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Trends and Prospects for Women's Employment in the 1990s

Submitted to the European Commission Network of Experts
on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market

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Preface

This report is the final report from Sweden to the European Commission Network of Experts concerning the Situation of Women in the Labour Market during the third action programme, 1991-1995. As Sweden became member of the European Union in 1995, at the very end of the action programme, just two national reports have been produced. One analysis changes in the employment rate and labour market participation (Löfström 1995), and this final report which has the aim of summarizing the developments during 1991-1995. In order to cover the areas that other countries have been reporting on during the earlier years of the third action programme, we have had to rely to some extent on previously published reports and data collected by other researchers, organisations and Statistics Sweden.

We would like to thank a number of people who have contributed with material to this report. Britta Hoem at Statistics Sweden has supplied us with important data, so have also the staff at the equal opportunities unit and at the unit for labour force surveys at Statistics Sweden. AnnBritt Hellmark at the time working at the National Institute for Working Life has been of great help in editing the report.

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March 1997

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Introduction

In continental Europe, and specifically in southern Europe, it is still very hard to combine children and a waged work. Women have to choose between family or work (Meulders et al. 1993). The responsibility for child care is either an individual task or an obligation for the family. Interruptions in women's work career are still very common in many European countries.

One of the main ideas of the Swedish welfare state model is to provide a possibility for women to unite family and work over the life cycle. The parental leave system, the individual taxation system of 1971 and the development of a large public sector to deal with health care, child care and education, have been the pre-conditions to make the idea work in practice. Reduced working hours during the childbearing ages have become one of the tools whereby individual women combine family and work. When analysing the employment patterns for Swedish women we can therefore find both high participation rate, and a high proportion of part-time working women. From the 1970s onwards an increasing proportion of women in every cohort has stayed on in the labour market through the childbearing ages, often, on a part-time basis. Analysis of ongoing changes in the Swedish labour market, must therefore consider the Swedish welfare state and family model. A lot of changes are not being registered in traditional dimensions of activity-non-activity, but in changing working conditions and in work contracts, such as, in the number of working hours, type of work contract, changes in job positions.

Important conditions for the Swedish welfare model have been the economic political goals of full employment and equal income distribution. Both women and men have been officially regarded as providers with equal right to have a job and a living wage. The dual breadwinner ideology has been nourished, weatherless the male breadwinner norm has been implied in economic policies and practices. As long as equal distribution of employment and income have been economic political goals this has also supported women's interests. Not least the solidaristic wage policy of the trade union has been of importance for improving the economic conditions of women with low wages. This policy has during the last ten years been gradually abandoned and on the economic political level, the goal of an even income distribution is no longer pursued. These changes will lead to increasing class differentiation, and will also have an impact among women. The interesting thing so far is, however, that women's employment has been as resistant to the changing economic conditions as men's.

The dramatic changes on the Swedish labour market have this far affected women and men in different ways.

- The employment growth for women has come to a halt. During the whole post-war period the employment rate for women increased. The break in this trend became obvious when the public sector started to cut back employment.

- Many young women have no longer the possibility of entering the labour market through employment in the public sector. Instead they start their labour market career as unemployed.
- Unemployment has reached levels since long unheard of. The speed at which these changes have taken place is up till now unrecognised.
- The employment rate for men has, until the beginning of the 1990s, been very high in an international perspective. The long term trend has, however, been negative due to decreasing employment in the manufacturing industries.
- Open and full time unemployment have affected men to a greater extent than women. If we add part-time unemployment to full time unemployment we observe fairly equal unemployment levels for men and women, but the composition differs. Seen from an European perspective it is unusual that female unemployment level is below the male. Most frequent in other EU-countries is the opposite situation (Meulders et al. 1993; Rubery et al. 1995).
- Another key development in the Swedish labour market during the period of the third action programme is the worsened situation for the immigrant population. This applies to both first and second generation immigrants and to both women and men.

We have divided the report into seven chapters. In chapter one we define key developments with regard to women's employment during the third action programme, 1991-1995. Chapter two up to six analyse certain indicators of women's employment and its development during the same time period. Finally, in chapter seven, we discuss trends and prospects for women's position in the labour market up to the year 2000.

1. Key developments during the third action programme, 1991 to 1995

Up to 1990, the Swedish labour market was well known for its high employment rate and low unemployment figures. This applied to both women and men. Gender segregation has however been persistent, both in the vertical and the horizontal dimension. Out of all employed women, over 50 percent work in the public sector and almost 80 percent of all men in the private sector. Job structures have also, due to this sectorial segregation, been heavily gender segregated.

Following the deep recession that started in the early 1990s, employment levels decreased sharply and the number of lost employment opportunities amounted to over 500 000 between 1989 and 1994, corresponding to approximately twelve percent of total employment. Parallel to this, the level of unemployment rose to figures not experienced in Sweden since the depression in the 1930s. The peak was reached in 1993, when open unemployment reached ten percent for men and seven percent for women. If also those who took part in various kinds of labour market policy measures are included, total unemployment amounted to 14 percent. Thereafter the overall unemployment level has decreased slightly during 1995, due to a decrease in the number of people in labour market policy measures.

The employment rate was almost equal for women and men in all age groups in 1993, in the middle of the recession. After 1993 the overall employment level has then decreased further and gender differences have started to grow. In 1995 unemployment patterns changed. As manufacturing production started to grow, employment in the male dominated parts of the labour market increased. A different pattern was visible for women, where unemployment has started to grow for certain groups, as the public sector has continued to cut back on employment.

These new patterns will, of course result in increased gender differences in employment experiences during the years to come, and probably lead to an increased differentiation among and between women and men.

Some questions

How will the changes in employment levels and structures affect gender relations in the future? Will there be a corresponding increase in private sector employment when the public sector restructures and cuts down the number of employed? Or, will we find that women withdraw from the labour market as their traditional segments are reduced? The crucial question is whether women's attachment to the labour market is strong enough to resist a further decrease in labour market participation, as the restructuring of the public sector continues. The last question is, of course, the most important one for this report to answer. We will use all possible means to try to do just that.

Some further introductory comments are needed, given that it is far from self-evident what will be happening. The Swedish employment changes occur in a

labour market where gender differences in employment participation rates have been rather small. It is not unlikely that we will see a growing differentiation by gender, age and ethnicity in relation to employment and unemployment. To find out if and under which circumstances this increased differentiation is at all probable is one of the objectives of this report.

1.1. Economic and political developments with implications for women's employment prospects

The structural changes of the Swedish economy since 1970 are visible in three trends: an increase in services, an increase in knowledge intensive production, and increased importance for production and employment in small firms (SOU 1995:4). Over the last twenty years employment in the public sector has increased with 500 000 jobs, of which most were in public services such as health, child care, elderly care and education.

The economic and political development in Sweden during the third action programme has been dramatic. An extreme economic boom in the beginning of the period was followed by a similarly extreme recession. In 1993 a recovery process started, but the open unemployment rate was still around eight percent in 1995, compared to two percent in 1990.

This introductory section sketches a complex picture of women's position in the labour market during the 1990s. The importance of the decrease in the employment rate is still very hard to estimate. Women's unemployment is increasing while male unemployment is decreasing. On the other hand, the female labour force participation rate has not decreased more than the male rate. The dual importance of the public sector must not be underestimated. The relationships between decreasing employment opportunities, reductions in welfare state provisions and the sharp fall in fertility rates needs to be further analysed.

1.2. Macroeconomics conditions

In the late 1980s Sweden had an overheated economy. The situation was distinguished by high inflation, very low unemployment figures, high wage increases and a number of bottle-necks in several sectors of the economy. Especially in the private service sector which had expanded during the 1980s, closely followed by the municipal sector.

The deregulation of the credit market in 1985 led to a dramatic expansion of credits to firms and households. At the same time low interest rates made it advantageous to borrow for consumption, for investment in housing and office buildings, or for pure speculation. Household saving rates dropped to negative values and the real estate sector expanded. Speculation in land and office buildings increased market values to unsustainable levels. As a result the real estate and the financial sectors became overheated, and the imbalance transferred to the rest of the economy.

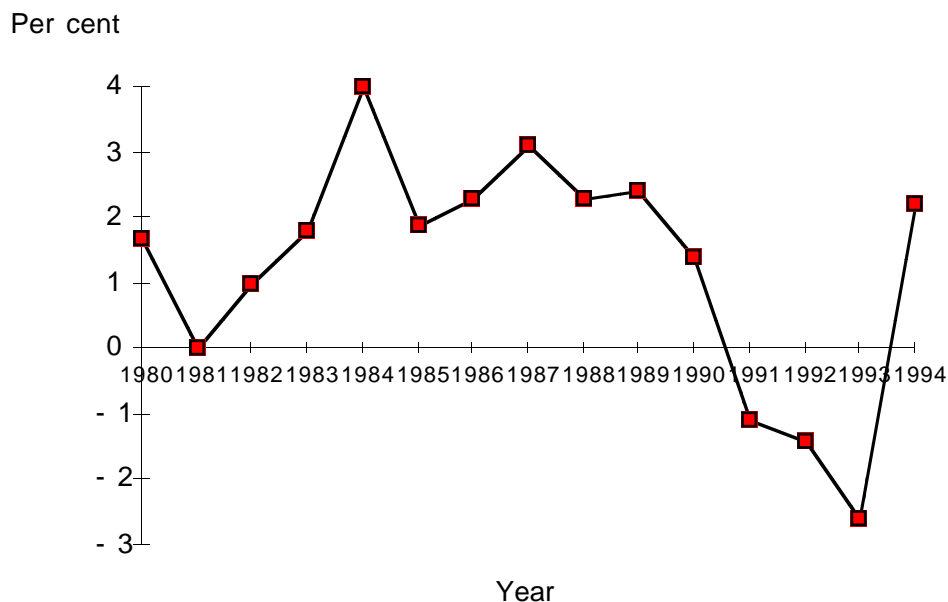
The overheated economy and the attempts to maintain a stable exchange rate to the ECU, resulted in a deterioration of the competitiveness of the Swedish export industry. The large export industries lost market shares, export income and the profits were reduced. This situation coincided with an international economic downfall which worsened the fall in production.

Another result was the decline of public finances. The recession increased governmental spending for transfer payments at the same time as the government received less tax income. Between 1990 and 1993 the deflationary effects of high interest rates and the deficit problems in the public sector, became acute. A tax reform in 1990-1991 did not improve the situation.

Real estate prices decreased sharply leading to large losses for banks and extremely serious disturbances in the whole monetary system. Almost all commercial banks would have been bankrupt if the government had not interfered with cash and guarantees. A large increase in household savings worsened the steep fall in demand. The increase in savings included all private sectors of the economy.

After a dramatic currency turmoil during the autumn 1992, the Swedish Central Bank had to give up the fixed exchange rate and let the Crown float. As a result, the Crown depreciated with 25 percent against the ECU. The depreciation of the Crown since November 1992 increased the international competitiveness of the Swedish export industry and led to a strong export growth. The Swedish home market, however, was extremely sluggish, partly due to a high interest rates policy pursued by the Swedish Central Bank, due also to large interest margins in the banking sector and a restrictive fiscal policy.

Figure 1.1 Rates of GDP growth 1980-1994.



Source: SCB, Statistical Yearbook 1996.

As a result the GDP continued to decrease in 1993. The decrease was dampened by improvements in net exports. Other positive factors were improved productivity in the manufacturing sector, low wage increases and reduced social costs. In 1994 the economy finally improved and GDP rose by more than two percent.

Over the last years, economic policies have been dominated by problems of extremely large budget deficits and a soaring public debt. Large cutbacks have been made in the social welfare systems and value added taxes have been increased. The public debt is now diminishing as a percentage of GDP and public sector deficits are back to a "normal" European level.

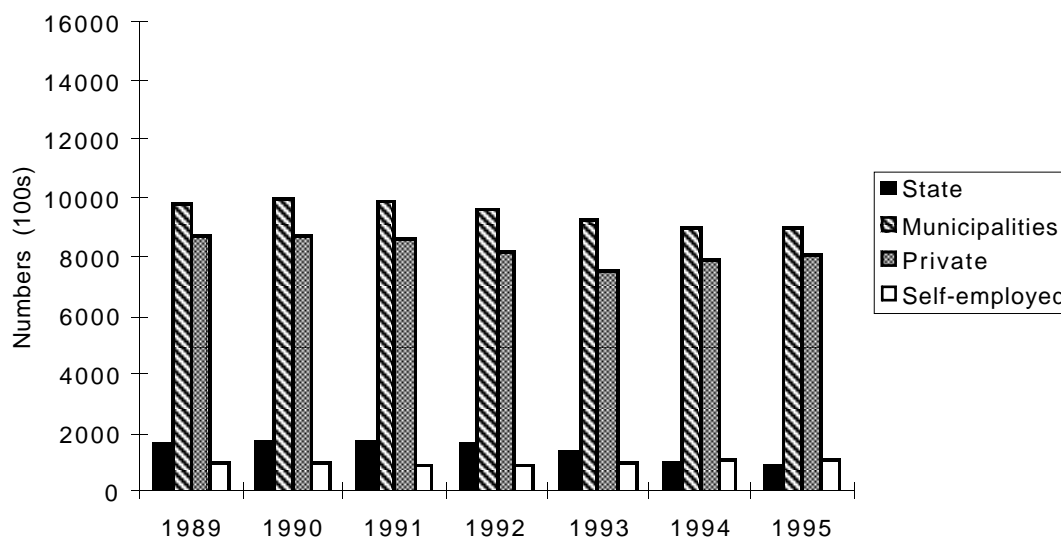
1.3. Employment

Sweden had, until the beginning of the 1990s, the highest employment levels in the industrialised world. During the period 1963-1990 employment in the public sector increased with 800 000 persons, most of them women (AMS, Ura 1995:2). In 1990, 84 percent of the population aged 16-64 was gainfully employed. Four years later, in 1994, the employment level had decreased to 71 percent.

As mentioned earlier, the Swedish labour market is heavily gender segregated. Women dominate the municipal sector (regional and local level) while men dominate the private sector. About 80 percent of municipal sector employees (local and regional authorities) are women while more than 60 percent of the employees in the private sector are men. In the 1980s employment increased both in the public and the private sectors.

Figure 1.2 and 1.3 present female and male employment by public and private sector there great changes have taken place over the period.

Figure 1.2 Female employment 1989-1995 in public and private sector. Aged 16-64 years.



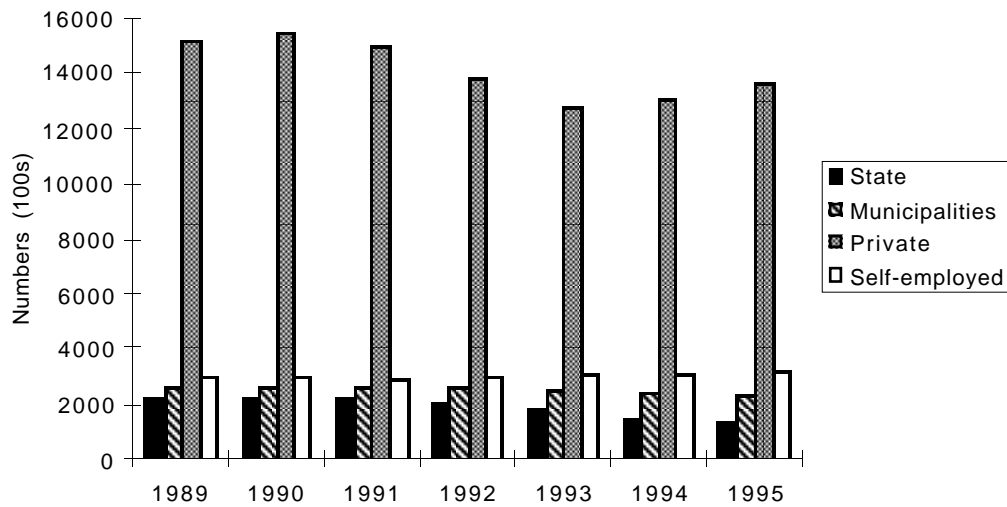
Source: SCB, Labour force survey (AKU)

In the period 1990-1994 employment in the municipalities decreased by about 120 000 jobs, which equals 11 percent. The decrease continued in 1995 with a further loss of 15 000 jobs and another 25 000 will probably disappear in 1996 (AMS, Ura 1995:2). Over some years employment in the private sector decreased with more than 320 000 jobs and about 150 000 jobs disappeared in the public sector – a total of about half a million jobs.¹

During the 1980s and 1990s, the number of self-employed increased by 49 percent among men and 38 percent among women. It is interesting to note that the number of self-employed remained stable during the crisis. Out of all new businesses, established during 1994, 23 percent were started by women and 69 percent by men (SOU 1996:56). One objective of the Swedish labour market policies has been to support small entrepreneurs. If unemployment remains at a high level, this policy is likely to continue. Subsequent the government has since the mid-1980s spent extra resources to help women start their own businesses (Löfström 1995).

¹ During this period there have also been organisational changes in the state sector leading to shifts in the employment statistics from public to private employment.

Figure 1.3 Male employment in public and private sectors 1989-1995. Aged 16-64 years.



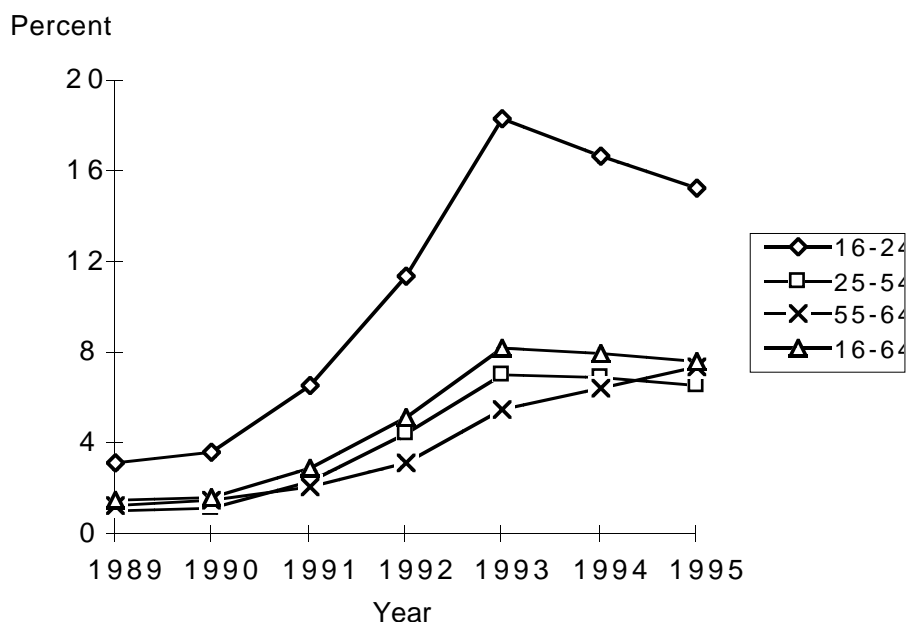
Source: SCB, Labour force survey (AKU)

1.4. Unemployment

Unemployment has changed its face during the recession. All groups have been affected, i.e. differences in education and between different parts of the country have been less than in earlier recessions. Government spending on unemployment benefits and in labour market programmes has increased dramatically.

The most important reason for high unemployment rates has been the decrease in demand for labour. Figure 1.4 show unemployment rates for different age groups between 1989 to 1995. In the spring 1992, unemployment started to rise from a level of one to four percent to above 8 percent unemployed (aged 25-54) and another six percent in labour market programmes in 1993. The unemployment rate is particularly high for young people and newly arrived immigrants. Open unemployment is higher for men than for women (see table 6.6).

Figure 1.4 *Unemployment 1989-1995. Aged 16-64 years.*



Source: SCB, Labour Force Survey (AKU)

Long term unemployment has risen sharply, the increase was especially large in 1993 and continued in 1994. Hidden unemployment has also increased. The number of part-time unemployed increased in 1993 and remained at a high level in 1994, as did the number of latent job seekers. (Chapter six includes a more thorough discussion of unemployment.) In the beginning of 1994 employment started to rise again, especially in manufacturing and in private services.

1.5. Labour market policy – education and training system

The number of people engaged in labour market policy measures is much larger than in earlier recessions. In 1994 the costs for labour market policy measures amounted to five percent of the total public expenditure and affected five percent of the labour force. In earlier recessions these policy measures never went beyond the level of three percent, the level regarded as the maximum acceptable for the labour market policy to be efficient.

The Swedish labour market policy has traditionally been selective and used as an instrument for counteracting down-turns in the business cycle. It has been directed towards those who are unemployed or at risk of losing their job, on a gender neutral basis. The basic elements in the Swedish labour market policy have been to improve employment and growth through occupational and geographical flexibility and adjustment in the labour market.

This policy has been fairly successful over the last decades. In the beginning of the recession, in 1990/91, the timing was lost. At first the resources were laid on

labour market training and later on employment promotion activities, like youth trainee schemes. The National Labour Market Board (AMS) has targeted certain groups during the last years, as for instance young people, handicapped and immigrants. Women have not been regarded as a group with a higher risk of unemployment than other groups. Since 1994, however, two employees at each of the 24 regional Labour Market Boards are responsible for educational programmes aiming at introducing gender perspectives in all local labour market exchanges. Efforts are being made to support women who want to start new businesses. The National Labour Market Board can give support for a six month planning period. There is a regional network for supporting women who want to start business and a special loan has been launched in rural areas.

During 1995 and 1996, the central goals of the labour market policy are to

- reduce the bottle-necks on the labour market,
- prevent individuals from becoming excluded from unemployment benefit,
- delimit long term unemployment and the exclusion of people from the labour market, and
- support the entrance into the labour market for groups with a weak attachment to the labour market (AMS, Ura 1995:1)

1.6. Meeting the convergence criteria of EMU

The official economic political goals are phrased; sustainable growth, full employment and price stability. In the spring of 1995, the Swedish Parliament accepted a convergence programme presented by the Government (The Convergence Programme 1995). The programme sets out how Sweden will fulfil the convergence criteria for obtaining membership of the Economic Monetary Union (EMU). The most important task of the programme is to decrease the public deficit and to stabilise public dept. The strategy chosen for reducing the public deficit has, of course, consequences for employment in the public sector and not least for female employment, since 80 percent of all employees in the public sector are women. In January 1996 the economic forecasts for many European economies were revised downwards and a new recession seems to be under way. This international development negatively influence also the Swedish labour market situation.

The programme involves a reduction of the budget deficit to about four percent of GDP already in 1997. To reach this goal, huge cut backs in public spending as well as tax increases are proposed. The largest reductions will be made in transfers to households and in public consumption. The Swedish welfare system is drastically changing: the pension system, sickness benefits, parental and unemployment insurance and child allowances, everything is involved. There is a very strong relation between public finances and the unemployment level in a society such as the Swedish. High unemployment leads to high costs for unemployment benefits and labour market policy measures, at the same time as public revenues decrease.

1.7. Changes in the welfare system

The Swedish welfare system has at least four strategic components:

- *income related benefits*: sickness insurance, parental leave insurance, unemployment benefits;
- *general systems*: basic old age pension, child allowances;
- *public services*: child care, elderly care, education, health services;
- *means tested social benefits*: basic social support and housing allowances.

In the 1990s new regulations have been introduced in all four areas. Due to changing political majorities in the Parliament, social insurance have been altered and restored several times.

1.7.1. *Income related benefits*

A new unemployment insurance system was introduced on July 1 1994. Earlier unemployment insurance had been administered by independent unemployment benefit associations, ordinarily affiliated to a trade union. The new system was computed as a more general insurance where all employees had to pay fees and could receive an income related compensation if they became unemployed. They had to fulfil a number of conditions but they did not have to, as earlier, be members of any unemployment benefit association.

When the Social Democrats regained power in September 1994 the old system was re-introduced. From January 1 1995 a condition for receiving unemployment insurance benefits is again membership in an unemployment benefit association. The benefit level has been lowered from 90 to 80 percent of the earlier wage and unemployed persons must have been members of an association for at least twelve months prior to unemployment period. The normal unemployment compensation period is 300 days for persons younger than 55 years, and 450 days for older persons. The level of compensation was from January 1 1996 further reduced, from 80 to 75 percent. The reduction has caused intense political discussions and strong tensions between the government and the trade unions as well as between the government and its electorate.

Benefit levels for parental leave and sickness insurance have also been lowered to the 75 percent level.

1.7.2. *General systems: pension system and child allowances*

The pension system consists of three major parts: basic pension, supplementary pension (ATP), and a number of occupational pension schemes, negotiated between the unions and the employers. The normal retirement age in Sweden is 65 years and basically all citizens are eligible for a basic pension independently of whether or not they have had an income.

Those who have been gainfully employed, receive in addition a supplementary pension, ATP. The ATP and the basic pension are based on decisions of the Parliament and form the main income for the majority of the retired population. The size of the ATP depends on the previous income. At present a maximum ATP

requires thirty qualifying years and the size of the pension is based on the fifteen years with the highest income. The ATP and the national basic pension, together correspond to about 65 percent of the income during the active years (up to a certain ceiling). Negotiated pension schemes, account for a further ten percent of the former income.

Women normally qualify for lower pensions than men. Both ATP and the negotiated pension schemes are based on paid work and the male norm of full time and life long employment. House work is no ground for pension rights in these systems. The construction of the system has favoured particular labour market patterns, for example those groups which have an uneven income profile over the life time and relatively few years with a high income. A flat income profile has yielded a much lower pension. Low paid women, who have been working part-time during periods of their working life, are those who get the least out of ATP (Ståhlberg 1995).

In the years to come the ATP pension system is to be altered, mainly towards an increase in the number of qualifying years and an increased correlation between pensions and life time earnings.

Child allowances are considered as one of the corner stones in the general welfare system. All families are eligible, irrespective of family income. There is a debate today whether child allowances should remain general or become means-tested. The system of additional allowances for families with three or more children has been restricted and will eventually be removed.

1.7.3. Public services: child care and elderly care

The production of public services has also been subject to profound changes during the period of the third action programme. In 1994 and 1995 there was an increase in the number of children in public day care. A new law regulating public child care came into operation in January 1995. It stipulates that the local authorities have to provide care for all children between one and twelve years if the parents are studying or working. This will increase the expenditure on public child care with 2,8 billion Swedish Crowns during the upcoming years. At the same time an increasing share of the costs is covered by the parents. The number of children in each child care group are increasing and the number of personnel are steadily decreasing. The changes affect the quality of services provided and they are caused by reduced state funding. In the longer run they may lead to a reorientation of public day care, from emphasising certain pedagogical and social goals, to merely childminding (Swedish Association of Local Authorities 1995 a).

Changes in the care of the elderly are similar. With an ageing population and high life expectancies the coming decade will see increasing demands for public care for the elderly. Parallel to this the number of employees are decreasing. This calls for, (as for public child care), a reorganisation of the sector and a reformation of the purpose with these services. The fees paid by the elderly have already increased and so has the burden on relatives, most often daughters, to take on more of the care.

1.7.4. Means tested social benefits: basic social support and housing allowances

With the deterioration of the social safety net the burden on the "last resort", the basic social support, has increased. From the beginning of the century and up to 1990 the share of the population receiving social support was in average between four and six percent (Swedish Association of Local Authorities 1995 a). Thereafter the number of individuals receiving cash assistance has increased sharply. In 1993 more than 700 000 persons had to rely on social support, almost eight percent of the population. This is a drastic increase.

The main reasons for the increase during the last years are:

- increased unemployment, especially among people with a weak position on the labour market,
- longer periods of support,
- the number of refugees has increased,
- reductions in the public transfer systems have made more people dependent on, and entitled to, social support.

When compensation rates in unemployment insurance system and in the sickness benefit system are today lowered to 75 percent. The need for social benefit support will be likely to increase further.

1.8. The labour market regulation system

Characteristic for the Swedish and Nordic welfare state model has been the relatively small income differences and the low proportion of the population living in poverty. A high proportion of the population has been active in the labour force, not least as a result of a strong labour market policy. The high female labour force participation and the large public sector are other important characteristics. Since social security rights apply to all inhabitants on an individual basis, those without employment also have basic social security rights.

Three tendencies have in a dramatic way transformed the industrial relations systems in Sweden and the other Nordic countries:

1. Internationalisation,
2. Decentralisation of the negotiation system and of wage setting,
3. Deterioration of the employment situation and a high unemployment level (Bruun 1994).

Swedish and Nordic corporations have established themselves abroad to an increasing extent during the second half of the 1980s. Investment and employment abroad increased while employment in manufacturing decreased in Sweden. Internationalisation also meant liberalisation of capital markets, as mentioned on page 4.

The Swedish negotiation system has by international standards been regarded as very centralised. The peak organisations on the employees' and employers' side have signed central agreements, while the sectorial organisations have formed

collective agreements on wages and different conditions of employment. The large Swedish corporations, often multinationals, have been strong advocates of a decentralisation of the negotiation system and have favoured company based negotiations. This policy from the employers' side has diminished the bargaining power of the Swedish LO (the Confederation of Blue Collar Workers). The deterioration of the employment level and increasing unemployment have also effected the unions bargaining power. Also the regulations in the labour market are effected by the high unemployment level. The use of short term contracts and the proportion of temporary workers are increasing, both among women and men (see chapter 2 and 6).

1.9. Wage bargaining system

Wages are set through negotiations and are regulated by collective agreements, where certain minimum levels exist. Up to the mid-1980s the solidaristic wage policy led to a decreasing gap between men's and women's wages (Löfström 1995). At the same time as wage negotiations have become more decentralised, the gender wage gap has increased.

In 1980 The Equal Opportunity Act (EOA) came into force. The purpose of the act was to promote equality between women and men with respect to employment, conditions of employment and opportunities for development at the workplace. A revised act was adopted in 1991. The new act clearly states that its primary aim is to improve the terms under which women participate in the labour market.

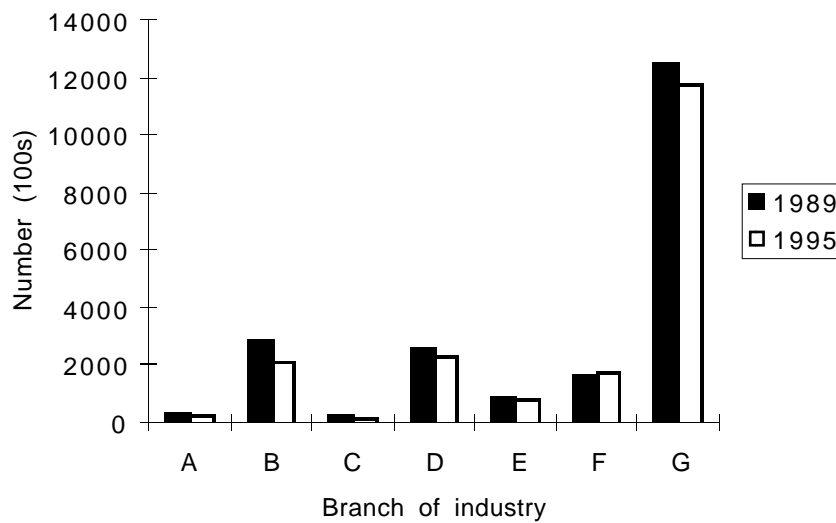
Each year every employer who has ten or more employees must take stock of all wage differentials between women and men at the workplace. The survey must include an annual plan of actions against any wage differentials. The plan must, on request, be submitted to the Equal Opportunities Ombudsman. Most employers obediently present both survey and plan. All local authorities now have action plans which have been approved by the Equal Opportunities Ombudsman. Exactly how the plan is developed is up to the employer and the local unions to agree upon. It is stipulated that the survey must include an analysis of different types of work and of problems for different categories of employees. These comparisons are however not enough, it must be possible to see the wage differences between employees who are doing equal work and work of equal value. One way of doing this is to develop systematic job evaluation.

The Equal Opportunity Act also prohibits the employer from discriminating an employee on the grounds of sex. The rules cover, for example, the recruitment of employees, terms of employment, including pay, the promotion or training of employees and the termination of contracts of employment. There is also a ban on harassment. Disputes concerning sex discrimination are treated as labour disputes on the labour market and are adjudicated by the Labour Court.

2. Gender and employment

Women and men are employed in different branches and sectors². Figure 2.1 and 2.2 present the distribution of women and men employed by branch of industry in 1989 and 1995. Government campaigns have tried to influence both women's choice of occupations, from services into manufacturing, and the recruitment policies of the employers - the difference remain. The female employees are still highly concentrated to a few branches, especially to public administration and services (Löfström 1995).

Figure 2.1 Women employed by branch of industry in 1989 and 1995. Aged 16-64.



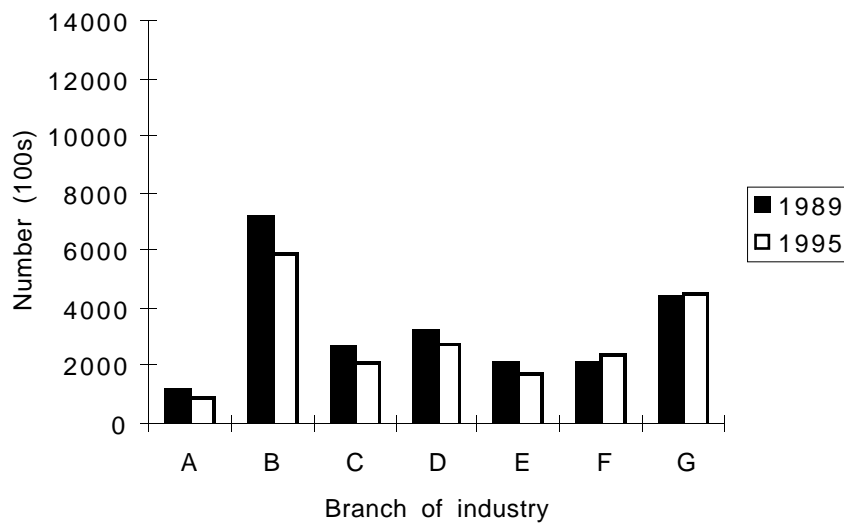
Source: SCB, Labour force survey (AKU)

A: Agriculture, forestry, fishing etc. B: Mining, manufacturing, electricity and water service C: Construction D: Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels E: Transport and communications F: Finance, insurance, real estate and business services G: Public administration and services

It is worth noting that women's employment has decreased as much in manufacturing as in public administration and services during the 1990s (see figure 2.1). The reduction in employment for men has been most profound in manufacturing and construction (see figure 2.2). For both women and men the development in the wholesale and retail sectors resulted in severe employment reductions.

² In chapter 4 of this report the gender segregation will be analyzed more thoroughly.

Figure 2.2 Men employed by branch of industry in 1989 and 1995. Aged 16-64.



Source: SCB, Labour force survey (AKU)

In manufacturing, none of the branches had an increase in employment between 1989-1993. In 1994, however, employment in manufacturing started to rise, affecting mainly the male labour force. Expected employment growth until the year 2 000 amounts to 300 000 jobs at a yearly GDP growth rate above two percent. Private services, information technology and environmentally related businesses are sectors which could increase employment (The Convergence Programme).

2.1. Labour force participation

Table 2.1 shows the labour force participation rate between 1989-1995 for women and men respectively. Until 1990 the Swedish labour force participation has continuously increased, where as in 1991 it started to decrease, most profound in the younger age-groups.

Table 2.1 *Labour force participation rates for women and men 1989-1995.*

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Men							
16-24	68,9	68,7	65,0	58,4	52,0	49,4	50,1
25-54	94,6	94,7	94,0	92,9	91,3	89,9	90,6
55-64	74,5	75,4	75,3	73,4	70,5	69,9	70,4
16-64	86,4	86,6	85,6	83,5	80,9	79,4	80,3
Women							
16-24	69,6	68,3	64,8	59,3	52,2	49,9	50,0
25-54	90,5	90,8	90	88,9	87,6	86,0	86,2
55-64	63,7	65,8	66,5	65,3	63,4	62,5	63,5
16-64	81,9	82,3	81,4	79,6	77,2	75,7	76,1

Source: SCB

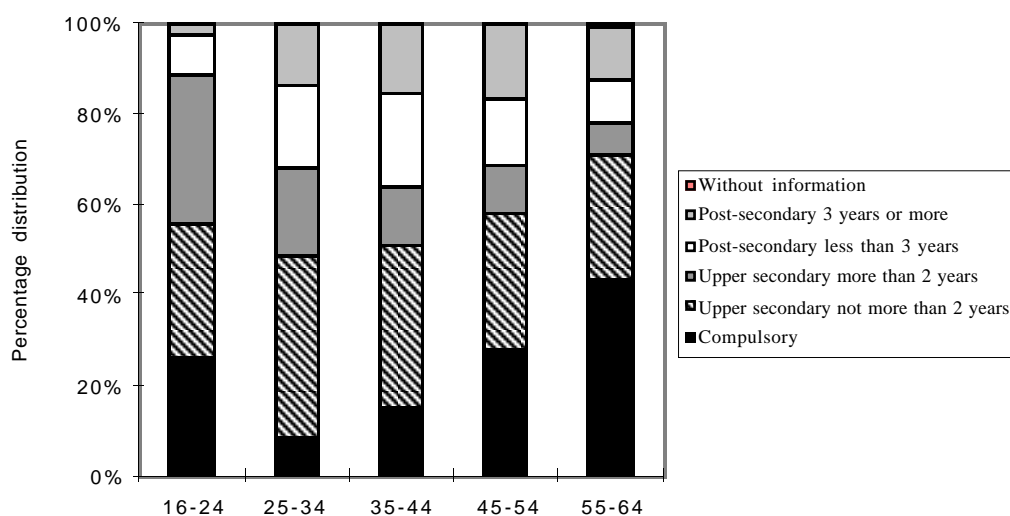
The decrease in labour force participation has been large, from 87 to 78 percent for all age groups (16-64). Among the core groups, those aged 25-54 years, the participation rate fell from 95 to 91 percent for men and from 90 to 86 percent for women between 1989 and 1995.

The greatest changes have taken place among young people (aged 16-24) and immigrants, both men and women. Between 1989 and 1995 the participation rate in the age-group 16-24 decreased with 19 percent for men and 20 percent for women. Many young people, who either left the labour force or did not enter, have instead entered study programmes or prolonged their studies.

2.1.1. Level of education in the labour force

The level of education in the labour force has changed considerably between the 1970s and the 1990s. The share of the labour force with post-secondary education has increased from less than ten percent in the beginning of the 1970s to about 25 percent at the end of the period. The largest change during the time period concerns those with compulsory education. The proportion of the population with compulsory education has halved. Quantitatively the change is even greater, because of the increase in the labour force with some 875 000 people.

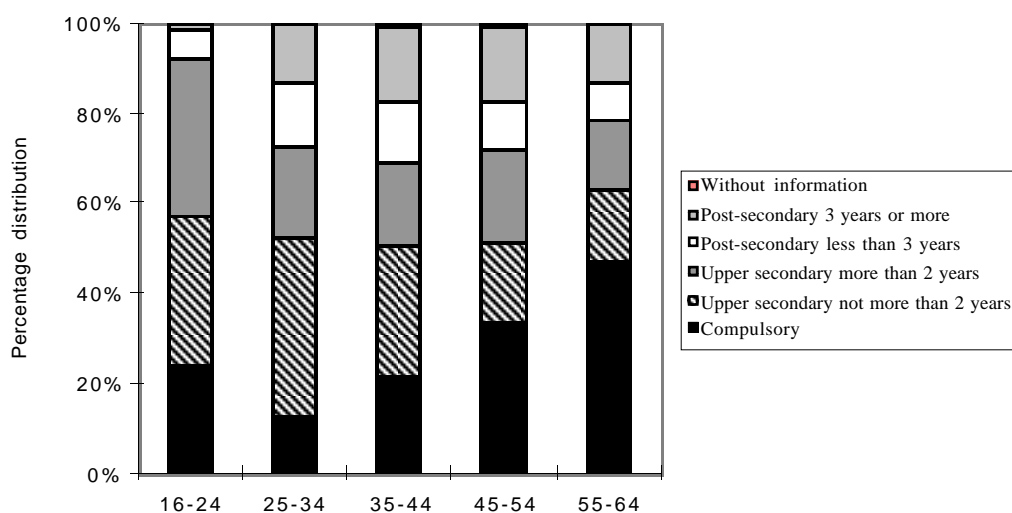
Figure 2.3 *Level of education for women in the labour force 1995.*



Source: SCB, Labour force survey (AKU)

Figure 2.3 and 2.4 show the level of education for women and men in the labour force in 1995. There are great differences among women in the labour force regarding educational levels (see figure 2.3). The dividing line can be drawn between those with compulsory education and those with upper-secondary schooling. Labour force participation rates increase at higher educational levels. This is especially noticeable in the oldest age groups where a high proportion of women and men with only compulsory schooling have left the labour market.

Figure 2.4 *Level of education for men in the labour force 1995.*



Source: SCB, Labour force survey (AKU)

A report from Statistics Sweden (SCB, *Trender och prognoser*, 1994) show that 77 percent of the women in the age group 25-34 with compulsory schooling take active part in the labour force, as compared to 89 percent of those with upper-secondary schooling and 91 percent of the women with post-secondary schooling.

2.2. Employment

The employment rates have been greatly reduced during the period of the third action programme. The employment rate in age-group 25-54 has dropped from 90 percent for women and 94 percent for men in 1990 to 81 and 84 percent respectively in 1995. Among young people the reduction is even greater, from nearly 70 percent in 1989 to about 42 percent in 1995. It is worth mentioning the sharp decrease among the young age groups (see table 2.2). The development indicates a break in the trend of the employment development for the female labour force.

Table 2.2 *Employment rate for men and women 1989-1995.*

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Men							
16-24	66,7	66,1	60,2	50,4	40,8	40,0	41,8
25-54	93,6	93,5	91,5	87,9	83,6	82,8	84,1
55-64	73,6	74,4	73,6	70,7	65,8	64,4	64,4
16-64	85,1	85,2	82,7	78,3	73	72,2	73,5
Women							
16-24	67,4	65,9	61,1	53,9	44,4	42,7	43,0
25-54	89,5	89,7	88,2	85,8	82,6	81,0	81,1
55-64	62,8	64,8	65,2	63,5	60,7	59,4	59,5
16-64	80,7	81,0	79,8	76,9	72,1	70,7	70,9

Source: SCB

The decrease is of the same magnitude for both the young women and men. The development must be judged separately from the long term decrease of male employment in the manufacturing industries that has been seen during the last decades. This latter change is indicated by the development for the age group 55-64 in table 2.2.

2.3. Immigrant labour

In the years following the Second World War Swedish employers feared labour shortages. Immigrant labour was recruited to Sweden from the southern parts of Europe. From the 1960s and up to the beginning of the 1980s both women and men with foreign citizenship had a high, sometimes even a higher rate of labour force participation, than the Swedish population.

Today the situation is different — the demand for immigrant labour has decreased. The employment rate for immigrants has decreased during the last

recession, both for men and women. Most of the immigrants who have come to Sweden during the last decades are refugees who have come for political reasons.

Table 2.3 *Employment rate among immigrants in percent of the immigrant population aged 16-64.*

	1988	1991	1995
Women	67,3	63,3	40,7
Men	73,9	69,0	48,6

Source: SCB, Labour force survey (AKU)

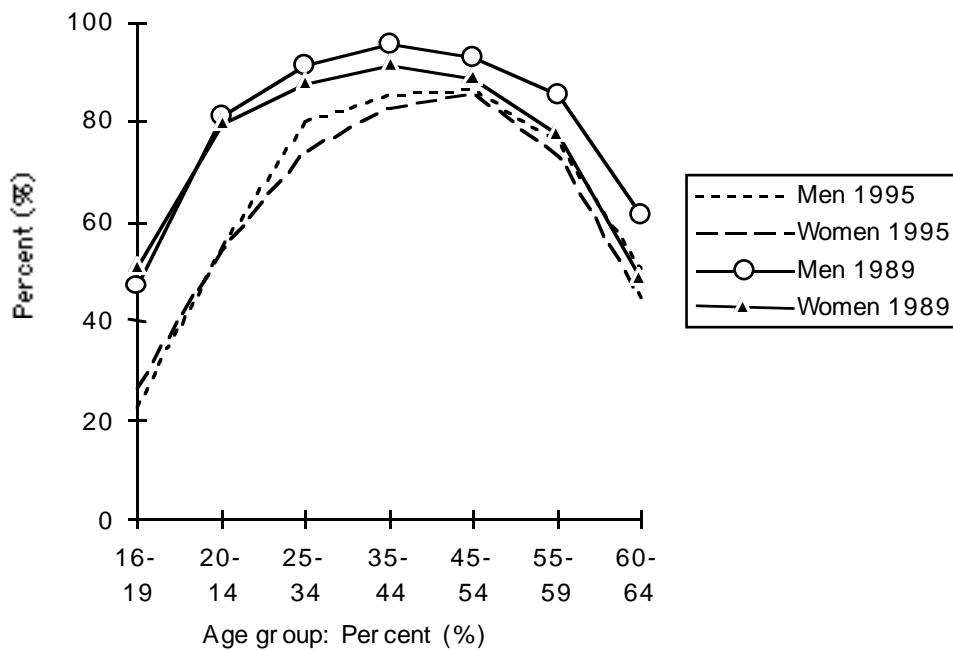
There are two trends in the development of the immigrant labour force participation (Knocke 1994). The first trend concerns the immigrant labour who for a long period have belonged to the labour force and now they loose their earlier strong attachment to the labour market. Table 2.3 shows the decreasing employment rate. The second trend relates to the newly arrived immigrants who face difficulties entering the labour market (Knocke 1994).

Some of the changes in labour force participation among immigrants can be explained by the structural transformation of economic life, new technology, the recession and a high degree of long-time sickness and early retirement (Knocke 1994).

2.4. Gender differences in employment, unemployment and inactivity.

Figure 2.5 shows the development of the employment rate for women and men between 1989 and 1995 in different age groups (se also table **18 in Appendix**). The gap between the male and female graphs for 1989 was almost closed in 1995. At the same time the employment level decreased and unemployment and inactivity levels increased.

Figure 2.5 Employment rates for women and men in 1989 and 1995 in different age groups.



Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys 1989 and 1995.

The shape of the curve, or the employment profile, has changed. No longer do we see the smooth inverted U-curve, but a concentration on the middle aged, between 35 and 54 years. The age group 45-54 has the highest employment rate today.

Compared to other European countries, we might say that Sweden is developing a fourth pattern of employment profiles. We usually discuss three different forms; the U-shaped, the one-peaked - common in southern European countries - and the M-shaped curve, which we find in many countries in mid-Europe. What we see in Sweden is a sharp decrease in employment for the young age groups, up to 34 years. Education, unemployment and labour market policy measures are activities that have increased for these groups. For the next group, 35 to 44 years old, unemployment accounts for most of the difference between 1989 and 1995. The least changes in employment terms seem to have occurred for the age groups between 45 and 54. In the older age groups, negotiated early retirement has become increasingly common. The employers' restructuring strategies also include changes in the composition of the labour force. One way has been to let the older staff go, with the help of pre-pensioning schemes and keep the young labour force (Gonäs 1991).

Figure 2.5 indicates how the risk of becoming unemployed has developed between 1989 and 1995 for different age groups. It is an important difference between the risk of becoming unemployed and the probability of getting a new job after having been unemployed. These profiles do not say anything about the latter.

2.5. Trends in employment by education and region

The educational composition of the labour force has changed during the period.³ In 1990, of all employed men, 31 percent had only 9 years compulsory education. For women the proportion was 27 percent. Four years later the picture had changed rather drastically. Of all employed men, 26 percent had a compulsory education and among women the proportion had decreased from 27 to 21 percent. The regional composition changed parallel to this.

The following table shows the differences on national level between 1990 and 1994.

Table 2.3 *Employed women and men by educational level in 1990 and 1994, percent*

	Compulsory	Secondary	University	Unknown	Total
1990					
Women	27,3	49,1	23,2	0,3	100
Men	30,7	47,4	21,2	0,7	100
1994					
Women	20,6	50,4	28,6	0,4	100
Men	25,9	48,1	25,1	1,0	100

Source: SCB, Årssystem 1994

For employed women, we can see an increase in the share of women with a post secondary education. There is an increase also in the number of men with this education, but not as large. Short and long university education is mixed here. If we had differentiated according to gender and length of education we would have found that more women are among those with shorter university education.

Women have higher proportions of academically educated in all regional counties in Sweden. For both men and women, the highest proportions of those employed who have an academic education are found in the larger university regions; Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö/Lund, Linköping and Umeå. It is important to note, however, that the levels differ between men and women (see table **19-22 in Appendix**).

2.5.1. *Changes in labour force participation patterns for different age groups*

In the following tables the population in the active ages, 16-64 years, is divided into five groups. The first three groups include the employed, divided by different types of employment: permanent, temporary and self-employment. The other two groups consist of the unemployed and the inactive. The three employment groups plus the unemployed constitute the labour force⁴. By inactive are meant persons who in the

³ In this section we use another statistical dataset, Yearly employment data (Årssystem) from Statistics Sweden which allow us to analyse data on a finer regional division. With this follows that we cannot get data later than 1994.

⁴ It is important to note that in tables 2.4 and 2.5 the unemployment rate is counted in relation to the population in active ages 16-64 and not in relation to the labour

labour force surveys have declared that they are not employed neither are they looking for employment. The term inactive does imply that the individuals are not working, but that they have declared that they do not have a waged work. Data are for 1989, 1993 and 1995 both for women and men.

Table 2.4 *Women in the active population 16-64 years divided by labour force status 1989, 1993 and 1995.*

Women	permanent employed	temporary employed	self- employed	un- employed	inactive	total
1989						
16-24	40,1	26,1	1,2	2,2	30,4	100
25-54	72,5	7,2	4,7	1,0	9,0	100
55-64	54,7	2,5	5,7	0,8	36,2	100
16-64	65,9	10,4	4,4	1,2	18,1	100
1993						
16-24	24,5	18,8	1,1	7,8	47,8	100
25-54	70,0	7,6	5,0	5,0	12,4	100
55-64	53,8	2,3	4,6	2,6	36,6	100
16-64	59,1	8,8	4,2	5,1	22,8	100
1995						
16-24	19,5	22,6	0,9	7,0	50,0	100
25-54	66,6	9,2	5,3	5,1	13,8	100
55-64	51,8	2,6	5,2	4,0	36,5	100
16-64	55,9	10,5	4,5	5,2	23,9	100

Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1989, 1993 and 1995.

The proportion of permanently employed persons has decreased drastically over the period, both for men and women and most sharply in the young and middle-aged groups. Temporary employment, on-call, specifically for young women, during the deepest part of the recession (1993), when those on time limited contracts had to leave upon the termination of the contract. The first wave of restructuring the public sector particularly took this form.

Self-employment has had the same relative importance in the labour force during the whole period. This is not the case with either unemployment or inactivity. Unemployment is very high, especially by Swedish standards, though it started to decrease for the male labour force in 1995. For women the figures seem to develop in another direction, where the core age group (25-54 years) and the older age group (55-64 years) are becoming unemployed to an increasing extent.

force 16-64 as is most oftenly done.

Table 2.5 *Men in the active population 16-64 years divided by labour force status 1989, 1993 and 1995.*

Men	permanent employed	temporary employed	self- employed	un- employed	inactive	total
1989						
16-24	48,5	15,7	2,4	2,2	31,1	100
25-54	76,8	3,0	13,0	1,0	5,4	100
55-64	58,2	1,3	14,0	1,0	25,5	100
16-64	68,2	5,8	11,0	1,3	13,7	100
1993						
16-24	25,6	12,4	2,7	11,3	48,0	100
25-54	64,9	5,3	13,4	7,7	8,7	100
55-64	51,0	1,7	13,2	4,7	29,5	100
16-64	55,6	6,1	11,4	7,9	19,1	100
1995						
16-24	23,9	15,1	2,8	8,3	49,9	100
25-54	63,7	6,9	13,5	6,5	9,4	100
55-64	49,0	2,0	13,4	5,9	29,7	100
16-64	54,3	7,6	11,6	6,8	19,8	100

Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1989, 1993 and 1995.

The inactivity rate has increased both among men and women. For young people this means that many of them are in education or take part in labour market policy measures. Large proportions of the older age groups have received early retirement pension.

3. Working time patterns and family formation

Women and men have entered the labour market on different conditions. Today men participate in household work to a greater extent than earlier, but still it is mostly women's working time that is influenced by the family situation. In 1994, 77 percent of all men worked full-time but only 51 percent of all women. A large share of the women worked long part-time, i.e. between 20 and 30 hours a week. In Sweden parents have the right to work part time until the child is eight years old. As a result of the parental leave system a majority of women never leave the labour force when they have children. Instead they reduce the number of hours worked when they return to work.

Parents are legal entitled to part-time leave of absence until the child is 8 years old. The reduction of working hours is regulated within an existing work contract. Parents are entitled to a reduction of working hours down to 75 percent of normal hours. No compensation is paid for loss of income.

Women's yearly working time varies over the life span, more so than men's. The lower actual working time in ages the 25-44 results in a two peaked profile (see figure 3.1 and 3.2). Part-time work is most common in the ages when women usually have small children (25-34). A higher proportion of women in the younger age group, 20-24, work full-time as compared to the age group 25-39, thereafter the proportion of full-time employment increases again. The situation in Sweden is comparable to the way the participation rate varies between age groups in other European countries.

The number of men working part-time has increased during the 1990s. The largest share of part-time employment is found in the age group 60-64. If one exclude both the youngest and the oldest age-groups, very few men work part-time. Many of the older men who work part-time have a part-time superannuation benefit, which has no correspondence among women.

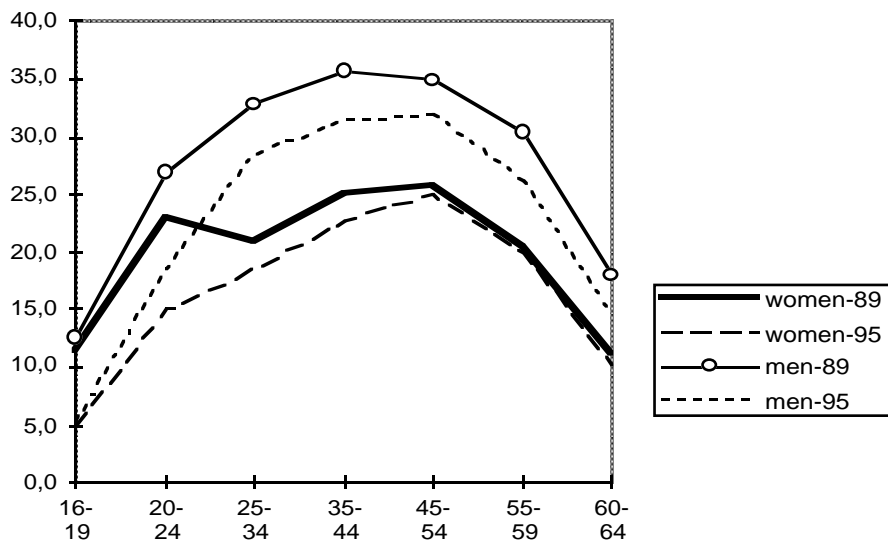
A large proportion of the Swedish labour force is discontented with their working time arrangements. Women, and especially younger women, are generally less satisfied with their hours of work than men. Among younger women (aged 16-19), 92 percent would like to increase their working time with an average of 14 hours a week.

3.1. Actual working hours

When discussing the changes between 1989 and 1995, it is important to consider changes in the number of hours worked as well as rates of employment and labour market participation. Figure 3.1 is an effort to estimate the changes in the actual number of hours worked among different age groups in the population aged 16-64 years. By actual hours worked we refer to the hours during which the individual

has been at work. All those who for any reason have been absent are excluded. By comparing the number of working hours with the population in different age groups we get an idea of how the recession has affected different age groups and a fair picture of gender differences. In an international comparative perspective it is important to state that this picture illustrates differences existing within working contracts.

Figure 3.1 Actual weekly working hours for different age groups, women and men in 1989 and 1995.



Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1989 and 1995.

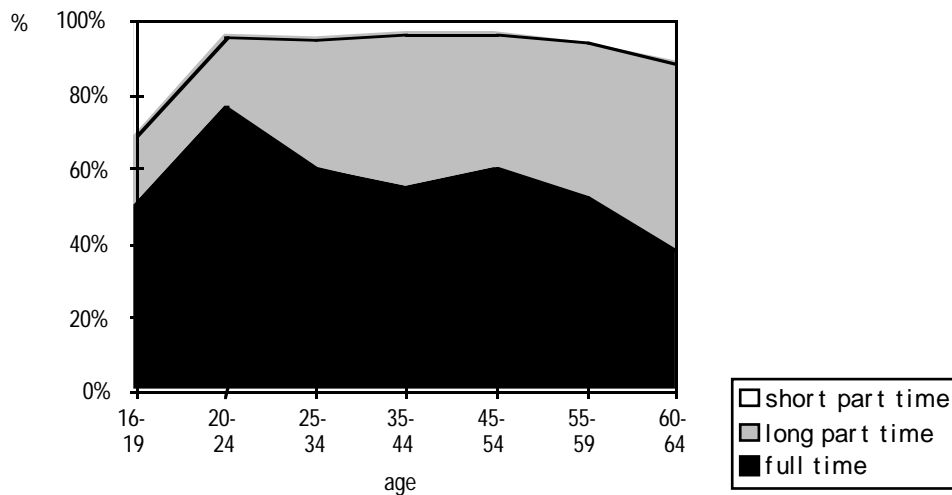
For men the dominant feature is the overall reduction of the actual number of hours worked in different age groups, most markedly among the youngest up to age 24 and the middle aged past 55. Women have experienced a totally different pattern. Almost nothing has happened for those over 45 years. Other age groups have experienced noticeable reductions in the number of hours worked (see table **19 in Appendix**). The peak in the numbers of hours worked is found for the middle aged group, 45 -54 years old. The characteristic M-shaped pattern for younger women has disappeared. Instead there has been a reduction in the actual number of hours worked for all women up to the age of 44. The most marked decrease has occurred for young women, up to 34 years of age. This implies that among part-time working younger women we find many who are partially unemployed.

3.2. Trends in full and part-time work by age and life cycle position of women

The labour market situation, measured in participation rates, has become very equal for men and women. If we stop the analysis after considering employment rates, labour force participation and activity structures, this would be an appropriate conclusion. We will however take the analysis further. Reduced working hours has for many women become the solution for staying in the labour market. But reduced working hours are increasingly also a strategy from the employers side to reduce labour costs. The right to reduce the number of working hours for the employee is granted by law — in the parental leave system — and has become an option in almost every industrial branch. The question is how this affects the outcome of the ongoing restructuring of the Swedish labour market. Have employment losses for women been transformed into part-time work? Evidence suggests that this may be the case for many young women.

The figures 3.2 and 3.3 show women's working hours in 1989 and 1995. Long part time equals 20-34 hours a week and short time 1-19 hours a week. In 1989 we can see a high proportion of young women working full time and see the proportion of full time women decreases in the higher age groups.

Figure 3.2 *Women in employment by working hours 1989. Percent*

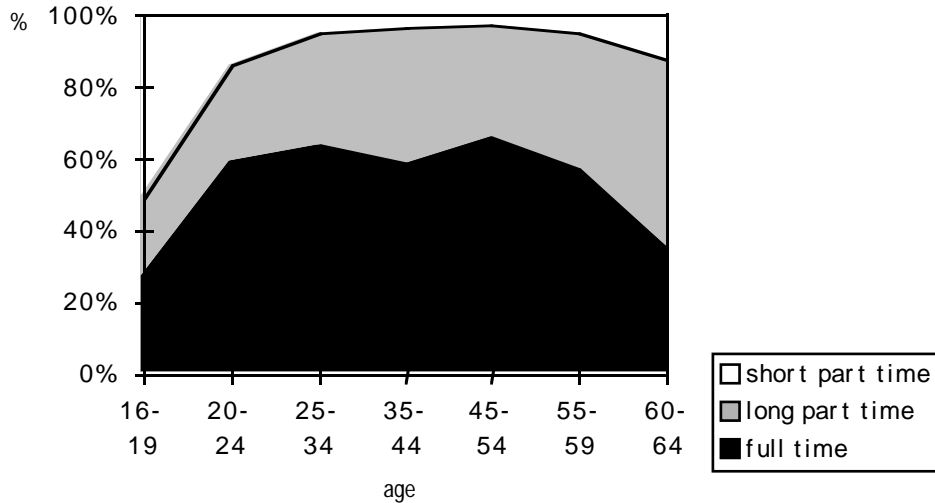


Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1989.

By 1995 the structure had changed (see figure 3.3). The proportion of young women working full time has decreased and we can see a growth in short part time. Despite this, the gap between part-time and full time work has narrowed, mainly due to longer hours among part-time workers and to more women taking up full time work. The differences in total working hours between men and women were smaller in 1994 than in 1990, mainly because of the higher male unemployment and

a small increase in women's total share of work on a full time basis (Löfström 1995).

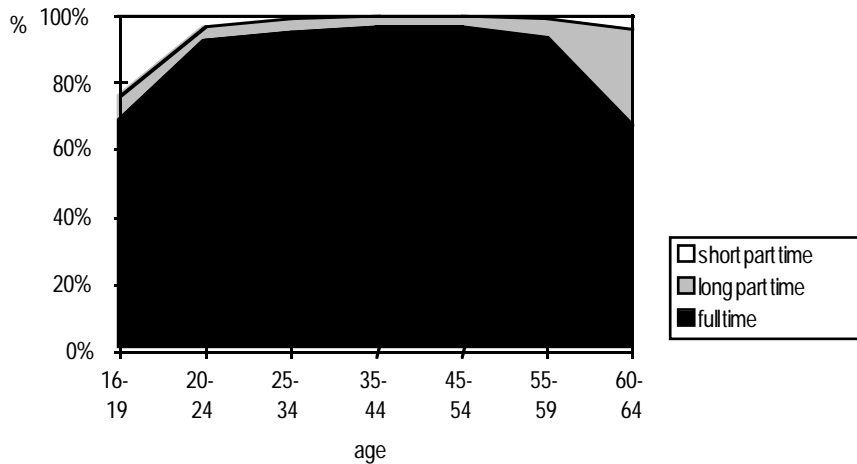
Figure 3.3 *Women in employment by working hours 1995. Percent*



Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1995.

Figure 3.4 and 3.5 show male employment divided by working hours in 1989 and 1995. For men the dominant pattern is full-time work in all the age groups (see figure 3.4).

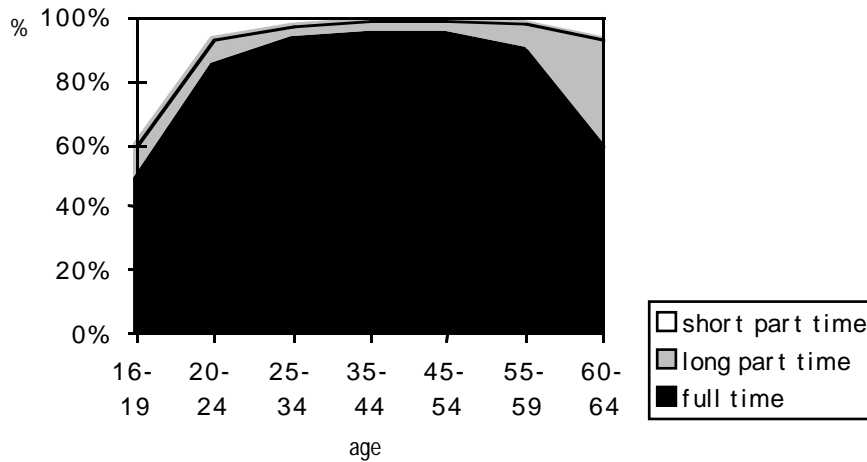
Figure 3.4 *Men in employment divided by working hours 1989. Percent*



Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1989.

In 1995, at the end of the recession and after the heavy reduction of employment in male dominated production sectors, the distribution for the middle aged male work force by working hours was the same. While for both the young and the older men there was an increase in part-time work (figure 3.6).

Figure 3.5 *Men in employment divided by working hours 1995. Percent*



Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1995.

The changes in working time patterns for women and men are also shown in table 3.1 and 3.2. One remarkable change is the increased generational difference in the working time pattern for women between 1989 and 1995. The proportion of women with full time employment had increased for middle aged women, but decreased sharply for women under 25 years. The same holds true for male employment patterns.

Table 3.1 *Employed women by age and working time, in 1989 and 1995. Percent*

1989	Age	Share full time 1989	share long part-time	share short part-time	total
	16-19	50,4	18,5	31,2	100,0
	20-24	76,5	19,2	4,3	100,0
	25-29	65,1	30,1	4,9	100,0
	30-34	55,0	40,7	4,4	100,0
	35-39	52,2	44,0	3,8	100,0
	40-44	57,6	39,0	3,4	100,0
	45-49	62,4	34,7	2,9	100,0
	50-54	58,1	38,2	3,8	100,0
	55-59	52,2	41,9	5,9	100,0
	60-64	37,7	50,9	11,4	100,0
	Total	58,4	35,8	5,9	100,0
1995	Age	Share full time 1995	share long part-time	share short part-time	total
	16-19	26,5	22,1	51,2	99,8
	20-24	59,1	27,1	13,8	99,9
	25-29	67,1	26,8	6,0	99,9
	30-34	59,8	35,5	4,7	100,0
	35-39	55,4	40,6	3,8	99,9
	40-44	62,0	34,8	3,2	100,0
	45-49	66,5	30,4	3,0	99,9
	50-54	65,7	30,5	3,7	99,9
	55-59	57,4	37,5	5,1	100,0
	60-64	34,6	52,4	12,9	99,9
	Total	59,7	33,6	6,6	99,9

Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1989 and 1995.

Table 3.2 *Employed men by working time and age, in 1989 and 1995. Percent*

1989 Age	share full-time	share long part-time	share short part-time	total
16-19	69,2	6,9	23,9	100,0
20-24	92,7	4,4	2,9	100,0
25-29	94,7	4,0	1,2	100,0
30-34	95,4	4,1	0,5	100,0
35-39	96,0	3,6	0,3	100,0
40-44	97,1	2,6	0,3	100,0
45-49	97,0	2,8	0,2	100,0
50-54	96,2	3,6	0,2	100,0
55-59	93,9	5,4	0,7	100,0
60-64	67,5	28,1	4,3	99,9
Total	92,7	5,2	2,1	100,0

1995 Age	share full-time	share long part-time	share short part-time	total
16-19	49,0	10,9	40,0	100,0
20-24	84,7	8,2	7,1	100,0
25-29	92,4	4,7	2,9	100,0
30-34	94,1	4,0	1,8	100,0
35-39	94,8	3,9	1,2	99,9
40-44	95,0	4,2	0,7	100,0
45-49	95,5	3,6	0,8	99,9
50-54	94,6	4,5	0,9	99,9
55-59	89,9	8,1	2,0	99,9
60-64	60,0	32,9	7,0	99,9
Total	90,6	6,3	3,0	99,9

Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1989 and 1995.

3.3. Terms and conditions of employment for atypical workers.

Full time, permanent work is still the norm, but variations in contractual forms and working time arrangements have been growing fast. Variations can be founded with respect to:

- *the time limit of working contracts,*
- *the length of working hours,*
- *conditions of working environment,*
- *advancement possibilities,*
- *social security.*

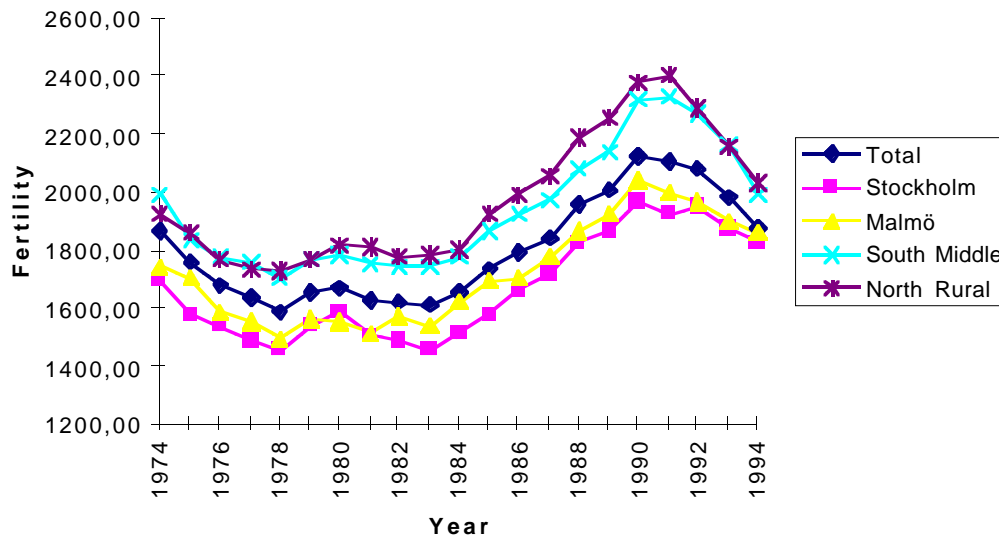
The extent of temporary contracts and part time work will be discussed later on in this report in relation to open and hidden unemployment (see chapter 6). It is important to stress that in Sweden the right to social security benefits follows the registration of settlement. Everyone living in Sweden is entitled to social support which is tied to the income condition. To receive sickness benefits the single individual must have an income of at least 6 000 SEK a year (RFV 1995). The benefit level is today 75 percent of the wage level. The first 14 days of a sickness

period is paid by the employer (at the level of 75 percent of the wage = sickpay). If the individual is unemployed, he or she will receive sickness benefits. The type of working contract or the number of hours worked per week, does not have any direct impact either on the right to sickness benefits or level of the allowances. Since temporary contracts are often followed by periods of unemployment or joblessness, the indirect effects of a temporary contract naturally means worse social security conditions.

3.4. Fertility patterns

The fertility rate has shown a strong variation over the last ten year period⁵. In 1983 the rate was 1,6 children per woman, which was the same as in the mid-1970s when the debate concerning a future population crisis was very intense. In 1985 the fertility rate started to rise and reached a peak level of 2,1 in 1990. Sweden was at that time one of three countries in Europe with the highest fertility rate. This high fertility level lasted for a couple of years. In 1992 the level had already started to decrease and by the end of 1995 the rate was down to 1,7 children per woman.

Figure 3.6 Total fertility rate 1974-1994.



Source: SCB, Fertility rates, 1995

In the 1980s and early 1990s both the fertility rate and the employment rate were very high. A change took place in the 1990s and both rates started to decrease at the same time. It is too early to say anything definite about the causal relations between these two factors, but studies on fertility and employment patterns in the 1980s

⁵ This is the total fertility rate meaning the number of children a woman would have during her fertile years if the total fertility of a specific year would be valid in the future (SCB 1995:2.3).

suggest that the parental leave system played an important role for Swedish women in deciding when to have a child.

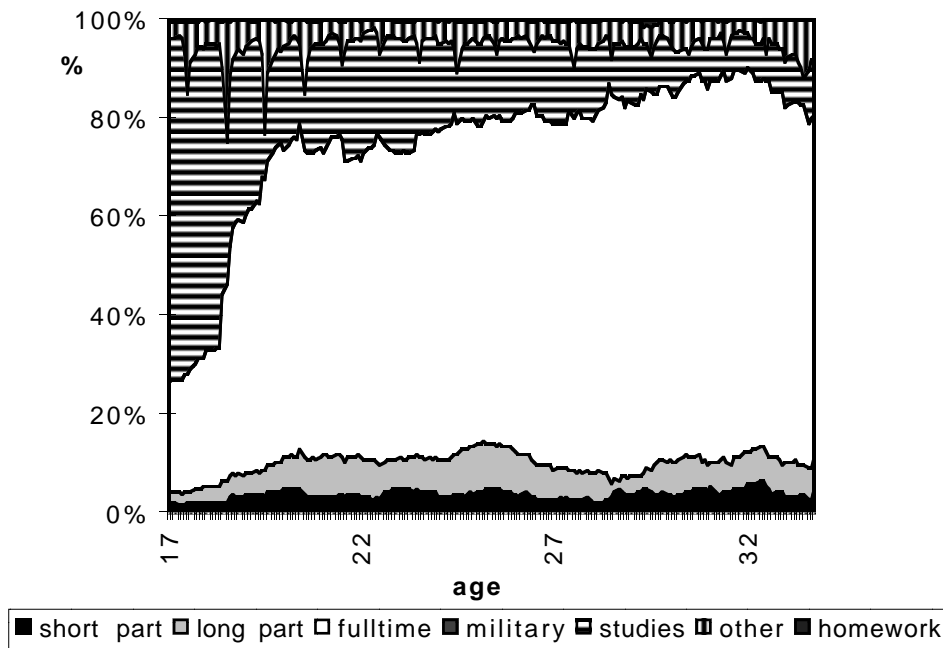
What could be said about recent developments is that young girls have postponed the birth of their first child. Women also seem to refrain from having a third child. It seems as if the fertility rate has decreased the most in regions with high unemployment. This suggests that the ideology behind the parental leave system still is working; to get a reasonable benefit level during parental leave the mother has to have a fairly good job.

3.5. Trends in the impact of marriage and fertility on employment participation and working time

As long as women and men are childless they have fairly equal employment patterns and the entry into the labour market looks the same for young women and men. Education, employment and, for the young men, military service dominate the picture. The prolonged time in education means that the young age groups enter the labour market at a later stage today. The sharp decrease in employment for these groups also illustrates that a large proportion of the young take part in different labour market policy schemes.

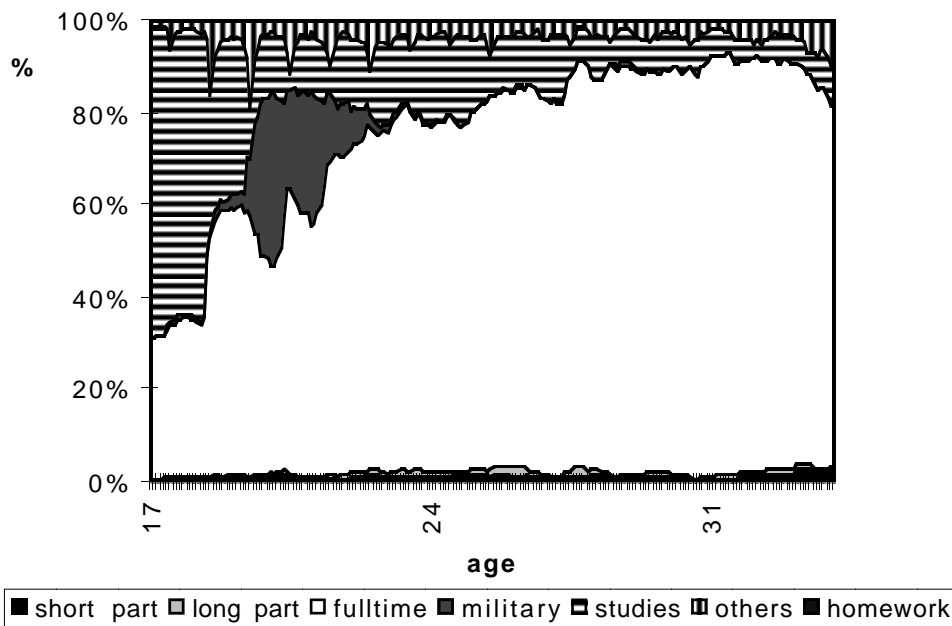
In a study on family and work by Statistics Sweden (SCB), the consequences of childbirth for women's and men's employment patterns have been investigated (SCB 1995:2.1). The interviews, made in 1992/93, show that only when women and men have children that the differences in working time arrangements become apparent in the employment patterns. Prior to the birth of the first child the proportion of women and men working full-time was the same for the cohort born in 1959 (see figures 3.7 and 3.8).

Figure 3.7 Women born in 1959 without children by activities and working time



Source: SCB, Kvinnors och mäns liv. 1995.

Figure 3.8 Men born in 1959 without children by activities and working time



Source: SCB, Kvinnors och mäns liv. 1995.

As soon as women return to the workplace after their parental leave, the differences develop (SCB 1995:2.1). The table 3.3 shows how women's working hours

decrease after the first and the second child. Men's working hours seem to develop in the opposite direction.

Table 3.3 *Employment two years after the first and the second child. Women and men who had children during the period 1980-85. Percent*

	home work	full time work	long time work	short part-time	other	total
Women						
first child	8	38	32	21	9	100
second child	13	28	28	25	6	100
Men						
first child	1	88	1	0	10	100
second child	1	92	1	1	5	100

Source: SCB, Kvinnors och mäns liv. 1995, p. 36.

Parental leave of absence is taken mainly by women, especially if we consider the amount of days taken. If we look at the long parental leave (450 days), it is obvious that men take an increasing but still very low proportion, 11 of the possible 450 days in 1994 (Näsman 1995). The proportion of men who make use of any of the different options in the parental leave system amounts to 28 per cent.

The reason why part-time work is so frequent among Swedish women can of course partly be explained by the options offered by the parental leave system. Not many men use this opportunity. In a survey made in 1989 focusing on parents to children born in 1986, only 8 percent of the fathers had reduced their working hours (Näsman 1992).

One effect of this system is probably that it stabilises segregation patterns (Gonäs et al. 1995). One explanation could be that the employers do not recruit women to certain positions for the fear of them taking long leave of absence and demanding shorter working hours.

3.5.1. *Paid-unpaid work*

In 1990, Statistics Sweden conducted a time-use study. The results show that the time women and men spend working is about the same; 60-61 hours per week. However, women spend more time on unpaid housework (33 hours a week) and less on paid work (27 hours a week), while men spend 20 hours on unpaid and 41 hours on paid work. Given a certain amount of paid work, Swedish women's total work load exceeds the total work load of Swedish men.

Data from the time-use study have been used in table 3.4 to compare time spent on different tasks in the household and time spent in different sectors of the labour market.

Table 3.4 *Work in different sectors of the economy in 1991 and unpaid work in different tasks in households 1990/1991, among 20-64 years old, Million of hours per week*

Labour market work	Hours	Unpaid housework	Hours
Public administr. & other services	48.1	Cooking	23.5
Mines and manufacturing industries	29.5	Care of own children	18.0
Retail trade, restaurants & hotels	19.9	Maintenance	16.9
Banking, insurance, etc.	13.0	House cleaning	16.1
Building industry	10.5	Travels in connection with housework	15.3
Transport, post and telephone	10.3	Shopping and errands	14.6
Agriculture, forestry and fishery	6.2	Dish washing	9.4
		Laundry	7.2
		Care of others	5.2
		Other housework	3.3
		Care of clothes	1.5
		Heating and wood chopping	1.5
Total	137.6	Total	132.5
work by women	56.6	work by women	81.6
work by men	81.1	work by men	50.9

Source: SCB, Labour force study and Time use study. Compiled by Nyberg 1994.

3.6. Convergence or divergence in working time patterns of men and women

The working time issue points at the gender relations between family and labour market position. As was shown in the time-use study (SCB, 1990), women's working time pattern change after they have had children. Before they have children, women and men have equal working time patterns. Also according to the study from Statistics Sweden, the higher the educational level of women, the longer the working hours.

Between 1989 and 1995 a reduction in working hours for both young women and men can be seen. This could be a cyclical phenomenon, but it could also imply that young people to an increasing extent are offered part-time jobs, often of a temporary kind, especially those with low education. There are different tendencies for different age groups. In the core working group there are no visible changes that indicate a more equal working time pattern between men and women, despite a small increase in the proportion of women working longer working hours. The educational differences seem moreover to be of increasing importance in relation to the employment and working time pattern.

4. Gender segregation

How has women's position in the labour market changed during the third action programme, at a time when Sweden has faced the deepest recession since the 1930s? To what extent can the indicators chosen in this report show welfare changes in women's lives?

Gender segregation has only changed slowly over the last thirty years and, as will be shown later, the pace of this change has varied over time.

In a report on occupational segregation of women and men in the European Community, published in 1993, the results are summarised as follows:

- Rising female participation has not led to integration; occupational segregation remains a central characteristic of all European labour markets.
- Occupational segregation has been maintained despite considerable change in the labour market; women have made entry into high level jobs but have also increased their shares of lower level service and clerical work.
- Trends follow different directions. Women entering higher level professions have not escaped from occupational segregation.
- Horizontal desegregation is not necessarily the answer to women's problems: women tend to fare better in the vertical hierarchy when they represent a large share of the occupation.
- More attention needs to be paid to re-evaluating the jobs that women currently do and creating promotion paths within these employment sectors.
- Part-time work is particularly associated with segregation, low skill and status. Attention needs to be paid to policies to reduce the impact of women's domestic roles on their careers.
- Positive action policies need to be supported by labour market policies to facilitate the re-evaluation of women's work and by social policies.
- Occupational segregation and inequality between men and women can be expected to continue and even be reinforced in some labour markets. There is also another trend that seems set to continue; that is towards greater inequality within the female labour force (Social Europe, Supplement 3/93).

There are at least three alternative hypotheses in what happens to women's employment in a recession.

1. The segregation or segmentation hypothesis is connected to the dual labour market theories.

2. The flexible reserve or 'buffer' hypothesis concerns the notion of women as a buffer and the marxian reserve army concept where women are seen as regulators on the labour market.
3. The substitution hypothesis suggests that women get a comparative advantage in a recession because the employers, needing to cut costs, substitute men with lower paid women.

To empirically validate these hypotheses - i.e. see whether they give good predictions of what really happens - is hard since so many factors interrelate (Humphries 1988; Rubery ed. 1988).

Jane Humphries' concludes that each of the hypotheses can be valid in describing women's situation in certain parts of the labour market. Another of Humphries' conclusions is that women's labour market experiences in recessions are connected to the organisation of their reproductive work. Cutbacks in public day-care, affects the supply of female labour, and also influences the demand for female labour. From a Swedish perspective the double role of the public sector is very important, since the public sector to a very large extent is a provider of the conditions for women's waged work, and at the same time, is their most important labour market.

4.1. Gender segregation in Sweden

The great increase in women's labour force participation in the 1960s and 1970s, was a response to the increase in labour demand in traditionally female sectors, mostly in education, health and social services within the public sector. Women entered the labour force during a period when the public sector (most importantly the municipalities) increased its services.

Structural changes in the labour market had created new occupations and made it possible for women to also enter other sectors than the public service sector. Employment in the manufacturing industry ceased to increase in the 1960s. Traditional male occupations in forestry, farming and mills vanished. Instead, work within the service sector increased, especially in female occupations. This could partly explain the decrease in gender segregation over the last thirty years. Women have neither changed occupation nor sector but the distribution of women and men within the labour force has changed (Nyberg 1995).

Gender segregation in the Swedish labour market can be characterised by two patterns (Jonung 1993).

- Women are concentrated to a few occupations, although concentration has decreased over the last thirty years.
- The Swedish labour market is markedly divided into female and male occupations. The most common female occupations have been the same for a long time.

Swedish boys and girls study different subjects in senior high school. It is possible to claim that social background and performance influence the choice between vocational and more general, possibly later academic, education. The decision to take a specific study programme is very much related to gender (SCB, IAM 1991:5). Through their educational choice boys and girls prepare for very different occupations and sectors in the labour market. It seems, however, that gender differences are smaller among women and men with higher education. Occupational choices in groups with complete academic education are more equal than in groups with lower education.

The recession in the 1990s hit the manufacturing industry very hard. Together with the building and construction sectors this part of the economy lost over 320 000 employment opportunities, a reduction by more than 25 percent. The reduction hit men and women within these industries equally hard. Yet, as the sectorial segregation is strong, in quantitative terms more men than women were made redundant. The cut backs in the service sectors, mainly affecting women, started later and are still ongoing.

It should be obvious, from what is stated above, that the conditions for women's waged work has changed dramatically, and a relevant question is whether these changes will affect the segregation patterns.

4.1.1. Horizontal segregation

Janet Siltanen, Jennifer Jarman and Robert Blackburn differentiated between concentration and segregation when they studied gender inequality in the labour market (Siltanen et al. 1995). By concentration they refer to representation of one sex within an occupation, or the gender distribution within an occupation. Concentration is usually measured as the percentage of female or male workers in an occupation. By segregation they meant the separation of the two sexes across occupations (a.a. p. 5).

In order to study changes in segregation patterns over time, measurements have to be done repeatedly. This is not an easy task as changes in employment patterns are complex and it is difficult to isolate the specific patterns which are of interest (Siltanen et al. 1995 p. 14). At least five different measures of occupational gender segregation are currently in use.⁶ In this report we use the Index of Dissimilarity, the most frequently used measure, and the Marginal Matching, both used also by the other experts in our network.

The Index of Dissimilarity (see **Appendix, p. 102**) expresses the share of either the female or male labour force that needs to change occupation in order for the sex composition of each occupational group to be equal to the sex composition of the overall work force (Rubery and Fagan 1995). The Marginal Matching Index

⁶ These measures are: the Index of Dissimilarity (ID), the most widely used, the Sex Ratio (SR), the Women in Employment (WE) Index, the Gini Coefficient (G) and Marginal Matching (MM) (Siltanen et al. 1995 p. 14).

of segregation (see **Appendix, p. 101**) is a measure of the extent to which women and men are separated from each other in the employment structure.

4.1.2. Occupational segregation

About three quarters of all women entering the labour force in the 1960s joined already female dominated occupations, while one quarter joined male dominated occupations (Jonung 1993). The increase in female labour force participation resulted in changes in gender occupational patterns, for example the concentration of women and men in certain occupations has diminished over time. Yet, the overall tendency is persistent occupational segregation. Long term changes in the labour market have of course affected the occupational structure. Some occupations have disappeared, while others have appeared. Jonung shows that the concentration of women to female dominated occupations hardly changed between 1960 and 1980, while the concentration of men in the male dominated occupations decreased.

There has thus been a movement towards less gendered occupations. This is partly explained by a numerical increase in certain occupations and partly a result of women entering occupations with an initially lower female share (Jonung 1993).

Table 4.1 shows Jonungs calculations of the Index of Dissimilarity for the period 1960-1990 (Jonung 1993). The calculations cover the period during which extensive changes in the female employment rate took place.

Table 4.1 Occupational segregation by Index of Dissimilarity on different digit levels 1960-1990.

Year	Census (FOB)			Labour force survey (AKU)	
	1	2	3	1	2
1960	49,2	66,8	74,5		
1963				43,3	65,1
1968				46,9	65,8
1970	44,5	61,3	70,6	46,0	66,2
1973				45,3	66,3
1975	43,6	59,3	69,5	43,8	64,4
1978				43,4	61,9
1980	43,0	58,2	67,9	43,1	60,8
1983				42,3	60,7
1985 ^{a)}	42,0	58,0	-	-	-
1985 ^{b)}	44,5	57,7	66,8	44,2	60,8
1988 ^{b)}				43,8	61,4
1990 ^{b)}	43,1	56,0	64,5	42,6	60,5

a) Change in the *Swedish employment classification* (NYK) rev 1985.

b) Calculations with new NYK.

FOB: Census; SCB, AKU: Labour Force Survey

Source: Jonung 1993:8, p. 68.

As can be seen in table 4.1 the more detailed the analysis, the more prevalent is the segregation patterns (compare digit 3 with digit 1). The occupational segregation becomes increasingly evident with a more specified occupational level. This

indicates a high degree of sex segregation *within* occupations. Although women and men work in the same occupation they occupy different positions and tasks. The calculations are based on the censuses (FOB) and on the labour force surveys (AKU) and different data yield different results.

According to the calculations based on census data there has been a development towards less segregation during the period 1960-1990. The change in occupational segregation seem to have been largest during the 1960s and early 1970s. Changes in occupational classifications of course make comparisons difficult, and different sources give slightly different results. The labour force surveys (AKU) indicate a smaller decrease than the censuses (FOB). If one consider the 2-digit level of the labour force surveys they point at an increasing segregation during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Calculations for the period 1989 to 1995 are shown in table 4.2. Segregation, measured with the Index of dissimilarity on the basis of the labour force surveys (AKU), is decreasing. Yet, segregation is very high. In 1995 approximately 60 percent of all women would have had to change occupation if we were to reach a sex composition in each occupational group which is equal to the sex composition of the overall work force. The table also includes calculations of marginal matching for the period 1989 to 1995. As mentioned earlier the Marginal Matching Index measures the extent to which women and men are separated from each other in the employment structure.

Table 4.2 Occupational segregation in 52 occupations on one- and two-digit levels, 1989-1995.

Year	Index of Dissimilarity		Marginal Matching
	1	2	2
1989	42,7	60,8	60,7
1990	42,7	60,5	60,5
1991	42,2	60,5	60,4
1992	41,1	59,4	59,2
1993	40,3	58,9	58,5
1994	39,6	58,7	58,2
1995	39,4	59,1	58,4

Source: SCB, Labour Force Survey (AKU)

The Index of Dissimilarity and the Marginal Matching Index show great similarities. Both indices have decreased during the 1990s. The changes in the Swedish occupational segregation are most likely caused by structural changes in the labour market with little relation to women's and men's choice of occupation.

4.1.3. Sectorial/ industrial segregation

The increase in women's labour force participation during the 1960s and onwards, was heavily influenced by the public sector's demand for female labour. Women were seen as an ideal labour force for the work tasks to be performed in administration, health care, child care and education. Employment in the Swedish

public sector is larger as a proportion of total employment than in any other country, and the positive relation between a high female employment rate and high public employment is very clear (see also Furåker 1993).

Employment changes in different production sectors during the time of the third action programme, have been profound (see figure 1.2 and 1.3). The result is shown in absolute numbers in table 4 and 5 in the **Appendix**, illustrating the change in female/male employment composition. Women's and men's employment profiles have developed in different directions. During the recession, male employment, although decreasing in numbers, has become less concentrated to the manufacturing sector. There has been an absolute increase in finance, insurance and business services. The public sector has also increased its share of total male employment. The changes in female employment have, on the contrary, lead to a more concentrated employment pattern, suggesting that women are more dependent than ever on public sector employment.

These different developments within the male and female labour force, have lead to certain changes in the segregation indices (see table 4.3).

Table 4.3 *Segregation by industry/sector 1989-1995, two-digit level.*

Year	Index of Dissimilarity	Marginal Matching
1989	46,0	45,9
1990	46,0	46,0
1991	45,8	45,8
1992	45,0	45,0
1993	44,7	44,7
1994	44,6	44,6
1995	44,9	44,7

Source: SCB, Labour Force Survey (AKU)

Table 4.3 presents the two gender segregation indices between 1989 and 1995 in 47 industries/sectors. The Index of Dissimilarity shows a slight reduction, indicating a decreased sectorial segregation. A result that is similar to what the Marginal Matching Index is indicating. Up to 1994, the trend shows decreasing gender segregation by industry, but in 1995 the Index of Dissimilarity increased slightly.

In the beginning of this chapter there was a discussion of the three hypotheses concerning women's employment in a recession. The first hypothesis suggests that women, as a consequence of the segregation in the labour market, will be affected differently from men. Women's conditions in the labour market are related, not to the overall demand for labour, but to the specific demand for "female" labour. Women work in sectors which are not as sensitive to changes in the business cycles as sectors dominated by men. The second hypothesis is based on the reserve army theory, where female labour is regarded as a flexible labour supply which can enter and exit the labour force depending on the contemporary demand for female labour. The third hypothesis, finally, is the substitution hypothesis were women are supposed to undercut male wages in recession and thereby increase their share of the labour force.

Anita Nyberg tested these hypotheses with Swedish data covering two different periods; 1987-1990 and 1990-1993 (Nyberg 1995). The first period is characterised by a economic boom and the second by a deep recession. Nyberg used indicators such as the proportion of women in different industry branches, changes in employment levels, unemployment and equality. The results show that women's employment and unemployment are less affected by the business cycles than men's. Neither the buffer nor the substitution hypothesis held proof. Instead Nyberg found that the segregation hypothesis was the most interesting for a continued analysis.

Returning to table 4.3, one could say that the diverging tendencies in female and male employment during the 1990s could involve a new situation. Women's employment has been more concentrated to traditional female sectors. The changes in male employment indicate differentiation and decreasing concentration to traditional male areas of employment. Occupational segregation is slowly changing, probably because of the increasing sectorial differentiation of male employment. As a result one will probably find increasing competition between women and men about the new employment opportunities both in the public and the private sectors. The occupational choices of young women and men will be of particular interest to study further.

4.1.4. Vertical segregation

Women's average career opportunities are less good than men's (le Grand 1993). It seems as if the share of women on the staff is of great importance for promotion opportunities. Firstly, there is a dramatic reduction in career opportunities if the female share in the occupation exceeds fifty percent. Secondly, promotion opportunities decrease both for women and men as the female share at the work place increase (le Grand 1993).

Career opportunities differ between branches. The differences in individual development are greater in banking, trade, manufacturing and public administration than in the public dominated educational and health care sector (le Grand 1993). The results support the argument that the gender segregated labour market is an important explanation to women's disadvantageous position in the labour market.

4.1.5. The example of the municipalities

Women constitute about 80 percent of the employees in the municipal sector, but the top positions display a different pattern in the female-male distribution. Table 4.4 and 4.5 present two employment categories where the proportion of women is higher than the proportion of men. As earlier mentioned the female-male distribution in a sector says nothing of job positions.

Table 4.4 *Percent of women and men in employment category financial/administrative staff in 1991 and 1994, along with the female percentage distribution in each occupation. Full-time employees 1991 and 1994.*

Occupation	1991			1994		
	Women	Men	Proportion of women in occupation	Women	Men	Proportion of women in occupation
Head of finance/ budget	2	22	15,4	2	21	17,9
Senior accountant	35	65	55,2	40	68	55,3
Accountant assistant	63	13	91,8	58	11	91,9
Total	100	100	69,3	100	100	67,6

Source: Swedish Association of Local Authorities, 1995.

Table 4.5 *Percent of women and men in employment category personnel officer etc. in 1991 and 1994, along with the female percentage distribution in each occupation. Full-time employees 1991 and 1994.*

Occupation	1991			1994		
	Women	Men	Proportion of women in occupation	Women	Men	Proportion of women in occupation
Chief personnel officer	3	28	32,1	3	28	32,9
Senior wages clerk/officer	29	50	69,6	31	50	71,2
Wages adm/ pay assistant	68	22	92,5	66	22	92,4
Total	100	100	80,1	100	100	80,0

Source: Swedish Association of Local Authorities, 1995.

Table 4.4 and 4.5 show two employment categories where women dominate among the employees. This is, however, not the case if one consider the female-male distribution on various job positions. In 1991, men dominated the top positions within both categories, 85 and 68 percent. The corresponding figures for women were only 15 and 32 percent. Three years later, in 1994, the situation was very much the same. Although women have increased their share in higher positions men still dominate the highest positions.

One possible conclusion is that women have increased their representation on the higher hierarchical levels in the two employment categories (see table 4.4 and 4.5). Another, equally possible conclusion, is that changes in employment categorisation, and/or in the organisational structure, have affected the female-male distribution according to job positions. Women dominate employment within the municipal

sector, but in spite of that, vertical segregation is very high. Just as in the rest of the labour market, men are found in the top positions and women in the lower.

4.2. Changes in segregation - towards re-segregation or mixed/integrated occupations?

The occupational patterns; i.e. the five most common male and female occupations, have almost been unaffected by the great many changes that have taken place between 1989 and 1995 in the labour market.

Table 4.6 *The five most common occupations among women and men in 1989, 1993 and 1995.*

1989		1993		1995	
Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Clerical work	Construction, carpenters	Clerical work	Engineers	Assistant nurse	Engineers
Assistant nurse	Engineers	Assistant nurse	Construction, carpenters	Clerical work	Construction, carpenters
Managers of social welfare institutions, home helpers, managers and assistants, social workers	Salesmen	Managers of social welfare institutions, home helpers, managers and assistants, social workers	Salesmen	Managers of social welfare institutions, home helpers, managers and assistants, social workers	Salesmen
Shop assistants	Building and construction	Shop assistants	Government legislative and adm. work, business adm. work, economics and statistics work	Sales work	Government legislative and adm. work, business adm. work, economics and statistics work
Kitchen assistant, restaurant worker	Government legislative and adm. work, business adm. work, economics and statistics work	Sales work	Other building and construction work	Shop assistants	Other building and construction work

Source: SCB, "Women and men in Sweden. Facts and figures", 1989, 1993 and 1995.

Results from a study concerning restructuring in the municipal sector show that it is mainly jobs such as assistant nurses, child minder and administrative staff that have undergone cut backs (Gonäs et al. 1995). The so-called unqualified work tasks are being reduced in numbers, but that does not mean that the gender labelling of different work tasks is changing (Westberg-Wohlgemuth 1996).

The Swedish Labour Market Board (AMS) presented, in an outlook for 1996-1997, the prospects for different occupational groups (AMS, Ura 1996:4). Six out of women's ten most common occupations are suffering from an excess supply, which will result in layoffs. Among the most common male occupations four out of ten consists of excess supply. Regional differences exist.

Among female occupations, two out of the five most common occupations have a large excess supply; assistant nurses and shop assistants. A remarkable discovery is that *none* of the ten most common occupations among women is expected to *increase* its labour demand in the year to come.

The situation looks different where men are concerned. One "male" occupation is expected to increase its labour demand, namely engineers. Engineers form a large group which contains both upper-secondary schooling and post-secondary schooling. Labour demand is expected to increase among those with post-secondary schooling, while it will be unchanged among most groups with upper-secondary schooling. Male occupations show great variations in labour demand according to region.

4.2.1. *The role of atypical employment in segregation patterns*

The term "atypical" for part-time work is not commonly used in the Swedish setting. On the contrary, part-time work is regarded as a most common contractual form that is female dominated. To use the term atypical for this type of job is still another example of how the male breadwinner norm is used in describing reality.

Instead we talk about part-time jobs and temporary employment contracts of different kinds. The proportion of part-time workers among the female labour force has been high ever since the expansion of the female labour force supply in the 1970s. In 1976 the proportion of part-time workers among all employed women was 42 percent and the corresponding number for men was about four percent. Twenty years later, in 1995, the proportion of women working part-time has decreased slightly to 40 percent, while the male level has increased to 9 percent.

Table 4.7 *Part-time and temporary employed women 1989, and percent part-time and temporary employed of all women in respective sector, (all numbers are given in 100s)*

Sectors	employed women 1989 in sector	part-time 1989	temp. 1989	part-time in sector (%)	temp. in sector (%)
A	403	174	33	43,2	8,2
B	2846	892	190	31,3	6,7
C	261	101	20	38,7	7,7
D	2638	1255	291	47,6	11,0
E	956	303	72	31,6	7,5
F	1679	554	126	33,0	7,5
G	12502	5583	2000	44,7	16,0
Total	21288	8862	2735	41,6	12,9

Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1989

A: Agriculture, forestry, fishing etc. B: Mining, manufacturing, electricity and water service C: Construction D: Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels E: Transport and communications F: Finance, insurance, real estate and business services G: Public administration and services

Table 4.8 *Part-time and temporary employed men 1989, and percent part-time and temporary employed of all men in respective sector, (all absolute numbers are given in 100s)*

Sectors	employed men 1989 in sector	part-time 1989	temp. 1989	part-time in sector (%)	temp. in sector (%)
A	1211	94	70	7,8	5,8
B	7263	443	285	6,1	3,9
C	2715	71	187	2,6	6,9
D	3247	238	191	7,3	5,9
E	2109	142	133	6,7	6,3
F	2099	138	106	6,6	5,1
G	4439	557	599	2,6	13,5
Total	23083	1683	1577	7,3	6,8

Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1989

Table 4.9 *Part-time and temporary employed women 1995, and percent part-time and temporary employed of all women in respective sector, (all numbers are given in 100s)*

Sectors	employed women 1995 in sector	part-time 1995	temp. 1995	part-time in sector (%)	temp. in sector (%)
A	351	143	33	40,7	9,4
B	2088	632	192	30,3	9,2
C	180	74	13	41,1	7,2
D	2280	1035	282	45,4	12,4
E	817	258	87	31,6	10,7
F	1797	637	186	35,5	10,4
G	11786	4980	2066	42,3	17,5
Total	19269	7759	2861	40,3	14,9

Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1995

A: Agriculture, forestry, fishing etc. B: Mining, manufacturing, electricity and water service C: Construction D: Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels E: Transport and communications F: Finance, insurance, real estate and business services G: Public administration and services

Table 4.10 *Part-time and temporary employed men 1995 and percent part-time and temporary employed of all men in respective sector, (all numbers are given in 100s)*

Sectors	employed men 1995 in sector	part-time 1995	temp. 1995	part-time in sector (%)	temp. in sector (%)
A	925	130	71	14,1	7,7
B	5940	385	396	6,5	6,7
C	2118	102	272	4,8	12,8
D	2804	234	203	8,4	7,2
E	1801	172	188	9,6	10,4
F	2440	240	195	9,8	8,0
G	4570	678	807	14,8	17,7
Total	20609	1941	2134	9,4	10,4

Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1995

As one can see table 4.7 and 4.9 the share of part-time workers among the female labour force has been fairly stable during the recession. Although the number of part-time employed women have decreased with more than 110 000. This corresponds to 55 percent of the female job loss during the period, meaning that the number of part-time employed has decreased to a larger extent than their proportion of the total female employment in 1989. There has been a slight increase in the share of temporary working women. For men the development has been somewhat different (see table 4.8 and 4.10). The number of both part-time and temporary employed men has increased. It is worth noting that temporary employment for women has in absolute numbers been growing most in finance, insurance, real estate and business services. The increase in male part-time work has occurred in manufacturing, construction, transport and communication, as well as in public administration and services. The increase of men with temporary contracts is visible in both male and female dominated sectors.

Firstly this means that the number of part-time workers has decreased between 1989 and 1995, and secondly that the number of temporary employed has increased. At the same time the gender composition of the two groups has changed. The share of male part-timers has increased from 16 to 20 percent of all part-time employed and the proportion of male temporary workers from 37 to 43 percent of all temporary employed. Women still constitute 80 percent of all part-time employees and 57 percent of temporary employees. The largest numbers of both women and men belonging to these employment categories are found in the public sector.

The following tables show the development of temporary employment among women and men in public and private sectors for different age groups. Temporary employment is most common in the younger age groups.

Table 4.11 *Percent of temporary employed women in public and private sectors in 1989, 1993, 1995 in different age groups*

age	Women in public sector			Women in private sector		
	1989	1993	1995	1989	1993	1995
-24	51,8	54,5	67,9	29,8	34,1	43,1
25-54	11,6	12,0	14,3	4,9	6,0	8,5
55-	5,7	4,7	5,4	2,5	3,0	3,5
Total	16,0	14,8	17,4	10,4	10,2	13,6

Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU), 1989, 1993 and 1995.

Table 4.12 *Men in temporary employment in public and private sectors in 1989, 1993, 1995 by age, percent of the employed men in different age groups*

	Men in public sector			Men in private sector		
	1989	1993	1995	1989	1993	1995
-24	51,1	57,6	66,5	21,0	27,7	34,3
25-54	10,6	14,7	16,4	3,1	5,4	7,7
55-	3,0	4,6	4,9	2,0	2,7	3,6
Total	13,7	16,6	18,2	6,4	7,8	10,6

Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU), 1989, 1993 and 1995.

The two tables above indicate an overall increase in the number of temporary employed in both the public and private sectors. It seems that the generational differences in relation to temporary or permanent contracts have become more pronounced, while gender differences on this aggregated level seem to have diminished. To follow up this line of argumentation tables 4.13 and 4.14 present the share of temporary employed women and men in public and private sectors, in different age groups and with different educational backgrounds. Education is in this case used as a socio-economic indicator. The following levels of education are used: compulsory, short upper secondary (less than three years), long upper secondary (three years and more), short academic education (less than three years) and long academic education three years.

Table 4.13 *Share of temporary employed women and men aged 16 to 24 in public and private sector, by educational level 1989*

1989	Men 16-24		Women 16-24	
	public	private	public	private
compulsory	67	37	71	46
short upper secondary	45	12	47	22
long upper secondary	54	21	49	23
short academic	36	18	38	20
long academic	23	15	45	23

Source: SCB, Labour Force Survey 1989

Table 4.13 shows that in 1989 the share of temporary employed decreased with increasing educational level. Gender differences were not particularly pronounced whereas the difference between the proportion of temporary employed in the public and private sectors was quite large.

Table 4.14 *Share of temporary employed women and men aged 16 to 24 in public and private sector, by educational level 1995*

1995	Men 16- 24		Women 16-24	
	public	private	public	private
compulsory	74	47	73	50
short upper secondary	63	25	60	30
long upper secondary	64	35	73	46
short academic	59	39	69	46
long academic	82	44	72	38

Source: SCB, Labour Force Survey 1995

In 1995 the pattern had changed in certain aspects. Specifically those with academic studies, both men and women, are to an increasing extent temporary employed. The relation between high education and a low share of temporary employment is no more to be found, neither in the private nor in the public sector. Temporary employment has become common phenomenon for young people irrespective of gender or educational background.

For comparison the corresponding tables, for the core age group 25-54, are found in the **Appendix**, table 20 and 21. The differences in the shares of temporary employed in public and private sectors have decreased between 1989 and 1995. Still those employed within the public sector have a slightly higher proportion of temporary employees. The gender differences concerning the type of working contract are disappearing also for this large age group.

With respect to the different types of temporary employment there are some important gender differences. For women deputize is and has always been the most important form of temporary job for all age groups. The second most important form is to be on call or standby. This very fragile contractual form has increased in importance for the female work force between 1989 and 1995. For men contractual work for a specific project is the most important temporary contract form. The contract for a specific project usually has been set up because the employer needs a certain skill or competence that the contracted worker possesses. From this aspect it is often a more equal power relation between the person employed and the employer. It also implies a higher salary and a more rewarding job than deputize.

4.2.2. Summary

The sectorial composition of the labour force has changed as a result of the profound shifts in the production structure. The loss of employment in manufacturing industries and within construction, has changed the options for

young men entering the labour market. The increased male employment in private and public services has also led to a growing differentiation in the male employment pattern, which cannot be found for women. On the contrary, women's employment structure seems to become ever more concentrated to the public sector. The cutbacks in traditional female occupations in the public sector have resulted in a situation where young women have lost their traditional entrance into the labour market. The gender labelling of different occupations seems to change very slowly.

The vertical segregation is still very strong. In this report illustrated by the situation with two occupational groups in the municipal sector; financial/administrative staff and personnel officer. Even though large cut backs have been made in the administrative sector, the gender segregation has remained basically unaltered.

Temporary contracts have become more common during the period. To a very large extent they have become a typical type of work contract for young men and women (16-24 years old). Earlier the temporary contracts were most common in the public sector, but this has changed and today they are common also in the private sector. Part-time workers are mostly women, even though an increasing proportion consists of young men. Part-time work is common in all sectors and, as we saw in chapter 3, it is also very much related to the labour market position of women with children.

5. Wage setting and gender pay gap

As wage negotiations in Sweden have become more decentralised the gender pay gap has begun to increase. More women than men are receiving lower wages today, consequently a wage policy directed towards increased wage differences will negatively affect more women than men.

The return on women's market work is determined primarily by the wage, the wage structure in the labour market as well as by the structure of the tax and the transfer system (Persson 1993). The most important factor influencing the increase in female labour force participation has been the increase in women's relative wages paid for their market work.

According to theories of wage differentials the narrowing of the gender pay gap is caused either by more women joining high paid male dominated occupations, or by a reduction of wage differentials between occupations (Gustafsson 1988).

In the 1960s and 1970s both women's real market wages and women's wages relative to those of men's increased. These two factors explain according to many researchers the increase in female labour force participation during the period. Reducing the wage gap between the sexes will support increasing equality in two ways: firstly by directly increasing women's income relative to men's, and secondly, by lowering the economic incentives for the traditional work division within the family (Persson 1993). One more important factor is the Swedish tax system with separate taxation for spouses, introduced in 1971, which encourages two-earner families and work commitment in the labour market.

5.1.1. Female and male trade union membership

The membership level in Swedish trade unions and professional associations is high, both among men and women. The employee organisations have worked with and influenced the implementation of equity work, both in general and more importantly, at the work place. The trend shows an increasing female participation in union work, but mainly at lower levels of the organisation. Women still hold only a small proportion of the member-elected posts within all unions, especially at the higher, more influential positions.

Table 5.1 *Members and elected officials of trade unions 1983 and 1995. Number and distribution of the sexes*

Union	Number		Sex distribution (%)		
	Women	Men	Women	Men	
The Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO)					
1983	Members	901 995	1 258 987	42	58
	Executive committee	1	14	7	93
	Representative assembly	17	111	13	87
1995	Members	1 017 530	1 212 960	46	54
	Executive committee	4	11	27	73
	Representative assembly	33	97	25	75
The Swedish Confederation of Prof. Employees (TCO)					
1983	Members	596 448	405 733	60	40
	Executive committee	4	15	21	79
	Representative assembly	30	70	30	70
1995	Members	681 111	495 550	58	42
	Executive committee	6	11	35	65
	Representative assembly	50	50	50	50
Swedish Confederation of Prof. Association (SACO)					
1983	Members	94 691	163 226	37	63
	Executive committee	2	13	13	87
	Representative assembly	8	152	24	76
1995	Members	129 212	167 277	44	56
	Executive committee	3	6	33	67
	Representative assembly	64	133	32	68

Source: SCB, Women and men in Sweden. Facts and figures 1985; 1995.

Both the trade unions and the professional associations have been engaged in the fight for equal pay and equal work issues. The solidaristic wages policy has perhaps been the unions most important instrument for influencing the wage setting and narrowing the wage gap.

5.2. Trends in the gender pay gap.

Until the beginning of the 1980s, the overall pay gap decreased in Sweden. Today that trend is broken and the narrowing of the wage gap has stopped. One important factor is, as already mentioned, the gradual breakdown of the solidaristic wage policy. In addition the dismantling of the centralised wage negotiation system has to a large extent contributed to the Swedish increase in pay differentials (Löfström 1995). Wage differences seems, however, to be lower among women than among men, both at high and low positions (SOU 1993:7).

More flexible wages have been followed by changes in employment contracts and working time arrangements, which have forced employees to carry a larger part of the employment costs (Sanne 1995).

At present differences in education and work experience explain pay differences between the sexes to a lesser degree. The *income dispersion has decreased* and the two main reasons are women's increased labour market activity. Mostly due to the transition from short part time to long part time among married women and increasing wage inequality among men (SOU 1995:4).

In Sweden it is the wage difference between occupations and not the wage differences between women and men within each occupation which represent the largest part of the average wage difference between the sexes (Persson 1993). This is a result of the common wage structure and wage setting principle in the labour market. Research also shown that there is a connection between the wage and the proportion of women in the occupation (Löfström 1993; Spånt 1995). Furthermore where women and men work in the same occupation, wage differences arise (le Grand 1991; Löfström 1992).

Compared to other countries in Europe, Sweden has a small gender pay gap. This is primarily due to the generally small wage differentials between white and blue collar workers (Persson 1993). Nevertheless, wage differences exist. The reasons usually mentioned are, for example, prejudice against female labour, differences in evaluation between women's and men's work or abilities, and/or statistical discrimination against women (Löfström 1995). Even though the wage differences between women and men within the positions are small, the total wage dispersion within an occupation may be large.

Table 5.2 *Women's wages/salaries in percent of men's 1973-1993. Full-time employees*

Year	Private sector		Government	Public sector	
	Wage earners in industry	Salaried empl. in industry		Municipalities	County councils
1973	84	63	81	74	..
1974	84	65	82	76	..
1975	86	67	83	79	..
1976	86	68	84	81	..
1977	88	70	86	82	..
1978	89	71	87	83	..
1979	90	71	87	84	..
1980	91	71	88	83	..
1981	91	72	89	85	..
1982	91	73	90	86	..
1983	91	74	90	86	74
1984	91	73	92	87	75
1985	90	73	91	87	75
1986	91	74	91	85	75
1987	91	74	90	86	75
1988	90	74	90	85	74
1989	90	75	89	83	74
1990	89	75	88	83	74
1991	90	75	85 (90) ¹	87 (84) ¹	75
1992	90	77	85	88	73
1993	91	77	84	86	73
1994	90	77	84	87	71

Source: SCB, Women and Men in Sweden 1995; Am 50,51,52,57,62 SM 9501, Statistics Sweden.

¹⁾ Teachers are included in the municipalities from January 1 1991. Numbers in brackets show a fictitious value as if they had been employed by the municipalities also 1991.

Table 5.2 above presents an overview of the gender pay gap in both private and public sector during the period 1973-1994. Since the late 1970s women's pay in relation to men's has remained around 90 percent among wage earners in the private sector. The pay differential among salaried employees in the private sector is larger. The gender pay differentials in the public sector differs depending on the employer. The municipalities have the least pay differentials and the county councils the largest at the end of the period.

One might be surprised by the increase in wage differences in the beginning of the 1990s for employees in the government. The most important single explanation is the change in terms of employment for a large group of teachers. Teachers were until 1990 employed by the government, but in 1991 they were transferred to the municipalities. As a result of the teachers change in terms of employment, wage differences increased among those employed by the government and decreased

among those employed by the municipalities. (The large group of teachers have had equal pay since the 1940s.)

A report by the Swedish Confederation of Professional Association (SACO 1993) showed that female and male wages evolve differently over life. The wage differences between men and women are found in the ages 25-40. Women and men have almost the same wage increases up to age 30, but thereafter the male wage increases at a greater speed than the female. The most important explanation is that women are on leave of absence or leaving the labour force for a period due to child birth and therefore lose work experience. From that point a wage gap is established. Thereafter the pay gap increases gradually up to age 50 where it levels out.

Table 5.3 presents the wage dispersion within the public sector in 1994. Through the introduction of more individual and differentiated wages in the public sector, the dispersion in this sector will most likely increase. The wage dispersion is larger among men than among women. This is most likely caused by women and men working in different occupations. An important factor is the type of organisational structure within the occupation. The numbers in the table indicate that women work in occupations with lower wage dispersion, while men work in occupations with larger wage dispersion.

Table 5.3 *Wage dispersion among women and men within the public sector in 1995. Monthly pay for full-time employees, Swedish crowns.*

Quartile	County councils		Government		Municipalities	
	men	women	men	women	men	women
lower	13775	12813	14863	13400	13644	12564
median	16600	14031	17223	14675	15937	13700
upper	26285	15965	20633	16000	18448	16282

Source: Am 50, 51 and 52 SM 9601, SCB.

As long as the pay differentials between positions in the hierarchy are moderate, the unequal gender distribution will not affect the pay differences between the sexes. However, if the pay differences increase wage related consequences will occur as a result of the gender related imbalance in the labour market. A study by Rowthorn (Rowthorn 1992) indicates a connection between wage dispersion and women's relative wages. This suggests that as the wage dispersion decrease, women's relative wages increase and vice versa.

5.3. Trends in pay dispersion within the male and female labour force

Gender segregation in the labour market has consequences for women's economic outcome relative to men's. Because of differences in wages/salaries among occupations, segregation in the labour market also tends to lead to differences in labour market income for men and women. One implication of high gender segregation in Sweden is that if occupational pay dispersion increases, so does the male-female wage gap.

Women's large share of part-time employment increase the male-female wage gap. One important aspect of women's lower wages, which is often overlooked, is that today's earnings affect future pensions. Another important factor is the wage setting system. As long as a majority of women work in occupational groups with relatively low pay, they will benefit from a system which advocates a moderate wage dispersion (Löfström 1995).

Recent studies (LO, 1996 and SCB, Report 1994:1) shows an increase in income dispersion. Those who have suffered the largest income losses during the recession are those with already low incomes. Cut-backs in social security have resulted in an increasing number of people dependent on welfare benefits, for instance, an increase in the number of single mothers on social benefits (Social Report 1994). Today it looks like Sweden will be joining the group of countries who have "Feminized the poverty".

Table 5.4 Average incomes 1991 and 1994, full-time year-round employees. In 1994 years prices

Members in employee association	1991 Crowns/year	1994 Crowns/year	Women's wage in percent of men's in 1994
LO-women	153 900	158 300	83
LO-men	190 400	189 700	-
TCO-women	184 400	186 200	74
TCO-men	241 400	251 200	-
SACO-women	234 600	228 200	71
SACO-men	305 300	322 400	-

Source: LO 1992 and 1995.

Table 5.4 describe average income from work of full-year and full-time in private and public sector by sex and socio-economic group. We find that wage differences are the largest among SACO-members, ie. white collar workers, and the least among LO-members, ie. blue collar workers.

The table 5.5 show an increase in the average income levels for all the groups, but some groups have received more than others. The most noticeable in table 5.5 are the changes in wage differences between men and women. In 1980 a female blue collar worker earned on average 87 percent of the male income. In 1989 women's income relative to men's was as low as 79 percent and in 1993 the corresponding percentage was 82. The pattern is similar among female white collar workers in high positions: In 1980 an average female white collar worker in a high position received 75 percent of the male income. But in 1989 it was down to 69 percent with a slight recovery to 70 percent in 1993. An average female white collar worker earned 75 percent of the male income in 1980, 77 percent in 1989 and 1993.

Table 5.5 Average income for full-year and full-time work in the 20-64 age group in private and public sector by sex and socio-economic group in 1980, 1989 and 1994.

	1980		1989		1994	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Blue collar and lower white collar workers	74	64	155	127	192	169
White collar workers	102	74	195	153	254	205
White collar workers in high positions	136	101	271	199	368	255
Total	85	66	177	137	235	188

Source: Be 21 SM 9601, SCB.

5.4. Trends in real wage levels for low paid women

During the 1960s and 1970s it was possible to increase economic equality between men and women by narrowing the pay gap between the sexes. The wage policy was aimed at general equality and the wage setting structure gave priority to wage equity. The general wage became an important factor in determine women's prospects for market work (Löfström 1994).

There are no minimum wages stipulated by Swedish law. Instead, different collective agreements stipulate certain minimum wages. The minimum levels are used differently in different collective agreements. For example, in the Metal industry, the agreed minimum level is seldom equal to the lowest paid wage. In the retail industry, on the other hand, newly hired shop assistants over 18 years of age are hired at the minimum wage. Income differences between qualification levels are illustrated in table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Wage levels according to different qualification levels in the Metal Workers Union and the Retail Workers Union 1994

Metal Workers Union 1994 :			
Qualification 1:	56 SEK/hour =	9.744 SEK/month	
"	2	59 "	=10.266
"	3	63 "	=10.962
"	4	67 "	=11.658
Retail Workers Union 1994			
Qualification 1:	52 SEK/hour =	9.048 SEK/month	
"	2	56 "	= 9.744
"	3	58 "	=10.092
"	4	66 "	=11.484

In the following table, the wage per hour for the lowest percentile in the LO/SAF-area (blue collar) is taken as a measure of minimum wage levels.

Table 5.7 *In the LO-SAF-(the blue collar worker) area*

	1989	1991	1994	1996
Lowest percentile wage/hour SEK	43	47	48	57
Lowest percentile wage as monthly wage, full-time	7.181	7.849	8.016	9.519
Consumer price index	1074		1419	
Real wage	6.686		5.649	

Source: LO wage statistics 1989-1996.

Real-wage development for workers at the lowest income levels has been negative during the period 1989 to 1994. If we look at the distribution of income in percent of the median, between 1975 and the beginning of the 1990s, one can distinguish a small increase in the "Low income" group from the beginning of the 1980s. The trend has continued and even increased in the 1990s. The overall trend is towards increased pay dispersion where both the top and the bottom increase their share of the population (SCB, Report 1994:1).

5.5. Recruitment and promotion

The goals of the national equality plan 1988-1993, was to decrease gender segregation between occupational groups and between different hierarchical levels. A further goal was to expand the proportion of women in management positions and in qualified jobs equivalent to the proportion of women in that particular part of the labour market (SCB 1992, Who is the boss?)

Over the last few years, a growing number of private enterprises have started special programmes to increase the recruitment of women into management positions (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs 1995)

In 1990, one out of ten managers in the private sector was a woman and three out of ten managers in the public sector. Less than half a percent of the women employed in the private sector were managers, compared to three percent of the men. In the public sector one percent out of all women were managers and six percent out of all men were managers.

Table 5.8 *Higher managerial positions in private and public sector 1990. Number, gender distribution (%) and proportion (%) of all employed.*

Sector	Number		Gender distribution (%)		Proportion (%) of all employed	
	W	M	W	M	W	M
Private	3020	31760	9	91	0	3
Public	10810	27000	29	71	1	6
Total	13830	58760	19	81	1	4

Source: SCB, "Who is the boss?" 1992

Definition: Managers and supervisors who are responsible for the administration of large units and supervise the work with the help of subordinates or have specialist functions (work tasks).

There are more women in the "men's world" than there are men in the "women's world". In 1990, 40 percent of all women and 75 percent of all men were employed in the private sector (SCB 1992, Who is the boss?). Five years later, in 1995, 44 percent of all women and 77 percent of all men were employed in the private sector.

Table 5.9 *White collar workers in the private sector 1990. Sex distribution (%) within occupation level.*

	Women	Men
Leading position	9	91
Independent, qualified work	21	79
Qualified work	50	50
Routine work	75	25

Source: SCB, "Who is the boss?" 1992

Women are concentrated at lower hierarchical levels, while their share quickly decreases at higher levels. Furthermore, the gender distribution among managers in the private sector is far more uneven than the gender distribution among all employed. The proportion of women among managers decrease as their proportion of all employed decrease in the branch, with an exception of banking.

There are differences between women and men in managerial positions. Women in have higher levels of part-time work than men in the same positions. Working part-time is also more common for women in the public than in the private sector. Female managers are on average younger than male managers. Wage levels in the public sector are in general and on average lower than in the private sector. Comparing public and private sector wage levels show that it is more profitable to work in the private sector for both female and male managers.

The difference in average pay between women and men on higher managerial positions varies between and within the private and public sector to a male advantage, although with a few exceptions. Among female managers 41 percent are found in branches with lower average wages than the lowest average wage for male managers.

Women's average wage is 87 percent of men's in the private sector, after due consideration of differences in age and education. Research indicates that even if women and men have comparable education, men still get better average pay than women (SCB, Women and men in Sweden. Facts and figures 1995).

5.5.1. Training systems

Sweden's system of periodical labour force surveys is a valuable source for information on personnel training and education. Counting all employees, 45 percent of all women and 39 percent of all men had a training period during 1995. Certain patterns seem to be the same for both women and men. Blue collar workers received training to a much lesser extent than white collar workers. The same pattern prevailed in relation to education; while those with the highest educational level more often took part in training. Public sector employees and especially those employed in education and research, received the highest proportion of personnel training during 1995 (SCB, 1995, Personalutbildning).

6. Gender and unemployment

Men's and women's unemployment level differed marginally until the beginning of the 1990s (see table 2.2 and 2.3). In the beginning of the recession only the private sector laid off people, but soon the municipalities followed suit. The unemployment rate peaked in 1993, both for women and for men. Since then the reductions have been marginal and unemployment remains at an extremely high level by Swedish standards. On top of that, many in the age-group 55-64, received an early retirement and left the labour force.

Recently the unemployment rate for men started to decrease. At the same time as it continued to increase for women and the public sector plans to continue the reduction of its labour force. The trend at the moment is that female unemployment will continue to rise while male unemployment will decline (Löfström 1995). Another trend is that unemployment rates for women and men, older than 54 years, or younger than 25, are higher than average.

6.1. Changes in employment for different cohorts

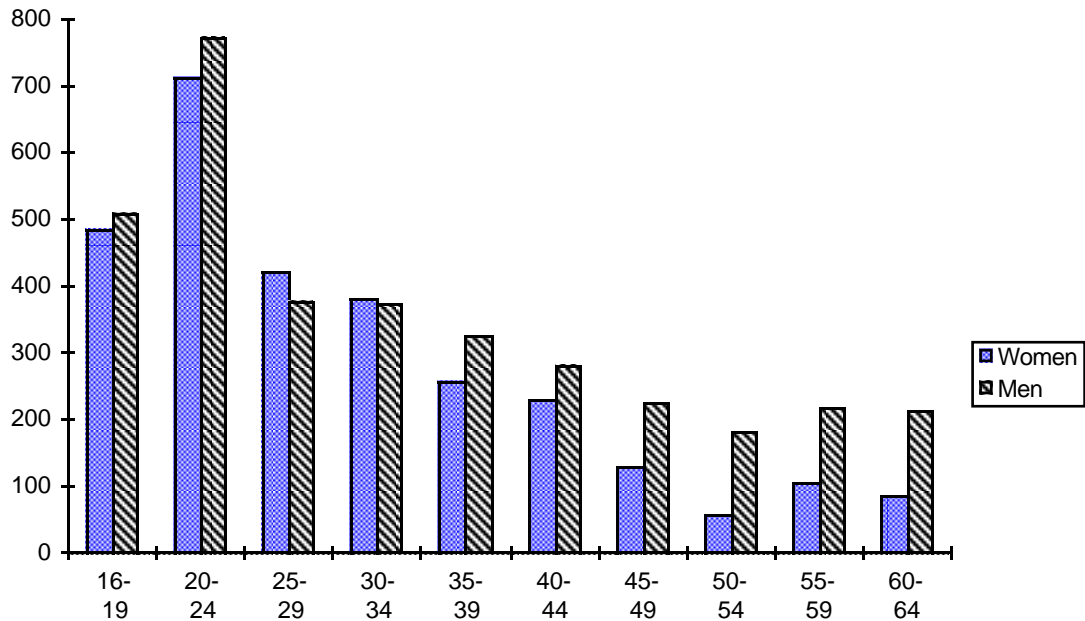
As shown in the national report for 1995 (Löfström 1995), the employment rate for women grew steadily during the 1980s. The gap between women and men was gradually reduced. The break is most obvious for the young age groups, between 16 and 24 years old, and the employment decrease is equally pronounced for men and women. The question is, of course, if this new trend will continue during the rest of the 1990s.

6.1.1. "Losses" in employment and labour force participation

The changes in employment levels for different age groups can be seen in the following figure⁷. It shows the difference in employment between 1989 and 1995, calculated as how many more that would have been employed in 1995, if employment rates for 1989 in different age groups had been valid for 1995. This difference is called "the employment loss".

⁷ This is done with the help of special calculations made by researchers at Statistics Sweden on data from the Labour force surveys.

Figure 6.1 "The employment loss" between 1989 and 1995, for different age groups. Numbers in 100s

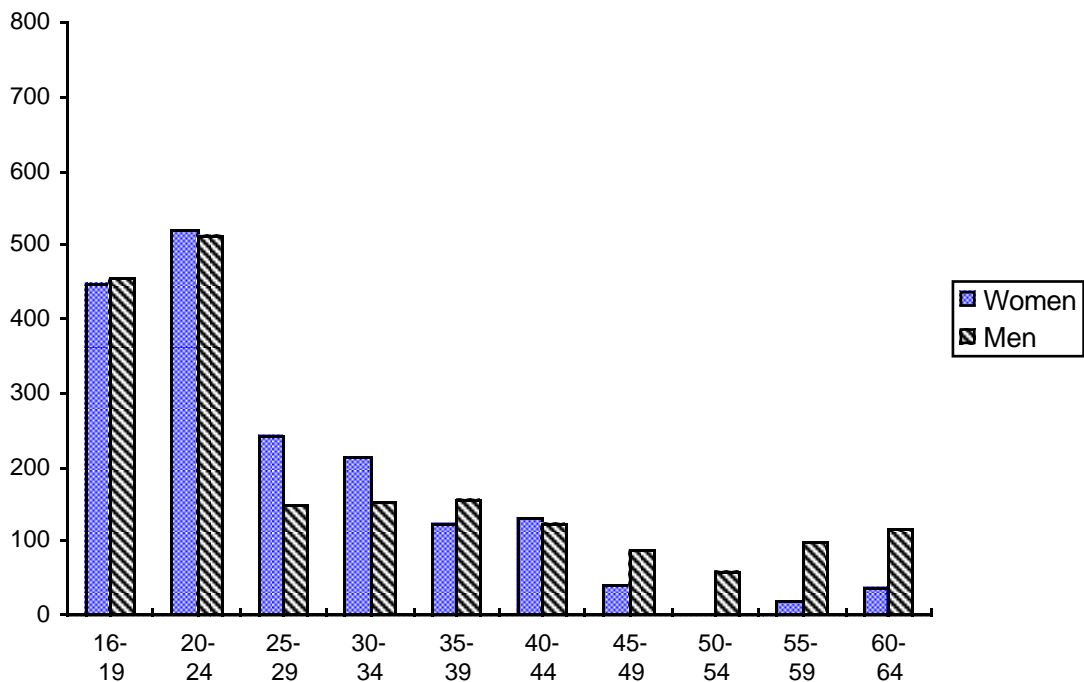


Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1989 and 1995.

The differences between generations are dominant. For 16 to 24 years old, the loss of employment possibilities has been the largest. For age group 25-34, we can also see a fairly high level of "lost" job opportunities, and women have fared slightly worse than men. In the higher age groups, 35- and over, male job losses are increasingly evident.

If we relate these results to labour force status it is clear that the employment changes that took place in the older age groups have resulted in a decreasing labour force participation. Figure 6.1 and 6.2 illustrates the differences in labour force participation for different age groups between 1989 and 1995 calculated as the number of individuals that would have belonged to the labour force if labour force participation rates had been the same in 1995 as in 1989 in all age groups.

Figure 6.2 *Decrease in labour force participation between 1995 and 1989. Numbers in 100s*



Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1989 and 1995.

The diagram displays four patterns related to age and gender. In the youngest age groups an equal number of girls and boys are "missing" in the labour market. Many of them have probably never tried to enter the labour market. They may have continued to study or are taking part in different labour market policy measures.⁸ In the following two age groups (25-34) a fairly high proportion of women have left the labour market. The third pattern is visible for groups aged 35-44 years, where gender differences are small and the level of "missing" persons is fairly equal between women and men. The age groups 45 + form the fourth pattern, where the male loss in labour force participation is increasingly obvious.

6.2. Trends in employment, unemployment and non-employment by region.

The Swedish report for 1995 showed that the differences in labour force participation rates for women and men have been relatively small between regions (NUTS II). Furthermore, the decline in the labour force participation rate for men was almost of the same size in all regions between 1983 and 1994. For women the pattern was different. It showed decreasing regional differences, as the participation rate sank more in the more densely populated areas, where the employment rate was the highest, than in the northern parts of Sweden. The results of the analysis depend, of course, on the choice of regional division.

⁸ We are going to discuss labour market policy in more detail in section 2.4

The following tables show the working population (16-64 years old) divided in different forms of activity, e.g. employment, unemployment and non-employment in the eight NUTS regions in Sweden (see figure 1 in **Appendix**). The year 1992 is chosen to illustrate that in the middle of the recession, the level of employment and unemployment⁹ did not differ much between the NUTS regions.

Table 6.3 *Women by activity form and NUTS regions 1989, 1992 and 1995. Percent*

NUTS II	Employment rate			Unemployment rate			Inactivity		
	1989	1992	1995	1989	1992	1995	1989	1992	1995
1	85,6	80,9	75,0	0,6	2,6	4,7	13,8	16,5	20,2
2	79,5	75,0	69,1	1,4	3,6	5,5	19,1	21,3	25,3
3	80,4	76,7	71,8	1,3	3,2	5,0	18,4	20,0	23,1
4	79,2	74,4	69,1	1,4	3,8	5,6	19,4	21,9	25,3
5	80,7	76,2	70,2	1,2	3,1	5,2	18,1	20,3	24,6
6	77,6	72,3	68,9	1,4	4,0	5,7	20,9	23,7	25,6
7	79,3	76,4	71,3	1,1	3,2	4,7	19,7	20,4	23,9
8	77,3	73,5	69,7	2,5	3,6	5,2	20,2	22,8	25,2
total	80,7	76,2	70,9	1,2	3,3	5,2	18,1	20,4	23,9

Source: SCB, Labour Force Survey 1989, 1992 and 1995.

NUTS II: 1= Stockholm, 2= East and middle Sweden, 3=Småland and the islands, 4= South of Sweden, 5= West Sweden, 6= North middle of Sweden, 7= Middle Norrland, 8= Upper Norrland

Table 6.4 *Men by activity form and NUTS regions 1989, 1992 and 1995. Percent*

NUTS II	Employment rate			Unemployment rate			Inactivity		
	1989	1992	1995	1989	1992	1995	1989	1992	1995
1	87,9	80,8	77,0	0,8	4,9	5,6	11,3	14,3	17,4
2	84,4	78,0	72,5	1,2	5,1	7,1	14,5	16,9	20,4
3	87,1	80,4	78,1	0,1	4,7	5,2	11,9	15,0	16,8
4	83,7	77,4	70,7	1,3	5,3	7,5	15,0	17,3	21,8
5	86,6	79,5	73,5	1,0	4,4	6,3	12,4	16,1	20,1
6	82,4	74,9	72,0	1,7	6,5	8,1	15,8	18,5	19,9
7	82,6	75,5	72,4	1,7	7,1	7,3	15,7	17,3	20,2
8	79,9	72,8	67,2	2,7	6,6	9,4	17,4	20,6	23,4
total	85,1	78,2	73,5	1,2	5,2	6,8	13,7	16,5	19,8

Source: SCB, Labour Force Survey 1989, 1992 and 1995.

For men it is possible to find a north-south division concerning employment rates and unemployment. The same is not visible in women's labour market situation.

If we use a finer regional division, for example the regional counties, we get a more clear picture. Table 6.3 and 6.4 show the female and male employment rate for 1989, 1992 and 1995. The unemployment patterns are shown in the same tables. The employment for men shows a higher regional concentration than the

⁹ Unemployment is here measured in relation to the active population and not to the labour force.

female (unemployed in relation to active population). Male unemployment follows the traditional areas for regional policy support.

Women's employment is more evenly distributed between the regions, as are the unemployment levels. Female unemployment levels are related to the restructuring and cut backs in the public sector, especially to changes in education, health-care and child care (Gonäs et al. 1995).

6.3. Changes in unemployment patterns

We can talk about at least four types of unemployment; open, hidden/latent, partial and total unemployment. With open unemployment we refer to unemployment registered by, for example, the labour force surveys, where people declare themselves unemployed. As latent unemployed we count those who say they are not actively looking for a job when asked in the labour force surveys, but they answer yes, to the question: Would you look for a job if you thought it would be possible for you to get one? Those working less hours than what they would like to, and who want to work more, we refer to the partially unemployed group.

During the last years it has become increasingly common to add the openly unemployed with the number of people who take part in labour market measures. Doing so gives us a fourth group, which we call total unemployment. This number indicates those who are out of a job and are actively looking for one.

Table 6.5 *Open unemployment 1990-1995¹⁰. Percent*

Age	1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994		1995	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
16-24	3,2	3,1	3,8	3,6	7,3	5,8	13,7	9,1	21,6	15,0	18,9	14,3	16,7	13,9
25-54	1,1	1,2	1,3	1,2	2,7	2,0	5,4	3,5	8,4	5,7	7,9	5,8	7,2	5,9
55-64	1,3	1,3	1,3	1,6	2,2	2,0	3,8	2,7	6,7	4,2	7,9	5,0	8,4	6,2
16-64	1,4	1,5	1,7	1,6	3,3	2,6	6,3	4,2	9,7	6,6	9,1	6,7	8,4	6,9

Source: SCB, Labour Force Survey (AKU)

Table 6.5 illustrates the increase in open unemployment. The total male unemployment level reached its peak in 1993 and has thereafter decreased (Löfström 1995). The table indicates that the development is not equal for all age groups. Unemployment for men aged 55 to 64, continued to increase during 1994 and 1995, as did the unemployment levels for women in the age groups 25 to 54 and 55 to 64.

This differentiation between the ages will probably become increasingly important, especially if the unemployment levels remain high. The employers'

¹⁰ The unemployment rate is here calculated as the number of unemployed in relation to the total number of individuals in the labour force.

ambitions are today to recruit young people. It seems as if the younger groups are more sensitive to business cycle fluctuations than other groups.

The older age groups will, according to the prognosis from the Labour Market Board, have increasing difficulties getting a new job if they become unemployed (AMS, Ura 1996:4).

Concerning gender differences, unemployment figures in certain female occupations are now equal to those in the male occupations with the highest unemployment levels. A high proportion of the unemployed women has a short education, i.e. compulsory or short upper secondary education. For assistant nurses, for example, labour demand has disappeared and they simply have to study to become nurses if they want to stay in health care work.

Unemployment by regions is shown in figure 6.3 and 6.4. Whereas the male unemployment displays the traditional north-south divide, the same cannot be found in the female unemployment. Instead, women's unemployment shows a scattered picture, revealing that public sector reductions have been made in 90 percent of the municipalities in Sweden.

6.3.1. Partial unemployment

It is not only open unemployment that changes during a recession but also partial and latent. In this section we will present some data concerning partial unemployment. Table 6.7 shows the development between 1989 and 1995 concerning the proportion of employed women and men who would like to increase their working time. We have divided this data by gender, age, working time and type of working contract.

Table 6.6 *Share of permanently or temporary employed women and men who want to increase their working time, among those working short part time (1-19 hours per week), in 1989 and 1995. Percent*

Age	Permanent		Temporary	
	1989	1995	1989	1995
Women				
16-24	13,7	30,9	15,4	40,4
25-54	21,7	42,4	34,4	64,7
55-64	11,5	18,3	15,0	61,6
Men				
16-24	14,6	28,9	14,8	39,6
25-54	24,6	49,0	32,5	66,5
55-64	11,2	9,2	6,1	38,2

Source: SCB, unpublished data.

It is important to note the increase in under-employment, or partial unemployment, among elderly women with temporary contracts working short part-time. They have

increased their proportion of the partially unemployed from 15 percent to nearly 61 percent. The permanently employed with short part-time do not show this sharp increase in partial unemployment. Among long part-time employees the younger age group has the highest share of partially unemployed. Among the temporary employed women almost 60 percent are regarding themselves partially unemployed and would like to work longer hours.

Table 6.7 *Share of permanently or temporary employed women and men who wants to increase their working time, among those working long part time (20-34 hours per week), in 1989 and 1995*

Age	Permanent		Temporary	
	1989	1995	1989	1995
Women				
16-24	26,0	56,6	43,2	64,9
25-54	12,4	26,9	26,1	58,8
55-64	5,9	12,5	9,4	46,8
Men				
16-24	22,6	41,8	29,3	54,8
25-54	12,1	27,1	41,4	69,4
55-64	2,8	4,4	13,8	37,4

Source: SCB, unpublished data.

In 1995 we find that among the part time working women, 25-54 years old, with temporary contracts, 59 percent in the long part-time group, and 65 percent in the short part-time group would like to increase their working hours. This corresponds to a total of 60 percent of the temporary part-time working women in the core age group that would like to work longer hours. The figure for the same age group of women with permanent working contracts was 28 percent in 1995. Even though the number of men working part-time is much lower than the number of women, the proportion of men in the different age groups that would like to increase there working hours have also increased. This implies that the temporary contract not only has time a limit to the working contract, but also comprise a certain level of partial unemployment that has increased both for men and women.

6.3.2. *Latent unemployment*

In the labour force surveys there are certain questions put to those who do not belong to the labour force. The answer to these questions illustrates how the adult population outside the labour force regard themselves; as students, home workers, job seekers, in military service, on vacation, retired for different reasons like sickness or labour market reasons. In 1989, about 5 percent of all women outside the labour force regarded themselves as job seekers. In 1995 this proportion had

increased to 13 percent. The corresponding figures for men were 5 and 16 percent. Also the so called latent unemployment has increased during the recession.

6.3.3. Total unemployment

An estimation of the total unemployment can be done in different ways. One way is to add the partially unemployed and the latent unemployed to the number of openly unemployed. In that case we get a figure for 1995 of the total unemployment for women of 17 percent and almost 13 percent for men. This is shown in table 6.8: total unemployment (I) in percent of the population aged 16-64 years.

Table 6.8 Total unemployment 1995 for women and men, absolute numbers and percent

	Women	Men
Open unemployment	142 100	190 200
Partially unemployed	266 700	100 500
Latent unemployed	63 100	63 100
Total unemployment (I)	471 900	353 800
Population 16-64	2 718 000	2 804 900
Total unemployment (I) in percent of population 16-64	17,4	12,6
Individuals in active labour market measures	85 978	100 052
Total unemployment II	557 900	453 900
Total unemployment II, as percent of population 16-64	20,5	16,2

Source: SCB, Labour Force Survey 1995; Labour Market Board (AMS) 1995.

Another way of calculating total unemployment is by adding those in business cycle related labour market policy measures to the openly unemployed. By business cycle related labour market measures, or active labour market measures, we refer to policies aiming at counteracting a low demand for labour. The measures consist mostly of education and training but also recruitment support and supply work while the ordinary staff are on leave for education and training.

The gender division of the different types of labour market measures are usually seen in relation to open unemployment. In December 1995 the female share of these labour market measures was 46 percent and women constituted 43 percent of the openly unemployed. If we add those in active labour market measures to the total number of unemployed in table 6.8 we get a total unemployment (II) of 557 900 women and 453 900 men. Counting these numbers in relation to the women and men in the active ages, we get a new total unemployment level (II) of 21 percent for women and 16 for men.

This type of calculation gives an idea of how many individuals that actually are affected by unemployment. Both partial, latent and open unemployment are

counted, together with people who are in active labour market policy measures. In doing so we reverse the earlier presented picture of the female-male relation in unemployment. More than one fifth of all women in the active ages are more or less unemployed. Among men the proportion is smaller, one out of every sixth man. These figures were inconceivable some years ago, but will over the years to come be increasingly ordinary for many women and men in Sweden. Specifically for the female labour force, a proportion of one fifth in open or hidden unemployment will sooner or later lead to a debate on the future of women's position in the labour market.

6.3.4. Inactivity

In a long term perspective, a troublesome labour market situation, with unemployment and a loose attachment to the labour market, will most probably also affect sickness and early retirement patterns (RFV, 1995:10).

There has been great changes in the early retirement structure. The formal retirement age is 65 years, but because of the increase in early retirement the actual retirement age has decrease with more than 2 years since the middle of the 1980s (LO, 4/1994). According to LO, more than half of all blue collar workers have already left the labour market when they reach the formal retirement age. In 1994 the actual retirement age was on average 59 years for all workers, and even lower for blue collar workers (LO, 4/1994).

Table 6.9 describe the age distribution among blue and white collar workers, women and men, with early retirement or "sjukbidrag" (sickness benefit). The female early retirement is larger than the male and the early retirement has increased during the ten year period.

Table 6.9 *The percentage of people with early retirement or "sjukbidrag" sickness benefit in different age groups*

	Men		Women	
	80/81	92/93	80/81	92/93
45-49 years				
Blue collar workers	3	5	8	12
White collar workers	1	2	3	2
50-54 years				
Blue collar workers	11	11	19	15
White collar workers	4	1	9	4
55-59 years				
Blue collar workers	18	20	22	28
White collar workers	4	9	8	8
60-64 years				
Blue collar workers	35	48	38	59
White collar workers	10	20	27	27

Source: LO granskar 4/1994, p. 3.

The early retirement among blue collar workers has increased in three out of four age groups (except in the group 50-54 years), and the increase has been especially

high among female blue-collar workers. The largest increase has taken place among the oldest in the labour force, and the pattern is the same for women and men. The early retirement levels among white collar workers are different. In this group men has increased their share of early retirement more than women.

6.3.5. Immigrant labour and unemployment

The last recession has caused heavy losses to the immigrant population, both for those who have been living here for many years and those newly arrived. Many immigrants, both women and men, work in the manufacturing industry which have cut back the number of employees. Also immigrant women working in the public sector have been laid off. The unemployment rate in this group will most likely continue to increase.

Table 6.10 *Unemployment by age and citizenship, in 1981, 1988 and 1995. Percent*

Age	Immigrant women			Female population in Sweden		
	1981	1988	1995	1981	1988	1995
16-24	9,8	5,0	27,1	6,6	3,5	13,9
25-54	4,0	3,6	20,8	1,7	1,2	5,9
55-64	0,3	0,6	15,2	1,6	1,6	6,2
16-64/74	5,1	3,7	21,1	2,6	1,6	6,9

Source: SCB, Labour force survey (AKU)

Irrespective of the business cycle, the unemployment rate among women and men with foreign citizenship has always been higher than among the Swedish population. The younger age groups have suffered the greatest losses. They have experienced an increase in unemployment from five percent in 1988 to nearly 27 percent in 1995.

In the 1960s, the labour force participation rate among immigrant workers was very high, even higher than among those born in Sweden. The labour force participation for female immigrants was strikingly higher than the corresponding rate among Swedish women. The labour force participation pattern changed, however, in the 1970s and 1980s when it decreased both among immigrant women and men. The trend continued in the 1980s and has even increased in the 1990s. Today the labour force participation rate is lower among foreign citizens than in the total population.

"Naturalised Swedes" who were born outside Sweden have a clearly higher labour force participation rate than those with foreign citizenship. One important explanation is that those born abroad on average have spent longer time in the country than those with foreign citizenship (Wadensjö 1996). During their longer stay in the new country they have accumulated more language skills and in that way improved their abilities in the labour market. Differences according to the decade of arrival in Sweden exist, however.

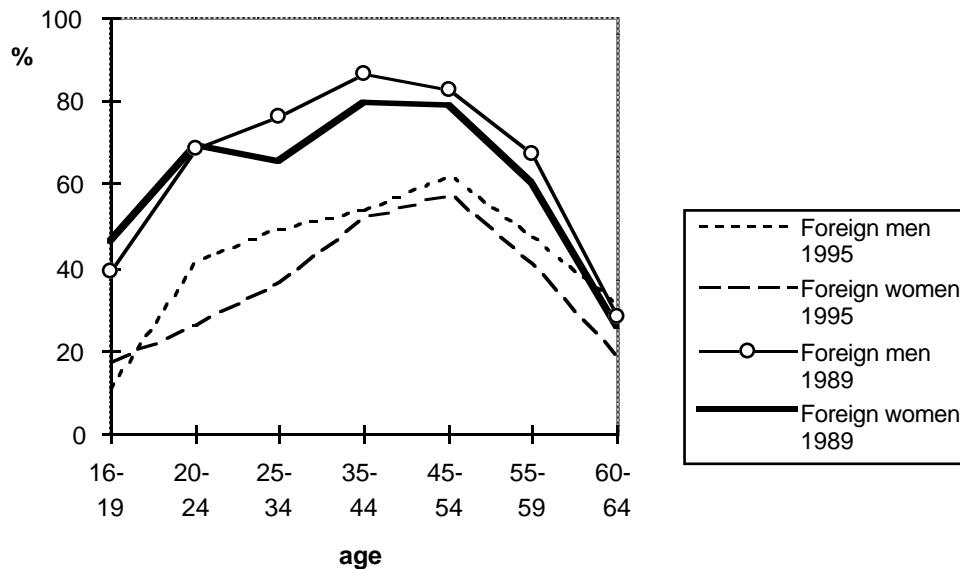
Labour force participation for immigrants differs according to country of origin. Immigrants from Western Europe show a relatively high labour force participation

rate, while immigrants from countries like Turkey, Iran and Chile show low labour force participation. The differences are larger among immigrant women than among men. This may be a result of differences in female labour force participation patterns in the countries of origin (Wadensjö 1996). Also, immigrants have longer unemployment periods than the total population.

The Swedish labour market is greatly segregated, both according to gender and ethnic origin. There are first and foremost two factors of importance for the newly arrived immigrants' opportunities in the labour market. Firstly, the general labour market situation and secondly the demand for immigrant labour. Those occupations in which immigrant labour foremost can secure a foothold are occupations which either demand long professional training, like scientist, medical doctor and engineer, or a short period of training. Immigrant labour is rare in occupations which demand high language skills, e.g. in white collar occupations.

Figure 6.5 shows the development of the employment rates for foreign women and men. The employment reduction has been very drastic for both groups. In 1989 the employment rate for foreign women had a M-shape. In 1995 employment had decreased sharply, and most for the young women. Also the male employment level has decreased drastically.

Figure 6.5 *Employment rate for foreign women and men in 1989 and 1995. Percent*



Source: SCB, Labour Force Surveys (AKU) 1989 and 1995.

6.4. Trends in women's access to unemployment benefits

From 1 January 1995, a condition for getting an unemployment benefit is membership in an unemployment benefit association. To be eligible the person

unemployed must have been a member of the association for a minimum of twelve months before the unemployment period.

The normal unemployment compensation period is 300 days for people younger than 55 years, and 450 days for individuals aged 55 years and over. If, during this period the individual has been working 80 days or more, he or she is qualified for a new unemployment benefit period. In June 1995 the level of compensation was 80 percent of the wage up to a certain level; in cash between 564 SEK and 245 SEK. The level of compensation is 75 percent from January 1 1996.

For those who have not qualified for the unemployment benefit, or are not members of an unemployment benefit association, or are over 60 years old and have no insurance days left, there exists a special unemployment support; "cash labour market assistance". Also students who have finished one year of studying are qualified for the cash assistance. Eligible for this support are those who are 20 years old or more.

The following table shows those unemployed divided by type of unemployment benefit.

Table 6.11 *Unemployed 1995 divided by type of unemployment benefit and the proportion without benefit. Percent of the number of unemployed¹¹*

Sex	Unemployment benefit	Cash labour market assistance	Without benefit or assistance	Unemployed (in thousands)
Men	69	7	25	267
Women	67	6	27	228
Total	68	7	26	495

Source: SOU 1996:51, p. 54.

The proportion of those unemployed that are not covered by any type of unemployment benefit or assistance is 26 percent. The main reason why individuals lack unemployment benefit or support is that they do not fulfil the specific work qualification. Young people and immigrants, mostly refugees, form the majority in this group. A small proportion of those without unemployment benefit or assistance are those where the number of days have expired. The possibilities of getting a partial unemployment benefit to fill up the gap between part-time and full-time work was restricted from September 1 1995 for those who had a permanent part-time position. This led to a situation where people, mostly women, decided to leave a permanent part-time job for a temporary one.

6.4.1. Conclusions

One of the most striking results in this chapter is that the total unemployment level for women, adding open, partial and latent unemployment with active labour market

¹¹ As the unemployed are counted those who were registered at the labour market exchanges and not in the labour force surveys, as we have otherwise used.

measures, comprise 21 percent of the female population in the active ages. The corresponding figure for the male active population is 16 percent. Male and female unemployment patterns are different. One reason is probably the strong segregation where the different restructure processes in the female and male dominated segments of the labour market contribute to these different patterns. The service sectors continue to develop towards a tightening relation between service hours and employment hours, adapting to a kind of lean production. This can be one reason for the increasing female part-time unemployment during the last years. The male unemployment pattern is more clear cut; men are either employed or unemployed, with few intermediate forms. But as indicated in chapter 3 and 4 on atypical work and segregation, it seems as if younger men to an increasing extent have temporary work. These employment forms are often followed by periods of unemployment and could probably also lead to partial unemployment for younger men.

7. Reflections and prospects for the future

Sweden is in the middle of one of the deepest and most profound processes of change of the labour market during this century. In the first half of the 1990s job loss and unemployment increase occurred at the same time as a differentiation according to class, gender and not least generation took place. The threat of a roll-back of women's positions in working life is strong. At the same time it seems as if conditions and job positions for young women and men are becoming more even.

The overall problem in the Swedish labour market during the third action programme has been the unemployment situation. The recession is deep and the recovery is slow. Even though the export sectors have started to grow, the employment effects have been weak. The restructuring of the public sector will continue and the pre-notifications in the sector are proceeding. This means that both in government administrations, local authorities and county councils the processes of cutting back on employment will continue for some years. The employment levels have so far not decreased more for women than for men.

The unemployment situation means that one of the fundamentals for the Swedish welfare state is breaking up. To reduce an unemployment level of this magnitude will take a long time and will have to include economic political measures that support this process. But today's economic policy is directed towards price and budget stability and the traditional support from the fiscal and monetary policy to reach full employment has been abandoned. The active labour market policy shall manage a task which seems impossible to fulfil. This policy has always been selective and directed towards certain groups, regions or branches. Today the aim is to make the policy more local and to find collaborations between different actors on the local level. Local authorities and administrations will have greater influence on how to construct and organise labour market policy measures. These changes also mean that the labour market policy has become more general in character. It shall manage similar problems in almost every municipality in the country.

From a woman's perspective this may mean increasing possibilities for vocational and retraining according to the demands of the local labour market, which must be regarded as a positive change. It might also lead to a situation where the costs of social support to increasing extent will be taken by the labour market policy through the introduction of principles of work-fare. This would mean that the single individual would lose the right to social cash support without doing community work. As was shown in the last section, one quarter of the unemployed are without unemployment benefit of any kind and this proportion will probably increase. The economic burden on the finances of the local authorities will thus increase and one solution is to combine the economic sources of social policy and labour market policy.

7.1. Analysis of the interrelationships in the evolution of women's employment position

In chapter 4 we learned that the gender segregation seems to slowly open up. This is mainly due to sectorial shifts and not as a result of changing occupational choices.

One of the main conclusions of this report is that it is more important than ever to analyse differences in the type of working contracts and working time patterns for women and men. Also pay levels are important to analyse and there are signs of an increasing economic differentiation both between women and men and among women and men as separate groups. The differentiation according to class seems to grow stronger.

Partial unemployment is affecting women to a very large extent. This labour market situation is hard to measure but has to be taken seriously in the debate of the consequences of unemployment. It is not possible to support a family on a part-time job, and women's positions in the labour market are of course undermined if they to an increasing extent get just these jobs. As we further have showing chapter 2 and 3, part-time jobs are to an increasing extent temporary, which means that the position of Swedish women are becoming increasingly more equal to the situation of British women if we consider labour market attachment.

The open unemployment is developing in different directions for women and men. This needs further analysis, together with the performance of the labour market policy. There are also clear regional differences between female and male employment and unemployment. The male employment rate has its highest levels in the south of Sweden and in the big city regions. The female employment pattern is more evenly distributed. The unemployment pattern shows the same type of gender differences, where female unemployment is related to the cut-backs in public sector, while male unemployment has its highest levels in the old industrial regions in the middle part of Sweden as well as in the upper Northern regions.

To what extent have the economic policies been adapted to a situation where the public sector is the main restructuring body? That question cannot be answered yet. The different policy areas, like labour market policy or regional policy have to change their orientation from the traditional male sectors of the labour market to a more thoroughly organised policy for the restructuring of the female dominated sectors of the economy. And in the wake of this changing policy orientation, there is a fear that women's waged work will not be recognised as equally important as men's.

It is hard to tell how the segregation patterns are changing. The analysis in this report does not give us any reason to believe that we are moving towards a more integrated labour market. Female employment seems to become sectorially more concentrated to the service sectors, and the male less concentrated to the manufacturing industries. The dominant trend is one of slow desegregation. A further analysis of the new entrants into the labour market may give a more positive view.

The educational composition of the labour force indicates that women have competence and knowledge to compete with men about the professional jobs in the

future. What we have to study further is the recruitment policies of the employers, how the equal opportunities policies are adapted on company and organisational levels and the efficiency of job evaluation for getting equal wages for work of equal values. These factors all point to the importance of studying the changes in the workplace and in the work contracts.

On the other hand the growing unemployment among middle-aged female workers in office work and care work indicates that the restructuring and cut backs in welfare sectors will cause long term unemployment among large groups in the female labour force.

High age is one of the strongest discriminatory factors in the labour market. What has been observed in the manufacturing industries for decades, is now also happening in the service sectors; low skilled jobs are disappearing and reemployment is difficult without retraining. On the other hand a lot of low wage and low skill jobs are appearing in the service sector, which do not need any training, jobs which form an important part of the labour market segments for both young women and men.

7.2. Two discourses

The duality of the Swedish welfare state and labour market has to be considered. On the one hand there is a well developed policy of equal opportunities and a political ambition of a dual bread winner model. Women take part in the labour market to the same extent as men, but with lower numbers of working hours, in other sectors and on other hierarchical levels than men. Imbedded in the economic and political structure is the male norm, of full time, life long attachment to the labour market, which shows in the construction of certain welfare state provisions and in the economic policy. Male sectors are looked upon as producing resources, while female dominated sectors are seen as consuming them. But still the dual breadwinner model is accepted on the general political level. The key issue is how this duality will develop, not least in relation to the European integration process.

Two ideological discourses have emerged during the last seventy years in Sweden. The first consists of a discussion between, on the one side, the ideas of the egalitarian welfare state with its goals of full employment, equal distribution of incomes and social goods, and on the other side, a market oriented production system with its actors. This ideological debate the class discourse has been more or less pronounced, but always present during most of this century.

The other discourse, the one on gender and women's rights, has been present alongside the discourse on class, but segregated from it. As Joan Acker formulates it, the gender discourse has been performed in a dialogue between women and the state, while the actors of the class discourse have been men on both the employee's and the employer's side (Acker 1992, Acker 1997). As men formulated the class discourse, the economic policies for forming the welfare state and its social provisions were built upon the male breadwinner as a norm. The Swedish welfare state was thereby, from the very beginning strongly gender segregated.

As women's positions changed, the gender discourse grew in power. The debates took place in women's organisations in political parties, in special branches of the unions, in the parliament and in the public sector organisations. But it was never, not then and not now, involved in the "main" political issues, on class and economic power. This is not to say that the policies formulated in the class discourse was of no importance for women. On the contrary, as we pointed out on several places in this report, both the solidaristic wages policy and the economic policy as such, played important roles during many decades for the development of women's employment and economic positions.

Today both the internationalisation of the production systems and the European economic integration lead to new alliances and constraints on these discourses and their respective actors.

7.3. Diminishing power of the class discourse

In the class discourse the power relations are changing. The employee organisations are facing a global capital and technological system where the old codes of conduct no longer are followed. To cope with these changes the state has had to change both goals and policies. One result is privatization and decentralisation, and a deregulated economic policy. Results are shown in the form of increasing class differentiation, visible in most European countries.

The constraints on the welfare state has been clearly formulated with the membership in the European Union (EU). It concerns public spending and the public dept, through the convergence criteria for membership in the European Monetary Union (EMU). The national economic policies are governed by the formation of a common European economic policy, linked to the development of a common currency, the European central bank and its monetary policy. In these changing circumstances the gender discourse is challenged both from the national and international level. The decreasing economic political power of the national class discourse affect the gender issues. But also the European economic policy changes the conditions for the gender discourse.

7.4. The gender discourse in a new context

The depth of the crisis of the welfare state is profound. Many women can no longer support themselves and their children as they could five years ago. The real wages have decreased as well as the level of the social support. This means that the poverty among single mothers is increasing. On the other hand higher educated women will probably still experience a favourable or even more positive labour market situation.

In a newly published governmental investigation on women's labour market the government is asked to put higher pressure on different agencies to reinforce the tools to implement equal opportunities (SOU 1996:56). Mainstreaming is one tool through which equality between women and men are thought to be fulfilled.

The investigation also points to the fact that the labour market policy has to be evaluated from a gender perspective. Not least the question of the accuracy of different labour market measures has to be analysed from a gender perspective. The Ministry of Labour is also asked to formulate a strategy for counteracting the threatening clouds which the investigation has seen for women's future positions in the labour market, i.e. an increasing proportion of insecure employment, partial unemployment and increasing unemployment specifically in groups from office and care work.

The Ministry of Labour is also asked to form a strategy for the international work on labour market and equal opportunities issues to meet the consequences of increased internationalisation on both European and global levels.

One conclusion is that an important way forward to promote the gender issues is to form new alliances on different international levels, as the political power of the national welfare states are being reduced.

Most likely there is going to be convergence in the areas of welfare state policies as there are profound links between the economic conditions and policies of the state and the welfare state policies. This means that the importance of mainstreaming economic policies from an international perspective can not be exaggerated.

Material and definitions

The main source to this report are the Labour Force Surveys from Statistics Sweden (SCB). As there have been changes during the period in study in both sample size and divisions of occupation and economic sectors, we have through the support of SCB got a coherent material for 1989 to 1995.

We have used the divisions in the Labour Forces Surveys, meaning that the population in the active ages, 16-64 years, is divided into five groups. The first three groups include the employed: permanent, temporary and self-employment. The other two groups are the unemployed and the inactive. The three employment groups plus the unemployed constitute the labour force. By inactive are meant persons who in the labour force surveys have declared that they are not employed neither are they looking for employment.

When discussing unemployment we have been using three different definitions which are noted in the text. In chapter 2 we give the composition of the whole active population in ages 16-64. When we in chapter 6 discuss unemployment in more detail, the unemployment rate is defined as the number of unemployed in relation to the labour force. We have also use statistics collected from the Local Labour Market Boards and in that case unemployed are counted as those who have registered at the labour market exchanges.

Summary

Gonäs L, Spånt A. Trends and Prospects for Women's Employment in the 1990s. *Arbete och Hälsa* 1997:4.

The report summarises the changes in the Swedish labour market during the period 1989 to 1995. In these years drastic changes occurred for both women and men. The employment rates fell with over ten percent and unemployment increased from a very low level of 1,5 percent in 1989 to 8 percent in 1993. If we count all who would have liked to have a job in 1995, one fifth of all women and one sixth of all men were more or less unemployed.

This gives a very bleak picture of the future. It is obvious from this report that young women and men have met increasing difficulties when trying to enter the labour market. The generational differences seem to be accentuated during this recession and will probably continue to be so.

Concerning working time and working contracts the Swedish developments seem to go in the same direction as in other European countries, i. e. increasing proportion of both women and men now get temporary contracts and involuntary part-time. The result is an increasing proportion of part-time unemployment. Almost ten percent of all women between 16 and 64 were in this situation in 1995.

Gender segregation in the Swedish labour market is strong. We have registered a certain reduction in the segregation levels, when measured with different segregation indices. However, these reductions seem to occur as a result of men entering female dominated occupations and sectors and to a lesser extent from women recruited to new occupations and positions. The Swedish labour market is likely to increasingly become divided between those who have good, secure and well paid jobs and an increasing number who have temporary jobs which may or may not be well paid and developing. This differentiation is particularly evident among women. Those who do the basic manual jobs both in the private sector and in public services are exposed to structural changes which will continue throughout the 1990s.

There is a need of further research in the re-creating mechanisms of segregation and not least in the areas of vertical segregation in organisations and in the genderisation of work tasks and carrier possibilities in organisations.

Sammanfattning

Gonäs L, Spånt A. Trends and Prospects for Women's Employment in the 1990s. *Arbete och Hälsa* 1997;4.

Rapporten sammanfattar förändringarna på den svenska arbetsmarknaden under perioden 1989 till 1995. Under dessa år inträffade drastiska förändringar för både kvinnor och män. Arbetskraftsdeltagandet föll med över tio procent, arbetslösheten ökade från den mycket låga nivån 1,5 procent 1989 till 8 procent 1993. Om man räknar alla som skulle vilja ha ett arbete 1995, var en femtedel av kvinnorna och en sjättedel av männen mer eller mindre arbetslösa.

Detta ger en mörk bild av framtiden. Det är uppenbart, sett från materialet, att yngre kvinnor och män har haft allt ökande svårigheter att komma in på arbetsmarknaden. De skilda villkoren för generationerna förefaller ha accentuerats under lågkonjunkturen och utvecklingen kommer troligen att fortsätta.

Ifråga om arbetstid och anställningsvillkor förefaller den svenska utvecklingen gå i samma riktning som i de övriga europeiska länderna. Det är alltså en ökande andel av både kvinnor och män som nu har tidsbegränsade anställningar och ofrivilligt arbetar deltid. Resultatet är ökande andel deltidsarbetslösa, nästan tio procent av alla kvinnor i åldern mellan 16 och 64 befann sig i denna situation 1995.

Könssegregationen på den svenska arbetsmarknaden är stark. En viss minskning i segregationen syns vid mätning med olika index. Men denna minskning förefaller bero på att män i ökad utsträckning börjat arbeta i kvinnodominerade yrken och sektorer, i mindre utsträckning beror det på att kvinnor rekryteras till nya yrken och positioner. Sannolikt kommer svensk arbetsmarknad att bli allt mer uppdelad mellan de som har säkra, bra och välavlönade arbeten och en ökad andel som har tillfälliga, mer eller mindre välavlönade och utvecklande arbeten. Denna differentiering är icke minst framträdande bland kvinnorna, där de som befinner sig i basen inom såväl offentlig som privat sektor utsätts för starkt omvandlingstryck idag och som kommer att fortgå under hela 1990:talet.

Det finns behov av ytterligare forskning om segregationens återskapande mekanismer, inte minst ifråga om vertikal segregation och könsmärkning av arbetsuppgifter och karriärmöjligheter i organisationer.

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Appendix

Table 1. *Unemployment rate (total) 1989-1995.*

Age	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
16-24	3,2	3,7	6,6	11,4	18,4	16,7	15,3
25-54	1,1	1,2	2,4	4,5	7,1	6,9	6,6
55-64	1,3	1,5	2,1	3,2	5,5	6,5	7,4
16-64	1,5	1,6	3	5,2	8,2	8	7,7

Source: SCB

Table 2. *GDP growth rates 1980-1994.*

Year	GDP
1980	1,7
1981	0
1982	1
1983	1,8
1984	4
1985	1,9
1986	2,3
1987	3,1
1988	2,3
1989	2,4
1990	1,4
1991	-1,1
1992	-1,4
1993	-2,6
1994	2,2

Source: SCB

Table 3. *Public and private male and female employees 1989-1995 (100s).*

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Men							
State	2240	2236	2203	2088	1855	1470	1395
Municipalities	2620	2630	2672	2607	2481	434	2344
Private	15248	15450	14940	13843	12757	13095	13617
Self-employed	2989	2959	2907	3027	3072	3076	3165
Women							
State	1636	1706	1664	1594	1375	985	942
Municipalities	9821	9951	9868	9641	9279	9038	9002
Private	8681	8743	8572	8145	7581	7873	8093
Self-employed	1049	1011	965	953	1023	1096	1118

Source: SCB

Table 4. *Women employed by branch of industry 1989-1995 (100s). Aged 16-64.*

Women	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Agriculture, forestry, fishing etc.	403	391	390	389	364	351	315
Mining, manufacturing, electricity and water service	2846	2752	2510	2249	2070	1997	2088
Construction	261	275	277	239	200	184	180
Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels	2638	2632	2561	2441	2272	2287	2280
Transport and communications	959	1034	1011	957	856	823	817
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	1679	1744	1766	1758	1643	1692	1797
Public administration and services	12502	12685	12652	12395	11955	11762	11786
Total	21288	21525	21179	20449	19383	19096	19263

Source: Labour force survey 1989- 1995, SCB

Table 5. *Men employed by branch of industry 1989-1995 (100s). Aged 16-64.*

Men	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Agriculture, forestry, fishing etc.	1211	1144	1058	1006	1007	1008	925
Mining, manufacturing, electricity and water service	7263	7126	6728	6145	5656	5615	5940
Construction	2715	2950	2922	2552	2199	2065	2118
Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels	3247	3187	3007	2946	2777	2781	2804
Transport and communications	2109	2119	2119	2054	1850	1814	1801
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	2099	2179	2261	2277	2184	2266	2440
Public administration and services	4439	4579	4650	4625	4553	4606	4570
Total	23083	23329	22783	21643	20261	20155	20598

Source: Labour force survey 1989- 1995, SCB

Table 6. *Level of education in the labour force in 1995.*

Level of education	16-24 years		25-34 years		35-44 years		45-54 years		55-64 years	
	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men
Compulsory	26	25	9	13	15	22	28	33	44	48
Upper secondary not more than 2 years	29	33	40	40	36	29	31	19	28	16
Upper secondary more than 2 years	33	35	20	20	13	18	10	21	7	15
Post-secondary less than 3 years	9	6	18	14	21	10	15	10	10	8
Post-secondary 3 years or more	3	1	13	13	15	17	16	17	11	13
Without information	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: SCB

Table 7. *Unemployment rate for men and women 1989-1995.*

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Men							
16-24	3,2	3,8	7,3	13,7	21,6	18,9	41,8
25-54	1,1	1,3	2,7	5,4	8,4	7,9	84,1
55-64	1,3	1,3	2,2	3,8	6,7	7,9	64,4
16-64	1,4	1,7	3,3	6,3	9,7	9,1	73,5
Women							
16-24	3,1	3,6	5,8	9,1	15	14,3	43,0
25-54	1,2	1,2	2	3,5	5,7	5,8	81,1
55-64	1,3	1,6	2	2,7	4,2	5	59,5
16-64	1,5	1,6	2,6	4,2	6,6	6,7	70,9

Source: SCB

Table 8. *Percent full-time employed women and men in 1991 and 1994.*

Age	Women 1991	Men 1991	Women 1994	Men 1994
16-19	44,6	60,5	28,6	42,6
20-24	69,1	85,2	54,5	73,2
25-34	54,6	85,9	51,2	78,8
35-44	53,8	88	50,5	80,3
45-54	59,3	89,5	56,6	80,9
55-59	51,5	86,8	49,8	78,0
60-64	39,2	65,7	32,1	51,5

Source: SCB

Table 9. *Women and men employed who would like to work more (per cent of all employed) in 1994.*

Age	Women	Men
16-19	92,1	43,8
20-24	45,1	17,4
25-34	24,4	9
35-44	24,6	4,9
45-54	19,5	2,9
55-59	17,8	2,3
60-64	15,1	4,2
16-64	25	6,8

Source: SCB

Table 10. Segregation index 1989.

Occupation	Number			Share (%) in the occupation			Segregation index
	Men	Women	Total	Women	Men	Total	
00	2587	278	2865	0,0131	0,1122	0,0646	9,9086
1,02	148	265	412	0,0125	0,0064	0,0093	0,6039
3	745	1214	1959	0,0571	0,0323	0,0442	2,4760
36	49	582	631	0,0274	0,0021	0,0142	2,5229
5	91	37	128	0,0017	0,0039	0,0029	0,2206
04,06,07,09	493	437	930	0,0205	0,0214	0,0210	0,0834
10,14	439	2574	3013	0,1210	0,0190	0,0680	10,1944
12	49	206	255	0,0097	0,0021	0,0058	0,7558
151,191	81	226	307	0,0106	0,0035	0,0069	0,7110
152,154,155,159	187	1646	1833	0,0774	0,0081	0,0413	6,9254
153	43	1135	1178	0,0533	0,0019	0,0266	5,1480
11,13,16,192,199	83	336	419	0,0158	0,0036	0,0095	1,2193
20,21,26	1118	524	1642	0,0246	0,0485	0,0370	2,3840
22	101	163	264	0,0077	0,0044	0,0060	0,3282
23,24	289	3087	3376	0,1451	0,0125	0,0761	13,2558
251	366	92	458	0,0043	0,0159	0,0103	1,1543
252,259	82	86	168	0,0040	0,0036	0,0038	0,0487
29	623	698	1320	0,0328	0,0270	0,0298	0,5797
31	254	130	384	0,0061	0,0110	0,0087	0,4902
333	519	1366	1885	0,0642	0,0225	0,0425	4,1701
32,33, excl 333,39	1364	490	1854	0,0230	0,0591	0,0418	3,6103
40	671	216	886	0,0102	0,0291	0,0200	1,8937
41	311	162	473	0,0076	0,0135	0,0107	0,5869
42-44	255	10	264	0,0005	0,0111	0,0060	1,0585
50	46	1	47	0,0000	0,0020	0,0011	0,1947
60-63,65,66,69	341	53	394	0,0025	0,0148	0,0089	1,2292
64	1064	84	1148	0,0039	0,0461	0,0259	4,2179
67,68	430	598	1028	0,0281	0,0186	0,0232	0,9464
70-72	88	287	375	0,0135	0,0038	0,0085	0,9674
73	213	26	239	0,0012	0,0092	0,0054	0,8012
74	108	43	151	0,0020	0,0047	0,0034	0,2661
75	2886	382	3267	0,0180	0,1251	0,0737	10,7160
761-763, part of 765,769	571	33	604	0,0016	0,0248	0,0136	2,3203
764-766	380	122	502	0,0057	0,0165	0,0113	1,0740
77	430	81	511	0,0038	0,0186	0,0115	1,4834
78	371	22	393	0,0010	0,0161	0,0089	1,5050
79	1213	1	1214	0,0000	0,0526	0,0274	5,2539
80	273	121	394	0,0057	0,0118	0,0089	0,6148
82	286	134	420	0,0063	0,0124	0,0095	0,6101
83	225	116	340	0,0055	0,0098	0,0077	0,4302
84	185	41	225	0,0019	0,0080	0,0051	0,6093
81,85	124	34	158	0,0016	0,0054	0,0036	0,3778
86	137	6	143	0,0003	0,0059	0,0032	0,5657
87	531	28	559	0,0013	0,0230	0,0126	2,1704
88	625	291	916	0,0137	0,0271	0,0207	1,3418
89	40	8	48	0,0004	0,0017	0,0011	0,1358
90	382	71	452	0,0033	0,0166	0,0102	1,3224

91	355	1221	1575	0,0574	0,0154	0,0355	4,1996
931	415	35	450	0,0016	0,0180	0,0102	1,6346
932	159	1128	1287	0,0530	0,0069	0,0290	4,6122
92,94-96,99	120	347	466	0,0163	0,0052	0,0105	1,1106
X1	121	3	124	0,0001	0,0052	0,0028	0,5105
Summa	23067	21277	44334				60,7754

Table 11. Segregation index 1994

Occupation	Number			Share of the occupation			Segregation index
	Men	Women	Total	Women (%)	Men (%)	Total (%)	
00	2319	295	2614	0,0154	0,1151	0,0666	9,9615
1,02	137	212	349	0,0111	0,0068	0,0089	0,4297
3	832	1256	2088	0,0657	0,0413	0,0532	2,4450
36	45	647	692	0,0339	0,0022	0,0176	3,1626
5	99	50	149	0,0026	0,0049	0,0038	0,2295
04,06,07,09	495	545	1040	0,0285	0,0246	0,0265	0,3962
10,14	392	2308	2700	0,1208	0,0194	0,0688	10,1332
12	46	225	271	0,0118	0,0023	0,0069	0,9492
151,191	84	285	369	0,0149	0,0042	0,0094	1,0747
152,154,155,159	218	1774	1992	0,0928	0,0108	0,0507	8,2020
153	34	910	944	0,0476	0,0017	0,0240	4,5935
11,13,16,192,199	67	373	440	0,0195	0,0033	0,0112	1,6196
20,21,26	1096	637	1733	0,0333	0,0544	0,0441	2,1041
22	117	151	268	0,0079	0,0058	0,0068	0,2097
23,24	258	2373	2631	0,1242	0,0128	0,0670	11,1382
251	379	108	487	0,0057	0,0188	0,0124	1,3152
252,259	109	40	149	0,0021	0,0054	0,0038	0,3315
29	526	736	1262	0,0385	0,0261	0,0321	1,2419
31	237	135	372	0,0071	0,0118	0,0095	0,4694
333	520	1228	1748	0,0643	0,0258	0,0445	3,8464
32,33, excl 333,39	1172	443	1615	0,0232	0,0581	0,0411	3,4964
40	536	163	698	0,0085	0,0266	0,0178	1,8063
41	320	161	481	0,0084	0,0159	0,0123	0,7451
42-44	176	5	180	0,0003	0,0087	0,0046	0,8470
50	44	0	44	0,0000	0,0022	0,0011	0,2183
60-63,65,66,69	246	48	294	0,0025	0,0122	0,0075	0,9693
64	920	75	996	0,0039	0,0456	0,0253	4,1719
67,68	342	495	837	0,0259	0,0170	0,0213	0,8936
70-72	67	138	205	0,0072	0,0033	0,0052	0,3898
73	192	16	208	0,0008	0,0095	0,0053	0,8688
74	96	55	151	0,0029	0,0048	0,0038	0,1885
75	2048	217	2265	0,0114	0,1016	0,0577	9,0252
761-763, part of 765,769	488	39	527	0,0020	0,0242	0,0134	2,2170
764-766	299	62	361	0,0032	0,0148	0,0092	1,1590
77	397	51	448	0,0027	0,0197	0,0114	1,7027
78	317	9	326	0,0005	0,0157	0,0083	1,5256
79	918	2	921	0,0001	0,0455	0,0234	4,5440
80	228	85	312	0,0044	0,0113	0,0080	0,6864
82	233	103	337	0,0054	0,0116	0,0086	0,6170
83	178	77	255	0,0040	0,0088	0,0065	0,4802
84	127	24	151	0,0013	0,0063	0,0038	0,5045
81,85	98	21	119	0,0011	0,0049	0,0049	0,3763
86	67	0	67	0,0000	0,0033	0,0017	0,3324
87	406	24	430	0,0013	0,0201	0,0110	1,8887
88	474	199	673	0,0104	0,0235	0,0171	1,3103
89	26	9	35	0,0005	0,0013	0,0009	0,0819
90	396	69	465	0,0036	0,0196	0,0118	1,6036

91	366	1024	1390	0,0536	0,0182	0,0354	3,5429
931	501	46	547	0,0024	0,0249	0,0139	2,2449
932	162	810	971	0,0424	0,0080	0,0248	3,4351
92,94-96,99	135	332	467	0,0174	0,0067	0,0119	1,0676
X1	151	9	160	0,0005	0,0075	0,0041	0,7021
Summa	20136	19099	39234				58,7476

Table 12. Occupational division

OCCUPATION

00, technical work
1,02, chemical, biological work
3, educational work (excl 36)
36, pre-primary education teachers
5, law work
04,06,07,09, religious, literary, journalistic work
10,14, health, nursing, veterinary work
12, dental work
151,191, social welfare work
152,154,155,159, managers in social welfare, home helpers, social workers nec
153, children's nurses
11,13,16,192,199, pharmaceutical work, environmental, health protec., nec
20,21,26, governmental, business adm. economics, statistical work
22, personnel work
23, 24, accounting, clerical and related work
251, system analysts, programmers
252,259, computer operators, nec.
29, other adm., managerial and clerical work
31, sales work
333, shop assistant
32,33, (excl 333,39), purchasing, sales work excl. shop assistants
40, agriculture., horticulture., forestry management
41, agriculture., horticulture. and livestock work
42-44, wildlife, fishing , forestry work
50, mining, quarrying work
60-63,65,66,69, ship, aircraft, railway work and other transport work
64, motor vehicle drivers and delivery work
67,68, postal service and mail distribution work
70-72, textile, tailoring, shoe and leather work
73, metal processing work
74, precision-instrument work
75, metal machine work and building metal work
761-763, part of 765,769, electrical and electrical machinery work
764-766, tele-and electronic repairmen, electric linemen, recording and sound work
77, wood work
78, painting and floor laying work
79, other building and construction work
80, printing work
82, food processing and tobacco production work
83, chemical processing, rubber, plastic processing work
84, pulp and paper making work
81,85, glass, pottery, tile, nec work
86, stationary engine operation work
87, material handling and related work
88, packing and storage work
89, unskilled manual work
90, civilian, protective service work
91, lodging and catering service work
931, building caretakers
932, cleaners
92,94-96,99, private household work, hygiene, laundering, training
X1, military work

Table 13. *Employed men and women 1989 divided by working time and age.*

	full time	long part time	short part time	all employed
Men				
16-19	747	74	258	1079
20-24	2383	113	75	2572
25-34	5166	220	47	5434
35-44	5967	188	21	6177
45-54	4630	151	9	4790
55-59	1667	95	12	1775
60-64	873	364	56	1294
16-64	21433	1205	479	23121
Women				
16-19	562	206	348	1116
20-24	1831	459	102	2392
25-34	2957	1748	228	4933
35-44	3128	2347	202	5678
45-54	2674	1601	144	4419
55-59	867	695	98	1660
60-64	415	560	126	1101
16-64	12433	7616	1248	21299

Table 14. *Employed men and women 1995 divided by working hours and age.*

	full time	long part time	short part time	all employed
Men				
16-19	229	51	187	467
20-24	1393	134	117	1644
25-34	4779	223	121	5126
35-44	4880	209	48	5141
45-54	5231	221	46	5503
55-59	1550	139	34	1724
60-64	603	331	70	1005
16-64	18665	1308	621	20609
women				
16-19	139	116	269	525
20-24	921	422	215	1559
25-34	2873	1418	242	4536
35-44	2819	1806	169	4796
45-54	3483	1603	175	5265
55-59	951	621	85	1657
60-64	322	488	120	931
16-64	11508	6475	1275	19269

Table 15. *Actual weekly working hours among men and women 1989 to 1995.*

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Men							
16-19	12,5	12,0	9,8	7,4	5,0	4,7	5,3
20-24	26,9	27,0	25,1	22,2	17,9	18,1	18,8
25-34	32,8	32,7	31,2	30,3	27,5	27,6	28,5
35-44	35,8	35,6	34,6	34,1	31,2	31,2	31,4
45-54	34,9	35,2	34,3	34,2	31,2	31,8	32,0
55-59	30,3	30,6	29,4	28,9	26,0	26,2	26,3
60-64	18,0	18,9	18,5	16,5	14,4	14,0	14,8
Women							
16-19	11,5	11,1	9,9	7,5	4,8	4,6	5,0
20-24	23,0	21,8	20,3	18,9	15,8	15,3	14,9
25-34	21,0	20,4	19,8	19,3	18,0	18,1	18,4
35-44	25,0	25,3	25,0	24,9	23,1	23,0	22,7
45-54	25,7	26,0	25,8	26,0	24,4	24,9	25,1
55-59	20,5	20,9	20,8	21,2	19,5	20,2	19,9
60-64	11,3	12,3	12,5	11,7	10,1	9,8	10,3

Source: Statistics Sweden, calculations from labour force surveys 1989-1995.

Table 16. *Share temporary employed women and men aged 25-54 years in public and private sector, divided by educational level 1989.*

	Men 25-54 years		Women 25-54 years	
	public	private	public	private
compulsory	11	3	14	4
short upper secondary	11	4	11	6
long upper secondary	10	2	13	5
short university	8	3	10	5
long university	12	2	12	4

Source: SCB, Labour Force Survey 1989.

Table 17. *Share temporary employed women and men aged 25-54 years in public and private sector, divided by educational level 1995.*

	Men 25-54 years		Women 25-54 years	
	public	private	public	private
compulsory	16	7	15	7
short upper secondary	21	10	14	10
long upper secondary	19	7	19	10
short university	13	6	13	7
long university	15	5	16	8

Source: SCB, Labour Force Survey 1995

Table 18. *Employment rates for men and women 1989 and 1995.*

Age	Men 1995	Women 1995	Men 1989	Women 1989
16-19	22,4	26,2	46,8	50,7
20-24	55,3	54,7	81,2	79,6
25-34	80,0	74,5	91,7	87,6
35-44	85,5	83,1	95,6	91,5
45-54	86,8	85,9	93,3	89,0
55-59	76,2	73,0	85,7	77,5
60-64	50,9	44,8	61,6	48,9

Source: SCB, Labour Force Survey 1989, 1995.

Table 19. *Women by education and region 1994, percent*

Regional counties	compulsory 1994	secondary 1994	academic 1994	unknown 1994
Stockholm	16,2	47,7	35,4	0,7
Uppsala	18,4	45,8	35,5	0,3
Södermanland	23,6	51,6	24,5	0,2
Östergötland	22,5	50,8	26,6	0,2
Jönköping	25,6	51,5	22,7	0,3
Kronoberg	22,4	52,5	25,0	0,2
Kalmar	25,6	51,3	22,8	0,2
Gotland	25,3	52,4	22,2	0,2
Blekinge	24,9	51,2	23,6	0,2
Kristianstad	23,7	52,3	23,6	0,3
Malmöhus	21,3	47,8	30,5	0,4
Halland	22,7	51,8	25,2	0,3
Göteborg-Bohus	19,9	48,1	31,5	0,4
Älvsborg	26,2	49,9	23,7	0,2
Skaraborg	23,5	53,8	22,5	0,2
Värmland	21,3	53,7	24,8	0,2
Örebro	21,4	51,7	26,7	0,2
Västmanland	22,1	52,0	25,8	0,2
Kopparberg	21,9	53,8	24,0	0,2
Gävleborg	23,7	52,3	23,8	0,2
Västernorrland	20,6	54,0	25,2	0,2
Jämtland	18,6	54,8	26,4	0,2
Västerbotten	15,7	53,9	30,3	0,2
Norrbottn	16,4	57,1	26,3	0,2

Table 20. *Women by education and region 1990, percent*

Regional counties	compulsory 1990	secondary 1990	academic 1990	unknown 1990
Stockholm	22,1	47,9	29,3	0,7
Uppsala	24,5	45,4	29,8	0,3
Södermanland	31,1	49,3	19,3	0,3
Östergötland	29,1	49,3	21,4	0,2
Jönköping	32,7	48,4	18,6	0,3
Kronoberg	28,2	51,2	20,4	0,2
Kalmar	32,5	49,1	18,3	0,1
Gotland	31,0	50,4	18,5	0,1
Blekinge	31,8	49,4	18,7	0,1
Kristian- stad	31,4	49,5	18,8	0,2
Malmöhus	27,9	47,1	24,6	0,3
Halland	29,4	50,0	20,3	0,3
Göteborg- Bohus	26,5	47,3	25,7	0,5
Älvsborg	33,9	46,9	19,0	0,2
Skaraborg	30,6	51,3	17,9	0,2
Värmland	28,4	51,9	19,5	0,2
Örebro	28,8	49,5	21,5	0,2
Västmanland	29,0	50,1	20,6	0,2
Kopparberg	29,0	51,4	19,5	0,2
Gävleborg	31,3	50,1	18,5	0,1
Västernorrland	29,0	50,8	20,1	0,1
Jämtland	25,2	52,9	21,7	0,2
Västerbotten	22,2	52,9	24,7	0,2
Norrbottn	22,6	55,8	21,5	0,1

Table 21. Men by education and region 1994, percent

Regional counties	compulsory 1994	secondary 1994	university 1994	unknown 1994
Stockholm	18,8	45,8	34,0	1,5
Uppsala	24,0	44,1	30,9	0,9
Södermanland	28,0	50,6	20,7	0,7
Östergötland	25,5	49,6	24,2	0,6
Jönköping	34,3	46,7	18,0	1,0
Kronoberg	31,7	47,5	19,9	0,9
Kalmar	34,6	47,5	17,1	0,8
Gotland	30,9	49,4	18,9	0,8
Blekinge	28,2	48,8	22,3	0,7
Kristianstad	33,9	45,6	19,6	1,0
Malmöhus	25,7	46,9	26,4	1,0
Halland	32,3	47,2	19,6	0,9
Göteborg-Bohus	23,2	46,9	28,8	1,1
Älvsborg	33,4	46,5	19,2	0,8
Skaraborg	34,1	47,3	17,7	0,9
Värmland	27,4	51,2	20,6	0,7
Örebro	27,4	50,7	21,1	0,7
Västmanland	25,1	51,0	23,3	0,7
Kopparberg	28,1	51,2	19,9	0,8
Gävleborg	30,8	50,2	18,3	0,6
Västernorrland	26,4	51,3	21,7	0,6
Jämtland	25,4	52,0	21,9	0,6
Västerbotten	21,8	52,2	25,5	0,5
Norrbottn	20,3	56,6	22,5	0,6

Table 22. Men by education and region 1990, percent

Regional counties	compulsory 1990	secondary 1990	academic 1990	unknown 1990
Stockholm	23,5	46,5	28,6	1,4
Uppsala	29,0	44,9	25,5	0,6
Södermanland	32,8	49,0	17,7	0,5
Östergötland	30,5	48,6	20,6	0,3
Jönköping	39,0	44,4	16,0	0,6
Kronoberg	36,1	46,0	17,5	0,4
Kalmar	39,8	45,6	14,3	0,4
Gotland	35,4	47,5	16,7	0,3
Blekinge	33,1	48,4	18,1	0,3
Kristianstad	38,8	43,8	16,9	0,5
Malmöhus	30,3	46,9	22,1	0,7
Halland	37,3	45,4	16,8	0,6
Göteborg-Bohus	28,0	46,8	24,2	1,0
Älvsborg	38,7	44,6	16,3	0,5
Skaraborg	38,7	45,3	15,7	0,4
Värmland	32,7	49,7	17,2	0,3
Örebro	32,3	49,2	18,2	0,3
Västmanland	29,6	50,2	19,7	0,4
Kopparberg	33,1	49,8	16,8	0,3
Gävleborg	36,0	48,5	15,2	0,3
Västernorrland	31,3	50,4	18,1	0,2
Jämtland	30,1	50,7	18,9	0,3
Västerbotten	27,1	51,5	21,1	0,4
Norrbottn	24,9	55,5	19,3	0,3

i) The Index of Dissimilarity = S_t

$S_t = \frac{1}{2} \sum |f_{it} - m_{it}|$, where f_{it} and m_{it} represent the percentage of the female and male labour force employed in occupation/industry i year t .

ii) The Marginal Matching index of segregation = MM

$MM = \frac{(F_f \times M_m) - (F_m \times M_f)}{(F \times M)}$, where f represent "female occupations" and m "male occupations" respectively.