LABOUR MARKET
PAPERS

7

Economic transition and women's employment in four Central European countries, 1989-1994

Liba Paukert

Employment Department
International Labour Office Geneva

Copyright © International Labour Organization 1995

Publications of the International Labour Office enjoy copyright under Protocol 2 of the Universal Copyright Convention. Nevertheless, short excerpts from them may be reproduced without authorization, on condition that the source is indicated. For rights of reproduction or translation, application should be made to the Publications Branch (Rights and Permissions), International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland. The International Labour Office welcomes such applications.
Libraries, institutions and other users registered in the United Kingdom with the Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 9HE (Fax: +44 171 436 3986), in the United States with the Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923 (Fax: +1 508 750 4470), or in other countries with associated Reproduction Rights Organizations, may make photocopies in accordance with the licences issued to them for this purpose.

ISBN 92-2-109910-5
ISSN 1020-2633

First published 1995

The designations employed in ILO publications, which are in conformity with United Nations practice, and the presentation of material therein do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the International Labour Office concerning the legal status of any country, area or territory or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers.
The responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles, studies and other contributions rests solely with their authors, and publication does not constitute an endorsement by the International Labour Office of the opinions expressed in them.
Reference to names of firms and commercial products and processes does not imply their endorsement by the International Labour Office, and any failure to mention a particular firm, commercial product or process is not a sign of disapproval.

ILO publications can be obtained through major booksellers or ILO local offices in many countries, or direct from ILO Publications, International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland. A catalogue or list of new publications will be sent free of charge from the above address.

Printed by the International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland

Contents

Acknowledgements

Foreword

1. Introduction: Women in CEFTA countries and the transition to a market economy system 1

2. Women in the labour market 2

2.1 Share of women in the labour force 2

2.2 Women's labour force participation 2

2.3 Factors of women's labour market attachment 5

2.4 Age differentiation of labour force withdrawals 5

2.5 Women's attitudes to paid employment: Survey results 6

2.6 Gender differences in unemployment 8

2.6.1 Data analysis 8

2.6.2 Male and female workers' reactions to unemployment: Survey results 12

2.7 Women in flexible and atypical employment 14

3. Women workers and privatization: Women's access to entrepreneurship 15

3.1 Shifts of female labour to the private sector 15

3.2 Reasons for female under-representation in private sector employment 16

3.2.1 Established habits and care-free working conditions in the public sector 17

3.2.2 Occupational structure of the female workforce 17

3.2.3 Private companies gender bias in recruitment 18

3.2.4 Impact of training and retraining 18

3.2.5 Low female involvement in small business development 18

3.3 Women's attitudes to job change and to private business 19

4. Industrial and occupational structure of male and female employment: Changes in women's employment segregation 20

5. Demand for female labour: Results of ILO establishment surveys 22

6. Summary and conclusions 33

Statistical appendix 38

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank Dr. Alena Nesporova, from the ILO CEET in Budapest, for her valuable comments and suggestions. Thanks are also extended to Dr. Ljubica Gajdosova from the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the Slovak Republic, to Dr. Judit Lakatos, from the Central Statistical Office of Hungary, to Prof. Janus Witkowski, from the Main Statistical Office of Poland, to Dr. Eliska Rendlova and Dr. Bohumil Jungmann from the Public Opinion Research Institute/Czech Statistical Office in Prague, as well as to Dr. Richard Anker and Dr. Christine Oppong, ILO.

Foreword

The enormous social, political and economic upheavals of Central and Eastern Europe have affected women in many ways. Economically, and particularly in terms of employment, it is not clear that they have been adversely affected more or less than men, or that this is a common tendency in all countries. However, there are many reasons for concern.

This paper is one of a series examining women's changing position in labour markets of the region. Others include studies of Bulgaria, Hungary, Russia and Ukraine. This paper reviews a broad range of data on the changing situation in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovak Republic, and draws in part from similar establishment surveys - contributions to our Enterprise Labour Flexibility Survey programme. The data for those surveys, which should be analysed in more detail in future papers, are summarized in section 5, and these relate to the subject matter of the Technical Meeting on Enterprise Restructuring and Labour Markets.

Liba Paukert was formerly a member of the ILO's Employment Department and for many years has been analysing women's employment in Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

Guy Standing
Labour Market Policies Branch
Employment Department
International Labour Office

1. Introduction: Women in CEFTA[1] countries and the transition to a market economy system

Five years after the start of the transition process in Central and Eastern Europe, this paper attempts to analyse the impact of the reforms on women's situation in the labour market. The paper focuses on the four CEFTA countries which provide sufficient data for such an analysis.

The political and economic changes which took place in Central and Eastern Europe in the late 1980's had a deep impact on women, both as workers and as home-makers. Women had to bear a large share of the burden of the transformation process. While real incomes went down, women had to continue to feed their family. They also had to contribute to the family upkeep with their wages. At the same time, their jobs were often threatened by rising unemployment. Table 1 provides background information on the decline in the standard of living that accompanied the first four years of transition in CEFTA countries. Although the long hoped for upturn occurred in 1994 (in Poland growth started already in 1992), in 1994 real GDP was still almost 20 per cent below the 1989 level in the countries of the area, with the exception of Poland where the gap vis-a-vis 1989 was nevertheless around 9 per cent. The decline in real wages and in the volume of retail trade was equally dramatic. The sharp fall in incomes and the rise of poverty are important factors to keep in mind when trying to analyse women's attitudes to paid employment during the transition period.

The double burden of work and family responsibilities was already becoming increasingly heavy for women before the change of system and before the launching of the reforms. As the central planning mechanism became gradually dysfunctional, the generous pattern of social protection for women was partly emptied of its contents, due to the fact that the state could not provide adequate resources to support it. Access to the social infrastructure sometimes became problematic. In many cases it could not be taken for granted, but required "gifts" and connections. The conditions of a shortage economy diminished the value of cash benefits and had adverse effects on the quality of social services.[1] Living conditions became especially difficult for older women, for the less educated with larger families, and for women heads of household, whose numbers had been on the rise.

Despite the high participation of women in the labour force during the planned economy era, the traditional gender contract has changed little and largely paternalistic life-styles still remain the norm for most social groups. By and large, the pattern of sharing the household responsibilities, as revealed by household surveys, look similar in most families of the region. Men are mostly responsible for occasional tasks such as repairing the car, painting the dwelling or dealing with the administration, which ties them to family duties only sporadically. Women, on the other hand, continue to be entirely responsible for the everyday functioning of the household, for the caring tasks, cooking, shopping and cleaning. Older women in the family, particularly grandmothers, often share numerous chores with their working daughters, but they are not always available. Under such conditions, it is understandable that the change associated with liberal democracy and the market system has been perceived by large sections of women - and of the general public - as the right not to work. Though not a majority attitude, "full-time home-making has the romantic allure of an unattainable dream for many women in the region".[2]

[1] Ewa Ruminska-Zimny, *Women and the Transition Process: Facing a Major Challenge*, Geneva, 1994, mimeographed; ibid. *The Family and Society: Facing Socio-Economic and Political Crisis*, United Nations Interregional Seminar on Women in Development, Warsaw, 29-31 May 1989.

[2] ibid.

This paper will try to examine women's plight during the transition reforms, particularly the way in which they contributed to the family income through paid employment, while running the household, often under reduced circumstances.

The paper will analyse, first, the impact of transition on women's labour force participation. It will examine the extent to which women were able to remain active, and assess the size and the characteristics of women's (and men's) departure from the labour force under the impact of the transition reforms. Special attention will be paid to gender differences in unemployment. Women's share in the growth of flexible and atypical employment will also be examined.

The paper will then illustrate the impact of privatization on women's employment, describe gender differences in the shift of labour from the public to the private sector and analyse the problems of women's access to entrepreneurship.

The next section will focus on the changes in the distribution of male and female employment by industry and by occupation and will try to throw some light on the impact of the reforms on women's employment segregation.

The last section will examine the issue of enterprise demand for female labour during the transition period. It will present the results of special surveys on employment in manufacturing establishments carried out by the ILO in selected Central and Eastern European countries, including three CEFTA countries, namely the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia.

2. Women in the labour market

2.1 Share of women in the labour force

Although at the outset of the reform some authors predicted a massive withdrawal of women from the labour force, and while this prediction is still occasionally referred to as if it has been fulfilled,[3] available evidence indicates that the share of women in the labour force has declined only slightly in the four CEFTA countries. Table 2 shows that between 1989 and 1994 the share of women in the labour force remained practically constant in the four countries concerned. While a small decline, ranging from 0.6 to 1.2 percentage points, can be observed in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia, there was an increase of 0.9 percentage point in Poland. In 1994, women's labour force share ranged from 46.2 per cent in Slovakia to 47.4 per cent in Hungary. These shares were considerably higher than those found in the countries of the European Union, with the exception of Denmark, Finland and Sweden.[4] Thus, the four CEFTA countries continue to have a strong involvement of women in the economy, comparable to that of the Scandinavian nations.

2.2 Women's labour force participation

While the share of women in the labour force has remained high, women's labour force participation rates declined, as did the labour force participation rates of men. This is illustrated in table 3.[5]

[3] See, for example, "The Czech Republic, The New Bohemians", in *The Economist*, Vol. 333, No. 7886, 22 October 1994, London.

[4] In the early 1990s, the share of women in the labour force in West European countries ranged from 32.2 per cent in Ireland to 48.0 per cent in Sweden. (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, *Women's Access to Employment and Entrepreneurship*, Report by the ECE secretariat and the ILO for the High-Level Regional Preparatory Meeting for the Fourth World Conference on Women, Vienna 17-21 October 1994).

[5] Table 3 presents side by side the last available data on population and basic labour aggregates before and after the launching of reforms. The two series are not strictly comparable, however, as the data for the earlier year refer to population censuses or to official estimates regularly published in the national statistical yearbooks, while the more recent

It can be calculated from table 3 that between 1988/89 and 1994, total labour force decreased in the Czech Republic by 7.9 per cent, (6.4 per cent for men and 9.6 per cent for women). In Hungary, the labour force decline was particularly dramatic, amounting altogether to 18 per cent, (16 per cent for men and 20 per cent for women). In Slovakia, the total labour force decreased by 6.3 per cent, the male labour force by 5.2 per cent and the female labour force by 7.7. In Poland, the labour force decrease was larger for men than for women, amounting to 7.8 per cent and to 4.4 per cent, respectively. Thus, the gender differences in the labour force decline were not systematically to women's disadvantage. In sum, both male and female participation rates decreased in CEFTA countries as a result of transition restructuring, coming closer to the level prevailing in Western Europe.

The reason why, in Poland, women have been less affected by labour force withdrawals than men may be related partly to the higher retirement age for women in Poland than in the other three countries under review. In the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia, the female retirement age is typically 55, but for women with four or more children, or for those taking early retirement, it may be 53 or less. In Poland the female retirement age is typically 60. Since the age factor and the withdrawal of old-age pensioners from the labour market have played a major role in the labour force reduction in all four countries, the differences in the retirement age of women may be partly responsible for the larger female labour force cuts in the countries with a lower age of retirement than in Poland, where retirement age for women is five years higher.

The sharp differences between the labour force reduction of workers past retirement age and of workers of active age are illustrated in table 3. The table shows that in all four countries the departure from the labour force of workers past retirement age has been really massive. However, the gender differences in the departure of older workers from the labour force were relatively small compared to the dramatic size of the total decline. The decrease in the number of workers past retirement age was somewhat higher for women than for men in Poland (-41 per cent against -38 per cent) and in the Czech Republic (-56 per cent against -50 per cent). On the other hand, in Hungary, the rate of departure of workers past retirement age was lower for women than for men, but was very high for both, amounting to 73 per cent for men and to 58 per cent for women. The reduction of the labour force of post-working age was highest in Slovakia, amounting to 78 per cent for men and to 74 per cent for women. Given the spectacular level of the cuts in the labour force of post-working age, the gender differences just mentioned appear small, with the exception of Hungary, where they acted in women's favour.

As a matter of interest, the withdrawal of older workers from the labour force accounted for the following proportions of the total labour force decreases: in the Czech Republic, 62 per cent of women and 59 per cent of men who withdrew from the labour force were past retirement age; in Slovakia, the share of post-working-age workers in the total labour force reduction amounted to about three-quarters; in Poland the vast majority of women (88 per cent) withdrawing from the labour force were past retirement age, but only about one-fifth of retiring men. Hungary again differed from the rest of the area: only 34 per cent of men and 23 per cent of women withdrawing from the labour force were past retirement age. In other words, in Hungary labour force departures consisted mainly of active-age workers.

The labour force of active age declined much less than the labour force of post-working-age. The decline amounted to 3.4 per cent in the Czech Republic, (to 2.9 per cent in the case of men and to 4.1 per cent in the case of women). In Poland the labour force of active age declined by

---

data refer to Labour Force Sample Surveys, which started to be published in CEFTA countries in 1992-93. The Labour Force Sample Survey data seemed preferable to the previous series, because they show unemployment according to the ILO definition. But, owing to the differences in methodology between the two series, the rates of change between the earlier and the later year have to be considered as only indicative.

3.8 per cent, (by 6.4 per cent in the case of men and by 0.6 per cent in the case of women). In Poland, therefore, female labour force of active age remained practically stable. In Slovakia, the male labour force of active age remained more or less stable, while the female labour force of active age declined by 2.2 per cent. Hungary was an exception, as has already been mentioned: the labour force of active age declined much more than in the other three countries, the decline amounting to about 12 per cent for men and to 17 per cent for women.

Table 3 illustrates further that participation rates for active-age workers decreased, for the most part, by only a few percentage points, slightly more for women than for men in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia and slightly less for women than for men in Poland. In Hungary, however, participation rates decreased by 11.1 percentage points for active-age men and by as much as 16 percentage points for active-age women. In addition, the participation rate of post-working-age men was reduced to a mere quarter of the previous rate and the participation rate of post-working-age women was more than halved. In the other three countries participation rates of post-working men and women were also drastically reduced, particularly in Slovakia.

The main conclusion to be drawn from the above description of labour force trends during the early phase of transition is that age rather than gender was the determinant factor for labour force reduction, although some gender differences could also be noted.

While the labour force reduction caused by the transition reforms concerned mainly older workers in the majority of CEFTA countries, the younger generations, and particularly younger women, continued to be economically active.

Table 4 illustrates in greater detail than table 3 the continuing high involvement of active-age women in the labour force. It provides gender-specific participation rates by five-year age-groups, for two different years of the transition period, as much apart as data availability permits. Table 4 reveals that in the Czech Republic the labour force participation rates for middle-age-group women have hardly changed since the first Labour Force Sample Survey was published in Spring 1993. However, most of the decline in the labour force took place in the first year of active reform, that is in the "shock-therapy" year of 1991, when the majority of post-retirement-age workers were made to withdraw from paid activity.[6] The generally modest withdrawal of active-age workers has been more gradually spread over the transition period.

Table 4 also indicates that in Poland, female labour force participation rates were about as high in mid-1994 as in 1988 for the age-groups below 50, while they were significantly lower for the age-groups above 50.[7]

In Hungary, on the other hand, female labour force participation rates declined more than male labour force participation rates in all age-groups, including the prime age-groups and the decline for both men and women was significant. However, as in the other countries of the area, female labour force participation rates still remain relatively high by West European standards.[8]

The conclusion to be drawn from the statistical information presented above is that active-age women, particularly those between 25 and 50, continue to have high participation rates in CEFTA countries. Even if these rates are lower at present than in the pre-reform period, their

[6] When taking into consideration the results of the 1991 Population Census in the Czech Republic, a considerable fall in labour force participation rates is evident, between 1991 and 1994, particularly for the middle-age-groups. But, this fall applies to men and women. (ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1993, table 1, Geneva). However, due to the differences in methodology and coverage, the two data series (population census and the 1994 LFSS) are not really comparable. In addition, the 1991 population census, the date of which practically coincided with the launching of the reform (3.3.1991), suffered from many difficulties, which may have impaired its reliability.

[7] As the data for 1988 originate from the Population Census, their comparability with the LFSS data for 1994 is limited and the changes between the two series are only indicative.

[8] Compare ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1994, table 1, Geneva.

decline has been of a similar order of magnitude as the decline in the participation rates of men in the countries for which we have information, with the exception of Hungary.

2.3 Factors of women's labour market attachment

The main reason why women in CEFTA countries continue to have high activity rates has been the need for a double income in most families, particularly in the younger ones. Older women, on the other hand, tended to withdraw from the labour force once they reached retirement age due to the various measures and practices aimed at reducing the participation of old-age pensioners. As already pointed out, the retirement age for women is low (typically 55 years) in the countries of the area, with the exception of Poland, where it is 60. As women with three or more children retire before 55, and as early retirement schemes have been introduced, it can be said that a large proportion of women over 50 has been made inactive as a result of the transition reforms. Considering that retirement pensions are low (lower for women than for men, since women tend to earn less and have shorter working careers) and considering that pension levels have had difficulty in keeping pace with inflation, the standard of living of women over 50 has been severely reduced by the transition process. Women living alone and women heads of household have, of course, been particularly affected. The importance of the large-scale departure of women over 50 from the labour force may be illustrated by the fact that in Sweden, for example, women aged 50 and over represent almost one-quarter of the female labour force.[9] The draft law on pensions, currently under discussion in the Czech Republic, increases the age of retirement for both men and women, bringing it nearer to the level of EU countries. Although this should improve the income situation of women over 50, the proposal has received a cool reception from the female public. The main reason seems to be that with the progress of privatization, many older women begin to value free time more than earnings, particularly those women whose wages are low. Free time gives older women the possibility of helping family members in small businesses and in other private ventures. This they can do undeclared, moreover, since as old-age pensioners they already have social security coverage.

2.4 Age differentiation of labour force withdrawals

The reasons for the massive departure of older workers from the labour force in CEFTA countries have been several. At the start of the reforms, most governments of the region tried to check the growth of unemployment - actual or expected - by encouraging older workers and particularly old-age pensioners to retire from the labour market. Tax measures penalizing pensioners' earnings, decrees limiting the duration of pensioners' employment contracts, early retirement schemes, and instructions for a more liberal granting of invalidity pensions by the State health system were among the government measures inducing older workers to give up paid employment.

Other factors, however, also played an important role. The progress of privatization, in particular, enlarged the proportion of enterprise managers forced to operate under tighter budget constraints than was normal under the previous system. Some private firm managers started to show a certain bias against older workers in lay-offs and recruitment (as will be seen in Section 5 below). Older workers were thus negatively affected by the fast increase in labour turnover resulting from enterprise restructuring under the reform. Once older workers lost their job, they had much greater difficulty in being rehired than younger workers. Moreover, enterprise restructuring and privatization often implied an extensive retraining of the workforce. In such circumstances, training of older workers seemed too costly to certain managers. Older women were even less eligible for training than older men, due to women's lower retirement age and to the

[9] ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1993*, table 1, Geneva.

probability of their leaving the firm sooner. Some older workers were also unwilling to learn the relatively demanding new techniques and decided to retire themselves. In the case of women, the feeling of obligation to their families and the possibility of being useful to their children and grandchildren by giving up paid employment also played a role. Some women retired in order to help their working daughters when child-care facilities started to be closed down. As mentioned earlier, quite a few women also retired in order to assist their families as (often unregistered) helpers in their small businesses, e.g. as accountants, cashiers, salespersons, etc.

As far as the decline in the labour force of active age is concerned, it related to the following factors: a) Worker discouragement, which the 1994 Q3 Hungarian Labour Force Sample Survey, for example, puts at 2.7 per cent of the official labour force for men and at 2.0 per cent for women.[10] Worker discouragement has been related to the high unemployment rates and to the relatively low rates of outflow from unemployment, observed in most countries of the area;

b) Hidden unemployment, which can be estimated to be relatively important. Indeed, many workers cease to be interested in registering with employment offices when their benefit payments are terminated and employment offices cannot offer them a new job or an attractive retraining or subsidized work programme. Hidden unemployment concerns also many women officially counted as housewives. Housewives have come to represent 20 per cent of the non-active female population (over the age of 15) in Poland, 11 per cent in Slovakia and 9 per cent in the Czech Republic.[11] In addition, many workers engaged in the "grey economy" are primarily hidden unemployed;

c) The end of the general obligation to work and the abolition of the law on "parasitism" has enabled citizens to leave the official labour force and to engage in "grey economy" activities on a full-time basis. The contribution of the "grey economy" to GDP has been estimated at 8-15 per cent in the Czech Republic, and at about 20 per cent in Poland.[12] These shares, however, also cover "grey" activities carried out in addition to regular employment, as a second or occasional job. A certain part of "grey" work borders on crime and on various illegal or semi-legal activities. Prostitution, in particular, as well as procuring and various forms of illegal traffic have increased considerably since the change of system, partly as a result of the change in police methods, of the opening of the borders and of "sex tourism";

d) Some workers have also decided to migrate or to commute for (undeclared) work abroad, when movements across the border became free. Since the latter type of work is largely seasonal (construction, catering, etc.) it tends to be interconnected with "grey" economy work at home, taken on during the low season, and shifts from one to the other are relatively frequent.

It should be pointed out that worker discouragement, hidden unemployment and especially "grey" economy work concern also the old-age and other pensioners having withdrawn from the official labour force, not only active-age workers.

2.5 Women's attitudes to paid employment: Survey results

Most women in CEFTA countries continue to have a strong labour force attachment and a preference to remain active. In Poland, this applies particularly to the younger women. Surveys conducted in Poland since the start of the reforms show that both active and non-active women prefer the pattern of life involving paid employment and a career outside the home, in spite of the fact that younger women, particularly those with a university education, have a much higher participation rate than older women. According to the surveys, traditional stereotypes of sex roles

[10] CSO of Hungary, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, '94/10, Budapest.

[11] National Labour Force Sample Surveys, Q3 1994.

[12] "Podil sedé ekonomiky na HDP roste", in *Lidové Noviny*, Koruna (economic supplement) 5.11.1994, Prague.

remain deeply rooted in the social consciousness. However, men are more attached to the traditional values than women, whose ideas on gender roles are becoming increasingly emancipated. Also in the younger generations women's professional activity is more and more accepted as the norm by both male and female respondents. The majority of young men reject the statement that "femininity" or attraction suffers from a woman's professional involvement.[13]

A survey commissioned by the ILO in the Czech and Slovak republics at the beginning of the reform period investigated women's attitudes to paid employment, after the general obligation to work had been abolished.[14] The survey revealed that only 28 per cent of married (or cohabiting) women were prepared to give up their job, if their husband's/partner's salary increased sufficiently. On the other hand, as many as 40 per cent declared that they would definitely not want to become housewives even if their husband's/partner's salary increased considerably. Interestingly, 43 per cent of men declared that they would definitely prefer their wife to stay at home if the household could afford it, whereas 23 per cent of men said they would like their wife to continue working. About 20 per cent of married women declared that their husbands would not want them to give up work, while about one-third declared that they would, i.e. less than the actual share of men who made this statement. The survey showed the labour force attachment to be somewhat stronger among women in the Czech Republic than in the Slovak Republic and among women with a higher level of education. The readiness to stay at home was relatively higher in the extreme age-groups, i.e. among women aged 18-29 caring for young children and among women of post-retirement age. In both republics, the large majority of women aged 30-54 indicated a strong preference to remain active.[15]

A policy-oriented conclusion that might be drawn from the above should state, first, that the present age-pattern of female labour force participation lacks rationality from the social and demographic point of view. In accordance with this pattern, women barely past 50 (the majority of whom are fit from the medical point of view and have a life expectancy of another 20 years or more) are pushed out of the labour force on a small pension, while younger women are unable to interrupt work to rear their family. According to the survey quoted earlier, women below 30 would like to interrupt work to rear their families. If they cannot afford it, many stop having children. Birth rates have fallen to historical lows in all countries of the area, as shown in table 5. The second statement should stress the pressing need for the rethinking of women workers' life patterns and for new policies allowing a better combination of work and family than is actually the case. The formulation of innovative policy proposals on women and the family, adapted to the new economic, demographic and social conditions, has been lacking and is urgently called for.

Before ending the section on labour force participation, three further remarks should be made: The first is that the optimistic picture, showing that in most countries of the area the transition process has not depressed the labour force participation of active-age women significantly more than that of active-age men may be premature. The rise in the duration of female

[13] Report of the Government of Poland for the ECE Regional Preparatory Meeting for the fourth World Conference on Women, held in Vienna on 17-21 October 1994.

[14] The survey was carried out by the Public Opinion Research Institute (PORI), a branch of the Czechoslovak Federal Statistical Office. It consisted of two rounds of personal interviews. The first round took place in February 1991 and the second in February 1992. A sample of 2050 women over 18 were interviewed in the Czech and Slovak republics, as well as a control group of 820 men. Quota sampling procedures were used, taking into account sex, age, region, size of place of residence and occupational status. A questionnaire of 28 main items, each including a number of sub-items, was prepared by PORI and approved by the ILO. The questionnaire was issued in Czech, Slovak and Hungarian and used for personal interviews. The results were presented to the ILO in 1991 and in 1992. They were used for the ILO Technical Cooperation Project on Women in the Labour Market in the Czech and Slovak Republic, 1991-1993, as well as in a number of publications.

[15] PORI, *Zamestnanost Zen, Zaverecna zprava z vyzkumu*, Public Opinion Research Institute, 1991 and 1992, Prague.

unemployment, which will be examined below, may yet lead to the discouragement of a considerable number of women workers, making them decide to withdraw from the labour market. The four or five years that have elapsed since the start of the reforms may be a too short period for the impact of such profound changes as those that have taken place in Central and Eastern Europe to become fully visible. Labour discouragement of women may yet appear, with a longer time-lag. In view of the gradual widening of income differentials[16], related in particular to the rise of executive salaries and business profits, a certain proportion of women married to men in the top income brackets may become inclined to give up work. They may do this especially if their own earnings are low and if their financial contribution to the household budget becomes negligible in comparison with their husband's income. (Some of the women belonging to the 28 per cent of the respondents prepared to stay at home if their husband started to earn a high salary, revealed in the Czech and Slovak survey of 1991-92, might make up this group.) An even greater incentive for high income earners' wives to drop out of the labour force is unemployment. The higher the overall family income, the faster the unemployed wife is likely to become discouraged and to give up looking for another job.

The second remark concerns the closing down of child-care facilities observed recently in all CEFTA countries, and the negative impact this should have on the labour force participation of mothers of young children. The number of creches and nursery schools has declined sharply everywhere, particularly the number of those financed from public funds. Private creches and nursery schools have occasionally replaced the public ones. However, the high fees they tend to charge discourage many families, so that the number of children enrolled has gone down even faster than the number of places available, at least in the Czech Republic and in Poland, for which the information is readily at hand.[17]

The third remark is that even if active-age women in most countries of the area have managed, so far, to remain in the labour force to a similar extent as men, this does not mean that their labour market position is strong or equal to that of men. Women have been worse off than men in terms of job loss and unemployment in all countries with the exception of Hungary. They have been in a weaker position also with respect to the quality of employment, as will be seen below.

2.6 Gender differences in unemployment

2.6.1 Data analysis

In the countries of the area, women have suffered more from the emergence of unemployment than men, with the exception of Hungary. The trend of registered unemployment, male and female, since the beginning of the transition period is shown in table 6. The table illustrates the spectacular growth of unemployment levels in the first years of the reform. To show the early growth, registered unemployment data had to be used, as unemployment data corresponding to the ILO definition only became available when Labour Force Sample Surveys started to be published in CEFTA countries, in 1992-1993. Table 6 indicates that women have represented the majority of the unemployed in the Czech Republic and in Poland, since unemployment appeared at the start of the reform. In Slovakia, larger female unemployment was

[16] "Mzdové nuzky se rozeviraji", in *Lidové Noviny*, 16.1.1995, Prague.

[17] National Statistical Yearbooks; national reports prepared for the Regional Preparatory Session of the Economic Commission for Europe, Vienna, 17.21 October 1994.

the case until 1993. In that year[18], however, women's share fell below 50 per cent, as the number of unemployed women continued to rise, but the number of unemployed men grew even faster.

In Hungary, women have accounted for only about 40 per cent of the registered unemployed, since the beginning of the reform. Hungary is the only country of the CEFTA area - and of the whole Central and Eastern European region, apart from Slovenia - where female unemployment has been systematically lower than male unemployment. The question arises why Hungarian women have managed to have lower unemployment than men. The main reasons for this may be summarized as follows:

i) Hungary has been the only CEFTA country where active-age women have represented a higher proportion of labour force withdrawals than post-retirement-age women. Thus, Hungary has been the only CEFTA country with a significant decline in the female labour supply, particularly in the active age-groups, female labour force of active age having declined by an estimated 16 per cent, between the beginning of 1990 and of 1994. It is difficult to say to what extent these withdrawals corresponded to discouragement (declared or implied); to what extent they reflected the personal preference of Hungarian women for full-time family care; and to what extent more women in Hungary could afford to give up paid employment than in the neighbouring countries. It should be noted that Hungary has the highest per capita GDP in the area and that the growth of the private sector, and hence the possibility of profits and high incomes for entrepreneurs, started earlier than in the other countries. ii) In Hungary, women have been more protected from the effects of economic reforms by their pattern of distribution across industries. Industrial restructuring affected Hungarian women less than men, as the largest cuts concerned the heavy industries, employing mostly men, while the light industries, where women predominate, have been relatively less hit. This contrasted with the Polish experience, where women suffered mass retrenchments, particularly in textiles. iii) Hungary had the most developed service sector among the countries of the area already at the start of the reforms. The steady growth of service activities and the persistently high demand for female employment in services contributed to increase female employment. iv) Company managers in Hungary showed a greater freedom from gender bias in recruitment than their counterparts in the neighbouring countries, as will be seen in section 5.

In sum, a wide range of supply and demand factors have been instrumental in keeping female unemployment lower than male unemployment in Hungary. While female labour supply declined more than in the neighbouring countries, the demand for female labour was maintained at a high level, particularly thanks to the development of services.

In the Czech Republic, the share of women in the total number of registered unemployed has been growing in recent months and at 60 per cent the share is now the highest in the area. However, unemployment rates have remained at a low level in the Czech Republic, for both men and women, as shown in table 7. The fact that women, together with the other vulnerable groups, such as school leavers and disabled workers represent over three-quarters of the total unemployed implies that full employment has been maintained for adult, healthy men throughout the reform period (at least in most regions). But, the very high share of women in unemployment indicates, nevertheless, a certain discrimination against women in dismissal and recruitment practices, of which more will be said in section 5.

Table 7 places unemployment rates corresponding to the ILO definition and included in national Labour Force Sample Surveys alongside unemployment rates based on Employment Office registration data. Registered unemployment rates are higher in the countries of the area, with the exception of the Czech Republic, where, however, the differences between the two series are small,

[18] Czechoslovakia was divided into two independent states, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, on 1.1.1993.

particularly for women.[19] In all countries of the area, the two unemployment series reflect a similar pattern of gender differences.

The difficulty of access to employment for young people, school leavers and graduates, men and particularly women, is illustrated in table 8, showing unemployment rates by age. The table indicates very high unemployment rates for the youngest age-groups and shows a regular decline of unemployment with rising age, at least until the retirement limit, when unemployment rates mostly increase again. In Hungary, both male and female unemployment rates reach a level which is below their respective averages as from the age of 25 and after that continue to have a falling trend, the female rates being systematically lower than the male rates, until retirement age. In the other three countries, there are marked gender differences in the age when unemployment rates reach a below-average level. In the Czech Republic, the dividing age is 25 for men and 35 for women, suggesting that women with young children find it more difficult to get out of unemployment, once they lose their job than women past child-rearing age. A similar situation can be found in Poland, where the male unemployment rate falls below the average level as from the age of 25, but the female unemployment rate reaches the average level only at 40, i.e. at an age when most women are free from child-rearing obligations. In Slovakia, young women below 25 have lower unemployment rates than young men, which is also the case of older women aged 40-54. However, women aged 25-39 have higher unemployment rates than men, which again suggests a more difficult access to employment for women with young and school-age children.

The impact of education on male and female unemployment is illustrated in table 9. Unemployment tends to decline with education and the inverse relationship is highly significant. Unemployment rates for university graduated men and women are the lowest everywhere and are situated markedly below the overall average. On the other hand, both male and female workers with just a basic (or incomplete basic) education have the highest unemployment rates in all countries with the exception of Poland. This may be related to the important weight of Polish agriculture, which absorbs large numbers of workers with little formal education, often as self-employed or as family helpers.

In the Czech and Slovak republics, women with basic education, or no education, have relatively lower unemployment rates than men in the same category, while accounting for a much larger share of the workforce. This suggests that women with a basic (or no) education have a relatively good access to unskilled jobs, which they are better able to keep than men, due to the low wages they accept for the most part. In all other educational categories, the female unemployment rate is higher than the male unemployment rate (with the exception of university graduates in the Czech Republic).

In Hungary, the opposite pattern can be found: women with less than a basic education have a higher unemployment rate than men in the same educational category, and this is also the case for the vocational education category and for university graduates, although in the latter

[19] Registered unemployment includes all workers registered at Employment Offices as actively looking for a job. Workers who stop inquiring regularly at the Employment Offices, take up employment, systematically refuse retraining or the offer of "socially useful" publicly subsidized work, or who acquire the right to a pension are taken off the registers. Unemployment defined according to the ILO definition and used in Labour Force Sample Surveys omits certain categories of workers registered as unemployed at the Employment Offices. The LFSS count as unemployed all citizens above 15 years of age, including those past retirement age, actively looking for work by whatever method, e.g. through advertisements, personal contacts, visits to potential employers, or through public or private employment agencies. But, the LFSS exclude workers registered at Employment Offices who, at the time of the Survey, were unable to start employment within two weeks, or who could not actively look for a job for various reasons, or who had worked in the reference period, if only for one hour a week. The categories of registered unemployed just mentioned mostly include workers taking part in, or waiting for, retraining courses, workers engaged in publicly useful work, young men about to start their military service, and young women shortly to go on maternity leave. They also include sick persons, or persons caring for sick family members on a long-term basis. On the other hand LFSS include past retirement age workers actively looking for a job.

category the gender difference is minimal. In all other educational categories, the female unemployment rate is lower than the male unemployment rate.

Finally, in all the countries, workers with a secondary technical education have lower unemployment rates than workers with a secondary general education, who tend to be mostly women. Thus, the traditional pattern of girls' education still persists, to a greater or lesser extent, and tends to aggravate the unemployment situation of women.

Workers with previous job experience have widely different rates of unemployment, depending on the industry in which they were last employed, as illustrated in table 10. However, the industrial pattern of unemployment is largely similar for men and women in the countries under review. In all the countries, higher overall unemployment rates can be found in the goods producing industries than in services other than trade and restaurants and hotels.

About the highest rates of unemployment can be found in the construction branch everywhere. The rate is higher for women than for men in the Czech Republic and in Poland, it is lower for women in Hungary and about equal in Slovakia. Among the service activities, the highest rates of unemployment prevail in restaurants and hotels, followed by trade and by business services. Everywhere, in the service branches just mentioned, the unemployment rates are higher for women than for men (with the exception of trade in Hungary). Construction, restaurants and hotels have in common their seasonal character and a large share of private (personal) ownership. Restaurants and hotels, trade and business services have in common an important share of small businesses. The large share of small private undertakings in all the branches mentioned suggests a lack of capital and an insufficient access to credit. This in turn leads to a relatively high rate of business failure, associated with an above-average labour turnover, resulting in greater unemployment. However, the reasons why the unemployment rates tend to be significantly higher for women than for men in the services referred to, which represent an important part of the newly growing private sector, remain to be investigated.

Women have a higher unemployment rate than men in manufacturing in the Czech Republic, in Slovakia and especially in Poland. The large amount of job loss for women in Polish light industries and particularly in textiles has already been mentioned. In Hungary and in Slovakia, there are conspicuously high unemployment rates for women in mining, women having lost many white collar jobs in the mining industry (as they did in manufacturing) and having been unable to find other employment in the mining districts, which have been generally hard-hit by transition restructuring. Thus, the high female unemployment rates in mining are partly related to women's low labour mobility.

In the main budget-financed branches, e.g. in education and in health, unemployment rates have remained rather low. However, in these overwhelmingly "feminized" branches women mostly did worse than men with respect to unemployment, the health sector in Slovakia being a notable exception. The systematically higher male unemployment rates in administration and defence are likely to be related to the defence cuts and armed forces reductions following the end of the Cold War and the difficulty for military personnel to find civilian employment.

Finally, the low unemployment rates in the newly growing banking and insurance branches, particularly for women, reflect the high level of demand for largely female financial service personnel and may be considered an encouraging sign.

In CEFTA countries, as in the industrialized countries of the West, women face greater difficulties in escaping from unemployment than men. As a result, long-term unemployment is usually more important for women than for men (table 11). The exception is the Czech Republic, where about the same proportion (22 per cent) of men and women have been unemployed for a year or longer. The high proportion of long-term unemployment in Slovakia, both for men (43.3 per cent) and for women (46.9 per cent) deserves to be mentioned, particularly since unemployment began to develop only relatively recently. The impression given by the data in table

11 is that many men and especially many women in Slovakia, who lost their employment when the reform started and when large-scale retrenchments were made in industry, probably remained unemployed ever since.

Table 12 presents some information on the relationship between long-term unemployment and the level of education, available for Poland and Slovakia. The table suggests that only a basic education increases significantly the chances of long-term unemployment for both men and women. Since more women than men have no more than a basic education, the generally larger share of women among the long-term unemployed is at least partly related to educational factors.

Various explanations exist for the greater problems faced by women in getting out of unemployment. Among the main reasons quoted, apart from educational differences, are employers' preferences for men, women's reluctance to go into small individual businesses, women's lower labour mobility, as well as their generally poorer worker image in comparison with men.[20]

2.6.2 Male and female workers' reactions to unemployment: Survey results

As unemployment is a relatively new social phenomenon in Central and Eastern Europe, it may be of some interest to examine the attitudes of male and female workers to the unemployment threat and to see how they have coped in the case of job loss.

Survey results at our disposal indicate that there is a relatively high degree of apprehension of unemployment, particularly among women in the area. This apprehension is largely justified, since women mostly have high unemployment rates, including in Hungary, even though their unemployment rate is lower than the male rate in that country. The main reason for women to fear unemployment is the loss of income and the resulting decline in the standard of living for the women themselves and for their families. As already pointed out, most families in the area need a double income to afford an average standard of living. The ILO survey carried out in the Czech and Slovak republics in 1991-1992, already referred to,[21] has established that 76 per cent of women worked for money or to provide for the basic needs of their families, which was a significantly higher percentage than that shown by survey results in European Community countries[22] The Czech and Slovak survey, aimed largely at assessing women's opinions and attitudes to job loss, established that in February 1991, i.e. one month after the official launching of the reform in Czechoslovakia, the majority of women (51 per cent) considered their job to be threatened, of which 38 per cent considered it as rather threatened and 13 per cent as highly threatened. Only 5 per cent of women considered their job to be entirely secure. Men were more optimistic, 50 per cent considering their job as more or less secure. Women in rural areas and in small towns, as well as women with a lower level of education, were more pessimistic than women graduates and city dwellers. In view of the statistical evidence presented above, their perception of the situation was largely accurate.

In February 1991, only 14 per cent of women envisaged leaving their public sector job on their own initiative, in order to go into the private sector, into family businesses or to become self-employed. As many as 80 per cent of women and 82 per cent of men were of the opinion, at the start of the reform, that it was the duty of the government to create a sufficient number of employment opportunities for all citizens able and ready to work. To the question whether the respondent would know what to do if he/she lost his/her job, 39 per cent of women replied that they would not know how to cope, 36 per cent replied that they would, and 25 per cent could give

[20] UN Economic Commission for Europe, *Women's Access to Employment and Entrepreneurship*, op. cit., 1994.

[21] PORI, op. cit.

[22] L. Paukert, "The economic status of women in the transition to a market system", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. 130, 1991, Nos.5-6, ILO, Geneva.

no answer. Of the 36 per cent who had an idea of how to cope, the majority (47 per cent) said that they would look for a similar job (which at that time meant in the public sector) and 6 per cent declared that they would stay at home. To the question whether in case of job loss women would accept more poorly paid work, 42 per cent answered in the affirmative, 48 per cent answered negatively and 10 per cent gave no answer. The relatively high percentage of women ready to accept a wage cut, 42 per cent, is worth noticing, as indeed in 1991 there was a dramatic fall in average real wages, amounting to almost 25 per cent, which was accepted by the public as the price of transition.

One year later, in February 1992, the second round of the ILO survey in Czechoslovakia revealed that in fact only 21 per cent of women had left their job for one reason or another during the previous 12 months. This was a considerably lower percentage than had been feared by the survey respondents a year earlier, when 51 per cent of women considered their job as threatened, of which 13 as highly threatened. Between February 1991 and February 1992, about half of the 21 per cent of women who were no longer in their job (i.e. 11 per cent) had been dismissed, 7 per cent had left voluntarily, one per cent had retired, and two per cent gave other answers. The feeling of job security increased during the first year of reform (1991), but the increase in confidence did not reflect sufficiently the positive labour market developments, particularly the low unemployment rate and the relatively high rate of outflow from unemployment, as new jobs started to be created in the private sector. In February 1992, 9 per cent of women considered their job as entirely secure, compared to 5 per cent a year earlier. But 44 per cent of women still considered their job to be threatened, of which 9 per cent as highly threatened. On the other hand, in 1992, about one-fifth of women were prepared to leave their job voluntarily in order to switch to self-employment or to private business, which was significantly more than a year earlier. During the first year of intensive reform, opinions changed considerably with respect to the role of the state in employment creation. In February 1992, the majority of respondents considered that job creation was the matter for private or local initiative, i.e. for entrepreneurs (25 per cent), private citizens (13 per cent) and local authorities (11 per cent). But, 45 per cent of women still held the opinion that the creation of sufficient job opportunities was the responsibility of the government.[23] In Autumn 1993, 32 per cent of men and 36 per cent of women felt their employment to be threatened.[24] Thus, the fear of losing one's job diminished in comparison with February 1991 and February 1992. But in Autumn 1993 the fear of lay-off was still considerable and unjustified by actual labour market developments. The explanation is that while the overall unemployment rate remained low, there was a considerable amount of job turnover, as restructuring was proceeding at high speed. In mid-1993, 46 per cent of men and 42 per cent of women had already changed their job at least once in the previous three years, i.e. since the change of economic system.[25]

Coming back to the Czech and Slovak survey of 1991-1992, women who lost or quit their job, between February 1991 and February 1992, were asked in what way they had solved their problem. Their answers are summarized in Figure 1, which also shows the replies of the women who had been asked the same question a year earlier. About one-third of the women who lost or quit their job during the first year of intensive reform (1991) went into small private businesses. This proportion was not influenced by whether they had been dismissed or quit voluntarily. But the women who answered that they had found no solution and had remained unemployed had almost all been dismissed. Moreover, the women who looked for the same type of work as they had held

[23] PORI, op. cit.

[24] *Lidové Noviny*, 10 December 1993, Prague.

[25] Czech Statistical Office, *Zamestnanost a nezamestnanost v CR, léto (cerven az srpen) 1993*, (Labour Force Sample Survey, Summer 1993), Prague.

previously had been dismissed more often than they had quit voluntarily. On the other hand, women who wanted to retrain and go into self-employment or private business, had, for the most part, left their (public sector) job on their own initiative. The share of women wanting to retrain declined between the two survey rounds, which confirmed the falling demand for retraining, in general.[26]

Surveys carried out in Poland reveal that women appear to cope with the unemployment situation differently from men. They tend to register more frequently at Employment Offices and they look for jobs directly in enterprises less often than men. They also rely more on the help of friends and relatives in finding employment. The reasons for being unemployed also vary by gender. A relatively large proportion of men become unemployed because of dissatisfaction with their job. An important proportion of women, on the other hand (22 per cent), became unemployed for family or personal reasons. More women than men have lost their job as a result of mass lay-offs related to the reform. By December 1993, women accounted for 58.5 per cent of the total number of workers having lost their job in mass retrenchments.[27]

2.7 Women in flexible and atypical employment

The regeneration of the small enterprise and business sector in the countries of the area has been an important factor for the increase of flexible and atypical employment, particularly for women. Women's part-time employment, as well as temporary, seasonal and occasional employment has been rising. However, the incidence of the flexible forms of employment remains much lower than in the countries of the European Union. Part-time work was not very widespread under the planned economy system and since the start of the reforms its importance has increased relatively little. Part-time employment represents between 9 and 13 per cent of total female employment in the countries of the area. These percentages are considerably lower than those found in the majority of European Union countries. In Scandinavia, where female labour force participation rates are comparable to those of CEFTA countries, part-time employment accounts for 47 per cent of total female employment in Norway and for 41 per cent in Sweden.[28] The main reason why part-time work is relatively unimportant in CEFTA countries is financial: Two full-time wages are needed in most households and few women can afford to work part-time.

Data available for Poland and presented in table 13 indicate that part-time employment chiefly concerns workers of pre-active and post-active ages. The table also shows that the share of part-time work is higher for women than for men in all three major age-groups. Moreover, married women in Poland work part-time to a lesser extent than widowed women (this being related to the age factor) while the lowest incidence of part-time work concerns divorced women, as could be expected. Divorced men, on the other hand, have a higher rate of part-time work than married men.

Data at our disposal on temporary, seasonal and occasional work indicate that since the beginning of the transition period, its share in total employment has increased from almost nil to about seven per cent in Poland and in the Czech Republic. However, there are no significant gender differences in the incidence of this type of employment. The share of temporary, seasonal and occasional employment is about the same for women and for men in the Czech Republic (amounting to about 7 per cent) and slightly lower for women than for men in Poland amounting to

[26] PORI, 1992, op.cit.

[27] *Report of the Government of Poland for the ECE regional preparatory meeting for the Fourth World Conference on Women*, 1994, op. cit.

[28] OECD, *Employment Outlook*, Paris, July 1994.

7.1 and 5.6 per cent, respectively).[29] However, the Czech Labour Force Sample Survey indicates that a significantly higher percentage of women than of men with a temporary, occasional or seasonal job (45 per cent against 40 per cent) give as the reason that "this type of work suits them". Thus, more women than men have temporary, occasional or seasonal work voluntarily. It may be assumed that the suitability women see in flexible employment is related to the greater ease of combining it with their family obligations.

Finally, "grey sector" or undeclared work, which is known to have expanded considerably since the general obligation to work has been abolished, may also be included in the atypical work category. As already mentioned, quite a few men and women have shifted to the "grey sector", leaving the regular labour force altogether, since the reform started. Others do "grey sector" work as a second job or on an occasional basis. Estimates of "grey sector" employment vary widely and their reliability often appears doubtful. However, many women on child-care leave, as well as many pensioners (two categories of workers who are covered with respect to medical and social insurance) are known to work undeclared. While their earnings escape taxation, their work conditions are often poor and they have no job security or protection of any kind. Flexible forms of employment are widespread in the grey sector, namely temporary work, seasonal work, casual work and also homework.[30]

3. Women workers and privatization: Women's access to entrepreneurship

3.1 Shifts of female labour to the private sector

The privatization process affected male and female workers differently. The pattern of employment shifts from the public to the private sector has been detrimental to women in all countries of the area, in an alarmingly similar way (table 14). After four or five years of transition it can now be seen that far fewer women have shifted to private sector employment than men. Women have had a tendency to remain in the public sector - offering mostly poor prospects and lower pay - while men tended to leave it on their own initiative, in order to seek better pay conditions in the private sector or to launch their own businesses. Due to the departure of more men than women from the public sector, women have become over-represented in public sector employment, while they remain under-represented in the private sector and particularly among entrepreneurs and employers.

In the Czech Republic, women's share in public sector employment increased from 46 per cent at the end of 1989 to an estimated 53 per cent in Winter 1993/94 (table 14). In Poland, the share of women in public sector employment has also increased, although women's concentration in the public sector is less pronounced than in the Czech Republic, owing to the importance of Polish agriculture, which is largely private. Outside agriculture, however, the public sector in Poland still employs 62 per cent of female workers, compared to 54 per cent of male workers. In the Slovak Republic almost 70 per cent of women continue to work as public sector employees, compared to 59 per cent of men. Thus, gender differences in the shifts of labour from the public to the private sector have been staggering.

Poland has an important number of self-employed, who tend to be concentrated in agriculture. When non-agricultural employment is taken separately, the shares of the self-employment in total male and female employment become similar to those found in the Czech

[29] National Labour Force Sample Surveys, 1994.

[30] UN Economic Commission for Europe, 1994, op. cit.

Republic and in Hungary. The female shares in the total number of self-employed, shown in table 14 for the four countries of the area, correspond roughly to those found in the countries of the European Union.[31] However, in EU countries women's overall employment shares tend to be lower, so that the degree of under-representation of women in self-employment (measured by the difference between the percentage of women among the self-employed and in total employment), is smaller in the European Union than in CEFTA countries.

One of the least satisfactory aspects of labour restructuring under the privatization process concerns the low number of women who have become employers. In Poland, employers now represent about 5 per cent of the male workforce and 2.6 per cent of the female workforce (within and outside agriculture). Although these rates corresponds roughly to those found in the European Union [32], the gender gap is substantial. In the Czech and Slovak republics, employers represent an even lower share of the male workforce and an almost negligible share of the female workforce. Among all the categories listed in table 14, the lowest percentage of women is systematically found among employers. The share of women in the employer category is about half of the share of women in total employment, indicating a heavy female under-representation.

Women who have succeeded to become entrepreneurs and employers are concentrated in fewer industries than men, as shown in table 15. In the Czech Republic, one half of female employers are in trade and public catering, followed after a large gap by health and social care and by manufacturing, including craft production. Male employers are better represented in manufacturing and a notable proportion runs building firms. Although trade is also the most important industry for male employers, they are in addition quite well implanted in transport (especially in private road transport and in taxi services), as well as in real estate and in business services. Data available for Poland show a somewhat different picture in that two-thirds to four-fifths of self-employed men and women (without employees) are in agriculture, and so are 17-24 per cent of employers. Manufacturing accounts for larger shares of male and female employers than in the Czech Republic. Like in the latter country, however, trade is the most important industry for private business owners and a notable proportion of male employers run building firms.

The family helper category remains relatively unimportant in CEFTA countries (apart from Polish agriculture), but women are largely over-represented in it, accounting for 56 to 74 per cent of the total number.

3.2 Reasons for female under-representation in private sector employment

The reasons for women's over-representation in the public sector and for their under-representation in the generally more lucrative private sector and among entrepreneurs can be analysed under five main headings:

[31] ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1993*, table 2A,Geneva.

Share of women among employers and own-account workers in selected Western European countries

Austria, 199131.5

France, 199133.4

Germany, 199226.5

Greece, 199020.6

Italy, 199123.9

Portugal, 199240.4

Sweden, 199223.8

United Kingdom, 1991 23.7

[32] UN ECE, op. cit.

3.2.1 Established habits and problem-free working conditions in the public sector

Women's hesitation to change their working environment and their work-life patterns have played an important role in their remaining in public sector employment. The pressure of the "double burden" makes any change of job more difficult, since new ways of harmonizing work and family have to be found and new daily routines established. The weaker labour discipline prevailing in the public sector and the possibility of attending to personal matters during working hours, found in many workplaces, have also entered into consideration. Finally, the absence of worry and of responsibility for business results is appreciated by many women who focus most of their attention on their home and family. The majority of women continue to value the regular - and relatively short - hours worked in the public sector, as well as the freedom from business worries, more than a higher income and better career prospects in the private sector. The relatively weak labour discipline in the public sector, which gradually became the accepted norm during the planned economy era[33], has been a further incentive for women to remain in their working environment, with which they have become familiar often over many years of tenure. In the new private companies, labour discipline tended to be more strict, and the way of combining work with family obligations more difficult to achieve, which has discouraged many women. Men, on the other hand, started to leave the public sector on their own initiative for better pay and/or better prospects in the private sector, as soon as interesting job openings became available or as soon as private business legislation was enacted.

3.2.2 Occupational structure of the female workforce

The occupational composition of the female workforce and particularly women's concentration in professions which are everywhere largely synonymous with public sector employment, e.g. teaching, nursing, or social care, left many women little choice but to continue in the public sector.

In the countries of the area, 10-15 per cent of female employment is concentrated in education, where women account for about 75 per cent of the workforce. Another 10-12 per cent of female employment is concentrated in health and social care, where the share of women tends to be even higher, ranging from 74 to 82 per cent (table 16). Thus, about one-quarter of the female workforce, consisting of teachers, nurses, doctors, social workers etc., is automatically tied to the public sector. Private medical practices, hospitals and schools have started to appear, but their number remains low. Some teachers are also known to have switched to office work in private companies, but these were more often men than women, so that the "feminization" of the education sector has further increased. Women mostly preferred to stay on in teaching, where they generally appreciate the flexible time schedules, the proximity of their workplace to their children's schools and the long vacations.[34] In sum, women's concentration in professions belonging to branches financed from the state budget has been an important reason for their lesser shift to private sector employment.

[33] PORI survey results of 1991 revealed that in the Czech and Slovak republics 13 per cent of women could leave their workplace to attend to personal matters at any time they wished, 24 per cent could 'disappear' occasionally, and 33 per cent exceptionally. (PORI, 1991, op.cit.)

[34] Women also account for a high share of workers in Communications e.g. for 65 per cent in the Slovak Republic, in Q3 1994, which is yet another public sector branch from which it may be difficult to escape. SUSR, *Statisticke cisla a grafy, Vysledky vyberovych supisov pracovnych sil za 3. stvrtrok 1994* (Labour Force Sample Survey, Q3 1994) Bratislava.

3.2.3 Private companies gender bias in recruitment

Recruitment in private sector companies has not been entirely free from gender bias, as will be seen in section 5.

To avoid any misinterpretation, however, it should be stated that in all the countries of the area women are granted full equality of treatment in law, guaranteed by the Constitutions and embodied in the existing legislation. All countries of the area have signed ILO Convention No.111, preventing discrimination in employment on gender grounds and ILO Convention No. 100 on equal pay for work of equal value. No complaints have been made public and no action taken, alleging non-compliance with the conventions (at least with respect to gender bias). However, like in Western countries, gender bias can take many subtle forms, which may escape the notice of the general public and of the women themselves.

3.2.4 Impact of training and retraining

Educational factors and the difficulty of enroling in training or retraining courses have also acted in women's disfavour. The household duties women have to accomplish after working hours have left them little or no time for training and for acquiring the often indispensable information through courses, internships, etc.

In the countries of the area, the educational level of the female workforce is relatively high. It is mostly as high, or even higher, than the educational level of men, although the educational profile of the female workforce differs somewhat from the educational profile of the male workforce (table 18). In Hungary and in Poland, a larger share of female than male workers have a tertiary education. In all the countries an important proportion of female workers have a secondary technical education. Thus, it is not the lack of formal education that has slowed down women's access to private sector employment and to entrepreneurship, in comparison with men.

However, transition restructuring has been accompanied from the start by a remarkable rise in training and retraining activities. Training courses in many different subjects, ranging from languages and computer operating to management and business administration, both publicly run and private, day-time and evening, short-duration and longer-duration, started to flourish. But, as training tends to be time-consuming and as women have much less free time than men, due to the "double burden", women's participation in training courses has been generally lower than that of men. Thus, women's lower availability for training and for re-orientation or refresher courses has made their access to attractive private sector jobs more difficult.

Moreover, as mentioned earlier, women tended to be excluded from retraining and from on-the-job training by some company managers concerned about women's low (or soon approaching) retirement age, discussed earlier, as well as about absenteeism related to family obligations and hence about the profitability of such retraining provision.

3.2.5 Low female involvement in small business development

In all countries of the area, relatively few women have dared to launch their own businesses. Those who were prepared to try faced the usual obstacles encountered in such circumstances in all countries: lack of capital, insufficient access to credit, absence of collateral and need for family help in getting it, difficulties in recruiting and in managing staff, etc. These factors were further aggravated by the transition conditions characterized by high interest rates, high taxation, incomplete and frequently changing business legislation, heavy and complicated bureaucracy, market disorganization, low standards of banking and of business services, to enumerate just the main problems.

Whatever the reasons, however, the low involvement of women in private business development since the start of the reforms has been a cause for concern. Women have missed a

unique opportunity offered to them by the transition to a market economy system. In every country, entrepreneurship is an important means of access to power and resources. In Central and Eastern Europe, moreover, the process of privatization has offered an unprecedented chance to women (and to men) of acceding to entrepreneurial positions, which may never be repeated. Women's lower access to entrepreneurship is certain to have long-term implications for the distribution of income and wealth along gender lines, becoming a factor of female exclusion for many years to come.[35]

However, the unsatisfactory trend of women's access to entrepreneurship could still be corrected, at least to a certain extent. But female representation among entrepreneurs is unlikely to be increased without a clear political will. Strong and speedy action is needed, therefore, to help women to accede to entrepreneurial positions and to take better advantage of the new opportunities offered by the market economy system. The chief priorities, however, remain to be discussed and defined.

3.3 Women's attitudes to job change and to private business

The survey on Women in the Labour Market, carried out in the Czech and Slovak republics, in 1991-1992,[36] revealed that twice as many men than women already expressed their intention of going into business at the start of the reform. Younger women and the better educated ones gave positive answers more often than older women and those with a low level of education. Most respondents (88 per cent) expected to work very long hours (8 or more a day) if they launched their own business and run it on a full-time basis. This may be one of the reasons why 45 and 44 per cent of the male and female respondents, respectively, expressed agreement with the statement that business and entrepreneurship were basically for men and that women should mainly be helpers. About one-quarter of the respondents - 24 per cent of the female sample and 27 per cent of the male sample - even endorsed the statement that entrepreneurship was an exclusively male domain. Both statements were endorsed by a somewhat larger percentage of respondents in the Slovak than in the Czech republic. As the main advantages expected from the launching of a business most respondents quoted better possibilities for self-realization, greater independence and a higher income. Advantages related to family matters such as a greater time flexibility for looking after children and for running the household were endorsed by a small minority of respondents. This tends to explain why so many women have been hesitant to start a business. Family obligations and an expected high demand on women's time associated in their minds with small business ownership have acted as a major obstacle for women to leave their employee job in the public sector.

The first round of the survey (February 1991) revealed a certain vagueness among women intending to go into business with respect to the need for capital and the best methods and sources of obtaining it. The second round of the survey (February 1992) showed that women have had to rely much more on their own (or their families') resources than they originally expected. The survey thus confirmed another major obstacle preventing women from going into business - the difficulty of access to capital. Two-thirds of the female respondents declared that the government should support small business development through fiscal measures. The same percentage also expressed the opinion that access to credit should improve and that lower interest rates should be charged to newly created small businesses.[37] As in the Western countries, women were perceived as having a lower credit-worthiness, related to less direct access to collateral. Most banks and

[35] UN Economic Commission for Europe, Women's Access to Employment and Entrepreneurship, op. cit.

[36] PORI, op. cit.

[37] ibid.

other financial institutions required women to have the support of their husbands and families before credit was granted.

4. Industrial and occupational structure of male and female employment: changes in women's employment segregation

Under the effect of the transition reforms, the share of the goods producing sectors in total employment has been declining, while the share of the service sector has been growing, particularly for women. The share of the service sector in female employment has reached 68 per cent in Hungary, 63 per cent in Slovakia, 62 per cent in the Czech Republic and 54 per cent in Poland (table 16). Men continue to be mainly concentrated in the secondary sector, with the exception of Hungary, where more men now work in the tertiary than in the secondary sector, as well. In Poland, the primary sector continues to occupy 24 per cent of both the male and the female workforce. For Polish women agriculture continues to be a more important employer than industry.

The changes in the industrial distribution of the workforce that have taken place since the start of the reform can be characterized not only as a systematic shift from the goods-producing sectors to services, but within the service sector as a shift to the activities which are typical of a market economy system, or which started to grow as a result of the opening of the borders. These consist mainly of banking, insurance, real estate, business services, personal services, tourist services, restaurants and hotels.

The decline in industrial employment has been faster for women than for men and the share of women in industry has decreased in all the countries of the area, as did the share of women in agriculture (table 17). However, the share of women has also decreased in most service branches, as considerable numbers of men started to join them under the impact of the reform. Banking and insurance have been typical cases where total employment expanded, while the share of women declined, as more men than women succeeded in getting employment in these branches which have again become lucrative. In addition, men were often recruited for decision-making posts, by-passing women who had been in the banking and insurance establishments for many years. The share of women has fallen sharply in trade, - another female stronghold under the planned economy system. The reason was that new businesses tended to be registered in the name of men much more than in the name of women, whereas many women had been retrenched from public sector retail chains and state whole-sale trading organizations, when they were closed down or broken up and privatized. On the other hand, the female employment share has increased in Education (at least in the Czech and Slovak republics, for which we have information), following the departure of many male teachers who were able to find better paid work in private companies' offices. In Slovakia, the employment share of women further increased in health and social care, as well as in transport and communications, which was also the case in Poland, but not in Hungary. The rise in the share of women in transport and communications, observed in Poland and in Slovakia, may have various explanations. One of them might be the increase in the relative weight of communications, where women predominate, whereas in transport their employment share tends to be low.

Data on the industrial distribution of employment at our disposal correspond only to a one-digit ISIC classification. They are not detailed enough therefore to allow any conclusions to be drawn on the changes in women's industrial segregation during the transition process. While it might be tempting to bring out the tendency towards a greater labour mixity by gender, on the basis

of the faster rise in male employment in banking, insurance, business services and in trade, - all sectors which had been overwhelmingly "feminized" during the planned economy era -, the amount of information is insufficient to draw firm conclusions on the changes that have actually taken place. The suggested trend towards a greater labour mixity in the services mentioned may in fact be hiding a reinforcement of vertical occupational segregation.

It would be equally difficult to draw any conclusions on the trends in women's segregation by occupation only on the basis of the data in table 19. Employment data in a detailed occupational classification can be found in population censuses, which seem out of date for the purpose of this study. The newly available LFSS data, shown in table 19, use a one-digit ISCO classification, which is too broad to calculate segregation indices.

Nevertheless, table 19 illustrates the high degree of concentration of women in the clerical worker category, and the high degree of concentration of men in the craft and skilled production worker category (as well as in the equipment operator category in Poland and in Slovakia). The clerical worker category and the skilled manual worker category are almost totally segregated (as is the equipment operator category in Poland and in Slovakia), women or men representing in each case around 80 per cent of the workforce. The share of women in the technical, health and educational worker category, shown in table 19 as ranging between 57 and 61 per cent in the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia, appears to be an average of widely different percentages applying to the three components: in the educational and health sectors, shown separately in table 16, women represent 75-80 per cent of the workforce. This implies that women must be heavily under-represented among technical workers. In Hungary, women's share among health and education workers, shown in row 3 of table 19, amounts to 70.1 per cent. Table 19 indicates moreover that, apart from Hungary, only 3-5 per cent of the female workforce can be found in the top-level administrative and managerial category, compared to 7-8 per cent of the male workforce. (In Hungary, 10.5 per cent of women workers belong to the "administrative, executive, economic and commercial" category). But, the table also reveals that 52-64 per cent of scientific and professional workers are women, which is obviously related to their fairly high shares among workers with a tertiary and secondary technical education, shown in table 18. In the case of Hungary, the second row of table 19 refers to (higher level) professional and technical workers, where the share of women is only 24.1 per cent. Finally, women are over-represented in the unskilled worker category, accounting for 51-61 per cent of the total number of unskilled workers in the four countries of the area.

Summing up, the data that have become available in Labour Force Sample Surveys indicate a deep change in the pattern of distribution of male and female employment by industry and occupation, since the start of the reform. Within the general framework of employment shifts to services, the male and female workforces have been redistributed on the basis of different decision criteria and according to diverging trends. As a result, the structure of employment, as well as female employment shares have been considerably modified. Women's shares have markedly decreased across the industrial board, while they have declined only slightly in total employment.

As pointed out above, the classification of the data at our disposal is not sufficiently detailed to enable us to measure the degree of employment segregation and to quantify the amount of change under the impact of transition. But it is possible to conclude from the data analysed in the present section that (a) there has been an undeniable trend towards a more mixed labour force in the service industries, and (b) that occupational segregation remains, nevertheless, relatively high and continues to run along the traditional lines. The main factors likely to determine the degree of segregation in the future concern the number of women who might still leave the goods-producing branches, some of which may thus become overwhelmingly male-dominated, and the number of men who will move to the formerly women-dominated service branches, reducing even further the female employment shares and changing the pattern of female employment concentration.

However, the greater gender mixity in service employment referred to here may hide the emergence or reinforcement of vertical segregation, - a possibility suggested by some of the information included in the present section.

5. Demand for female labour: Results of ILO establishment surveys

The ILO has collected a considerable amount of information on the issue of demand for female labour at the establishment level, when carrying out a series of surveys on labour flexibility in manufacturing, covering a range of countries in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as a number of countries in Asia and in Latin America. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe covered by the ILO surveys included Russia, the Ukraine, Kyrgyzia, Kazakhstan, Bulgaria, and last but not least three of the four countries analysed in the present study, namely Hungary and the Czech and Slovak republics. The surveys assembled a large amount of information on women's employment, within the framework of the examination of the more general employment problems, particularly those related to the issue of employment flexibility. However, the Czech and Slovak surveys and the last Hungarian survey focused exclusively on women.

The surveys were generally conducted by means of interviews of establishment managers. The managers were asked about the employment structure and about the past and future employment changes in their factories, as well as on their attitudes to various personnel questions and on their likely future decisions which would have an impact on the workforce and on its various categories. A similar set of questionnaires was used in all the countries.

In Hungary, three surveys were, in fact, carried out. The last one, fielded in March 1993, focused on women and was organized for the purpose of the present study. Unlike the others, it was a postal survey. However, the mailing of questionnaires had to be backed up by an extensive number of telephone contacts. The survey was carried out by a research group belonging to the Central Statistical Office in Budapest. The original intention was to make contact with the 400 establishments included in the earlier ILO Hungarian survey, carried out in 1991. But, in view of the rapid pace of the transition-related changes in the Hungarian economy, only 157 establishments belonging to the sample of 400 used in 1991 could still be located in March 1993. The others had gone into bankruptcy, had been sold to private national or foreign owners, state enterprises had been split up, or had otherwise ceased to exist. About 600 establishments were finally included in the sample of establishments to which the survey questionnaire was dispatched. The sample was extended along similar lines as those governing the preparation of the original sample. Eventually, 254 industrial establishments were analysed, employing a total of 81,710 workers, of which 41,861 were women. The rate of reply was 42 per cent.

In order to obtain comparable data for the Czech and Slovak republics, a survey of manufacturing establishments was commissioned there, at the end of 1992, for the purpose of this study. The survey was fielded in April 1993 and the results became available in the late Spring of 1993. The Czech and Slovak surveys were conducted by interviews of establishment managers. The establishments selected belonged to a representative sample, 233 were located in the Czech Republic and 160 in the Slovak Republic. The establishments employed 123,052 workers in the Czech Republic (of whom 68,302 were men and 54,750 were women) and 95,599 workers in the Slovak Republic (of whom 60,737 were men and 34,862 were women). The sample was stratified by region, size of locality, industrial branch and type of ownership. In the Czech Republic the interviews of establishment managers or owners were conducted by the regular staff of the Public

Opinion Research Institute (a section of the Federal/Czech Statistical Office). In the Slovak Republic, interviewing was subcontracted to a private company specializing in opinion polls and market research, since after the split of Czechoslovakia on 1.1.1993, the official Slovak statistical services were in the process of strengthening and reorganization.[38]

The information obtained from the Hungarian, Czech and Slovak surveys is shown in tables 20-34. When examining these tables, it should be kept in mind that the Hungarian data, on the one hand, and the Czech and Slovak data, on the other, are not entirely comparable, due to the differences in methodology referred to above.

However, before turning to the analysis of the results of the 1993 surveys in the three countries, it may be interesting to summarize the earlier results obtained in the 1991 ILO Labour Flexibility Survey in Hungary, in so far as they refer to women workers.

The ILO Hungarian Labour Flexibility Survey, 1991, (HLFS) has shown that in the majority of industrial establishments surveyed the employment share of women remained stable during the two years covered by the survey, i.e. between 1988 and 1990. During these two years, the share of women remained unchanged in 59.7 per cent of establishments, rose in 12.8 per cent of establishments, and declined in 26.9 per cent of establishments.

On average, the share of women in all establishments surveyed declined by 0.2 per cent. The much larger decline in female industrial employment than in the male industrial employment, shown by official statistics for the same years (-14 per cent for men and -21 per cent for women) can be explained by the fact that the consumer industries, particularly textiles and leather, which traditionally employed a high share of women, were severely affected by the restructuring process and by the loss of the former CMEA markets. Between 1988 and 1990, employment in the establishments surveyed declined on the average by 10.7 per cent, while in textiles it declined by 17.1 per cent and in leather by 30.1 per cent. The employment share of women amounted to 68.2 per cent in textiles and to 77.6 per cent in leather, the average female employment share being 47 per cent. (The highest female employment share - 90 per cent - was to be found in clothing. However, the employment decline in this branch was slightly below average, (9.6 per cent). Nevertheless, the two typical "female" industries, textiles and leather, ranked top with respect to the employment decline in Hungarian manufacturing.

The above data indicate that, in Hungary it was the concentration of women in the traditional female industries, particularly affected by the loss of the Eastern markets, which led to the sharp decline in female industrial employment. The HLFS has established that in individual establishments the employment share of women mostly did not decline and frequently increased. In the establishments which managed to survive, belonging to the hard-hit industries, the share of women more often remained stable (or increased) than the average.

The occupational distribution of the female workforce in Hungary had a similar effect on the overall decline of female industrial employment as the industrial distribution. In 1990, women represented 59.5 per cent of semi-skilled production workers in the establishments surveyed. This was also the category most affected by employment cuts, together with unskilled production workers. On the other hand, the HLFS revealed that women in non-manual jobs were less at risk of becoming unemployed than women manual workers. Clerical jobs, 83 per cent of which were filled by women, were not reduced significantly. In fact, the share of clerical employment and of other white-collar occupations where women are well represented, or over-represented (professionals and sales staff) increased during the period covered by the survey. Thus, the higher

[38] The author wishes to thank Dr. Eliska Rendlova and the late Dr. Bohumil Jungmann for their work in organizing the survey, in carrying out the fieldwork and in preparing the preliminary data analysis, which provides the empirical basis for this part of the report.

overall decline for women was largely due to large-scale suppressions of semi-skilled production jobs, where women were concentrated.

As far as future prospects were concerned, they could be derived from managers' answers to the questions about the occupations which, in their opinion, have a labour surplus and about their expectations for various occupational groups in the future. To the first question, most managers replied that the highest surplus was among manual workers, particularly in the semi-skilled, but also in the skilled category. This was related to the past dismissals, which were expected to continue in the future for the semi-skilled category. Among non-manual workers, clerical workers were quoted by the managers as the group most likely to have had a surplus during the period considered. Since there were no significant reductions in the past, this seems to represent more of a threat for the future, with the result that there should be a greater risk for female non-manual workers than for male non-manual workers to lose their job in the years to come. When managers were asked about the employment expectations for various occupational groups, their replies did not indicate bright prospects for women. In fact, they showed women to be especially at risk, because of the anticipated changes in the occupational structure. The two occupations most likely to decline were those largely dominated by women, i.e. clerical occupations and semi-skilled manual occupations.

The conclusion reached by the HLFS was that women suffered more job loss than men in Hungarian manufacturing because of the distribution of the female workforce across industrial branches and occupations. The industries and occupations with a high share of women were more affected by job suppression than average. The HLFS also concluded that the assumption of gender bias playing a major role in the selection of staff for lay-offs at establishment level was not supported by the findings.

With regard to recruitment practices, however, the HLFS established some evidence of discriminatory attitudes on behalf of establishment managers. Most typically, 65.6 per cent of the establishments reported that they preferred to hire men as skilled production workers, while about 15 per cent indicated a preference for women, but these belonged to the "female" industries, i.e. textiles, leather and clothing. Concerning the recruitment of professional staff, 23.7 per cent of managers declared a preference for men, 9.2 per cent declared a preference for women and 67.1 per cent had no preference. It was the female industries that usually preferred women for professional jobs.

The high percentage of establishments which stated that they had no gender preference for recruiting professional workers - 67 per cent - can be interpreted as a positive sign. If the 9 per cent preferring women were added, this means that a woman looking for a white-collar job in industry had a 76 per cent chance to be treated at least equally in recruitment. This may be considered as one of the encouraging findings of the 1991 HLFS. The gender preferences in the recruitment of manual workers expressed by most managers reflects the traditional job segregation patterns, which may need a very long time to change.

The survey on women workers commissioned by the ILO for the purpose of the present study in Hungary, and carried out in March 1993, confirmed to a large extent the findings of the HLFS of 1991. However, it updated and completed them in many respects. It also was more comparable with the surveys carried out in the Czech and Slovak republics, in April 1993.

According to the ILO 1993 survey on women in Hungarian manufacturing, between 1990 and early 1993, total employment declined in four-fifth of the establishments included in the sample (table 20). In 12 per cent of establishments it remained unchanged and in about 8 per cent it increased. Female employment declined in roughly three-quarters of establishments, remained unchanged in 18 per cent and increased in about 6 per cent. Thus, female employment declined in a smaller percentage of establishments and remained stable in a larger percentage of establishments than total (and male) employment.

In the Czech Republic,[39] considerably fewer establishments included in the survey indicated having cut their workforce over the previous three years than in Hungary, as shown in table 20. This was particularly true of women workers. Slightly under 50 per cent of establishments laid-off female workers in the Czech Republic. On the other hand, when increases occurred, they more often concerned men. Interestingly, women had a greater stability than men, since 30 per cent of establishments reported no change in the number of women, compared to about 18 per cent reporting no change for the workforce as a whole.

The ILO 1993 survey on women in manufacturing in the Slovak Republic has shown that slightly more than half of the industrial establishments cut their workforce in the first years of the reform, women being affected less often than men. The percentage of establishments having made employment cuts was lower in Slovakia than in the Czech Republic and considerably lower than in Hungary, as indicated in table 20. About one-quarter of the Slovak establishments increased their workforce, hiring men slightly more often than women. Like in the Czech Republic and in Hungary, in Slovakia the female workforce had a somewhat greater stability than the male workforce. In the absence of data, one can only speculate about the respective sizes of the employment cuts and increases. It seems, however, that the cuts exceeded the increases by a considerable margin, especially for women.

According to standard statistical series, women's industrial employment declined more in Slovakia than in the Czech Republic or in Hungary, in the early years of reform.[40]

Table 21 shows that in the Czech Republic no establishment of the sample belonging to the heavy engineering branch recruited any women at all, during the period considered, while the small percentage that did recruit, hired men. In the light industries, where women represent 70 per cent of the workforce, 31 per cent of establishments, i.e. more than the average, increased their workforce, but only 25 per cent hired women. This indicates a tendency in the light industries to prefer men for new recruitments and to increase their employment share in this previously "female bastion". In the food industry, the pattern was similar, as far as employment increases were concerned. But the food industry was less affected by employment cuts and had a relatively important proportion of establishments where employment remained stable. In the food industry the proportion of establishments having cut their female workforce was lower than the average and the proportion of establishments where the female workforce remained stable was higher than the average. Thus, the concentration of women in the food industry, was one of the factors explaining the greater stability of female industrial jobs compared to male industrial jobs, in the first years of the reform.

Table 21 illustrates, moreover, the much higher propensity of public enterprises, in the Czech Republic, to shed labour than of the private ones. Although women fared slightly better than men with respect to the number of public companies having dismissed them, their higher concentration in the public sector meant that the large-scale employment cuts affected them quite heavily. At the same time, the private establishments able to increase their staff recruited men more often.

[39] At the time of the survey (on 31.03.1993) in the Czech Republic, women represented about 43 per cent of employment in the industrial establishments surveyed. They were concentrated in the light industries, where they accounted for over 70 per cent of the workforce, and they were under-represented in the heavy industries. In heavy engineering women accounted for only 27 per cent

of the workforce. The survey data confirmed that women's employment share was slightly bigger in the public sector than in the private one. About 7 per cent of women were employed on a part-time basis, this percentage being slightly larger in the food industries (8.2%) and in the light industries (7.9%) than in the heavy industries. At the time of the survey, about one-quarter of women workers of the establishments surveyed were on maternity or child-care leave.

[40] National Statistical Yearbooks.

The data giving the break-down by size of establishment for the Czech Republic, in table 21, show that almost nine in ten large establishments with 500 or more employees made personnel reductions, while the majority of small establishments increased their staff. Women enjoyed a somewhat greater stability and were slightly less affected by employment cuts, but they profited less from job creation, particularly in the small establishments.

Table 22 indicates that in Hungary the size of employment reduction, when it took place, was bigger for women than for the total workforce (reductions of 26-50% and 11-25%, respectively). Therefore, while a somewhat lower percentage of establishments made cuts in women's jobs than in men's jobs, those that did made cuts of a larger size. Joint stock companies and cooperatives were particularly responsible for the large-scale cuts in female employment. On the other hand, enterprises with foreign participation contributed more than their share to the cases of employment increase, which admittedly were limited.

Table 23 shows that in Slovakia women benefited more frequently from recruitments in the growing establishments than in the Czech Republic. As suggested by the table, this was particularly thanks to the food industries, which managed to grow, and a larger proportion of which recruited women. Of course, the average size and the recruitment capacity of the establishments in the food industry is relatively small and the final effect of these recruitments for the female workforce has been rather low, as was pointed out earlier. Slovak women were somewhat less affected than men by employment reductions in the public sector and benefited from recruitment in about as many private sector establishments as men. With respect to establishment size, women suffered employment cuts in 91 per cent of the large establishments, in the same way as men, but did less well in terms of recruitment in the newly created small establishments.

Table 24, referring to the Czech survey, shows the occupational categories most affected by employment cuts or increases in the establishments surveyed. The largest decrease concerned the managerial and administrative category, where women represented 54 per cent of employment. As the Czech statistics and the established practice did not yet follow the ISCO classification of occupations, at the time of the survey, the heavily "feminized" clerical category has been added together with the traditionally "male" managerial category. The data referring to this category in table 24 thus lose a lot of their meaning. The second occupational category most affected by cuts was that of skilled operatives. However, this category, where women are a minority, was also the one which was most often concerned by increases in those establishments where employment went up. In the expanding establishments, the next categories to increase were general service and organization workers and semi-skilled operatives, who are largely women. On the other hand, the professional and technical category, with an average employment share of women, frequently suffered a decrease. Thus, in the Czech Republic - unlike in Hungary -, women's occupational distribution was not an obvious factor for their greater employment decline in industry, apart from their concentration in the administrative and managerial category, for which, regrettably, we lack data in a truly meaningful breakdown.

Table 25 shows that in Hungary the occupational categories most affected by retrenchments, between 1990 and the beginning of 1993, were semi-skilled operatives, followed by skilled operatives for men, and by clerical employees and skilled operatives for women. Thus, the job loss for female clerical workers confirmed the predictions of managers in the 1991 Hungarian survey. The frequent job loss for semi-skilled operatives continued the pattern already observed in 1991, while the large share of establishments having shed female skilled operatives, between 1990 and early 1993 (in the wake of male skilled operatives) may be considered as a cause for concern and a sign of difficulties for the "female" i.e. for the light industries.

In the Slovak Republic, the occupational group chiefly affected by employment cuts were skilled operatives, while decreases in the administrative and managerial category ranked second

(table 26). This suggests that employment cuts resulted less from restructuring and personnel streamlining measures than from a general fall in output.

Output cuts were quoted more often as the chief reason for the decrease in female workforce by managers in the Slovak Republic than in the Czech Republic (table 27). In Slovakia, skilled operatives were also the occupational group mainly concerned by employment increases. These occurred particularly in the food industry, as already mentioned. Their impact could not compensate for the large-scale cuts of skilled manual jobs particularly in heavy engineering. As shown in table 27, privatization had a much lower effect on employment changes in the Slovak Republic than in the Czech Republic. Finally, family reasons, which have a gender-related connotation, were as important, or even slightly more important, for the decrease in female workforce in the Slovak Republic than in the Czech Republic.

In Hungary, managers of the establishments covered by the 1993 ILO postal survey gave somewhat different answers concerning the reasons for the change in women's employment share. The largest number quoted falling or insufficient demand/orders, the second largest group mentioned enterprise restructuring and the third group explained that with the fall in activity the job-mix within the firm had been altered. The fourth group mentioned the necessity of reducing wage costs. Some managers mentioned that jobs requiring lower qualification level had become superfluous. It may be noticed that the reasons given were not gender-specific.

In summary, the 1993 ILO surveys on women's employment in manufacturing establishments have revealed that amid the general decrease in industrial employment, women had a greater job stability than men. In the Czech and Slovak republics, women were less frequently affected by employment cuts than men, whatever the breakdown, - industrial, ownership type, or size of establishment. But at the same time, when women were dismissed, they had a lower chance of being re-hired by the establishments increasing their workforce, particularly by the newly created smaller ones. There were a few exceptions, however, such as the food industry in Slovakia, where more establishments hired women than men, particularly establishments with 26-500 workers. Regrettably, the Czech and Slovak surveys do not provide information on the size of job cuts, contrary to the Hungarian survey. In Hungary the size of employment cuts, when they took place, was bigger for women than for men. While a somewhat lower percentage of establishments made cuts in women's jobs than in men's jobs, those that did, made cuts of a considerably larger size. Part of the greater female job stability could be explained by the relatively large proportion of women on maternity and child-care leave, during which they could not be dismissed. Women's greater job stability could thus be more apparent than real.

In Hungary, women's occupational distribution was an important factor for their greater employment decline in industry, as semi-skilled operatives and clerical workers, who are largely women, were particularly affected by employment cuts. Employment distribution factors played a less important role in the Czech and Slovak republics. In the Czech Republic, administrative and managerial workers, predominantly women, suffered most from employment cuts in the early years of transition. The suppression of superfluous white-collar jobs was a major factor of the large-scale female redundancy in industry observed at the start of the reform. The second occupational category most affected by retrenchments was skilled operatives, mostly men, but over a half of the growing establishments were able to hire those who had been laid-off by the declining ones. The occupational distribution of retrenchments in Slovakia suggests that the employment cuts resulted less from economic restructuring and from personnel streamlining measures than from a general fall in output.

Establishment managers in all three countries were invited to state their criteria for making retrenchments. They were asked to rank six different criteria for dismissal by decreasing order of importance. The results are summarized in table 28.

In Hungary, managers selected first for lay-off the least efficient, least productive workers. Second came the new workers, according to the principle "last in, first out". Third came the older workers. In the fourth place they mentioned "other groups" or gave other replies. Women were quoted in the fifth place, while men were quoted last. Thus, in Hungary, gender criteria ranked last for lay-offs. This important finding confirmed the one made by the 1991 HLFS on the same topic. An examination of the breakdown of Hungarian managers' answers by industrial branches shows some differences in ranking. For example, women seem more at risk in industries such as Motor vehicles, Electrical engineering, Non-metallic products or Rubber and plastics, i.e. in the male industries. But in no case was gender quoted as the top criterion for lay-off selection.

Similarly, in the Slovak Republic gender criteria ranked last for lay-off selection, as indicated in table 28.

In the Czech Republic, however, the second rank for lay-offs (after the least productive workers) was occupied by women, slightly ahead of new workers, the two groups differing only in decimals of percentage points. Men ranked fifth and "other groups" ranked sixth and last. But asked about their future intentions concerning possible lay-offs, Czech managers ranked men sixth and last. Women again ranked second. It thus appears that in the Czech Republic, contrary to the neighbouring countries, gender criteria come into consideration for lay-offs and are also likely to play a role in the future.

In the next question, managers were asked whether they considered men or women more suitable for different occupations. Their answers are summarized in table 29.

In Hungary, over a half the managers declared men and women equally suitable for three of the nine occupations considered, namely for managerial and administrative work, for professional and technical work, and for service work. A majority of managers (43%) also declared men and women equally suitable for employment as semi-skilled operatives. For the remaining five occupational categories, however, gender preferences appeared. Over three-quarters of Hungarian managers have a preference for women in clerical jobs, the rest declaring men and women equally suitable. On the other hand, 92 per cent of managers prefer recruiting men for maintenance jobs, practically excluding women. A high degree of preference for men also exists in the categories of supervisors, skilled operatives, and also of unskilled operatives. This may seem surprising, since the majority of unskilled operatives are women, and suggests that many women are recruited for unskilled work chiefly because they accept lower wages.

With respect to positions of supervisors, Hungarian managers' attitudes vary according to industrial branches. It should be pointed out, at this stage, that the differentiation of managers' answers by industry presented here must be considered as purely indicative, since the relatively small size of the total sample (254) makes the break-down into 18 industrial branches of doubtful value. Some interesting information can be derived, nevertheless, from the differences between industries and for this reason the analysis has been included, in spite of the low degree of data reliability.

In the highly "feminized" wearing apparel branch, no manager declared men more suitable for being supervisors and over a half showed a preference for women. Women also scored relatively well in the textile industry and obtained an equal level of preference with men for supervisory jobs in the leather and footwear industry (while they represent a large majority of workers in that branch). However, in all other industrial branches, where men predominate, managers' preferences clearly were for men in supervisory jobs, and women tended to be almost entirely excluded.

In the manual worker categories, in Hungary, gender preferences also appeared clearly. In the skilled operatives category, managers' preferences varied by industry, reflecting on the whole the established pattern of job segregation. Thus, in the wearing apparel industry, there was an overwhelming preference for women as skilled operatives. In the textile industry, women were

preferred by 41 per cent of managers, while 22 per cent would rather see skilled work done by men and 37 per cent considered men and women equally suitable. It should be noted that in the textile establishments of the sample, women actually represented 71 per cent of skilled operatives and men only 29 per cent. In the leather and footwear industry, 27 per cent of managers declared women more suitable for skilled work, about two-thirds considered men and women equally suitable, and 9 per cent declared that skilled workers should be men. In fact, in the establishments of the sample belonging to the leather and footwear industry, 69 per cent of skilled workers were women and 31 per cent were men. Thus, managers' preferences did not reflect the existing situation, but the preference for men was definitely smaller than the actual shares.

In the Hungarian food and beverage industry managers expressed an overall preference for men as skilled operatives. This industry, however, is known to be quite heterogenous, some branches employing mostly male workers (the beverage industry, in particular) and some employing mainly female workers (e.g. confectionery and biscuit manufacturing). However, the percentage of preference for men expressed by the managers interviewed roughly corresponded to the actual share among skilled operatives in the establishments surveyed. The future risks or opportunities for women in the food and beverage industries largely depend on the development of the different component branches.

As could be expected, in the "male" branches of industry, managers' preferences for skilled operatives clearly went to men. The percentage of preference for men ranged from 55.6 per cent in rubber and plastics to 100 per cent in motor vehicles and in the paper industry.

Women, on the other hand, were frequently preferred for semi-skilled work, even outside the "female" group of industries. However, in the "male" industries managers largely tended to declare men and women equally suitable for semi-skilled work. Since in the establishment surveyed on the average about 70 per cent of semi-skilled workers were women, the "equal suitability" stated by the managers implies a certain risk for women in future managerial decisions.

Summing up, the March 1993 Hungarian postal survey showed that for a number of occupational categories, establishment managers held rather clear gender preferences, which they were ready to apply when recruiting workers. These preferences reflected, to a large extent, the existing pattern of occupational gender segregation. In general, they appeared more favourable to men than to women. This was true particularly about skilled manual jobs. Thus, gender mixity on the shop-floor is not to be expected in the near future. On the other hand, the high percentage of managers declaring men and women to be equally suitable for managerial, administrative, professional and technical jobs represents a clearly positive sign, indicating that there might be new openings for women in these occupational categories and that new career opportunities might appear in the future.

In the Czech Republic, the majority of managers considered men and women equally suitable for five of the eight occupations listed in table 29. These were administrative and managerial occupations, professional and technical occupations, semi-skilled and unskilled manual work and finally control work. In the other categories managers expressed a preference for men, which was particularly strong in the case of maintenance work.

Managers' preferences differed according to industry. However, with respect to the industrial break-down of managers' answers the same warning applies as that expressed above in the case of Hungary. In heavy engineering establishments, Czech managers stated a high degree of preference for men as professional and technical employees. But even in the light and food industries, over 50 per cent of managers declared that men were more suitable for this type work. As much as 83 per cent of managers in heavy engineering expressed a preference for men as skilled operatives and none for women. In the light industries, 39 per cent of managers declared men more suitable for skilled work, 18 per cent declared women more suitable for skilled work and 43 per cent declared men and women equally suitable. In the food industry the picture concerning gender

preferences for skilled work was largely similar, although a higher percentage of managers - 55 per cent - declared men and women equally suitable. In the semi-skilled manual worker category, women had an edge in the light and food industries, while men were preferred in heavy engineering. In the unskilled manual worker category men were again considered more suitable in heavy engineering and women in the light and food industries.

In the Slovak Republic, the majority of managers declared men and women equally suitable for five out of eight occupations listed in table 29, namely for managerial and administrative work, for skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual work, as well as for control work. When comparing actual gender preferences, women scored better with respect to semi-skilled manual work and control work. Men were preferred in the other cases, and particularly for maintenance work.[41]

Summing up, in all three countries, the majority of managers consider men and women equally suitable for managerial and administrative work, which may be considered as an encouraging sign. On the other hand, there is an overwhelming preference for men in maintenance work. (This is of less significance and has an almost anecdotal nature.) However, in the other occupational categories, no clear pattern of preference seems to emerge for the area as a whole. Women have an obviously better chance of being recruited for semi-skilled manual work and also for unskilled work than for skilled manual work. In the one country for which we have information, in Hungary, women are strongly preferred for clerical work. With respect to professional and technical work, women's position is strongest in Hungary, followed by Slovakia, and weakest in the Czech Republic.

As a next step, managers were asked to compare men and women workers according to different criteria of work performance. Replies to this question appear in table 30.

Table 30 indicates that in all three countries women scored better than men in some respects, but managers' opinions differed somewhat by country. In Hungary, women were rated better than men with respect to punctuality and docility (taking orders from supervisors) by a large majority of respondents. They also scored relatively better than men on attendance and did relatively well with respect to productivity. However, the vast majority of managers declared men better with respect to technical skills. Men also scored better with respect to turnover and to supervisory skills, although 56 per cent of managers considered that in the latter case gender made no difference. Men and women were rated almost equally on working with fellow employees. But men came out much better with respect to the willingness to work overtime.

In the Czech Republic, the majority of managers stated that there was no difference between male and female performances with respect to productivity, attendance, punctuality and commitment to the firm. On these grounds, women were usually also rated better than men, as they were with reference to docility. On all other criteria men were rated better, particular with respect to technical skills, supervisory skills and the willingness to work overtime. The picture presented for the Czech Republic in table 30 is basically similar to that shown for Hungary, but women's rating is generally lower and the preference for men more overt.

In the Slovak Republic, the majority of managers stated that there was no difference between male and female performances with respect to productivity, attendance, working with fellow employees, docility and commitment to the firm. Women were again rated better than men

[41] Due to the small size of the sample in Slovakia, 160 establishments, a breakdown of managers' answers by industrial branches may be even more misleading than in the other two countries. However, since the break-down calculations have been attempted by the PORI Institute and made available to the ILO, here are some of the results: For the skilled operative group, the percentage of "equally suitable" was higher than average in the light and food industries (54 and 57 per cent, respectively, compared to 50.6 per cent for the total). But the percentage of "equally suitable" for skilled manual work only reached 38 per cent in heavy engineering where no manager stated a preference for women. In the light industries, skilled manual work was declared more suitable for men twice as frequently as for women, which may seem surprising in view of the existing gender distribution of industrial employment and of women's long lasting concentration in the light industries. In the food industries, the same number of managers thought skilled work was more suitable for men than for women.

with respect to punctuality and docility, while men again ranked better with respect to technical skills, supervisory skills and the willingness to do overtime.

In conclusion, while the overall pattern of managers' replies looks largely similar in the three countries, it should be noted that the equal rating of the male and female work performances is more frequent in the Slovak Republic than in the other two countries. It should be pointed out, moreover, that men have scored better than women with respect to the criteria directly related to the quality and quantity of the firm's performance and sales, such as technical skills, supervision, lower turnover and overtime, while women have scored better with respect to the criteria related to the daily routine and to the atmosphere at work, i.e. punctuality, attendance, docility and commitment to the firm. This difference goes some way in explaining the prevailing gap between male and female earnings.

The managers were also asked to state their biggest problems with women workers. In Hungary, nine out of ten gave answers referring to women's family responsibilities, such as lower performance due to household burdens, frequent absences or leave due to child sickness, unwillingness to work in shifts, and making slow professional progress due to maternity and child-care leave. When asked the same question about male workers, managers mostly complained about their lack of work discipline and about their excessive wage requirements.

In the Czech Republic, the largest group of managers (29 per cent) stated that there were not problems specifically associated with the employment of women. The next largest group (27 per cent) considered "family matters" as the most important problem and the third largest group (16 per cent) mentioned production problems. Concerning the employment of men, 40 per cent of Czech managers declared that they had no problems, while 14.4 per cent stated that the main problem were wage requirements, that were too high.

In Slovakia, one-third of managers considered that there were no special problems with the employment of women. The second largest group (21.5 per cent) quoted "family matters" as the main problem and the third largest group (15.8 per cent) referred to "problems related to time constraints". As in the other countries, managers' replies concerning difficulties with male workers focused on the lack of work discipline and on wage requirements, that were too high. However, 43 per cent of Slovak managers stated that they had no problems with male workers.

The next question focused on the impact of family responsibilities on the recruitment chances of men and women. The answers are summarized in table 31. The table reveals that for most managers in the three countries marital status makes no difference and that marriage is considered rather an advantage for both men and women. But the presence of children under 6 represents a large handicap for women, mentioned by about 80 per cent of managers everywhere. The presence of children under 6 makes no difference in the case of men. The presence of children aged 6-15 is considered as a disadvantage for women by 33 per cent of managers in the Czech Republic, by 23 per cent of managers in Hungary and by 35 per cent of managers in Slovakia. For men, the presence of school-age children makes no difference or is considered as an advantage. The care for elderly or sick parents represents a disadvantage for women in the eyes of 37 per cent of Czech managers, 35 per cent of Hungarian managers, and 44 per cent of Slovak managers. It is also considered a disadvantage for men by 18 per cent of Czech managers, 12 per cent of Hungarian managers, and by 18 per cent of Slovak managers.

In the Czech Republic, women's productivity after their return from maternity/child-care leave is considered equal by 50 per cent of managers, lower by 34 per cent and higher by 15 per cent of managers. In the Slovak Republic women's productivity after returning from maternity/child-care leave is considered the same by 59 per cent of managers, and lower by 36 per cent of managers.

In the Czech and Slovak republics, the question of what chiefly prevents women from acceding to decision-making positions received a range of different answers, of which 57 and 58

per cent, respectively, referred to "family reasons", while 15 and 18 per cent, respectively, referred to "special characteristics of the female behaviour".

A positive feature revealed by the 1993 ILO survey in the Slovak Republic was the relatively high percentage of establishments offering child-care facilities to their staff (25 per cent of establishments had a nursery school and 14 per cent of establishments had a creche). These percentages were higher in the public sector and in large establishments. In the State sector, 27 per cent of establishments had a creche and 47 per cent had a nursery school.

In the Czech Republic, in Spring 1993, only 6 per cent of establishments had a nursery school and only 4 per cent of establishments had a creche. These establishments belonged for the most part to the public sector.

In Hungary, the survey revealed that 5.5 per cent of all establishments provided a day-care centre for the children of their employees. The percentage was considerably above this average in the Wearing apparel industry (15.2 per cent), in the Wood industry (14.3 per cent), in the Chemical industry (30 per cent) and in the Motor vehicle industry (25 per cent). The provision of child-care facilities was unrelated to the employment share of women in the industries concerned.

Finally, establishment managers were asked their opinions on the impact of the legislation protecting workers with family responsibilities on women's work situation and their chances of being recruited. The replies are summarized in tables 32-34.

In the Czech Republic, most managers declared that the protective legislation concerning workers with family responsibilities made no difference to the employment of women in their establishment. However, a negative impact emerged with respect to labour costs, women's attendance and their general usefulness for the firm.

In Hungary, very few managers considered that protective legislation made women less useful for the firm, but a substantial percentage thought that the generous social provisions adversely affected women's worker-image and their record of attendance. Over a third of managers considered that the regulations on social protection of workers with family responsibilities increased the firm's labour costs. However, over half the managers thought that the protective legislation improved women's peace of mind and productivity.

In Slovakia, managers' replies were largely similar to those in the other two countries. The overwhelming majority of managers considered that the protective legislation on workers with family responsibilities made no difference to the employment of women in their establishment. But, 20 per cent of managers stated that the legislation had a negative effect on women's attendance, 27 per cent stated that it increased labour costs, and 28 per cent declared that it lowered the general usefulness of women for the firm.

In conclusion, the faster decline in industrial employment for women than for men and the decrease of women's employment share in industry observed in the countries under review during the transition period should not be automatically associated with discrimination or with managers' lay-off decisions based on gender-related criteria. The impact of industrial restructuring on women's employment has been more complex. A considerable job loss for women resulted from the large output reductions in the light industries after the disintegration of the CMEA markets. Another part of women's job loss resulted from the closure of, and from production cuts in, the formerly over-sized heavy industries, where women lost a vast number of white-collar jobs. In these cases, women have been negatively affected by the distribution of their employment across industrial branches and occupations and by their concentration in white-collar jobs. However, a considerable proportion of establishments kept their female workforce stable and fewer establishments retrenched women than men, at least in the early stage of the reform. On the other hand, women's retrenchments tended to be larger, when they occurred, than male retrenchments. Particularly harmful to women, however, was the tendency for the growing establishments, especially the private ones, to hire male workers more frequently than female workers. As a result,

once women lost their job, they experienced much greater difficulty in being rehired, particularly in the industrial sector.

Managers' attitudes to female employment, revealed by the 1993 ILO surveys, were not systematically hostile to women. In all the countries under review, a large proportion of managers appeared basically fair and equal-opportunity-minded. However, evidence that gender criteria were not absent from lay-off selection could be found, especially in the Czech Republic. With respect to recruitment, the majority of managers considered men and women equally suitable for managerial and administrative positions. On the other hand, there was an edge in favour of men in the case of the occupations directly influencing the firm's results, e.g. in the case of skilled operatives in the three countries, of supervisory work in Hungary, of professional and of technical work in the Czech and Slovak Republics. Men's superiority was seen chiefly in technical skills, supervisory skills and in the willingness to work overtime, whereas women were rated better on account of work discipline and docility. Most managers considered marriage as equally irrelevant for the recruitment of men and women, while some considered it an advantage for both sexes. However, the presence of young children continued to be perceived as highly detrimental to the recruitment of women by an overwhelming majority of respondents, while the presence of school-age children was also mostly considered as an obstacle. Most managers declared that the generous protective legislation concerning workers with family responsibilities made no difference for women's employment. But one-quarter to one-third still held the opinion that it increased the firm's labour costs.

In the final analysis, demand for female labour in industry is weaker than for male labour, in the three countries examined. On the basis of managerial preferences and attitudes revealed by the ILO surveys, women are less likely to get hired than men, other things equal. Their best chances continue to be in the segregated occupations such as lower level administrative or clerical work, certain types of semi-skilled work and skilled work in the traditionally "female" industries.

6. Summary and conclusions

The massive retirement of women from the labour force under the impact of transition reforms, predicted by some authors, has taken place only in the case of women in older age-groups, those in fact who were eligible for an old-age pension. It has been part of the general reduction of labour force participation of older workers and pensioners, which has indeed reached massive proportions in all four CEFTA countries. The labour force withdrawal of workers entitled to an old-age pension has been encouraged by government measures destined to combat unemployment. It has also resulted from the deep employment restructuring characterized by large shifts of labour from industry to services and from the public to the private sector, with new managers showing a certain reluctance to hire older workers and old-age pensioners. The departure of older workers from the labour force has affected women more than men, because female retirement age is five years lower. The notable exception was Hungary, where the withdrawal of older workers from the labour force was less important for women than for men, and where more active-age women left the labour force than women of post-retirement age. In the other three countries, however, the labour force attachment of active-age women has remained strong, particularly in Poland. The main reason for this has been the urgent need for a double income in most households, particularly in the younger ones. Since real incomes declined sharply in all the countries of the area under the impact of the transition reforms, two salaries per household have become even more important than during the planned economy era, when they had been already the established norm. In view of this, the high unemployment rates for women in all CEFTA countries with the exception of the Czech Republic, and the fact that unemployment has been higher for women than for men in the countries

of the area, apart from Hungary and recently also Slovakia, represent a major cause for concern. They confirm women's relatively weak position in the labour market, which is further illustrated by the larger female shares in atypical forms of employment, namely in part-time work, casual work, homework, and quite likely also in undeclared work. Although labour force participation rates remain high for active-age women, at any rate in comparison with the average of the European Union, they may well decrease in the future, among others as a result of the falling provision of child-care facilities and of the widening income differentials which should enable a certain proportion of households in the higher income brackets to forgo the wife's wages.

The central finding of the paper concerns women's slower shift to private sector employment compared to men and the lesser extent to which women profited from the privatization process. At a time when once-in-a-life chances of acceding to entrepreneurship and to well-paid jobs in private companies were offered, men were able to seize them much better than women. In particular, considerably fewer women have launched their own businesses, and women's share among employers have remained disappointingly low. The reason for the larger proportion of women than of men staying on in the low-prospect, low-pay public sector should not be sought only in women's lack of initiative. The occupational structure of the female workforce and women's concentration in professions such as teaching, nursing and social care, has tied them to the public sector much more than men. Moreover, a certain gender bias in company recruitment has been identified by the ILO surveys. However, the most important factor seems to have been the pressure of the "double burden", which has cause many women to prefer the more relaxed and problem-free work conditions in the public sector, offering better possibilities to harmonize work and family, to the higher income and career prospects in the private sector. Many women were discouraged by the stricter work discipline in private companies and by the long hours and large amount of responsibility in private business. Moreover, the lack of free time often prevented women from taking the necessary training or retraining courses. Thus, family obligations have been the main factor of women's slower access to private sector employment and to entrepreneurship. However, such lack of access is likely have long-term implications for the distribution of income and wealth. The unequal participation of women in the privatization process may be expected to lead to a long-term exclusion of women from the business community with far-reaching consequences for the status of women in the years to come. The section of the paper dealing with the industrial and occupational structure of male and female employment largely focused on the impact of the transition reforms on gender segregation by industry and occupation. While the break-down of the employment data available from Labour Force Sample surveys was insufficient to measure the amount of change that has taken place during the transition period, some general conclusions could be made, nevertheless. They indicated in essence that (i.) there has been an evident trend towards a more mixed labour force in the service industries, but (ii.) that occupational segregation remained high and continued to be characterized by the traditional patterns of task-sharing by gender, both horizontally and vertically.

The surveys of female employment in manufacturing establishments, carried out by or for the ILO in Hungary and in the Czech and Slovak republics, in 1993,[42] have shown an absence of gender bias in retrenchment at the establishment level during the recent employment cuts, at least in Hungary and in Slovakia. The larger employment reductions for women in manufacturing were caused mainly by the industrial and occupational distribution of female labour. But the surveys also revealed that most establishment managers had clear gender preferences for different occupational categories, which they applied at the recruitment stage, and that they generally preferred men. The surveys showed that the relatively highest amount of gender bias in recruitment (but also in retrenchment) could be found in the Czech Republic and the lowest in Hungary. The surveys

[42] Poland had to be omitted for reasons of feasibility within the limits of the available budget.

confirmed that mothers of young children had a significantly lower chance of being recruited than childless women, married or not. While the majority of managers considered men and women equally suitable for managerial and administrative positions, there was a clear edge in favour of men in the case of occupations directly influencing the firm's results, e.g. in the case of skilled operatives in the three countries, of supervisory work in Hungary, of professional and of technical work in the Czech and Slovak Republics. Men's superiority was seen chiefly in technical skills, supervisory skills and in the willingness to work overtime, whereas women were rated better on work discipline and docility. A significant proportion of managers considered the existing legislations protecting workers with family responsibilities to have a negative impact on women's chances of recruitment since they tended to increase labour costs. In summary, the ILO surveys have shown that demand for female labour in industry was weaker than demand for male labour, in the three countries examined. On the basis of managerial preferences and attitudes revealed by the ILO surveys women are less likely to be hired than men, other things being equal. Their best chances continue to be in the segregated occupations such as lower level administrative or clerical work, certain types of semi-skilled work and skilled work in the traditionally "female" industries.

The empirical analysis of women's labour market situation presented in this paper for the CEFTA countries has been based partly on national statistical series, particularly on the Labour Force Sample Surveys that have become available recently in the four countries, permitting a large degree of inter-country comparability, and partly on original ILO Labour Surveys, covering three out of the four countries of the area. Although this information is extremely valuable, it does not provide answers to many important questions, such as how many women have changed their job since the start of the reform, and whether the greater job stability of women in comparison with men, observed in the Czech Republic, has been observed also in the other countries of the area. Information is equally lacking on the characteristics of the new jobs women have accepted and on their suitability in relation to their educational background, skills, demand for further training and retraining and work autonomy, as well as decision-making or managerial responsibilities. Above all, there is no comparable, up-to-date information on male and female earnings and on the gender earnings gap.

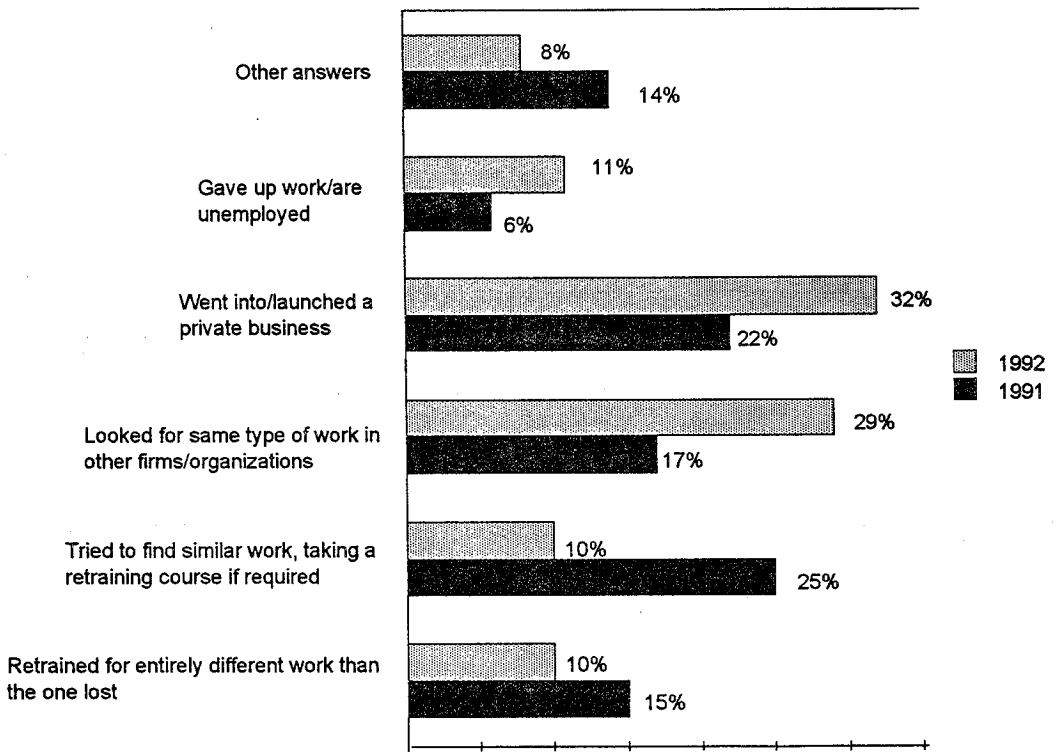
However, the information within reach, analysed in this paper, is extensive enough to allow some policy recommendations to be formulated. Women's involvement in the economy can be expected to remain high in future years, although female labour force participation rates may still decline somewhat, under the combined effect of demand factors, such as company managers' preference to hire men, and of supply factors, namely the decision of some women to withdraw from the labour market, particularly if unemployment remains discouragingly high or if informal work in the family business, or full-time family care appear more useful to them than a low-paid job. But the majority of women continue to have a strong labour force attachment and due to their generally good education and qualification level they can make an extremely valuable contribution to the development of the countries of the area. Women who want to remain active could greatly benefit from an improvement in infrastructure and in services enabling them to combine work and family more easily. The upgrading of infrastructure allowing working mothers to move faster about town, to order goods and services by telephone, to lose less time taking children to the dispensary, to rely on good school-bus services, etc. might make a considerable difference. Working mothers' time constraints should be taken into consideration when decisions are made about investment in communications, public transport, the school network, health care institutions, etc. Above all, the decline in child-care facilities should be halted, and nursery schools (for children over 3, whose mothers stop being entitled to child-care leave) should be sufficient in numbers, easily accessible, free of charge, and run as a part of the public school system, as in some countries of the European Union.

Legislation protecting workers with family responsibilities should be re-examined, taking into account the significant proportion of company managers who consider the existing regulations as having a negative impact on women's chances to be recruited. Some provisions detrimental to women's worker image, particularly those affecting their rate of absence, might be re-discussed and amended, if necessary.

In view of the persistently high level of occupational segregation, job evaluation studies might be undertaken, in order to upgrade the status and pay of some of the highly "feminized" occupations, which are largely carried on in the public sector. In particular, teachers' and nurses' pay should be made to correspond to the real social importance of these professions.

Finally, a comprehensive policy on gender roles and the family should be worked out, and women's and men's role in the family and society as well as its practical economic and social implications should be clearly defined.

Figure 1. Solutions adopted after losing/leaving employment by women in the Czech and Slovak Republics, 1991 and 1992



Source: ***Survey on Women in the Labour Market in the CSFR*****, carried out for the ILO by the PORI Institute, Prague, 1991-92.**

Table 1. Real GDP, real wages[a] and retail trade volume in CEFTA countries, 1990-1994

Country	Indicator	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1994/1989E
Czech Republic	GDP	-1.2	-14.2	-6.6	-0.3	2.7	-18.9
	Real wage	-5.7	-24.5	9.8	3.7	6[b]	-14.1
	Retail trade	1.9	-30.2	9.3	-2.1	4.4[c]	-20
Hungary	GDP	-3.5	-11.9	-4.9	-2.3	2	-19.4
	Real wage	-5.1	-8.0	-2.0	-1.6	0.3	-15.6
	Retail trade	-	-9.9	-2.5	2.8	6[d]	-
Poland	GDP	-11.6	-7.6	2.6	3.8	5	-8.7
	Real wage	-24.4	0.2	-2.7	0.6	1.2	-25
	Retail trade	-	-	7.9	7	-6	-
Slovak Republic	GDP	-2.5	-11.2	-7.0	-4.1	4E	-19.7
	Real wage	-5.7	-26.7	7.0	-3.9	2	-25.4
	Retail trade	0.9	-39.1	13.5	9.3	0.5[e]	-23.4

[a] Nominal wage increase deflated by Consumer Price Index.
[b] January-September.
[c] January-October.
[d] September.
[e] October.

Sources: National statistics: *Statistical Bulletin Poland-Czech Republic-Slovakia-Hungary*, quarterly, various issues, Warsaw; UN/ECE data bank.

Table 2. Female labour force as a percentage of total labour force, in years around 1980, 1990 and in 1994

Country	1980	1990	1994
Czech Republic[a]	47.2	47.1	46.6
Hungary[b]	43.4	48.6	47.4
Poland[c]	45.4	45.4	46.3
Slovak Republic[d]	45.5	46.8	46.2

[a] Data refer to Population Censuses of 1.11.1980 and 3.3.1991 and to Labour Force Sample Survey of June-August 1994. Including workers on maternity and child-care leave.

[b] Data refer to Population Census of 1.1.1980, to Official Estimate for 1.1.1990 and to Labour Force Sample Survey of 1994 Q3. Data for 1990 and 1994 include workers on maternity and child-care leave.

[c] Data refer to Population Censuses of 17.12.1978 and 6.12.1988, and to Labour Force Sample Survey of August 1994. Including workers on maternity and child-care leave.

[d] Data refer to Population Censuses of 1.11.1980 and 3.3.1991 and to Labour Force Sample Survey of Q3 1994. Incl. workers on maternity and child-care leave.

Sources: National Population Censuses, National Statistical Yearbooks and Labour Force Sample Surveys, various issues; ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, various issues, Geneva.

Table 3a. Population and basic labour aggregates by age and sex, 1989-1994 (thousands and percentages)

CZECH REPUBLIC	1989 (end-year)	1993/94 (Winter)
BOTH SEXES		
1. Population, total	10 362	10 326
2. Population, active age[a]	5 996	6 151
3. Population, post-working age[b]	2 114	2 112
4. Labour force	5 702	5 251
5. Employment, total[c]	5 702	5 045
6. Employment, active age[d]	5 184	4 809
7. Employment, post-working age	518	236
8. Unemployment (ILO definition)[e]	0	206
9. Crude activity rate[f]	55.0	50.9
10. Participation rate, 15+	70.3	63.5
11. Participation rate, active age	86.5	81.4
12. Participation rate, post-working age	24.5	11.6
13. Unemployment rate	0	3.9
MEN		
1. Population, total	5 036	5 015
2. Population, active age[a]	3 156	3 217
3. Population, post-working-age[b]	728	740
4. Labour force	2 995	2 804
5. Employment, total[c]	2 995	2 714
6. Employment, active-age[d]	2 770	2 605
7. Employment, post-working-age	225	109
8. Unemployment[e]	0	90
9. Crude activity rate[f]	59.5	55.9
10. Participation rate, 15+	77.1	70.9
11. Participation rate, active age	87.8	83.6
12. Participation rate, post-working-age	30.9	15.3
13. Unemployment rate	0	3.2

Table 3a. Population and basic labour aggregates by age and sex, 1989-1994 (thousands and percentages)

WOMEN		
1. Population, total	5 326	5 311
2. Population, active age [a]	2 840	2 933
3. Population, post-working-age [b]	1 386	1 372
4. Labour force	2 707	2 447
5. Employment, total [c]	2 707	2 331
6. Employment, active age [d]	2 414	2 203
7. Employment, post-working-age	293	128
8. Unemployment [e]	0	116
9. Crude activity rate [f]	50.8	46.1
10. Participation rate, 15 +	64.1	56.8
11. Participation rate, active age	85.0	78.9
12. Participation rate, post-working-age	21.1	9.7
13. Unemployment rate	0	4.7

[a] Men aged 15-59, women aged 15-54.
[b] Men aged 60+, women aged 55+.
[c] One or main job holders. Including workers on maternity/child-care leave.
[d] Men aged 15-59, women aged 15-54. Including workers on maternity/child-care leave.
[e] ILO definition of unemployment. Age break-down for men: active-age unemployed 86 000, post-working-age unemployed 4,000. Age break-down for women: Active-age unemployed 111,000, post-working-age unemployed 5,000.
[f] Labour force as percentage of total population.

Sources: Czech Statistical Office, *Statistical Yearbook of the Czech Republic*, 1993, Prague; direct communications to the ILO; *Vyberové setreni pracovnich sil, Zima 1993/94* (Labour Force Sample Survey, Winter 1993/94), Prague.

Table 3b. Population and basic labour aggregates by age and sex (thousands and percentages)

HUNGARY	1990 (1 Jan.)	1994 (1 Jan.)[a]
BOTH SEXES		
1. Population, total	10374.8	10277.0
2. Population active age[b]	5 956.8	6 071.5
3. Population, post-working-age	2 287.5	2 294.6
4. Labour force	5 496.1	4 496.5
5. Employment, total[c]	5 471.9	4 008.4
6. Employment, active age[d]	5 039.9	3 870.9
7. Employment, post-working-age	432.0	137.5
8. Unemployment[e]	24.2	488.1
9. Crude activity rate[f]	53.0	43.8
10. Participation rate, 15+	66.7	57.9[g]
11. Participation rate, active age	85.0	71.6
12. Participation rate, post-working-age	18.9	6.5
13. Unemployment rate	0.4	10.9
MEN		
1. Population, total	4 984.9	4 923.0
2. Population, active age[b]	3 107.2	3 159.2
3. Population, post-working-age	787.3	786.7
4. Labour force	2 825.0	2 361.7
5. Employment, total[c]	2 810.8	2 061.6
6. Employment, active age[d]	2 595.7	2 007.3
7. Employment, post-working-age	215.1	54.3
8. Unemployment[e]	14.2	300.1
9. Crude activity rate[f]	56.7	48.0
10. Participation rate, 15+	72.5	63.2[g]
11. Participation rate, active age	84.0	72.9
12. Participation rate, post-working-age	27.3	7.4
13. Unemployment rate	0.5	12.7

Table 3b. Population and basic labour aggregates by age and sex (thousands and percentages)

WOMEN		
1. Population, total	5 389.9	5 354.0
2. Population, active age [b]	2 849.6	2 912.3
3. Population, post-working-age	1 500.2	1 507.9
4. Labour force	2 671.1	2 134.8
5. Employment, total [c]	2 661.1	1 946.8
6. Employment, active age [d]	2 444.2	1 863.6
7. Employment, post-working-age	216.9	83.2
8. Unemployment [e]	10.0	188.0
9. Crude activity rate [f]	49.6	39.9
10. Participation rate, 15+	61.4	52.9[g]
11. Participation rate, active age	86.1	70.1
12. Participation rate, post-working-age	14.5	6.1
13. Unemployment rate	0.4	8.8

[a] Estimates of basic labour aggregates for 1.1.1994 obtained by averaging results of Labour Force Sample Surveys of Q4 1993 and Q1 1994.
[b] Men aged 15-59, women aged 15-54.
[c] One or main job holders. Including workers on maternity and child-care leave.
[d] Men aged 15-59, women aged 15-54. Including workers on maternity and child-care leave.
[e] ILO definition. Age break-down of unemployment:

	Male	Female
1990		
Total	14,200	10,000
Active age	14,100	9,600
Post-w-age	100	400
1994		
Total	300,100	188,000
Active age	296,400	179,100
Post-w-age	3,700	8,900

[f] Labour force as percentage of total population.
[g] 15-74.

Sources: Data communicated to the ILO by the Central Statistical Office of Hungary; Hungarian Labour Force Sample Surveys, various issues, Budapest.

Table 3c. Population and basic labour aggregates by age and sex (thousands and percentages)

POLAND	1988 (6 Dec. C)	1994 (August)
BOTH SEXES		
1. Population, total	37 879	28 839 [a]
2. Population, active age [b]	23 504	23 539
3. Population, post-working-age	4 735	5 300
4. Labour force	18 452	17 299
5. Employment, total [c]	18 452	14 890
6. Employment, active age [d]	17 206	14 159
7. Employment, post-working-age	1 246	731
8. Unemployment	0	2 409
9. Crude activity rate	48.7	-
10. Participation rate, 15+	65.3	60.0
11. Participation rate, active age	73.2	70.3
12. Participation rate, post-working-age	26.3	14.1
13. Unemployment rate	0	13.9
MEN		
1. Population, total	18 465	13 695 [a]
2. Population, active age [b]	12 137	12 063
3. Population, post-working-age	1 404	1 632
4. Labour force	10 070	9 285
5. Employment, total [c]	10 070	8 142
6. Employment, active age [d]	9 613	7 865
7. Employment, post-working-age	457	277
8. Unemployment [e]	0	1 143
9. Crude activity rate [f]	54.5	-
10. Participation rate, 15+	74.4	67.8
11. Participation rate, active age	79.2	74.6
12. Participation rate, post-working-age	32.5	17.3
13. Unemployment rate	0	12.3

Table 3c. Population and basic labour aggregates by age and sex (thousands and percentages)

WOMEN		
1. Population, total	19 414	15 144[a]
2. Population, active age[b]	11 367	11 476
3. Population, post-working-age	3 331	3 668
4. Labour force	8 382	8 014
5. Employment, total[c]	8 382	6 748
6. Employment, active age[d]	7 593	6 295
7. Employment, post-working-age	789	453
8. Unemployment[e]	0	1 266
9. Crude activity rate[f]	43.2	-
10. Participation rate, 15+	57.0	52.9
11. Participation rate, active age	66.8	65.8
12. Participation rate, post-working-age	23.7	12.7
13. Unemployment rate	0	15.8

[a] Population aged 15+
[b] Men aged 15-64, women aged 14-59.
[c] One or main job holders. Including workers on maternity and child-care leave.
[d] Men aged 15-64, women aged 14-59. Including workers on maternity and child-care leave.
[e] ILO definition. Age break-down of unemployment (thous.):

1994	Male	Female
Total	1,143	1,266
Active age	1,137	1,254
Post-wage	6	12

[f] Labour force as percentage of total population

Sources: ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1991*, Geneva; GUS, *Aktywnosc Ekonomiczna Ludnosci Polski, Sierpien 1994* (Labour Force Sample Survey, August 1994) Warsaw.

Table 3d. Population and basic labour aggregates by age and sex (thousands and percentages)

SLOVAKIA	1989 end-year	1994 Q 3 [a]
BOTH SEXES		
1. Population, total	5 288	5 336.5
2. Population, active age [b]	3 027	3 151.6
3. Population, post-working-age	915	928.8
4. Labour force	2 688	2 517.6
5. Employment, total [c]	2 688	2 188.8
6. Employment, active age	2 494	2 146.8
7. Employment, post-working-age	194	42.0
8. Unemployment [e]	0	328.8
9. Crude activity rate [f]	50.8	47.2
10. Participation rate, 15+	68.2	61.7
11. Participation rate, active age	82.4	78.4
12. Participation rate, post-working-age	21.2	5.0
13. Unemployment rate	0	13.1
MEN		
1. Population, total	2 586	2 600.0
2. Population, active age [b]	1 576	1 632.1
3. Population, post-working-age	324	326.2
4. Labour force	1 429	1 355.3
5. Employment, total [c]	1 429	1 179.2
6. Employment, active age [d]	1 332	1 160.0
7. Employment, post-working age	97	19.2
8. Unemployment [e]	0	176.1
9. Crude activity rate [f]	55.3	52.1
10. Participation rate, 15+	75.2	69.2
11. Participation rate, active age	84.5	81.7
12. Participation rate, post-working-age	29.9	6.5
13. Unemployment rate	0	13.0

Table 3d. Population and basic labour aggregates by age and sex (thousands and percentages)

WOMEN		
1. Population, total	2 701	2 736.5
2. Population, active age [b]	1 451	1 519.5
3. Population, post-working-age	591	602.6
4. Labour force	1 259	1 162.3
5. Employment, total [c]	1 259	1 009.6
6. Employment, active age [d]	1 162	986.8
7. Employment, post-working-age	97	22.8
8. Unemployment [e]	0	152.7
9. Crude activity rate [f]	46.6	42.5
10. Participation rate, 15+	61.7	54.8
11. Participation rate, active age	80.1	76.3
12. Participation rate, post-working-age	16.4	4.2
13. Unemployment rate	0	13.1

[a] Labour Force Sample Survey data, not strictly comparable with the Official Estimate data for 1989.
[b] Men aged 15-59, women aged 15-54.
[c] One or main job holders. Including workers on maternity and child-care leave.
[d] Men aged 15-59, women aged 15-54. Including workers on maternity and child-care leave.
[e] ILO definition. Age structure of unemployment:

1994	Male	Female
Total	176.1	152.7
Active age	174.0	150.1
Post-wage	2.1	2.6

[f] Labour force as percentage of total population.

Sources: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, Statistical Yearbook of the CSFR, 1991; *Statistické cisla a grafy, Vysledky vyberovych supisov pracovnych sil za 3. stvrtrok 1994* (Labour Force Sample Survey, Q3 1994) Bratislava.

Table 4. Male and female labour force participation rates by age group (percentages)

CZECH REPUBLIC	1993 Mar-May		1994 Jun-Aug	
Age-group	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total, 15+	70.2	56.1	70.5	56.5
15-19	28.6	29.5	32.1	32.4
20-24	85.5	74.0	84.0	74.6
25-29	96.3	83.3	96.7	82.6
30-34	97.9	90.2	96.8	90.4
35-39	97.2	92.7	97.4	92.8
40-44	97.0	92.5	96.4	92.7
45-49	93.0	92.0	94.8	90.6
50-54	88.9	77.7	87.5	77.6
55-59	70.8	26.3	73.7	27.5
60-64	26.9	11.7	23.8	12.3
65 +	9.4	3.8	10.1	3.7
HUNGARY	1992 Q1		1994 Q3	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total, 15+	65.2	56.3	62.8	52.2
15-19	21.9	20.3	23.0	10.2
20-24	80.5	79.6	76.2	74.2
25-29	92.7	89.9	91.6	86.5
30-39	92.7	90.1	91.0	85.5
40-54	86.7	79.3	82.6	72.6
55-59	55.5	21.6	43.0	12.9
60-74	14.3	7.9	9.3	5.2

Table 4. Male and female labour force participation rates by age group (percentages)

POLAND	1988 (6 Dec.C)		1994 (LFSS August)	
Age-group	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total, 15+	74.3	57.0	67.8	52.9
15-19	22.0	16.7	21.2	16.6
20-24	79.0	64.0	76.2	63.9
25-29	94.3	70.0	94.1	71.6
30-34	96.1	76.7	96.3	79.6
35-39	95.6	83.0	93.7	84.9
40-44	94.1	85.5	91.1	84.5
45-49	89.6	81.2	85.3	80.3
50-54	82.4	71.1	76.3	61.6
55-59	72.0	50.6	57.4	34.8
60-64	53.6	34.3	34.0	20.9
65 +	32.8	19.3	17.3	9.6

Sources: National Labour Force Sample Surveys; ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1991, Geneva.

Table 5. Crude Birth Rates in CEFTA Countries, 1989-1994

Country	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Czech Republic	12.4	12.6	12.5	11.8	11.7	11.1[a]
Hungary	11.7	12.1	12.3	11.8	11.4	11.4[a]
Poland	14.8	14.3	14.3	13.4	12.8	12.6[b]
Slovakia	15.2	15.1	14.9	14.1	13.8	-

[a] January-July.
[b] January-September.

Sources: National statistics; *Statistical Bulletin Poland-Czech Republic-Slovakia-Hungary, quarterly, various issues, Warsaw.*

Table 6. Number of registered unemployed by sex and share of women in registered unemployment, 1989-1994 (thousands and percentages)

Country	End year	Total	Men	Women	Share of women [a]
CZECH REPUBLIC	1989	0.3	-	-	-
	1990	39.4	19.4	20.0	50.9
	1991	221.7	94.5	127.2	57.4
	1992	134.8	57.1	77.7	57.6
	1993	185.2	81.6	103.6	55.9
	1994 Oct.	160.5	63.4	97.1	60.5
HUNGARY	1989	28.5	16.7	11.8	41.4
	1990	79.5	48.1	31.4	39.5
	1991	406.1	239.0	167.1	41.2
	1992	663.0	390.0	273.0	41.2
	1993	632.0	376.1	256.0	40.5
	1994 Jun.	556.5	319.5	237.0	42.6
POLAND	1989	-	-	-	-
	1990	1126.1	552.4	573.7	50.9
	1991	2155.6	1021.5	1134.1	52.6
	1992	2509.3	1170.5	1338.8	53.4
	1993	2889.6	1382.3	1507.3	52.2
	1994 Jun.	2933.0	1383.8	1549.2	52.8
SLOVAKIA	1989	0.3	-	-	-
	1990	37.6	18.8	18.8	50.0
	1991	302.0	145.0	157.0	52.0
	1992	260.3	129.9	130.4	50.1
	1993	368.1	193.1	175.0	47.5
	1994 Oct	359.9	181.8	178.1	49.5

[a] Calculated from unrounded figures.

Sources: Data communicated to the ILO by government services of countries concerned. National statistical publications.

Table 7. Male and female unemployment rates based on ILO-defined and on registered unemployment, 1994 Q3

Country	ILO-defined[a] unemployment			Registered unemployemt [b]		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Czech Republic	3.9	3.4	4.5	3.1	2.4	4.0
Hungary	9.8	11.1	8.3	11.0	13 E	9 E
Poland	13.9	12.3	15.8	16.8	15 E	19 E
Slovakia	13.1	13.0	13.1	14.3	13.5	15.3

[a] Labour Force Sample Surveys.
[b] Averages corresponding to the period referred to in LFSS or estimates.

Sources: National statistics. Labour Force Sample Surveys.

Table 8. Unemployment rates (ILO definition) by sex and age, 1994

	Czech Republic (June -Aug.)		Hungary (July -Sept.)		Poland (August)		Slovakia (July-Sept.)	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total	3.4	4.5	11.1	8.3	12.3	15.8	13.0	13.1
15-19	15.8	14.5	30.0	24.1	42.7	47.6	77.5[b]	70.6[b]
20-24	5.1	5.2	17.6	10.0	25.7	30.6	25.1[c]	21.6[c]
25-29	2.2	6.5	10.3	6.8	12.0	19.6	12.2	17.1
30-34	3.1	4.8	10.2	7.9	10.8	17.9	10.4	11.2
35-39	2.7	4.2			11.7	16.1		
40-44	1.9	2.8			9.5	11.4	8.9	8.6
45-49	1.9	2.4	8.6	6.4	7.7	10.1		
50-54	1.6	1.7			8.5	7.9	7.6	6.6
55-59	4.0	3.0	6.8	5.5	7.6	6.7	7.6	7.9
60-64	2.1	4.6			6.3	3.8	9.9[d]	17.5[d]
65+	2.7	2.6	6.0[a]	14.9[a]	2.1	1.6		

[a] 60-74 [c] 18-24
[b] 15-17 [d] 60+

Sources: National Labour Force Sample Surveys, 1994.

Table 9. Unemployment rates by level of education and sex, 1993-94

Country and level of education	Male	Female
CZECH REPUBLIC, June-Aug.1994		
Total	3.4	4.5
Basic (incl. incomplete basic)	11.4	7.7
Apprenticeship	3.0	4.4
Vocational	2.8	4.9
Vocational with GCE	3.4	7.0
Secondary technical	2.0	3.3
Secondary general	3.3	4.6
University	1.4	1.3
HUNGARY, 1993 Q4		
Total	12.6	8.9
Under 8 grades of basic school	27.0	28.4
Basic school	19.2	12.5
Apprenticeship	14.3	11.6
Vocational	3.3	16.9
Secondary general	9.3	8.6
Secondary technical	8.9	8.1
College	4.9	3.3
University	1.7	1.9
POLAND, Aug.1994		
Total	12.3	15.8
Basic (incl. incomplete basic)	13.3	14.2
Vocational	14.9	21.9
Secondary technical	9.6	15.9
Secondary general	12.5	17.4
Tertiary (lower)	12.5	11.2
University	4.8	5.5

Table 9. Unemployment rates by level of education and sex, 1993-94

SLOVAKIA, 1994 Q3		
Total	13.0	13.1
Basic (incl. incomplete basic)	32.2	22.4
Apprenticeship	13.0	15.3
Vocational	11.3	16.8
Vocational with GCE	17.1	15.2
Secondary technical	8.5	8.7
Secondary general	12.7	11.7
University	3.3	5.3

Sources: National Labour Force Sample Surveys.

Table 10. Male and female unemployment rates by industry, 1993-94

	Czech Republic (1994 June-Aug.)		Hungary (1993 Q4)		Poland (1994 August)		Slovak Republic (1994 Q3)	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total	3.4	4.5	12.6	8.9	12.3	15.8	13.0	13.1
of which: workers with previous job experience	2.5	3.5	10.8	8.3	9.9	12.4	10.3	9.5
Agriculture	1.9	4.0	14.5	15.1	3.8	3.1	11.3	12.7
Mining	4.4	5.8	15.6	21.2	5.3	13.8	13.9	16.7
Manufacturing	2.5	4.3	12.9	12.4	11.7	19.4	9.4	11.3
Public utilities	1.6	2.7	7.2	3.3	5.8	6.7	4.0	12.3
Construction	3.4	5.8	18.5	14.8	21.3	23.6	15.9	15.7
Trade	1.7	3.6	9.6	8.6	11.7	20.3	10.6	13.6
Restaurants & hotels	5.3	7.9	14.3	18.3	12.7	28.9	16.2	18.7
Transport, storage, communications	2.6	1.8	8.0	5.2	8.8	9.9	6.0	3.8
Banking & insurance	0.8	0.8	3.3	2.9	7.3	5.0	3.3	1.0
Real estate, business services	1.2	2.1	8.1	11.3	8.6	11.9	8.8	10.5
Administration, defence	2.5	2.0	5.1	2.4	9.6	7.7	7.3	3.9
Education	1.5	2.5	1.8	2.3	6.6	8.2	3.7	5.6
Health & social care	0.0	2.1	3.3	3.5	6.6	8.2	9.1	2.8
Other services	4.9	4.8	8.3	7.6	10.6	17.2	14.6	9.7

Sources: National Labour Force Sample Surveys.

Table 11. Percentage distribution of unemployed men and women by duration of job search, 1994

Duration of unemployment	CZECH REPUBLIC		POLAND		SLOVAKIA	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Up to one month	17.8	14.5	7.3	7.2	6.9	7.6
Over 1 to 3 months	25.3	21.6	17.5	16.2	12.2	12.4
Over 3 to 6 months	14.7	20.7	14.6	12.1	13.1	12.4
Over 6 to 12 months	20.0	20.9	24.3	22.7	21.7	19.3
Over 12 months	22.1	22.2	36.2	41.8	43.4	46.9
Unknown	-	-	-	-	2.7	1.4
Total Percentages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Thousands	95.4	109.6	1143	1266	176.1	152.7

Sources: National Labour Force Sample surveys, Q3 1994.

Table 12. Percentage distribution of long-term unemployed[a] men and women by education in Poland and Slovakia, 1994 Q3

Level of education	MALE		FEMALE	
	Long-term	Total	Long-term	Total
POLAND				
Basic	27.4	24.6	26.4	21.6
Vocational	51.2	50.7	32.8	34.0
Secondary general	1.9	2.9	10.8	11.8
Secondary technical	14.3	16.8	24.5	25.2
Tertiary (lower)	1.4	1.3	3.0	3.9
University	3.6	3.8	2.5	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
SLOVAKIA				
Basic (incl. incom.)	37.5	27.7	33.8	28.5
Apprenticeship	36.7	40.3	27.9	29.0
Vocational	6.7	7.1	10.1	8.1
Vocational/GCE	2.4	4.7	2.0	2.5
Secondary technical	12.3	14.1	19.1	22.3
Secondary general	2.2	3.0	4.5	5.2
University	2.2	3.1	2.6	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[a] Over 12 months.

Sources: National Labour Force Sample Surveys, 1994, Q3.

Table 13. Part-time employment as a percentage of total employment by sex, marital status and broad age-groups in Poland, 1994

	Male	Female
Total	8.0	13.4
Marital status		
Single	10.0	14.7
Married	7.2	11.9
Widowed	29.9	31.6
Divorced	8.1	8.4
Age-group		
Pre-active	63.2	76.7
Active	6.2	10.3
Post-retirement	47.3	52.1

Source: Central Statistical Office of Poland, Labour Force Sample Survey, August 1994, Warsaw.

Table 14. Distribution of male and female employment by status and by sector of ownership, 1994

Country		Employees			Self-employed		Family helpers
		Total	Public sector	Private sector	Total	Employers	
CZECH REPUBLIC	M	83.9	37.0[a]	46.9[a]	15.9	4.2	0
Winter 93/94	F	91.1	49.6[a]	41.5[a]	8.5	1.4	0
	%F	48.3	53.5[a]	43.2[a]	31.5	21.7	65
HUNGARY[d]	M	78.8	-	-	17.1	-	0
1994 Q4	F	87.2	-	-	9.2	-	1
	%F	48.4	-	-	31.2	-	68
POLAND	M	67.5	42.8	24.7	27.4	5.1	5
1994 Aug.	F	70.5	47.4	23.1	21.7	2.6	7
	%F	46.4	47.9	43.6	39.7	29.7	55
SLOVAKIA	M	80.6	58.8	24.1	8.4	2.6	0
1994 Q3	F	87.5	69.0	20.3	3.0	0.9	0
	%F	48.0	50.1	41.9	23.7	23.6	73

[a] Estimates based on employment data by sector of ownership for December 1993.
[b] Members of production cooperatives are counted as self-employed, members of agricultural cooperatives are included in public sector employees.
[c] Data refer to 1993 Q4.
[d] Excluding workers on child-care leave and in military service.

Sources: National Labour Force Sample Surveys; National statistics.

Table 15. Male and female self-employed and employers by industry in Czech Republic and Poland, 1994 (percentage distribution)

Industry	Entrepreneurs without employees		Employers	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
CZECH REPUBLIC				
Total Thousands	240.1	98.4	119.3	32.4
Percentages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	6.4	3.8	4.3	3.5
Forestry & fishing	2.3	0.4	0.4	0
Mining & quarrying	0.2	0	0.2	0
Manufacturing	14.7	17.6	16.3	11.3
Public utilities	1.3	0.4	0.4	0
Construction	21.5	1.1	19.6	3.2
Trade	22.8	33.7	30.8	43.3
Restaurants & hotels	1.8	4.1	6.2	7.5
Transport & communications	8.8	2.1	7.0	2.5
Banking & insurance	0.6	0.3	0.2	0
Real estate, business services	13.2	19.7	8.5	5.2
Administration & defence	0.3	0.4	0.4	1.2
Education	0.5	0.7	1.0	1.6
Health & social care	1.5	3.0	2.0	13.1
Other services	4.1	12.8	2.6	7.5
POLAND				
Total Thousands	1809	1288	418	177
Percentages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, hunting & fishing	67.8	79.1	17.5	23.7
Mining	0	0	0	0
Manufacturing	4.6	2.3	21.1	15.8
Construction	3.9	0.3	15.1	2.8
Trade	13.3	13.4	30.6	44.1
Transport & communications	4.9	0.2	3.8	1.1
Education	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.6
Health & social care	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.6
Other services[a]	5.2	4.1	11.5	11.3

[a] Calculated as a residual, assuming that mining and public utilities belong entirely to the public sector.

Sources: National Labour Force Sample Surveys, 1994 Q 3.

Table 16. Percentage distribution of male and female employment and share of women, by industry, 1994

	Czech Republic (June-Aug. 1994)			Hungary[a] (Q3 1994)			Poland (Aug. 1994)	
	M	F	%F	M	F	%F	M	F
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT	100.0	100.0	46.3	100.0	100.0	45.1	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, hunting & fishing	8.0	6.0	39.0	11.6	5.8	29.0	23.9	24.2
Mining and quarrying	3.0	0.7	16.8	1.7	0.2	10.7	4.8	0.7
Manufacturing	30.5	27.8	44.0	24.9	22.3	42.4	23.2	18.6
Public utilities	2.2	1.2	29.7	3.9	1.8	27.9	2.6	0.8
Construction	15.2	2.1	10.5	8.8	1.3	10.8	10.1	1.6
Trade	9.5	15.8	59.1	9.8	15.5	56.6	9.9	13.7
Restaurants & hotels	2.3	3.7	58.3	2.6	3.5	52.5	0.7	1.8
Transport, storage & communications	8.9	5.8	36.0	10.9	4.9	27.1	7.0	3.6
Banking & insurance	0.9	2.6	71.3	0.9	3.1	74.4	1.3	2.8
Real estate, business services	5.1	4.9	45.5	3.1	3.5	47.9	1.8	1.8
Public admin., defence	5.9	5.3	43.4	10.0	7.0	36.7	5.3	4.4
Education	3.0	10.0	74.1	4.0	14.7	75.0	2.8	10.8
Health, social care	2.2	10.1	79.8	2.6	10.7	77.0	2.2	11.1
Other public, social & personal services	3.0	4.0	54.2	5.2	5.6	47.2	4.2	3.8
Unknown								

[a] Excl. women on maternity and child-care leave.

Table 17. Percentage share of women in industry at the start of reform and in last available year

INDUSTRY	CZECH REPUBLIC[a]		SLOVAK REPUB LIC[b]	
	1989 end-year	1993 end-year	1989 end-year	1994 Q 3
Total	45.8	44.4	48.1	46.1
Agriculture & forestry	37.6	36.9	39.1	33.2
Industry[c]	40.3	37.8	44.4	41.2
Construction	14.0	11.7	18.4	10.3
Trade	71.5	58.2	75.4	60.6
Transport & communications	33.7	33.0	31.1	32.9
Banking and insurance	76.9	71.9	81.8	76.6
Real estate & business services	52.8	43.3	50.0	47.3
Administration and defence	63.1	60.4	65.8	44.2
Education	70.9	74.5	73.5	75.7
Health and social care	80.2	77.8	81.4	82.2
Other services	46.3	43.1	47.8	45.4
	HUNGARY[d]		**POLAND**	
	1990 1 Jan.	1994 Q3	1988 C	1994 Aug
Total	45.9	45.1	45.4	45.3
Agriculture and forestry	38.8	29.0	46.0	45.7
Mining	-	10.7	12.2	11.4
Manufacturing	41.5[e]	39.7[e]/ 42.4	39.9	39.9
Public utilities	-	27.9	21.8	21.0
Construction	20.0	10.8	15.6	11.5
Trade	65.5	55.8	72.3	54.9
Transport and communications	29.2	27.1	26.1	30.2
Banking, insurance, real estate, business services	-	57.4	65.5	55.3
Other services	61.7[e]	58.7[e]/ 59.0	63.6	63.3

[a] Excluding workers on maternity and child-care leave. Including second job holders.
[b] Including workers on maternity and child-care leave. 1989 data include second job holders.
[c] Mining, manufacturing and public utilities (electricity, gas and water).
[d] Excluding workers on child-care leave.
[e] Incl. Banking, insurance, real estate an business services.

Sources: National statistical yearbooks; National Labour Force Sample Surveys; ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, various issues, Geneva.

Table 18. Percentage distribution of male and female employment by educational attainment, 1994

Country, date and educational attainment	Male	Female	Female share
CZEH REPUBLIC, 1994 Q3			
Total	100.0	100.0	46.3
Basic (incl. incomplete) education	6.7	16.8	62.4
Apprenticeship	47.0	30.8	36.1
Vocational	6.1	6.2	46.9
Vocational with GCE	1.8	0.9	28.8
Secondary technical	21.8	31.9	55.8
Secondary general	2.7	5.5	64.0
University	11.9	7.9	36.5
HUNGARY, 1994 Q3			
Total	100.0	100.0	45.1
Under 8 grades of basic education	1.7	1.6	-
Basic education	20.9	26.6	-
Apprenticeship	38.1	18.0	-
Vocational	0.4	1.7	-
Secondary general	7.2	15.5	-
Secondary technical	18.0	21.5	-
College	7.0	10.8	-
University	6.7	4.3	-
POLAND, 1994 August			
Total	100.0	100.0	45.3
Basic (incl. incomplete) education	22.4	24.5	47.5
Vocational	40.8	22.7	31.5
Secondary general	2.8	10.5	75.5
Secondary technical	22.2	25.0	48.3
Tertiary (lower)	1.3	5.8	78.7
University	10.4	11.5	47.8

Table 18. Percentage distribution of male and female employment by educational attainment, 1994

SLOVAKIA, 1994, Q3			
Total	100.0	100.0	46.1
Basic (incl. incomplete) education	8.7	15.0	59.6
Apprenticeship	40.3	24.3	34.1
Vocational	8.3	6.1	38.6
Vocational with GCE	3.4	2.1	34.9
Secondary technical	22.5	35.1	57.2
Secondary general	3.0	6.0	62.7
University	13.8	11.4	41.5

Sources: National Labour Force Sample Surveys, 1994.

Table 19. Percentage distribution of male and female employment, and share of women, by occupation, 1994

	Czech Republic (June-Aug. 1994)			Hungary[b] (Q3 1994)			Poland (Aug. 1994)			Slovakia (Q3 1994)		
	M	F	F%	M	F	F%	M	F	F%	M	F	F%
Total employment	100.0	100.0	46.3	100.0	100.0	45.8	100.0	100.0	45.3	100.0	100.0	46.1
1. Administrative & managerial workers[a]	7.3	2.7	23.9	8.9	10.5	50.1	7.6	4.7	33.8	7.6	2.8	24.1
2. Scientific & professional workers	7.7	9.8	52.3	7.5	2.8	24.1	6.3	13.5	63.9	6.8	12.6	61.5
3. Technical, health & educ. workers	14.6	23.4	58.0	5.5	15.3	70.1	8.0	14.8	60.6	14.2	22.2	57.3
4. Clerical workers	2.7	13.8	81.8	4.4	19.6	79.0	2.7	10.4	76.1	3.2	15.2	80.2
5. Sales & service workers	6.6	17.3	69.2				4.9	12.5	68.0	6.5	15.4	66.9
6. Agricultural, etc. skilled workers	2.2	3.2	54.8	6.0	2.7	27.4	21.4	23.3	47.5	2.4	2.2	43.4
7. Craft & skilled production workers	33.4	8.8	18.4	58.1[c]	37.3[c]	35.2[c]	28.3	8.4	19.8	30.2	8.8	20.0
8. Equipment operators	17.9	8.0	27.7				12.8	2.4	13.3	18.8	6.6	23.1
9. Unskilled workers	7.1	12.8	60.8	9.6	11.8	50.9	7.1	10.0	53.7	10.3	14.2	54.2
Unspecified	0.4	0.2	(35.1)									

[a] Legislative officials, government administrators and managers.
[b] Occupational classification used in Hungarian LFSS: 1. Administrative, executive, economic & commercail workers; 2. Professional & technical workers; 3. Health & education workers; 4-5. Accounting, financial & other non-manual workers; 6. Agricultural & forestry workers & fishermen; 7-8. Producers, makers & repairers, building & construction workers, Transport & communication workers, Workers in commerce, Workers in water supply & health equipment operators, Material handling operators; 9. Labourers, unskilled & other workers.
[c] Skilled workers (with employee status): F% = 27.1%; Semi-skilled workers: F % = 53.6%

Sources: National Labour Force Sample Surveys, 1994.

Table 20. Percentage distribution of manufacturing establishments by change in total and female workforce, in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia, 1990-1993

Country		Increase	Decrease	No change	Other	Total
CZECH REPUBLIC	Total	23.8	56.7	17.7	1.7	100.0
	Female	18.7	49.6	30.4	1.3	100.0
HUNGARY	Total	7.9	80.3	11.8	0	100.0
	Female	6.3	75.6	18.1	0	100.0
SLOVAKIA	Total	25.0	54.4	15.6	5.0	100.0
	Female	23.8	51.2	20.0	5.0	100.0

Source: ILO Labour Force Surveys in Manufacturing, 1993, Q2.

Table 21. Czech Republic. Distribution of establishments by change in the total and in the female workforce, 1990-1993 (percentages)

	Increase	Decrease	No change	Other answers*	Total
A. TOTAL WORKFORCE					
Total	23.8	56.7	17.7	1.7	100.0
Of which:					
Heavy engineering	2.2	95.6	2.2	0	100.0
Light industries	30.8	54.9	11.0	3.3	100.0
Food industries	28.3	38.0	32.6	1.1	100.0
Ownership					
Public	6.5	86.0	7.5	0	100.0
Private	35.5	37.0	24.6	2.9	100.0
Size of establishment					
up to 25 employees	44.6	18.5	33.8	3.1	100.0
26 - 500 employees	22.3	61.2	15.5	1.0	100.0
501 and more empl.	4.8	88.9	4.7	1.6	100.0
B. FEMALE WORKFORCE					
Total	18.7	49.6	30.4	1.3	100.0
Of which:					
Heavy engineering	0	84.8	15.2	0	100.0
Light industries	25.3	47.2	25.3	2.2	100.0
Food industries	22.0	34.1	42.8	1.1	100.0
Ownership					
Public	5.4	79.6	15.0	0	100.0
Private	27.7	29.2	40.9	2.2	100.0
Size of establishment					
up to 25 employees	31.2	14.1	54.7	0	100.0
26 - 500 employees	20.4	54.4	25.2	0	100.0
501 and more empl.	3.2	80.9	14.3	1.6	100.0

* Mostly referring to establishments created after 1990.

Source: ILO Czech Labour Force Survey, 1993.

Table 22. Hungary. Number of establishments by form of management and by change in total and in female employment, 1990-1993

Form of management		Establishment did not exist in 1990	Rose by more than 50 %	Rose by 1-50%	Has not changed	Fell by				TOTAL
						1-10%	11-25%	26-50%	More than 50 %	
A. Female employment		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Enterprises without foreign ownership		0	0	4	8	22	24	16	3	77
Limited liability companies with foreign ownership		0	1	2	3	3	2	3	1	15
Limited liability companies without foreign ownership		0	0	4	11	11	12	10	2	50
Joint stock companies		0	0	3	13	12	16	22	3	69
Cooperatives		0	0	1	11	7	6	11	6	42
Total:	Numbers	0	1	15	46	55	60	62	15	254
	Percentages	0	0.4	5.9	18.1	21.7	23.6	24.4	5.9	100
B. Total Employment (both sexes)	Numbers	0	1	19	30	49	76	65	14	254
	Percentages	0	0.4	7.5	11.8	19.3	29.9	25.6	5.5	100

Source: ILO postal survey in Hungarian Manufacturing, 1993 Q2.

Table 23. Slovak Republic. Distribution of establishments by change in the total and in the female workforce, 1990-93 (percentages)

	Increase	Decrease	No change	Other answers*	Total
A. TOTAL WORKFORCE					
Total	25.0	54.4	15.6	5.0	100.0
Of which:					
Heavy engineering	9.3	88.4	2.3	0	100.0
Light industries	21.4	50.0	25.0	3.6	100.0
Food industries	40.0	35.0	16.7	8.3	100.0
Ownership					
Public	2.8	90.1	7.0	0	100.0
Private	43.2	26.1	22.7	8.0	100.0
Size of establishment					
up to 25 employees	52.1	8.3	27.1	12.5	100.0
26-500 employees	20.9	64.2	13.4	1.5	100.0
501 and more employees	2.3	90.9	6.8	0	100.0
B. FEMALE WORKFORCE					
Total	23.8	51.2	20.0	5.0	100.0
Of which:					
Heavy engineering	4.6	88.4	7.0	0	100.0
Light industries	18.2	49.1	30.9	1.8	100.0
Food industries	43.3	28.3	20.0	8.3	100.0
Ownership					
Public	0	87.3	12.7	0	100.0
Private	43.7	23.0	26.4	6.9	100.0
Size of establishment					
up to 25 employees	50.0	6.25	31.25	12.5	100.0
26-500 employees	21.2	59.1	19.7	0	100.0
501 and more employees	0	90.9	9.1	0	100.0

* Mostly referring to establishments created after 1990.

Source: ILO Slovak Labour Force Survey, 1993.

Table 24. Czech Republic. Occupational categories chiefly affected by employment change, 1990-93

	Increase	Decrease
Managerial and administrative	5.5	41.7
Professional and technical	3.6	15.8
General service and organization workers	16.4	6.3
Control employees	0	0.8
Skilled operatives	54.5	27.6
Semi-skilled operatives	16.4	3.9
Unskilled operatives	1.8	3.1
Maintenance and repair workers	1.8	0.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Source: ILO Czech Labour Force Survey, 1993.

Table 25. Hungary. Distribution of establishments by the occupational group most affected by retrenchments, 1993

Industry	Managerial and admin.	Super-visors	Profess'l and technical	Clerical	Skilled operatives	Semi-skilled operatives	Unskilled operatives	Mainte-nance	Service	TOTAL
Total	1.4	1.4	1.0	19.3	23.2	34.6	7.4	3.3	8.4	100.0
Men	1.6	2.0	1.2	4.0	27.5	39.4	8.8	5.6	10.0	100.0
Women	1.1	0.4	0.7	27.6	21.2	38.5	5.3	0.0	5.3	100.0

Source : ILO Postal Survey in Hungarian Manufacturing, 1993.

Table 26. Slovak Republic. Occupational categories chiefly affected by employment change, 1990-93

	Increase	Decrease
Managerial and administrative	2.6	24.4
Professional and technical	10.5	17.1
General service & organization workers	21.1	9.8
Control employees	0	1.2
Skilled operatives	52.6	28.0
Semi-skilled operatives	10.5	11.0
Unskilled operatives	2.6	6.1
Maintenance and repair workers	0	2.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Source: ILO Slovak Labour Force Survey, 1993.

Table 27. Czech and Slovak Republics. Reasons for the change in the number of women workers

Reasons	CZECH REPUBLIC		SLOVAK REPUBLIC	
	Increase	Decrease	Increase	Decrease
Change of ownership, privatization	0	10.5	0	1.2
Change in production programme	18.4	11.4	14.7	7.4
Organizational changes, restructuring	7.9	30.7	29.4	37.0
Output change	68.4	20.2	44.1	30.9
Change in sales perspectives	0	4.4	0	5.0
Wage reasons	0	7.9	0	1.2
Working conditions	2.6	2.6	2.9	3.7
Family reasons	2.6	7.9	0	9.9
Other reasons	9	4.4	8.8	3.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: ILO Czech and Slovak Labour Force Surveys, 1993.

Table 28. Managers' ranking of retrenchment priorities by worker category. (Question: If your establishment has to retrench workers, what are the selection criteria you are most likely to apply?)

Categories	CZECH REPUBLIC	HUNGARY	SLOVAKIA
New workers	3	2	2
Least productive workers	1	1	1
Older workers	4	3	4
Men	5	6	6
Women	2	5	5
Other groups	6	4	3

Source: ILO Labour Force Surveys, 1993.

Table 29. Managers' gender preferences for recruitment by occupation

Occupation	CZECH REPUBLIC			HUNGARY			SLOVAKIA		
	Men more suitable	Women more suitable	Equally suitable	Men more suitable	Women more suitable	Equally suitable	Men more suitable	Women more suitable	Equally suitable
Managerial and administrative	35.8	2.1	62.1	27.7	2.8	69.6	45.6	3.1	51.2
Supervisors	-	-	-	56.7	11.0	32.3	-	-	-
Professional & technical	58.3	2.2	39.5	3.1	27.2	69.7	47.2	5.0	47.8
Clerical	-	-	-	0.4	76.4	23.2	-	-	-
General service & organization	39.7	8.7	51.5	-	-	-	43.3	12.1	44.6
Skilled operatives	42.6	15.2	42.2	52.8	17.7	29.5	35.4	13.9	50.6
Semi-skilled operatives	19.7	27.9	52.4	16.9	40.2	42.9	22.4	25.7	52.0
Unskilled operatives	19.7	24.8	55.5	50.4	11.8	37.8	22.7	18.0	59.3
Maintenance and repair	93.5	0	6.5	92.1	0.4	7.5	93.0	0.6	6.3
Service work	-	-	-	35.8	9.1	55.1	-	-	-

Sources: ILO Labour Force Surveys, 1993.

Table 30. Managers' rating of men and women workers according to different criteria of work behaviour

		CZECH REPUBLIC	HUNGARY	SLOVAKIA
Productivity	M*	15.5	17.4	22.5
	W	23.6	25.7	15.6
	E	54.1	49.4	58.1
	D	6.8	7.5	3.8
Technical skills	M	69.5	91.7	66.2
	W	2.6	1.6	9.4
	E	24.0	4.7	22.5
	D	3.9	2.0	1.9
Attendance	M	17.6	9.1	21.3
	W	21.9	46.1	26.9
	E	57.9	44.1	50.6
	D	2.6	0.8	1.2
Punctuality	M	11.6	4.7	15.6
	W	24.9	68.1	39.4
	E	57.1	25.6	44.4
	D	6.4	1.6	0.6
Turnover	M	-	45.3	-
	W	-	7.9	-
	E	-	40.9	-
	D	-	5.9	-
Supervisory skills	M	57.9	39.8	54.1
	W	3.4	2.8	3.1
	E	34.3	56.3	42.1
	D	4.3	1.2	0.6
Working with fellow employees	M	31.3	26.9	21.4
	W	13.7	24.1	17.0
	E	47.6	42.3	59.1
	D	7.3	6.7	2.5
Taking orders from supervisors	M	10.3	1.2	8.2
	W	39.9	60.2	40.5
	E	45.1	35.8	50.6
	D	4.7	2.8	0.6
Willingness to work overtime	M	45.1	48.8	52.2
	W	6.9	20.1	5.0
	E	45.5	24.4	39.0
	D	2.5	6.7	3.8
Commitment to firm	M	11.2	3.1	13.8
	W	11.2	26.4	15.1
	E	59.6	54.7	62.3
	D	18.0	15.7	8.8

* M - Men better
W - Women better
E - No difference
D - Don't know

Sources: ILO Labour Force Surveys, 1993.

Table 31. Impact of family responsibilities on recruitment chances of men and women workers (percentage distribution)

	MEN			WOMEN		
	Advantage	Disadvantage	No difference	Advantage	Disadvantage	No difference
CZECH REPUBLIC						
Marriage	12.0	0	88.0	12.9	2.2	84.9
Children under 6	3.9	1.1	85.0	0.9	80.2	18.9
Children aged 6-15	6.0	3.9	90.1	7.7	32.8	59.5
Care for elderly or sick parents	2.6	18.0	79.4	1.7	37.1	61.2
HUNGARY						
Marriage	22.4	0.4	77.2	20.5	3.1	76.4
Children under 6	1.2	8.7	90.9	1.2	78.7	20.1
Children aged 6-15	7.5	1.6	90.9	14.2	22.8	63.0
Care for elderly or sick parents	0.4	11.8	87.8	0.4	35.4	64.2
SLOVAKIA						
Marriage	15.2	1.3	83.5	11.9	14.4	73.7
Children under 6	0.6	17.1	82.3	0	79.9	20.3
Children aged 6-15	7.0	1.9	91.1	5.7	35.4	58.9
Care for elderly or sick parents	0.6	17.6	81.8	0.6	44.3	55.1

Sources: ILO Labour Force Surveys, 1993.

Table 32. Czech Republic. Managers' opinions on the impact of the existing legislation protecting workers with family responsibilities on the employment of women in their establishment

	Positive impact	Negative impact	No difference
General usefulness of women workers for the establishment	3.9	25.7	70.4
Evaluation of women's work/worker image	3.9	11.4	84.6
Reliability of women workers	8.3	3.5	88.2
Attendance of women workers	6.5	17.8	75.7
Punctuality of women workers	5.3	2.6	92.1
Productivity and good atmosphere at work	7.9	14.9	77.2
Labour costs of establishment	8.8	24.1	67.1

Source: ILO Czech Labour Force Survey, 1993.

Table 33. Hungary. Employers' opinions on effects of legislation protecting workers with family responsibilities on women's situation at work

Question: Do you feel that the existing legislation protecting workers with family responsibilities affects women's:

	Yes	No	Total
Usefulness for the firm	5.9	94.1	100.0
Worker image	44.5	55.5	100.0
Reliability	10.6	89.4	100.0
Attendance	38.2	61.8	100.0
Turnover	8.7	91.3	100.0
Increases labour costs	35.0	65.0	100.0
Improves women's peace of mind and productivity	52.0	48.0	100.0
No difference to performance	27.2	72.8	100.0

Source: ILO Postal Labour Force Survey in Hungarian manufacturing, 1993.

Table 34. Slovak Republic. Managers' opinions on the impact of the existing legislation protecting workers with family responsibilities on the employment of women in their establishment

	Positive impact	Negative impact	No difference
General usefulness of women workers for the establishment	5.0	28.3	66.7
Evaluation of women's work/worker image	5.1	14.6	80.4
Reliability of women workers	10.8	8.9	80.3
Attendance of women workers	8.2	20.1	71.7
Punctuality of women workers	8.2	7.6	84.2
Productivity and good atmosphere at work	14.6	17.1	68.4
Labour costs of establishment	10.8	26.8	62.4

Source: ILO Slovak Labour Force Survey, 1993.