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This report consists of an overview of different ways of doing gender impact assessment in Sweden and an evaluation of two employment policy measures included in the National action Plan for 2000. One objective has been to try to give a frame of reference for the different actions and policies developed in the field of equal opportunities. The intention to find policy tools for mastering the gender segregation in the Swedish labour market has been prevalent during many decades, starting with the report- Women’s work and Life- that was published in 1964 (Dahlström m fl ). Also the National Labour Market Board had in the 1960s training and recruitment activities for getting women into traditional male occupations and sectors of the labour market (IFA 1968). In times of labour shortage women in active ages was an important resource for the labour market. What later was called Break-projects started already in the 1960s.

The first part in this report consists of an overview of the state of the art concerning gender impact analysis. I will not be able to take up all the different ways of doing gender assessment, but will illustrate with examples from national, regional and local levels. In the second part I will discuss two very different labour market policy measures. One is a more traditional labour market policy measure; wage subsidies for handicapped women and men. The National Labour Market board has presented a report that shows gender differences combined with regional variations that is discussed in this report. Also under this heading I will present results concerning a measure which is called Employment support and is one of the measures where the proportion of women and men taking part differ the most according to the 1999 report from the Labour Market Board. Also here I will go to the regional and local level for getting an idea of how these differences can be explained.

The second policy measure is the Adult education programme that was launched in 1997. In relation to this programme the gender impacts will be studied on both national and regional level.
1. An overview of the state of development of gender impact assessment

The goal for the national policies on equal opportunity is that women and men shall have the same rights, obligations and possibilities in all essential parts of life (Governmental communication 1996/97:41). This means that women and men shall have a job that makes them economically independent. They shall also be able to take care of home and family and participate in political and union work and all other activities in society. To full-fill this goal the policy of equal opportunities has developed a strategy with four different parts.

1. The law of equal opportunities that stipulates the ban again any discrimination based on gender. This law also says that any workplace with more than nine employees shall make a yearly action oriented plan that is possible to evaluate.
2. Secondly come the so-called active measures. During the last decades many different action programmes has been decided by government and implemented in different organisations.
3. Third area is the gender divided statistics decided by government in a bill from 1992 (Statistikförordningen 1992:1668). All public individual based statistics shall be both collected, analysed and presented from a gender perspective and also mirror gender issues and questions in society.
4. The fourth area is mainstreaming, meaning that an issue is lifted from being treated separately to be included in the main tasks of an organisation or any other activity.

1.1. Mainstreaming as a policy tool

Since 1994 at every presentation of the governmental declaration the government declares that an equal opportunities perspective shall permeate all policy areas. This is a new direction of the equal opportunities policy as these policies now shall be part of the regular political and executive work.

The opinion of the government is that mainstreaming equal opportunities means that all activities, both the political and the executive shall have a gender perspective on all levels and in every area (Faktablad, näringsdepartenetet 2000). It is said that the regular staff as a part of their regular work shall do all development work in this field.

Mainstreaming is a strategy, a way to work, to full-fill the goals of equal opportunities and it means, according to the Swedish government that:

- different situations and conditions for women and men shall be made visible
- each question that affects single individuals shall be assessed from a gender perspective
- the consequences of how certain changes will affect women and men shall be analysed.

This work is done on central as well as regional and local levels.

1.2. Methods for implementing gender assessment on central level

Official statistics
On central level one of the most important things is the disaggregated statistics by sex. The Swedish government has stipulated by law that all publicly produced individual based statistics shall be divided by gender, as long as there are not any specific reason against that.

In 1994, Article 10 was added to the Ordinance on Official Statistics in the section on “accessibility”:

Official statistics related to individuals should, unless special reasons exist, be disaggregated by sex. (SCB 2000).

This means that the rule is that all statistics shall be divided by gender. The goal is that statistics concerning individuals shall not only be collected, analysed and presented by sex, but also reflects gender issues and problems in society (SBC 2000). Sex should be the basis for a comprehensive and thorough breakdown of all statistics. In addition, statistics should according to the yearly booklet “Women and men in Sweden” from Statistics Sweden also be presented in such a way that they are easily accessible to users. This booklet contains data on almost every part of life divided by gender, from population development, health issues, education, time use, child care, care of the elderly, gainful employment, salaries, incomes, violence and crime, influence and power (SCB 2000).

Special Education
Since 1994 the government arranges education in the field of equal opportunities for cabinet ministers, secretaries of state, press secretaries and political advisers, head of departments and their co-workers in different departments, and in the governmental administration. The objective is to increase the knowledge of the different conditions for women and men in society, inform of the goals of equal opportunity and increase the understanding of the responsibility that each have to let the gender perspective permeate the different fields of action. Since 1998 there also is a training of educators in equal opportunities.
Committee directives
To make it possible to assess the consequences of different reform proposals from a gender perspective the government decided in 1994 that all directives to governmental committees should contain a demand for a gender assessments of the proposals from the committees. These gender assessments are prerequisites for the government’ evaluations of the proposals from the committees. To facilitate this all newly appointed investigators and their head secretaries are offered education in equal opportunities issues. The government has made a study of how these directives are being implemented and will continue to do so on a regular basis.

Analytical tool
The unit of Equal Opportunity in the Swedish government has developed a special analytical tool for making a gender assessment of different political suggestions or policy changes (Unit of Equal Opportunity, 2000). This tool consists of four questions:

1. Does this document affect one or more target groups?
If the answer is yes, the gender perspective has to be adapted and the way of analysis is as follows.

2. How does the conditions look like for women and men in the specific policy area?
Here the representation of women and men in different deciding bodies are analysed as well as the resources and distribution of these resources, rights, obligations and responsibilities from a gender perspective.

3. Explain, what are the different/equal conditions that exist for women and men in the area in question?
Here structures, norms, and the organisation of specific activities are analysed.

4. Which actions are planned, that can be evaluated, to reach the goal of the policy of equal opportunities?

Different ministries are now testing this instrument, (another instrument is the 3R-method which I already explained in an earlier report this year).

In 1997 the government appointed a special group with the task of supporting the development of methods for improving equal opportunities. This task force is headed by the Secretary of State and consists of representatives from governmental agencies, boards and businesses from central, regional and local levels.
Assessments and evaluations
Every ministry is responsible for the evaluation and gender assessments in its field of action. The Unit of Equal opportunity under the Minister of Equal opportunity has a special role to co-ordinate and advice the different ministries. This unit evaluates how the directives to the committees has been implemented, the governmental bills, the regulation letters to the governmental agencies, and the yearly accounts from the governmental boards and agencies. The conclusions are being brought back to the different ministries.

1.3. Regional level
Starting in 1995, an expert on equal opportunities was appointed in every regional council. This means that in all the 24 regions in Sweden there is an expert working on equal opportunities issues at the government’s regional administration. All the regional administrations have developed strategies for outreaching policies during the period 1997-2000. The strategies are important tools for the work to improve equal opportunities on a regional basis and will be the basis for future analysis and assessments.

1.4. Actions on local level
In 1995 the government granted the central organisation the Swedish municipalities 2 million SEK to develop a new methods for the work with equal opportunities. The 3R-method was among other thing the result of this work. To support these activities further the government has granted further money for the development and education and training in these new methods.

1.5. Summary
The Swedish government has developed a strong and divers machinery for implementing the idea of mainstreaming and has also suggested different ways of how to assess the effects of these approaches. What remains to be seen is of course if appropriate actions are taken by the governmental agencies and the regional administrations in relations to the policies suggested by government. As the local municipalities are separate independent entities with different political majorities, it is not obvious that they will follow the suggestions and recommendations made on central levels concerning mainstreaming.

In the following section I will give a short summary of actions taken on central and regional levels. It is a summary of a report made by the governments national auditing board and a special method developed on regional level to assess gender impacts of different decisions in local municipalities.
2. Assessing governmental agencies and their policies
In 2000 the National Auditing Board (RRV) presented a report to government on how the governmental agencies in their yearly accounts have reported on the task to further the issue of equal opportunities in their respective fields of action.

The RRV presented a number of questions to the governmental agencies:
1. What are the goals for the governmental agencies, what demands of reporting back to government do they have, and what is their mandate?
2. How have the governmental boards and agencies reported back to government on their external equal opportunities task in their yearly reports?
3. How do the different agencies work to make the gender perspective permeate all their activities?
4. Have the communication between the ministries and their agencies functioned as support in the development of the external equal opportunities activities?

To answer these question the RRV used a couple of methods. They mapped the different activities, audited yearly reports, and sent out a questionnaire. The aim of the mapping was to find out how many governmental agencies really was commissioned to report back to government on equal opportunities measures. About half of all governmental agencies had a demand to report back on the external equal opportunities activities. RRV found that it was very unclear on what grounds the government or the ministries had selected certain agencies to report on these issues. The connections are very unclear between the overall formulations of the goals of equal opportunities as they are formulated in the governmental declarations and the formulations of the goals by the ministries to their agencies. As a result it is very difficult to see to what extent the goals of equal opportunity really have been full-filled. RRV’s conclusion is that the government need a clearer strategy for the external work on equal opportunities, that is in promoting these issues in the policies performed by the different agencies like education, social policy, labour market policy and so on.

The government need to formulate goals, demands on reporting back and commissions which are common for the whole or large parts of public administration. After that there is a need for more specific goals directed towards the single agency in question. And these goals need to be specific, clear, possible to measure and realistic at the same time as they need to be attached to the overall goal formulations.

RRV also mentions that the government needs to emphasis that the government’s strategy for reaching equal opportunity is mainstreaming, it is not just one of different methods, but that one that shall be used. Concluding the RRV points to the fact that the government needs to be clearer in its demands on
the public administration, and that the tools of reporting back or getting a commission shall be used in a coherent way.

The number of governmental agencies who have got a demand to report back has largely increased during the last years. In 1997 no on of the governmental agencies under the Ministry of Finance or the Ministry of Agriculture had any demand in reporting back on equal opportunity issues. Two year later 50 percent respectively 80 percent had this demand. The largest increase was between 1997 and 1998 as a result of the demands on the regional administrations.

3. The regional example – formulating key numbers
The Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson stated in 1998 in the governmental declaration that the goals of the policy of equal opportunities not had been reached. In his speech he pointed to mainstreaming as the way forward and that a gender perspective had to permeate all policies in all areas of society. Improvement in women’s entrepreneurship and a decrease in the gender segregation of the labour market are objectives for the government (governmental declaration 6th of October 1998). Also in 1998 the regional administrations were asked in all their activities to take such actions as to improve equal opportunities.

The following example is a way of developing new methods for gender mainstreaming as it tries to formulate what in a straight translation would be “key numbers” (Alpkvist 1999). By this is meant activity standards that can be used to measure actions and change over time for reaching equal opportunities between women and men.

3.1. Definition and prioritisation
The regional administration is characterised by high specialist knowledge, supervising responsibility and a vast area of action. The work in the administration also means an active co-operation with different expert functions and other organisations and work places in the region.

The task force for this development work decided to take up two areas: the process of decision-making in public affairs management and the work of in internal and external groups of collaboration. In the first case the decisions taken concerns benefits of different kind or duties. In the latter case groups are established for co-operation in common issues and the participants can be either internal from the regional administration board or external. The external participants can be representatives from local municipalities, organisations or other authorities.
The specific departments of concern for the processes of decision-making was:
Regional planning,
Culture and environment
Law department.

And for the collaboration groups:
Nature conversations en environment
Public planning.

3.2. Work process

As a way of starting the work maps of the decision making process was formed. It contained the way in which decisions were taken and where in the process different actors took part.

After that this maps where created the task force studied where in the process decisions were made or choices which are of importance for getting a result which is good from an equal opportunities perspective. A checklist was developed together with the standard numbers for equal opportunities. All groups consisting of one gender should be changed to a more balanced. And as the goal of the governmental policy is equal distribution, the regional administration put 40 – 60 percent of each gender, as the objective for all groups. Third result was that it was imported to note the gender of those persons taking part in the decision-making process, to be able to reach a decision, which from a gender perspective can be seen as fair. This is also regarded as a way of increasing the quality in the decision-making and also increasing the trust and confidence in public decisions.

Illustration: The regional Growth Agreement in Östergötland
Regional growth agreements have been prepared in every county during 1999 and they are described as an important measures under pillar II on developing entrepreneurship and under guidelines 12 and 13 focusing on job creation at local level and in the social economy (NAP 2000 p. 6). The way to formulate these agreements has been inspired by the way projects are formulated and methodology developed for the European Social Fund. Agreements are based on accords within regional partnerships, which also include the social partners, concerning measures to promote employment and economic growth. Issues that concern knowledge development and life long learning in relation to regional needs represent a very large part of measures in the agreements. In 2000, implementation of the regional growth agreements will start. They are going to be imbued by consideration for ecological sustainability and equal opportunities. In several regions, the possibility of creating jobs via the social economy is a prioritised measure in the growth agreements (NAP 2000 p. 21). Turning to the
growth agreement in our selected region, the county of Östergötland the first growth agreement did not make any specific analysis of gender differences or actions to increase equality between women and men (Tillväxtavtal 1999). They used their existing knowledge and tried to make gender assessments whenever possible. Four areas were discussed; economic growth, societal capital, societal ability and institutional development. In the second area, concerning competence and skill development, it was stated that a smaller proportion of the young population in this region continued to higher education than for the whole nation as such.

Women continued to higher education to a higher degree than men, a common national trend. They also chose educational programmes as teachers for either pre-school or school children, upper and lower secondary schools and nurses training. For men engineer was the most important educational choice. The gender specific choices of education and the segregation in the labour market were similar to the national patterns. Suggestions were not given of how to change these patterns. In the agreement for 2000 the methodology for formulating key standards or key numbers for equal opportunity was used (Tillväxtavtal 2000).

This meant that in the action program for the growth agreement it was noted for most actions a key number for women’s or men’s participation in the specific program. For example in the action to stimulating growth by supporting young entrepreneurs, key numbers on participation were given of 50 percent for girls and 50 percent for boys. Responsible for the program are the Employers federation and a common body ÖSTSAM for the municipalities and the regional county administration. Another example is the stimulation to start and establish new companies. Here a key number was given, that said the of all getting advice and support 40 percent should be women. In another action called - Growlink- to stimulate the establishment and growth of knowledge intensive enterprises the key standards for equal opportunities was formulated in the following way: the ability to attract female entrepreneurs to the different offers which Growlink contains will be measured continually. When it comes to investments by foreign companies or service to already established foreign companies it is specifically noted that there do not exist any tool to implement the gender standards. The same is formulated for the actions to identify and support organisations which can function as “motors in economic clusters”. Suggested motors in different clusters are for example science parks, a food development centre, a design centre, a media company and finally a company for development of soft ware and telecommunication. To leave these important engines for development outside of the gender standard can of course be debated. Also the action for increasing the IT-structure and supply side was excluded with the comment that - key standards not was applicable in this stage of the action.
The example with the growth agreements from Östergötland illustrates one way of applying the gender mainstreaming policies. In the national report to the government on growth agreements for 1999 it was clearly stated that the issue of equal opportunity was basically neglected in the action programmes from the different counties.

3.3. Conclusion
One important feature of this work was that the general director of the regional administration board supported this work both internally and externally. He saw it as important establish the work with standards and check lists as part of the regular work. It was also looked upon as a development work that needed respected and participation. Transparency was also required in the different tasks performed by the expert groups. Resources and an equal opportunities machinery, which the regional equal opportunity expert can be said to stands for are also important prerequisites.

This development work illustrates Swedish method chosen for doing mainstreaming. It is locally situated and based on the specificity of the activity in question. But this can only be done as long as there also are strong centrally formulated goals that have to be reached. And another prerequisite is that there is effective machinery for auditing and control.

2. A gender impact assessment on two employment policy measures

In this section the objective is to select two employment policy measures for evaluation using a gender impact assessment methodology. A request from the co-ordinating team was that at least one of the measures should be selected from the employability measures. The second measure may also be selected from pillar I but if there are more interesting possibilities for evaluation among the measures included in Pillars II or III, one of the measures selected for evaluation may be taken from another pillar.

If possible one measure should be selected for its likely positive impacts on gender equality and one for its negative or ambiguous impacts. Ideally one example should be chosen from an area where it is often assumed that no gender effects are likely.

The experts were asked to make a gender impact assessment according to the criteria specified in the extract below from the gender mainstreaming report produced by the expert team 1999. In carrying out these evaluations we should draw upon, where relevant:
Existing evaluations carried out by public policy-making bodies or studies commissioned by public policy-making bodies;
- relevant studies of the same or similar policies carried out, for example, by academics or pressure groups;
- disaggregated data by sex and your own knowledge and understanding of the workings of the employment system from a gender perspective.

Where our evaluation is based not on direct empirical evidence but on our assumptions relating to how the labour market works, these assumptions should be made clear and supporting evidence and arguments provided.

Where gaps in information prevent a full assessment these should also be indicated and suggestions made as to how these might be filled.

Each evaluation report should be structured around the seven steps in gender impact assessment as outlined below. If there are additional elements, which the expert considers should be included in the assessment but which are apparently missing from these seven steps, these issues can of course also be discussed and included.

2.1. Choice of employment measures

In this report two areas in the employment strategy have been chosen. The first policy is one of the measures in the labour market policy area.

I take up firstly a report by the Labour Market Board on wage subsidies for handicapped women and men. One could imagine that the situation for handicapped women and men are similar when it comes to types of handicap, and the support they get. But this is not the case. An interesting report from the Labour Market Board shows that gender differences are combined with regional variations, which I would like to explore. The next step for me is to discuss how the implementation of mainstreaming has been followed through in the National Labour market Board when it comes to actual policy performance. I will illustrate this with the results from the Mainstreaming project in the Regional Labour market Board in Östergötland.

The second area is the adult education programme that was introduced in 1997 to improve the employability among people with low education and in risk off being unemployed or made redundant from their work. I will look into the results for women and men on both national and regional levels. The programme is connected to the National Adult Education organised by the local municipalities called KOMVUX in Swedish.
2.2. A methodology for gender assessment

The following section consists of extracts from gender mainstreaming report 1999. For readers not belonging to the expert group it is a need to be informed of the objectives and methodologies for this work.

Gender audits or gender impact assessments

*The definition of a gender impact assessment, according to the EC's guide to gender impact assessment is 'to compare and assess, according to gender relevant criteria, the current situation and trend with the expected development resulting from the introduction of the proposed policy'.*

Four criteria are also suggested for assessing gender inequalities;

- participation by gender;
- access to resources by gender;
- gendered norms and values;
- gender differences in rights.

**Participation:** this issue is already identified in the employment guidelines as there is a specific commitment to reduce the gender gaps in employment and unemployment rates.

**Resources:** greater equality in access to resources needs to be addressed more directly as an objective in the employment guidelines. Although the 1999 commitment to progress on equal pay is a step in this direction, more may need to be done to assess all policies according to their impact, for example on the gender pay gap or on gender differences in access to benefits.

**Norms and values:** the influence of gendered norms and values is implicit in the focus on policies for care and the reconciliation of work and family life under the equal opportunities pillar. Policies to assist with care responsibilities are needed because of the widespread assumption that care is a responsibility of women. The guidelines could also do more to challenge gendered norms and values. The restriction of, for example, quantified targets to measures for the unemployed in the employment guidelines may be interpreted as evidence of greater priority being placed on reducing unemployment than in raising the
employment rate, even though the latter policy is more compatible with equal opportunities.

**Rights:** there is no explicit discussion of rights in the guidelines, but the implications of combining flexibility with appropriate levels of security suggest the need to ensure that those workers who accept flexible jobs, the majority of whom are women are not disadvantaged in terms of employment rights. Similarly, access to lifelong learning may need to be backed up by rights and these rights need to be available to those inside and outside the labour market and in full and part-time work if this is to be a right which promotes gender equality. (From the Mainstreaming report 1999 box 9.)

In the recommendations for our work this checklist is followed by a more detailed specification of the stages of gender impact assessment and a wider definition of the impact. This definition includes indirect as well as direct impacts.

**Steps in a gender impact assessment.**

1. Identify the position of men and women prior to policy development with respect to participation, resources, norms and values and rights.
2. Assess the trends in men's and women's position independent of the policies proposed.
3. Determine the priority to be attached to adopting policies which actively promote equality (as opposed to policies which are simply gender neutral), according to an assessment of the current degree of inequality and the impact of the inequality on men and women's lives.
4. Assess the potential impact of policy with respect to participation, resources, norms and values and rights, paying attention not only to easily quantified impacts, for example on numbers employed, but also to less easily measurable impacts, for example on quality of jobs or job security or promotion prospects. The impact on access to employment and resources from employment as well as on other resources such as time and the quality of both home and work life needs to be evaluated. Rights include not only the right to work but also the right to care. Long term and lifecycle costs and benefits need to be taken into account as well as the immediate and short-term costs and benefits.
5. Assess the impact of the policy on particular groups of women and men. For example, the impact on ethnic minority groups, parents or non parents, age groups, educational groups, those in work, those out of work, regional groups or urban/rural groups etc. needs to be identified. Interpretation of these differential impacts requires a determination of the priority to be attached to the different groups which should reflect, at least in part, the contribution of these dimensions.
of difference (by ethnic group, educational group, region etc.) to the current overall level of gender inequality.

6. Assess the indirect impacts of both the current state of gender inequalities and the proposed policies, paying particular attention to the indirect impact on children.

7. For policies which, in the initial gender impact assessment, are assessed either to have a negative impact on gender equality or to be broadly gender neutral, identify ways in which the policy could be redesigned or re-specified to promote gender equality.

2.3. The wage subsidy – a tool for integration of women and men with reduced working capacity into the labour market

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

Assessment:
During 1999, 10 092 persons started an employment with a wage subsidy. In total a mean of 50 077 persons per month took part in this programme (AMS programredovisning 1999). Of all participants, women constituted 39 percent and men 61 percent. In relation to other programmes the turnover was low. The age distribution is fairly equal and most newly employed with a wage subsidy was over the age of 25 year (there are special programmes for young people with disabilities or reduced working capacity). The proportion of men starting an employment with wage subsidy was larger than among women, 63 percent versus 37 percent. This fact has been observed by the government that gave the National Labour Market Board in 1999 a special task in the yearly regulation bill to report on the gender differences in the wages that are basis for the subsidies (AMV:s regleringsbrev 1999). Secondly the Board was given the task to suggest ways of increasing the proportion of women employed with a wage subsidy.
The number of persons having a wage subsidy have not been varying 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 just having 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 during the last years. A majority of the participants were disabled in their moving capacities, the second largest group had other somatic disabilities. These two groups constituted 63 percent of all employed with wage subsidies in 1999. Historically different governmental agencies have had a large responsibility for the employed with wage subsidy. But during the 1990s there has been a shift toward public utility organisations, and non-governmental. There has also been an increase in the proportion of wage subsidy employees in private companies. The employment in wage subsidy is meant to be for no more than four years. There are possibilities for prolongation and in 1999 54 percent of all women and 51 percent of all men had had their wage subsidy employment in more than four years. The exist rate to a non-subsidised employment was 3.0 percent in 1999 an increase from 2.6 in 1998. Men got permanent jobs to a larger extent than women, and continued employment at the employer were they had the subsidised employment. The proportions of women getting a time-limited, temporary job, and become partially unemployed are larger than among men.

According to the assessment made by the Labour Market Board en 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 percent were in an employment to a wage cost of 15 000 SEK (1772 EURO) or more. The corresponding figure for women was 51 percent. After correction for hours worked the gender differences in wage costs almost disappeared. There were large gender differences in hours worked. Only half of all women worked full time, to be compared with four fifths of all men. This is the same relation for all disabled women and men in the labour market. Also half of all men were employed in private companies but only one quarter of all women (28 percent). Women also seem to stay a longer time in wage subsidy employment then men. Also regional differences do exist. As part of the Mainstreaming project conducted by the National Labour Market Board, the regional Labour Market Board in Östergötland made among other things an analysis of gender differences in relation to the subsidy. Also in this region women had a lower wage subsidy than men. When these facts were discussed in the follow-up study of the project, the explanations given by the local labour market exchange officers were that the reasons behind the results were placed out of their control (Hampusson K. 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. Also part-time and full time was seen as exogenous factors.

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

The conclusion is that, considering former occupational experiences for the single individual, it has been much easier for the employment exchanges to find jobs in traditional male occupations for men than 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.

There seems to be the situation that this labour market measure is an example of how a political tool used in a gender blind way recreates the gender segregation in the labour market. Women get part-time, temporary jobs. Added too this can come the fact that if women get injured or physically disabled they to lesser extent than men stay in their traditional work and use their occupational experience.

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 is going to be discussed. Also special seminars are going to be held in certain regions for administrators of the wage subsidies.

One further action could be, according the report from the National Labour Market Board, to discuss with the employer to employ a person of under-represented gender, for example in manufacturing industry or in the public sector. Also if it is easier to find job for men in traditional sectors, the support for getting women in the new sectors of the labour market could be strengthened, for example information technology and 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).
The adult education initiative (Kunskapslyftet)

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 mean to increase the general educational level among the of part the population that needed this most (Governmental Bill 1995/96:222). The target group was unemployed 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 motives from the government for this action was of course the high unemployment level and that education was seen as one of the tools for reaching the government’s target of reducing the open unemployment level to 4 percent by year 2000. Another objective in the Bill was to increasing the possibilities and preconditions for economic growth.

A special educational grant was introduced SUB,(särskilt utbildningsbidrag) which gave unemployed the possibility for up to one year to study on compulsory or upper secondary education. The grant was on the same level as the unemployment benefit (A-kassa /KAS). Also employed women and men, aged 25-55 year and with more than five years of full or part-time employment could be given this possibility also. 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 substitute.

By this construction the 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 percent in year 2000. This could be done in two ways, either by getting those who were unemployed into education or by getting 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. That has also meant that it is extremely difficult of making an assessment of what actually has happened. The School Administration Board is the agency that shall evaluate the effects of the programme. But the Board has decided to report on the whole adult education system and have merged the
Adult Education Programme with the traditional Adult Education, leading to the consequence that it is in principal impossible the evaluate the largest education effort in decades. There reasons are that the local municipalities have difficulties in reporting reliable data, the goal as been to integrate the different types of adult education, and finally the governmental grants does not either give any motivation for reporting the Adult Education Programme separately. And the Board also reports on number of course participants and points achieved in total, but not based on the single individuals educational activities. This means that it is very hard to make an estimation of the effects from an economic, labour market or societal perspective of the programme. 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 the years of 1997 and 1998 there is a slight increase in the proportion of women. During the spring of 1997, women were 66 percent of all in the upper secondary education level of the 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 percent on that level, including 124 500 women. During 1998 data suggests that women have increased their proportion to 68 percent. 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>


Women dominate in the adult education system and the specific program for those unemployed or threatened to become unemployed did not change that pattern. Looking into what type of courses women and men take in the adult education, women take mostly education in different fields related to care. Physics is one of the few subject where men are in the majority, but for example in computer knowledge 57 percent of all student 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 the adult education. The competence level in the labour force is increased by the gendered structure of the education taken does not seem to change much. One issue is of course the computer training and the 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 the compulsory education to university and institute of technology should be changed so that it is generally based on philosophy of gender equality (SOU 2000:58). Suggestions are also made on teaching material and teachers training.

The merger of adult education and labour market policy education and training has to be analysed more before I can give any further evaluation of what has happened. What is obvious is that the system for education of the adult population has changed and the ways of evaluating these changes are still very unclear. There do not exist a good way of evaluation what has happened to unemployed women and men starting adult education and leaving the unemployment benefit and getting another type of benefit.

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

**Concluding remarks**

I have in this short paper very briefly touch upon important matters which needs to be much more elaborated. I hope to continue to work on the Adult Education programme and 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 obvious again that there are very obvious risks that the employment policies of different kind will cement the gender segregation if no actions are taken against doing so. This means that the policies need to have a clear objective to change the 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. It is not enough with awareness training, but the policies needs to be active to support change in the gender divisions in any level and in every area of the labour market and the education system.

**Literature**


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