

Univerzita Pardubice
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**Factors of Sex Discrimination in the British Labour
Market in the Last Third of the 20th Century**

Bakalářská práce

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Bachelor Paper

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**Faktory sexuální diskriminace na britském pracovním
trhu v poslední třetině 20. století**

Bakalářská práce

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2005

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V Pardubicích dne 15. 03. 2005

Ivana Dalecká

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Shrnutí

Tato bakalářská práce se věnuje postavení žen na britském pracovním trhu v poslední třetině 20. století. V práci používám různé zdroje, které jsou relevantní tomuto tématu, a na jejichž základě jsem vybrala ty aspekty, které se zdají být klíčovými faktory sexuální diskriminace na trhu práce. Tyto aspekty zahrnují vzdělání, nábor a výběr do zaměstnání, segregaci práce, práci na částečný úvazek, platové nerovnosti a sexuální obtěžování. V práci též zmiňuji zásah ženského hnutí do problému postavení žen na trhu práce. Dále ve své bakalářské práci uvádím přehled britské a evropské legislativy, která se zabývá sexuální diskriminací v zaměstnání. Vzhledem k tomu, že rodina hraje v životech žen důležitou roli, v závěrečné části se věnuji skloubení rodiny se zaměstnáním. V této bakalářské práci mohou lidé, kteří se zajímají o ženská studia, nalézt užitečné informace i zdroje k jejich dalšímu studiu postavení žen na trhu práce.

Abstract

This bachelor paper deals with women's position in the British labour market in the last third of the 20th century. In the paper I use various sources relevant to this topic and on their basis I have chosen those aspects which seem to be the key factors of sex discrimination in the labour market. These include education, recruitment and selection into employment, occupational segregation, part-time work, unequal pay, and sexual harassment. In the paper I also mention the Women's Movement intervention in the position of women in the labour market. Furthermore, in my bachelor paper I overview British and European legislation which deals with sex discrimination in the workplace. As family plays an important role in women's lives, in the final part I devote a chapter to the balance between families and employment. In this bachelor paper people who are interested in women's studies may find useful information as well as sources for their further study of women's position in the labour market.

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1. Introduction

In my bachelor paper I overview the position of women in the British labour market in the last third of the twentieth century and look into the existing literature dealing with this topic. The aim of this paper is to compare the sources and on their basis to find the factors of sex discrimination in the British labour market. From the available literature and sources I have chosen the ones which seem to be most contributing to the aim of this bachelor paper. The sources I use include theoretical studies as well as findings of various researches which usually support the theory by factual numbers of particular years of the late twentieth century. I overview the most important sources in the following chapter of this paper.

This bachelor paper consists of four main parts. At first, I introduce the problem of women in the labour market and I mention the influence of the Women's Movement on women's position in the workplace. Then I briefly overview the British as well as European legislation on sex discrimination in the workplace and then point at it again in the next parts of the paper. Another chapter of the paper deals with women in the labour market and includes various topics such as education, recruitment and selection, occupational segregation, part-time work, unequal pay, and sexual harassment. This part is then followed by a chapter which shows women's balance between their commitments in the home and in employment. The influence of family on the position of women in the labour market is, however, apparent already in the previous parts of the bachelor paper. Therefore I find it necessary to explore this influence in more detail in a separate chapter.

It is necessary to remark that in this bachelor paper I distinguish neither among social classes, nor among single, married or divorced women. I usually point at British women as a whole, even if in some chapters I go more into details and point at married women, or women with dependents, in particular. The reason for this is that from the sources it is obvious that gender based differences are usually bigger in married women or, better to say, women with dependents. I also intentionally omit women's unemployment. The sources suggest this as a very problematic area since many women do not consider themselves as unemployed for their "full-time employment" in the home. It is also important to mention the fact that when I use factual numbers in

connection with gender pay gap, these are counted from the working age population, i.e., as the sources suggest, women aged 16 till 59, and men aged 16 till 64.

I find it also necessary to get the readers acquainted with some basic terms I use in this paper, although I point at some of them again more in details in the particular chapters. According to Hughes, Kroehler and Vander Zanden (1999, 249), the term gender is a form of social differentiation, while sex refers to whether one is genetically male or female. Furthermore, gender is a socially constructed framework that human beings have created to make sense of and deal with the sex difference. Gender then determines gender roles, the ways in which the members of each sex are expected to behave. Another term which I find important to explain at the very beginning is sex discrimination. Humm defines it as the unfavourable treatment of women based on the patriarchal belief that women possess undesired attributes. Furthermore, Humm generally defines segregation as the separation of groups by race in restricted areas or facilities. But feminist economic theory uses two definitions of segregation. The first of them is horizontal occupational segregation when men and women work in different sectors of a job or industry. In vertical occupational segregation men tend to work in higher grade occupations and women in lower grades (Humm 1995, 253). As I often use the terms full-time and part-time work, and as the meanings of these terms may differ in foreign cultures, there is also a need for their explanation. According to the Trade Union Congress, British government defines part-time working as less than thirty hours a week, while full-time working up to forty hours a week. Working time is, to certain extend, also dependent on trade unions (Trade Union Congress 1991, 32). I characterize these organisations in the following chapter where I overview the sources I refer to in this bachelor paper.

2. Literature overview

There are many books dealing with the topic of women in the labour market. I would like to introduce the most important sources for my bachelor paper, among which were especially: *Contemporary British Society* by Nicholas Abercrombie, Alan Warde, Keith Soothill, John Urry, and Sylvia Walby, *Working Women* by the Trade Union Congress, *Introducing Women's Studies* edited by Diane Richardson and Victoria Robinson, and, last but not least, analyses, researches and findings of the Equal Opportunities Commission.

Contemporary British Society is a textbook which covers all aspects of the social structure of modern Britain, using statistical information, empirical studies and illustrations. The separate chapters deal with the major areas of modern life in Britain, such as work, class, gender, ethnicity, families and households, education and so on. For writing this bachelor paper the chapters about gender, families and households and education were the most contributory ones.

In my bachelor paper I often refer to the finding of the Trade Union Congress. The Trade Union Congress (further on TUC) was set up in 1868 and it characterises itself as “the voice of Britain at work”. It is a voluntary organisation that brings together independent trade unions and campaigns for a fair deal at work and for social justice at home and abroad (TUC 2005). As Abercrombie et al. add, trade unions are the most important and visible organisations for the protection of employees’ interests in the workplace (Abercrombie et al. 1996, 62). The TUC encourages unions to work together and enables them to do things they could not do alone. This includes drawing up common policies on matters that concern people at work. It also carries out research, education and campaign work. Another key function of the TUC is to help unions to resolve disputes with employers. The TUC negotiates in Europe, and at home builds links with political parties, business, local communities and wider society (TUC 1991; TUC 2005). The book *Working Women* is about women and the lives they lead in the home, in paid employment and as trade unionists. The aim of that book is to give all trade unionists the opportunity to discuss why women are disadvantaged at work and how unions can help them to overcome some difficulties (Trade Union Congress 1991).

Another useful source for writing this paper was the *Introduction to Women's Studies*. Both editors of this book are lecturers of Women's Studies at the University of Sheffield. Their Introduction to women's studies looks at the major subject areas of women's studies including race, health, education, the family, and others. For my bachelor paper the subjects work, sexuality and feminist theory were the most important ones.

As for the results of various researches, I often refer to the findings of the Equal Opportunities Commission (further on EOC). The EOC is the leading agency working to eliminate sex discrimination in Britain. The EOC is an independent, non-departmental public body, funded primarily by the government. Although it is independent from the government, it is responsible to the Equality Minister. The EOC deals only with sex discrimination and provides information on people's legal rights, what their options are and what next steps they can take. If it is impossible to resolve problems amicably, the EOC can advise people on how to take their cases to an employment tribunal or a court. The EOC's activities include setting the agenda for decision makers across England, Scotland and Wales, and running high profile campaigns to change public opinion as well as the law. Furthermore, the EOC publishes research and statistics about women and men in Great Britain to show clearly where change is still needed. Moreover, the EOC uses its unique legal powers of enforcement to investigate organisations or areas of life where sex discrimination is persistent or happens frequently. Last but not least, it takes landmark legal cases under the Sex Discrimination Act and the Equal Pay Act to improve the situation for women and men in the future. The EOC's cases set legal precedents to secure equal treatment for women and men in areas as diverse as pay, recruitment, pensions, education and sport (EOC 2005a).

This is a short overview of the bibliography, either books or electronic sources, which I most often refer to in my bachelor paper. This overview is necessary for the readers for better understanding of the topic of women in the labour market.

3. Problem of women in the labour market and the impact of Women's Movement

At the beginning I would like to point in general at the problem of women in the labour market and on the impact of Women's Movement on their position. I briefly overview both waves of feminism with the explanation of crucial terms.

The problem of women in the labour market is, according to Seager, in the fact that women and men tend to be employed in different occupations, and women are over-represented in a limited number of occupations. Women are therefore both segregated and concentrated in the workforce. Moreover, women earn less than men do, and they are "caught between sticky floors and glass ceilings." This means that they are concentrated in low pay, low status sectors and prevented from breaking into the top ranks (Seager 1997, 119).

Before mentioning the impact of the Women's Movement on the above stated problem, the term itself should be explained at first. Women's Movement is, according to Kramarae and Treichler, a more generic term for women's struggle for equality. It is often used interchangeably with feminist movement and women's liberation movement. However, how it is claimed by the same authors, this general term does not have the feminist movement's theoretical orientation toward "feminism" and does not invoke the specific "liberation" movement (Kramarae and Treichler 1985). Humm, however, defines the term feminism, in general, as the ideology of women's liberation and states that:

The definition incorporates both a doctrine of equal rights for women (the organised movement to attain women's rights) and an ideology of social transformation aiming to create a world for women beyond simple social equality (Humm 1995, 94).

Feminism with its various forms, again according to Humm, developed in two waves. The term first wave usually refers to the mobilisation of the suffrage movement in America and England. First wave feminism dated back to 1880 till 1920, in short, "created a new political identity for women with legal advances and public emancipation" (Humm 1995, 98). As Havelková adds, women in the first wave called for the basic human rights which used to have, in fact, only men. Among those rights

were, for example, right for vote, right for education, and welfare right (Havelková 2004, 169 – 170).

Humm (1995, 251) refers to the second wave as to the formation of women's groups in America, Britain and Europe in the late 1960s. This movement is, according to Wilson and Weir (1986, 96) originally known as women's liberation. Humm furthermore states that the Ford strike for equal pay in 1968 was followed by the first Women's Liberation conference at Ruskin College in Oxford in 1970. Its participants demanded equal pay, twenty-four-hour child care, free contraception and abortion on demand. Second wave feminism also battled to defend women from sexual and domestic violence and also launched campaigns against violence towards women. Moreover, it worked to advance employment rights in a Working Women's Charter (1974) supported by the national Trade Union Council (Humm 1995, 252). As Havelková (2004) claims, the second wave feminism brought new topics and approaches. She argues that everybody should be left to define her or his femininity or masculinity and to develop "equality in difference", i.e. that difference should not create inequality. Another feature of the second wave is so called woman-centeredness - women started to express themselves through their own experience. Humm (1995) moreover argues that "the recognition that public policies could be crafted from private experience is unique to feminism" and adds that the most important feature of the second wave is its challenge to traditional political concepts. "By connecting issues of reproduction with issues of production, the personal with the political, second wave feminism has changed contemporary political thinking" (Humm 1995, 253).

From the above stated it is evident that both the first and second wave feminism played an important role in the women's position in society. And especially the second wave then had an important impact on women's position in the labour market and on the introducing of protective legislation. However, as Seager claims, women are still segregated and concentrated in lower paying female dominated fields, and differences in women's and men's wages persist (Seager 1997, 119). In the following chapters I point at the differences between men and women in the labour market as well as the protective legislation.

4. Legislation

At the beginning I find it also necessary to get acquainted with the British legislation dealing with sex discrimination especially in the workplace. As the legislation on sex discrimination itself is a very broad and comprehensive topic and is undergoing instant changes, this is an overview of the legislation in force at the time of the last third of the twentieth century, in the period which this bachelor paper deals with. Among the most important Acts are the Sex Discrimination Act and the Equal Pay Act. Their most important parts, for the purposes of the topic of women in the British labour market, are outlined below. Then I mention other British legislation related to that topic and, as Great Britain has been one of the member countries of the European Union and the European law is thus part of its legislation, some of the European directives and recommendations, which prohibit sex discrimination and sexual harassment, are also outlined. In the following chapters I point at the legislation again in comparison with the overall situation in the workplace.

4.1 The Equal Pay Act

According to the sources dealing with sex discrimination and relevant legislation, the Equal Pay Act (further on EPA) was passed in 1970, came into full operation in 1975 and applies to England, Wales and Scotland. It does not refer only to pay but also it gives the right to be treated the same as someone of the opposite sex in relation to all sorts of other terms and conditions of employment, for example the number of days of holiday allowed. As Aldred states, in legal terms the EPA covers everything that is covered by the Contract of Employment between the employer and the employee. Neither a man nor a woman can be treated less favourably than another employee of the opposite sex under the Act (Aldred 1981, 71). This Act applies to women and men of any age, including children. The EOC states:

The EPA applies to people who are employees in the sense required for some other employment rights, such as the right not to be unfairly dismissed, but also to other people who are engaged under a contract personally to execute work or labour (EOC 2005g).

The Act has been interpreted to cover direct as well as indirect sex discrimination connected with pay differences and unequal treatment as stated above. While the EOC defines direct sex discrimination as less favourable treatment of a woman than a man (or vice versa) because of her/his sex, indirect sex discrimination occurs when a condition or requirement is applied equally to both women and men but, in fact, it affects more women than men (or vice versa) and is not genuinely necessary (EOC 2005g). According to the EPA, an individual has a right to the same contractual pay and benefits as a person of the opposite sex in the same employment, where the man and the woman are doing like work, or work rated as equivalent. The EPA cites that a woman is employed on like work with men if:

her work and theirs is of the same or a broadly similar nature, and the differences (if any) between the things she does and the things they do are not of practical importance in relation to terms and conditions of employment (EOC 1970, section 1(4)).

The equivalent work is then understood as “if her job and his job have been given an equal value in terms of the demand made on a worker under various headings (for instance effort, skill, decision)”, or of a job evaluation scheme. The law also says that a part-time workingwoman can compare herself with a full-time workingman, using hourly pay rates (EOC 1970, section (5)). These facts imply that a woman has to find a man to compare with before she can claim equal treatment. But as the Trade Union Congress states, in the 1970s, at the time when the EPA was passed, two thirds of women were in jobs done only by women, so it was a problem for them to compare themselves directly with men (Trade Union Congress 1991, 44). Furthermore, as Aldred (1981) adds, if differences in pay are based on the job evaluation scheme, the person complaining must show that the scheme discriminates against women.

As mentioned above, the Act did not come into force until December 1975. Aldred describes the five years between 1970 and 1975 as the period that was given to employers to prepare themselves for the new legislation and to solve any problems caused by it. And so, since the EPA was going to cost a lot of money, employers worked out ways how to avoid the impact of equal pay. These ways, as Aldred claims and further explains, were job evaluation, job segregation, and unisex pay scales. As for the job evaluation, employers looked at the skills women had and gave them a low maximum score, while men’s skills were given a high score. Another way, the job

segregation, was simply a matter of making sure that men and women did not do the same job. Then there would have been nobody of the opposite sex doing like work to compare with. Last but not least, unisex pay scales with several grades and a rate on each grade were created. When looking into each grade, it may have happened that women were in the lower grades than men, or that within each grade, women were on the lower rates of the scales (Aldred 1981, 75 – 76).

Even though the EPA has been interpreted to cover direct as well as indirect sex discrimination connected with pay differences and unequal treatment in employment, it is obvious that employers are still able to avoid a good deal of the cost by complying with it. But some of the problems that the EPA does not consider are further regulated in the Sex Discrimination Act.

4.2 The Sex Discrimination Act

The EOC states that the Sex Discrimination Act (further on SDA) came into force in late December 1975 and applies to England, Wales and Scotland (EOC 2005h). Aldred describes the necessity for the Act by the fact that during the five years before the EPA came into force, workers became more aware of the impact of the Act on segregation into “women’s” and “men’s” jobs. They knew that there would never be the basis for equal pay comparison (Aldred 1981, 78).

According to the EOC, the SDA, as well as the EPA, applies to women and men of any age, including children, and prohibits:

Sex discrimination against individuals in the areas of employment, education, and the provision of goods, facilities and services and in the disposal or management of premises. It also prohibits discrimination in employment against married people (EOC 2005h).

Neither is it legal to discriminate against someone because they are not married. The forms of discrimination to which the Act applies are described in part I of the SDA. These include prohibition of direct and indirect sex discrimination (as explained above), discrimination on grounds of gender reassignment, and discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation (EOC 2005h).

Part II of the SDA considers discrimination in the employment field. According to the EOC, in general, it is unlawful for the employer to discriminate directly or indirectly on grounds of sex or marriage in recruitment, treatment at work, and

dismissal. An employee should not be treated less favourably than others on the grounds of sex, nor should be subjected to any other detriment, for instance sexual harassment (EOC 2005h). However, section 7 of the SDA provides exceptions to the requirements of the Act and allows a job to be restricted to only one sex where the sex of the worker is a genuine occupational qualification (further on GOQ) (EOC 2005d). With reference to the EOC's explanation of the Act, a GOQ exists when the essential nature of the job, or particular duties attached to it call for a member of one sex. GOQ is derogation from the principle of equal treatment, and so it is very narrowly interpreted by the courts. GOQ can only be claimed where the work: is restricted to one sex for reasons of physiology or authenticity in dramatic performance or other entertainment; is to preserve privacy and decency; is in a private home and would lead to physical or social contact with or knowledge of intimate details of someone living there; requires living in single sex accommodation; is in a single sex establishment; requires the promotion of personal welfare or educational services; is outside the United Kingdom. But GOQs are always open to challenges by aggrieved individuals. If an employer is challenged, he has to give proof and show that a GOQ applies to the job at issue. But only an employment tribunal can give an authoritative ruling as to whether or not a GOQ is valid. It is therefore necessary for employers to identify GOQs properly according to the latest amendments of the Act before the positions are advertised. Moreover, it is important to consider each position individually to avoid any inconvenience (EOC 2005d).

As for discrimination in education, the SDA states it in part III. With reference to the explanation of the Act again, it is prohibited for co-educational schools, colleges and universities to discriminate directly or indirectly on grounds of sex in the way they treat and admit students. Single sex schools may restrict their intake to boys or girls. While those institutions are covered by the SDA, local education authorities must not discriminate in carrying out their functions under the Education Acts (EOC 2005h).

As far as sexual harassment is concerned, the London Rape Crisis Centre argues that the SDA covers this problem when saying that no employee should be treated less favourably than others on the grounds of sex, nor should be subjected to any other detriment. The any other detriment may also point to sexual harassment. But, as stated by the London Rape Crisis Centre (1999, 43), the main Parliamentary Acts covering

sexual offences are the 1976 Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act and the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act from 1994 .

As well as the EPA, even the SDA has its insufficiencies according to Aldred. But both these Acts are amended, the latest amendments to both being in 2003. Beside the two Acts, now I would like to point briefly at European legislation dealing with sex discrimination and sexual harassment that is necessary to know about when mentioning the situation in the British labour market in the late twentieth century.

4.3 European law

European Union law (further on EU law) has been part of domestic law in England, Wales and Scotland since 1972 when the European Communities Act came into operation, as the EOC claims. The EOC also states that the effect of this is that tribunals and courts must, wherever possible, interpret domestic law in accordance with EU law. Where EU law has direct effect, this will take precedence over domestic law and individuals may rely on EU law where domestic law does not provide a remedy (EOC 2005c).

Article 141 of 1958 Treaty of Rome, the Treaty establishing the European Community, states that women and men should receive equal pay for equal work. Besides, there are also various directives regulating equal pay as well as equal treatment. These are, for example, Equal Pay Directive (75/117) providing that all discrimination on the ground of sex in respect of all aspects of pay should be eliminated, and Equal Treatment Directive (76/207) providing that there should be no discrimination on grounds of sex, either directly or indirectly, nor by reference to marital or family status, in access to employment, training, working conditions, promotion or dismissal (Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí 2001).

With reference to the EOC (2005c), although recommendations are not binding on UK tribunals and courts, they may be taken into account as an aid to interpretation of domestic law. Such kind of legislation is, for example, the European Commission Recommendation and Code of Practice on the protection of the dignity of women and men at work (92/131) containing recommendations to employers, trade unions and employees on avoiding and dealing with sexual harassment (EOC 2005c).

The Equal Pay and the Sexual Discrimination Acts are the two most important Acts dealing with sexual discrimination. While these two Acts are part of the civil law, as Aldred claims, the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act and the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act are part of the criminal law. The difference between the civil and criminal laws is rooted in the fact that while the police are responsible for catching people who break the criminal law, they are not likely to go the workplaces to see if employers are paying the right wages under the EPA or treating their employees fairly under the SDA. He also argues that despite the fact that some of the Acts are part of the criminal law, employers still break them. He also adds that the law can only work if employers are not prepared to risk the consequences of breaking the law (Aldred 1981, 66 – 67).

According to the TUC (1991, 44), despite the existing legislation on sexual discrimination, it is not easy to take cases to the court, specifically to Industrial Tribunal when considering employment. Tribunal procedures are long and complicated, moreover, it can take up to three years for a case to reach the tribunal. In cases where the chairperson of the tribunal requests a report from an independent expert, it may take another year or even more. Furthermore, the law only provides a remedy for an individual employee, not a group of them. And still, where there are no men to compare with, women remain low paid. And here I would conclude this chapter by citing Aldred (1981, 67) again: “The point here is that laws don’t stop anyone doing anything – they just introduce penalties for those who are caught, or who have a claim made against them.”

5. Women in the labour market

This part of my bachelor paper is aimed at the position of women in the labour market. In connection with the labour market I include various topics such as education, recruitment and selection, occupational segregation, part-time work, unequal pay, and, last but not least, sexual harassment. I do not mention education as a separate chapter because I have found that this has a crucial impact on further employment process and, moreover, that it is already in education when occupational segregation begins. Then, recruitment and selection is another important aspect that should not be omitted when considering women in the labour market. According to a research which I summarize below segregation also appears in the recruiting and selecting process. After these parts, finally, the occupational segregation is examined in more details as well as part-time employment. Furthermore, I point at unequal pay which arises from the already mentioned topics. In addition to this, sexual harassment in the workplace is another important topic that is necessary to discuss since it is also closely connected with the position of women in the workplace, as examined further.

5.1 Education

As the statistics made in the field of education prove, educational qualifications are a principal determinant of employment opportunities. The type of school and education provided are very important for future career and influence people's long-term chances in employment. The studies conducted in the area of education show that although the situation in education concerning qualification levels of women and men aged under 25 improved till the late 1990s, students' choice of subjects is still showing gender differences. Therefore I examine the situation on the ground of gender in education, putting emphasis on the subjects girls typically tend to choose and the subjects typically chosen by boys. But, at first, I briefly overview the two main functions of education and its recent development.

According to Abercrombie et al., education in Britain is financed and regulated by the state. School attendance is compulsory for pupils from the age of five until sixteen. Furthermore, educational institutions have two basic functions: they act as agencies of socialization and they are mechanisms of allocation. Abercrombie et al.

define the process of socialization as transmitting social rules, norms and values, whereas mechanisms of allocation means that schools are channels for selecting and training people to fill the many occupations of industrial economies. In other words, socialization is preparation for citizenship and membership of a shared national culture, transmitting and reinforcing a sense of belonging and mutual responsibility, and allocation represents preparation for work (Abercrombie et al. 1996, 342).

Abercrombie et al. (1996, 343 - 344) claim that the character of the education system is the direct result of political decision-making, and that there has always been considerable dispute over its purposes and organization. Although the 1944 Education Act attempted to facilitate greater and more equal access to educational qualifications by selecting of students to secondary schools and universities according to their abilities rather than on their social status or wealth, this was not achieved. However, as Crompton adds, the Act “provided free secondary education for all (male and female) and disproportionately increased secondary school places for girls” (Crompton 1992, 55).

During the 1980s, the National Curriculum was introduced. Among the objectives, as Abercrombie et al. list them, were to re-emphasize basic skills like reading, to improve standards and to monitor them through systematic testing of pupils, to discourage progressive teaching methods and restore a more traditional and standardized content to the curriculum, to reduce the cost of the system, to expand access to further and higher education, and to extend consumer choice and control. As a result, the 1988 Education Reform Act was introduced (Abercrombie et al. 1996, 346). Since the 1980s, according to the EOC (2001a), all young people have been studying English, Maths and Science up to the age of 16, and many of the gender inequalities in subject take-up were removed. However, as statistics show, decisions about other subjects still remain strongly influenced by gender.

The findings of various researches suggest that children develop their knowledge of gender stereotypes very early in their childhood. This starts as early as when they are dressed into particular colours according to their sex, and continues by playing with a certain kind of toys. While girls usually play with dolls or tea sets, boys pretend fighting with their toy-soldiers. Certain gender images are supported not only by parents and teachers, but also by the media. Therefore many children start compulsory education

with rather stereotyped images and ideas, which influence their future choices of not only subjects, but also occupation. The EOC published the article “Sex stereotyping: from school to work” (EOC 2001a), which provides the readers with the results of several researches on how sex stereotyping influenced subject choices of women and men and their subsequent occupations in Great Britain in the late 1990s. I summarize the information from this article in the following paragraphs.

Among the subjects that the teenage girls entering the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) examination usually dominate in are home economics, religious education and languages. On the contrary, boys tend to dominate in those subjects such as information technology, physical education and business studies. Schools may offer vocational subjects for pupils of the age of 14 and 15, and as the EOC states, there are significant differences in the teenagers’ choices influenced by gender. As the statistics of 1999 show, girls usually train to be hairdressers and boys to be car mechanics or computer specialists. Young people at the age of 14 or 15 often arrange their work placement in stereotypical work areas, and a greater proportion of young men than women enter full-time jobs, usually unskilled or low skilled, without training after leaving school at the age of 16. However, the number of young people continuing further full-time education after 16 years of age has increased since 1989.

As for the post-compulsory education, 74 per cent of young women and 67 per cent of young men aged 16 are in full-time education most of them studying for the General Certificate of Education A-level (GCE A). The subjects they study continue to show the traditional gender divisions with men’s domination especially in mathematics and physics, while women typically concentrate in the subject areas of languages and social studies. Traditionally, most women who start their full-time work after post-compulsory education are employed in clerical and secretarial, health and childcare related occupations and catering. On the contrary men are more likely to be in security and craft related occupations.

Choice of subjects in higher education also show gender differences with women undergraduates in subject areas such as creative arts and design, social, economic and political studies, languages and, last but not least, education. Men then typically dominate in engineering and technology and computer sciences. However, in the findings it is claimed that male and female graduates often enter quite different sectors.

For example, women with science, engineering and technology degrees enter teaching or occupations where their degrees are not directly applicable. This situation, however, arises more often in women than in men. It is also worth mentioning that, regardless of their degree, women are more likely than men to be employed in clerical and secretarial occupations. This fact contributes to the findings, as examined further, that women are highly segregated in such occupations.

Although the EOC (2001a) claims that qualification levels of women and men aged under 25 were very similar in the late 1990s and that, over time, gender differences within age groups may disappear, the situation in subjects chosen by women and men has changed little since the 1980s. As Abercrombie et al. (1996) state on the basis of the Statistics of Schools of 1985 and 1991, educational opportunities for men and women are not identical with a major differentiating process having been in the choice between subjects in the formal curriculum. Girls are generally dissuaded from taking certain subjects like technical drawing, physics or chemistry and are usually directed towards studies considered more fitting for females like home economics, teaching and caring - courses re-emphasizing familial values.

All things considered, educational qualifications have a crucial impact on employment prospects and earnings potential. Although young men's and women's educational attainment levels are similar, they still tend to make different career choices, which already begin at school by choosing subjects "more fitting" to women or to men. Regardless of the degree of education, women are therefore likely to dominate in caring, clerical and secretarial occupations, while men are usually concentrated in technical and scientific occupations. As a consequence, so-called occupational segregation arises.

5.2 Recruitment and selection

To explore further the reinforcing of the occupational segregation, first, it is necessary to consider recruitment and selection before looking into the problem of the segregation itself. Firstly I find it necessary to point at recruitment and selection theory where the terms are explained. I also mention the equal opportunities policies in employment with their advantages and drawbacks. Then I summarize findings of a research conducted by Collinson, Knights and Collinson which clearly show the problems connected with recruitment and selection.

Graham mentions the need for distinguishing the terms recruitment and selection. He defines recruitment as the first part of the process of filling a vacancy, which includes the examination of the vacancy, the consideration of sources of suitable candidates, then making contact with those candidates and attracting applications from them. Then he also points at the term selection, which he explains as the stage following recruitment. This stage includes assessing the candidates by various means, and making a choice followed by an offer of employment. Furthermore, Graham states that the vacancy may be filled by employees from within the company, or from outside of the company, for example by school-leavers, part-timers or other people. The most convenient and less expensive way how to fill the vacancy is by present employees of a company. If the vacancy is decided to be filled by external sources, then the company considers, for example, applications from candidates, or recommendations of candidates by the present employees. Employers sometimes have direct links with educational establishments from which sources are also available. But candidates may be found in government or private agencies as well, through the appropriate trade union, or by advertising the vacancy. Then the selection process follows, where the candidates' applications are compared. The list of candidates, which is made according to the comparison, advises which candidates are suitable for the position. Those candidates are usually invited for an interview and tests, and the others are rejected. The most successful candidate is then offered the position and the conditions are discussed (Graham 1991, 163 – 171).

In connection with not only recruitment, Graham and Bennett explore discrimination in employment. They state that:

An equal opportunity employment situation exists when there is no unfair discrimination against either of the sexes or against any ethnic or legally constituted social group in terms of access to jobs, terms and conditions of employment, promotion, training, remuneration, or termination of employment (Graham and Bennett 1995, 190).

Graham and Bennett furthermore claim that many organisations have already set up equal opportunities policies, which have, however, advantages as well as drawbacks. Among the advantages belong, for instance, the fact that companies might critically examine the sex and ethnic compositions of all departments, divisions, occupational categories and levels. Moreover, the best candidates should be recruited or promoted

regardless of their sex. And, last but not least, discontent among existing minority group employees may be avoided. As stated above, there are also problems connected with such policies. These include increase in recruitment costs as vacancy advertisements have to be placed in magazines and newspapers read by each of the sexes. Moreover, applications have to be examined carefully from an equal-opportunities viewpoint, usually, more candidates have to be interviewed and much more time is spent on interviewing. Furthermore, the representation of minority groups might collapse at higher levels because of the fact that companies apply the equal opportunities policy to operatives and low-grade managers, but not to middle managers or senior executives (Graham and Bennett 1995, 190 – 191). Although recruitment costs increase with the implementation of the equal opportunities policies, the EOC claims that unfair recruitment practices may also cost the organisation time, wasted resources and sizeable amounts of money, if someone brings a successful action against it. Furthermore the EOC states, “fair recruitment pays dividends in better staff morale and a wider pool of potential candidates for positions” (EOC 2005f).

Despite the theoretical studies on recruitment process and equal opportunities which should be applied, the research of Collinson, Knights and Collinson found that informality arises in recruitment and that it is this informality that reproduces occupational segregation. Their research furthermore revealed informality in selection which contributes to sex discrimination:

Depending on the nature and degree of job segregation, taken-for-granted beliefs about the male ‘bread-winner’ and female ‘homemaker’ informed the preference for either men or women. Such assumptions were often used as an indicator of a candidate’s ability to do the job and of his or her future work performance (Collinson, Knights, Collinson 1990, 193).

Domestic responsibilities of both sexes are therefore, according to those findings, central for selection decision-making. While for men, domestic responsibilities are usually evaluated as a positive indication of stability, flexibility, compatibility and motivation, for women these are often viewed negatively as confirmation of unreliability and a short-term investment in work. However, the opposite applies for women candidates to low paying and low status positions, where domestic responsibilities stereotypically mean stability and flexibility (Collinson, Knights, Collinson 1990, 193 -194). These views are caused especially by the different working

patterns of women and men which I further explain in the following chapters. Moreover, informality appears, according to the research, also in the setting and the content of interviews, and leads to inconsistent treatment of candidates of either sex. According to the same research, requirements, such as, for example, geographical mobility, are usually described in a more onerous and hostile manner to female candidates, who are also more often asked “personal” questions. Although these practises may be deemed unlawful, they are often taken for granted because they seem to respondents to be “normal” and “natural” (Collinson, Knights, Collinson 1990, 194 – 195).

With reference to the research of Collinson, Knights and Collinson it could be seen that many companies still use informal practices in recruitment as well as in selection, in spite of the existing legislation such as the previously stated Sex Discrimination Act. Those practices, according to the findings, result in occupational segregation as well as in sex discrimination in employment. According to the EOC (2005f), for many occupations there is still a traditional perception of “women’s work” and “men’s work”, and “although these perceptions are beginning to fade, old habits die hard”.

5.3 Occupational Segregation

In this chapter, firstly, I point at the fact that, according to various statistics, although the number of women in paid employment has risen since the Second World War, women are segregated into a very narrow range of occupations. Then I explain the term occupational segregation and the two kinds of this segregation – horizontal and vertical. I support the claims by the enclosed figures and tables which show the significant differences between “female” and “male occupations”.

With reference to statistics, women’s involvement in the labour market has been steadily increasing. According to the 1998 Labour Force Survey cited by the EOC, between 1984 and 1999 the proportion of women in the labour market increased from 66 to 72 per cent (EOC 2000a). The Trade Union Congress (1991) supports this by stating that one of the reasons for this growth is the fact that there has been a steady growth in those professions that serviced others, such as banking and finance, leisure and retailing. This implies that women within paid employment are segregated into a

very narrow range of professions. As Abercrombie et al. add, over 40 per cent of full-time women workers are to be found in clerical employment, while most of the rest of women in paid work are segregated into a very few further occupational groups (Abercrombie et al. 1996). On the contrary, men are spread through a much wider range of occupations. This segregation of working women and men is called occupational segregation.

As Beechey defines, occupational segregation refers to the division of the labour market into predominantly female and predominantly male occupations. (Beechey 1992, 86). There are two kinds of segregation of the sexes in paid employment. The first of them is vertical where women are segregated into lower-grade jobs. Large numbers of women are employed in lower grades but as the grades go up, the number decreases until at the highest grade there are almost no women at all. This is closely connected with employment status. This term first denotes whether a person is an employer, self-employed, or an employee, and second it distinguishes between people with authority (i.e. in managerial and supervisory positions) and those who are in a subordinate position. With respect to the employment status there were striking differences between men and women, which Abercrombie et al. support by the following figures from 1981: 11 per cent of economically active men compared with only 4 per cent of women were self-employed. Moreover, 70 per cent of men were in positions without any authority attached in comparison with 87 per cent of women who were in such a situation. The general point that women were concentrated in the positions without any authority was also supported by the fact that of 6 million occupational positions which had some degree of control or authority, only 1.2 million, which was 23 per cent, were filled by women (Abercrombie et al. 1996, 123). The Labour Force Survey shows that until 1998 the situation in self-employment did not change much. As well as the numbers rose in women to 6 per cent and in men to 14 per cent, the difference increased as well (EOC 2000a).

The second kind of segregation is so called horizontal segregation - the separation of women into different occupations from men. In most occupations there is a clear majority either of women or of men. According to Abercrombie et al., despite some minor reductions in horizontal segregation over the nineteenth century, there are very few occupations in which there is an even proportion of men and women.

Moreover, part of the reduction in horizontal segregation is a consequence of the entry of men into traditional areas of women's employment, rather than of women moving into those higher-paying sectors traditionally monopolized by men (Abercrombie et al. 1996, 219). Horizontal segregation is both into occupations and into specific industries. With reference to Abercrombie et al., figures 3.1.1 and 3.2.2 show the representation of women by occupations and industry. According to these figures, women are concentrated mainly in medical and other health services, footwear and clothing, personal services including hairdressing and cleaning, education, hotel and catering, banking, finance and insurance, retail and distribution. According to the 1998 Labour Force Survey, some industries still show severe gender segregation: 31 per cent of employed women work in the public sector compared with 16 per cent of men. Men dominate in those industries such as construction, energy and water industries, and manufacturing while women dominate in administration, education and health. Gender segregation is also obvious within occupations. The occupations with a high concentration of men are craft, plant and machine operatives, managerial and administrative occupations compared with women in clerical, secretarial, personal, textile and garment occupations, and in sales (EOC 2000a).

Occupational segregation is, as Aldred claims, to a large extent caused by the Equal Pay Act, as mentioned in the chapter concerning legislation. The Act was passed in 1970 and came into full operation in December 1975. Between 1970 and 1975, employers had time to prepare themselves for the changes the Act should have brought. Many of them admitted that they had worked out three ideas how to avoid the full cost of equal pay and occupational segregation among them (Aldred 1981, 75).

To sum up, despite the fact that women in Britain are not formally precluded from entry into many occupations, as the sources agree upon, they are still prevented from entering some occupations such as, for example, clergy of some churches, working underground in mines, in lighthouses and in certain areas of the prison services. In some cases they are excluded because of protective legislation, in others, because the Sex Discrimination Act allows employers to discriminate in selection if sex is the genuine occupational qualification for the job. Furthermore, there is still a pronounced form of division of the labour market. From the figures stated above it is clear that there are some occupations in which women are very rarely represented and others in which they

dominate. This is, in fact, the division of the labour market into predominantly female and predominantly male occupations.

5.4 Part-time work

Beside the occupational segregation, women are found, according to various sources and findings, more often than men in part-time occupations. Therefore, this part of my bachelor paper considers this kind of employment with its advantages and drawbacks as well.

Many British women are not only segregated into different positions from men, but, as indicated in table 3.4.1, they are also more likely than men to work part-time (or flexi-time). In 1992, there were 45 per cent of women in comparison to 10 per cent of men working part-time. Women made up 88 per cent of all part-time workers (Abercrombie et al. 1996, 125). Although the more recent 1998 Labour Force Survey shows that the percentage of women working part-time decreased to 83 per cent by 1998, the number is still striking. The research also shows that women working part-time are mostly of the 16 to 44 age group (EOC 2000a). The reason why these women often choose part-time work is that they have dependent children whom they have to care for or because of other domestic commitments. As the British government defines part-time working as less than 30 hours a week, the women could manage those commitments at home.

For employers, part-timers in general mean many advantages. Part-time labour is often cheaper, even though it is unlawful according to the SDA to give part-timers lower hourly rate, gives them flexibility to lengthen opening hours and cope with peaks in demand. Moreover, it is easier to discharge part-timers when the business fails, and many do not require redundancy pay. This is very similar to flexible working defined by the Trade Union Congress as working less than 16 hours per week. The flexible working arrangements include temporary workers employed to cover peak hours, short term contracts arranged by employers who need to do an urgent job but do not want to take on any more permanent staff. Furthermore there are so called zero or nil hours contracts not guaranteeing work or income but requiring the worker to be at disposal in case she or he is needed. Other flexible working arrangements are twilight shifts from 6pm to 10pm, homeworking for people who need to work from home, and finally, core

workers who are skilled, employed long-term, and periphery workers, usually women doing unskilled work on short-term contracts. As well as the part-time workers, flexible workers are used to cover peaks and troughs in business, employers save on redundancy and maternity pay (Trade Union Congress 1991, 35 - 36). The 1998 Labour Force Survey shows that there are 25 per cent of female and 16 per cent of male employees employed on some form of flexible working arrangement (EOC 2000a).

As the Trade Union Congress states, the part-time work, and flexible work, is rather rare, and women have to take the work despite its poor conditions. There are several problems connected with part-time work including pensions, productivity and overtime. Employers save money on pension and national insurance contributions because part-timers are often excluded from pension schemes or earn less than the lower earnings limit. Thus a part-time worker could work for years for the same employer and have no pension to ask for. Furthermore, employing a series of part-timers doing the same work means keeping the productivity rate high because they all work for shorter stretches and feel fresher. Finally, most part-time workers do not get paid overtime until they work a full-time day (Trade Union Congress 1991, 33).

To conclude, many part-time workers in the United Kingdom do not receive sick pay or have pension rights. Legally a part-time worker must work at least eight hours a week to qualify for most employment rights. As many British women work part-time or flexi-time and the conditions are poor, those women are segregated into the worst parts of the labour market. According to European law, this, together with the segregation of employment by gender, indirectly discriminates against women and gives the best clues as to why women generally earn less than men.

5.5 Unequal pay

Unequal pay and income are, as researches conducted on this topic prove, the major sources of gender inequality affecting women of all ages. The main reasons for unequal pay are, according to the sources, especially gender segregation in education and employment, different working patterns, and undervaluation of women's jobs. While occupational segregation and segregation in education are examined in the previous parts of this bachelor paper, in this part I focus on the differences in pay among women and men throughout the late twentieth century Britain. But before that I

find it necessary to clarify some terms that are used in connection with payment practices.

The statistics show that, in general, in all age groups women earn less than men, which the sources refer to as the gender pay gap. The gender pay gap is caused, beside the others mentioned above, also by different working patterns of women. Beechey, who calls this pattern a “two-phase working life”, explains it by the fact that there are high rates of participation for women in the labour force when they first leave school or college. But, after that, the rate declines and begins to increase again after 35 years of age (Beechey 1992, 82). In periods of decline, women usually have children and then continue working, often part-time, as explained in the part concerning part-time work. Economic terminology is explained in Adam’s dictionary (2003): the term earnings denotes the whole amount of money earned by an employee within the proper pay period like a week or a month, including overtime pay, bonuses and so on. Income is then defined as the money of all kinds paid regularly to a person or family usually as an annual amount, but it can be counted also monthly or weekly. Furthermore, pay is a term used generally for money which people get regularly for their work. Income or pay are either gross, the overall income before paying taxes and insurance, or net, which is the remaining money after paying taxes and social insurance.

One of the most obvious indicators of gender inequality in the labour market is the gap in earnings. To overview the situation throughout the late twentieth century in Britain, it is necessary to look back to 1970 and beyond. As Abercrombie et al. indicate, in 1970 women earned only 63 per cent of men’s hourly rates, and only 55 per cent of men’s gross weekly pay. After the implementation of the EPA the pay gap was reduced a little. Women’s full-time hourly rates fluctuated at around 74 per cent of men’s. Despite the small improvements in 1987 and 1992 when full-time workingwomen earned around 75 and 79 per cent of men’s hourly rates, the gap has not changed much since 1975 (Abercrombie et al. 1996, 213). In 1998, according to the EOC, female employees who worked fulltime earned 80 per cent of the average gross hourly earnings of male full-time employees (EOC 1999). Both the EOC (2001b) and Abercrombie et al. (1996) agree on the fact that when the figures are taken on a weekly basis, the gap widens further, as shown in figure 3.5.1 taken from the EOC’s *Lifecycle of Inequality*. As already stated for the year 1970, the gap in gross weekly pay was 13 per cent wider

than hourly pay. The sources claim that in 1987 women earned about 62 per cent, in 1992 71 per cent and in 1998 72.5 per cent of the weekly full-time pay of men. In general, this is caused because men are more likely to work more hours a week, to obtain overtime pay, to get premiums for working night shifts, or to get bonus payments (EOC 2001; Abercrombie et al. 1996).

When considering different working patterns, sources suggest that women are more likely than men to work part-time because of their commitments at home. Women's pay then changes with the birth of their children and is dependent on the number of children as well as on their age. While some women are able to return to full-time employment, most of them prefer to take part-time work. Part-time work, as already stated in chapter four, is rather rare and is provided usually for less skilled occupations like sales and service, which results not only in lower hourly pay, but also in reduced career prospects (EOC 2001b). Therefore, as Abercrombie et al. (1996, 213) claim, when part-time workers are included in the calculations of the gender pay gap, bearing in mind that part-timers are largely female and that they earn significantly less than full-time workers, the gender pay gap widens further. In the year 2000 women in part-time employment earned, according to the EOC, 75 per cent of the average hourly earnings of full-time workingwomen. So, as the EOC claims, when income is analysed by sex, age, couple status and presence of children, the impact of family responsibilities on women's incomes is evident. In 1999, childless women under the age of 40 earned more than women with dependent children of the same age group regardless of whether they were in a couple or not. On the contrary, men in couples had the highest income regardless of whether they had children or not. For comparison, men between 35 and 54 of age in couples with dependants earned on average £443 to £523 a week while women of the same circumstances earned only £172 to £247 a week (EOC 2001b).

As already stated in the chapter concerning education, educational qualifications also have a crucial impact on employment prospects and earnings potential. While high qualifications enhance career prospects and generally result in higher earnings, few or no qualifications are associated with low earnings, poor employment prospects and a much higher risk of unemployment and social exclusion. The figure 3.5.2, according to the EOC's Lifecycle of Inequality, confirms this statement. Moreover, from this figure of the year 2000 the differences in hourly pay between men and women are also clear.

When considering men with qualifications at GCSE A-C or equivalent, for example, their average hourly pay was around £8.30 while women with similar level qualifications earned around £7 per hour.

Although young men and women have similar levels of educational attainment, they still tend to make different career choices which have a serious impact on their earnings potential as shown in table 3.5.3. Differences in pay in both figures 3.5.2 and 3.5.3 could be explained by occupational segregation and the type of work people do. As the figure 3.5.3 and the EOC denotes, men earn the most on average in managers and administrators jobs, whereas women earn most in professional jobs. However, the greatest and least gaps in pay are found in less well-paid occupational groups. In clerical work women earn 96p for every £1 earned by a man, and in craft and related occupations women earn 68p for every £1 earned by a man. Pay is lowest on average in routine manual jobs (EOC 2000b).

As it is obvious and was stated above, the 1975 EPA improved the gender pay gap only a little. Seager adds that where the labour market is highly segregated, equal pay legislation has little effect on pay differences (Seager 1997, 119). The equal treatment of women and men in employment and related issues is also laid down in the Treaty of Rome and, according to Abercrombie et al., further in the Social Charter and the Social Chapter of the Maastricht Treaty. However, the gender pay gap still stays one of the indicators of gender inequality.

Whether or not laws and Directives could close the pay gap depends on whether they tackle the underlying causes of unequal pay. If the cause is direct or indirect discrimination in the labour market, equal opportunities policies are more likely to make an impact than if the causes lie outside, for instance in the form of the family and household (Abercrombie et al. 1996, 215).

According to Abercrombie et al. (1996), there is still a debate about whether the gap is due to discriminatory practices in the labour market or due to an unjust family system. To summarize the above stated, women in general cannot work as long hours as men because of their commitments at home, they are usually segregated into lower status and so lower paid jobs even if many of them are highly skilled. As the Trade Union Congress claims, women's work very often reflects the unpaid work they do at home like cooking, cleaning, servicing others or teaching. Women are therefore expected to do this work naturally (Trade Union Congress 1991, 40). Moreover, women

often return to work as part-timers after having children. But a large-scale survey, which Abercrombie et al. (1996, 215) refer to, found that women spend less time out of work rearing children than it is generally believed, on average five years. Furthermore, the research also proved that many women are unable to utilize the skills that they had acquired before they left their work. And that is the reason why they, after returning to work, take low-skilled and less well-paid jobs.

Abercrombie et al. (1996, 216) claim that despite the fact that women are certainly segregated into a narrow range of occupations which are usually less paid, they are not directly discriminated against. This, together with part-time work, could be identified more as indirect discrimination which, although illegal, is often a consequence of the deep and historic persistence of gendered practices. But he concludes that these practices, which disadvantage women, are not necessarily consciously intended.

In this chapter I overview the situation in the labour market concerning pay and income from the 1970s to the late twentieth century. As the problem of unequal pay is very extensive, I point mainly at the major reasons of women's lower pay like educational qualifications, occupational segregation and part-time work. These factors are the main ones which have a direct effect on the gender pay gap. And, as the sources agree on, for women, unequal pay and income can cause reduced economic independence and likelihood of poverty in old age.

5.6 Sexual harassment at work

Women in the labour market not only face problems with low pay, but it seems that they also rather often experience uninvited behaviour from their colleagues generally referred to as sexual harassment. So, in the part concerning sexual harassment at work, firstly, I provide the readers with the term itself as the London Rape Crisis Centre and McKinnon define it. Then I mention who the abusers are and what the sexual harassment often results in. Furthermore, I point at the stereotypical views of women and the fallacies in the workplace which follow these views. With reference to the EOC's Research and Resources Unit, although there are no national collections of data on the incidence of sexual harassment in the workplace, I mention the data of the National Home Office and add conclusions of two surveys conducted on sexual

harassment at work. Finally, I provide the readers with some explanations of male violence towards women as well as with legislation dealing with this issue.

Sexual harassment is by the London Rape Crisis Centre defined as any unwanted sexual attention in the workplace, from bosses, co-workers, customers, patients and others that undermines women's or men's confidence in themselves or/and their work. It also prevents them from doing their job properly, creates a stressful work environment, threatens their job security or chances of promotion and therefore their livelihood. Sexual harassment is in short any sexual behaviour which is unwanted and uninvited and can include touching, pinching, demands for sexual favours, physical assault, rape, and verbal harassment like various comments or jokes (London Rape Crisis Centre 1999, 163). As McKinnon adds, sexual harassment denies the choice of "whether, when, where, and with whom to have sexual relationships" (McKinnon 1979, 25).

The majority of cases, according to the Trade Union Congress, involve a man harassing a woman. Frequently, women are sexually harassed by male colleagues who are in a superior position over them. Sexual harassment is often regarded "as a 'bit of fun' or a woman is accused of 'making a fuss about nothing'" (Trade Union Congress 1991, 87). As the sources dealing with sexual harassment agree, the harassment usually takes place in private, without any witnesses. Therefore it is often very hard to do something about the problem which may not only ruin a woman's job prospects, but also creates stressful work atmosphere which leads to sleep disorders, nervousness, anxiety, loss of self-confidence and concentration and other problems.

According to the Trade Union Congress, women are often seen to be either an extension of a man or as a sexual object. It is often forgotten that women are thinking individuals with own opinions and needs. These images are damaging as they are one of the factors which lead to women's experience of sexual harassment at work (Trade Union Congress 1991, 14). There is a connection between these images and fallacies that still appear in some workplaces as the London Rape Crisis Centre lists them. One of the fallacies is that women who object to sexual harassment have no sense of humour, and that they overreact to what is supposed to be a bit of harmless fun. Another is that women make false allegations of harassment said by those with a low opinion of the female sex in general. Furthermore, real professionals should be able to cope alone

with problems like sexual harassment. Even from these three stereotypical opinions it is clear that women who would complain often have to face disbelief, hostility and embarrassment. Their job, security, promotion prospects, self-respect and respect by colleagues are affected (London Rape Crisis Centre 1999, 164 - 165). Therefore, as the statistics conducted on sexual harassment prove, many women do not report cases to the police because of their fear of dismissal, gossip or further violence from the abuser. That is the reason why the numbers of sexual harassment cases are often misleading.

With reference to the British Home Office (2005), harassment was added to the list of recorded crimes as late as in April 1998, so till then its statistics were made separately on various sexual oriented crimes. However, those statistics do not concern the labour market in particular and so the following figures are the total numbers of cases of sexual violence against women in evidence. As for rape, the Home Office registers about 4.800 cases of 1993 and even about 8.000 cases in 1999. The number of cases of indecent assault on women in 1993 was then 15.500 and till 1999 increased to 20.000. These figures imply that number of sexual oriented cases which could be referred to as sexual harassment increased between the years 1993 and 1999. However, the EOC in the Analysis of tribunal cases points at several researches which had been conducted on sexual harassment at work. While the research of the Industrial Society of 1993 reported that 54 per cent of women and 9 per cent of men had been sexually harassed at work, a survey of TUC Women's Conference delegates found that 27 per cent had been sexually harassed at work. The EOC also points at differences in the conclusions of the findings and states, "it is difficult to find out how common a problem sexual harassment is, precisely because it often goes unreported" (EOC, 2005b).

According to Richardson and Robinson, there are three major forms of explanations for violence towards women. The first of them, called liberal or psychological explanation, suggests that violence against women is done by men who are psychologically deranged, and focuses on the pathological or deviant characteristics of individuals. Rapists are then described as men who had experienced sexual frustration in their relationships due to their problems in childhood and disrupted family backgrounds. The next explanation is connected with social class and says that male violence is a response to such factors as "frustration, stress and blocked goals caused by poor economic conditions, bad housing, relative poverty, lack of job opportunities and

unfavourable work conditions” (Richardson and Robinson 1993, 111). However, this explanation does not seem to be much fitting to the background of the labour market, nor domestic violence as Richardson and Robinson (1993, 112 -113) found and add that there is not enough arguments that social deprivation breeds male violence. Last but not least, Richardson and Robinson also point at the feminist explanation. Their rather radical approach views men’s violence as a reflection of unequal power relationships in society and serves to maintain those unequal relationships. The term patriarchy often arises in connection with this approach. To explain that term, Richardson and Robinson cite Rich:

Patriarchy is ... a familial-social, ideological, political system in which men – by force, direct pressure or through ritual, law and language, customs, etiquette, education, and the division of labour, determine what part women shall or shall not play, and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male. It does not necessarily imply that no woman has power, or that all women in a given culture may not have certain powers (Richardson and Robinson 1993, 114).

As for the legislation dealing with sexual harassment in the workplace, the London Rape Crisis Centre argues that the SDA makes employers responsible to ensure that an employee is not treated less favourably than others on the grounds of sex, nor should she/he be subjected to any other detriment. Employers are, under the Health and Safety at Work Act 1974, also responsible for ensuring healthy and safe working conditions. As sexual harassment is stressful and so damaging to health, this Act belongs to the legislation prohibiting sexual harassment in the workplace as well. Also the contract of employment itself implies certain duties to employers, for example to deal properly with employees’ grievances. This means that if someone is sexually harassed, the employer has no right to try to cover it up or treat it as a private matter (The London Rape Crisis Centre 1999, 166 – 167).

As the researches and statistics imply, the number of women who had experienced a kind of male violence, which could be pointed at as the sexual harassment, has been increasing. It is especially due to the fact that, according to the London Rape Crisis Centre (1999, 163), women have refused to keep quiet about what has happened to them. According to Richardson and Robinson, feminists played an important role in gathering data about sexually harassed women. Feminist researches found that women are rather shy to talk about such problems with men, and so used

female interviewers. Their findings proved that violence towards women is far more extensive than official figures show (Richardson and Robinson 1993, 108). Although publicity around sexual harassment has gradually increased over the years as the sources suggest, many cases are still not in evidence for the reasons stated above.

6. Women and their double burden

Women, according to various findings mentioned below, are responsible for the home and commitments connected with it, although they take full-time employment. Moreover, family, as it is apparent from the previous chapters, plays an important role in women's lives. Therefore, I find it important to include this chapter, where I point at various findings concerning the balance of women's paid work and domestic responsibilities, into my bachelor paper as well. Firstly, I mention the term family and the trends connected with it. After that I provide the readers with particular numbers of statistics conducted on this topic to understand how children as well as other dependents influence economic activity of both men and women. And to follow these numbers I also point at the reasons why women are more bound to their family than men and what the consequences are.

Various statistics show that family and households characteristics are not static. The "traditional family" comprising of a couple with at least one child has changed over the years. According to the 1990 survey of the Central Statistical Office cited by Jackson, married couples with dependent children accounted for only 28 per cent of British households (Jackson 1993, 178). As the EOC states, this number decreased to 23 per cent till 1998, while the percentage of one parent as well as lone parent families increased (EOC 2000b). Neither the views of families with men as the breadwinners and women responsible for domestic tasks are entirely valid. As the sources agree upon, more women, in comparison with the past, are in paid employment. However, whatever their employment status is, they take on the majority of household tasks as well. According to the Trade Union Congress, many women then, whether they have children or not, do two jobs. One of the jobs is unpaid at home and the other is paid at work (Trade Union Congress 1991, 7). Various studies call these two responsibilities as the dual or double burden. As the Trade Union Congress claims, this double burden is especially hard for women with dependant children and for the women who are in full-time employment (Trade Union Congress 1991, 7). This is supported by Abercrombie et al. who take into account the study of Young and Willmott. That study found that even as women enter the labour market and take on full-time jobs, they continue to carry the

burden of domestic work. This implies that women remain housewives even when they become breadwinners (Abercrombie et al. 1996, 288).

According to the EOC's Work-life balance, economic activity of women and men differs greatly. The proportion of women in paid employment depends on the number as well as age of dependent children. As it was stated in the previous chapters, in general, mothers with dependant children are likely to work part-time. Moreover, mothers with children under the age of five or those with more than three children are less likely to be in employment than mothers with older children. The EOC also points at the opposite tendency which applies for men: men with children are more likely to be working and working longer hours than those without children. Furthermore, economic activity is also dependent on whether a parent is a lone parent or in a couple. While the rates for fathers and mothers in couples were 90 and 69 per cent in 1999, for lone fathers it was only 60 and for lone mothers only 47 per cent (EOC 2000b). But caring is not only connected with dependent children. As the EOC states, the elderly population is increasing, and this longevity results in that more people are in need of care because of frailty and illness (EOC 2000b).

Various sources agree on the claim that women are "natural" carers. And as the Trade Union Congress further explains, women care of children as well as older dependents. Women's caring jobs usually consist of cooking, cleaning, laundering, childcare, nursing and teaching. But since these activities are considered to be natural for women, they are usually omitted and women are left to get on with them with little help (Trade Union Congress 1991, 10). Although Gershuny survey cited by Abercrombie et al. showed that men take on more household tasks with the increase in women's employment, women still carry the principal burden of domestic work. Another surveys cited by Abercrombie et al. encourage these findings by the claim that the balance of the domestic division of labour does not seem to be related to the work done by men, but that the balance is determined by the woman's employment status (Abercrombie et al. 1996, 288 – 290).

The women's dual burden is, to some extent, intensified by the state, as the Trade Union Congress claims. Only when the children are at the age of five, the state takes responsibility for educating them. While during the Second World War state nursery places were available for all children, at the beginning of the 1990s local

authority nurseries provided places for less than one per cent of children under the age of five. As a consequence, many women had to take part-time work or stay at home caring for children as they could not find suitable childcare facilities (Trade Union Congress, 1991, 10). Although the number of nurseries increased to about twelve per cent till 1997, as the EOC states, there is still a shortage of such places (EOC 2000b). As for caring for older and disabled people, according to the Trade Union Congress, the demand for social services is higher as the number of elderly people is increasing. But these services are rather scarce and expensive because of the cuts in public spending. So, in 1988 there were more than six million people, most of them women, caring for an elderly or disabled person (Trade Union Congress 1991, 10).

As a consequence of the above stated, and as the Trade Union Congress (1992, 7) mentions, women, and especially women working full time, have little amount of time for leisure activities due to the dual burden. This is supported by Leonard and Speakman (1992, 27) who claim that husbands not only have more leisure time but they also have a different quality of leisure. They do fewer secondary activities during their leisure, for example they do not work while watching television, and, moreover, they are more likely than women to spend their leisure time outside the home. They also add that:

...women work longer and harder than men and get lesser rewards. That is to say, the bulk of housework is done by women, often in addition to paid employment; women are given little credit and regard and a smaller share of the family 'cake' than men; and they have less say in major matters affecting the family, despite the importance of what they do for family well-being (Leonard and Speakman 1992, 23).

To conclude, the findings of various sources mentioned in this chapter showed that even if the division of the domestic labour is more equal, it does not mean that it is totally equal. As a consequence of the general views that women are natural carers, various statistics proved that there are still more women than men caring for their children, elderly or disabled members of their family. And, moreover, women are still responsible for most of the domestic chores even if they are full-time employed. This dual burden is followed by the fact that women have generally less leisure time than men.

7. Conclusion

In this bachelor paper I focused on the women's position in the British labour market in the last third of the twentieth century. I overviewed the problem women often have to face in the workplace as well as the impact of the Women's Movement on this problem. After that I provided the readers with British and European legislation dealing with sexual discrimination in the workplace. Moreover, I chose, according to the sources, the key factors of sex discrimination in the labour market and pointed at them in particular. These factors include education, recruitment and selection, occupational segregation, part-time work, unequal pay, and, last but not least, sexual harassment at work. I included the chapter dealing with the balance of women's paid work in employment and unpaid work at home. The burden of domestic work, as the sources agree upon, plays an important role in women's lives and influences their position in employment.

On the basis of the sources I used for writing this bachelor paper it is apparent that women still tend to be segregated into the lower paid and lower status occupations. As mentioned above, the traditional division between males' and females' roles begins as early as in childhood. Children are encouraged by various means, such as for example toys, to behave in a particular way according to their sex. This is also obvious further in the education process. There, children are often recommended to choose subjects either "suitable" for boys or girls. This is, I would say, the early segregation which influences further employment chances.

Education is then followed by recruitment and selection into employment. With reference to the previously stated research, informality in recruitment and selection is the crucial determinant of occupational segregation and sex discrimination in employment. In this process the stereotypical views of males as the breadwinners and females as the homemakers have a deep impact on the positions which are offered to women. Women are usually segregated into occupations and industries such as medical and health services, personal services, education, hotel and catering, banking and sale. This results from the general view that women are natural carers. Therefore women are still the ones who do most of the domestic work regardless of their paid work. This is the reason why women often have to take part-time employment. Working part-time

enables them to balance the caring tasks at home and the paid work in employment. Another problem which arises with women's dual burden is the fact that there is a lack of state nursery facilities for children under the age of five. All of these factors contribute to the fact that women are less paid than men. Although from the researches stated above could be seen that the differences between men's and women's pays are decreasing, they still persist.

In the labour market, women not only face those problems, but, moreover, they often have to deal with sexual harassment as well. Usually, according to the findings stated above, women are sexually harassed by their male colleagues. However, there are no accurate numbers of victims of sexual harassment since many cases are not yet in evidence. But, as women do not want to be silent about these problems, number of cases increase. As previously stated, also feminist researches with female interviewers played an important role in gathering data about the extent of violence against women.

To conclude, the opportunities for women and men in the British labour market are not equal, and so women are discriminated against, either directly or indirectly. In short, women tend to be concentrated in low pay and low status sectors of employment. Moreover, the so called glass ceiling prevents them from breaking into the higher and top grades in employment. Last but not least, the unequal opportunities are intensified by the traditional view of women as the natural carers.

Resumé

Ve své bakalářské práci se zabývám tématem postavení žen na britském trhu práce v poslední třetině 20. století. Práce obsahuje čtyři hlavní části, kterými jsou: legislativa, problém žen na trhu práce a zásah ženského hnutí do tohoto problému, ženy na trhu práce a ženy a jejich „dvojí břímě“.

Na samém začátku své práce čtenářům představuji nejvýznamnější zdroje, ze kterých jsem při psaní čerpala, a na které v průběhu práce často odkazuji. Poté uvádím čtenáře do problému postavení žen na britském trhu práce na konci 20. století. Vzhledem k tomu, že do tohoto problému významně zasáhlo ženské hnutí, seznamuji čtenáře s jeho významem, vývojem i vlivem na postavení žen ve společnosti vůbec.

V kapitole zabývající se legislativou pak zmiňuji jak legislativu britskou, tak evropskou. Ze zákonů platných ve Velké Británii uvádím především „Equal Pay Act“ a „Sex Discrimination Act“. Tyto dva zákony patří mezi ty nejvýznamnější v oblasti ochrany ženských práv ve Británii. Dále v této kapitole shrnuji evropskou legislativu, která se díky tomu, že Velká Británie je členskou zemí Evropské unie, též vztahuje k problému žen na britském pracovním trhu. Navzdory existující legislativě, jak je patrné z dalších kapitol, situace žen v pracovním procesu nezaznamenává výrazné zlepšení.

Nejobsáhlejší a klíčovou kapitolou mé práce je kapitola zabývající se ženami na trhu práce. Do této kapitoly jsem zahrнула vzdělání, nábor a výběr do zaměstnání, segregaci práce, pracovní poměr na částečný úvazek, platové nerovnosti a v neposlední řadě také sexuální obtěžování. Tyto body se zdají být, podle analýzy použitých zdrojů, klíčovými faktory v postavení žen na trhu práce. Vedou k nerovným příležitostem mezi muži a ženami, a tudíž k sexuální diskriminaci žen. Do této části bakalářské práce jsem nejprve zahrнула vzdělání, jelikož, jak vyplynulo z použité literatury, hraje zásadní roli v následném profesním životě žen i mužů.

Na etapu vzdělávání pak navazuje proces náboru a výběru uchazečů do zaměstnání. I v tomto procesu jsou už zřetelné takzvané genderové stereotypy, které jsou přisuzovány oběma pohlavím. Na rozdíl od mužů, u žen je na tyto stereotypy pohlíženo negativně, a tudíž často ovlivňují rozhodnutí potenciálního zaměstnavatele ženy do zaměstnání nepřijímat. A nebo tak vzniká takzvaná segregace práce. Z analýzy

vyplývá, že ženy jsou zastoupeny především v pozicích s nižším statutem, tudíž v hůře placených pozicích, ze kterých se jen velmi těžko dostávají do vyšších stupňů. Odborná literatura poukazuje na tento fakt jako na „problém skleněného stropu“. Dále pak ve své práci zmiňují pracovní poměr uzavíraný na částečný pracovní úvazek. Jak totiž ze zdrojů vyplývá, jsou to především ženy, které jsou stále do určité míry nuceny, především kvůli péči o rodinu, přijímat tyto hůře placené pozice nevyžadující vysokou odbornost. Zde, stejně jako již v předešlých kapitolách, je zřetelný velký vliv rodiny na život žen. Proto tématu skloubení rodiny se zaměstnáním věnuji ve své práci zvláštní kapitolu.

Kapitola o dvojitým pracovním nasazení žen pojednává o ženách pečujících o rodinu a zároveň vykonávajících placenou práci v zaměstnání. Poukazují zde na skutečnost, že ačkoli jsou ženy daleko více než v minulosti zastoupeny v placeném zaměstnání, stále vykonávají většinu domácích prací. Jelikož je obecně na ženy pohlíženo jako na „pečovatelky od přírody“, přebírají pečovatelské starosti o své děti i ostatní členy rodiny. Díky tomu mají ženy méně volného času než muži, kteří svůj volný čas tráví většinou mimo domov.

Ve své bakalářské práci se ale také věnuji problému sexuálního obtěžování na pracovišti. Jak nejrůznější studie dokládají, tento problém je častější a závažnější, než se mnozí lidé domnívají. Je to především kvůli jeho nepříznivým vlivům na duševní i fyzické zdraví žen. Vzhledem k tomu, že ženy často tuto skutečnost tají ze strachu ze ztráty zaměstnání, mnoho případů sexuálního obtěžování tak stále zůstává nevidovaných a nevyřešených.

V závěru své práce pak shrnuji výše zmíněné tendence z provedené analýzy zdrojů. Těmito tendencemi jsou, jak již bylo zmíněno, segregace žen do úzké škály hůře placených profesí, ze kterých jen zřídka a ztěží postupují přes takzvaný skleněný strop do vyšších stupňů. Dále je to pak tradiční přisuzování domácích prací a pečovatelských povinností ženám, a s tím spojená tendence přijímání žen do pracovního poměru na částečný úvazek.

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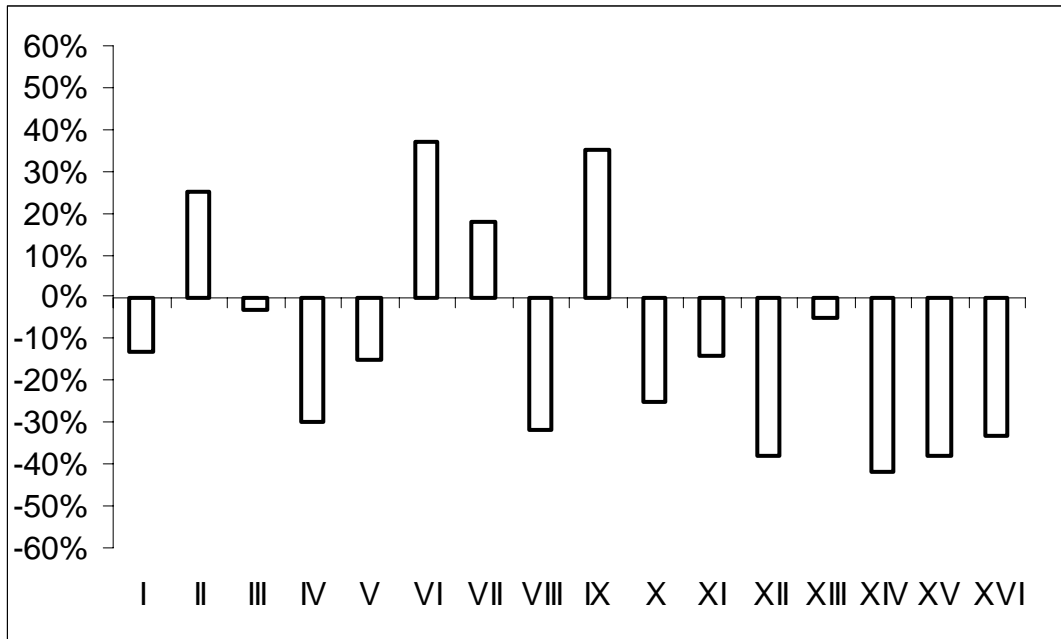
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Enclosures

Figure 3.1.1 Occupational sex segregation, Great Britain, 1989: representation of women by occupational group

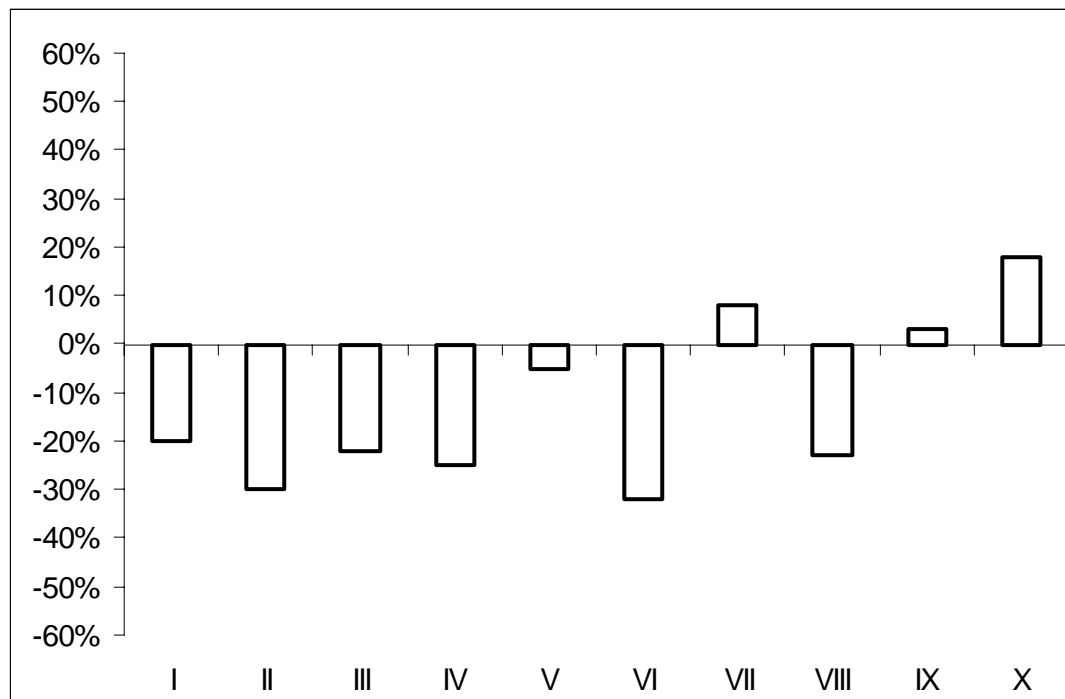


- I Professional and related support in management and administration
- II Professional and related in education, welfare and health
- III Literary, artistic, sports
- IV Professional and related in science, engineering, technology
- V Managerial
- VI Clerical and related
- VII Selling
- VIII Security and protective services
- IX Catering, cleaning, hairdressing and other personal services
- X Farming, fishing and related
- XI Processing, making, repairing and related (excluding metal and electrical)
- XII Processing, making, repairing and related (metal and electrical)
- XIII Painting, repetitive assembling, product inspecting, packaging and related
- XIV Construction and mining
- XV Transport operating, materials moving and related
- XVI Miscellaneous

I-VIII are non-manual occupations; IX-XVI are manual occupations.

Source: Equal Opportunities Commission, 1991, figure 7.1; from Labour Force Survey, 1989. In *Contemporary British Society*, p. 220.

Figure 3.2.2 Industrial sex segregation, Great Britain, 1989: representation of women by industry



- I Agriculture forestry and fishing
- II Energy and water supply
- III Other mineral and ore extraction
- IV Metal goods, engineering, vehicles
- V Other manufacturing
- VI Construction
- VII Distribution, hotels, catering, repairs
- VIII Transport and communication
- IX Banking, finance, insurance
- X Other services

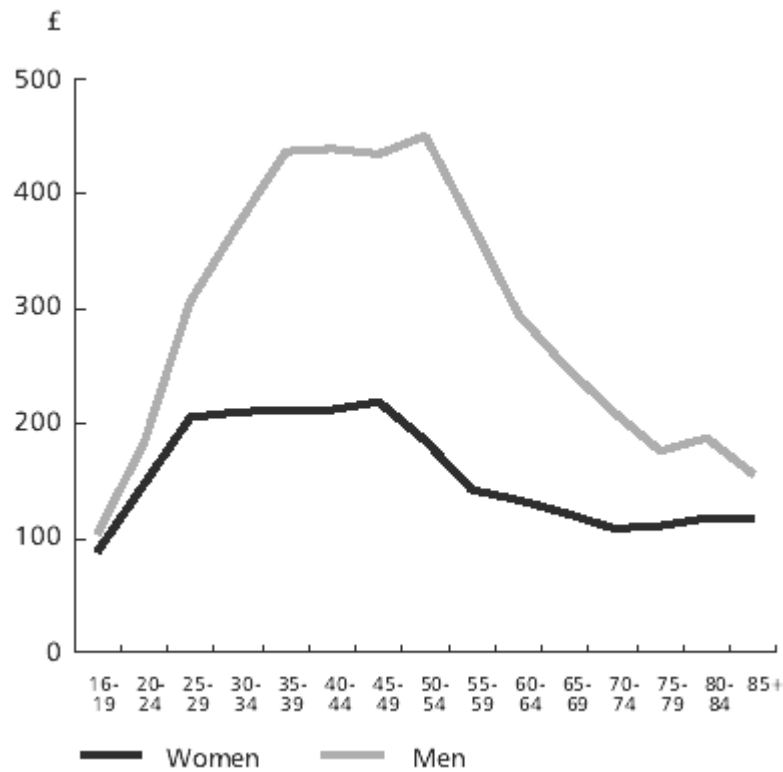
Source: Equal Opportunities Commission, 1991, figure 6.1; from the 1989 Census of Employment, Employment Gazette, May 1991. In *Contemporary British Society*, p. 221.

Table 3.4.1 Employees in employment, Great Britain, 1992 and 1998

	1992 (thousands)		1998 (thousands)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Full-time	9,865	5,580	11,053	5,906
Part-time	1,145	4,638	884	4,460

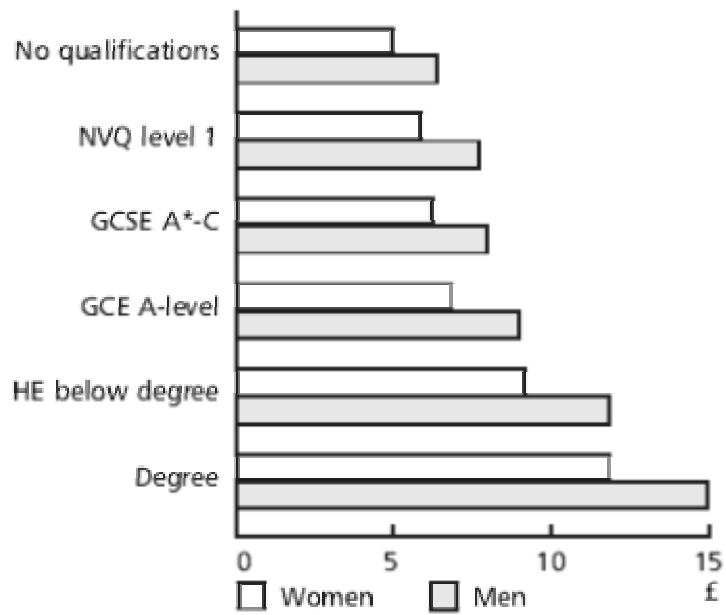
Source: constructed according to *Contemporary British society* and Equal Opportunities Commission, *Women and Men in Britain 2000a*

Figure 3.5.1 Average gross weekly individual income, 1998/99



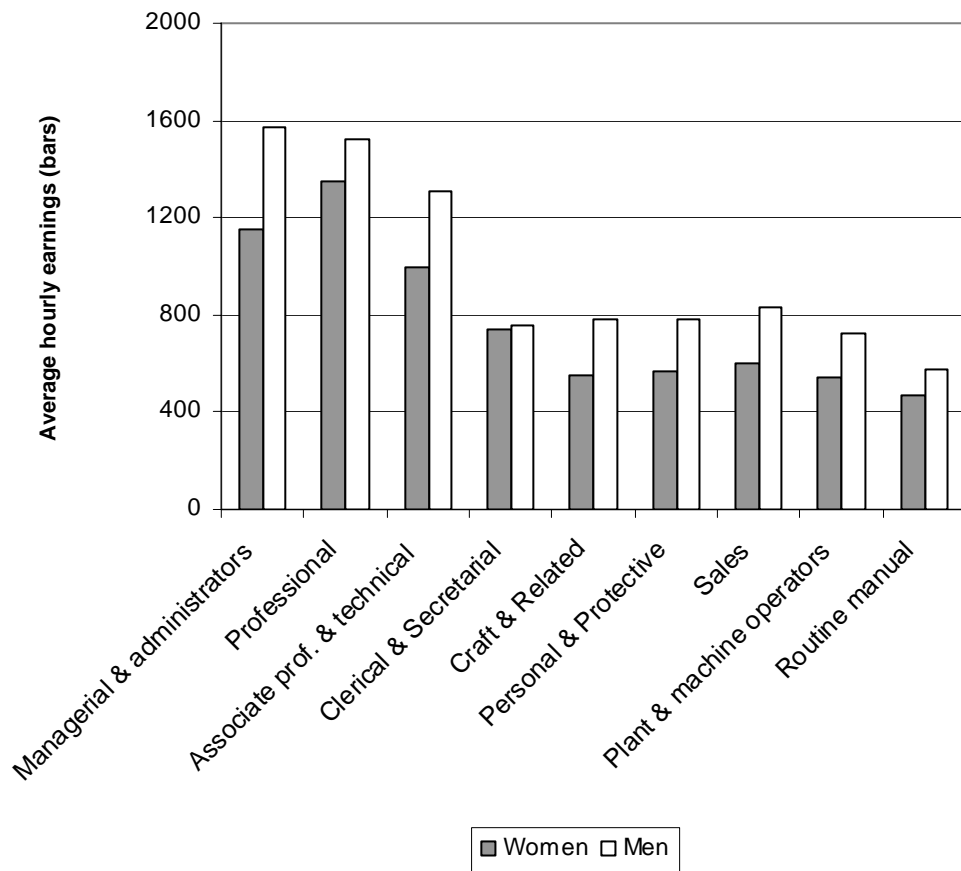
Source: Individual Income 1996/97 to 1998/99, Women's Unit, Cabinet Office, 2001. In Equal Opportunities Commission, *Women and Men in Britain 2001b*.

Figure 3.5.2 Average hourly pay by qualifications, 2000



Source: Labour Force Survey, Spring 2000, ONS. In Equal Opportunities Commission, *Women and Men in Britain 2001b*.

Figure 3.5.3 Pay by occupational group



Source: New Earnings Survey, 1998, ONS. In Equal Opportunities Commission, *Sectoral Briefing on Pay 2000c*.

ÚDAJE PRO KNIHOVNICKOU DATABÁZI

Název práce	Faktory sexuální diskriminace na britském pracovním trhu v poslední třetině 20. století
Autor práce	Ivana Dalecká
Obor	Anglický jazyk pro hospodářskou praxi
Rok obhajoby	2005
Vedoucí práce	Libora Oates-Indruchová, Ph.D.
Anotace	Práce se zabývá problémem postavení žen na britském pracovním trhu na konci 20. století. Autorka poukazuje na faktory sexuální diskriminace, kterými jsou zejména vzdělání, nábor a výběr do zaměstnání, segregace práce, platové nerovnosti a sexuální obtěžování. Dále je poukázáno na problém skloubení rodiny a zaměstnání.
Klíčová slova	Gender, pracovní trh, legislativa, vzdělání, segregace práce, platové rozdíly, sexuální obtěžování, práce a rodina.