent taxation. Independent assessment has never been recognised in the benefits system, so that WFTC may be seen as following in that tradition, but as WFTC affects a larger share of households than Family Credit, the whole principle of independent taxation could be said to now be compromised for low income households.
Another right, which may be challenged through the introduction of WFTC in combination with other measures, is the right for lone parents and other parents to choose to provide care rather than enter the labour market. So far, entry into the labour market has remained voluntary for lone parents, but WFTC, combined with the New Deal for lone parents under which lone parents claiming benefits are required to attend an interview for advice and information on employment issues, places considerable pressure on lone parents to consider entering the labour market. There are widespread concerns that further moves towards compulsion, certainly once children are at school, may follow.

Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:
Table 1 highlights the impact on participation rates of different groups of women depending upon their status as lone parents or as spouses of working or non-working partners. The positive effects in drawing lone parents and partners of non-working men into the labour market are effectively held to offset the negative consequences for participation rates among women with working partners.

Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:
The indirect or long term effects on both gender equality and the welfare of children depend on the take-up of benefits, on reactions to the disincentive effects of the benefits, on the impact of changes in intra-household income distribution and on the responses by employers in the labour market. More generous benefits, combined with a high take up rate, could reduce the share of children in poverty, but these gains could be offset in whole or in part if the transfer of income from purse to wallet leads to less money being spent on children (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 1998). A high take up of WFTC might be expected to break the cycle of deprivation, but this will not be the case if, first of all, the system jeopardises the provision of appropriate care for children and/or if entry into jobs through WFTC does not in practice lead to stable good employment. If employers respond to wage subsidies by reducing rates in low paid segments there could be a long-term reinforcement of gender pay gap and gender income differences. However, gender segregation in part-time and low paid work could reduce as WFTC provides the basis for men to accept these types of jobs even when they have family responsibilities.

Seven: Policy modifications:
Some policy modifications have already been proposed by the government: this includes developing an integrated child credit which will provide both cash benefits and help with childcare and will be available to all low income households, payable to the main carer. This reduces the problem that WFTC is paid to the wage earner not the carer. This provides in fact an example of policy modification where criticisms of a policy from a gender perspective - made in particular by the Women’s Budget Group, a lobby group consisting primarily of academics - have been listened to and are likely to be acted upon if the government remains in power. Another modification, which is also being proposed, is to extend WFTC system to couples without children. This would
effectively mean that the main groups who work in low paid jobs, who would not be eligible for in work benefits, are young people and students, because of a likely age cut off and those with a working partner, because of household means testing. This latter group would be primarily married women. This policy is therefore likely to further polarise the position of women on the labour market. The analysis of the policy from a gender perspective, as presented here, would argue against such an extension and indeed would argue for monitoring of the effects of the current policy on both the gender pay gap and on participation rates, disaggregated by groups. It is also clear that the gender equality perspective at a minimum requires in work benefits to be combined with policies to significantly raise the minimum wage as it is only in this way that individuals can be offered a minimum guaranteed reward for their own labour.

References
Guardian 7.9.2000 ‘Hodge urges Labour to return to traditional agenda’.
Women’s Budget Group (1999) *Commentary on the Pre-Budget Report ‘Stability and Steady Growth for Britain’*. 
Table 1: Mothers’ employment rates by age of youngest child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment rate by age of youngest child, %</th>
<th>Lone mother</th>
<th>All mothers in couples</th>
<th>Mothers with working partner</th>
<th>Mothers with non-working partner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 to 1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to 4</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 10</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 to 15</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Household LFS, Spring 1998 (HM Treasury 1999)

Table 2: WFTC and FC (Family Credit) awards by family type- Great Britain (thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All cases</th>
<th>Couples</th>
<th>Lone parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 1997</td>
<td>733.5</td>
<td>397.9</td>
<td>335.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1998</td>
<td>760.5</td>
<td>390.9</td>
<td>369.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1999</td>
<td>789.1</td>
<td>388.7</td>
<td>400.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1999</td>
<td>786.4</td>
<td>379.1</td>
<td>407.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1999</td>
<td>930.9</td>
<td>448.8</td>
<td>482.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2000</td>
<td>988.9</td>
<td>479.8</td>
<td>509.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Inland Revenue (2000)

Table 3: Family type by employment status, average size of award and recipients of 30 hour credits (thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Self employed</th>
<th>Employ -ees</th>
<th>Average size of award £</th>
<th>Number receiving 30 hour credit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>1025.5</td>
<td>140.8</td>
<td>884.7</td>
<td>70.78</td>
<td>571.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples</td>
<td>499.7</td>
<td>100.4</td>
<td>399.3</td>
<td>67.73</td>
<td>365.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male main earner</td>
<td>393.6</td>
<td>82.9</td>
<td>310.3</td>
<td>66.48</td>
<td>322.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female main earner</td>
<td>106.1</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>72.37</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lone parents</td>
<td>525.9</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>485.5</td>
<td>73.67</td>
<td>205.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>62.69</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>504.6</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>468.7</td>
<td>74.13</td>
<td>189.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Inland Revenue (2000)
Table 4: Partners’ economic activity in couple households claiming WFTC/FC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number (thousands)</th>
<th>Average award £</th>
<th>Average net partner earnings per week £</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All couples</td>
<td>499.7</td>
<td>67.73</td>
<td>9.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples partner not working</td>
<td>425.9</td>
<td>71.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples partner working</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>44.77</td>
<td>62.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Inland Revenue (2000)

Table 5: WFTC and FC awards for help with childcare (thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All cases</th>
<th>Couples</th>
<th>Lone parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 1997</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>87.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Inland Revenue (2000)

Table 6. Estimates of the impact of Working Families Tax Credit on Employment Rates (1998 budget figures for WFTC rates)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gregg et al. (1999b)</th>
<th>Blundell et al. (1998)</th>
<th>Paull et al. (1999)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Estimated increase in employment thousands</td>
<td>Estimated increase in employment rate</td>
<td>Estimated increase in employment thousands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single parents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married women, partner not working</td>
<td>+28,600</td>
<td>+1.85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married women, partner working</td>
<td>+14,610</td>
<td>+1.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married men, partner not working</td>
<td>-29,050</td>
<td>-0.83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married men, partner working</td>
<td>+16,820</td>
<td>+0.48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>+32,770</td>
<td>+27,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Blundell and Reed (1999)
GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Entrepreneurship Policies
Belgium [2]

Author(s): Danièle Meulders, France Marage, Julie Lumen & Maria Jepsen

Policy Measure: Reduction of employer's social security contributions for low wages.

This policy, consisting in a reduction of the percentage of employers’ social contributions for low wages, was introduced in 1993 in order to favour the creation of employment, principally in SMEs. In April 1999 the measure was replaced by the so-called 'structural reduction of social contributions'.

The target group is low skilled people, however, the measure for having low skills is low wages.

The initial situation: in Belgium, women are over-represented among the low wage population, be it on a monthly or hourly basis. In 1995, 14.7% of the employed population earned less than 66% of the median hourly wage for full-timers. The figure was 9.3% for men and 21.4% for women.

The total cost was 14.92 million BF in 1997 and 14.98 million BF in 1998.

- The percentage of men: 43.5%.
- The percentage of women: 56.4%.
- Total of the cost devoted to men: 40.8%.
- Total of the cost devoted to women: 59.1%.

The percentage of women benefiting from the policy is higher than the percentage of employed women in Belgium, this is due to the fact that women are over represented amongst low wage employees.

Number of employees concerned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st trimester 1997</td>
<td>334,873</td>
<td>448,637</td>
<td>783,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd trimester 1997</td>
<td>332,126</td>
<td>446,515</td>
<td>778,641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd trimester 1997</td>
<td>378,212</td>
<td>477,331</td>
<td>855,543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th trimester 1997</td>
<td>285,342</td>
<td>351,856</td>
<td>637,198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Cost (million de Belgian francs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st trimester 1997</td>
<td>1.552,6</td>
<td>2.308,2</td>
<td>3.860,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd trimester 1997</td>
<td>1.601,6</td>
<td>2.371,6</td>
<td>3.973,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd trimester 1997</td>
<td>1.787,6</td>
<td>2.562,2</td>
<td>4.349,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th trimester 1997</td>
<td>1.160,9</td>
<td>1.577,4</td>
<td>2.738,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6.102,7</td>
<td>8.819,4</td>
<td>14.922,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source ONSS

### Other characteristics:

The measure is unconditional: the reductions of employers’ contribution are given without any condition relative to employment creation.

Selectivity: Reductions are only given for employees with a wage below a certain level.

No administrative bulk.

Reductions are calculated as a percentage of employers’ social contributions. This percentage varies negatively according to the wage.

### Percentage of reduction of employers’ social for low wages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daily gross wage or gross hourly wage</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily gross wage between 1,592 and 2,017 BF (full time worker) or gross hourly wage below or equal to 265 BF (part time worker)</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily gross wage between 2,018 and 2,176 BF (full time worker) or gross hourly wage below or equal to 266 and 287 BF (part time worker)</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily gross wage between 2,177 and 2,335 BF (full time worker) or gross hourly wage below or equal to 288 and 307 BF (part time worker)</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily gross wage between 2,336 and 2,864 BF (full time worker) or gross hourly wage below or equal to 308 and 376 BF (part time worker)</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- No limit in time

### Impact on sectoral segregation:

The graphs are constructed in the same way as those presented in the previous section. In this policy measure, women are very well represented in the so-called male sectors (left graphs: most of the points are above the intercept), thereby indicating decreasing sectoral segregation by promoting women (low paid) in sectors were women are under represented among the employed. In the so-called female dominated sectors (right graphs) women also benefit more from the policy than men. The same conclusions can be drawn whether the analysis focuses on the number of beneficiaries or granted amounts.
Graph 3: Percentage of women benefiting from the policy by activity sector

source: own calculation on the basis of ONSS data

Graph 4: Percentage of the amount devoted to the policy to women by activity sector

source: own calculation on the basis of ONSS data

Conclusion
The reduction of social contributions for low wage employment is a policy that affects more women than men. The advantage is more important in terms of cost because women are over represented in low wage positions; this aspect is reinforced by the regressive character of the reduction.

However, the measure could exert a perverse effect by encouraging the creation of low wage employment and by maintaining those workers in this situation, in order to continue to benefit from the reduction of the social contribution.
Finland [1]

Author(s): Reija Lilja

Policy Measure: Measures to strengthen IT.

'Economic policy incentives will be applied to ensure that the environment of IT and communications businesses is as competitive as possible. Competitiveness in the IT and communications sector will be promoted on the national and international level. Steps must be taken to ensure that there is adequate public investment in long-term research in the IT and communications sector' (Finland's National Action Plan for Employment, April 2000: 23)

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
The gender segregation in qualifications is extremely strong in Finland. In 1998, as many as 89% of those who had qualifications in the field of health or welfare were women. The contrary appears to be true, however, in technology and engineering where 83% of people who had qualifications in this field were men. In 1998 about 71% of employed people in manufacturing were men, whereas in services, women accounted for 73% of all employed people. In 1997 about 60% of jobs in the IT sector were held by men.

Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:
The gender distributions of the various fields of education have not become any more equal over the past 20 years or so in Finland. On the contrary, it appears that women’s fields of education are becoming more female-dominated and men's fields more male-dominated (Haven (ed.), 1999: 109). The gender segregation in employment remains strong in Finland despite efforts to the contrary.

Three: The priority attached to gender equality:
When new initiatives were introduced in the current Finnish NAP, gender issues were not explicitly discussed. The implicit message from this seems to be that most of the initiatives for Pillars I-III are regarded as gender neutral. This implies that the general approach has been defensive mainstreaming, i.e. proposed measures are thought to be such that they do not increase gender inequalities. This is not always the case, and it is possible that some initiatives in the Finnish NAP are not neutral and, in fact, have some negative long-run effects on gender equality in the labour market.

Four: Impact of policy:
Even though there is no doubt that the measures that promote the competitiveness of the IT sector have beneficial effects on economic growth and the overall well-being in Finnish society, they do put more resources into a sector which is highly male dominated and already quite competitive. There is a danger that due to the productivity growth gap between the IT sector and many of the female dominated
sectors, the suggested measures enhance gender gaps in employment and in wages in the long term.

The recent trends in employment growth are worrying. The bulk of employment growth has been in the male dominated industries, where economic growth has been strong. Typical female industries have created new jobs to a lesser extent than male dominated industries.

When looking at public investments in the IT and communications sector one important point of view from gender perspective is its allocation between men and women. Whether the typically female dominated service sector should receive equal investment support as the IT sector, is a question that has not been asked in Finland. The macroeconomic considerations related to promoting economic growth have been more important than these microeconomic considerations.

What does it mean, in terms of gender equality, if those sectors in which women typically work do not receive public support and male dominated sectors do? How is this reflected in employment and gender wage gaps in the long run? The most obvious outcome is that gender wage gap increases. This is due to the fact that the performance-related and profit sharing schemes are more common in the IT sector than in health and welfare sector, where the majority of women work.

Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:
If the gender segregation in IT and communications sector is not broken it seems that the investments that ensure the strong growth in this sector will have a relatively negative impact on young women's future position in the labour market. Men will be working in this highly profitable sector whilst women continue to work in health and welfare, where the ability to provide employment and pay competitive wages is declining. This problem has been identified by Finnish politicians. The ageing of population requires a functioning care sector, but this sector is having difficulties to offer steady employment and competitive wages. A functioning care sector is important for women's ability to participate in the labour market in general. A very strong policy focus on one sector may create problems in other sectors of the economy. To alleviate these types of problems it is important for policy makers to indicate that the care sector is not only regarded in terms of cost (as it seems to be the case now) but also as an important investment. This emphasis is important to also make sure that both men and women have equal opportunities to participate in the labour market in the future.

Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:
Horizontal gender segregation is a serious problem in the Finnish labour market. Women work in health and welfare sectors and men in technical sectors. It is a well-known fact from public discussion that people work long hours in the IT industry and what this means for family life is an important question. Even though public investments in the IT sector do not consider these issues, increasing the economic importance of a sector, which has higher-than-average demands in
terms of working hours, influences the everyday lives of families. Is it, in this type of a situation, even possible to evenly distribute care responsibilities in families between men and women?

**Seven: Policy modifications:**
There are undoubtedly strong reasons for the policy line to promote the competitiveness of the IT and communications sector in Finland. If promoting gender equality is of concern among policy makers, this policy line requires other measures. Firstly, one should introduce measures to fight gender segregation in education and employment. To some extent, the Finnish NAP addresses these issues, but *not* in the connection with these measures. Secondly, one should consider the adequacy of public support to other sectors in the economy. The private services sector is not as well developed in Finland as it is in many countries, partly due to the fact that the public sector is a large provider of services. In order to improve female employment, the services sector remains significant and allocating resources into the development of this sector are important from the gender perspective as well as from the perspective of guaranteeing services that ageing population requires in the future.

**References:**
Greece [2]

Author(s): Maria Karamessini

Policy Measure: New professionals programme.

In 2000, the ‘New Professionals’ employment creation programme, implemented by the Manpower Employment Organisation (OAED) since 1986, will be combined with training and assistance provided by the Hellenic Organisation of Small and Medium Enterprises and Handicraft (EOMMEX). The latter will provide training to enhance the entrepreneurial skills of the unemployed subsidised, by OAED, to start a business of their own and support them with advice during the initial phase of operation of their business. The programme for ‘New Professionals’ is targeted at those unemployed with low and medium individual or family income, who usually work on their own after having created their firm. It grants a higher amount of subsidy to women in all target groups, defined according to age, duration of unemployment and region and preserves 60% of the announced subsidised jobs for women.

The main question is whether the availability of training courses and technical advice for the unemployed will affect the viability rate of new firms by gender and help to close the gender gap in self-employment and employment rates. It goes without saying that the effectiveness of the announced policy measure with respect to gender equality depends largely on the effectiveness of the employment creation programme, with which it will be associated. So, gender impact assessment of the proposed measure necessarily goes hand in hand with the evaluation of the programme of ‘New Professionals’ from a gender equality perspective.

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:

Women in Greece are under-represented in self-employment, since their share in the latter was 24.1% in 1999, against 37.4% in total employment. Moreover, women represent 15.8% of the employers and 26.7% of the self-employed without employees (table 8). Gender gaps are not only present in shares but also in participation rates by gender; 20.7% of employed women are self-employed against 38.8% of employed men (table 9).

Gender gaps in participation are interpreted as unfavourable for women, since self-employment is usually considered as a more rewarding form of work than wage employment in terms of remuneration, autonomy and command. For instance, in Greece, the average net monthly income from self-employment was

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21 The evaluation studies of the programme have found that only 16% of the new businesses subsidised by the programme, employ 1-2 employees the first years after the programme.
22 With the exception of the unemployed on benefits who receive the maximum amount of subsidy, which is the same for both men and women.
23 The implementation of the measure has been postponed for 2001.
1.5 times higher than the average net monthly income from wage employment in 1994. However, the dark side of the moon, i.e. long hours of work and poor quality of family and social life is often neglected (table 10). Self-employment reflects not only male privilege, but also the dominance of male norms and values in the organisation of social life. At the same time, it is rarely mentioned that the general term of self-employment dissimulates great inequality of condition among the different categories of self-employed.

**Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:**
Women’s share in self-employment has significantly improved between 1993 and 1999, increasing from 19.9 to 24.1% (table 8). This is due to an increase of self-employed women by 18.9% and a decrease of self-employed men by 7.2% (table 11). The growth of women employers in the same period was spectacular (33.9%), much greater than that of male employers (7.3%). As a result, women’s contribution to the net increase in the number of employers between 1993 and 1999 was 41%.

A more interesting phenomenon for analysis is the opposing trends in self-employed men and women working on their own (table 12). Women have increased their numbers by 16.5% between 1993 and 1999, while men have reduced them by 11.5%. To a great extent, these opposing trends can be explained by changes in agriculture, where men’s drop out from the sector for reasons of death/retirement has been partly compensated by women’s move from the status of unpaid family workers to that of self-employed. However, the same opposing trends also occurred in the non-agricultural sector (table 13).

Gender gaps in participation rates of self-employment to total employment also narrowed between 1993 and 1999, since the female rate rose slightly from 19.7 to 20.6% and the male rate fell noticeably from 42.7 to 38.8%. We can therefore deduce that women are the dynamic element of change in the area of entrepreneurship in Greece.

This statement can be reinforced by studying the composition of the self-employed by gender and educational attainment level (table 9). Women with a higher education degree represent 22.8% of all self-employed women, while men with the same educational attainment, 11.1% of all self-employed men. Consequently, women represent a potential of change in the quality of entrepreneurship in Greece.

**Three: The priority attached to gender equality:**
Despite the higher participation rates of Greek women to self-employment than their European counterparts, they are more under-represented in self-

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24 Namely 298,702 drs against 199,406 drs, according to the estimations of the Centre of Planning and Economic Research (see the above-mentioned study on Distribution, redistribution and poverty, 1999), based on data from the European Household Panel Survey.
employment than the latter.\footnote{25} Moreover, the gap in the participation rates of each gender in self-employment remains high, though strictly equal to the average gender gap in the European Union.\footnote{26}

Consequently, it is important to reinforce existing trends that reduce gender inequality in self-employment by adopting, improving or supplementing policies that actively promote gender equality. Priority given to such policies should be high, not just because overall female employment rates are very low in Greece or because tackling the income gap and vertical occupational segregation by gender necessary entails challenging the male privilege to self-employment, but also in order to improve the quality of female self-employment and entrepreneurship. Viability of firms is one dimension of the problem, low income and reduced social protection is another.

Unfortunately, data that would allow for distinguishing the more qualitative aspects of self-employment is lacking\footnote{27} or remains, at this time, unexploited.\footnote{28} However, an in-depth evaluation study of the programme of ‘New Professionals’, based on primary field work, found that the viability of firms run by women is more fragile than that of those run by men and that women’s firms are more concentrated than those of men in very few sectors characterised by intensive competition and low income.\footnote{29} A recent evaluation of the same programme, eight years later, found approximately the same degree of concentration of women’s firms in the same sectors.\footnote{30}

**Four: Impact of policy:**

The proposed policy measure we examine hereafter aims at increasing the efficiency of an existing programme that encourages new job creation through self-employment and entrepreneurship, by affecting the quality of new jobs through training. The programme of ‘New Professionals’ has been continuously implemented during the last fifteen years. It endows women unemployed with greater amounts of subsidies than men (since 1998) and provides for preferential terms of access for women (since 1999).

\footnote{25} We have calculated the indices of relative representation of women in self-employment (share in self-employment to share in total employment) using data from the European Labour Force Survey for the year 1998. The indices is 0.616 for Greece and 0.637 for the EU-15.

\footnote{26} It is measured as the ratio of the male to the female rates. The male participation rate to self-employment was 1.98 times higher than the female rate in 1998, both in Greece and EU-15.

\footnote{27} For example data on home working or dissimulated wage employment

\footnote{28} For example data on gross income from self-employment from the Household Panel Survey.

\footnote{29} Eighty three percent of the firms run by women were concentrated in four sectors (retail, clothing, hairdressing shops and beauty salons, restaurants and coffee shops). See G. Kottis, E. Haratsis, A. Petraki-Kotti, D. Karantinos, N. Bouzas, M. Chrysakis, *Evaluation study of the ongoing programme of OAED for the new professionals*, Economic University of Athens, 1992.

So far the gender dimension has been rather ineffective, as it follows from the yearly changes of the female share in the beneficiaries of the programme (table 14). For instance, the female share rose to 46.2% of total beneficiaries in 1999, a year where the gender dimension was fully integrated to the programme, against 49.8% in 1990 or 57% in 1994, when the programme had no gender dimension. Female shares in beneficiaries of the programme have always been much less than the female shares in total and long-term unemployment and women’s contribution to net job creation through self-employment. Regarding penetration rates by gender, the programme has subsidised the self-employment of 1.2% of the unemployed women and 2.1% of the unemployed men on average during the period 1994-1999.

The gender dimension cannot be effective since the amounts of subsidy are very low to operate as real incentives for starting a business and the gender difference in amounts is very small. Moreover the 60% quota in favour of women beneficiaries applies on the announced number of jobs to be subsidised every year and not on approvals or jobs actually subsidised by the programme. Since approvals and actually subsidised jobs represent about two thirds of announcements, the quota has not affected gender shares of participation to the programme. Quite unexpectedly, a general term of the programme has a greater potential for gender equality than specific terms in favour of women. This term allows up to twenty members of a new co-operative to be subsidised at the same time and gather an important start-up capital. As a result, women’s co-operatives, which have been growing in numbers during the nineties in rural areas and have functioned as a way out from inactivity for women, can be, and some have been, financed by the programme for ‘New Professionals.

Finally, the displacement effect that reduces its effectiveness regarding net job creation should be identified as one of the disadvantages of the programme. This effect is estimated as important by the authors of the in-depth evaluation study of the programme. Both the important dead-weight and displacement effects and the ineffectiveness of the gender dimension built in the programme, raise serious doubts about its potential as a tool for tackling gender gaps in employment and self-employment rates. At its best, the programme can enhance the viability of firms during their first years of operation.

The viability of the new businesses subsidised by the programme is also the aim of the proposed measure for the provision of training courses and technical advice to its beneficiaries. Given that, according to results of a survey carried out by the authors of the in-depth evaluation study, the viability rates of the

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31 In 1999, the female shares in total and long-term unemployment rose to 61.4 and 65.3% respectively.
32 The two evaluation studies we just mentioned above have estimated the dead-weight of the programme at 84 and 88% of the firms created.
33 Today there are 73 women’s co-operatives operating in rural areas.
34 The one carried out by Kottis et al. in 1992.
subsidised firms created by women are lower than those of firms created by men. Training courses and technical advice during the initial operational phase are expected to improve the viability rate of women’s firms more than that of men’s. The need for training and support has also been identified by the qualified staff of the ‘Information and Counselling Unit for Women’s Employment’ of the Research Centre for Gender Equality (KETHI), which already provides counselling, training and support to women willing to start their business and women entrepreneurs facing viability and restructuring problems.

Although the contribution of the proposed measure to the closing of gender gaps in viability rates of small firms is assessed as positive, we should also keep in mind that improvement of the viability of subsidised firms may be accomplished at the expense of competitors, especially in sectors with intense competition, as most of those subsidised firms are primarily concentrated there. Targeting the sectors with high demand growth with subsidies could be a response to this problem.

Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:
The proposed measure is expected to benefit women and men with low and medium educational attainment levels, young people of either sex and women who were inactive before becoming registered as unemployed, which is a requirement for participation to the programme for ‘New Professionals’. We deduce this assessment from the in-depth evaluation study, which has illustrated that the viability rate of the firms subsidised by the programme is the lowest among primary school and secondary education graduates, young people and inactive women.

It is also worth mentioning that benefits from training and technical advice are more important the higher the educational attainment of the trainees and beneficiaries. Thus, the proposed measure may open gaps in the viability rates of firms, according to the educational level of the self-employed, if special effort is not undertaken to tailor training and support to the needs of particular educational groups.

Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:
Employment policy measures that encourage gender equality in self-employment and entrepreneurship necessarily have a negative indirect impact on children and grandparents, especially grandmothers, who are mobilised to provide unpaid childcare. The mobilisation of the latter is greater, due to the deficiency of childcare infrastructure. Today, the provision of care for children between 0 to 6 years by public and private nurseries and kindergartens is about 36-40%. The greatest gaps in provision exist for children from 0 months to 2.5 years.

However, it is questionable if longer hours in nurseries and more intensive mobilisation of baby-sitters, home helpers and grandparents is in the interest of

35 Namely 82 against 88%. 
children and if poor quality of family and social life, because of long hours of work, should be accepted as an inevitable outcome of progress towards gender equality in the distribution of income and power. It seems that without challenging the gendered norms and values concerning work and working time, the demise of male dominance in privileged areas of the employment system and of social institutions will be conquered by women only at the expense of conforming to a highly unbalanced and unsatisfactory way of life, based on male norms, values and principles.

**Seven: Policy modifications:**
Increase the amount of subsidy for both men and women to avoid dead-weight and target subsidies only to sectors with increasing demand to avoid displacement effects;

Attract more women to the programme by adopting an integrated approach (counselling, training, subsidising, technical assistance, funding) and by organising the collaboration between the relevant employment promotion structures at the local level;

Organise the collaboration of the Hellenic Organisation of Small and Medium Enterprises and Handicraft (EOMMEX) with the ‘Information and Counselling Unit for Women’s Employment’ of the Research Centre for Gender Equality (KETHI), in order to tailor training and technical advice to the needs of women self-employed and entrepreneurs;

Organise local networks between the Employment Promotion Centres of the Employment Manpower Organisation (OAED), the local units of the Organisation of Small and Medium Enterprises and Handicraft (EOMMEX) and the local offices of the Information and Counselling Unit for Women’s Employment’ of the Research Centre for Gender Equality (KETHI) in order to provide individualised and integrated services to women willing to start their own business or expand it;

Create a special fund for the financing of small investment projects and utilisation of the possibilities offered by the existing Co-operative Banks at the local level;

Provide special support to women’s co-operatives in rural areas.

**STATISTICAL ANNEX**
Table 1: New registrations to public and private Vocational Training Institutes by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3338</td>
<td>11139</td>
<td>18281</td>
<td>22629</td>
<td>21490</td>
<td>26142</td>
<td>31839</td>
<td>32586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1623</td>
<td>5325</td>
<td>8946</td>
<td>12095</td>
<td>11524</td>
<td>15195</td>
<td>18240</td>
<td>17929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>5814</td>
<td>9335</td>
<td>10534</td>
<td>9966</td>
<td>10947</td>
<td>13599</td>
<td>14657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem. share</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
<td>53.6%</td>
<td>58.1%</td>
<td>57.3%</td>
<td>55.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male share</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>46.4%</td>
<td>41.9%</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: OEEK (Organisation for Vocational Education and Training).

Table 2: Activity and unemployment rates by educational attainment level and sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1999*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Act. rates (male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University graduates</td>
<td>80.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher technological education graduates</td>
<td>85.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>VTI and assimilated graduates</em></td>
<td>87.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper secondary education graduates</td>
<td>71.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower secondary education graduates</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school graduates</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some year of primary school</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No school at all</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>All educational levels</em></td>
<td>63.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unempl. rates (male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University graduates</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher technological education graduates</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>VTI and assimilated graduates</em></td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education graduates</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower secondary education graduates</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school graduates</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some year of primary school</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No school at all</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>All educational levels</em></td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Second quarter.

Table 3: Graduates from VTIs and other technical and professional schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male share</th>
<th>Female share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>391,368</td>
<td>169,656</td>
<td>221,712</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>257,123</td>
<td>131,060</td>
<td>126,064</td>
<td>51.0%</td>
<td>49.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>56,942</td>
<td>17,631</td>
<td>39,311</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
<td>69.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inactive</td>
<td>77,303</td>
<td>20,966</td>
<td>56,337</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>72.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Second quarter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>% Male</th>
<th>% Female</th>
<th>&lt; 200,000 drs</th>
<th>200 - 299,000 drs</th>
<th>&gt; 299,000 drs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 Managers and chief executives of firms with more than 9 persons</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>66.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Managing firm-owners and supervisors in firms with up to 9 persons</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Other science, artisic and religious professionals</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Physical and engineering science technicians</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 Life science and health associate professionals</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 Teaching associate professionals</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 Finance and sales associate prof., business services agents, trade brokers*</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 Office clerks</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 Customer services clerks</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 Personal services workers</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 Models, salespersons and demonstrators</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72 Building trades workers</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74 Machinery and related trades workers</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 Precision, handcraft, printing and related trades workers</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88 Drivers and mobile-plant operators</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>87.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>93.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>38.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>42.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>19.3</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This occupational group also includes administrative, customs, tax and related government associate professionals etc., police inspectors and detectives, social work and religious associate professionals, decorators and commercial designers, radio and television announcers, entertainment and sports assoc. professionals.

**Notes:**
1. We mention only the occupational groups where the concentration of either sex is more than 2%.
2. We illustrate the distribution of the wage and salary earners of each occupation into three remuneration groups, according to average net monthly pay.

**Source:** NSSG, Labour Force Survey.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Both sexes</th>
<th>Male share</th>
<th>Fem. share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Information technology sector (313)</td>
<td>4196</td>
<td>52,6</td>
<td>47,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance and administration sector (341,343,412,413)</td>
<td>9737</td>
<td>34,1</td>
<td><strong>65,9</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and tourism sector (332,341,423,511)</td>
<td>2644</td>
<td>51,1</td>
<td>48,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geotechnical sector (321)</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>58,8</td>
<td>41,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronics and automation sector (311,745)</td>
<td>1407</td>
<td>96,9</td>
<td>3,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanics sector (311,741,743,745)</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>99,0</td>
<td>1,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical sector (744)</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>99,0</td>
<td>1,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction works sector (311)</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>52,4</td>
<td>47,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied chemistry and materials sector (311)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30,4</td>
<td><strong>69,6</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied arts sector (311,314,347,348,751,753,754)</td>
<td><strong>2729</strong></td>
<td>37,6</td>
<td><strong>62,4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied arts sector (3-year secondary) (513,514,754,755)</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>78,7</td>
<td>21,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment sector (318)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and social services sector (322,331,517)</td>
<td><strong>5757</strong></td>
<td>14,9</td>
<td><strong>85,1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications and mass media sector (273,314,347,517)</td>
<td>1261</td>
<td>57,8</td>
<td>42,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing and footwear sector (347)</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>11,6</td>
<td><strong>88,4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports sector (349)</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>64,8</td>
<td>35,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>32563</strong></td>
<td>45,0</td>
<td><strong>55,0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Numbers in parentheses represent the three-digit occupational groups corresponding to the specialties of each sector. We have made the correspondances ourselves.

**Source:** Elaboration of data by OEEK (Organisation for Vocational Education and Training).
Table 6: Changes in female and male employment between 1994-1999 by occupational groups, corresponding to VTI specialties % (final - base year)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational groups</th>
<th>Fem. Empl.</th>
<th>Male Empl.</th>
<th>Fem. Part. Rate*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>273 Authors, journalists and other writers</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311 Physical and engineering science technicians</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313 Computer associate professionals</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314 Optical and electronic equipment operators</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318 Safety and quality inspectors</td>
<td>-81.8</td>
<td>-25.2</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322 Health associate professionals, except nursing</td>
<td>-3.6</td>
<td>-2.8</td>
<td>63.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>331 Pre-primary education teaching assoc. profes.</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>90.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332 Other teaching associate professionals</td>
<td>227.7</td>
<td>297.9</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341 Finance and sales associate professionals</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>343 Administrative associate professionals</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>62.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>347 Decorators and commercial designers</td>
<td>103.5</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>65.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>348 Radio, television announcers and entertainment</td>
<td>-63.0</td>
<td>-9.4</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>349 Athletes, sportspersons and related assoc. prof.</td>
<td>212.1</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>412 Numerical clerks</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>63.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>413 Material-recording and transport clerks</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>423 Travel agency and related clerks</td>
<td>-18.0</td>
<td>-8.2</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>511 Travel attendants and travel stewards</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>59.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>513 Housekeepers and related workers</td>
<td>676.3</td>
<td>-26.5</td>
<td>88.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>514 Cooks</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>517 Hairdressers, barbers, beauticians and related</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>-8.9</td>
<td>79.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>741 Motor vehicle mechanics and fitters</td>
<td>-60.3</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>743 Agricult./ind. machinery mechanics and fitters</td>
<td>360.8</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>744 Electrical mechanics and fitters</td>
<td>119.9</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>745 Electronics mechanics, fitters and servicers</td>
<td>-16.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751 Precision instrument makers and repairers</td>
<td>77.7</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>753 Jewellery and precious-metal workers</td>
<td>-12.5</td>
<td>-12.7</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>754 Potters, glass makers and engravers and related</td>
<td>-3.0</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>755 Handicraft workers in wood and related materials</td>
<td>1424.3</td>
<td>-82.5</td>
<td>86.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>28.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>37.4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>All employed</strong></td>
<td><strong>9.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.2</strong></td>
<td><strong>36.8</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations where women are under-represented</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations where women are over-represented</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Female participation in the occupation in 1999 (second quarter).

### Table 7: Proposed changes in VTI specialties by sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>New Specialties</th>
<th>Old Specialties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geotechnical sector</td>
<td>15 new</td>
<td>2 abolished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and beverage</td>
<td>6 new</td>
<td>1 by transfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanics, electrical and electronics sector</td>
<td>14 new (2 by transfer)</td>
<td>10 abolished;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing and footwear sector</td>
<td>3 new</td>
<td>1 abolished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied chemistry sector</td>
<td>8 new</td>
<td>1 abolished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction works sector</td>
<td>15 new (1 by transfer)</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and tourism sector</td>
<td>24 new (1 by transfer)</td>
<td>1 abolished; ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance and administration sector</td>
<td>3 new</td>
<td>3 abolished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information technology sector</td>
<td>2 new</td>
<td>4 abolished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports and cultural sector</td>
<td>10 new (1 by transfer)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied arts sector</td>
<td>18 new (2 by transfer)</td>
<td>13 abolished;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment and energy sector</td>
<td>3 new</td>
<td>1 abolished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and social services sector</td>
<td>9 new</td>
<td>10 abolished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications and mass media sector</td>
<td>3 new</td>
<td>4 abolished</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 2 level 1 specialties, ** 10 level 1 specialties, *** 5 level 1 specialties.

**Source:** Elaboration of data from OEEK (Organisation for Vocational Education and Training).
### Table 8: Shares of women and men in self-employment (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>All self-employed</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female share</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male share</td>
<td>80.1</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>80.2</td>
<td>79.1</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>75.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>With employees</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female share</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male share</td>
<td>86.9</td>
<td>87.1</td>
<td>87.1</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>85.8</td>
<td>85.1</td>
<td>84.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Without employees</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female share</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male share</td>
<td>88.3</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>84.9</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** NSSG, Labour Force Survey.

### Table 9: Self-employed by educational attainment level and sex in 1999 (second quarter)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shares</td>
<td>Part. Rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher technical education</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper secondary (6 years)</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower secondary (3 years)</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some years of primary school</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No school at all</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** Shares refer to the distribution of the self-employed by educational attainment level, participation rates refer to the participation of the self-employed to total employment by educational attainment level and 1993-1999 data refer to final - base year changes in the number of self-employed.

**Source:** NSSG, Labour Force Survey.

### Table 10: Average hours of work per week by professional status (second quarter 1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional status</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed without employees</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family workers</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** NSSG, Labour Force Survey.
**Table 11**: Self-employed by age and sex shares and changes (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Women 1993-1999*</th>
<th>Men 1993-1999*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>-26.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>-12.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>-15.1</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Final - base year percentage change.

**Source**: NSSG, Labour Force Survey.

**Table 12**: Change in self-employment by sex between 1993 and 1999 (% (final - base year))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All self-employed</th>
<th>With employees</th>
<th>Without employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>-7.2</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both sexes</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source**: NSSG, Labour Force Survey.

**Table 13**: Self-employment in the agricultural and the non-agricultural sector numbers of persons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agricultural sector</th>
<th>1993</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>Self-emp./Total empl. (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>95,432</td>
<td>115,000</td>
<td>19,568</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>367,728</td>
<td>315,100</td>
<td>-52,628</td>
<td>78.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-agricultural sector</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>160,670</td>
<td>190,900</td>
<td>30,230</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>664,452</td>
<td>654,200</td>
<td>-10,252</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>256,102</td>
<td>306,000</td>
<td>49,988</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source**: NSSG, Labour Force Survey.
Table 14: Beneficiaries of the programme of ‘New Professionals’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Beneficiaries</th>
<th>Male share</th>
<th>Female share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>5,897</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>7,431</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>3,939</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>11,150</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>6,949</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>5,775</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>46.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994-1999</td>
<td>41,111</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Information Society Policies
**Austria [2]**

**Author(s): Ulli Pastner**

**Policy Measure: Measures to exploit the employment potential of services with particular reference to IT.**

The measures regarding this subject are included in pillar 2, guideline 13. They are ‘aimed at improving the development opportunities of the services sector and, in so doing, fully exploiting its employment and innovation potential. Within the business- and industry-related services, the focus will mainly be on technological and innovative fields of activity’ (implementation report 2000: 18). Gender aspects are not mentioned in this guideline. Concrete measures that are mentioned are the enforced liberalisation of the telecommunications sector, the extension of telecommunication networks, supporting measures in the multimedia sector as well as research promotion in biotechnology and environmental technology. Additionally, innovative employment and qualification measures in the field of IT and data processing (e.g. 'new start' or 'tele.soft'), carried out by the PES (Public Employment Service) can be listed here.

At present, everybody is talking about new information and communication technologies and the media frequently complain about the shortage of skilled workers in this area. The numbers given on the missing IT-workforce vary considerably and at times reach enormous proportions. The introduction of ‘green cards’ is frequently discussed by employers and politicians and these cards are supposed to enable the recruitment of skilled workers from abroad. The fact that the (re-)training of women for the new professions could be enforced is sometimes a topic on the agenda of events organised by equal opportunity departments of specific institutions (PES, Trade Unions, Chamber of Labour etc.), but there is usually no wider public debate about this. Also, in scientific studies of this problem, a gender-neutral perspective is dominant, de facto this means that an exclusively male focus is being applied. Thus the situation of women in this field is difficult to assess.

**One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:**

*Participation:* The expansion of total employment, which has been evident in the last couple of years, can be explained by the growth of the service sector by two thirds. Taking a general perspective, women profit from this trend. Business services show the highest annual average rates of increase; this includes all business and industry-related services (telecommunications, EDP, R&D, legal, tax and company consulting, architecture and engineering offices, etc.) as well as data processing. About 50% of the approximately 233,000 employees in business services are female. In the whole service sector the female proportion varies according to the respective areas. Gender-specific segregation is existent with women being predominant in personal and social services and men being predominant in business and industry-related services.
A recent study on 'labour and qualification demand in the telecommunications and media sector' (see Leo, 2000) estimates that in 1999 there were about 150,000 employees in the IT-sector (defined as NACE 30-33, 64 and 72), in Austria, which corresponds to approximately 5% of the total employment. In the areas of 'data processing and database' (NACE 72) employment has particularly increased by nearly 50% in the last two years. In the latter female employees are underrepresented.

In this study a personnel demand of 13,000 workers, up to the year 2003, is given although no differentiation according to gender was made. The actual demand for IT-workers is far greater because, due to the extension of IT-technologies, skilled workers are required in all economic areas.

The segregation in the employment system corresponds to a strong segregation in the educational system and this has increased in recent years. For example, the share of female students in computer science has even decreased: From 1980 until the early 90s it was 15%, whereas in the academic year of 1998/1999 it was only about 10%. Best-practise programmes such as 'F.I.T', that attempt to motivate girls already in school to choose technical disciplines at university, are heading into the right direction but they start too late or are too small-scale to break up these trends.

The female quota in the newly established apprenticeship training for the IT-sector is also low. Thus only 11% of 690 apprentices in the new apprenticed trade computer-technician and only 9% of 400 apprentices for communications-technician are female.

Resources: Due to the strong segregation, the resources for the IT-field are unfairly distributed and 'gender-neutral' measures are mainly beneficial to men. Employment effects of structural measures, such as liberalisation or the extension of infrastructure, are difficult to assess. Because of gender-blindness in this area there are no attempts whatsoever to seize the gender-specific

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36 In this study, employment development is not given gender-specifically. In general, data on female employment is hard to find in this area, and is aggravated by the respective differing statistical distinguishing of the IT-sector.

37 The estimation of the demand is based on a survey in which 87 companies participated. On the problem of quantifying the demand see Leo, 2000.

38 'F.I.T.' (German acronym for 'women in technology') is a several-day information event aimed at making female pupils familiar with atypical university courses (electrical engineering, civil engineering, telematics) and giving them some insight into these courses. Beginning in the academic year 1999/2000 F.I.T. projects have been introduced at universities with technical and natural science subjects and have so far been attended by 722 young women. (see implementation report 2000)
There are only numbers on the measures initiated by the PES within the framework of the NAP, e.g. it.basics and tele.soft.

The 'it.basics' programme was aimed at beginners: it provides basic IT know-how and knowledge for users based on tried and tested training measures for IT users (office packages, Internet/e-mail, SAP, etc.). In this programme about 3,500 people enrolled between April and October 1999: 71% of the participants were women. The 'tele.soft' programme is intended to qualify the registered unemployed for new vacancies in areas such as telecommunications, software development and multimedia/Internet. In the period from April to September 1999 training measures already existing within 'tele.soft 1' were adapted and conducted at regional levels. The 'tele.soft 2' training programme was launched in October 1999; it focuses on concrete personnel and skills requirements worked out in co-operation with 52 IT companies (see ÖSB 1999). A special screening process was applied for selecting the participants. Approximately 900 participants are trained in 50 training modules, the average training period is longer than 5 months. Between April and December 1999 about 2,700 persons participated in tele.soft training courses. The female share was 52% (see implementation report 2000), this means it was considerably lower than in it.basics. In autumn 2000 'tele.soft 3' is starting in Vienna; this measure is special because it is exclusively accessible for women.

**Norms and values:** Very specific working conditions are associated with the new professions in the IT-sector. Very long working hours, temporal and spatial flexibility, full personal commitment or a difficult separation of private and working life and thereby incompatibility with the family can be listed as examples. Besides, the 'technique-taboo' for women (with all the corresponding stereotypes) works effectively. Logical thinking, mathematical talent, which are regarded as technical prerequisites, are still seen as typically male characteristics.

**Rights:** Trends of eliminating traditional labour law can be identified in some areas. On the one hand, atypical employment (part-time or marginal employment, temporary contracts) is increasing, on the other hand, employment contracts (with social insurance) are no longer taken out and the 'capacity bottlenecks' of companies are directly passed on to the workforce. Further, the keeping of working hours' regulations is difficult in some parts of the sector. Establishing labour law is aggravated by the fact that, on the part of many employees a kind of 'on-the-move mood' and 'pioneer spirit' prevails and individualistic views can be found. These often young and highly qualified employees don’t have a lot of working experience and no family responsibilities. How widespread these opinions really are cannot be assessed. Last, but not

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39 One example for this is: Serentschy, 1999. Also in the large evaluation accompanying the NAP gender is not an analytical criterion when dealing with the area of 'new services' (see WIFO/IHS 1999 and 2000).
least, many spontaneous attributions and myths are created because of the strong media interest in the new IT-areas.

Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:
In the study cited above (see Leo, 2000) trends concerning required qualification levels were also investigated. These trends show a clear tendency towards highly qualified workers and, for this reason, graduates from special Technical Training Colleges (’Höhere technische Lehranstalten’), Colleges of Higher Professional Training (’Fachhochschulen’) and universities are particularly sought. But it is in these schools and training institutions that girls and women are underrepresented because of the strong segregation in the educational sector. As already stated - the under-representation of women in the core segments of data processing is increasing.

In addition, new boundaries are being drawn. In the highly-paid, expert professions, women are an exception, however, they are found in large numbers in the less attractive areas, such as the rapidly expanding ‘call centre’ sector. Therefore the paradox may well be that, on the one hand, there is a shortage of skilled workers and, on the other hand, the existing resources of women are not being used. With this, the hypothesis that companies are prepared to pay for the discrimination against women appears to be verifiable.

Three: The priority attached to gender equality:
The explanations so far make it clear that it is of utmost importance to integrate the gender aspect into existing policies. The stable ‘technique boundary’ for women, for instance, has to be overcome. In the IT-sector today the course for the labour market of tomorrow is set. Today there are still major possibilities of influencing this newly emerging sector. In this early stage, the future distribution of employment and income and thereby the equality of women and men can be influenced. Since the sector is relatively new and expanding rapidly, the prerequisites are more favourable than in other areas. In this political field the government has the opportunity to prove its seriousness concerning the NAP declarations to establish effective Gender Mainstreaming concepts.

Four: Impact of policy:
Finally, policies should aim to increase women's employment in the well-paid IT work areas and should also aim to open up qualitatively valuable working areas for women. How can this be reached? On the one hand, barriers to access have to be eliminated, on the other hand, framework conditions in the IT-occupations need to be improved. Therefore, the general starting point must be on the level of norms and values and girls need to become familiar with the technical field at an early age. Only then will the segregation in the educational system be reduced. According to research findings the co-educational system negatively effects the development of technique-interests of girls; consequently, new didactical paths have to be taken in the schools.
Furthermore, the working conditions in some of the IT-professions need to be improved. It can hardly be in the interests of (particularly older) male workers (and their spouses and families) to work day and night and without clear boundaries between their working and domestic environments. Even though technological development push ahead at great speed, it must be possible to establish some kind of deceleration. It is now desirable that men and women should be continuously active in legally secure employment and satisfactory working conditions and to be also able to follow their non-occupational care duties. In the long run this goal also has to be in the interest of companies and the economy at large in order to guarantee the quality of products and services in this central key sector.

Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:
IT-companies state that they are primarily looking for young, excellently trained, temporally and spatially flexible workers in urban areas (see also, Leo, 2000). The fact that these workers should be male is not always explicitly stated but can be deduced from examining the job profiles. Since present policies operate gender-neutrally, these conditions are not going to change.

Employment in the IT-sector is largely concentrated in urban areas and therefore is beneficial to the women and men living there. Sixty percent of the workforce employed in the Austrian media and telecom sector is concentrated in Vienna.

Companies face a shortage of workers in the sectors of network infrastructure, IT functions and software, particularly database managers, database developers, network managers, network technicians and webmasters. The growth of the telecom and media sector creates a demand primarily for high-quality jobs. Companies look for graduates of colleges of higher professional training, colleges and universities, whereas the demand for graduates of vocational and secondary schools will stagnate. For apprentices and graduates of compulsory schools, companies even expect a decline in the next years (see Leo, 2000). As previously mentioned women are underrepresented in higher technical training (Colleges of Higher Professional Training, special Technical Training Colleges) and thus they do not match the companies’ recruitment profile from the outset.

A further problem about the high-level requirement profiles concerns the qualifications of the unemployed: the majority of them have an educational level that is found on the lower educational spectrum. Here, it will be interesting to see the extent to which the labour shortage in the companies leads to adaptations wherein perhaps those persons who don’t correspond to the ideal prototype will be trained and employed.

As a matter of fact, working with computers has already become a kind of 'basic qualification' in nearly all professional fields, and labour market politics has had to react to that. This is particularly so for older women and women with longer
breaks in gainful employment who have to 'catch up' and update their skills and experience.

**Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:**
Not only are resources unequally distributed, it can also be assumed that the extensive absence of women in the shaping of the technology sector is having important societal consequences. The kinds of technology realised has an impact on the shaping of social processes and determines, how and by whom, communication is led; who is in charge of technical infrastructure and the power of definition; how and by whom knowledge is accessible and how the organisational processes of companies are structured, etc. These indirect consequences and influences are, at this time, not considered. Questions about the kinds of effect that technology promotion indirectly has on women and men and the kinds of influence that the shaping of these new professions has, need to be addressed. Obviously, these questions have a gender-specific dimension (men create technology, women are the users), but an interest in this knowledge is not particularly wide-spread.

**Seven: Policy modifications:**
The disproportionate presence of women in personal and social services and men in business and industry-related services, is enforced by the largely gender-neutral treatment of the measures of guideline 12 (creating new jobs in the social, health and cultural sectors and at the local level) and 13 (fully exploiting the employment potential of the services sector). The disadvantages of atypical employment, which is particularly on the increase in areas dominated by women (see Leitner/Wroblewski, 2000), are ignored. Forms of work that are not concomitant with job security are expanding rapidly and are an indicator of the quality of the newly created jobs in these areas.

Since gender aspects are sidelined in politics as well as in scientific studies and evaluations, the situation of women cannot be accurately assessed. However, the imminent danger is that women will be unable to get a firm footing in the promising future of the IT-sector and therefore miss out on interesting and well-paid working areas. Especially at this present stage of development (shortage of skilled workers in IT-areas), political measures for the active promotion of women would hit fertile ground. However, it is not only adequate consideration to training that needs to be addressed but also the framework conditions (hours, employment forms, 'male work culture') need to be considered.

Since changes in the educational sector and in norms and values can only be brought about in the long run, employment politics must concentrate on innovative gender-sensitive measures. In addition, the system of further vocational training (for unemployed and employed persons) would have be expanded by special programmes for older women, women from rural areas and those with low basic qualifications. Retraining opportunities for interested
employees from other professional areas could be created and be supported by wide-reaching information and services.

Finally, we should not forget that in the associated fields of IT-professions new employment opportunities are also emerging, for example in the area of organisation, training and administration, as well as graphic and creative design. If it is not possible or it is difficult to integrate women into these core areas of technology, then employment politics should give more consideration to these other related areas.

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Leo, H., Arbeits- und Qualifikationsnachfrage im Telekom- und Mediensektor, WIFO-Studie, Vienna, Mai 2000.
Rubery, J., Gender Mainstreaming in European Employment Policy, a Report by the European Commission's Group of Experts on Gender and Employment, Manchester School of Management, UMIST, March 1999.
WIFO (ERI)/IHS, Expertise zum nationalen Aktionsplan für Beschäftigung in Österreich, Vienna, November 1998.
Germany [2]

Author(s): Friederike Maier

Policy Measure: Lifelong learning guidelines to accelerate and promote training and jobs in IT.

Reference in the NAP: guideline 6: Lifelong Learning:
- In order to reinforce the development of a skilled and adaptable workforce, both Member States and the social partners will endeavour to develop possibilities for lifelong learning, particularly in the fields of information and communication technologies, and each Member State will set a target according to national circumstances for participants benefiting from such measures. Easy access for older workers will be particularly important.

Government measures (among others): 1999 start of the action programme 'innovation and jobs in the information society of the 21st century'. In 2000 the Government 'continues the action programme particularly to improve the parameters for accelerated utilisation of new information and communication technologies. Emphasis is to be placed on the improvement of training and job opportunities for women (!) and their professional advancement as well as the promotion of the reconciliation of family and career for men and women' (NAP, page 22).

The overall trends in employment growth predict a growing importance of computer based work in all production and consumption industries, in conjunction with a growing importance of service activities both within the production sphere and in the service sector itself. The assumption is that Germany does not fully use its technical potential due to a lack in computer-related education and training and well-trained computing employees. Technical and organisational rationalisation and the integration of computer based work into the traditional sectors such as banking, insurance, commerce/trade and public administration will reduce employment opportunities, especially in lower skilled occupations and will change the content of work for the remaining employees. Other parts of the economy, such as the Information and Communication-technologies themselves, I and C-services, Electronic Device-industries (hard and software), multimedia development and production will grow, but need highly skilled professionals with a profound knowledge of information technologies (for details see, Tischer, 1999, Tischer, 1998, Kühlwetter, 1998 and Winker 1998).

Women's starting position concerning the future development of these employment sectors are ambivalent:

A higher proportion of women than men are already employed in those occupations which have to deal with information and a higher proportion of
women are also employed in the service sector industries. More employed women than men already use computers in their work. However, a relevant proportion women are employed in those sectors which will be rationalised and downsized by the rapid integration of IC-technologies (two thirds of all employed women in the service sector work in the so-called primary services such as simple administrative and clerical work in trade/commerce, banking, insurance and in the public administration. These are all jobs/sectors with high rationalisation potential (Tischer, 1999: 953)).

Young women do have a higher level of general education than do young men (higher proportion with completed Abitur) and, since 1997, the proportion of employed women who have their completed vocational training is 54% - higher than men's proportion (51%), further, in the late nineties women's employment growth was related to their higher skill/qualification levels. Employment opportunities for higher skilled women will increase in the near future (and are already quite good), especially in services such as information services, general counselling and consulting, advisory services, training services, marketing, sales activities, etc. but also in computer-based areas like multi-media services, organisational and technical counselling and consulting, research and development and in technical occupations (see Engelbrech, 2000). There are, however, two risks:

Firstly, there is a high risk for all low skilled or unskilled female (and male) employees in nearly all sectors of production and services, due to the rationalisation processes and processes of upgrading skills in the remaining jobs (not necessarily connected with the upgrading of wages, see, for example, secretarial jobs). Even now the labour force participation rate and the employment rate of low skilled women are significantly lower than for high skilled women and the unemployment rates of unskilled or semiskilled women are substantially higher than for skilled women and unskilled men (see Tischer/Doering, 2000b).

Secondly, most of the potential growth areas have been, until recently, male dominated occupations and jobs (highly segregated, such as, computer technologies or middle segregated like media experts and consulting firms) with, as in the pure information technologies, a declining proportion of female students/employees. Women's integration in the IC technologies is based on the fact that women use computers in their work but do not develop computers (neither hard- nor software), nor do they develop multi-media, etc. (see Tischer, 1999). The NAP 2000 included a table on women's proportion in the IT and Media Occupations being trained within the dual system (the creation of these new occupations within the German apprenticeship system was one of the main changes in the apprenticeship system over the last years).
### Apprentices in IT and Media Occupations 1997 and 1998, by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trainees 1997</th>
<th>of those female</th>
<th>Trainees 1998</th>
<th>of those female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film and video editor</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>55 %</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media designer (video and audio)</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>28 %</td>
<td>965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graphic master producer for</td>
<td>1,707</td>
<td>964</td>
<td>56 %</td>
<td>1,528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advertising and media</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialized computer scientist</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>12 %</td>
<td>5,635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informatics clerk</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>24 %</td>
<td>2,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information and telecommunication</td>
<td>1,485</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5 %</td>
<td>3,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>systems electronic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media and information services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specialist (public service)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media and information services</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>66 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specialist (industry and commerce)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio-visual media clerk</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>63 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media designer for digital and print</td>
<td>2,602</td>
<td>1,395</td>
<td>53 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>media</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that these 10 new occupations are divided into 3 highly segregated male jobs. Firstly, the specialised computer scientist (Fachinformatiker) 11% of whom were women in 1998; information and telecommunications systems electronics, 4% of whom were women. These two occupations are core occupations in IT and have the highest number of apprentices; the third male dominated occupation is that of information clerks: it is an administration occupation and has a female proportion of 23%). One highly segregated female job is the media and information services specialist in the public services. This occupation has, in contrast to the similar occupation in the private sector, only 10% male apprentices – in the private sector the similar occupation is mixed with a proportion of 66% women. Why the apprentices in the public services are predominantly female is not clear – one explanation could be that wages for IT-occupations in the public sector are much lower than in the private sector, another explanation could be that mainstreaming policy had its initial impact in the public sector where recruiting policies and good training had been offered to young women instead of young men.

The remaining 6 occupations are more or less mixed occupations with reference to the apprentices. IT occupations, which are based on a university or polytechnic education, are found in technical or business engineering, in information sciences or computer sciences or applied natural sciences such as business mathematics. Women’s proportion among the students of the relevant subjects is below 20%, with small variations in the hard core subjects such as electronics (where less than 4% are women) and information technologies (with 17% women). Whereas women’s low proportion in all technical and engineering studies has a long and rigid tradition, when the studies were created at universities and polytechnics women’s proportion in information sciences was quite high. The establishment of this occupation as major occupational field and the sex-stereotyping went hand in hand (we described this observation already in the segregation report in 1992).

Given this background, a programme called ‘innovation and jobs in the information society of the 21st century’ which aims to be gender neutral or even oriented towards women’s advancement needs to take care of the following points (these points/criteria has been discussed and published by a group called ‘women in the information society’ which is financed via the programme, see Arbeitsgrupppe Frauen in der Informationsgesellschaft 1999, Winker 2000). The group highlighted the following issues:

- A higher participation of women is necessary in the shaping of the information society. This requires that programmes to open up internet facilities for all parts of society and that guidance activities in using the new media are established with particular reference to women. A major target group should be unskilled or semiskilled women, women with low incomes and women with location and travel difficulties in terms of training or learning activities. The IT-
components in general education, in schools and universities and in the highly segregated women's occupations in traditional fields need to be strengthened and upgraded. The aim of strengthening women's competence in IT-matters should be followed by women-only classes and training.

- The integration of women into the core IT-occupations (desegregation of male dominated occupations) is necessary. This could be supported by improved information campaigns (by the Government, professional organisations, social partners, etc.); the integration of women in the training activities of the employment service and summer-universities for women in information and engineering studies. Programmes creating special incentives for training institutions and employers to increase women's proportion among students and employees are also needed.

- As the range of IT-components and jobs increases, the erosion of the 'standard employment relationship' via the creation of a variety of new forms of employment (self-employment, pseudo-self-employment, tele-working, part-time arrangements without social security coverage, etc.) and new initiatives in the field of new forms of employment are necessary, i.e. models of new forms of working time arrangements, family related forms of tele-working, incentives for new firms founded by women, etc.

- As the use of new technologies and the problems of employment and training opportunities of low skilled and semi skilled persons are not adequately covered by ongoing research, an increase of research activities in these fields is required.

The Government programme covers a whole range of activities and has a set of more or less concrete targets (quota/proportions to be reached). In analysing the gender aspects of the programme, it is remarkable that the idea of gender mainstreaming and women's activities is integrated into nearly all parts of the programme. The values and norms expressed by the programme are such that all social groups need to be integrated in the information society and therefore the programme intends to strengthen the social and employment equality of men and women. By drawing on women's potential and high skills Germany will increase its position in the world market. These general remarks attribute a positive value to women's employment in the IT sector and reflect a slightly new and positive approach towards female employment in general.

Explicitly formulated are targets such as the increase in women's proportion among apprentices in IT occupations (until 2005: 40%) and among students in information sciences (until 2005 new entrants: 40% women), an action called 'women on the web' (see example best practice in the NAP 2000, the target is that 50% of internet-users in 2005 will be female; at this time, the proportion is 30%), the increase of female self-employed respectively business start-ups from today 30% to 40% in the years to come.
These concrete targets are accompanied by a set of measures and activities involving different actors in the field: the Federal Ministries for Economics, for Education and Research, for Family, Seniors, Women and Youth, all act as financial supporters and initiate different activities; the social partners and professional organisations are participating in concrete programmes such as the information campaigns. Universities, schools and other training institutions are offered money for special efforts to integrate new media and IT in the curriculum; the amount of money increases once they integrate women into the courses. Certain parts of the budgets are bound to women-only courses, or training activities, for other parts, the institutions have to fulfil the requirement that 40% of the budget is allocated to women, or that 40% of the participants are women, etc. The Federal employment service and its local branches are enabled to initiate local alliances for IT-jobs, the number of further training places in IT will increase from 30,000 per year to 35,000 over the next three years.

As the programme began in 1999, it is too early to make a concrete evaluation of the measures as the overall effects are not yet visible. The parts that had already been implemented, such as 'Women on the Web', had been quite successful and attained their targets (see NAP, English version p.59). The financial resources credited to these programmes are not very high, but they do have some influence on the behaviour of individual actors such as the universities, training institutions, etc.

Two crucial points, however, remain unresolved: firstly, how to influence the gender-segregation in the IT-occupations in private firms (as the selection of apprentices takes place in the firms) and secondly, how to integrate employed, but low skilled women, in services or production sectors, into training activities, i.e. to establish proactive policies before the jobs are gone and the women become unemployed.

A further contradictory development concerns Germany's campaign to recruit IT-specialists from abroad. A so-called 'Green Card' would allow employers to hire a non-EU specialist for a period of 5 years, irrespective of the general halt to legal immigration. The demanded wage-level to allow the Green Card is rather high (80,000 DM per year). After a campaign of nearly 6 months the supply of highly skilled foreigners is not as high as expected, nor is the demand for labour on the part of the employers side. Although the debate about IT-specialists was gender-neutral (in fact the films in TV always showed Indian women working with computers), the public notion and the connotation of IT-specialist was highly male-dominated. This debate may counteract the Government's mainstreaming approach in IT-occupations as it demonstrates that not only are women a potential labour force but so are people from outside Germany.

The Government's IT-Programme integrates gender issues and measures related to women's advancement to a higher degree than ever conceptualised. It
takes a positive approach towards women's employment and creates financial incentives to implement measures that will help to reach the targets. The targets are ambitious with respect to the starting point, the financial resources attributed are limited but in special areas rather influential concerning the concrete action of employers, universities, training institutions.

References:
Italy [1]

Author(s): Paola Villa & Sabrina Bonetti

Policy Measure: Promotion of the Information Society through educational expansion.

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
The IT and high-tech sector is a new sector and therefore, in theory, it should not lend itself to gender discrimination based on cultural prejudices inherited from the past; yet it is a sector largely dominated by men and which seems to afford little access to women.

Superficial analysis might conclude that there are gender differences, not just biological but also intellectual, which render the theory of gender mainstreaming both pointless and inapplicable. However, more profound analysis carried out by Anna Oliverio Ferraris, a lecturer in developmental psychology at the ‘La Sapienza’ University of Rome, depicts a different situation. Children first come into contact with computers through video games which are designed by men, and therefore designed with a male mentality being largely based on adventurous and violent action. This accounts for the scant interest in them shown by girls. But one need only change the content of a computer game, hypertext or story viewed with a computer for it to become of interest for girls as well as boys. For example, rather than setting a story in the Wild West or with a martial arts expert as the hero, one need only create a story in which a bear goes off in search of honey, overcoming a series of obstacles to reach the place where the honey is hidden. In this way girls might solve the same kinds of problems as their male counterparts, but in a different context which is more suited to them. Thus, boys and girls might both apply their skills in the same way and solve the same types of problems. If one takes account of the fact that girls, at present, start from a disadvantaged position with respect to boys, one understands why women are distinctly under-represented in the IT sector.

Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:
The shortage of IT specialists reduces discrimination against women seeking to work in the sector, even though they must adjust to the male perception of work when they do so. In the private sector, the lack of specialists creates strong pressure for the over-utilisation of the available labour, so that overtime is often required of workers and applications for part-time arrangements are rejected. At the same time, given this high level of demand for experts, the bargaining power of IT specialists in their dealings with employers is very high, and as a consequence, so too are salary levels. Even women no longer in their youth may receive constant job offers and are therefore able to choose those best suited to their needs, without being penalised as regards their careers or pay levels. However, they are required to keep constantly abreast with new developments in their field, and the extremely long hours that they have to work force them to
make sacrifices in their personal lives. As a consequence, they are often obliged to forgo the idea of having children, also owing to the lack of suitable facilities, such as crèches, which should be provided by the state or by the company for which they work. Even large companies very rarely provide facilities of this kind, probably because a crèche would be too costly for a company in relation to the numbers of women, and therefore mothers, on its staff. Apart from such economic evaluations of the provision of in-company crèches, the indifference shown by managers to the specific problems of working mothers may be due to a general absence of gender awareness in the Italian executive class.

Three: The priority attached to gender equality:
Since there is already unsatisfied demand for IT experts, estimated in the NAP at more than 50,000 units, and since the use of computers in the workplace continues to proliferate, there is no doubt as to the logic of the government’s action to expand the sector, starting with education at all levels including elementary. However, from the point of view of gender mainstreaming it can be criticised, in that the type of language used in the NAP is gender neutral: there is no attempt to adopt a gender perspective in order to desegregate a sector of such importance. Unfortunately, I have found not a single article in a newspaper or specialist journal which conducts analysis that takes account of the greater obstacles faced by women on entry to the IT sector. The sole exceptions are some publications by the afore-mentioned Anna Oliverio Ferraris.

Promoting computer literacy in schools in order to foster the spread of multimedia techniques in society can only have positive outcomes if teacher training is thorough and timely. In the Italian educational system from elementary school to university, however, no assessment is made of the quality of teaching. The prerequisite for such assessment is an innovative teacher-training programme. Ministerial circular no. 282 provides a detailed description of the hardware to be bought, but it devotes little space to the problems of training and the content of multimedia products.

The training of teachers in the use of multimedia software should address the following three areas:

(i) the use of multimedia materials instead of textbooks;
(ii) the altering of multimedia materials or the creation of new ones by the teacher;

(ii) the altering of multimedia materials or the creation of new ones by the teacher helped by his/her pupils.

In practice, the training of teachers in these matters is proceeding with great difficulty. The data presented at meetings indicates that teachers have little awareness of the objectives that they wish to achieve with hypertexts. They have inadequate knowledge about how hypertexts are created, and they are unable to evaluate and document what their pupils have actually learnt by means of them.
Hypertexts indubitably have great educational potential: creating a hypertext in an elementary school may foster critical awareness, interest in its contents, and collaboration among children from different schools. However, these results do not come automatically; rather, they require educators who know how to produce them.

**Four: Impact of policy:**

Oliverio Ferraris maintains that children should be first introduced to computers at the age of 8 or 9. There are very few elementary school children, aged 6-8, with the curiosity to explore the keyboard and discover the possibilities offered by the computer: by and large, the latter years of elementary school are more appropriate. Obviously, children must understand how to use a computer and gain familiarity with it; thereafter they usually show great interest in using computers. However, Oliverio Ferraris advises against the use of the computer by very small children.

In order to establish the minimum age appropriate, she draws on her previous publications on the relationship between children and television, which she believes carries a number of similarities with the relationship between children and computers. Up to the age of six the boundary between the real and imaginary worlds is indistinct: children believe that the characters leave the screen at the end of the programme, and they are unable to distinguish among television genres: fiction from a news broadcast, sport from a film. Only later do they understand the difference between truth and falsehood, while they still fail to distinguish between truth and likelihood. This is not a real problem, however, because it may also happen to an adult. However, if a small child is not helped by a parent, s/he has difficulty in distancing him/herself from TV shows and in correctly interpreting their meaning.

A number of English and American studies on language development in the first three years of life have found that children who spend long hours in front of the television set are lexically and verbally backward. Television produces a lot of words, but it does not leave time for reflecting, learning and repeating. Watching television may enrich the vocabulary of a six- or seven-year-old child with a relatively consolidated language competence, but this does not happen with younger children, because they are overwhelmed by the avalanche of words issuing from the television set. The presence of a parent may stimulate active watching: a scene or a remark may give rise to discussion, so that the child acquires a critical stance towards programmes and develops a capacity for analysis. Between the ages of three and five, children are beginning to use their imaginations, and as the protagonists of their games they are able to enter and leave their imaginary worlds at will. However, they adopt a passive attitude towards television, a film or a computer game. Their imaginations are engrossed by the images on the screen, especially if they depict vivid situations or intense values. In order to forestall a passive and consequently harmful attitude to the
computer, Oliverio Ferraris advises programming, which is accessible even to non-specialists thanks to simplified languages, and she insists that children must be helped by a trained teacher.

When novices are faced with a hypertext, they may have no idea of what to look for or of the decisions that they are supposed to take; they may therefore fail to benefit from the opportunities offered by the program. It is very probable that they will lose themselves in the mass of information available, so that they use only some of it without realising that they are neglecting important data and key notions. Their learning may thus be fragmentary and unstructured, and with no logical sequence. Interesting in this regard are the results of an experiment carried out by a team of psychologists and computer programmers on children presented with two Microsoft Home hypertexts (considered to be the best available on the market), one on science and the other on history. The children were very interested in the hypertexts, and especially in the video clips, the coloured figures and the sounds; and they quickly learnt to understand the structure of the programs. However, although they easily learnt how to interact with the computer, the children ignored most of the written texts and the data options, and they treated the ‘tests’ as if they were games. While exploring the hypertexts, the children missed the bulk of their contents. The audio and the pictures, which most attracted their attention, were not sufficient: if the explanations of the figures were not read, they were difficult to understand, and certain details were susceptible to misinterpretation. Since the written texts contained around 80% of the total information, the navigation was decidedly superficial. Consequently, the children used a trial-and-error approach with the tests and they discovered the answers only \textit{a posteriori}. Ergonomic studies have shown that reading text on a computer screen takes 30% longer than reading printed text, and it is 20% more tiring. It is obvious that even greater effort is required of children aged 8 or 9. One solution is the presence of a trained teacher who ensures that the computer is not used for game-playing. This may reduce the efficacy of hypertexts (which their authors intend to be self-sufficient), but it restores to the teacher his/her fundamental role as the organizer of learning. Another possibility is to involve the children in the creation of a hypertext. By means of programs specially developed for hypertext creators it is possible to switch from reader mode to author mode. Giving children an active rather than passive role in this manner may prevent certain harmful effects giving rise to greater social costs in subsequent years. It should also be borne in mind that it is somewhat risky to use computer software produced by others and not for the specific purpose at hand.

The enormous change brought about in recent years by information technology requires adults to assume responsibility for children, given that it is inevitable that everyone, both adults and children, must adapt to the characteristics, times and spaces of multimedia society. However, it should also be borne in mind that it is impossible to modify, beyond a certain limit, the biological timing of the intellectual, emotional and motor development of children. There is a steadiness
in development and growth that must be respected and protected. Although, to a certain extent, children are impermeable to things that they do not understand, some phenomena that they find incomprehensible nevertheless affects them emotionally, especially if they concern relationships with human beings, between humans and animals, birth, death and illness. Adults have the duty to assume responsibility for what children see and hear on television, learn with the computer, or encounter as they surf the Internet. Below a certain age (10 to 11) access to the Internet is probably not essential, especially because the environment can be explored in other ways (i.e. in 'reality', which generates a more complete involvement).

Seven: Policy modifications:
The foregoing discussion of the current and potential position of women in the IT sector has concentrated on the training of children in the use of computers. The general hypothesis subsumed by my arguments is that low female participation in the Italian IT sector is due to the following factors:

(i) the lack of a gender perspective in policy proposals for expanding the sector (page 15 of the 2000 NAP; ministerial plan to increase the teaching of computer skills in schools);
(ii) a general indifference to the specific problems of working mothers (and care providers) by management, particularly in highly masculinised sectors such as IT in Italy;
(iii) a lower proportion of young women, compared to males of the same age, with adequate computer skills, this being due to shortcomings in the educational system, especially when children are first introduced to computers;
(iv) inadequate teacher training in order to eliminate gender differences from the moment when children are first introduced to computers.

As a consequence, I regard the following changes to be essential for the development and expansion of the IT sector:

(i) the introduction of a gender perspective in all policy documents on expanding the IT sector, in order to forestall discrimination against women;
(ii) the introduction of incentives to firms, the purpose being to increase female participation. These incentives should heighten managerial awareness of the problems faced by working women in the IT sector;
(iii) greater teacher training (at all levels of the school system) as regards both new technologies and a pedagogy to prevent educational discrimination;
(iv) the introduction of a specific teaching methodology for small children in order to stimulate their interest in information technology equally (between males and females) and correctly (from a pedagogical point of view).
The overall conclusion is that the small number of women working in the IT sector is due to the scant interest that the system as a whole (schools, management, political class …) – is able to stimulate in young women.

References:
GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Social Economy Policies
Ireland [2]

Author(s): Ursula Barry

Policy Measure: Social Economy Programme.

Following a Report from a Working Group on the Social Economy set up under Partnership 2000 (national wage and policy agreement), the Irish government approved the introduction of a Social Economy Programme with the objective of supporting enterprises meeting the demand for essential services in disadvantaged communities which might not otherwise have the resources to provide them. The stated aim of the Social Economy Programme is to:

maximise the role of social economy enterprises in the regeneration of local economies within local disadvantaged areas, communities and within communities of interest experiencing disadvantage (Social Economy Framework Document, 2000).

A Social Economy Monitoring Committee has been established and a Framework Document outlining structures, procedures and criteria for eligibility onto the Programme has been produced. The Programme is intended to be driven at a local level based on a partnership approach. At the launch of the Programme in September 2000, the Tanaiste Mary Harney specified that the aim of the Programme is to create 2,500 jobs by 2003 and allocated a total budget of IR£231 million (IR£41 million per annum) over the period of the National Development Plan – 2000-2006.

The social economy is envisaged as constituting a part of the economy, between the public and private sectors, which engages in economic activity to meet social objectives. A mix of enterprises providing services whether publicly or privately funded (or a mixture of both) such as waste recycling or meals-on-wheels are defined as part of the social economy. The kind of projects which it is anticipated will be funded under the programme include:

- community businesses – partially or, eventually, wholly funded from traded income;
- deficient-demand social enterprises – where demand for needed goods and services in disadvantaged communities is not matched by resources to pay (due to disadvantage or low population density);
- enterprises based on public service contracts – where public services in disadvantaged areas or to disadvantaged communities are sub-contracted to social economy enterprises.

Social economy enterprises deemed eligible for support will be required to complete three-year Business Plans for which a IR£4,000 grant is available. Following the successful completion of this stage, social economy enterprises may
receive grant supports for up to three years towards the cost of employment of workers and a manager, accountancy, training, capital, overheads costs etc. Participants on the social economy programme will be entitled to retain secondary benefits such as medical cards and rent subsidies.

Specific groups targeted as participants in social economy enterprises are those over thirty-five years who have been registered as unemployed or in receipt of One Parent Family Payment and Disability welfare payments. Spouses (over thirty-five years) of the long-term unemployed are also eligible. Members of the travelling community of all ages are also targeted under this Programme. In addition, there is a provision for 10% of participants to be made up of disadvantaged persons who do not meet the other eligibility criteria.

**One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:**
Women in disadvantaged communities carry the burden of providing care and community services under conditions of economic, social and cultural disadvantage. There has traditionally been a lack of support within Irish employment policy for community enterprises and services which are located in the social economy - between the public and private sectors. In the past, support has been concentrated on active labour market schemes, and while many of these schemes have benefited community enterprise and services, there has been no dedicated Programme to support the activities of the social economy.

The EU White Paper on ‘Growth Competitiveness and Employment’ published in 1993 estimated the job potential of the social economy across the EU at three million new jobs. The sources of these new jobs that they identified include local services (home help for older people, childcare, leisure and cultural facilities, and local shops in rural areas), improvements in the quality of life (renovation of old housing and local public transport services) and environmental protection (maintenance of natural areas, energy saving equipment and water purification). (EU 1993, Partnerships for Local Action Network 1999) It is immediately obvious from this description of the social economy that public support for these services and activities would be of particular significance to women, both as providers and as users of these services. Support for care services, local transport and shopping facilities, and many other activities within the social economy, has the potential to improve women’s lives in both urban and rural disadvantaged communities. While there is no systematic data on the social economy in Ireland, estimates suggest that women account for a high proportion, probably the majority, of those working in the social economy (Dept of Enterprise, Trade and Employment, 1999).

This strong representation of women in the social economy contrasts sharply with the gender composition of employers and the self-employed generally on the Irish labour market, among whom women are strongly under-represented. Enterprise has traditionally been a male dominated economic arena. The overwhelming majority of Irish women on the labour market are employees. Only
7.6% of women in the labour force are either self-employed or employers compared to 19.9% of men. Women account for just 25.5% of all self-employed and employers on the Irish labour market - significantly less than their 41% representation across the labour force as whole (Ruane and Sutherland, 1999).

Women are substantially under-represented among entrepreneurs in this country (Ireland). The LEI (European Network for Women’s Local Employment Initiatives) estimates that women account for only one in five enterprise creators here (in Ireland), compared to one in three in Germany. Further evidence of this is provided in the Survey of Micro Enterprise which found that 90% of entrepreneurs were men. One factor in this is that many women are precluded from signing on the Live Register…the key schemes available for people to get into self-employment - the Area Enterprise Allowance and the Back to Work Allowance Scheme…have Live Register criteria (National Economic and Social Forum, 1997).

There is some evidence that women account for an increasing proportion of new business start-ups although Ireland is significantly below the EU average in this regard. Gender disaggregated data on business start-ups and enterprise generally has been recognised as one of the key gaps in current Irish data. (Fitzpatrick & Associates, 2000)

Women have traditionally been under-represented in publicly funded enterprise support programmes in Ireland. Data on the Back to Work Allowance and the Back to Work Enterprise Allowance reveal a severe under-representation of women, who constitute only 14% of participants. During 1999, 23,006 men and 3,827 women participated on these schemes and 68% of the women on these schemes were under 35 years of age in 1999 (Dept of Social, Community and Family Affairs 2000). Restrictions of such programmes to those who are defined as registered Long Term Unemployed i.e. registered as unemployed for over one year, is one of the reasons for this chronic under-representation of women.

As has been seen in Example 1 above, women constitute a minority of the long-term unemployed (27.6% of the total) despite the fact that they represent 41% of the formal labour force. Among the LTU over thirty-five years, women are even more seriously under-represented due to the weaker labour market attachment of middle and older age groups of women. Women account for only 23% of the LTU over thirty-five years – a key target group of under the Irish Social Economy Programme.

Claimants of One Parent Family Payment are another key target group under the Social Economy programme but eligibility criteria restrict potential participants to those over thirty-five years of age. Ninety-eight percent of recipients of the One Parent Family Payment were women in 1999 but the large majority 66% were
under thirty-five years of age. Only a minority of OPFP claimants (34%) were in the requisite category for social economy eligibility in 1999.

Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:
There has been a highly significant growth in self-employment and employer status among women on the Irish labour market over recent years. The rate at which women’s self-employment and employment status has been growing is greater than their already high rate of labour force participation growth and is also significantly above their rate of growth among men.

Non-Agricultural Self-Employed and Employer Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>000s</td>
<td>000s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Employed</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>71.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>46.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


With the increasing proportion of women on the Irish labour market, attitudes to women’s paid employment have changed, but traditional gender roles and the lack of care infrastructure continue to limit and circumscribe women’s participation.

Probably the most fundamental barrier to the participation of women in the labour force in general, and therefore also in management and entrepreneurship, is household organisation - the division of domestic labour, and particularly childcare. This is especially the case in Ireland where childcare services are very underdeveloped. (Third Report of the Fourth Joint Oireachtas Committee on Women’s Rights 1996)

There is an increasing recognition in Irish employment policy of the importance of increasing women’s employment rate to the long-term sustainability of high growth rates. The lack of care services, particularly childcare but also care of the elderly, have clearly been identified as a major barrier to women’s increased labour force participation. Strategies to increase the supply of childcare have been identified as crucial to address the chronic under-provision of services and the social economy has a crucial role to play in this regard in disadvantaged communities (Dept of Justice, Equality and Law Reform 1999, Dept of Social, Community and Family Affairs, 2000).

Three: The priority attached to gender equality:
The promotion of equal opportunities between women and men is specified as one of four objectives of the social economy programme, alongside the objectives of a) supporting the social economy, b) maximising the potential of the social economy to generate sustainable employment and c) the regeneration of disadvantaged communities in both urban and rural areas.
Among the indicators for the Social Economy Programme a number of gender disaggregated indicators have been specified in the Social Economy Framework Document and these include:

**Indicators on nature and level of social economy activity:**

- Nature of project proposers and their legal structure by gender
- Levels of pay and quality of employment for persons in the social economy employment by gender
- Profiles of persons in social economy employment e.g. gender, communities of interest, urban/rural, employment status etc.
- Gender balance of the Local Working Group.

**Indicators on the range of potential benefits of social economy activity:**

- Contribution to local development strategy in terms of specific benefits – social inclusion, cultural, community, environmental, economic.
- Personal and life skills by gender to working in social economy enterprises.
- Nature and level of training provisions for persons in social economy employment by gender.
- Progression of persons funded under the Programme by gender into non-funded employment within social economy enterprises or other employment or other developmental opportunities.

What is clear from this Programme is that the need to monitor outcomes on a gender basis has been recognised and planned for from its inception. This recognition, however, has not always been consistently applied. For example, one of the indicators specified is the ‘extent of the involvement of employees in the management of the enterprise’ without any reference to the need to analyse such data on a gender dis-aggregated basis.

The target groups specified under this Programme reflect the dominant emphasis in Irish employment strategy, i.e. a reduction in the numbers on the Live Register. While there is some recognition that women are disadvantaged by this kind of exclusive emphasis – three years on the Live Register is a core aspect of the eligibility criteria – both directly for those on the register and indirectly in relation to spouses of the registered unemployed. Claimants of One Parent Family Payment (in Ireland about 97% female) are included as a target group but here again an over-thirty five stipulation is made which is not appropriate for Lone Parents. The majority of Lone Parents dependent on welfare are in the 15-35 age category and are effectively excluded from the programme in its current form. Although Lone Parents of all ages were a target group of enterprise support schemes in the past, their actual take-up rate (2%) was abysmally low:
Lone parents seeking to become entrepreneurs also face unique problems as they tend to lack the back-up of family which deprives them of the direct and indirect unpaid help that families offer. This also exacerbates some of the other barriers such as lack of affordable childcare facilities, particularly during unsociable hours. Although lone parents are one of the priority groups for access to the Back to Work and the Area Based Allowances Schemes, recent official figures show that there is only a 2 percent take-up by lone parents of these Schemes. (National Economic and Social Forum, 1997)

The inclusion of a category allowing 10% of participants to be accounted for by persons not meeting the eligibility criteria is a partial recognition that many women will find it difficult or impossible to meet the criteria for eligibility. Its formulation, however, is negative rather than positive and the 10% limit is overly restrictive. From a gender perspective, eligibility for women in low income households would ensure that women in different situations (married or cohabiting with a low paid worker, lone parents, young unemployed, absent from the formal labour market for an extended time period, etc), would have direct eligibility. As it stands, such flexible eligibility is restricted to the residual 10% category.

Childcare and other care services are key services in disadvantaged communities with the potential to generate significant assisted employment places and also to contribute to the enhancement of community life. In a society where traditional gender roles continue to be entrenched and where care responsibilities are overwhelmingly carried by women, it has a definite gender dimension. There is a definite danger that the Social Economy Programme as currently constituted will not be available to the many young to middle aged women working in childcare due to the restricted nature of the eligibility criteria.

**Four: Impact of policy:**

This Programme is at the very earliest stage of development – only one month from its formal launch. It represents an important recognition of the role of the social economy in provided much needed services within disadvantaged areas directly by those communities themselves. For the first time there is a dedicated programme of direct support for community businesses and activities which operate between the private and public sectors. Many of the business and activities likely to receive support under this programme will both directly and indirectly benefit women in disadvantaged communities. Childcare and other care and community based services and facilities are key areas of potential support under this Programme.

Some issues are already emerging as critical. From a general perspective, there is a danger that the programme is being seen as a replacement, or even a displacement, of pre-existing employment schemes rather than an innovative new programme. There is also a concern that the support framework is too short-
term and does not recognise that many of the businesses and activities that will be supported may need long-term public subsidisation.

There are also key issues concerning the eligibility criteria for this programme. The use of the Live Register as a core criterion of eligibility directly disadvantages significant numbers of women potential participants on this Programme. The restriction on Lone Parent eligibility to those over thirty-five years of age is likely to prove a definite obstacle to certain community enterprises, for example, those based in disadvantaged area with high concentrations of Lone Parents.

A Report on the Programme by Irish Rural Link identifies a number of concerns about the impact of the Programme:

- Lack of and/or contradictory information and timescales at local level
- Fear that this Programme will replace or displace the pre-existing community employment scheme
- Difficulty for projects in meeting eligibility criteria
- Need for integration between social economy and community development supports (Irish Rural Link 2000).

**Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:**

This Programme is likely to have its most beneficial impact on women over thirty-five years of age in disadvantaged urban and rural areas who have been registered as unemployed or claiming One Parent Family Payment for a period of three years or more. Women travellers across the age groups are in a position to benefit from this Programme.

Younger unemployed or lone parent women and women returners will have difficulty participating in this Programme to any great degree. The extent to which the actual and potential benefits of this Programme are realised in practice will depend on the securing of recognition within the policy-making system of the need for long-term assistance to many social economy enterprises. Broader-based benefits to other groups of women are reliant on a recognition of the gendered significance of more flexible eligibility criteria. For example, in a report of a Conference on the Social Economy held in November 1998, the importance of the social economy for women returners was explicitly recognised:

> Although the participation of women in the labour force is increasingly rapidly in any event, the social economy may provide a useful and appropriate route back into employment for women who have spent time out of the formal labour force (Area Development Management Ltd, 1998).

Unfortunately women returners, even in low income households, are not a target group of the Social Economy Programme.
In the recommendations contained in its Report, Irish Rural Link argue:

The existing eligibility criteria are not suitable for rural areas. In particular, many existing Social Economy Enterprises are dependent on a female workforce who will not meet the Live Register criteria. The Social Economy should fully utilise the available workforce in rural areas including women not on the live register, smallholders and seasonal workers (Irish Rural Link, 2000).

**Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:**
Indirect benefits of this Programme from a perspective of gender equality lie in the greater resourcing of services at a community level which have traditionally relied, to a significant degree, on women’s unpaid labour. Essential child and other care services in disadvantaged communities are a major example of the kind of services which can be supported under this Programme and which benefit women at a community level. Public support for childcare, care of the elderly, local transport and shopping facilities, as well as improved environmental management, have significant potential benefits for those beneficiaries of services as well as their traditionally female unpaid or low paid providers. Children, in urban and rural disadvantaged areas, will benefit from additional support to community-based childcare services. The social economy has the potential to create employment and improve services, contributing towards the economic, social and cultural development of disadvantaged communities in urban and rural areas.

**Seven: Policy modifications:**
1. Greater flexibility of eligibility criteria has the potential to make this Programme of greater relevance to women:
   - Remove the age threshold for lone parents
   - establish eligibility for women in low income households
   - specify women returners as target group

2. Extend range of indicators for programme to include
   - gender breakdown of management of social economy enterprises
   - provision of care services
   - breakdown of participants by gender and also by additional categories — lone parents; returners; spouses of unemployed etc.
   - gender composition of local committees

3. Greater recognition that social economy enterprises may require long-term public assistance.

4. Additional financial resources to extend this programme within targeted communities.
5. Support further research and data collection on the nature, scale, composition of participants and beneficiaries of the Social Economy.

References
Dept of Education and Science: Green Paper on Adult Education.
GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Working Time, Flexibility & Reconciliation Policies
France [2]

Author(s): Rachel Silvera

Policy Measure: The second Aubry Law – The reduction of the working week to 35 hours.

In the framework of pillar III concerning the adaptation of companies and workers, France has made its mark by implementing the law of January 19th 2000 (the so called Aubry II Law) on the implementation of the 35 hour week that complements and extends the scope of the law of 1998 (Aubry I). This new legislation 'sets a working week of 35 hours, lays the rules for overtime, opens up new possibilities in terms of the organisation of work (modulation, days taken off in lieu, time saving account, part time work, arrangements for managerial and professional staff), provides for a decrease in some of the employers' contributions and establishes mechanisms for a guaranteed income level for workers: the SMIC (minimum wage). This legislation encourages the bargaining process, in particular as regards professional training and gender equality' (NAP, 2000). Thus, a major shift has occurred between the first and the second Law in terms of the assessment of the gender impact which deserves our full attention: whereas this aspect was totally absent from the first Law, the second Aubry Law makes the negotiation of gender issues a prerequisite for access to financial incentives. It is because of this major change that we have decided to examine this second measure: Can we consider that mainstreaming of gender has occurred? What are the consequences and what are the outcomes that can so far be observed?

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
This law therefore introduces real changes, but some issues still pose a problem as regards gender:

The first crucial point affecting the balanced participation of men and women in the process and the resources allocated to this objective concerns the issue of part time work. A step forward has been made with the abolition of the exemption of employers' contributions for part time work (which was only achieved through bargaining and numerous mobilisations). In France, part time work is motivated by a series of factors: it is partly the result of an individual 'choice' to reduce ones working hours (for example to work four days a week in order to look after ones children on Wednesdays, as children in France get the day off school). It also, however, fits in with the companies' desire for greater flexibility in their production processes, based on financial contributions from the government (30% reduction in employers’ contributions). Part time work has developed spectacularly in France over the past years, experiencing one of the fastest rates of growth in Europe (in 1980, there were 1.5 million part time jobs, and 3.5 million in 1998 that is to say 18% of all jobs, over 30% of female jobs and 5% of male jobs, 85% of part time jobs going to women). It must be borne in
mind that in France part time work was not widespread (so levels of part time work were rather low) and contrary to what occurred in some countries of Northern Europe, the growth in female employment began with full time jobs, and now no longer with interruptions in their careers – this being an exception shared with the former GDR (and to a certain extent with Portugal and Finland) - : countries such as Denmark for instance, where women are active on the labour market at every age group (in particular from 25 to 49) owe this development to part time work. Also, contrary to what happens in Northern Europe, part time work affects women to a far greater extent in France.

Thus, this abolition is to be welcomed as it was a truly discriminating factor for women who were employed on very short contracts with salaries bordering on the poverty line (3 000F), however, this will only concern new part-time contracts and should only come into force in 2001. These tax breaks will be a true windfall for companies, particularly retail and catering where part time work is imposed upon workers and is often tantamount to casual employment. At the same time, a number of measures to «protect part time workers» have been announced, such as the limitation of overtime. However, no provision has been made for a right to revert to full time employment, as is the case with the recently enacted legislation in the Netherlands that enables each worker to extend or shorten their working hours. On this question, the French legislation leaves it up to the bargaining process to set up the procedures to improve the relation between part time work and the 35 hour week, and, for example, to develop the conditions for «freely chosen part time work». But will the social partners really take these issues on board? Are workers, including female workers who are often in a weak position when their jobs are being threatened, really likely to take the initiative on this? If women (since it is mostly women) have ‘chosen’ to work less, often because of family constraints, that does not mean that they want to set themselves apart from the company in which they work. Their rights and working conditions must be part of a collective approach, not an individual one, and the reduction in the collective working week should provide them with the opportunity to express their difference whilst reasserting their equal rights. That is why women need to take on a greater role in the collective bargaining process.

A second positive element in the new legislation provides for the benefit of employers’ contributions cuts to fall on companies that have entered agreements including measures in favour of professional equality and the development of «freely chosen part time work» (possibility of changing from part time work to full time work or vice versa). That is to say that in terms of resources, the emphasis is placed on equality and the struggle against gender discrimination. In the same spirit, as regards norms and values, the legislation on the 35 hour week strives to strike a better balance on ‘social time’ for women as well as for men and a better balance between family life and professional life. Thus workers will be able to ask for a reduction in their working time equivalent to at least a week «so as to meet the needs of their family life». In the same way, a worker in part time employment will be able to turn down an increase in overtime for family reasons. However,
these principles are still rather symbolic as no specific provisions have been made apart from the limitation of discrimination when applying for a job. It is up to those involved in the bargaining process to come up with concrete measures, but there is a risk that only formal principles will be included in the agreements.

Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:
Until the new legislation is comprehensively applied, a major gap between men’s and women’s working hours will be observed, as shown in the following table.

Weekly length of working hours for regular work (both salaried and non salaried, part time and full time)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>41.4h</td>
<td>41.2h</td>
<td>41.1h</td>
<td>40.9h</td>
<td>40.7h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>34.8h</td>
<td>34.7h</td>
<td>34.3h</td>
<td>34.3h</td>
<td>34.2h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>6.6h</td>
<td>6.5h</td>
<td>6.8h</td>
<td>6.6h</td>
<td>6.5h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: employment survey, INSEE

Eurostat data complete this first table for 1998, and provides data for part time and full time work. It appears quite clearly that the gap for full time work (2.4h) and especially part time work (0.5) is, in fact, small. It is, rather, the employment profile (share of part time work in female employment) that explains this overall gap of 6.6h. As long as part time work continues to grow and to affect mainly women, this gap will continue to be substantial.

Average working hours worked per week by people in employment in 1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All forms of employment</th>
<th>Full time</th>
<th>Part time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>42h</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be expected that the new legislation on the 35-hour working week will lead to greater convergence in the length of working hours. On the one hand there will be a reduction in men’s working hours for full time jobs (as before the introduction of the 35-hour week they would work 3 hours more on average per week) and by limiting short part time work (because of the end of financial incentives). From our point of view, only a greater convergence of working hours between men and women will ensure equality at work, as well as in family life (reduction in full time work and longer hours for part time work as well as less frequent instances of part time work).
Three: The priority attached to gender equality:
A number of priorities could be set in order to complete this law and actively foster equality:

First of all employment: At a time when the figures for new jobs and employment are being hotly debated, nobody has asked who is benefiting from the possible new jobs being created. Is equality going to be promoted by maintaining or even increasing the proportion of women hired at a time when women are still hit harder by unemployment? Isn’t there a risk of simply replacing male workers with female workers, in view of the labour conditions and type of working hours proposed? What is the use of measures aimed at favouring the recruitment of women such as those proposed for example in Mme Génisson’s recent report, if they do not lead to specific measures which are more enforceable? Equality cannot be tackled merely by offering companies financial incentives. There should be a call for ensuring that there is a fair share of women taken on during recruitment procedures and even propose that they should be over-represented so as to fight against discriminations.

At a time when the government is set to fight against casual employment, especially under the widespread form of short term contracts or interim work, there is a case for imposing a tax on non-voluntary part time work which often goes together with a short term contract, and that a bonus for insecurity of employment is paid out to workers on short term contracts involving unsociable hours.

Four: Impact of policy:
Some observations can be made that enable us to carry out a preliminary assessment of the impact that these measures have had on gender. There is evidence that the current context in which the legislation is being applied is favourable to gender equality promotion. Firstly, although unionisation rates are lower for women than they are for men, women are better represented in the bargaining process and in particular there are more mandated women than men. In some agreements, women have managed to make their voice heard by refusing for instance a 35-hour week spread over 4 days (with a longer working day of 9 hours) which was being asked by men but which is not easily reconcilable with school hours. At a hypermarket, an agreement passed during the negotiations on the 35-hour working week led to an increase in the length of part time work. In a textile company, female workers negotiated a reduction in the working week which took the form of days of leave to be taken on an individual basis, etc.

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40 Davantage de mixité professionnelle pour plus d’égalité entre hommes et femmes, Report to the Prime Minister, July 1999.

41 The system of mandates enables a person who is not a member of a Trade Union to negotiate and sign an agreement in a company by being mandated by a representative Trade Union.
However, in other instances women have denounced a deterioration in their working conditions (in particular an increase in stress) as the application of the reduction in their working hours does not take their needs into account or favours the recruitment of men. In March 2000, a Trade Union confederation (the CFTC) publicised the findings of a qualitative survey carried out amongst the employees of around forty companies. The survey concluded that the 35 hour week did not meet the female employees’ expectations, as the results showed that, to a far greater extent than for their male colleagues, women expected the reduction in the working week to improve their living conditions but that in fact it resulted in greater stress and fatigue. There is a risk that these conditions become widespread. From this point of view, much remains to be done for the principle of equality to be asserted at the outset of the bargaining process. It is quite likely that only the mobilisation of local partners, in particular the Trade Unions and workers themselves will effectively challenge this trend in the negotiation of future agreements. The conclusion is thus a mitigated one.

**Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:**

The reduction in the working week is first and foremost a way of striking a better balance between family life and professional life, particularly for parents. Yet, from the company’s point of view, the reduction in the working week is a tool that enables greater flexibility in working hours, the calculation of leave on a yearly basis and modulation of working hours. There is a widespread development of unsociable hours (working hours spread out over long periods of time, night work, etc.). Thus, when agreements were negotiated on the 35-hour working week, night shifts for female workers has sometimes been encouraged. Women, who often happen to be mothers, have accepted to work night shifts in order to receive a financial bonus or to look after their young children during the day, obviously at the expense of their health (few and erratic hours of sleep). Giving workers sufficient notice of changes in working hours is also a crucial aspect. It appears that in the name of production constraints and ‘just-in-time’ production, very short notice is given and statutory notification periods are often not respected. To be notified one week in advance, or worst still just three days in advance of a change in working hours, which according to the law is possible in case of an economic necessity, poses insurmountable problems in terms of personal organisation, especially for women. This issue needs to be better taken into account by all the social partners.

The issue of the reduction in the working hours of professional and managerial employees has also been the subject of numerous debates. The decision which has finally been reached of a reduction in working days with no reference made to working hours for some types of qualified employees known as «third type» (neither managers nor members of a team), will have social consequences for

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42 Let us recall that France has only just issued new legislation which will modify the labour code by authorising women to work night shifts is industry in accordance with the European Directive.
the whole of that category, more specifically in terms of equality, since these employees will most likely come under pressure to work longer days, since a working day can legally be up to 13 hours. Who will be able to accept these longer working days? Once more, it can be expected that highly qualified women will be penalised first and to a greater extent and that the feminisation of some qualified professions will be slowed down because of this change in working hours.

Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:
In order to assess the indirect impact of policies on inequality we can refer to a number of surveys that assess the use of free time according to gender. As is revealed by data produced by surveys on the use of free time of households (currently being analysed) or surveys assessing the impact of the first Aubry Law, a balanced share of household chores but also of child rearing is still far from being achieved in France. Worst still, whereas the reduction in the working week could appear to be a good way to strike a better balance in the share out of domestic chores in favour of women, the opposite could be true: for example, when the company gives employees the possibility of choosing when they wish to take their extra time off, men tend to chose to take a longer week-end break whereas women prefer to take Wednesdays off so they can stay with their children (as there is no school on Wednesdays in France).

Similarly, concerning the use of free time, it appears that whereas children seem to be a high priority for their mothers but also for their fathers, a substantial gap seems to separate men and women when it comes to household chores (chosen by women) as opposed to DIY or gardening for men (semi-leisure activities...). Finally, just resting seems to be a major need, in particular for women.

Use of free time by gender breakdown (extracts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIY, gardening</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resting</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking after the children</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying out household chores</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questions with several possible answers and other possible answers have not been presented (sport, leisure activities, etc.).

Seven: Policy modifications:
It seems to me that regarding the reduction in the working week one should proceed on a case by case basis in order to ensure that, among salaried workers, women are not the ones who shoulder all the burdens outside the working place, in particular household chores and family duties. Thus, awareness campaigns should be organised in the workplace explaining that children are a responsibility for mothers and for fathers, as has already happened in Sweden,
where being a parent is not a liability to ones career or is less so and where fathers can take parental leave in the same way as mothers («fathers' month», 60 days leave in case of children being ill instead of 3 days in France with unpaid parental leave or 'Allocation parentale d'Education' (Parental childcare allowance) which given the amount of the allowance paid only concerns women). In conclusion, if the government really wants to mainstream equality, it must involve the companies more and must foster cultural changes of fathers in the work place and outside the work place.
Italy [2]

Author(s):

Policy Measure: Law on part-time work to ensure parity of treatment.

Part-time is the most widespread form of ‘flexible’ work in Italy. The percentage of part-time workers in the total labour force is substantially lower than the European average, although it has steadily increased in recent years: from 5.5% in 1993 to 7.9% in 1999. A survey conducted by Censis has shown that part-time work is performed mainly by women, who accounted for 67.9% of part-time workers in 1992, and 70% in 1998. This high percentage of female participation is probably due to the fact that many Italian women still embrace the traditional conception that they are duty-bound to devote themselves to care work in the home. This information is backed by data compiled by Censis for 1998 regarding women in part-time work: 25.8% of them stated that they had opted for part-time employment because they did not want to work full-time, and a further 26.5% said that they had done so for personal or family reasons. More than 50% of women therefore work part-time by choice. By contrast, men generally view part-time as an initial stage of labour-market entry, if they are unemployed, or as enabling them to devote themselves to other work if they are employed full-time.

Analysis of the occupational situations of part-time female workers shows that this form of employment is most common among low-level occupations, while the higher the occupational status, the less it can be reconciled with work commitments: the incidence of part-time employment is 20% among female blue-collar workers, 11.3% among white-collar ones, and 4.1% in management. These figures are for 1998 and are relative to dependent employment. Among self-employed workers, part-time work is easier to reconcile with a career: in this case, the percentage of women working part-time is 16.7%.

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
Recent figures issued by ISTAT show that female employment has increased annually by 244,000 units, equivalent to 3.2%, while in the same period male employment has grown by only 1.4%. But the increase in female employment consists almost entirely of part-time workers, who now account for almost 9% of the total labour force.43

These figures and trends show that part-time work in Italy is growing increasingly feminised, as has already happened in other European countries. Companies in the private sector prefer to hire men, because women usually take maternity leave, not only for the compulsory period but also for the whole of the optional period available, even though, by law, the latter can be taken by the father instead. This already leads to discrimination, so that in households in which both parents work, it

43 Data worked out before the conversion of the legislative decree into Italian law.
is almost always the father that has the higher-ranking and better-paid job. As a consequence, when situations requiring care work arise, it is the parent with the lower-ranking job and worse career prospects – that is, the mother – who makes the sacrifice by quitting work or switching to part-time, even if s/he may have career ambitions.

Three: The priority attached to gender equality:
While part-time contracts indubitably give women more time to devote to their families and to improve the quality of their lives, the choice of this form of employment reinforces the traditional view of women as solely responsible for care work. This causes a segregation in this contractual form whereby men are confirmed as full-time workers by nature and as the main breadwinners in the household while women are considered to be the source of additional income and devoid of career aspirations.

At high educational levels, with good pay and interesting career prospects, women increasingly prefer to keep their jobs and to delegate care of their children or elderly relatives to outside services or facilities, in the knowledge that otherwise they will miss opportunities for professional development. Female workers with lower educational levels, and on lower rates of pay, may not find it economically convenient to rely on external care services. This fact, together with scant career prospects and low job satisfaction, induce many women in this situation to quit work in order to have children. However, as educational levels rise, increasing numbers of young women are determined to pursue their careers, and for this reason they postpone motherhood to later in their lives. On the other hand, since they are aware of the greater risks of childbearing at an older age, and of the amount of energy required to look after a small child, these women prefer to have only one child. And this is one of the reasons for the falling birth rate. But also in the case of low-level and low-paid jobs, childbearing tends to be postponed, because the couple must accumulate the financial resources necessary to maintain the child, an undertaking which is becoming increasingly expensive.

Four: Impact of policy:
The main purpose of the recent law on part-time work, which converts the EU directive 97/81/EC into Italian law, is to encourage this type of work within the framework of greater flexibility, which should lead to greater labour-market participation (by women in general, but also by men in the young and elderly age groups\(^{44}\)) and reduce the unemployment rate.

The law ensures parity of treatment proportional to the hours of work effectively performed: the part-time worker enjoys the same rights as a comparable full-time worker (in terms of hours worked). In particular, equal treatment, as regards hourly pay rates, the duration of the trial period, annual holidays, compulsory and optional maternity leave, job maintenance in the case of illness, workplace injury

\(^{44}\) This latter objective has not been achieved.
or work-related illness, and access to vocational training courses organised by employers, is guaranteed. Though laudable in theory, this principle of non-discrimination is apparently unable to prevent effective discrimination as regards career advancement, especially in the private sector. Full-time workers acquire greater expertise, their employers are more willing to offer them in-service training courses, and as a consequence they more easily gain promotion and higher pay levels.

Under the new law (as already established by the first law on part-time), part-time work contracts must be stipulated in written form, and they must state the duration of the employment and define the work schedule in terms of hours per day, week, month and year. This entails that an employer cannot force a worker to accept a work schedule different from the one initially agreed (except by consensual renegotiations). This constraint is regarded as damaging by numerous employers because it introduces rigidity into arrangements for working hours.

The law also provides various forms of protection for part-time workers. Should the employer request a worker to change from part-time to full-time, or vice versa, this can only come about on prior written consent of the worker concerned.45 Prior written consent is also required before any change can be made to the agreed working hours, with the further condition that the worker has the right to 'reconsider': that is, to withdraw his/her consent on justified family or health grounds, or because s/he must attend to other work activities.

Further protection has been introduced by the provision that, when hiring full-time personnel, a employer must give precedence to employees working on part-time contracts in production units situated within 100 kms of the production unit in which the vacancy (for the same or similar type of worker) has arisen. The employer must also give precedence to applications by workers who have already changed from full-time to part-time employment, and among these, to workers with heavier family responsibilities and more seniority. Again, when taking on new workers, the employer must inform full-time personnel in production units situated in the same municipality about the vacancies available, and s/he must consider applications by full-time workers wishing to change to part-time contracts. Rejection of these applications can only be made on justifiable grounds.

This flexibilisation of the employment relationship is encouraged by the granting of incentives in the form of tax relief amounting to a maximum of 600 billion lire over three years. However, tax relief is granted only for those appointments in excess of actual staffing levels, and provided that the new jobs created are permanent ones. Priority will also be given to longer-term contracts: in fact, relief on social security payments ranges from the minimum of 7% for contracts stipulating 20 to 24 hours of weekly work to a maximum of 13% for those

45 There is no provision, however, regarding requests by workers to change from one type to the other.
stipulating 32 hours per week. If the amount set aside is insufficient, precedence will be given to contracts pertaining to young people under 25, and to women with under-age children or who are cohabiting with disabled persons.

Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:
The spread of part-time work may have a positive effect on small children, in that they need to be accepted for what they are, understood and guided, if they are to grow into happy and self-confident individuals. They need physical contact; they need someone to listen to them, to do things with them, and to pay attention to them. This task has been traditionally assigned to the mother, but it can be performed equally well by the father: the presence of different figures of attachment does not damage a child as long as each of them is liked and a good relationship is formed. It is the sudden handing-over of the child to strangers that may cause alarm and anxiety, a state that is inevitably exacerbated if the physical environment is strange as well.

It is widely accepted that the various aspects of development are interrelated, so that one cannot, as was the case until only a few years ago, concentrate exclusively on cognitive development without considering that a distressing social and affective environment may also have consequences on other aspects of a child's life. It is only towards 2 or 3 years of age that, after tumultuous changes, the general development of a child (under the close supervision of the parents) tends to slow down, at least in physical terms, and new and powerful language skills enable the child to explore the outside world, form fuller relationships with others, and develop a broader set of social relations.

Because it is often the case today that both parents work, the optimal situation we have just described can only be achieved if both parents change to part-time jobs at alternating times of the day, so that the child is cared for by both parents around the clock. The main obstacle against this arrangement is the difficulty of subsequently returning to full-time employment, which is not guaranteed by the law as it stands. It is obvious, therefore, that there is no current incentive for the parents to ask to change to part-time. As such, legislation that introduces a form of part-time work, with an automatic return to full-time employment for important family reasons (one of which is undoubtedly the need to care for a small child or for a temporarily non-self-sufficient elderly relative), is necessary.

Seven: Policy modifications:
The law on part-time work is already having positive effects on the female employment rate, which is now gradually approaching the male one, although the latter is still decidedly higher. One may therefore confidently predict that the law in question will have a beneficial impact on persons in need of family care (most notably children, the elderly and the non self-sufficient). I do not believe, however, that the law will improve the general situation of equal opportunities in the labour market, in that it will tend to shift increasing numbers of women into care work.
Yet the problem of balancing work and family responsibilities is an extremely complex one. The only means by which to achieve equal opportunities is the promotion of a culture that encourages men to accept greater responsibility for care work. However, this will require a great deal of time and certainly cannot be imposed by law. Since Italy is only just beginning to concern itself with equal opportunities issues, the introduction of a parity culture, which must perforce begin with the younger generation, will encounter predictable resistance by men, but also scant acceptance by those many women still bound by the tradition and the mentality prevailing in the social environment. It is, nevertheless, to be hoped that attempts will be made to reverse the trend towards the segregation of women in part-time employment. With this in mind, it would be useful to consider instituting the following: policies to promote part-time employment in high-ranking occupations, and incentives to encourage the use of part-time arrangements in sectors of predominantly male employment.

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Luxembourg [2]

Author(s): Robert Plasman

Policy Measure: Parental leave & leave for family reasons.

The Law of 12 February 1999 on the implementation of the 1998 NAP introduced in Article XXIV, the law of the same date creating parental leave and leave for family reasons.

The aim of the law is to grant, under certain legal conditions, six months full-time or 12 months part-time parental leave, with compensatory payment of approximately Flux 60 000 or 30 000 respectively from the national family benefit fund, to any parents bringing up one or more children under 5 in their household. The entitlement to parental leave is an individual entitlement for any parent who is either a paid employee, self-employed or a civil servant. Parents in paid employment have their contract of employment suspended during the period of parental leave, following which they are automatically reinstated. During the leave period, social security entitlements are maintained (sickness insurance, pension insurance via baby years), as are other entitlements related to seniority and other advantages which workers have acquired at the start of their parental leave. During parental leave, employees are protected in the same way as pregnant women or women who have recently given birth, i.e. there is a legal ban on their being dismissed. Parental leave must be taken in full and in one go. One of the parents must take his or her parental leave immediately following maternity or adoption leave, failing which it is forfeited. This leave is an entitlement and employers cannot refuse to grant it if the legal conditions are met. The other parent may take his or her parental leave up to the time the child has reached the age of five. Since the two parents may not take full-time parental leave at the same time (though they may take part-time leave), priority is given to the mother if both parents apply for parental leave at once. Single parents may take their parental leave up to the time their child has reached the age of five. For the second period of parental leave, employers may, under certain conditions which are strictly laid down in the law, defer parental leave for a maximum of two months and, in enterprises with fewer than 15 workers, up to six months. A second deferral is not possible and the leave must be granted without fail at the end of the deferral period. These measures enable enterprises to take on replacements during absence for maternal and parental leave. The State provides financial support for recruiting job seekers to replace people on parental leave, whether it follows maternity leave immediately or not. The Administration for Employment, in co-operation with the National Family Benefit Fund, assesses this measure using a questionnaire which is sent out to the employer every time an application for compensation for parental leave is made to establish whether the post which has been freed up is occupied during the period of parental leave.

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
No parental leave previously existed.

**Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:**
Consequently, there is no trend, but it may be assumed that part of part-time or retrieval from the labour force may result from the lack of parental leave

**Three: The priority attached to gender equality:**
A policy on parental leave has to ensure that it will increase the labour force participation of women and not have the reverse effect. The income level provided is a relevant characteristic and also the guarantees in terms of status when returning to work, guarantees of promotion, etc.

**Four: Impact of policy:**
Potential effects may be positive in terms of reducing the numbers of women leaving the labour market. But negative effects may also occur, as pointed out by the women of the trade union OGB-L: it may constitute an incentive to leave from the labour market.

**Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:**
Categorical effects are mainly related to the kind of occupations and the level of income, since the compensation is limited to the minimum wage (about 1500 EURO)

**Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:**
Nothing to add.

**Seven: Policy modifications:**
Nothing to add.
Netherlands [2]

Author(s): Janneke Plantenga


The Act on Flexibility and Security came into effect on January 1st 1999. One point of departure is that the labour market must become more flexible, while at the same time an adequate level of protection of employees must be maintained. The Act regulates the position of flex workers, such as those workers on call, stand by employees, temporary workers, temps etc. Important stipulations are:

Presumption of employment contract: Employment contracts are not always clearly regulated. In case of uncertainty, a presumption of employment contract is supposed to exist if an employee has worked each week or at least 20 hours per month for a period of three months for the same employer.

Minimum wages for on call workers: The employee is entitled to the wages of three hours work per 'call', even though he/she has worked less than three hours. This applies to on call employees who work less than 15 hours per week and whose working times and/or working hours are not fixed. This regulation creates an incentive for the employer to not to organise the work in shifts of less than three hours.

Employment contracts for a fixed period of time: Resignation used to be a requirement in order to renew an employment contract for a fixed period of time. The Act on Flexibility and Security no longer requires this, which makes it easier to renew temporary employment contracts. At the same time the Act limits the possibilities of renewal, by stating the temporary contracts will be transformed into a contract for an indefinite period of time in the following cases:

- the employer and the employee have renewed the temporary employment contract twice. A third renewal (the fourth contract) transforms the temporary employment contract into an employment contract for an indefinite period of time. The period of time between the contracts has to be less than three months.

- the total length of the temporary contracts has exceeded a period of 36 months. After the period of 36 months the temporary employment contract is transformed into an employment contract for an indefinite period of time.

Transfer agreement: The Act on Flexibility and Security also regulates transfer agreements. A transfer agreement is an employment contract between a temp agency and a temp. During the first 26 weeks of the transfer agreement rather flexible rules apply. For example, the agreement may be terminated (by the employee and the employer) at any given moment, or may be renewed for several
short periods of time. After 26 weeks, the transfer agreement is covered by the same rules as the temporary employment contract. This means that a fourth contract transforms the employment contract into a contract for an indefinite period of time.

Termination of the employment contract: The Act on Flexibility and Security has simplified the procedure of termination of an employment contract. As a result the procedure is more efficient. Also, a shorter procedure of termination is possible, but only if the employee has no objections to the termination of the employment contract.

The Act on Flexibility and Security provides the standard stipulation. Unions and employers can, however, make their own 'tailor made' agreements in cases in which the legal regulation is deemed inadequate. At the time of writing approximately 40% of all CLA-agreements contains additional stipulations with regard to 'flexi-curity' (SZW 2000: 2)

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
Increasing labour market flexibility has been identified as an important condition for economic expansion. Flexibility might lower labour costs, increase efficiency and remove structural or incidental bottlenecks in the labour market. Labour market flexibility might also be favoured by employees as it creates more variability with regard to labour market behaviour. At the same time, flexibility is not always a positive sum game in which both the employer and the employee are the beneficiaries. Much depends on the specific form of the flexibility and the economic and societal environment this flexibility occurs in.

Given the current unequal division of paid and unpaid care, women participate in the labour market in a more casual way. This means that the pros and cons of flexibility especially affect women. Statistics indicate that in 1999 13% of all female employees had a flexible contract, compared to 7% of male employees. These figures correspond to a female share among flex workers of 55%, compared to 39% among total employees. Women are particularly over-represented among on-call workers (71%) and substitute workers (69%). The more precarious position of women on the labour market clearly affects the distribution of recourses such as income and time. Time sovereignty is especially important with regard to flexible labour contracts. On call arrangements, for example, may disrupt leisure time, especially when there is a possibility to be called into work for a short period of time and/or at short notice. Norms and values contribute to the gendered patterns of labour market behaviour and create a context in which gender differences are both used and confirmed by different flexibility strategies. A changing incentive structure, by granting rights to flex workers (in terms of security in income and work) might help prevent a further reinforcement of existing differences.
Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:
During the mid 1990’s, the number of employees with a flexible labour contract increased steadily from approximately 400,000 employees in 1997 to a little more than 600,000 in 1998. In 1999, however, the number of flex workers decreased to 571,000, due to the favourable economic situation and the tight labour market. The number of transfer agreements seems to follow the fluctuations in the market rather closely - albeit with a certain delay.

Given the nature of the flexible labour contract, statistics on this category should be treated with more than usual care. The above data, for example, does not refer to employees who work less than 12 hours a week. Especially among small part-time jobs, however, flexible contracts may be rather common. Other sources therefore speak of approximately 1 million flex workers (TK 1998-1999: 30). Given the difficulties in compiling reliable data, also a comparison over time and/or by subcategory must be treated with caution.

Three: The priority attached to gender equality:
The increasing labour market flexibility has given rise to several discussions, most of the time framed within pairs of contrasting notions, such as flexibility and security, flexibility and control, flexibility and participation. The basic question being: how to reconcile security of workers with the flexibility needed by firms. Overall there is a growing interest to answer innovative employment patterns and to come to terms with the economic, legal and social implications.

In this respect, the Dutch situation is no exception. The policy developments relating to flexibilisation, and the introduction of the Act on Flexibility and Security has changed the incentive structure with regard to the deployment of flexible workers. In particular, a more flexible dismissal right has been introduced and the position of temps improved. The 'piling up' of temporary contracts is regulated, whereas it is also ensured that call-up workers will only be brought in if there is at least three hours work. It should be taken into account that the protection of employees against too much labour and income insecurity not only has a social function. There are also economic arguments in favour of limiting flexibility. Too many staff working in a company on a temporary or temp basis represents a threat to quality, for example through a lack of corporate spirit, client-orientation or training. It is against this backdrop that an expansion of (external) flexibility by flex workers is regulated, whereas at the same time (internal) flexibility in permanent staff, for example through flexibility in working times and hours, is advocated.

The choice for internal flexibility appears a defensible strategy because in this way flexibility is still combined with a certain level of security. What remains problematic, however, is that the flexibilisation debate is carried out primarily from the perspective of the 'classic' employee. Little attention is given to other relevant developments on the labour market, such as the increasing supply of female labour and the growing number of dual earner families. For the new employee, the employee with care responsibilities, internal flexibilisation often also forms a
problem, because a flexible scheduling of hours through the day, week, month or year may be hard to combine with the fixed routine of care responsibilities. As a result, an important precondition of flexibility is that participation and consultation does take place. Employers and employees should sit down at the negotiating table on more or less equal terms in order to take into account both the needs of the company and the needs of the work force.

**Four: Impact of policy:**
The Act on Flexibility and Security changes the incentive structure with regard to 'regular' and 'flexible' employment relationships. As a result, a new equilibrium has yet to be found. Especially in the last month before the enforcement of the Act on 1 January 1999, a considerable number of temporary workers and temps were dismissed, because employers tried to minimise the risks of having to transform the flexible contact into a more permanent one. Research over the first three months after the introduction estimated that approximately 45,000 flex workers experienced negative consequences, compared to positive experiences of approx. 80,000 flex workers (TK 1998-1999: 30). The positive balance is confirmed by a second research evaluation (SZW 2000: 1). Yet, it is uncertain to which extent these positive results should be attributed to the new legislation or to the positive economic climate, the tight labour market and the changing power balance between the employer and the employee.

It is also uncertain how the costs and benefits are distributed among men and women and/or among different categories of flex workers. After the enforcement of the law especially the regulation of transfer agreements has been tailor made by additional stipulations in collective labour agreements. With regard to on-call agreements and/or less clearly regulated employment contracts the changes have been less, which may be partly due to the fact that relevant parties are still unfamiliar with the new legislation. Another reason may be the positive economic climate which puts less pressure on the employment relationship. Women may favour the flexibility and (presumed) autonomy of on call arrangements and might not opt for the more secure and 'fixed' elements of permanent positions. Against this background it is especially important how the balance between autonomy and flexibility will change during less favourable economic circumstances.

**Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:**
Statistics indicate that flexible workers have, on average, a lower education than permanent employees (Boelens, 2000: 8). Flex workers score especially low with regard to (medium and higher) vocational training. There are also indications that flex workers are not very well organised. As a result, increasing the rights of especially this group of employees seems important.

**Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:**
The Act on Flexibility and Security focuses on flex workers and as such concerns especially external flexibilisation. There is also an indirect impact, however, in the sense that the changing incentive structure may translate into a new equilibrium
with regard to internal and external flexibility. Whereas the choice for internal flexibility appears defensible, it is not sure what the effects will be in terms of time sovereignty. Monitoring these developments is extremely important in order to gain a more integral view of the real costs and benefits of the proposed policy measures.

**Seven: Policy modifications:**
Flexible employment relationships are important in order to raise costs efficiency, to match hours-of-labour-employed closely to variations in demand and in order to take into account the situation at the factor and product market. Flexibility should not be pursued at all costs, however, as there are important trade-offs in terms of security, protection, quality etc. Against this background, the introduction of the Act on Flexibility and Security is extremely important as it recognises the need to find a new balance in a quickly changing working environment.

As women are over represented among the flex workers, an increase in the rights of flex workers in principle decreases existing gender inequalities at the labour markets. Changing the incentive structure with regard to flexibility, however, might create externalities which make the actual effect less positive. The difficulties around the introduction of the Act and the ensuing problems make clear that flexibility is difficult to regulate. At a more general level, it appears that participation and consultation are extremely important preconditions for a gender friendly flexible working environment. This also implies that internal flexibility is not by definition more gender friendly than external flexibility. Much depends on the actual circumstances and the level of autonomy and control.

**References**
Portugal [2]

Author(s): Maria do Pilar González

Policy Measure: Regulation of part-time work.

In the Portuguese NAP 2000 (p.95) this measure is included amongst the instruments to be implemented in 1998-1999 and is presented as follows: 'The new scheme, in addition to the regulation of the rendering of part-time work, aims at the creation of incentives to part-time work provided that it is voluntary and reversible and whenever it results in the recruitment of new workers'.

Brief analysis of the measure:

Participation by gender: the promotion of this type of policy must be looked as normally promoting participation but, both because of the activities in which it becomes more spread (in the services sector) and because, being more flexible, it better suited to the reconciliation of work and family life, it normally concerns more women than men. Being so, it is necessary to evaluate the impact of this measure, taking into explicit account the possibility that it generates more undesired segmentation on the labour market. It is true that we can notice that the purposes of the measure, in the way that they are formulated, try to stress that only volunteer part-time is to be promoted. Still, the existence of an obvious link between part-time and reconciliation together with the fact that it is towards women that the focus of reconciling work and family life is directed, would deserve a more explicit link between the two issues. And, surprisingly, this link and this concern, seem to be absent from the Portuguese NAP, at least under its present formulation. This is possibly one of the dangers of leaving, almost fully, the core of the policy on Equal Opportunities to pillar IV. The very detailed redaction of pillar IV cannot make us forget the importance of other issues if gender is to be taken into account in employment policy;

Resources: The question is, obviously linked with the higher incidence that part-time work has amongst women, even in a country with low incidence of part-time work as it is the case in Portugal: less job duration implies less remuneration and so less resources available for those working in part-time jobs. As such, the recent evolution of part-time jobs, together with the implication of this expansion on individual revenues, must also be considered.

Norms and values: the existence of different degrees of flexibility in the existing forms of work is a crucial field for the promotion of a discussion (namely amongst the social partners but also to be introduced in the public debate on social policies) on the different gender impact of employment policies. This discussion can be very useful to make evident the possibility of diverse gender effects of a legal measure, in the prevalence of the dominant norms and values.
Rights: The evaluation of this measure has to be done under the explicit taking into account of this heading: equality of rights (employment, remuneration…) must be achieved but this achievement should never be promoted at the expense of other rights, namely the right that children and other dependants have to care. As such, in order to make these two rights effective, new models of reconciling work and family life have to be found or, in other words, a new gender contract must be defined and implemented in EU societies.

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
Amazingly, and as it has been referred in the previous report, no particular indicators are presented in the Portuguese NAP 2000 regarding this guideline and, which is still more amazing, this pillar is the one in which there are less explicit references on gender issues linked to the promotion of policies. Again, an increased visibility of the importance of gender issues under this particular topic would be necessary and helpful, both in terms of guaranteeing, ex-ante, that the measure does not act in the sense of promoting gender segregation and in the sense of making evident the existence of differences regarding the way how men and women are integrated in the labour market underlining the obvious link that it appears to exist between the work in the household and the work in the market.

Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:
In Portugal part-time work is less important than what happens in average terms within the EU. Still part-time continues to increase and the gap between men and women, regarding their association with this form of work, seems to be increasing too. In the context of expansion of employment in the service sector the tendency would probably be, independent of the existence of incentives regarding this form of work, to expand part-time work. Still, the existence of incentives in the promotion of part-time, has to be questioned and evaluated taking into account the way in which the gender gap with reference to this type of work is progressing.

Three: The priority attached to gender equality:
This question is obviously strictly linked with the previous one: does it make sense to encourage the creation of part-time work for both men and women? The existence of a relevant gender gap regarding the incidence of this type of contract does not deserve further discussion aiming at clarifying if the incentives should be generalised as, in fact, what this seem to generate is more concentration of part-time on the group of women?

Four: Impact of policy:
The major points have been previously discussed.

Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:
The increase in the use of part-time is closely linked to the expansion of the service sector and the changes that are occurring within this sector. These changes include, for example, the expansion of sales in large working
environments with very long opening hours, this form of work tends to develop primarily in urban areas and amongst young people rather than in other groups. Still the identification of the characteristics of the part-timers in Portugal, as well as the identification of the reasons for their option (in the case that this is the situation of the individual) namely in gender terms seems to be very important and a relevant characteristic to be taken in account before new legislation initiatives, namely regarding tele-working, are promoted;

**Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:**
From the previous statements it seems quite evident that the study of the characteristics of part-time workers as well as the characterisation of the existing link between the need to reconcile work and family life and the opportunities for part-time work are of utmost importance. If the needs of reconciliation are the essential cause for the increase in part-time work, and if women express a need for this more than men, then employment policy on this issue must be clearly linked to employment policy measures regarding the issue of reconciliation. What is more, the type of measures to be implemented can reinforce or act against existing norms and values that affirm women's primary responsibility for household and familial tasks;

**Seven: Policy modifications:**
If the incentives regarding part-time work reveal an increasing segmentation of the labour market then, the incentives could be more selective with reference to the fact that the promotion of measures defined as neutral have been seen to be selective from a gender perspective. I am suspicious of the significance of a measure that encourages the use of part-time labour in a country such as Portugal, where part-time work has always had a low impact, I think that these incentives could probably better be amended to incentives regarding the promotion of family friendly models for managing human resources of the various enterprises. The existing initiatives, namely the regular publication of information for the enterprises presenting examples of concrete cases of both Portuguese and EU enterprises that gathered more flexibility, increases in productivity and the reduction of social conflicts.
Spain [2]

Author(s): María Luisa Moltó & Celia Valiente

Policy Measure: Reconciliation measures.

Reconciliation policies are policies that help working people to combine family and professional responsibilities. The list of potential reconciliation measures is long and includes, among others: maternity leave; parental leave; other leaves and time off to fulfill family responsibilities; flexible working time; and the supply of care services. In this report, we have selected reconciliation measures for assessment for two reasons:

- The combination of family and professional duties is one of the main challenges that Spanish women encounter when they try to participate in the labour market. The difficulty of combining work and family is one of the reasons which explains why Spain has the lowest fertility rate in the world.

- The current conservative government, in power in the central state since 1996, has paid attention to reconciliation policies, and will probably continue to do so in the near future. Reconciliation policies have been on the political agenda for some years, and this will possibly be the case in the years to come.

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:

Participation: women are the overwhelming majority of people who take advantage of maternity leave. The number of fathers who take maternity leave is extremely small but not irrelevant. The Labour Force Survey (Encuesta de Población Activa) provides data desegregated by sex of wage earners who are not working during the week when the survey questionnaire is administered. In the fourth quarter of 1998, 97% of waged workers who did not work due to maternity leave were women, and the remaining 3% were men (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1999:204). No data is available on the number of fathers taking advantage of non-paid leave, but our knowledge of the Spanish society tells us that the number is insignificant.

Resources: we have not been able to find data on the amount of money that the state spends on specific reconciliation policies.

Norms and values: Valiente (1996a) has previously argued that men and women's attitudes towards domestic and caring tasks have changed substantially in Spain over the last three decades. In the mid-1970s, the majority of Spaniards of both sexes considered these tasks to be the exclusive responsibilities of women (De Pablo, 1976: 378; Linz, 1978: 113). Subsequently, many studies have shown that an increasing number of both Spanish men and women think that domestic and care tasks should not only be performed by women (Cruz and Cobo, 1991: 142; Escario et al., 1987: 68; Juste et al., 1991:27; Navarro and Mateo, 1993: 118-120, 124; Pérez et al., 1993: 66-69).
It is important to study not only people's attitudes towards family responsibilities different from bread-winning (domestic roles and caring) but also the amount of time that individuals of both sexes spend on these practices. For there may be a significant difference between what men and women think and what they actually do. All time-use studies point to the existence of a huge difference in men's and women's contribution to household and caring duties in Spain (Alberdi, 1995; Álvaro, 1996; Carrasco, 1991: 111-150; Durán, 1987; INNER, 1988: 23-28; Izquierdo et al., 1988: 29-48; Menéndez, 1994 89; OTR/IS, 1988: 16, 24; Ramos, 1990; 1994; Tobío, 1995: 57-60). Time-use studies are a relatively recent development in Spain. As a result, it is impossible to know the exact extent of change in the division of labour within families across time. However, it can reasonably be suggested that men are generally more involved in caring and domestic tasks than two or three decades ago (INNER, 1988: 34; Menéndez, 1994: 89).

Several factors can be put forward to explain the persistence of the gendered division of labour within Spanish families, among them, widespread assumptions regarding the centrality of mother-care for small children. It used to be commonly assumed by many men and women in Spain that care by the mother was indispensable, at least during the first years of the child's life; that women had natural instincts for caring their children which men lacked; and that, as a result, fathers could help but they should not share this task on an equal basis (Aguinaga and Comas 1991: 33; De Pablo 1976: 377-382; Escario et al. 1987: 84-88; Iglesias 1984: 8-10; INNER 1988: 54). All these beliefs were obstacles to the involvement of fathers in childcare.

The profound Spanish mistrust of child care centres should be understood in the context of the ideas regarding the importance of maternal care. Many Spaniards used to believe that the full-time employment of mothers jeopardised the upbringing of small children (Alberdi et al., 1994: 98-101; De Pablo 1976: 375-376; Escario et al. 1987: 55; INNER 1987: 54; Juste et al. 1991: 38-39). The idea that female employment is detrimental for small children has encouraged women, for a number of years at least, to have a low commitment to waged employment in order to play a pivotal role in childcare. This notion also distances fathers from care work. For many parents, child-care centres were one of the least preferable options for their children, above all until they reach the age of around 3 years (if not afterwards as well). Mother care used to be the preferred care option. When the mother did not stay at home day and night to take care of her offspring, the second preference of many parents was that which is most similar to the full-time housewife-mother: that another woman replaces the working mother in the home. Only a minority of couples could, particularly in the near future, afford to pay a woman to take care of their children (and to do the housework as well). Many other children are now cared for by their grandmothers (Aguinaga and Comas 1991: 33-35; 170-172; De Miguel 1994: 820; Escario et al. 1987: 89-94; Juste et al. 1991: 43-44). They are frequently available to look after their grandchildren because most women of these
age groups are full-time housewives, and many young parents live in the same area as their parents. It can be argued, therefore, that mistrust in child care centres for small children creates incentives for women to remain at home while their children are small, at the same time as it encourages men to concentrate on bread-winning, especially in the case of families who cannot afford to hire a female child-minder or when grandmothers are not available for child care.

*Rights*: men and women have the same rights to take advantage of reconciliation policies. The main exception to this rule is the six weeks of maternity leave which is mandatory for the mother.

**Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:**
From the information presented above, we could infer that regardless of Spaniards’ egalitarian ideas about the desirable division of household and caring duties within families, in the short-term women will continue to perform the lion’s share of these duties. Possibly, (some) men will be more involved than in the past in family responsibilities different from bread-winning, and an increasing number of them will take advantage of reconciliation measures. However, the problem of combining professional and family responsibilities will continue to be mainly a women’s problem. If reconciliation policies continue to be modest, as they have been in the past, women will have to continue to solve the problem of combining professional and family life, relying not so much on the state but on themselves, the help provided by other family members (mainly female relatives) and/or the market. Some women will probably continue to find that combining child rearing and paid employment is an impossible task and leave the labour market for a number of years.

**Three: The priority attached to gender equality:**
In Spain, a higher degree of gender equality will be the result of reconciliation policies only when these policies reach two aims: firstly, that more women are helped by state measures to combine paid work and family life; and secondly, that the combination of professional and family responsibilities becomes a problem of men as well as of women. Given the current gender division of labour within Spanish families, gender neutral reconciliation policies will be used mainly by women, and will therefore be directed to the first but not to the second aim. Thus we recommend policies which actively encourage men to be more active in performing family responsibilities different than bread winning.

**Four: Impact of policy:**
The potential impact of reconciliation policies in the Spanish 2000 NAP will be limited, given the small attention paid to these policies by the Spanish 2000 NAP. Reconciliation policies will mainly affect (a very modest number of) women but hardly any men.

Reconciliation policies are mentioned in the Spanish 2000 NAP in three contexts. Firstly, the assessment of the Spanish 1999 NAP highlights, as a major
achievement, the approval of Act 39/1999 of 5 November to promote the combination of workers’ family and professional responsibilities. Secondly, the section on the general objectives of the Spanish 2000 NAP contains the aim ‘to encourage gender equal opportunities, developing the combination of family and professional life and eliminating discrimination’. Thirdly, specific reconciliation measures appear in Pillars 2, 3 and 4. Guideline 12 of Pillar 2 states that the Spanish 2000 NAP ‘will foster local development by providing technical and economic support to newly created companies...Priority will be given to activities linked to...child care centres and the provision of caring services for the elderly’. Guideline 16 of pillar 3 affirms that the Spanish 2000 NAP ‘will enhance assistance to internal migrations...with aids to child care expenses.’ Guideline 20 of pillar 4 proposes ‘to set up a plan of childcare centres financed with public money. This plan will by undertaken [by the central state] in co-operation with the regions and localities. This plan will generate both jobs for women and services which facilitate women's paid employment. Guideline 21 of pillar 4 states that the Spanish 2000 NAP will foster job training for people on leave from their jobs because of family responsibilities.

The major shortcoming of the reconciliation measures included in the Spanish 2000 NAP and described in the preceding paragraph is their high degree of abstraction. Therefore, we can only speculate about their potential impact. Regarding participation, women will mainly benefit from these measures, since women are usually the people who are in charge of household and caring duties in Spanish families. With respect to resources, very few are dedicated to reconciliation measures. We have calculated that 0.6% of the total budget of the Spanish 2000 NAP is dedicated to reconciliation policies. This percentage is a significant increase in comparison with the Spanish 1999 NAP, where the amount of resources dedicated to reconciliation policies was nearly 0%. As regards norms and values, these will remain mainly unmodified by the reconciliation policies, given the few people who will take advantage of them, the few resources dedicated to finance these policies, and the fact that their beneficiaries would predictably be women. Thus the non-written norm that prescribes the need of women's presence in the family home will not be eroded by these policies, to which theoretically women and men have equal rights.

Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:
Given the high level of abstraction of the reconciliation policies included in the Spanish 2000 NAP, it is not possible to assess their impact on particular groups of women. It is likely that the policies will have a minimal impact on men.

The indirect impact of reconciliation policies on children will be small but not negligible. The children of the few workers (mainly female workers) who will take advantage of reconciliation policies will be better cared for their working parents (or mothers).

46 In this report, all translations from Spanish to English are made by María Luisa Moltó and Celia Valiente.
Seven: Policy modifications:
We recommend that next NAPs pay more attention than the Spanish 2000 NAP to reconciliation policies, because the combination of family and professional duties is one of the main obstacles that Spanish women face while trying to participate in the labour market. The conservative government managed to pass an Act on Reconciliation in November 1999. The intense mass media campaign presenting the Reconciliation Act to the population may probably have created expectations in the citizenry of further reconciliation policies. These have not been established yet. We also recommend that future reconciliation policies are not formulated in abstract but in more concrete terms, for instance specifying clearly numerical targets to be reach and the budget allocated to the measures. Finally, we recommend that some reconciliation measures are directed to men, in order to help transform the combination of paid work and care into a problem of concern for the two sexes and not only for one of them.

Appendix: The Policy Area of Reconciliation Measures
In all societies, women are those who overwhelmingly provide care to people who for any reason need the care of others, such as the frail and elderly, the disabled, the ill or small children (Orloff, 1993: 313). This provision of care is, in some cases, in conflict or even incompatible with the requirements of the performance of waged work. Of course, it cannot be argued that women have a subordinate position in the Spanish labour market only because a significant number of them perform (unpaid) care work for others. In fact, some women do not provide care to other people at all, while others do it during limited periods during their lives. The reasons that account for the different positions of men and women in the labour market are multiple. Nevertheless, Spain facilitates female labour force participation more than those countries without these policies.

Generally speaking, in post-authoritarian Spain reconciliation policies have been modest but not negligible. Let us illustrate this point with the example of the policies directed to children younger than 6 years old, when mandatory school begins.47

With respect to children younger than six, four main policies exist in Spain: namely, maternity leave and parental leave; child allowances; tax exemptions in the case of dependent children;48 and child care services. As for maternity leave and parental leave, working mothers who have been previously employed and have contributed to the social security system at least 180 days within the 5 years previous to child

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47 Small children are not the only individuals who need the care of others, but share this status with the frail elderly, handicapped and ill people. However, given the space limitations of this report, we concentrate on family responsibilities towards dependent children.

48 Strictly speaking, child allowances and tax exceptions in the case of dependent children are not reconciliation measures but part of family policy. However, child allowances and tax exemptions in the case of dependent children are studied in this report because both can be used by working parents (or mothers) to pay for child care services that will facilitate parents' participation in the labour market.
birth are entitled to 16 uninterrupted weeks of paid leave. The number of years contributed and the level of contribution (which is proportional to the salary) are used to calculate the so-called regulatory base (base reguladora). The amount received during maternity leave is 100% of the regulatory base. The right to return to the job is guaranteed. Since 1999, if both parents perform waged work, the father may take up to ten of the final weeks of the leave. Given the economic level of Spain, maternity leave is relatively generous; this is unsurprising for two reasons. Firstly, the Spanish welfare state provides relatively substantial benefits for workers who have previously made the required contributions to the system (not for all citizens). Secondly, as it is also the case in other continental welfare states such as Germany, maternity leave is a substitute and not a complement to child care (O’Connor, forthcoming). There is also provision for up to three years of non-paid parental leave for working mothers or fathers. Return to the job is only guaranteed during the first year. The right to a job in the same professional category is guaranteed during the second and third years. The period of leave is counted as effectively worked in terms of seniority.

Child allowances (except for handicapped children) are means-tested in Spain, the income threshold established in the means test is low (slightly above the national minimum wage) and their level is relatively modest in comparative terms. This means that child allowances are not at all an important monetary transfer that might be used to pay for childcare. The same could be also said with regard to tax exemptions for dependent children, the amount for which is relatively low.

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49 Esping-Andersen (1990: 3-4) analysed the variation across welfare states in industrial countries along three dimensions: the type of social rights; the type of stratification that the welfare state produces; and the interrelation of the state, the market and the family in the provision of welfare. According to the Esping-Andersen's typology of welfare states, that of Spain (and Italy, France and West Germany, among others) are of a continental type. In continental welfare states, social rights are linked to occupational categories and status (for instance, there are different insurance schemes for different types of workers). They (and their dependants) are the beneficiaries of the main social programs. The redistributive effects of social policy are minimal. A certain degree of de-commodification, that is, 'the degree to which individuals, or families, can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independent of market participation' (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 37), is a result of social policy. Provision of welfare benefits is mainly public. The welfare state aims to reinforce the traditionally crucial role of the family as welfare provider. Thus, the state tends to intervene only when the capacity of the family to act as social provider is exhausted (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 27-28, 48).

50 Child allowances (prestaciones familiares por hijo a cargo) amounted to 36,000 pesetas per year in 1999 per dependent child younger than 18 years. These allowances were given to family units whose yearly income was lower than 1,202,991 pesetas. This income threshold increased 15% for each dependent child since the second. Child allowances for handicapped children are not means-tested and their yearly level is higher: (i) for each dependent child younger than 18 years with a degree of disability higher than 33%, 72,000 pesetas in 1999; (ii) and for each dependent child older than 18 years, 455,460 pesetas if the degree of disability was higher than 65%, or 683,220 pesetas if the degree of disability was higher than 75% and the handicapped child needed the help of another person for basic daily activities.

In 1998, 908,347 families received child allowances. The average level of child allowance per handicapped child was 345,491 pesetas (Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, 1999: 901-902).

51 Payers of the personal income tax (Impuesto sobre la Renta de las Personas Físicas, IRPF) can be the beneficiaries of tax exemptions for each dependent child. In the fiscal year for 1997
As for the care of children younger than six - in the last two decades, the main central state childcare policy has been an ever increasing supply of public pre-school programs for children aged three or over administered chiefly by the Ministry of Education and Culture (Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, MEC; before 1996, it was called the Ministry of Education and Science - Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia). In the academic year 1996-1997, the proportion of children who attended public pre-school centres was 70% of children aged 3, 4 and 5, and 43% of those aged 3. The scope of these programs is quite high in comparative terms. Since the private sector also provides pre-school places, school attendance rates of 3, 4 and 5 years old children are high in Spain in comparative terms (83%, 100%, and 100% respectively in academic year 1999-2000; provisional data). In contrast, the percentage of Spanish children aged 2 or under cared for in public centres (in academic year 1996-1997) is one of the lowest in the EU: 2.5%. The proportion of children aged 2 or under cared for in private centres is also very small: 3.5% - calculated by María Luisa Moltó and Celia Valiente from data contained in: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura (1999: 79, 132-134); and data available on 17 July 2000 at http://www.mec.es/estadistica/Cifras/NAC_04.html.

In sum, with reference to the care of children younger than six, parents receive modest aid from the state: i.e., (relatively generous) maternity leave as a substitute, rather than as a complement, to child care; non-paid parental leave; means-tested child allowances; low tax exceptions for dependent children; and hardly any child care services for children aged 2 or under. The main exception to this general rule is the relatively generous supply of child care services for 4 and 5 years old children, services which are conceptualised by policy-makers not as reconciliation programs (with the aim of promoting the participation of mothers in the labour force) but as educational programs in the benefit of minors (Valiente, 1995a).

References:

(corresponding to income generated in 1996), 6,418,790 taxpayers were the beneficiaries of tax exemptions in the case of dependent children. The average tax exemption was 31,572 pesetas (Ministerio de Economía y Hacienda, 2000:119; data from the whole Spain except Navarre and the Basque country).


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GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Segregation Policies
Denmark [2]

Author(s): Ruth Emerek

Policy Measure: Ringsted Municipality Project.

An example of mainstreaming at the regional level

The Ringsted project is the Danish part of a Nordic project on mainstreaming. The objectives of the Nordic project were to develop strategies to integrate the equality dimension into youth and labour market policies in the Nordic countries in the future. The objective of the Ringsted project is to influence behavioural patterns, with regard to decision making, that can point toward alterations in the gender distribution, and, as a result, encourage decision makers to contemplate gender consequences - especially in questions of employment. It is emphasised that the goal is not a question of equal numbers of male and female employed by the municipality.

Ringsted Municipal has co-operated with the Danish Equality Council during the project (Ligestllingsrådet, 2000).

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:
The municipal sector is an important part of the women's labour market - more than 25% of all employed women are employed by municipalities, where they represent more than 75% of the work force. The gender segregation within municipal employment is also high. 40% of the women employed by municipalities are engaged in care and welfare work - where they represent 90% of the work force (Statistic Denmark, RAS, 1999).

In Ringsted, a small town of 18,000 inhabitants east of Copenhagen, women represented 77% of the employees in the municipal. In the home care areas 92% were women while men dominated the technical areas representing 93% of the work force (Ringsted, 1999).

A conference for the employed in the municipality of Ringsted focused on the fact that the municipality is a female dominated work place, and asked:

- What are the advantages of a gender integrated work place?
- How do we use each other's resources better as men and women - and as human beings?
- How can we develop the work places in the municipality from a gender perspective (Ringsted, 1999)?

Based on these and other questions a project was formed on equality in staff recruitment. The objective of the project in general was, however, 'to focus the need of the human resources of both men and women... see gender differences
as a potential - as people, who have similar points of view seldom progress as people who think differently ... and to create a stimulating work places with equal opportunities for women and men in the municipality’ (Ringsted, 1998, authors translation). Thus the objectives were based on difference and diversity. This is in contrast to the Danish ideology on gender, which is based on similarity and homogeneity (Kold, 1997).

Two: Trends in women and men’s position independent of the policy:
Within the last 20 years the number of persons employed by municipalities has been fairly stable, the numbers of women among the employed tends, however, to be increasing (Statistics Denmark, 1999).

Three: The priority attached to gender equality:
The equality committee in the Ringsted municipality chose to focus on recruitment procedures. The project’s axis was focused on employment criteria and recruitment. ‘In the recruitment situation, there is a golden opportunity for the leader and staff to discuss the relevant qualifications the work place possesses - or lacks - or wishes to acquire - viewed from an equality perspective, work place culture, assets and norms’ (Ringsted, 1999, authors translation). In this way the recruitment situations was not only a goal in itself, but also a means of creating consciousness on gender equality.

The project started in January 1998, and in November 1998 the municipality launched the booklet, ‘gender integration pays’ to all employees in the Ringsted municipality, with the challenge ‘put on the gender spectacles’ (Ringsted, 1998).

Four: Impact of policy:
The aim of the project was to recruit persons from the underrepresented gender to positions in the municipality. As women were over-represented in most areas, this could, however, potentially mean fewer jobs in the municipality for women. The focus on gender difference and homogeneity also is potentially problematic, in that it may well be used to recruit and favour men for traditional female jobs (for example, kindergarten teachers) – but, at the same time, it can label women's qualifications as less useful for more technical purposes. It is the experience of Danish equality consultants that the concept of ‘difference’, ‘diversity' and 'specificity' are applied when recruiting men into traditional female jobs, whereas the concept of 'uniformity', 'homogeneity' and 'similarity' is used, when women try to get into male dominated job areas (Petersen 1997).

Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:
The result of the Ringsted project can be measured in different ways both quantitative and qualitative. It is too early to evaluate the effect of the general aim of the project of introducing mainstreaming into the municipality. The results of staff recruitment in the project period are also difficult to evaluate as there is no
available information from former periods in the main report. A tentative summary of the findings regarding staff-recruitment is, however, given below.

In the period January-August 1999, the number of applicants and job vacancies were registered. There were 127 vacancies in the period and 1580 applicants for these jobs, 75% of the applicants were women, and they obtained 81% of the jobs. One hundred and twelve of the vacancies were existing jobs, of which 85% had previously been occupied by women. A success for mainstreaming - or?

The statistics published in the main report (Ringsted, 1999) are not easy to interpret. But a recalculation of the figures given in different connections through the text gives the following results in table 1.

Table 1: Number of applicants and employed women and men, and the rate of success of applications - January-August 1999.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education:</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th></th>
<th>men</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>applicants</td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>success</td>
<td>applicants</td>
<td>employed</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upper secondary (kort)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vocational (erhvervsrettet)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium-cycle higher (mellemlang)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long-cycle higher (lang viderergående)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known education</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>1185</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Ringsted (1999) chapter 4.5 Statistics
Note: Education seems not to be known for all applicants.

The figures indicate that women apparently have a higher rate of success in getting a job in those areas where there is no need for higher education; men, on the other hand, seem to have an advantage in those jobs which require a higher education. However, the figures are based on a short period of time, and they are hardly significant. They do not, however, indicate a change in recruitment.

Fiig suggest in her comments on the project, that the mainstream-concept is unclear, and that it is problematic to use a concept which has no immediate meaning in either an English or Danish translation. It makes it difficult to communicate to persons unfamiliar with equality-discussions (Fiig, 2000).

**Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:**
It is still too early to tell from the findings of the project if it will have indirect impact on particular groups. The aim of the project is to recruit persons from the underrepresented gender to positions in the municipality. This could potentially mean fewer jobs in the municipality for women, as women are over-represented
in most areas. The figures from the project period do not contradict this hypothesis.

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Finland [2]

Author(s): Reija Lilja

Policy Measure: Use of indicators for promoting employability.

Pillar I: Improving employability, Development of skills and a learning environment according to the needs of work organisations (Guidelines 5-6, 17).

The use of indicators will be promoted for describing the staff situation at the workplace (personnel strengths, individual qualities and the work community). An example would be the use of personnel accounting (Finland's National Action Plan for Employment, April 2000: 18).

Human resource (personnel) accounting is a relatively new phenomenon in Finnish working life. The statement on human resources is a summary report that can, among other things, be used as a tool for personnel strategy. It covers the personnel structure, competence, training and development, and employee related investment (Eronen, 1999 and 1997).

Even though in the Finnish NAP personnel accounting has been introduced as a gender neutral tool for improving employability, its potential for increasing gender equality has been recognised in the Government Plan of Action on Equality in 1997-1999. In order to enhance the promotion of equality in the daily practices of the governmental departments, one of the methods has been to assess the gender balance as part of the annual human resources accounting procedures within ministries (Horelli, 2000a).

One: The position of men and women prior to policy development:

Finnish labour markets are highly segregated, and it is a recognised fact that reducing segregation is an important policy objective in order to promote equality in the labour market.

Among salaried employees in 1999, men held about 75% of managerial positions, and women held 71% of lower level jobs. Among blue-collar workers, due to the dominance of men in manufacturing, 68% were men.

Furthermore, 68% of women work in the public sector. A recent study (Statistics Finland, 2000) shows that only 5-15% of top positions in municipalities and governmental departments are held by women. There is a clear under-representation of women in high positions as well as in other public institutions.

In 1998, as many as 14.3% of female employees aged 25-49 had temporary employment contracts in Finland. The corresponding figure for the EU-15 was 7.7% and for Finnish men 8.2%. In this age group almost 80% of Finnish men and
83% of women said that the reason that they were temporary employees was because they could not find a permanent job.

Combining family and working life through part-time work is not a concept that Finnish women follow. Only 13% of women aged 25-49 worked part time in 1998. Almost 32% of women in the 15 Member States did so.

In 1998 women earned, on average, about 82% of men's earnings for normal working hours. The ratio of women's earnings to men's earnings was highest in the municipalities - 85%, and lowest in government - 81.8%.

**Two: Trends in women and men's position independent of the policy:**
Despite efforts to the contrary, both vertical and horizontal gender segregation in the Finnish labour market remains strong.

The gender wage gap has been declining in the private sector but in the government sector, women's earnings to men's earnings fell in the 1990s. The gender wage gap is expected to rise with the increase in performance-related and profit sharing schemes. These schemes are more common in male-dominated branches.

With reference to lifelong-learning, about 41% of male employees and 43% of female employees were receiving on-the-job training in 1998. In 1995 these figures were about the same, 45% and 44%, respectively. Men received somewhat longer training: the median was five days of training for men and four for women.

**Three: The priority attached to gender equality:**
When new initiatives were introduced in the current Finnish NAP gender issues were not explicitly discussed. The implicit message from this seems to be that most of the initiatives for Pillars I-III are regarded as gender neutral. This implies that the general approach has been defensive mainstreaming, i.e. proposed measures are thought to be such that they do not increase gender inequalities. This does not, however, mean that proposed measures do not promote gender equality. In fact, there are examples of measures (including the one we are discussing now) which can be argued to be consistent with proactive gender mainstreaming.

**Four: Impact of policy:**
Promoting indicators for describing the staff situation at the workplace (personnel strengths, individual qualities and the work community) is likely to be a measure that will strengthen the labour market position of women. These measures highlight the skills of women more clearly to the management, and this can have positive effects on women's career and training possibilities. This requires, however, that the gender perspective is taken into account in the normal personnel accounting.
Even if the personnel accounts are not 'gendered' at first, they focus on personnel strengths that are measurable. With personnel accounting one needs to explicitly quantify different personnel qualities, which makes women's skills more visible than they would otherwise be. It is a common cultural feature that women are, on average, less prone than men to explicitly praise their own abilities in the workplace.

Due to the fact that the statement of human resources is a summary report of personnel strengths and individual qualities, it is a useful tool for personnel strategy among management. This type of accounting can have a positive influence on women's career prospects.

Empirical evidence suggests that it is more difficult for women to be promoted than it is for men in Finland. For example, evidence from the banking sector shows that both gender segregation into different jobs as well as the lower probability of promotion from similar jobs makes it more difficult for women to be promoted (Lilja, 1999). Furthermore, an interesting feature in the banking sector is that a large number of managers felt that women were not as similarly interested in their careers as men. This kind of a notion, that a certain group is not interested in more demanding jobs, may lead to a situation where group members are not similarly and equally encouraged to apply for these kinds of jobs. In terms of equality it is important that women are not treated as a group but as individuals. At best, personnel accounting would make sure that notions about women's abilities and ambitions are based on reality and not on assumptions or lack of knowledge.

In the project on the 'gendered' accounting of personnel in Finnish ministries, it was found that the positive effect of this assessment tool was that its gender disaggregated statistics concretely displayed the difference between women and men on certain important factors such as the vertical and horizontal segregation of work tasks and the corresponding imbalances of male and female wages. In addition, the application of the annual account of personnel brought forth a gendered routine into the organisation (Horelli, 2000a). This may have a positive impact on the way in which organisations are inclined to questions related to combining family and working life.

**Five: The potential impact of policy on particular groups:**

If the personnel accounting is performed in such a way that gender perspective is also included, it could have beneficial impacts on the position of women who are working in the labour market. Their skills and strengths would be accounted for in a manner that has not been done before. If the personnel accounting is properly used as a tool for personnel strategy, it would, in particular, help young women entering the labour market. The career prospects of young women would improve compared with those experienced by their older colleagues at the beginning of their careers.
If personnel accounting increases the general gender consciousness in firms, and subsequently encourages gendered routines in the working place, it may also be a tool that could make it more 'acceptable' for young mothers and fathers to combine family and working life.

**Six: Indirect and/or long term effects:**
Vertical gender segregation is a serious problem in the Finnish labour market. Women who have attained higher positions in organisations have often paid a high price with reference to combining family and working life. The Finnish working culture can be argued to be, in many respects, male-dominated, and the family situation of employees plays a minor role when the working conditions of employees are considered. Even though personnel accounts do not directly address these issues, it is hoped for that by quantifying the strengths and skills of women, it will be more noticeable that women are important resources in organisations. Therefore, there are strong grounds to take into account the different needs of people at different phases of their lives. Since women still bear the main responsibility of childcare, designing working routines without considering the family situation of employees is not an optimal state of affairs.

**Seven: Policy modifications:**
Personnel accounts have been introduced as a gender neutral tool to improve employability. The example of 'gendered' personnel accounts in Finnish ministries clearly highlight that gender perspectives should be explicit in this initiative. It would be a tool that would help promoting gender equality in the labour market.

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