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## **WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT**

This macro-level survey partly serves as a preliminary study to a project, entitled "Women in the Economy: The Managers". In subsequent phases of research we will carry out interviews with women in powerful positions in the economy about their careers.<sup>1</sup>

### **I. International Overview**

The growth in the number of employed women in the last two decades in Western Europe has resulted in a noticeable increase in the percentage of women in the labour force. Figures in Western Europe are now approaching the fairly high, nearly 50% rate common in Central-Eastern Europe. One of the primary goals of socialist economic policy in Central-Eastern Europe was to intensively mobilise as much of the reserve labour force as possible and to thereby reach full employment. This was done to a considerable extent by increasing the numbers of women at the workplace. This process was backed by special party decrees which, among other things, aimed to raise women's education level and participation in management.<sup>2</sup>

Statistically, this 'forced emancipation' produced spectacular results. A number of studies have addressed the controversial nature of this process and its undesirable consequences for working men and women and for the whole of Hungarian, society (Koncz 1985).

In economically developed countries, the highest rate of female employment can be found in countries with planned economies and in Scandinavia. It is widely known, however, that as many as half of the women in these northern countries work part-time, thus managing to reconcile bread-winning activities with family responsibilities and household chores (Table 1).

Since statistics do not differentiate between full- and part-time jobs, there is scarcely any difference in measurements of women's work between countries with differing economic systems. However, significant differences can be pointed out between Northern and Southern Europe since in Mediterranean countries - with the exception of Portugal - the degree of participation of women in the workplace, and consequently in management, is relatively low.

In what follows we will initially review statistical and sociological data related to women managers. As no overall survey has been made thus far about this social group, the need for analysis is all the more pressing. First, using two sources, we will outline the proportion of women in top management in economically developed countries. Next we will review the same data for Hungary.

If, in reviewing international statistics,<sup>3</sup> we simply look at changes in management over time, we will find a constant increase in the percentage of women in management. In the United States, for example, the number of women occupying managerial positions has climbed steadily since 1970: in 1988 38% of all managers were women, while by 1992 this figure

reached 41%. Despite all these improvements only a very small percentage of women have been able to reach top managerial positions. According to sociological estimates not more than 2% of women reach highlevel positions: "What has changed is that more women are in management. What hasn't changed is that women are concentrated in the lower levels of management and hold positions with less authority overall than men" (Powell 1988:13, italics mine). International experience shows that the increase in the number of working women and of women in management does not necessarily mean that men's and women's positions are equal.

Other surveys indicate that in the Scandinavian countries 5-6% of managers in the private sector are women, and nearly twice this percentage are leaders in the public sector (Kovalainen 1990). In Great-Britain 8-10% of managers are women (Marshall 1984). European research has also corroborated American data: the higher the position in management, the less likely a woman will fill it. In the 1980s 4.2% of managers in Switzerland were women, 9% in England, 13.2% in Sweden and Norway, 4.4% in the Netherlands, 5.7% in Italy, and 14.4% in Finland. All in all, however, 1% or less of top managers are women. In all of these countries women comprise only a very small minority of managers.

Researchers analysing the social position of women managers have attempted to answer the following question for some time: 'Why are there so few women at the higher levels of the hierarchy? Does the absence of women originate from differences in men's and women's socialisation during early childhood (e.g., do women lack appropriate career motivation, abilities, or skills due to their socialisation) or does structural discrimination account for this? It is beyond the scope of this article to furnish a direct response to these questions. Nevertheless, our intention is to present evidence from available statistical data to prove the existence of discrimination against women.

Women play an insignificant role in political decision-making as well as in economic management: they are far less likely to occupy important administrative posts than men. Women are far less likely to be entrusted with high ranking assignments such as the ministerial positions. If we rank countries and regions, we find that Scandinavian women are the most likely to occupy important political and administrative posts, and to be top managers. In Denmark, Norway and Sweden more than 16% of all ministers are women. Interestingly, the nations which formerly had planned economies and forced emancipation policies (and, therefore, a relatively large number of women in the workplace) are at the bottom of this ranking, with the exception of Romania where six of the ministers in the government were women (Table 2).

## **II. Employees and Managers in Hungary**

It is rather difficult to provide a comprehensive picture of women managers in Hungary because the statistical data available are insufficient to adequately allow us to sociologically characterize this group. Even surveys closely linked to women's employment have not paid enough attention to this field.

In what follows we will attempt to delineate the social and family backgrounds of women in top management positions. We will rely on surveys and secondary analyses supplied by the Hungarian Statistical Office, and on the results of the OTKA research program entitled "Managers' recruitment, identity and value-orientation".

Before analysing statistics on managers we should place this social group within the larger group of employees.

## **1. Changes in the Number of Male and Female Wage Earners**

In Hungary, the economically active part of the male population did not increase during the 1970s, while the active female population grew from year to year until the 1980s. The economic recession and the appearance of unemployment affected both men and women. In contrast to international tendencies, unemployment affected men to a slightly greater degree than women. (In the autumn of 1992 the unemployment rate was 9.7% for women and 13% for men. Frey 1993:28). As a result of these factors women make up about 4b% of the working population today (Table 3).

Thus the proportion of women aged 15 to 55 who are actively employed has increased, although it still has not matched the proportion of working men. The decisive factor in this relative lag is that almost 1/10 of employed women are so-called inactive earners - on leave, receiving childcare allowance and aid. The 'stagnation' of the numbers of employed women in recent years might have been caused by the introduction of childcare allowance in 1967 and childcare aid in 1985 (Table 4).

## **2. Women in Higher Education**

In the last few decades more and more women have appeared in the student bodies of higher educational institutions. The percentage of women attending colleges and universities has steadily risen and has even equalled the percentage of men attending the schools (e.g., faculties of law and economics) which grant the diplomas needed to attain higher positions (Table 5). The same trend is visible among students who have actually graduated from universities and colleges (Table 6).

The difference between men's and women's educational levels is thus now considerably lower, as men form a majority in only certain fields such as agriculture, technical sciences and veterinary studies. The theory of human capital - according to which sexual differences in jobs and incomes can be explained by the smaller 'investment' of human capital on the part of women - has thus been at least partially overturned. Nevertheless, data from the 1990 census draw attention to the fact that women are more likely to attend technical schools and colleges than (more prestigious) universities: "At universities only 35% of graduates are women while at technical and teachers' colleges this percentage is 54%" (Hrubos 1993: 10).

## **3. Characteristics of Women Managers<sup>4</sup>**

### *3.1. The Percentage of Women Managers*

A comparison of the data from the 1980 and 1990 census has led to some surprising findings. While the number of women who are active earners has grown slightly (especially among intellectuals), there has been a far more significant increase (30%) in the numbers of women managers and administrators. In 1980 one-fourth of such positions were filled by women, while by 1990 one-third of them were occupied by women. In round figures this means that in 1980 101,000 women and in 1990 132,000 women were managers, while the number of male managers decreased from 285,000 to 260,000 (Table 8).

What caused this 30% increase in the numbers of women managers and administrators? May we ascribe this change to the success of the equal rights movement? In searching for an adequate explanation we should be aware that, because of the above mentioned processes in the labour market (namely the decrease in the percentage of employed men and the growth of women's employment) the sexual division within this category has changed. Women's chances were improved by their growing participation in higher education. In addition, more women are to be found at lower levels than at higher levels of the managerial hierarchy (Table 9).

We might suggest that in 1990, male managers showed a preference for top positions in the private as opposed to the public sector. Our suspicion is supported by the fact that the percentage of men considered 'independent' entrepreneur (i.e., directors of companies) has risen considerably faster than the percentage of women in such positions.

On the other hand, as is clear from the data, the number of women managers increased so greatly between 1980 and 1990 that their presence can no longer be ignored. An even more significant change has occurred in high administrative posts: the percentage of women occupying such posts doubled between 1980 and 1990. Women now make up 1/3 of this group. Four leaders out of ten are women in local governmental administration. The percentage of women directing political organisations (parties, political movements) has almost reached 40%. All these changes took place at a time when a bare 7% of the members of Hungary's Parliament were women (Table 10).

### *3. 2. Managers and Age*

According to data from the 1990 census, the majority of women managers were between 30-55 years of age, while men were slightly younger. Men gained managerial positions earlier and - partly due to the higher retirement age - they remained in responsible positions longer (Table 11). Our observation of this age discrepancy is confirmed by research carried out among the economic elites (see section 4). The data indicate that it is fairly difficult for women to reconcile their careers with family life, since both are founded at approximately the same period - that is, the first few years after starting work. Fewer conflicts arise if ambitions are temporarily suspended. This might also explain why women only achieve positions at lower levels of the hierarchy. This does not imply, however, that all women are aware of this dilemma. Instead, we assume that the problem is dealt with according to society's expectations, and that women who have just started their careers do not regard themselves as at a disadvantage to men.

### *3.3. Managers and Their Qualifications*

An analysis of the data provided by the Hungarian Wage and Labour Office and the Hungarian Statistical Office in 1983 came to the conclusion that managers were inadequately educated (Székely 1986). Despite the marked improvement in educational levels, many managers had no degree from any institute of higher education. Women managers were much more likely to occupy positions without proper qualifications than their male colleagues (Table 12). The need, then, to simultaneously meet the goals set by personnel policy and professional requirements caused difficulties.

If we attempt to deal with professions in which people work exclusively in management, then we have a much larger group to study (Table 13). As the data indicate, directors of larger

social and economic units possess the most advanced degrees. The highest qualifications are to be found among public administrators. In their case 90% of men and 79% of women possess a higher degree. In local government administrations at least 2/3 of the employees have diplomas. The discrepancy in qualifications between men and women is most marked in the management of companies. One-fourth of the men and almost half of the women in top positions have no college or university degree. The lowest educational levels can be found among commercial and catering management, where only 12-14% of men and 5-8% of women possess a diploma. People in these groups mainly graduated from secondary schools with A-level exams. Commerce and the catering trade play an especially important role in the employment of women. Twenty-three thousand of the 132,000 women managers work in these fields. Here, new enterprises also play their role, since women show special preference for starting businesses in these two particular fields.

### *3.4 Managers and Incomes*

The discrepancy in earnings between the genders is significant, not only among active earners, but quite strikingly among managers as well. In 1991 the difference in average monthly salary between the genders among white-collar workers was 36.6% in the private sector and 33.2% in the public sector - both in men's favour (Table 9).

An analysis of the salary categories of men and women managers indicates that almost 1/2 of all men and hardly more than 1/4 of women belong to the highest category (Table 14). Why is there such a marked difference in earnings between men and women managers?

#### 3.4.1. Geographic Factors Affecting Earnings

The discrepancy in earnings between those working in Budapest (the largest city in Hungary) and the rest of the country has been widely known for a long time. This difference is even greater along gender lines. On the basis of salary statistics we can distinguish between three categories: Budapest, towns, and villages. In each case the proportion of women is 1/4-1/3. The earnings attainable in higher positions decrease as we move from Budapest to smaller localities. Monthly salaries are lower and lower (in the case of both genders) and women considerably fall behind in earnings in smaller towns. While male managers living in smaller towns earn scarcely 76% of what is earned by those in the capital, female managers are in an even worse position - they pull in only 63.7% of what their counterparts in Budapest earn. Women managers in the countryside are at a disadvantage in several respects: they fall behind in earnings both in comparison to men and to women living in Budapest (Table 15).

#### 3.4.2. The Hierarchy

Surveys about incomes at companies, co-operatives, enterprises, and state-financed institutions which employ more than 50 workers most clearly shed light on the reasons for the discrepancy in earnings between men and women managers. As a result of the standardisation of data, the "difference between the genders is relatively low at the same levels of the hierarchy" (A keresetek 1993:8). If we focus solely on managers, the 30% difference mentioned above is considerably reduced (Table 16). The same applies to companies employing less than 50 people. The first striking phenomenon to be noted is companies than at private companies. The other - less surprising - fact is that the higher we climb in the

hierarchy, the lower the ratio of women to men and the greater the difference in earnings. Only a few women can manage to get into top positions.<sup>5</sup> We are back again to the root of the problem: it is not the discrepancy in earnings that is significant, but rather the different participation rates between the genders in top management.

Unfortunately, we cannot calculate the monthly per-capita salary of women managers' family from the data collected in Hungary. An analysis of the surveys conducted abroad leads us to suspect that women managers' households are in a much better condition financially than the families of their male counterparts. This is because both the husband and wife in these families are likely to be earning high incomes (Rosener, 1990).

#### **4. Women in the Economic Elite**

Now we should turn to the most disputed and most interesting group - the members of the economic elite.<sup>6</sup> They form a small homogeneous group within the statistical category labelled 'managers and leaders' in the census. 16% of the economic elite were women according to the survey performed in 1990. This result corresponds to the percentage measured in the 'manager A' category mentioned above, and to international findings.

Every manager in the economic elite possesses the necessary degree, either from a college or from a university. Even within the economic elite men differ from women according to position held: 30% of men in the sample worked as top directors or as deputy directors, while only 5% of women occupied these positions. In contrast, 25% of women were heads of department as opposed to 9% of men. An analysis of career paths makes it quite clear that men began their careers earlier. Women obtained their first managerial positions sometime between their 31st and 40th year, while 1/3 of men had already become managers by the age of 30 or even earlier. (This correlates with our findings in the category of managers and leaders.)

Women in top management have a disadvantage with respect to private life as well as to position held. We found a considerable difference in the marital status of the informants. Male managers have better chances in the 'marriage market' than the rest of the male population of the same age. Their marriage rate is higher than the average: 92% were married and 6% divorced. In contrast, women managers are less likely than their 'inferiors' to be married: 2/3 were married, 1/4 divorced and 1/10 single. As a consequence, women managers have fewer children than the average woman. They live in smaller households, quite frequently by themselves. Having analysed the differences between the genders, we have come to the conclusion that women managers have to pay a heavy price for obtaining high positions and for advancing within the hierarchy in a male-dominated world.

#### **5. Two Elections in Hungary<sup>7</sup>: Women in Politics**

In the last decades economic and political as well as ideological factors influenced women's employment. Bills were passed and social movements worked with the intention of raising the educational level of women and their participation in management. The figures have indicated that more and more women are taking part in the economy, in public administration, in party and mass organisations. As we already pointed out when discussing qualifications, the correspondence between political correctness and education was not altogether successful in many cases. Poorly prepared 'token women' promoted into top positions have done much

harm to equal rights. This form of forced emancipation undoubtedly accounts for some of the serious prejudices against career-oriented women.

Even before the fall of the socialist regime the social and political role of men and women was approached in very traditional terms in Hungary (Tóth 1990). This rather conservative attitude was articulated in the local government and (especially) parliamentary elections, where the male and female spheres (public versus private life) were sharply distinguished. Women's participation in public life has considerably decreased. The higher the position and the greater the constituency, the less likely women will serve as representatives. In 1990, the rate of women in local governments was higher than among parliamentary representatives and mayors (more than 15%). The percentage of women mayors is markedly lower, approximately 10% (Table 17). In the case of the parliamentary elections, 9% of the candidates and eventually 7.3 % of the representatives were women. Aside from the National Electoral Coalition, which nominated the most female candidates, only the Young Democrats and the Free Democrats had more than 10% women among their nominees. Following the elections only two out of these three political organisations won seats in Parliament, and both in the opposition; thus, it is not in the least surprising that the percentage of women in Parliament is exceedingly low (Table 18). Among the parliamentary factions women are most poorly represented in the governing parties where the ratio of women does not reach the average of 7.3%. There are more women representatives in the opposition parties: in the Hungarian Socialist Party some 15% of representatives are women (Table 19).

Society, in essence, has voted for men to take over the responsibility of running the country. Moreover, during the formation of the new government and the political changes, women's special interests were not taken into consideration. Hardly any role - not even a symbolic one - was entrusted to women in the executive power. Just one woman became a minister (without portfolio) in the cabinet formed in 1990, and women are present in the high administration of the ministries in an insignificant number (four people, see Table 20).

### **III. Conclusions**

In this survey, which relies primarily on international and Hungarian data, we intended to take a close look at women managers' position in the economy and in society.

According to both international data and Hungarian trends, more and more women have attained top positions in the recent past. Thus their percentage and outright numbers have gradually increased within the group. In spite of these improvements, men and women do not have equal chances of advancing in the hierarchy, or of achieving top positions.

Differences in opportunities between men and women cannot be explained by their differing educational levels, since just as many women as men study in higher educational institutions (except for in the technical universities and colleges). The different activity ratio between the genders does not provide a satisfactory explanation either, for almost half the active wage earners are women.

Women's chances are often reduced because starting a family and embarking on a career coincide. Analysis of the age-group divisions, and of data on marital status, supports this observation.

Women have fewer chances to occupy more prestigious and responsible positions, and are usually found at lower levels of the hierarchy. The discrepancy in earnings within the group of managers is quite high, although the standardisation of positions conceals the majority of these differences.

Women play a relatively insignificant role in political life. In analysing the composition of Parliament, the Cabinet and the local governments we have come to the conclusion that disproportionately more men than women are entrusted with responsible positions, particularly in larger constituencies.

The survey focussing on the economic elite has indicated that even within this group women obtain lower positions. In addition, women managers quite often sacrifice their private lives for a career.

Society apparently does not appreciate women who break with tradition and advance their careers. In the last decades forced emancipation has produced just the opposite effect of what its planners intended. Women are not in the least encouraged to strive for top management positions by the social-economic milieu. Instead they are exposed to traditional expectations. They are pressured into making a choice between family and career, rarely feeling free to harmonise the two. The interviews we have proposed to carry out could help us to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of the decisions women are obliged to make.

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Table 1. Female labour force as a percentage of total labour force, 1975, 1984, 1992 and of the major group 2, 1992<sup>a</sup>

|                                | 1975 | 1984 | 1992 | major group 2 |
|--------------------------------|------|------|------|---------------|
| <i>Western Europe</i>          |      |      |      |               |
| Austria                        | 40   | 41   | 41   | 16.4          |
| Belgium                        | 34   | 38   | 42   | -             |
| Denmark                        | 41   | 45   | 46   | 14.7          |
| Finland                        | 46   | 47   | 47   | 24.8          |
| France                         | 37   | 39   | 43   | -             |
| Germany                        | 37   | 39   | 41   | 23.3          |
| Ireland                        | 27   | 29   | 31   | 15.1          |
| Italy                          | 30   | 35   | 37   | -             |
| Luxembourg                     |      |      | 36   | 12.0          |
| Netherlands                    | 28   | 35   | 40   | 15.9          |
| Norway                         | 38   | 43   | 45   | 26.7          |
| Sweden                         | 43   | 47   | 48   | -             |
| Switzerland                    | 34   | 35   | 38   | -             |
| United Kingdom                 | 37   | 40   | 43   | -             |
| <i>North America</i>           |      |      |      |               |
| Canada                         | 37   | 41   | 45   | 40.8          |
| United States                  | 39   | 43   | 45   | 40.7          |
| <i>Eastern Europe and USSR</i> |      |      |      |               |
| Belorussia                     |      |      | 49   | -             |
| Bulgaria                       | 47   | 49   |      |               |
| Czechoslovakia                 | 45   | 46   | 47   | -             |
| Estonia                        |      |      | 50   | -             |
| German Democratic Republic     | 50   | 52   |      |               |
| Hungary                        | 44   | 45   | 46   | 58.2          |
| Latvia                         |      |      | 50   | -             |
| Lithuania                      |      |      | 49   | -             |
| Poland                         | 42   | 43   | 45   | 15.6          |
| Rumania                        | 36   | 40   | 46   | -             |
| Russia                         |      |      | 49   | -             |
| Ukraine                        |      |      | 49   | -             |
| USSR                           | 51   | 51   |      |               |
| <i>Southern Europe</i>         |      |      |      |               |

|            |    |    |    |      |
|------------|----|----|----|------|
| Greece     | 30 | 31 | 37 | 10.1 |
| Portugal   | 38 | 43 | 43 | 18.9 |
| Spain      | 21 | 30 | 36 | 9.7  |
| Turkey     | 36 | 35 | 31 | 5.3  |
| Yugoslavia | 38 | 39 |    |      |

The Economic Role of Women in the ECE Region, p. 13, Year Book of Labour Statistics 1992, 38-49 and 176-193.

*Table 2. Women in government offices<sup>2</sup>*

|                             | Ministries                    |        | Female ministers |      |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|--------|------------------|------|
|                             | economic, political and legal | social | number           | %    |
| Austria                     | 1                             | 3      | 2                | 12.5 |
| Belgium                     | 6                             | 1      | 1                | 4.8  |
| Bulgaria                    | 3                             | 0      | 1                | 5.9  |
| Czechoslovakia              | 0                             | 0      | 0                | 0.0  |
| Denmark                     | 15                            | 14     | 4                | 16.7 |
| Finland                     | 0                             | 3      | 1                | 7.1  |
| France                      | 5                             | 1      | 0                | 0.0  |
| Greece                      | 3                             | 4      | 1                | 4.3  |
| Netherlands                 | 4                             | 1      | 1                | 5.9  |
| Ireland                     | 0                             | 2      | 2                | 10.0 |
| Yugoslavia                  | 0                             | 0      | 0                | 0.0  |
| Canada                      | 8                             | 5      | 6                | 14.3 |
| Poland                      | 0                             | 1      | 1                | 3.7  |
| Luxembourg                  | 0                             | 0      | 0                | 0.0  |
| Hungary                     | 0                             | 1      | 1                | 5.3  |
| Malta                       | 0                             | 0      | 0                | 0.0  |
| United Kingdom              | 5                             | 2      | 1                | 4.8  |
| German Democratic Republic  | 11                            | 1      | 1                | 2.9  |
| Federal Republic of Germany | 5                             | 2      | 2                | 10.0 |
| Norway                      | 8                             | 4      | 6                | 33.3 |
| Italy                       | 0                             | 1      | 0                | 0.0  |
| Portugal                    | 2                             | 1      | 1                | 6.3  |
| Rumania                     | 17                            | 6      | 6                | 13.0 |
| Spain                       | 1                             | 2      | 2                | 9.5  |
| Switzerland                 | 0                             | n.a.   | 0                | 0.0  |

|        |    |    |   |      |
|--------|----|----|---|------|
| Sweden | 4  | 10 | 6 | 25.0 |
| USSR   | 2  | 2  | 1 | 1.2  |
| Turkey | 0  | 0  | 0 | 0.0  |
| USA    | 29 | 11 | 2 | 10.5 |

Source: Women in Government, p. 6.

Table 3. <sup>10</sup> Male and female labour force (thousand)

| Year | Men    | Women  | All    | Percentage of Women |
|------|--------|--------|--------|---------------------|
| 1970 | 2933.5 | 2055.2 | 4988.7 | 41.2                |
| 1980 | 2866.8 | 2202.1 | 5068.8 | 43.4                |
| 1990 | 2513.7 | 2013.5 | 4527.2 | 44.5                |
| 1992 | 2276.5 | 1965.3 | 4241.8 | 46.3                |

Sources: 1980. évi népszámlálás, vol. 22, part 1, p. 65; 1990. évi népszámlálás, vol. 3, pp. 86-87, Magyar Statisztikai Zsebkönyv 1992, p. 23.

Table 4. Labour force participation rates

| Labour force as a percentage of population |                  |                    |
|--|------------------|--------------------|
| Year                                       | 15-59 years male | 15-54 years female |
|  | population       |                    |
| 1949                                       | 89.7             | 34.5               |
| 1960                                       | 91.4             | 53.3               |
| 1970                                       | 85.6             | 64.3               |
| 1980                                       | 85.9             | 73.2               |
| 1984                                       | 86.2             | 73.8               |
| 1990                                       | 80.4             | 69.6               |

Sources: Andorka et al. 1990, p. 94., Andorka et al. 1992, p. 29.

Table 5. Women in higher education

|          | 1981       |       | 1984       |       |
|----------|------------|-------|------------|-------|
|          | number     | ratio | number     | ratio |
|          | (thousand) |       | (thousand) |       |
| Total    | 31.8       | 50.1  | 34.5       | 51.7  |
| pedagogy | 6.0        | 73.4  | 18.6       | 73.4  |
| medicine | 4.4        | 56.8  | 4.1        | 54.4  |
| sanitary | 0.9        | 92.0  | 1.1        | 96.3  |

|                           |     |      |     |      |
|---------------------------|-----|------|-----|------|
| economics                 | 3.4 | 61.5 | 3.9 | 64.6 |
| law, state administration | 1.4 | 50.8 | 1.8 | 57.3 |
| technical                 | 3.2 | 17.6 | 2.6 | 15.3 |
| rural                     | 1.5 | 28.3 | 1.3 | 31.2 |
| veterinary                | 0.1 | 15.8 | 0.1 | 19.5 |

Source: *Nők a mai magyar társadalomban*, p. 23.

*Table 6. Women possessing a diploma (percentage)*

| University, college             | 1990 | 1991 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|
| University of Law               | 48.0 | 48.1 |
| University of Economics         | 50.5 | 50.3 |
| Technical Universities          | 18.8 | 20.0 |
| Technical Colleges              | 15.4 | 16.0 |
| Economic Colleges               | 74.8 | 71.2 |
| College of Trade and Catering   | 68.5 | 68.5 |
| College of State Administration | 80.7 | 80.8 |

Sources: *Művelődés és Közoktatásügyi Minisztérium Statisztikai Tájékoztató, Felsőoktatás 1990/91*, pp. 155, 160, *Felsőoktatás 1991/92.*, pp. 150-173.

*Table 7. Percentage of women students in higher education in the academic year 1991/1992*

|                                 | Women's percentage |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| Universities:                   | 55.2               |
| Faculties of Law                | 52.7               |
| Faculties of Economics          | 46.6               |
| Technical Universities          | 15.1               |
| Technical Colleges              | 18.4               |
| Economic Colleges               | 67.8               |
| College of Trade and Catering   | 65.4               |
| College of State Administration | 68.8               |

Source: Hrubos 1993:12.

Table 8. Women in different occupational groups

|                                 |      |      |
|---------------------------------|------|------|
| Percentage of women among       | 1980 | 1990 |
| economically active population  | 43.4 | 44.5 |
| white collar occupations        | 57.7 | 60.6 |
| leaders and managers (total)    | 26.2 | 33.7 |
| technical                       | 8.7  | 12.1 |
| legislation, administration     |      |      |
| economic, trade                 | 38.0 | 46.6 |
| medical, cultural               | 47.7 | 55.0 |
| accountanry, banking, financial | 45.6 | 46.8 |

1980. évi népszámlálás, vol. 22, pt 1, pp. 228-231, 1990. évi népszámlálás, vol. 3, pp. 86-87 and 90-91.

Table 9. Distribution of white collaremployees in the hierarchy

|                        | companies |       | public administration |       |
|------------------------|-----------|-------|-----------------------|-------|
|                        | men       | women | men                   | women |
| manager A              | 5.1       | 0.9   | 3.6                   | 0.5   |
| manager B              | 7.3       | 2.1   | 4.4                   | 0.7   |
| leader A               | 8.9       | 4.2   | 5.2                   | 1.3   |
| leader B               | 12.1      | 1.9   | 6.1                   | 4.1   |
| leader C               | 29.4      | 9.4   | 1.3                   | 2.2   |
| subordinated           | 37.2      | 81.5  | 79.4                  | 91.2  |
| white collar employees | 100.0     | 100.0 | 100.0                 | 100.0 |

Source: Kereseti arányok szakképzettségi..., Table 8.

Table 10. Women's proportion in management (percentage)

| Occupations                              | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1990 |
|--|------|------|------|------|
| technical director, chief engineer       | 1.7  | 4.2  | 5.2  | 7.4  |
| leaders in central public administration | 8.1  | 11.8 | 16.4 | 33.9 |
| leaders in local government              | 12.5 | 15.3 | 27.9 | 40.1 |
| parties, mass organisations              | n.a. | n.a. | 26.7 | 38.7 |
| companies, institutes                    | 7.4  | 6.4  | 15.5 | 24.6 |
| co-operatives                            | 2.4  | 2.9  | 7.4  | 13.0 |
| commercial manager                       | n.a. | n.a. | 55.4 | 62.8 |
| catering manager                         | n.a. | n.a. | 54.7 | 51.6 |

Sources: A nők helyzetének alakulása, pp. 33-34, 1980. évi népszámlálás, vol. 22, pp. 228-231, 1990. évi népszámlálás, vol. 3, pp. 86-87 and 90-91.

Table 11. Distribution of leaders and managers by age groups

| Age group | Men      |            | Women    |            |
|-----------|----------|------------|----------|------------|
|           | thousand | proportion | thousand | proportion |
| 14-19     | 0.6      | 0.2        | 0.4      | 0.3        |
| 20-24     | 6.7      | 2.6        | 3.3      | 2.5        |
| 25-29     | 16.2     | 6.2        | 6.7      | 5.0        |
| 30-34     | 29.8     | 11.5       | 16.5     | 12.5       |
| 35-39     | 45.3     | 17.5       | 27.8     | 21.1       |
| 40-49     | 98.8     | 38.0       | 57.5     | 43.5       |
| 50-54     | 32.7     | 12.6       | 17.2     | 13.0       |
| 55-59     | 25.5     | 9.8        | 2.3      | 1.7        |
| 60-       | 4.2      | 1.6        | 0.5      | 0.4        |
| Total     | 259.8    | 100.0      | 132.2    | 100.0      |

Source: 1990. évi népszámlálás, vol. 3, pp. 86-87.

Table 12. Ratio of incongruence among top managers in the economy

| Position                             | Men          |                             | Women        |                             |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
|                                      | total number | lack of academic degree (%) | total number | lack of academic degree (%) |
| Directors                            | 3055         | 28.1                        | 237          | 45.1                        |
| Technical vice directors             | 1818         | 14.7                        | 78           | 34.6                        |
| Business vice directors              | 1487         | 33.3                        | 769          | 48.4                        |
| Trade vice directors                 | 438          | 29.5                        | 29           | 27.6                        |
| Traffic, telecommunication vice dir. | 54           | 27.8                        | 3            | 33.3                        |
| Other vice directors                 | 693          | 18.6                        | 89           | 27.0                        |
| Total                                | 7545         | 25.2                        | 1205         | 44.8                        |

Source: Székely 1986:31.

Table 13. Educational level of leaders and managers

|                                    | Men                    |                   |                  |                    |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
|                                    | primary school or less | vocational school | secondary school | university college |
| technical director, chief engineer | 321                    | 239               | 2507             | 6763               |

|                                    |                        |                   |                  |                    |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| central, public administration     | -                      | 1                 | 180              | 1629               |
| local government                   | 73                     | 19                | 848              | 2394               |
| parties, mass organisations        | 31                     | 19                | 362              | 712                |
| companies, institutes              | 237                    | 251               | 2671             | 9942               |
| co-operatives                      | 256                    | 184               | 1674             | 3583               |
| commercial managers                | 1794                   | 2471              | 4943             | 1309               |
| catering managers                  | 740                    | 1352              | 2594             | 765                |
|                                    | Women                  |                   |                  |                    |
|                                    | primary school or less | vocational school | secondary school | university college |
| technical director, chief engineer | 44                     | 18                | 192              | 528                |
| central, public administration     | -                      | -                 | 254              | 677                |
| local government                   | 35                     | 7                 | 717              | 1521               |
| parties, mass organisations        | 27                     | 8                 | 284              | 391                |
| companies, institutes              | 217                    | 73                | 1690             | 2303               |
| co-operatives                      | 48                     | 19                | 458              | 326                |
| commercial managers                | 4122                   | 5281              | 7302             | 878                |
| catering managers                  | 1338                   | 962               | 2651             | 436                |

Source: 1990. évi népszámlálás, vol. 3 , pp. 102-103.

*Table 14. Distribution of managers among earning categories*

|                | Men   | Women |
|----------------|-------|-------|
| 3001-4000 Ft   | -     | 1.6   |
| 4001-5000 Ft   | 0.2   | 3.5   |
| 5001-6000 Ft   | 1.3   | 4.4   |
| 6001-7000 Ft   | 1.3   | 3.7   |
| 7001-8000 Ft   | 3.0   | 8.8   |
| 8001-10000 Ft  | 13.7  | 14.1  |
| 10001-12000 Ft | 13.7  | 16.6  |
| 12001-15000 Ft | 22.2  | 19.6  |
| 15000- Ft      | 44.6  | 27.7  |
|                | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: A keresetek színvonala, szóródása..., pp. 61 and 63.

Table 15. Monthly gross earnings of managers by settlements

|              | Men   | Women | Female/male earnings | Proportion of women in group |
|--------------|-------|-------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| Budapest     | 17827 | 14797 | 83.0%                | 35.4%                        |
| Other cities | 15076 | 11500 | 76.3%                | 27.6%                        |
| Villages     | 13549 | 9419  | 69.5%                | 33.7%                        |
| Total        | 15678 | 12334 | 78.7%                | 31.6%                        |

Source: A keresetek színvonala, szóródása..., pp. 23-24.

Table 16. Monthly gross earnings of women in managerial positions as a percentage of male earnings

|                                       | Female/male earnings (percentage) | Proportion of women (percentage) |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| companies with more than 50 employees |                                   |                                  |
| Manager A                             | 85.5                              | 15.0                             |
| Manager B                             | 96.3                              | 22.3                             |
| Manager C                             | 101.4                             | 32.1                             |
| Leader A                              | 97.4                              | 13.6                             |
| Leader B                              | 80.1                              | 24.2                             |
| Institutes of public administration   |                                   |                                  |
| Manager A                             | 73.9                              | 12.2                             |
| Manager B                             | 84.4                              | 13.7                             |
| Manager C                             | 88.6                              | 20.0                             |
| Leader A                              | 72.9                              | 40.2                             |
| Leader B                              | 76.7                              | 62.9                             |

Source: Kereseti arányok szakképzettségi..., tables 8 and 9.

Table 17. Representatives and mayors of local government

|   | Men   | Women | Total |
|---|-------|-------|-------|
| Representatives of local government           |       |       |       |
| Settlements with less than 10,000 inhabitants |       |       |       |
| number  | 15253 | 2907  | 18160 |
| proportion                                    | 84    | 16    | 100   |
| Settlements with more than 10,000 inhabitants |       |       |       |
| number  | 2513  | 377   | 2890  |
| proportion                                    | 87    | 13    | 100   |

|   |      |     |      |
|---|------|-----|------|
| Mayors  |      |     |      |
| Settlements with less than 10,000 inhabitants |      |     |      |
| number  | 2082 | 263 | 2345 |
| proportion                                    | 86   | 14  | 100  |
| Settlements with more than 10,000 inhabitants |      |     |      |
| number  | 115  | 4   | 119  |
| proportion                                    | 97   | 3   | 100  |

Source: Két választás Magyarországon, tables 2.1.1. and 2.2.1.

Table 18. Parliamentary candidates 1990

| Party                                    | Men  | Women | Percentage of women | Distribution of women |
|--|------|-------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| MDF (Democratic Forum)                   | 400  | 25    | 5.9                 | 7.9                   |
| FKgP (Smallholders Party)                | 313  | 20    | 6.0                 | 6.3                   |
| KDNP (Christian Democrats)               | 189  | 16    | 7.8                 | 5.1                   |
| SZDSZ (Free Democrats)                   | 297  | 39    | 11.6                | 12.3                  |
| Fidesz (Young Democrats)                 | 170  | 26    | 13.3                | 8.2                   |
| MSZP (Socialist Party)                   | 364  | 40    | 9.9                 | 12.7                  |
| independent                              | 175  | 15    | 7.9                 | 4.7                   |
| MSZDP (Socialist Party)                  | 201  | 26    | 11.5                | 8.2                   |
| MSZMP (Socialist Workers Party)          | 199  | 20    | 9.1                 | 6.3                   |
| HVK (Patriotic Election Coalition)       | 272  | 48    | 15.0                | 15.2                  |
| Agrárszövetség (Agrarian Association)    | 228  | 10    | 4.2                 | 3.2                   |
| Magyar Néppárt (Populist Party)          | 152  | 13    | 7.8                 | 4.1                   |
| Vállalkozók Pártja (Entrepreneurs Party) | 120  | 11    | 8.4                 | 3.5                   |
| others                                   | 111  | 7     | 5.9                 | 2.3                   |
| Total                                    | 3191 | 316   | 9.0                 | 100.0                 |

Source: Két választás Magyarországon, table 1.1.1.

Table 19. Distribution of MPs 1990

|                            | Men | Women | Proportion of women in factions (percentage) |
|----------------------------|-----|-------|--|
| MDF (Democratic Forum)     | 156 | 8     | 4.9  |
| FKgP (Smallholders Party)  | 41  | 3     | 6.8  |
| KDNP (Christian Democrats) | 20  | 1     | 4.8  |

|                          |     |    |     |
|--------------------------|-----|----|-----|
| SZDSZ (Free Democrats)   | 84  | 8  | 8.7 |
| Fidesz (Young Democrats) | 19  | 2  | 9.5 |
| MSZP (Socialist Party)   | 28  | 5  | 5.1 |
| independent              | 10  | 1  | 9.1 |
| Total                    | 358 | 28 | 7.3 |

Source: Parlamenti választások 1990, pp. 600-607.

Table 20. Leaders of ministries by sex

|                           | 1990   |       |                     |
|---------------------------|--------|-------|---------------------|
|                           | men    | women | percentage of women |
|                           | number |       |                     |
| Minister                  | 13     | 0     | 0.0                 |
| Secretary of state        | 23     | 1     | 4.3                 |
| Deputy secretary of state | 39     | 3     | 7.7                 |
| Total                     | 75     | 4     | 5.2                 |
|                           | 1993   |       |                     |
| Minister                  | 13     | 0     | 0.0                 |
| Secretary of state        | 26     | 3     | 11.5                |
| Deputy secretary of state | 44     | 1     | 2.3                 |
| Total                     | 83     | 4     | 4.8                 |

Source: Képviselői Kézikönyv 1990, pp. 125-130, A Magyar Közélet Kézikönyve, July 1993, pp. 52-57.

1. This research was supported by the Research Support Scheme (RSS) of the Central European University and by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA).
2. For the party decision in 1970 and its execution, see A nőpolitika dokumentumai.
3. This study seriously challenges the reliability of the international statistics, namely the data provided by ILO. It is highly questionable whether we can compare the data of censuses of different countries, since they are collected using differing methods. Therefore we have tried to supplement these data with other data from more specific sources. The greatest defect of the survey is ascribable to the fact that it contains information gathered in 1989, thus neglecting the changes in the last four years during which countries have disappeared, been separated or created.

4. Generally, three categories are distinguishable among the white-collar workers in the census: managers and leaders, subordinate administrators, management workers. As we lack more detailed classification, we analysed only the fairly heterogeneous group of managers and leaders.

5. The category of 'managers A' on the top of the hierarchy is not in the least homogeneous. Besides the director of the company, the chief engineer and the chief accountant are also included in this category. Heterogeneity is prevalent among other categories as well.

6. The economic elite consists of managers working in the top positions of economic life and management. The article entitled "Managers' recruitment, identity and value-orientation" was a product of a research program led by György Lengyel and Tamás Rozgonyi at the Sociological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Sociology Department of the Budapest University of Economic Sciences in the spring of 1990. The program was financed by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund. During the research we studied three sub-samples in the economic elite: 1. top leaders in the organisation of economy (Ministry of Finances, Ministry of Industry, National Planning Office), 2. the top managers in banking, and 3. top managers of the state-owned industries. Three-hundred-and-seventy-one people responded to the questions. There were 61 women among the respondents.

7. The title was borrowed from a publication (Two Elections in Hungary in 1990), edited by the Hungarian Statistical Office.

8. ILO statistics use the ISCO (1968) occupational groups. In this table the data of the second major group have been shown, e.g., 'Administrative and managerial workers'. This major occupational group consists of two subgroups ('Legislative officials and government administrative' and 'Managers') but the statistics do not give the data separately.

9. Data refer to 1989, and to the positions from ministerial rank to lower executive ranks such as deputy under secretary, assistant secretary, commissioner general, or director according to the hierarchy of the country in question.

10. In Hungarian statistics unpaid family members, who help in family business, are considered as economically active population.