## EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SLOVAKIA AND CZECH REPUBLIC

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#### Abstract

One of the macroeconomic indicators that impacts on economic growth and has a significant impact on the population is employment, respectively. unemployment. There are a number of factors affecting the development of employment and unemployment, such as demographic change, education, age, active labor market policy, and so on. Unemployment has negative impacts not only on the human being but on society as a whole. We can monitor negative impacts such as drop in living standards, different tensions, worsening human relationships, loss of motivation, loss of employment can also be reflected in the health of the unemployed. In the following paper we had analyzed and compared the development of these indicators in the Slovak and Czech Republics. Due attention should also be paid to people who are disadvantaged in the labor market. Supporting groups at risk of entering the labor market involves improving market entry by providing some support to the employer by increasing the number of jobs and eliminating all forms of discrimination.

#### Key words

employment, unemployment, employment rate, unemployment rate, comparison

JEL Classification: J8, J50, J51

Introduction

Employment and unemployment are one of the most prevalent concepts in the economy and point to the complex challenges of the market economy. They do not only express the problems of the economic direction, they often express the imbalance of the social and political problems of the given economy in the country. Employment in the macroeconomic sense expresses the working-age population, which included the creation of new products or service offerings. "The justification of its monitoring results from the importance of the human factor and its significant impact on the development of each economy." (Vojtovič, et al, 2013)

The working population is generally divided into 3 groups:

- employed perform any work that is paid or does not work for various obstacles (strike, sickness, holiday)
- the unemployed the population who does not work and is registered at the labor office
- all others not part of the labor force, the population being studied, retirees, people not working on the grounds of illness but also unemployed people who do not work.

If we examine the population by economic activity or inactivity, is divided into economically active and economically inactive population. The economically active population is made up of people who work or do not work for the moment, for other reasons, and those who are not employed but are actively seeking work. The economically inactive population is characterized by the non-working population, ie the unemployed, the persons receiving the pension, the people with severe disabilities and the persons in the vocational training phase.

Unemployment can be characterized as the current problem of the economy. "It is such a situation on the labor market, when people able and willing to work can not find a job. It is a manifestation of labor market imbalances when the working population offers more jobs than companies willing to employ." (Vojtovič, et al. 2014)

EUROSTAT defines unemployed persons as: persons aged 15-64 who either do not work, have been actively seeking work during the last four weeks of the reference period and would be able to work in the next two weeks.

Unemployment can be monitored from a microeconomic and macroeconomic point of view. Microeconomics considers unemployment as a problem for an individual who has the skills, the possibilities and the experience to gain employment and hence the means of subsistence. Macroeconomics considers unemployment as a problem of the functioning of the economy as a whole in order to find

answers to questions how to address the satisfaction of the needs of the population as a whole.

Unlike employment, unemployment can also be expressed in different forms and these are based on different criteria. From the point of view of the cause, unemployment is divided into frictional, structural and cyclical.

"Frictional unemployment arises as a consequence of the movement of people between regions, jobs or different stages of the life cycle." (Mura, et al. 2015) Friction between unemployed population includes people who have just finished schooling, migration for work, mothers ending parental leave, or people seeking better employment. If this type of unemployment occurs in the economy, it does not give rise to significant problems, since it is a natural component and the number of such unemployed persons is always less than or equal to the number of vacancies on the market. The unemployment rate may occur in three variants:

- Search unemployment wage inequality, inequality of jobs, lack of information on the labor market, forcing the workers to the search better working conditions. If they are longer unemployed, they have higher the chance to discover a better paid job.
  - Cautionary unemployment "If the nature of the job offered does not allow the workforce to move to a more favorable job in the future, it for the sake of prudence rejects the first job offered and remains unemployed until it finds a more advantageous job offer" (Vojtovič, et al, 2016)
- speculative unemployment when workers drop down, labor supply declines, as people assume that after a certain time wages will rise up and they will increase their offer.

Structural unemployment arises from inconsistencies between supply and demand for work and skills. "Such a mismatch may arise because the demand for a certain type of work is increasing while the demand for another type of work is falling and the offer does not work fast enough." (Lisý, 2010, s.385) The structure of vacancies does not coincide with the structure of free workers with certain skills. In this case, workers need to be trained, retrained or

transferred to work elsewhere. In terms of the economy, this form of unemployment is the most dangerous. Because the time needed is considerably longer and requires increased costs..

Cyclical unemployment is associated with economic cycles. Most often it occurs in the transition stages of the economy when the economy moves from the top to the part of the recession. Demand for work is at a lower level regardless of the profession.

Based on duration, unemployment is divided into short-term, usually from 0 to 6 months, with a median duration of 6 to 12 months and a long-term duration of more than 12 months. For the economy as a whole, long-term unemployment has the most negative effects. Disadvantaged populations form the basis of long-term unemployment usually. They are: young people, mothers, people with basic education, people over 50 or disabled (Delgadová, et al. 2017;).

Another reason for the rise of unemployment is the inflexibility of wages. Under this condition, unemployment is divided into voluntary and involuntary. Voluntarily unemployed people are characterized as persons who are unwilling to work at actual wages and are the result of a situation on the labor market. On the market are vacancies, the population does not respond and offer people prefer leisure or vocational training before job.

### **Goal and Methodology**

One of the most commonly used indicators of employment is the level of employment. It expresses the number of labor forces on the labor market by the following formula:

$$L = E + U$$
.

L (Labour) = labor force, E (Employed) = number of employed, U (Unemployed) = number of unemploeyd able to work.

The second method of calculating employment is the rate of economic activity (REA). It expresses the percentage of the population that is economically active and the population in both productive and postproductive age. It is calculated as follows:

$$REA = \frac{economically\ active\ population}{population\ in\ productive\ and\ post-productive\ age} \cdot 100 \quad (in\ \%)$$

Rate of employment rate (RE) is an indicator that evaluates employment developments not only in the country but also between the different regions of the country. It is stated in percentages and is expressed using the formula:

$$RE = \frac{number\ of\ employed}{population\ in\ productive\ age} \cdot 100 \qquad (v\ \%)$$

In the case of unemployment, its development and status are monitored by the number of the unemployed, the rate of unemployment, the magnitude and the extent of long-term unemployment. The number of unemployed assesses the internal state of the country's economy.

The usual state of the monitored economy is expressed using the unemployment rate. Points to the

exact status and evolution of unemployment by the proportion of the employed to total labor force, expressed as a percentage. (Ivanova et al., p. 300) Based on the calculation according to the equation, the data on the percentage of the unemployed from the total number of labor force:

$$u = \frac{U}{L} \cdot 100 \qquad (v \%),$$

u = unemployment rate, U = number of employed, L = labor force

Long-term unemployment rate is used to monitor long-term unemployment in the country. "The longterm unemployment rate represents the percentage of the long-term unemployed on the total number of labor force and it can be ascertained as follows:" (Masárová, 2011. p. 175)

Long – term unemployment rate = 
$$\frac{DN}{L}$$
.100 (v %),

DN = long-term unemployed persons a L = labor force

The last indicator for the expression of unemployment is the extent of long-term unemployment. It is stated in percentages and

represents the share of long-term unemployed persons from the total number of unemployed people in the country. It states as follows:

Extent of long – term unemployment = 
$$\frac{DN}{U}$$
.100 (v %),

DN = long-term unemployed persons, U = total number of unemployed people.

#### **Findings**

### 1. Employment and Unemployment in Slovak Republic

Employment represents the part of the population of the Slovak Republic who is capable of working,

that is, the employed or the other people who are preparing for their profession. The state of this population is surveyed by the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic by a labor force sample survey or registered employment from company statistics data. Data are reported in monthly, quarterly and yearly statistics.

Table 1. The total number of working persons of SR in the years 2008 - 2016

SR	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Number of persons (in thous.)	2 433,8	2 365,8	2 317,5	2 315,3	2 329,0	2 329,3	2 363,0	2 424,0	2 492,1
Growth rate (v %)	-	2,04	0,09	-0,59	-0,01	-1,45	-2,58	-2,81	2,79

Source: Štatistický úrad SR, own processing

Table 1 shows the total number of working persons in the Slovak Republic for the years 2008 to 2016. Generally, the development of the total number of workers is fluctuating. The highest increase among workers is recorded in 2016, when it grew by 2.79% compared to 2015. The largest drop in the number of workers was recorded in 2015, which fell by 2.81% compared to 2014. This decline was apparently due to pension reform and the dropping of strong population rates into retirement or early retirement.

From the point of view of the age structure of employed persons in the Slovak Republic, see. Table 2, we can state that in 2008 the most numerous group of people employed in Slovakia was made up of people aged 40-49. The number of employees represented almost 322.4 thousand persons, representing about 29.4% of the total number of employees in the given year. The total employment of this age group in 2016 compared to 2008 increased by about 11%.

Table 2. Development of employment in Slovak Republic by age groups in 2008 - 2016 (in thousands of persons)

Aged group (in years)	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	index 2016/2008
15 - 19	16,9	11,8	9	7,5	8,3	7,3	8,4	8,6	11,4	67,46
20 - 24	202,2	173,6	154,2	143,2	138,2	136,7	140,2	145,2	149	73,69
25 - 29	343,3	323,1	309,5	295,1	295,8	286,9	286,3	299,7	298,6	86,98
30 - 34	354,2	355,4	343,9	334,9	330,6	325,2	313	320,6	331,6	93,62
35 - 39	309,3	316,2	325,4	334,7	346,2	353,7	367,7	365,1	369	119,3
40 - 44	322,4	304,4	294,6	293,8	293,6	307,5	326,3	337,4	358,3	111,14
45 - 49	323,1	314,4	307	307,7	304,5	296,7	296	294	296,9	91,89
50 - 54	316,8	307,1	297,4	302,3	294,1	284,7	283,3	288,3	295,9	93,4
55 - 59	192,1	206,1	218	230,4	242,9	249,2	255	264,9	263,3	137,06
60 - 64	43,4	44,1	48,4	53,8	63,3	69,8	73,2	81,3	98	225,81
65 and more	10,4	9,7	10,3	12,2	11,7	11,7	13,9	19	20,4	196,15

Source: Štatistický úrad SR, own processing

The smallest share of workers is in the group of people aged 15-19. In 2008, it represented approximately 16.9 thousand people, or about 1.54% of the number of people on the labor market. For the whole monitored period, we record a significant decrease in this age group, by almost 33%. We expect

this to be due to the continuing interest of young people in increasing their qualifications, by passing a vocational or at least a first level of higher education. This claim can also be seen in the development of employment according to the educational level, which is presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Development of Employment in SR by Educational Level in 2008 - 2016 (in thousands of persons)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Basic	109,9	92,8	91,4	90,7	87,8	91,5	85,9	97,4	105
Full secondary vocational with graduation	126	105,3	81,7	104,3	112,2	91,8	146,1	155,8	150,3
Full secondary vocational	857,4	842,4	828,1	795,8	784,1	829,4	809,7	831,6	851,6
Higher professional	19,5	20,1	16	33,5	33,8	25,8	24,6	20,8	21
University – 1st degree	24,7	36,4	43,9	53,1	61,5	63,2	80,4	74,3	64,4
University – 2nd degree	356,1	362,8	398,2	395,8	393,1	417,7	431	460,1	503,2

Source: Štatistický úrad SR, own processing

In 2008 we observe that the most employed people (857.4 thousand) have completed full secondary vocational, which represents approximately 58% of the total number of employees. The second largest category is employed with university - second degree education, with 356,000 inhabitants (24%). Even in 2016, as in 2008, the group with full secondary vocational education remains the most numerous

group in the labor market. In 2016 it was about 50%, representing 851.6 thousand employed people. In second place this year, but with a much larger number, there was a group of graduates with a second degree university education. Compared to 2008, this is an increase of almost 140 thousand workers, with a total of 503.2 thousand people employed (30%).

Table 4. Number of unemployed persons in SR in 2008 - 2017

SR	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Average number	230,4	340,2	380,8	389,3	405,9	415,0	385,7	354,6	301,0	227,5
Average number of available	199,6	303,1	335,3	351,0	367,1	380,7	345,1	310,2	257,7	192,5
Rate of registered unemployed (%)	7,7	11,4	12,5	13,2	13,60	14,10	12,80	11,5	9,5	7,1
Growth rate (%)	-	47,65	11,92	2,23	4,27	2,25	-7,07	-8,06	-15,11	-24,40

Source: Štatistický úrad SR, own processing

In the monitored period, registered unemployment has increased since the beginning of the period until 2013. In 2013, the registered unemployment rate was almost twice as high as in the beginning, almost 14.1%. At the beginning of the period it was 7.7%. Due to the fact that Slovakia was still dealing with the situation that arose after the crisis in 2009. Based on the data in Table 4. we can conclude that the registered unemployment rate has increased significantly since 2008 and stopped in 2013 at the highest point of 14.1%. Consequently, this situation has changed from 2013 to 2017 and we see that this registered unemployment rate is falling and it stopped at 7.1% in 2017. Year-on-year, the biggest difference can be observed in 2009 compared to 2008, with registered unemployment rising by approximately 3.7%. Subsequently, we can see that the year-on-year increases in registered unemployment by 2013 range from 0.4% in 2012 to 1.1% in 2010. From 2014 we can see a reduction in registered unemployment. The largest decline was recorded at the end of the monitored period when unemployment fell by 2% compared to 2015.

# 2. Employment and Unemployment in the Czech Republic

As employment in individual sectors in Slovakia and in Czech Republic (CR) is varied. The total number of employed persons was 5 138.5 thousand inhabitants in 2016. Compared to 2010, total employment growth was approximately 5%, which was an increase of approximately 253.3 thousand employees.

Table 5. The total number of working persons in CR in the years 2008 - 2016

CR	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Number of persons (in thous.)	5 002,5	4 934,3	4 885,2	4 904,0	4 872,4	4 890,1	4 937,1	4 974,3	5 041,9
Growth rate (v %)	ı	-1,36	-1,00	0,38	-0,64	0,36	0,96	0,75	1,36

Source: Štatistický úrad ČR, own processing

The largest share of employees in the Czech Republic is in the processing industry, which employs approximately 1 428.7 thousand inhabitants. Workers represent approximately 27.87% of the total number employed in 2016. In second place with a 11.2% share

of employed consists employed in wholesale and retail. In 2016, approximately 605.8 thousand people worked here. Compared to 2010, we can see a slight increase (about 2%).

The largest increase in 2016 compared to the first year can be seen on the basis of a basic index in the field of scientific and technical services, when employment has increased by almost 50 thousand employees compared to 2010, which represents an increase of almost 25% in comparison with the first monitored year. In 2016, employment in the sector

amounted to approximately 4.89% of the total employment.

The largest increase in the number of employees is seen in the manufacturing industry where the increase in the number of employees was approximately 192 thousand.

Table 6. Development of employment in the Czech Republic by economic activity in 2008 - 2016 (in thousands of persons)

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Index (2016/2010)
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	151,2	145,6	149,2	149,6	136,7	147,5	149,1	98,57
Mining and quarrying	47,9	46,1	43,3	41,1	35,7	37,8	38,9	81,17
Processing industry	1235,9	1287,6	1299,1	1285,3	1329,8	1376,8	1428,7	115,59
Production and distribution of electricity, gas, heat and air conditioning	56,8	57,7	50,9	54	57,2	49,2	52,8	92,98
Water supply; wastewater, waste and sanitation activities	50,2	51	46	51,3	55,4	57,1	49,5	98,53
Building and Construction	464,9	431	425	420,3	413,9	396	386,3	83,1
Wholesale and retail trade; repair and maintenance of motor vehicles	593,8	597,4	601,9	605,3	590,2	615,7	605,8	102,02
Transport and storage	328,1	322,2	308,9	301,9	295,9	297,6	314,2	95,76
Accommodation, catering and hospitality	190,1	185	177,5	178,5	195,2	197,2	183	96,25
Information and communication activities	137,1	145,4	125,3	139,8	148,7	141,5	147,6	107,63
Banking and insurance	115,3	122,5	136,7	137,3	121,5	118,1	117,2	101,62
Real estate activities	40	41,8	45,7	48,8	46,2	44,9	39	97,45
Professional, scientific and technical activities	202,1	198,7	212,4	220,8	222,4	237,5	251,5	124,44
Administrative and support activities	113	114,5	115,9	129,4	129,8	128,9	128,7	113,89
Public administration and defense; compulsory social security	329,3	314,8	305,5	315,9	319,4	316,2	330,2	100,25
Education	295,6	295,5	318,9	322,6	326,2	322,8	338,6	114,54
Health and social care	339,9	324,8	333,4	339,3	353,5	351,6	360,4	106,03
Cultural, entertainment and leisure activities	82,9	82,6	80,5	80,3	81,2	81,7	92,8	111,86
Other activities	93,7	88,2	91,9	93	87,6	90	86,6	92,45

Source: Štatistický úrad ČR, own processing

The most significant decrease in the number of employees based on the base index can be seen in mining and quarrying. The decline in employment in this sector was about 19%. The most marked decline in employment is seen in construction where it was around 79,000 employees.

In the monitored period, registered unemployment in the Czech Republic was completely different from that in the SR. Unemployment in 2010 amounted to 561,551 unemployed. In 2011, we registered a slight

decrease of registered unemployment by about 53 thousand unemployed.

In 2012 and 2013, unemployment increased, in 2012, unemployment amounted to 545,311 and in 2013 a further increase of around 51,000 unemployed people representing a value of 596,833 registered unemployed.

From 2013, and even then other years registered unemployment declined, and it was around 381,000 unemployed in 2016, which compared to 2013 is a decrease of almost 210,000 unemployed.

Table 7. Number of unemployed persons in CR in 2008 - 2016

CR	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Number of persons (in thous.)	229,8	352,2	383,7	350,6	366,9	368,9	323,6	268,0	211,4
Growth rate (v %)	-	53,26	8,94	-8,63	4,65	0,55	-12,28	-17,18	-21,12

Source: Štatistický úrad ČR, own processing

The number of job seekers per job at the beginning of the period amounted to 18.2 candidates per 1 job. From 2014, the number of candidates per job started to decrease. This year, the number of job seekers is 9,2 per job, which is less than 7,8 candidates

compared to 2013. Subsequently the last two years we have reduced the number in 2015 by almost half to 4.3 to 1 candidate job and the number dropped to 2.7 in 2016.

Table 8. Development of Unemployment in the Czech Republic by Age, in 2010 - 2017 (in thousands of persons)

Age group	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Index (2017/2010)
15 - 24	73,4	66,8	72,7	68,7	56,4	43,7	34,6	25,9	35,26
25 - 29	56,6	45,5	50,7	46,8	42,2	37,5	30,6	19,7	34,71
30 - 34	45,9	43	43,4	47,4	41,5	35,7	26,4	17	37,08
35 – 44	79,6	77,5	82	89,1	78,9	65,3	48,7	41,2	51,73
45 - 54	78,8	72,7	70,5	69,1	63,6	49,4	38,6	32,9	41,75
55 and more	49,3	45,1	47,5	47,7	41	36,5	32,6	22,1	44,85

Source: Štatistický úrad ČR, own processing

In individual age groups (Table 8), we can see the decline of the individual unemployed. The largest drop in unemployment in 2017 compared to 2010 was recorded in the category of 15 to 24 years when the decrease was almost 75% from 73.4 thousand to 25.9 thousand unemployed. The largest share of the unemployed was the unemployed in the age group from 35 to 44 when the number of unemployed 41.2 thousand unemployed. represented about 26% of the total number of unemployed in 2017. The lowest share of total unemployment is the unemployed aged 30-34 approximately 11%, the number of unemployed is around 17 thousand. In 2010, the largest share of the unemployed was also the age group from 30 to 44 years. The number of unemployed in this year was 79.6 thousand, which was about 35 thousand more than in 2017. The lowest share is the unemployed aged 30-34, making up about 45.9 thousand, or 12% of the total number of unemployed. Compared to 2017, this number exceeds approximately 31 thousand people.

From the point of view of education, we can state that the most significant decrease of unemployed can be observed in jobseekers with secondary education without graduation. The decrease was approximately 113.1 thousand. The percentage is down by almost 75%. In this group we can also observe the highest unemployment rate in all monitored areas. Unemployment reaches 60.9 thousand, representing 38.4 percent of total unemployment. We have the lowest unemployment rate for jobseekers with higher and university education, the unemployment rate is 16.9 thousand in 2017, which represents approximately 10.69% of total unemployment. Compared to 2010, unemployment decreased by about 8.7 thousand.

#### Conclusion

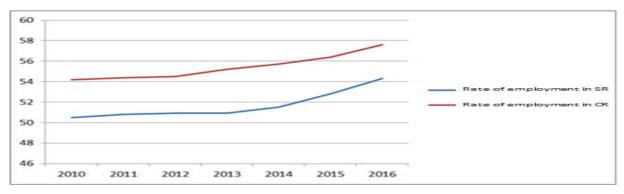
In the previous section, we have shown a different situation in the labor markets and the functioning of the labor market in each country. The key difference in individual markets is the employment rate. The level of employment in individual countries also influences the situation in the country, individual political and economic factors.

The development of the employment rate as we can see in the graph in both countries is different. Employment Graph is shown in Graph 1. In the Czech Republic, the employment rate is substantially higher than in Slovakia. Average unemployment rates were 55.43% in the Czech Republic, while 51.67% in Slovakia.

Employment has grown throughout the period under review. In the Czech Republic, employment

grew by 3.4% at the end of the period, in Slovakia it was an increase of 3.8%. The highest employment rate reached both countries in the period to end at 2016 when it reached 57.6%, in Slovakia it was 54.3%. In 2016, the employment gap between countries is also decreasing and the overall rate is the lowest among countries, with a value of 3.3%.

Graph 1. Comparison of employment rates in the Czech Republic and Slovakia (in%)



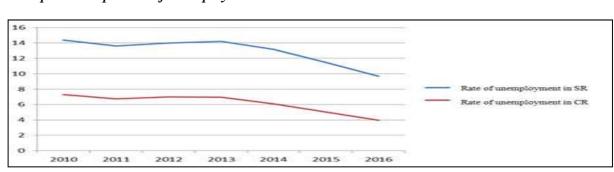
Source: statistics.sk, czso.cz, own processing

Unemployment is one of the most serious macroeconomic problems. After the creation of independent states, the situation in the Czech Republic stabilized, but in Slovakia it almost doubled.

The average unemployment rate for the monitored period 2010 to 2016 is about 12.94% in Slovakia, while in the Czech Republic it is more than a half less than 6.15% over the period. The period with the highest rate of unemployment is the beginning of the period under review, ie 2010 in Slovakia was almost double the unemployment rate of the Czech Republic, the figure was around 14.4% and in the Czech Republic it was only 7.3%. 2012 and 2013 brought us an increase in the unemployment rate when unemployment reached 14% above all in Slovakia. In 2012 it was 14% and the value in 2013 is 14.2%. In the Czech Republic, unemployment rates reached 7%

in both years. From 2013, the unemployment rate in both countries decreases and the lowest value is reached in 2016 when the value in Slovakia was 9.7% and in the Czech Republic it reached 4%.

Unemployment among young people is a persistent economies. problem for both The unemployment of young people in Slovakia amounted to 68.83 thousand unemployed and in the Czech Republic it was lower and represented 59.47 thousand unemployed. Unemployment had a decreasing tendency throughout the period in Slovakia. Slovakia reached the unemployment rate of 83.8 thousand unemployed in 2010. Subsequently, unemployment increased to 48.7 thousand unemployed in 2016, the unemployment rate at the end of the period decreased by almost 35.1 thousand unemployed persons.



Graph 2. Comparison of unemployment rates in CR and SR

Source: statistics.sk, czso.cz, own processing

In the Czech Republic, unemployment was similar to that in Slovakia, with the exception of 2012, when unemployment in the Czech Republic increased by 6.1 thousand unemployed. The highest unemployment rate in the Czech Republic in 2010 was 73,400 unemployed. The Czech Republic also managed to reduce unemployment by 2016, reaching 34.6 thousand unemployed, which represents a decrease by 38.8 thousand unemployed compared to the beginning of the monitored period.

We are mostly recommended for Slovakia on the basis of comparison of Slovakia with the Czech Republic, because the situation in Slovakia is more critical compared to the situation in the Czech Republic.

Both Slovakia and the Czech Republic should focus on the education system and continue to pursue reform and thereby promote the employment of young people in the labor market. As a positive result, we are trying to curb gymnasium education, rather than promoting education linked to practice. In addition, the removal of highly educated people abroad should be limited, improving conditions for which they would not have to leave abroad.

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The work of the Labor Offices could also be improved. Improving services would also improve the reporting of current job offers and vacancies, thus preventing people from losing their working habits.

Due attention should also be paid to people who are disadvantaged in the labor market. Supporting groups at risk of entering the labor market involves improving market entry by providing some support to the employer by increasing the number of jobs and eliminating all forms of discrimination. A good tool in combating discrimination and disadvantaging people in the labor market is that many economists consider regular checks and, in the event of certain discrimination, the imposition of high sanctions or restrictions on their activities.

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