FRENCH AND BRITISH WOMEN IN EMPLOYMENT:
Domestic circumstances, employment patterns and occupational achievement, with particular reference to teachers and officeworkers

JUDITH GLOVER

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology
University of Surrey
May 1991
Abstract

The relationship between French and British women's domestic circumstances, their employment patterns and their occupational achievement is the subject of this thesis. Using secondary analysis of large nationally representative survey data, the Labour Force Survey 1984 and the Enquete Emploi 1985, case studies of two contrasted occupations, officeworking and teaching, are developed. The work is based on the premise that an examination of women's employment needs to take into account the different historical and structural aspects of particular occupations, as well as the socio-cultural context which gives rise to particular policies. This combination of social, cultural, structural and policy elements is referred to as the 'occupational situation'.

The analyses show that the effects of domestic circumstances vary in each occupation. Yet, in a country such as France where daycare is widely available, and in occupations whose structure is likely to minimise the effect of domestic responsibilities, the effect of marriage and children on employment patterns and occupational achievement persists. An added finding relates to the effect of part-time working on occupational achievement: in French officeworking, part-time working does not significantly decrease chances of occupational achievement. This indicates the importance of French employment protection legislation, particularly that which allows for continuity of employment during the period of family formation and which protects part-time working.

Yet, although such policies can affect employment patterns, they may not have a marked effect on occupational achievement. Policy and structural elements of particular occupations can lessen the effect of domestic circumstances on employment patterns and occupational achievement. However, the unequal relations of power between women and men in the home and in the workplace act as a constant variable in each of these case studies, and inequalities persist between women and men in employment.
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank B. Grais, INSEE, for allowing the use of data from the Enquete Emploi 1985, A. Degennes, CNRS-LASMAS, for supplying the data and I. Fournier, CNRS-LASMAS, for her technical assistance with the data tape. I would also like to thank OPCS for allowing the use of the Labour Force Survey and the ESRC Data Archive at Essex University for supplying the data. The University of London Computing Centre and Valerie Harmer of the University of Surrey Computing Unit also gave invaluable help in managing the data. My thanks go also to Agnes McGill of the University of Surrey for her administrative help; Jane Fielding of the University of Surrey for advice on computing and data analysis; CNRS-IRESCO library; Institut de l'enfance et de la famille; Secretariat d'Etat des Droits de la Femme; M Berceot, Centre national d'information et de documentation des femmes et des familles; A Desrosières, J-C Ponsot and C Thelot of INSEE; J Laufer, HEC-ISA; A Segros, Secrétaire fédérale du syndicat général de l'Education Nationale CFDT; F Euvrard and V Perotin, CERC; M Cacaouault; L Hantrais, University of Aston; Mark Ashworth, University of Surrey Library; my supervisors, Sara Arber, University of Surrey and Angela Dale, Social Statistics Research Unit, City University.
## Contents

### Chapter 1: Introduction

- 1. Introduction

### Chapter 2: Cross-national comparison: general issues and specific policies

1. Introduction
2. Why compare cross-nationally?
   2.1. 'Transfer of policy'
   2.2. Questioning 'taken-for-granted' relationships
   2.3. Extending theory: generalisation and specification
3. Some problems with cross-national comparison
4. The approach taken to cross-national comparison
5. The policy background to women's employment
   5.1. Family policy in France and Britain
   5.1.1. French family policy: an overview
   5.1.2. British family policy: an overview
   5.2. Equal opportunities policies
   5.2.1. Britain's response to EC equal opportunities legislation
   5.2.2. Britain's equal opportunities legislation
   5.2.3. France's response to EC equal opportunities legislation
   5.2.4. France's equal opportunities legislation
   5.2.5. Discussion of France and Britain's response to equal opportunities
6. Summary of chapter

### Chapter 3: Women's employment: theoretical approaches

1. Introduction
2. Theorising women's employment
   2.1. Human capital theory
   2.2. Structural explanations
   2.2.1. Capitalism and women's employment
   2.2.2. Segmented labour market theory
   2.3. Explanations relating to the technical division of skills
   2.4. Socio-cultural explanations
   2.4.1. Patriarchy
   2.4.2. Family and paid employment
3. Summary of chapter
4. Discussion: Beechey's conceptual framework
Chapter 4: Broad patterns of similarity and difference in women's employment in France and Britain

1. Introduction 78
2. Male and female labour force participation levels in France and Britain 79
3. French and British women's employment: broad differences 80
3.1. Differences: levels of part-time working 82
3.2. Differences: patterns of continuity and discontinuity of employment 84
3.2.1. Continuity and discontinuity: work history data 84
4. French and British women's employment: similarities 86
4.1. Occupational groups by sex: comparing France and Britain 87
4.2. Occupational distribution by sex: France 88
4.3. Occupational distribution by sex: Britain 90
5. Occupational sex segregation 93
6. Male/female pay differentials 94
7. Summary of the characteristics of French and British women and men's employment 97
App 4.1 Data for Figure 4.1 100

Chapter 5: Domestic circumstances, employment patterns and occupational achievement: a review of existing work

1. Introduction 101
2. The general context: domestic responsibilities and occupational achievement 103
2.1. Employment patterns 103
2.2. Occupational achievement 104
3. The effect of employment patterns on occupational achievement 107
4. Domestic circumstances and occupational achievement: the case of teaching 112
5. Domestic circumstances and occupational achievement: the case of officeworking 115
6. Summary of chapter 121

Chapter 6: 'Occupational situations'

1. Introduction 123
2. The employment context: the notion of an 'occupational situation' 124
2.1. Occupationally and organisationally based occupations 127
2.2. Pre-entry and post-entry qualifications 129
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.3. 'Job protection'</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1. 'Job protection': movement between full-time and part-time</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>working</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2. 'Job protection': rights relating to part-time working</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.3. 'Job protection': rights relating to childbirth and to the</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upbringing of children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.4. Discussion of 'job protection' measures</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4. The provision of daycare in Britain and France</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5. Pay and work-hours</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6. The domestic division of labour</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. French public and private sector differences</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Expectations of the home/employment relationship for teachers and</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for officeworkers in France and Britain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 7: Data, methods and definitions

1. Introduction                                                        | 157  |
2. The data sources                                                    | 159  |
2.1. The Labour Force Survey                                           | 159  |
2.2. The Enquete Emploi                                                | 161  |
3. Aspects of employment status in France and the UK                   | 164  |
3.1. Labour Force Survey and Enquete Emploi definitions of the labour force | 164  |
3.1.1. Definitions of employment and not working in the two surveys    | 164  |
3.2. Labour force participation                                        | 167  |
3.3. Self-employment in France and the UK                              | 169  |
3.4. Family workers                                                    | 170  |
3.5. Definitions of unemployment                                        | 170  |
3.6. Part-time/full-time labour force participation                    | 171  |
4. Occupational classifications                                         | 173  |
4.1. The French occupational classification system, the PCS            | 175  |
4.2. OPCS Classification of Occupations 1980 (CO80)                    | 176  |
4.2.1. Socio-economic groups (SEG)                                     | 179  |
5. Definitions of marital status                                        | 179  |
6. Age selections                                                       | 180  |
6.1. British teachers                                                  | 180  |
6.2. French teachers                                                   | 181  |
6.3. British white-collar workers/office-workers                        | 182  |
6.4. French white-collar workers/office-workers                        | 183  |
7. Occupational achievement                                            | 183  |
8. The method of secondary analysis                                    | 184  |
App 7.1 International Standard Classification of Occupations, 1968    | 191  |
App 7.2 Notes on PCS categories                                        | 193  |
App 7.3 Notes on CO80 categories                                       | 194  |
App 7.4 Notes on SEG categories                                        | 196  |
Chapter 8: British teachers and teaching

1. Introduction

2. Occupational sex segregation in British teaching: historical details

2.1. Married women teachers: a reserve pool of labour

2.2. Summary of the history of sex segregation in British teaching

3. Defining British teachers

4. British teachers: a description

5. British teachers: sex segregation

6. Teachers' employment patterns

7. Employment patterns and domestic characteristics

8. Teachers and occupational achievement

8.1. Bivariate analysis of British teachers' occupational achievement

8.2. Logit analysis of British teachers' occupational achievement

8.2.1. Multiplicative effects

9. Comparing women and men's occupational achievement, Britain

10. Summary of chapter

App 8.1 Vertical occupational sex segregation, British teachers

App 8.2 British teachers' pay

App 8.3 Data for Figure 8.1

App 8.4 Variables used in logit analysis

App 8.5 Logit analysis, DEPC substituted for AGYO

Chapter 9: French teachers and teaching

1. Introduction

2. French teaching: the development of sex segregation

2.1. Married women teachers: a reserve pool of labour

3. Identification and definitions of French teachers

4. Descriptive statistics of French teachers

4.1. Sex segregation in French teaching

5. Employment patterns by age/life-cycle stage

6. Employment patterns and domestic characteristics

7. Occupational achievement and domestic characteristics

7.1. Bivariate analysis of French teachers' occupational achievement

7.2. Logit analysis of French teachers' occupational achievement

7.2.1. Multiplicative effects
Chapter 10: White-collar working and officeworking, Britain

1. Introduction
2. The feminization of clerical working
2.1. Clerical workers and marital status
2.2. The feminization of British clerical working: summary
3. Definitions of white-collar workers and officeworkers
3.1. White-collar working and occupational mobility
4. Occupational sex segregation, white-collar workers
5. British white-collar workers, employment patterns
6. Employment patterns and domestic characteristics
7. British officeworkers: occupational achievement and domestic characteristics
7.1. Occupational achievement and domestic characteristics: bivariate analyses
7.2. Occupational achievement and domestic characteristics: logit analyses
7.2.1. Multiplicative effects
7.2.2. Discussion of logit analyses
8. Comparing occupational achievement, women and men officeworkers
9. Summary of chapter
App 10.1 Profile of British white-collar group
App 10.2 British white-collar workers' qualifications
App 10.3 Data for Figure 10.2
App 10.4 Variables used in logit analysis
App 10.5 Logit analysis, substitution of DEPC for AGY2

Chapter 11: White-collar working and officeworking, France

1. Introduction
2. Feminization of clerical working in France
3. Gendered white-collar occupations, France
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Employed labour force participation rates, France and UK, 1975-85</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Occupational distribution of men and women, UK and France, 1983</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Employed labour force by broad occupational group by sex, France</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Employed labour force by broad occupational group by sex, Britain</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>SEG by sex</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Occupational sex segregation in France and UK</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>Average hourly earnings of women workers, France &amp; UK, 1973-81</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>'Occupational situations': teaching and officeworking, France &amp; Britain</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Maternity leave, France &amp; Britain</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Principal aspects of the Enquete Emploi and the Labour Force Survey</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Categories of employed and not employed in the EE and LFS</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Employment status, women and men, France &amp; UK</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Proportions of women teachers, census returns for England &amp; Wales</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>Characteristics of teachers and of the employed labour force, Britain</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>Sex segregation, British teaching</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>Teachers by sex, Britain</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>Employment patterns by domestic characteristics, British women teachers</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>Occupational achievement by domestic characteristics, British women teachers</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>Parameter estimates for the log odds of being in a higher teaching grade,</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>Occupational achievement of women and men teachers, Britain</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F8.1</td>
<td>&quot;Primary&quot; and &quot;secondary&quot; supervisory and non-supervisory teachers by sex</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8A</td>
<td>Vertical occupational sex segregation, British primary &amp; nursery teachers</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8B</td>
<td>Vertical occupational sex segregation, British secondary teachers</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8C</td>
<td>Vertical occupational sex segregation, British university teachers</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8D</td>
<td>British teachers' pay, 1985 &amp; 1986</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8E</td>
<td>British teachers' annual mean salaries, 1985 &amp; 1986</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Characteristics of teachers and of the employed labour force, France</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>Sex segregation, French teaching</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>Employment patterns by domestic characteristics, French teachers</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>Occupational achievement by domestic characteristics, French teachers</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>Parameter estimates for the log odds of being in a higher level teaching post, French women</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>Occupational achievement of women and men teachers, France</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9A</td>
<td>Teaching sub-groups, France</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9B</td>
<td>Mean monthly salaries, French teachers</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9C</td>
<td>Women's mean monthly pay as a proportion of men's, French teachers</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9D</td>
<td>Teaching groups by sex, France</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9E</td>
<td>Vertical sex segregation, primary and nursery teachers, France</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9F</td>
<td>Vertical sex segregation, secondary teachers, France</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G</td>
<td>Parameter estimates for the log odds of being in a higher level teaching post, substitution of YCHI variable, France</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>Women clerks' pay as a percentage of men's, 1914-1978, Britain</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>Occupational sex segregation, white-collar workers, Britain</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>Employment patterns by domestic characteristics, women white-collar workers, Britain</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>Occupational achievement by domestic characteristics, women officeworkers, Britain</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>Parameter estimates for the log odds of being in a supervisory grade, British women officeworkers</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>Occupational achievement of women and men, British officeworkers</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10A</td>
<td>White-collar workers by qualification, women and men, Britain</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10B</td>
<td>Parameter estimates for the log odds of being in a supervisory officeworker grade, substitution of DEPC, British women</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>Occupational sex segregation, white-collar workers, France</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>Employment patterns by domestic characteristics, French white-collar workers, public sector</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>Employment patterns by domestic characteristics, French white-collar workers, private sector</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>Occupational achievement by domestic characteristics, French officeworkers</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>Parameter estimates for the log odds of being in a higher level office-worker post, French public sector</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>Parameter estimates for the log odds of being in a higher level office-worker post, French private sector</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>Occupational achievement of women and men, French officeworkers</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11A</td>
<td>White-collar workers by qualification, France</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 12.1: Domestic characteristics and employment patterns, summary of occupational groups, France & Britain

Table 12.2: Domestic characteristics and occupational achievement, summary of occupational groups, France & Britain

Table 12.3: Domestic characteristics and occupational achievement, women and men, summary, France & Britain

Figures

Fig. 4.1: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French and British women

Fig. 6.1: General and specific aspects of teaching and officeworking in Britain and France

Fig. 8.1: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, British women teachers

Fig. 9.1: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French women teachers

Fig. 10.1: CO80 white-collar occupational mobility routes

Fig. 10.2: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, British women white-collar workers

Fig. 11.1: PCS white-collar and officeworker classifications

Fig. 11.2: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French women white-collar workers

Fig. 11.3: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French women white-collar workers, public sector

Fig. 11.4: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French women white-collar workers, private sector

Fig. 12.1: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French and British women (repeat of Fig. 4.1)

Fig. 12.2: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French and British women teachers and white-collar workers
Chapter 1: Introduction

Women's domestic circumstances influence and shape both their own supply of labour, and employers' demand for labour (Humphries & Rubery, 1988). The question which is addressed in this thesis is the extent to which domestic circumstances impinge on women's employment in specific occupations in two countries, France and Britain. Two aspects of women's employment are examined: employment patterns, and, principally, occupational achievement (1). The thesis examines, with reference to French and British teaching and white-collar/office working (2), the conditions which minimise the effect of domestic responsibilities. Furthermore, it addresses the question of whether, even when domestic responsibilities are only weakly related to women's employment patterns, women's occupational achievement is markedly improved.

The question of the relationship between women's domestic circumstances and their employment patterns is addressed cross-nationally by comparing France and Britain. France and Britain have a range of similarities and differences which provide a useful basis for the examination of the research question. These similarities and differences, as they relate to women's employment, are described in Chapter 4. On a general level, the economic structure of the two countries is similar; one consequence of this is that occupations in the two countries have similar (but not identical) structures and meanings. However, the countries have policy differences relating to employment and to the family which provide interesting contrasts. Thus, certain structural variables can be seen as
constants, which provide a context in which policy-related aspects, varying between the two countries, can be explored. In addition, the socio-cultural context of patriarchy appears to be common to both countries, and can thus be seen as a constant. General reasons for comparing cross-nationally are explored in Chapter 2.

Specific reasons for comparing French and British teaching and white-collar/office working are addressed in Chapter 6, using a concept referred to as the 'occupational situation'. French and British teaching and white-collar/office working have some features which are shared cross-nationally, and some which vary cross-nationally. Whilst they operate in a cultural environment which is peculiar to each country, there are some aspects which cross national boundaries, and can be seen as more universal than other features, which are more country-specific. In relation to the research issue here, examples of features on the 'universalistic' axis include the unequal domestic division of labour and certain aspects of the occupational structure of teaching and officeworking, whilst 'particularistic' features include some aspects of family and employment policy peculiar to each country. An important feature of the study of French officeworking (Chapter 11) is that separate analyses are carried out for the public and private sectors. As Chapter 6 demonstrates, the policy context of the public sector differs from that of the private sector in certain ways.

Previous research shows that women's domestic circumstances and
responsibilities are related to their employment patterns and occupational achievement in a variety of ways. These are discussed in Chapter 5. For example, although marriage no longer provides a reason for women to leave the labour force in either Britain or France, it is related to part-time working in Britain. Furthermore, the presence of children, their age and their number have different effects on women's employment in France and Britain. However, much of the existing research focuses on an aggregate picture of women's employment. Rather little is known about the influence of these domestic factors on women's employment in particular occupations.

A basic tenet of this thesis is that an understanding of women's employment comes principally from a detailed examination of particular occupations (Beechey, 1983; Brown, 1990). General descriptions of women's employment patterns (for example Dale & Glover, 1990; Dex et al, 1988) are of course useful in terms of providing a backdrop for detailed occupational exploration. Nonetheless, discussions of aggregated occupations inevitably result in generalisations. For example, French women's labour force participation is often characterised as being full-time and continuous over the life-cycle (Beechey, 1987). In this thesis, the extent to which these patterns hold good for different occupations is explored. In addition, levels of not working are investigated; this is an aspect of French women's labour force participation which tends to be ignored in the literature. Employment patterns for the two occupational groups chosen - teaching and officeworking - are examined in Chapters 8-11 for both France and Britain.
Generalised statements about France can also be made about policy aspects, as well as about the effects of policy. State daycare (3) provision in France is at a considerably higher level than in Britain and many other Western European countries (Moss, 1988). This is often pinpointed as a major reason for French women's ability to work full-time and continuously, without taking a break for the purposes of family formation (for example, Beechey, 1987). There is sometimes also the assumption that the provision of adequate levels of daycare is necessary for the achievement of equal opportunities. For example, the European Community's Second Action Programme for Women states that daycare provision is essential if women are to win equality with men in paid work. The assumption of a link between daycare provision and equal opportunities is demonstrated by the title of the European Community's recent Childcare Network programme: 'Childcare and Equality of Opportunity' (Moss, 1988).

An issue explored in this thesis is whether the ability to work full-time and continuously (principally because of daycare provision) leads to higher levels of occupational achievement (employment at a level other than the lowest in each occupation) for women. Other factors, such as the unequal domestic division of labour, prevalent in France as in most other countries, constitute an additional demand on women's personal resources (time, energy). There is not much evidence that, for example, women are less occupationally segregated in France than in Britain (Dale & Glover, 1990) or that the gap between women's and men's wages is considerably closer in France than in Britain(4). Thus, it becomes possible to argue
that the ability to work full-time and continuously, which follows on from daycare provision, is not necessarily beneficial to women.

This is an important point for countries such as Britain, where state daycare provision is at a low level. There is a tendency for equal opportunities campaigning groups in Britain to use the example of countries such as France, with high levels of state daycare provision. Such groups have argued that, for women to participate on equal terms with men in the labour market, daycare provision needs to be markedly improved. One of the points suggested by this thesis is that a high level of state daycare provision is likely to be a necessary, but not a sufficient, element of equal opportunities for women in employment. A high level of daycare provision is likely to influence employment patterns (without implying any causality, since it is possible that employment patterns influence daycare patterns). However, it is suggested in Chapter 12 that greater continuity in women's employment patterns, so that they resemble more closely those of men, is not necessarily associated with greater occupational achievement.

A variety of theoretical positions seeking to explain women's employment patterns have developed over the past twenty or thirty years in British social science. These are explored in Chapter 3. They include the idea, principally favoured by economists in the neo-classical tradition, that women's investment in human capital is different from that of men, providing an explanation of women's disadvantage in the labour
market. More specifically sociological theories include the idea that the structure of the labour market itself acts as a determinant of women's employment patterns; this view is explored with reference to Marxist ideology, as well as within the tradition of segmented labour markets theory. In addition, explanations which rely on socio-cultural constructions of women's employment, 'two roles' theory and the theory of patriarchy, are examined.

The perspective informing this thesis is that of Beechey (1983). Beechey argues that explanations of women's employment patterns, in particular occupational sex segregation, need to take elements from a variety of theoretical traditions. Such an approach incorporates an analysis of the conditions under which women sell their labour power, leading to a distinction between the ideology of women's domestic circumstances, and the concrete constraints represented by these patterns of caring for dependents. A second aspect of this approach presupposes an analysis of the way in which gender has come, over time, to be conceptualised within different occupations. This combination of approaches allows for an examination of, on the one hand, the interplay of domestic circumstances and employment within a particular cultural situation, and, on the other, the historical context and the particular features of the occupation into which the supply of labour is brought. The way in which this conceptual approach is operationalised in relation to the research question in this thesis is explored further in Chapter 6.

The research uses the method of secondary analysis. Two
nationally representative cross-sectional data sets for France and Britain were obtained: the Enquête Emploi 1985 (INSEE, 1985) and the Labour Force Survey 1984 (OPCS, 1986). Each of these surveys has the aim of establishing national labour force estimates for initial use by the government of each country. Issues relating to the use of these data sets are addressed in Chapter 7, 'Data, methods and definitions'. The four 'core' chapters of this thesis (Chapters 8-11) are those which focus in detail on French and British women in teaching and in officeworking. Each chapter is on similar lines. Firstly, the history of the feminization of that occupation is briefly described. This sets the scene for the examination of patterns of sex segregation within that occupation, and provides some explanatory pointers for those patterns. Maurice et al (1982) make the point that a detailed country-specific and historical analysis is necessary before comparison. In this way, differences between women's position within societies can be highlighted and taken into consideration in subsequent cross-national comparisons. Employment patterns - full-time working, part-time working, not in employment - are then described. This is done with the aim, introduced above, of going beyond general statements about differences and similarities between French and British women's employment patterns. It also provides a context for the central issue in each chapter, the examination of the effect of women's domestic circumstances on their achievement within that occupation. The question of whether any of these case studies provides an example of the minimisation of the effect of domestic circumstances on occupational achievement is addressed in Chapter 12.
Chapter 12 compares and contrasts both employment patterns and occupational achievement in French and British teaching and white-collar/office working. Here also the question of whether French part-time working is compatible with occupational achievement in any of these occupational groups is addressed. This has important policy implications, since in Britain part-time working is largely confined to low-level jobs in a narrow range of occupations. Finally, theory and policy implications of the findings are discussed.

Footnotes:
(1) The term 'occupational achievement' is used here to signify progression of a broad kind within occupations. In the chapters which focus on particular occupations, occupational achievement is used in a more specific way to mean location at particular levels within each occupation. This is explained in each of those chapters (8-11).

(2) Teaching is primarily schoolteaching, although some analyses are carried out using a wider definition of teaching. Chapters 8 and 10 give detailed definitions of British and French teachers. For definitions of white-collar working/office working in Britain and France, see Appendices 10.1 and 11.2. British officeworking = clerical supervisory and clerical non-supervisory (categories 3 and 4 of the white-collar profiles in Appendix 10.1). French officeworking = intermediate administrative and clerical (categories 2 and 3 of the white-collar profiles in Appendix 11.2).

(3) In line with Melhuish & Moss (1991), the term 'daycare' is used in this thesis to refer to the care of children inside or outside the home by a person or people who are not their parents, and who are paid by the parents or by the state to do this form of caring. The term 'childcare' (in one word) is sometimes also used as a generic term to denote the totality of substitute care of this sort. A confusion arises, however, with the term 'childcare', because it is also used (often written in two separate words, as in the Child Care Act 1980) to mean the care of children who are removed from the family home on a permanent or semi-permanent basis because they are judged to be in need of protection by the state.

(4) As explained in Chapter 4, French women earned around 75% of men's pay (1981 figures). In Britain, the equivalent figure was around 70% (OECD, 1985:70).
Chapter 2: Cross-national comparison: general issues and specific policies

1. Introduction:
Two broad issues are addressed in this chapter. In the first part, the advantages and constraints of cross-national comparison are considered in answer to the question of why cross-national comparisons are useful. This discussion is on a rather general level, and no specific mention of France and Britain is made. In the second part, consideration is given to the issue of why France and Britain are particularly interesting countries to compare and contrast. Particular emphasis is put on policy aspects, in particular family policies and equal opportunities policies, key aspects of the background to women's employment in the two countries. The development of daycare in each country is also considered.

2. Why compare cross-nationally?
There are a number of reasons for doing cross-national research. There is firstly an intrinsic interest in doing this; comparison of a familiar country with a less familiar one is interesting for its own sake. More specifically, comparisons are used to study policy in different countries, and findings are often used by campaigning groups to try to persuade one country that the policies of another have particular advantages, and should be adopted in the first country. A third reason for doing cross-national research is that it allows taken-for-granted relationships or phenomena in one country to be questioned by showing that, in another country, under a different set of circumstances, that relationship does not hold. Fourthly, comparisons of two or
more countries can also be used in an explanatory sense to extend and clarify theory; Bean (1985) suggests that this is the most important aspect of cross-national work. Cross-national research allows for the generalisation or, alternatively, the specification of theory through its identification of similarities and differences between countries.

Three of these uses of cross-national research are particularly relevant for the aims of this thesis. They are, in order, 'transfer of policy', the questioning of national 'taken-for-granted' relationships, and the specification/generalisation of theory. Each is discussed below.

2.1. 'Transfer of policy'

The 'transfer of policy' use of cross-national research may be a powerful weapon for groups wishing to influence public and party political opinion. For example, the European Childcare Network project set out to compare state daycare and early education policies in EEC countries, and found that there are widely disparate levels of daycare provision amongst these countries (Moss, 1988). These findings have been used to suggest that Britain (a country with a very low level of state daycare provision) should adopt similar policies to those of countries with higher level of provision, if inequalities of opportunity amongst British women are to be diminished (Cohen & Moss, Guardian, 11.7.88). Women, they suggest, would benefit from greater equality of opportunity, since they would be able to have greater labour force attachment by working longer, possibly full-time, hours. In addition, they would not need to
break their labour force participation during the life-course. Thus it is inferred that full-time, continuous labour force attachment (brought about by good daycare facilities) leads to greater equality of opportunity for women.

It is sometimes argued that the 'transfer of policy' use of cross-national comparison is inappropriate, since it ignores the likelihood that a country's policies are a product of a set of historical, political and economic circumstances (Bean, 1985). Bean argues that what he calls the "polemical" use of policy is unrealistic, since policies cannot be divorced from the context or contexts which gave rise to them, and are therefore not necessarily readily transferable from one country to another. If one country's policy is transferred to another, then there is no certainty that it will operate there in a similar way (Bean, 1985).

For example, the French system of 'écoles maternelles' is the product of social, political and historical circumstances which have led in the mid-1980s to about 90% of French 3-year olds being part of the state education system (INSEE, 1986: 75). Although the rationale of the 'écoles maternelles' is related to educational rather than daycare aims (Lewis, 1985), nevertheless from the point of view of women in employment the system provides day-long childcare from this age onwards for very nearly all French children. To the eyes of those in Britain who wish to improve women's occupational equality through the increased provision of daycare, the French system seems admirable. In Britain, only a very small proportion of three-year olds are in any form of pre-schooling (approximately
the equivalent of the 'école maternelle') or in full-time
daycare (Moss, 1988; Cohen, 1990).

Yet, widespread acceptance of all-day schooling of 3 year-olds
seems unlikely in Britain, where the notion that the age of
five is an appropriate age for the start of schooling has
itself a long history, and where an ideology opposed to
substitute care remains strong. Policies have a history, which
is often the result of the intersection of social, economic and
political circumstances, and they are not necessarily readily
transferable to other contexts.

2.2. Questioning 'taken-for-granted' relationships
In Britain, most women leave the labour force when they have
children (Martin & Roberts, 1984). This phenomenon is backed
up by a strong ideology that mothers are the most appropriate
people to bring up their children. The development of these
ideas can be traced historically, for example by examining
post-war ideologies of motherhood, and theories of maternal
depprivation; these ideologies are developed in more detail in a
later section of this chapter. They continue to be strongly
held, as demonstrated by attitudinal evidence from the Women &
Employment Survey (Martin & Roberts, 1984, Chapter 12).

Yet, in France, a country with a similar economic and social
make-up and which is geographically close to Britain, women
tend not to leave the labour force when they have children (Dex
et al, 1988). Thus a countervailing example is provided.
Cross-national research may be particularly useful in its
ability to cast doubt on assumptions of universalism.
Differences and similarities may then be understood better, and in a less simplistic way, through an examination of the interrelationship of economic, social and political factors relating to each country. Cross-national research can thus problematise aspects previously held as self-evident, and can show that such aspects are specific to only one cultural setting.

2.3. Extending theory: generalisation and specification

If a phenomenon is observed in one country alone, and analysed within that context, then it may be seen simply as a product of a particular set of national circumstances; thus a theory is developed which is specific to one nation. Yet, if that phenomenon is also studied in the context of another country, or of several other countries, then it is possible to observe whether it is specific to one country, or whether it can be generalised to more than one situation.

Gallie's study of class consciousness amongst French and British working-class men demonstrates the way in which cross-national research can establish specification in the cases being analysed (Gallie, 1978). Broadly speaking, this represents a deductive approach, moving from the general to the particular. Gallie's aim was to further a particular theory about the development of capitalist society. He started from the premise that sociologists had tended to underestimate the degree of cultural and structural divergence between capitalist societies, and had assumed that class consciousness would develop at similar rates in different capitalist countries. For this reason a comparison of class attitudes and class relations
in different countries was needed in order to establish their importance to theories of capitalism. Gallie's research was able to establish that class consciousness had developed at quite different rates in France and in Britain, and that its importance in relation to the development of capitalism could not therefore be generalised across countries; the extent and nature of the relationship was specific to each country. Thus, it could be shown that a general theory of the relationship between capital and class consciousness was mediated by intervening, country-specific factors.

Another way in which cross-national comparison may help to advance theory is related to its ability to suggest evidence of relationships which may recur in more than one situation; this is done by establishing similarities amongst and between countries. Replication of a relationship between two or more variables in more than one country makes for a more powerful finding than the establishment of that relationship in one country alone. This is a common aim of the North American tradition of cross-national studies, often involving a large number of countries, and the use of economic and social indicators (see, for example, Merritt & Rokkan, 1966).

However, Rubery (1988) criticises attempts to establish similarities between countries, preferring instead a 'societal' perspective which seeks to explain differences between countries by reference to societal factors which structure economic and social organisation. Rubery makes the point that the intersection of political, social and economic factors relating to particular countries provides the explanations for
differences between countries. She argues that there is a tendency to put too much stress on similarities between countries; as an example of this, she cites the emphasis which Paukert (1984) and OECD (1985a) put on the similarity of occupational sex segregation patterns across industrialised countries. There may well be a tendency in descriptive studies of the sort cited by Rubery (1988) to put too little emphasis on societal factors leading to differences and similarities. For example, observed similarities could have different explanations in different countries. An added problem may be the tendency of such studies to be ahistorical. Explanations of cross-national features, whether superficially similar or different, need of course to be located in social, political and economic factors; this is the approach taken in this thesis.

Furthermore, the analysis of similarities is sometimes seen as problematic. Davis (1986) argues that explaining similarity is one of the most difficult of research tasks. The establishment of a similarity may be a complicated affair, perhaps principally because such a finding is likely to depend on the level at which the analysis is carried out, and of course on the aim of the research. Broad-brush descriptive statistics are useful for particular purposes, for example as political and social indicators. In addition, at the initial stages of conceptualising a cross-national research issue, it is useful to establish broad patterns of similarity and difference between countries. This is the purpose of Chapter 4. However, it is probably more significant in terms of the development of theory to carry out detailed analysis and comparison of
different sub-groups selected for their sociological interest.

The criticisms of work which seeks to emphasise similarities between countries is taken here to be principally aimed at large-scale, macro-level comparison. In this thesis, both similarities and differences are used at a micro-level to establish a schema of 'occupational situations' referring to two theoretically contrasted occupations (see Chapter 6). The establishment of common and divergent features is therefore a key aspect of this exercise, and one which underpins the subsequent analyses.

The following section addresses cultural and definitional issues which may arise in the course of cross-national work. Methodological issues related to the definitions in specific data sets and occupational classifications used in the analyses in this thesis are covered in Chapter 7.

3. Some problems with cross-national comparison

Perhaps prominent amongst the problems experienced in cross-national work is that of differences in meanings, which are related to different cultural backgrounds. In qualitative work, it is clear that the researcher needs to be very familiar with both the culture and the language of the countries studied. Nevertheless, the issue of concepts and meanings remains an important one for quantitative work also. The researcher inevitably brings with her a set of concepts which relate uniquely to her own country, and needs to understand that linguistic equivalents may not be conceptual equivalents. For example, particular occupations with apparent linguistic
equivalence may have different status in two countries; the perception of a 'good' or a 'bad' job may differ; levels of responsibility and requisite skills attached to ostensibly similar occupations may be perceived in different ways. These factors, suggests Rubery (1988), constitute fundamental problems for the cross-national study of occupational segregation. This is not to say that cross-national comparisons of occupational segregation should not be undertaken, but rather that the problems inherent in such analyses should be clearly understood.

Meanings relating to particular institutions may also vary between countries. Scheuch (1966) gives the example of the different social meanings attached to education in Germany and the USA. Post-compulsory school in the USA is represented by a system of general education, open to very many, whilst in Germany, it is restricted to an intellectual elite. Accordingly, the meanings given to each system vary. This is also the case in France and Britain; in Britain, Higher Education is selective, whilst in France access is considerably more open. The value and status accorded to a university education may thus vary between countries. In comparing university-educated people in two or more countries, it should not be assumed that education is a constant.

Bearing these problems in mind, the approach to cross-national comparison taken in this thesis is now explained.

4. The approach taken to cross-national comparison
A first point is that the approach taken depends on the aims of
the research. If statistical comparisons, or descriptions of similarities and differences between two countries, are the aim, then it is important that an attempt is made to create equivalent categories, inasmuch as this is possible. In this case, it would be important that the study of occupations was based on the use of a harmonised classification, or that one occupational classification was recoded into the other (see Glover, 1989). Problems relating to this include the practical problems of ensuring that the data is in fact effectively 'harmonised'. In addition there is the conceptual question of whether it is possible, or even desirable, to collapse into one schema two (or more) sets of occupations. The issue here is that occupational classifications are the product of a set of social, political and economic factors which are peculiar to each country.

If, on the other hand, cross-national comparison has the aim of examining a particular research question as it affects two (or more) countries, then the issue of having equivalent categories becomes less important. Discrete data sets covering similar topics can be used, as in the analyses carried out for this thesis. This has the advantage of keeping valuable detail which might be lost if the two data sets were 'harmonised', or if one data set was re-coded into the other. Re-coding of one data set into another requires coding the most detailed into the least detailed. Taking an example from the two data sets used in this thesis, the occupational classification (PCS) in the French data set, the Enquête Emploi, is considerably more detailed than the British Classification of Occupations (C080) used in the Labour Force Survey. Had it been decided that a
common 'harmonised' classification was essential, a great deal of the invaluable detail in the PCS would have been lost.

However, although the maintenance of separate occupational classifications ensures that valuable detail can be retained, one consequence is that a great deal of work often has to be done to create as much detail as possible in the other data set. Secondary analysis has the potential to do this by deriving new classifications through a combination of variables, although this is not always possible if the requisite questions have not been asked in the questionnaire.

Relating this to the question of whether cross-cultural research is, or should be, 'culture-free' or 'contingent' (see, for example, the edited volume by Lammers & Hickson, 1979), it can be argued that an approach which does not seek to harmonise occupational titles is taking a 'contingent' or 'culture-bound' position. The decision not to use a harmonised schema is to acknowledge that occupational titles, which are the product of one culture, can only be imperfectly subsumed into those of another. There are some obvious links here with the 'societal' approach (Maurice, 1979). This approach seeks to establish the discontinuity of different societies, rather than the convergence between them. Having said this, however, it is not the aim here to emphasise the difference between French and British occupational titles; rather the starting point is an acceptance that occupations are to an extent country-specific, and that the limitations which are thus created can be worked within.
5. The policy background to women's employment

Up to now in this chapter, the discussion has focused on general considerations relating to cross-national research. In the second part of this chapter, a more specific approach is taken: policy aspects which make the comparison of France and Britain particularly interesting are examined. Two key policy aspects which impinge upon women's employment are the focus of the second part of this chapter. Firstly, family policy in France and Britain is discussed in terms of its relationship to women's employment. The development of daycare policy is considered in this section. Secondly, equal opportunities policy in the two countries is examined.

5.1. Family policy in France and Britain

Pronatalism is at the basis of much of France's family policy. However, Baker (1986) makes the claim that the term family policy in France is a misnomer. Priorities, he asserts, have not been to encourage family bonds, but rather to encourage the procreation of children. This pro-natalist policy, argues Baker, has been presented by the state in two distinct ways at different point in history. At times, the encouragement to parents to have children has been explicit, whilst at others, including the present, it is more covert through enacting policy which makes the lives of parents and children more rewarding (Baker, 1986: 423). Hantrais (1990) makes a distinction between pronatalist policy which explicitly sets out to reverse population decrease, and family policy which has the intention of reducing inequalities between families regardless of the number of children. Whatever policies are called, it is probably not in dispute that France has "generous
and active" family policies (Hantrais, 1990:127).

It is possible to distinguish in France a set of policies which can be identified with the family, and to make the claim that the family, and children, have been seen for a long time as a legitimate and explicit area of state concern. By contrast, the British family is seen in policy terms as considerably more of a private matter; British family policy has been called 'implicit' (Kamerman & Kahn, 1978). Indeed Land & Parker (1978) describe British family policy as both implicit and reluctant.

Baker (1986) stresses the contrast between public and private attitudes to children in the two countries:

"..in France childrearing is regarded as a service to society which entitles those performing it to adequate reward and assistance, but ... in Britain having children is regarded as a private indulgence of parents which should concern the community no more than buying a house or car."

(Baker, 1986: 422)

The consequences of this contrast in state attitudes towards the family are marked. For example, France has long had a ministerial appointee with responsibility for the family, together with a body of legislation, the "Code de la Famille", set up in 1929. The Code had clear demographic aims, as well as those of strengthening the family for economic and ideological reasons (Hantrais, 1990). By contrast, Britain has never had a minister with specific duties relating to the family, or a government department with the word 'family' in its title (Land & Parker, 1978).
The contrast between French and British family policy is perhaps most marked in relation to daycare provision. Recent reports (Moss, 1988; Cohen, 1990) demonstrate that Britain has one of the lowest levels of state-funded daycare in Western industrialized countries, whilst France has one of the highest. The history of daycare in France reveals many reasons why French daycare is at a high level; this is considered after an overview of French family policy.

5.1.1. French family policy: an overview

France has a range of social policies which emphasise a desire to support the family, particularly in its reproductive role. For example, young couples may qualify for loans for household equipment when they set up home; repayments may be waived if they have children soon after. Some housing allowances are lost if couples do not have children within a certain time. Many municipal authorities take the needs of parents into account in their planning: modern shopping centres often contain a crèche ("halte-garderie") (Baker, 1986). State-subsidised daycare facilities are widespread, particularly in cities. As Chapter 6 shows in more detail, almost all of France's three year-olds are looked after outside the home on a full-time basis. If state-recognised childminders are used ("crèches familiales"), then tax concessions are available.

In addition, there are many concessions for families with large numbers of children ("familles nombreuses"). The pronatalist underpinnings of French family policy are particularly clear in the family allowance system: no allowance is payable for the first child, and, until very recently (1988) the allowance for
the third child was greater than that for the second child. A further point relates to the French tax system, the "quotient familial". Under this system, there are greater concessions for families with children, particularly if there are three children or more. When the "quotient familial" was first introduced in 1945, higher taxes were imposed on couples who remained childless after three years of marriage.

Much French family policy inevitably impinges on women's employment; the provision of daycare facilities is perhaps the most obvious example of this. However, it is probably not the case that French family policy explicitly sets out to support women's employment. Indeed, Maruani (1984) makes the claim that French family policy is a more or less overt set of policies which are hostile to women's labour force participation. From the British point of view, this is a difficult claim to accept, since some French policies - on daycare provision in particular - have the clear effect of permitting women's labour force participation.

There is, however, the need to make a distinction between intent and effect. Daycare facilities for children over the age of three are provided by the "école maternelle". These pre-school facilities, attended by almost all three year olds and many two year-olds, are part of the education system. Whilst the "école maternelle" may have the effect of providing daycare which allows women to be in paid work, but this is not its explicit aim. Indeed, Plaisance (1986) concludes from his highly detailed historical study of Parisian "écoles maternelles" that the growth of women's employment and the
development of pre-schooling have had markedly different histories. As evidence of this, Plaisance says that between 1946 and 1975, there was a decrease in the number of women in employment, but a marked increase in the number of children in pre-schooling. The development of pre-schooling comes, he argues, from a widespread belief in the value of pre-schooling, particularly amongst the more advantaged social classes. The thinking of educational psychologists of the 1960s and 1970s was influential: the mother was, according to their ideas, less central to the child's socialisation than the collective experience of pre-schooling. Plaisance's research suggests, then, that the needs of capitalism and the development of pre-schooling were not directly linked.

This may not be the case, however, for French daycare for children too young to go to the "école maternelle". A study of the development of daycare for children aged 0-3 years in Rennes, a major industrial centre in the north of France, suggests that two waves of industrialisation were major catalysts in the development of daycare for young children (Kaufmann, 1978). The first was in the industrialisation of the 19th century, when charitable associations, employers and municipal authorities combined to set up daycare. This arose from fears of infant mortality, since industrialisation meant that both parents were at work for 15 hours per day and children were left to their own resources. The physical needs of children were cited as paramount, and raising their standards of hygiene was one of the aims of the newly established crèches. Indeed, the physical care of children continues to be an important aspect of French daycare. (2)
In a second wave of industrialisation in the reconstruction following on from World War 2, Kaufmann describes how, in response to a call for more women to enter the labour force, the mayor of Rennes combined with the local family association, on which employers were also represented, to make a case for a municipal response to the need for daycare. Kaufmann concludes that local employers' needs were thus met by a municipal response supported by the local family association (Kaufmann, 1978).

Some French family policy explicitly seeks to keep women out of the labour market. For example, the parental allowance ("allocation parentale d'éducation"), introduced in 1985, pays the equivalent of a half-time salary to a parent of three children or more who leaves paid work in order to look after the children herself. Yet, despite its support for children, French social policy does not deter women from being in paid employment. From an outsider's perspective, this may appear to be a contradiction, and indeed recognition of these two aspects of employment and family can be seen in French social policy of the 1970s. In 1972, daycare costs were recognised through the granting of an allowance ("l'allocation pour frais de garde"). This new allowance co-existed with a measure aimed at women who stayed at home to look after children ("l'allocation de la mère au foyer").

One way of understanding these apparently contradictory aims may be through a historical examination of the French state's own dual aims. For example, in the economic reconstruction of the 1930s, the state recognised the need for women's labour.
while seeking at the same time to allow women to maintain their family role. Applying a patriarchal perspective, Stetson (1987) describes the French state's role as one which helps both employers and husbands to share women's labour. This accounts, Stetson argues, for the support by Republicans and by Catholic leaders, at the founding of the Third Republic, for early feminists' demands for women's right to work and for equal pay. At the same time, these leaders urged that women needed to be protected from overwork arising from long work-hours or from heavy labour.

A recent historical explanation from official French government sources of these two policy strands takes into account the growth in the movement for women's independence. In 1977, the French government discontinued the single salary allowance ("l'allocation à salaire unique") which gave extra money to households where only one partner was in employment. The Ministry for Social Affairs justified this change by stating that the growth in women's labour force participation was not solely a function of economic factors. It was also related to women's growing need for autonomy which was met by taking up employment outside the home (Ministère des Affaires Sociales et de la Solidarité Nationale, 1985: 21). Thus, the function of public policy in helping women with children to combine both paid employment and care for the family continued to be justified, but in rather less traditional terms.

However, it is probably a mistake to expect that different social policies should form a coherent package. Policies do not follow on neatly from one another; contradictions are
probably inevitable. Even if a policy is the product of an apparently coherent set of political and social circumstances, it may well represent the coming together of a number of aims — child support, demographic factors, labour market concerns — which will be difficult to disentangle.

5.1.2. British family policy: an overview

Beveridge's prescription of the family continues to leave its mark on British social policy (Family Policy Studies Centre, 1986). Beveridge made the assumption that married women would give up paid work on marriage, at which point they would acquire a "new economic and social status with risks and rights different from those of the unmarried" (Beveridge, 1942, cited in Family Policy Studies Centre, 1986).

Britain, in contrast to France, has never had an integrated set of policies which can explicitly be called family policies (Land & Parker, 1978). State attitudes to the family can however be discerned, and perhaps primary amongst these is the view that the family is and should be a private matter. Much legislation on the family has met with considerable opposition, because of the view that the state should not interfere in the family (Land & Parker, 1978). The principal policy relating to children is the child allowance system, where a flat rate is paid to the mother as a contribution towards the cost of having children. The value of child allowances has dropped consistently since the Beveridge plan (Macnicol, 1980). There are also tax allowances for children. Nevertheless, despite the appearance of a greater emphasis on child support in France than in Britain, comparison of the value of child support as a
whole (child allowance, social security contributions and income tax) shows that there is rather little difference in the value of child support in the two countries for those on an average income with two children (Bradshaw & Piachaud, 1980). It is only for families with large numbers of children and for poor families that France has a better record of support than Britain. There is no tax concession for daycare expenses. Indeed, prior to changes in the Major budget of 1989, parents using workplace nurseries had to pay extra tax, since such provision was seen as a perk. British family policy therefore makes little reference to women's employment. Employment appears to be seen as a private matter, which the state should not intervene in, either to help or to hinder. Of course the effect of a lack of policy may be that constraints are put in the way of women's employment. This is demonstrated by the British policy, or lack of policy, on daycare.

The provision of daycare demonstrates clear contrasts in the two countries' social policy. The provision of state-funded daycare in Britain is now almost entirely limited to children defined by the state as 'in need' (Cohen, 1990). Thus, state daycare is linked in policy terms to the issue of poverty and disadvantage. The daycare of children who fall outside this category is currently seen by the state as a private matter for the family to resolve. Junior employment minister Patrick Nicholls said in 1989 that it was not the place of the state to provide a creche system (Labour Research, March 1989: 23-4). Chapter 6 gives more detail about the current provision of British daycare.
Britain has not always had a limited amount of daycare. During the 2nd World War, especially, women's labour was needed in munitions factories. As a result, a fairly large number of nurseries were established from central government funding to allow women to meet the needs of war-time industry. In the post-war period, widespread closure of state nurseries took place, as politicians sought to resolve the problem of male unemployment by freeing up the jobs held by women during the war. There are some accounts of the immediate post-war closure of day nurseries (Holdsworth, 1988), but there is also evidence that nurseries were gradually closed down through a deliberate effort by central government to price them out of the reach of women's pay. Crofts (1986) provides evidence of both the Attlee and Bevan administrations' efforts to encourage women to return to the home. The 100% wartime grant given by central government to local authorities for nursery provision was withdrawn from April 1946. As a result, those authorities that continued to offer nurseries had to increase their charges. Crofts gives evidence of the trebling of the fees in Birmingham's nurseries, and the raising of the charges in Harrow from six shillings a week to five shillings a day (Crofts, 1986:32).

British post-war public policy of urging women to return to the home is often explained in terms of a popularisation of the ideology of 'maternal deprivation' (Holdsworth, 1988). The thinking of child psychologists, such as Bowlby and Winnicott, who embraced the view that the young child would become psychotic if deprived of maternal care, appears to have had an effect on the training of social workers and health visitors.
These occupations were rapidly growing, and there are many accounts of the effect of health visitors' dogma on childrearing practices (Holdsworth, 1988). However, there is also the view that pronatalism was at the basis of the encouragement for a return to the home (Riley, 1981). Beveridge, the founder of the British welfare state, equated the low birth-rate with the decline of the nation; women's role in peacetime, he said, was to ensure the continuance of the British race (Crofts, 1986).

However, British industry was also in need of post-war reconstruction and modernisation. There is evidence that the Attlee government gave priority to economic considerations over depopulation fears (Crofts, 1986). A national propaganda campaign was launched to bring women, especially older married women, back into the labour force. The result of the tensions between the demands of employers, the pronatalist movement and the maternal deprivation lobby was that women's employment grew, but in a particular form: part-time working. Employers adjusted hours to allow women to combine the needs of paid and unpaid work. For example, employers took account of the time needed by women to do shopping (Summerfield, 1983). Jephcott's study of the Bermondsey Peek Frean factory in 1955 demonstrates that contracts were negotiated individually between women and their employers in order to allow work-hours to be arranged around the demands of home (Jephcott, 1962). Thus, the demands of capitalism were accomodated without either the state, or employers, having to consider the question of daycare provision.
There are strong parallels here with modern-day Britain. At the end of the 1980s in Britain, it was projected that women's labour would be needed, because of a decrease in the number of young people available for employment (Labour Market Quarterly, May 1989). Correspondingly, central government urged industry to consider setting up workplace nurseries. At the time of writing, it appears that very few of these initiatives have developed (Hardey & Glover, forthcoming). Indeed, the economic recession of the early 1990s has caused the employers' organisation, the CBI, to recommend that its members introduce flexible packages for their women employees, rather than embark on the expensive development of workplace nurseries (Guardian, 25.4.90). These packages include part-time working and flexitime.

As discussed above, French daycare appears to be founded on a range of ideologies. Although the link with the needs of capitalism is important, perhaps particularly for children aged less than three years, other reasons appear to be at least as important as the needs of industry. For example, the educational aspects of the "ecole maternelle" underpin daycare of French children over the age of two years. The creation of the child as a 'social object' (Kaufmann, 1978), no longer the exclusive domain of the family, but something of more general social concern is also an important ideology. In addition, French daycare continues to have the aim of ensuring the physical wellbeing of small children, emphasising the importance of hygiene.

The ideological bases of French daycare are therefore in
contrast to those of British daycare. The British state's response to daycare is largely linked to policies relating to poverty. Daycare for children not designated as 'needy' has only been funded by the state at times of national emergency. Although capitalism has required women's labour at various times, the response from the state has not been to make provision for daycare. The result of this has been that women's labour force participation has increased, but in a form - part-time working - which allows for employment to fit in around domestic responsibilities.

In conclusion, French daycare may have a considerably more secure base than British daycare, precisely because its links with the needs of the labour market are rather weak. By contrast, the provision of daycare in Britain appears to be strongly linked to the labour market; the times when daycare has had support from the British state (either to fund it, or to encourage employers to fund it) have been when women's labour was seen as desirable. As history tells us, the lack of linkage with educational or social aims encourages the belief that at times when women's labour is not required, daycare will cease to be an object of attention in Britain.

Attempts to reconcile women's employment and their domestic circumstances are also fundamental to equal opportunities policies. These are examined for France and for Britain in the next section. Some attention is also given to European equal opportunities legislation, since this forms the basis for much of France and Britain's legislation in this area.
5.2. Equal opportunities policies

As members of the European Community, both France and Britain are subject to EC equal opportunities policy. The main planks of this are Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome (1957), the Directives on Equal Pay and on Equal Treatment in Employment and Training (1975). Article 119 introduced the principles of equal pay for women and men, demanding that member states should introduce equal pay legislation by 1961. In the event, clarification of definitions and of how the principle should be applied delayed its progress in all member countries until the 1970s (Rights of Women Europe, 1983: 50-51). Article 119 laid the ground for two key equal opportunity Directives: Equal Pay and Equal Treatment in Employment. The Equal Pay Directive defined equal pay to cover work to which equal value is attributed. The Equal Treatment in Employment Directive introduced the concept of direct discrimination (where one sex is openly treated less favourably than the other) and indirect discrimination (where a provision which applies equally to both sexes is discriminatory towards one).

Member countries are allowed discretion in the way in which they introduce EC directives into national legislation. They do not have to take on board Directives if they can show that they have national legislation which covers the terms of the Directives. There is a distinction to be made here between Regulations which must be acted upon to the letter, and Directives, which are binding on member countries only as to the end to be achieved. The means by which they are achieved is left up to each country (Rights of Women Europe, 1983:39).
Having described the basic framework of EC equal opportunities legislation, the next section examines how this has affected British and French equal opportunities policy. British and French national equal opportunities policies are also described and discussed.

5.2.1. Britain and its response to EC equal opportunities legislation

The British government of the time (Labour administration of 1974-80) successfully argued that it need not take on board the Equal Pay and Equal Treatment Directives, saying that the Equal Pay Act 1970 and the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 already legislated in this area. This suggests that the influence of the European Community on British equal opportunities legislation has been limited, apart from an amendment in 1985 to the Equal Pay Act which required Britain to incorporate the notion of equal pay for work of equal value. Britain has refused to implement the terms of the Directives on Part-time Working (1983) and on Parental Leave (1984). The refusal was justified by the British government on the grounds that rigidities would be introduced into the labour market which would restrict employers' flexibility (European Industrial Relations Review 146, 1986:30). The powerful employers' lobby in Britain has taken a strong stand against EC equal opportunities legislation:

"The problems encountered by employers in complying with the obligations imposed by this EC legislation are wide-ranging. Increased financial burdens, yet further demands on management time and resources and the inhibition of flexibility are examples. This is particularly true in relation to the UK regulations which implement the principle of equal pay for work of equal value.... To those in industry the almost bewildering array of draft legislation (including that relating to
part-time workers) was totally divorced from the reality of trying to run a business."

(Confederation of British Industry, Employment Affairs Report, Jan/Feb 1987:7)

Britain's refusal to implement these two directives has meant that they remain in draft form for all other EC countries (although many of them, including France, already have national policies on parental leave and on conditions of work for part-time workers).

5.2.2. Britain's equal opportunities legislation

The two principal planks of Britain's equal opportunities legislation are the Equal Pay Act 1970 and the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. The Equal Pay Act gave all workers the right to equal pay with an employee of the opposite sex doing the same or 'broadly similar' work. As indicated above, this was amended in 1985 to introduce the principle of equal work of equal value, whereby workers for whom no broadly similar work done by a member of the opposite sex existed could nevertheless obtain recognition of equivalence.

The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 contained the Equal Pay Act as a schedule. It legislates against direct and indirect discrimination in access to employment and in the terms of employment. In addition, it covers access to opportunities for promotion and training. For both these pieces of legislation, the burden of proof rests with the complainant, who has to take the case against her/his employer to an industrial tribunal. A draft directive from the EC to shift the burden of proof from the employee to the employer, the party with the easiest access to the evidence, has been opposed by the British government.
(Minutes of the House of Commons Employment Committee, 25.1.89). It is widely recognised that the system whereby an individual has to bring the case to an industrial tribunal is a major weakness of the legislation.

Only a small number of cases have in fact been taken up under either the Equal Pay Act or the Sex Discrimination Act. However, there is evidence that since the recent change to the Equal Pay Act to encompass the equal pay for work of equal value principle, that a growing number of cases are being taken to industrial tribunals. However, only a small number have been successful: figures from the Central Office of Industrial Tribunals for 1988-89 show that of the 354 equal pay cases, only 14 were upheld (Bargaining Report, June 1990). As a result equal pay cases are increasingly being fought at the level of pay bargaining between employers and unions. There is some evidence that the narrowing of the gap between women's and men's pay in the mid 1970s was directly attributable to the workings of the Equal Pay Act (Zabalza & Tzannatos, 1985). Since then, however, the differential has remained stable.

The Equal Opportunities Commission was set up when the Equal Pay Act came into being; it has the job of monitoring its application, as well as that of the Sex Discrimination Act. It can in certain circumstances assist in bringing cases to a tribunal. Its function is that of a semi-official pressure group: it is funded by the British government, but it has no representation at government level. Joanna Foster, chair of the Equal Opportunities Commission, summed up its work since its inception:
"We now have 13 years of experience behind us when we have been developing policies and seeking to persuade employers, government, schools and individuals why equal opportunities is such an important issue."

(House of Commons Employment Committee, minutes 25.1.89:1)

In sum, Britain's equal opportunities framework was an innovatory one, preceding European Community legislation in the area. However, it presents major difficulties of enforcement, particularly because of its burden of proof provision. There is some evidence that the Equal Pay Act brought about a narrowing of the gap between women's and men's pay when it was first enacted, and that the recent amendment to the Act is having some success in the pay bargaining arena. There is no body at governmental level which oversees equal opportunities.

5.2.3. France's response to EC equal opportunities legislation

France was similarly able to argue that it had already enacted legislation on equal pay through the law of 22 December 1972. However, France's equal pay law was more in line with EC thinking than Britain's, since it was based on the principle of equal pay for work of equal value. France's Constitution of 1958 had also established the principle of equal pay for equal work ("à travail égal, salaire égal"). The time lapse between the enactment of Article 119 in 1957 and the law of 1972 was therefore long; as in all member countries, the problem of definitions and how the law would be applied was a major reason for this delay. The Equal Treatment Directive was not directly enacted on, apart from legislation in 1972 to stop employers discriminating against a pregnant woman, by not employing her, or by dismissing her because of her pregnancy. Little progress
was made on equal opportunities in the 1970s and early 1980s
(Ministere des Droits de la Femme, 1982). However, the 1983
equal opportunities legislation, popularly known as "la loi
Roudy", after Yvette Roudy, the Minister for Women's Rights,
takes on board, and indeed expands upon, the EC legislation.

5.2.4. France's equal opportunities legislation

The issue of equal treatment at work was finally addressed in a
major piece of legislation in 1983, during the first Mitterrand
administration. This is claimed to be the most advanced piece
of legislation on equality of employment for women in any
Westernised country (Laumonier, 1985: 185). Because the data
used in this thesis relates to 1985, only two years after the
1983 legislation, it is only described briefly here. However,
although any effect of the legislation is unlikely to be seen
for some time, it is an important point that legislation comes
about through a change in attitudes. Therefore, it is
reasonable to assume that in the run-up to the 1983
legislation, that equal opportunities had come to be seen as an
urgent matter, at least in the eyes of the Socialist Party,
which introduced the legislation. Hantrais (1990) makes the
point that the legislation emphasises the shift from family
policy, emphasising women's role as mothers, to policy aimed at
women in their role as workers.

Perhaps the most important principle behind the 1983
legislation is the acceptance of positive action, in line with
the EC's recommendation in its First Action Programme on Women.
Although positive action is not imposed on employers, it has
been argued that a framework was set up which would facilitate
the introduction of positive action measures (Docksey, 1987). The principal elements of this framework are the equal opportunity programmes ("plans d'égalité professionnelle"), which provide for training opportunities open to women only, and for a system of promotion quotas to be operated in areas where women are under-represented. There is financial aid from the state to firms who draw up these positive action programmes.

The principle of equal pay for work of equal value was reinforced. Work of equal value was to be measured by a comparative assessment of skills, knowledge and professional competence based on either qualifications or experience. The case can be brought to a court of law either by the employee or her union. Unlike the British system, the burden of proof is on the employer to prove equality of treatment, rather than the employee showing inequality of treatment.

Monitoring of the way in which employers are carrying out the law is done through employers being obliged in law to produce an annual report on the employment of women and men in their establishment. These reports include an assessment of women's position relative to men in terms of promotion, pay, recruitment and working conditions, as well as plans for future improvement. Reports are made available to the employees' committees ("comités d'entreprise"), to unions and to employees. A government body, the "Conseil supérieur de l'égalité professionnelle" oversees the workings of the law, both by helping firms to draw up plans, and by monitoring annual reports.
The first Mitterrand administration set up a Ministry for Women's Rights ("Ministère des Droits de la Femme"). This superseded the state department for women, the "Secretariat d'Etat à la Condition Féminine", established in the 1970s.(3) The Minister for women's rights, Yvette Roudy, was a full member of government; the ministry had its own administration and budget. Roudy's role appears to have been highly significant in the development of legislation. Her background was that of an MEP, who had set up and led the Ad Hoc Committee on Women's Rights. This committee was influential in bringing about the EC's First Action Programme on the promotion of equal opportunities for women. Roudy's role in persuading the Council of Ministers to adopt the programme in the form of a resolution appears to have been crucial (Rights of Women Europe, 1983: 34).

5.2.5: Discussion of France's and Britain's response to equal opportunities

It is interesting to contrast the behaviour of British and French socialist administrations in their response to EC demands for legislation on equal opportunities. In the Labour administration of 1974-80, Barbara Castle describes in her diaries how she argued in the EC Council of Ministers for the Equal Treatment Directive of 1976 to drop the proposed provision for equality of pension rights. This was principally on the grounds of the expense to the British government, but the issue of sovereignty of the British parliament also came in; a bill was at the time going through parliament on pension rights, and Castle wished to avoid the EC legislation muddying
the waters. She dismisses the Directive as:

"one of those pretentious pieces of EEC 'legislation' which can be as grandiose as you like because everyone ignores them when it suits them."

(Castle, 1980:419)

By deferring the Directive on Equal Treatment in Social Security to a subsequent Directive, it is also claimed that Barbara Castle delayed the application of its provisions for six years (Rights of Women Europe, 1983:67).

It is interesting to speculate why two women ministers in left-wing administrations had such contrasting views. The women's movement, which grew rapidly in both France and Britain in the 1960s and 1970s, may be significant here. At the time when Britain was enacting its major pieces of legislation in the first part of the 1970s, the influence of feminist thinking may have been limited. The British legislation was modelled on the race relations legislation; the race relations lobby was probably more powerful at the time than the women's movement, if only because there had been race riots in the early 1970s.

By contrast, by delaying the enactment of legislation in France until the 1980s, it is possible that a decade of feminist thinking had had some influence. Feminist thinking seems to have reached the French socialist party in the decade before it gained power (Duchen, 1986). A particular brand of feminist thinking emerged - socialist feminism, which Roudy espoused (Roudy, 1982). At the same time, a more radical feminist tendency failed to gain a foothold (Duchen, 1986). Socialist feminism in this context is probably akin to liberal feminism,
considerably more likely than radical feminism to see legislation as a remedy for women's inequality. Radical feminism sees patriarchal structures, generally not susceptible to change through legislation, as the basis of the problem of women's inequality (see, for example, Walby 1990, for a discussion of these different strands of feminism).

France and Britain appear, then, to have strongly contrasting attitudes to equal opportunities. Yet, France's apparently greater commitment to equal opportunities is of very recent origin. Since the 1960s, there has been a rapid movement of acquisition of women's rights, but prior to this, women were subject to a range of restrictions which appear surprising to British eyes. During the 1960s, it has been claimed that women moved from being under the legal control of their husbands to a position of near equality (Ministère des Affaires Sociales et de la Solidarité Nationale, 1985:18). Up to 1965, divorce meant that the husband acquired marital property and wives had to have their husband's consent to set up business, take a job or undergo training. Up to 1970, the husband was by law the head of household ("chef de famille"); this meant that he had control in law over the family home and the children. Although these vestiges of the Napoleonic Code were largely symbolic, in that they were rarely acted upon, it is an important point that they were not revoked until the relatively recent past. French women have only had the vote since 1945. Contraception was illegal until 1967, and abortion only made legal in 1975. Thus, in comparison to Britain, there has been a rapid movement of emancipation over a comparatively short period. It remains
to be seen what the effect of the wide-ranging equal opportunities legislation will be. It may be that, after the relatively late acceptance of women's inequalities, France will make rapid progress in this area.

6. Summary of chapter
Various reasons have been suggested for carrying out cross-national research. Three reasons singled out for particular attention in this chapter were the 'transfer of policy', the questioning of taken-for-granted relationships, and the specification/generalisation of theory. Issues relating to problems of cultural differences, and related definitions were then discussed. The approach taken to cross-national research in this thesis - the use of two distinct, 'non-harmonised' data sets - was then explained.

In the second half of the chapter, attention was given to the social policy context in each country. In particular, the relationship of social policy to women's employment was considered. Family policy in France was considered as largely pronatalist, sending out conflicting messages about the role of women in the home and in employment. In Britain, family policy is "implicit and reluctant"; women's employment and related issues such as daycare are seen as private matters for the family to resolve. The examination of the history of daycare provision in the two countries suggests that daycare may have a considerably more solid base in France, precisely because it is not directly linked, as in Britain, to the needs of the labour market. Lastly, equal opportunities legislation in the two countries was considered. Both countries delayed
implementation of the equal pay provision in the Treaty of Rome for about twenty years. Britain has two major pieces of equal opportunities legislation, which have proved difficult to implement. France's equal pay legislation of the 1970s was ineffective, but the wide-ranging 1983 equal opportunities legislation has the potential to be considerably more influential. It is, of course, too early to say whether progress in equal opportunities will result.

Footnotes

(1) There are also practical problems associated with the use of harmonised occupational classifications such as ISCO (ILO, 1968). Although definitions are commonly agreed upon by the countries concerned, it appears that the practice of recoding information from national Labour Force Surveys to the Community Labour Force Surveys via national conversion tables may lead to ostensibly similar categories which, in practice, represent different definitions. For example, the French appear to be markedly more specific in their definition of what constitutes 'professional & managerial' occupations (ISCO 2) than the British are (see Dale & Glover, 1990, for further details). Thus the danger exists that differences between countries may be construed as structural, when they are merely conceptual.

(2) The importance attached to children's physical state in French daycare (for children aged two and under) is shown by the regulation that the directors of state nurseries must be doctors, or qualified children's medical nurses ('puéricultrices'). This is an occupation requiring basic nursing training topped up by a one-year specialist course. It is only when nurseries have more than 40 children that they must employ a nursery teacher ('éducatrice de jeunes enfants') (Leprince, 1991). This indicates that, although educational functions of state daycare for small children are important, health and hygiene aspects are fundamental.

(3) The Ministère des Droits de la Femme was replaced in the mid 1980s by a Délégation in the right-centrist Chirac administration. In the current Mitterrand administration, it has been upgraded from this to a Secretariat d'Etat. However, it is not a full-blown Ministry, as in the first Mitterrand administration. It would be interesting to research the reasons for the change of attitude of the second Mitterrand administration compared to that of the first.
Chapter 3: Women's employment: theoretical approaches

1. Introduction

In both France and Britain, interest in women's economic role has a relatively short history. In Britain, prior to the 1960s, gender divisions in the workplace were not seen as particularly interesting, as Brown's review of the absence of women in industrial sociology showed (Brown, 1976). Much of the impetus since then has come about through writing which is broadly feminist (for example, Oakley, 1974; Beechey, 1978; Walby, 1986a). Such writers have brought the area of women's employment into the mainstream of labour force conceptualisation. In France, despite the efforts in the 1970s of what Commaille (1981) refers to as "pioneers", feminist writers of the 1960s and 70s such as Guilbert (1966), Sullerot (1968) and Michel (1978), sociologists were slow to interest themselves in women's employment. This resulted in the development of two distinct traditions: industrial sociology, which concerned itself with men in employment, and the sociology of the family, which focused on women (Commaille, 1981). Thus:

"la sociologie du travail était essentiellement une sociologie de l'homme au travail, la sociologie de la famille, une sociologie de la femme"

[the sociology of employment was essentially concerned with men in the labour market, whilst the sociology of the family was the sociology of women]

(Commaille, J, 1981:146)

Nevertheless, there has been a rapid development of interest in women's employment in France, particularly since the beginning of the 1980s, resulting in the growth of a number of
government-funded research groups. The influence of feminism also appears to be important in French work on women's employment, one example being the collection papers given by French women researchers at the 10th World Congress of Sociology in Mexico in 1982. These sought to give explanations of women's employment patterns from a feminist perspective, and resulted in the publication of the collective work 'Le sexe du travail' (1984).

2. Theorising women's employment
In this chapter, the principal ways in which a key aspect of women's employment, occupational sex segregation, has been theorised are discussed. The persistence over time of occupational sex segregation, as well as its universality across cultural and political divides is a powerful reason for its importance (Hakim, 1979; Cockburn, 1985). Several writers have recognised the centrality of occupational sex segregation for the understanding of other aspects of women's employment patterns (Dex, 1985; Walby, 1985; Liff, 1987). Furthermore, particular issues such as earnings differentials and unequal access to training relate to occupational sex segregation, a "theme which unifies many topics relating to the employment of women" (OECD, 1985a:39).

Much of the work covered in this chapter is British, but examples are also taken from the French theoretical and empirical literature. Human capital theory is first described, and largely discounted as an adequate explanation of women's disadvantages in employment, particularly when French women's employment patterns are considered. Following this,
theoretical positions which examine the structure of the labour market, and of workplace relations are considered. The final section of this chapter deals with theories which are concerned with socio-cultural explanations of women's employment patterns, such as the articulation of the spheres of home and employment.

2.1. Human capital theory

Human capital theory, with its origins in the neo-classical tradition of economics, assumes that markets are perfectly competitive, in the sense that individuals are presumed to make rational and clear-sighted judgements within a context which is "indifferent to gender" (Siltanen, 1981: 27). Individuals make choices about education and training, for example, which have a direct effect on the level of skill, and hence pay, of their employment. Pay differentials can be explained because women 'invest' less in such things as education and training; this low degree of investment, relative to that of men, is attributed to what is seen as women's orientation towards family formation, which causes them to spend less time in paid employment than men. The human capital which could have been acquired in and before paid employment is foregone by women in order to undertake what Mincer and Polachek refer to as "a major function of the family as a social institution .. the building of human capital of children" (Mincer & Polachek, 1974: 170). Mincer and Polachek conceptualise this foregoing of human capital as the price of family life. This is similarly exacted from fathers and husbands in their greater investment in the market, which in consequence brings them a sufficiently large income to support a family (Mincer &
Polachek, 1974). Male and female employment patterns can then be explained in the following way:

"...given that there are natural constraints, one must allow that an optimal allocation of manpower between household and non-household jobs may require that males occupy relatively more skilled jobs with high training costs. In a free market, we cannot be certain that women will invest in themselves to equate their human capital with that of males."

(Chiplin & Sloane, 1974: 321)

Inherent in human capital theory is the unproblematic acceptance of women's primary and 'natural' role in family formation; there is an assumption that, as well as bearing children, women also rear them, and that consequently neither fathers nor substitute care have a part to play. Women choose how much to invest in the market; their choice is related to an assessment of their other role as providers of the human capital of children. Thus, in this rather mechanistic way, wage differentials can be explained. Whilst Mincer and Polachek (1974) admit that discrimination from fellow-workers and employers may play a part, this is judged to fall outside the scope of their analysis. Other writers working in a human capital framework have, nevertheless, acknowledged more overtly the role that discrimination may play, regarding it as a feature from which employers may benefit through the exclusion of women from certain jobs, and through paying women lower wages (Chiplin & Sloane, 1974).

Although human capital theory focuses primarily on explaining men's and women's pay differentials, some attempt is made to explain occupational segregation. Polachek (1976, 1979, referenced in Dex, 1985) suggests that women choose occupations
whose earnings are least sensitive to absence and where their skills deteriorate least during their absence. There is, however, a lack of empirical evidence for this assertion: the 1980 Women & Employment Survey (WES) provides evidence of downward occupational mobility after absence from work through childbirth, particularly amongst women who returned to work part-time, as many British women do (Martin & Roberts, 1984). The WES findings also show that in clerical occupations - a group containing a large proportion of the female workforce - women who either have, or have had, children are markedly less represented than young women with no children. One reason for this could be that clerical skills deteriorate over time (Martin & Roberts, 1984). Human capital theory appears to have weaknesses, then, in its explanation of occupational segregation.

Human capital theory has been criticised on several counts. There is a lack of empirical evidence to back up the theory; when factors such as education, work experience, educational achievement, part or full-time employment are controlled for, there still remains a marked difference between men's and women's wages which is left unexplained (Siltanen, 1981). Human capital theory also ignores the fact that even when a woman and a man have equivalent human capital, for example in the form of qualifications, that women earn less than men, in spite of legislation designed to bring about equal pay (Dale, 1987). In addition, the theory does not explain adequately why women systematically earn less than men in unskilled occupations, where the minimum of investment in terms of qualifications is necessary. Nor does it provide an adequate
explanation for the lower wages and occupational segregation of women who have never married.

A more general criticism relates to the notion of occupational choice. Roberts (1981) argues that people do not choose occupations, but that they are influenced by a range of 'opportunity structures'. These are determined by factors such as educational opportunities, which in turn are related to factors such as social class background. There is now a considerable amount of evidence that gender also structures these educational opportunities (see, for example, Arnot, 1986). In human capital theory, the notion of 'choice' is presented in an uncomplicated way; the possibility that choices are dependent upon a range of interacting constraints is not generally considered.

Doubt can also be cast on human capital theory by considering the case of France. As Chapter 4 shows, French women tend to have continuous employment and are considerably less likely to work part-time than British women. Thus, their 'investment' in the labour market is rather similar to that of men. Yet, patterns of occupational sex segregation show many points of similarity with Britain, and in addition there is a considerable difference between women's and men's pay. This example suggests therefore that other theoretical perspectives are needed in order to explain women's employment patterns.

The following section is an examination of theoretical frameworks which owe more to sociology than does human capital theory. These are divided into two broad groups: firstly,
those which locate their explanations in the structure of the labour market itself, and secondly explanations which relate to socio-cultural constructions of women's employment. Nevertheless, as the final section in this chapter suggests, some explanations encompass themes from both groups. A combination of elements from different approaches may have the best explanatory potential for women's employment.

2.2. Structural explanations
In this section, theories underpinned by Marxism are considered. This perspective explains women's employment patterns by considering historical developments, particularly those related to the development of capitalism. Theories of labour market segmentation are then considered, and, finally, theories relating to the technical division of labour.

2.2.1. Capitalism and women's employment
Explanations of women's employment patterns informed by Marxist theory emphasise the production process and, within that process, class relations. As is now well accepted, Marx did not take account of the fact that the working class was female as well as male; nevertheless there has been some use made of Marxist concepts by feminist writers, such that a feminist-Marxist approach developed, mainly in the 1970s (Beechey, 1985).

Although the influence of Marxism is strong in British sociology, there is probably a stronger Marxist tradition in French sociology, where it has occupied a central place for many years. Indeed Sullerot (1968) maintains that the Marxist
tradition has held back the theorisation of women's employment; mainstream French sociology did not accept for a long time that women's employment would not readily fit into one (Marxist) framework. Nevertheless, some theorising of women's employment has been done within the framework of Marxism; the example of Barrère-Maurisson's work is taken here.

Barrère-Maurisson (1984a) argues in her study of the relationship of production to reproduction that particular phases within capitalism have exerted changes within the family and women's role therein; occupational segregation developed in France because of capitalism's needs, at a time of restructuring in the economy between 1945 and 1975. A secondary, supplementary labour force was required, she argues, which would serve to regulate this process of restructuring. To British eyes, the suggestion that occupational segregation did not occur until after World War II seems improbable; nevertheless, it is the case that the decline of France's agricultural economy, and what Tilly & Scott (1978) term the 'household mode of production', came about considerably later than in Britain.

A particular way in which Marxist concepts have been used by some, mainly British, feminist writers is in the notion of 'the reserve army of labour' (for example, Bruegel, 1979; Beechey, 1978). Marx specified various types of reserve labour - 'floating', 'stagnant' and 'latent' - to describe the use which capitalists make of certain groups of workers to cope with recessions and peaks in the economy. A body of labour could be created which could be called upon or displaced as necessary,
and subsequently re-employed at possibly lower wages (Beechey, 1978).

Bruegel (1979) argues that the marginalisation of married women in the labour force, in common with that of other groups such as migrant workers, performs the role of a reserve army of labour. Challenges to this construction of women's paid employment include the questioning of the assumption that female labour is particularly disposable in times of economic crisis. Empirically it can be shown that, in Britain at least, through both times of boom and recession, women's employment continues to grow (Walby, 1987). Walby (1985) also argues that the reserve army of labour thesis neglects the importance of patriarchal forces, both from trade unions and the state. Nevertheless, the theory appears to be useful in explaining the use of temporary female labour in particular industries, as Collinson's study of the employment of workers in the mail order industry demonstrates (Collinson, 1987). As the examination of the history of sex segregation in British teaching also shows (Chapter 8), the concept appears to be useful in describing the way in which married women teachers in Britain have been used throughout this century as a buffer at times of fluctuating demand for teachers.

Milkman (1976) criticizes the reserve army of labour thesis for its inability to explain occupational segregation. Yet, Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin (1988a) use the concepts of a 'floating reserve' and a 'latent reserve' to describe the large-scale entry of married women into particular branches of French manufacturing industry, which occurred in the economic
expansion of the period 1950 to 1974. They argue that this accounted for the development of occupational segregation within this sector of the French economy. Although this account focuses on the development of women's employment patterns in manufacturing industry, some elements of it are useful in understanding the development of sex segregation in white-collar working, one of the occupations studied in this thesis.

Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin (1988a) define a 'latent reserve' as a body of labour which is not yet in the labour market but which can be mobilised. Once it is mobilised, it becomes the 'floating reserve', a supply of labour which may subsequently become surplus, but which remains in the labour market in the sense of its availability. In this way, the demand for labour creates the supply. The segregation in the 1960s of women into unskilled jobs in manufacturing industry could be explained, Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin argue, by the different way that employers use men and women workers. Employers, they contend, made a choice to use a malleable and inexperienced workforce in particular "work situations" which arose out of the expansion of the 1960s. These work situations included the following features: a production process centred around large batch and highly automated production; the imposition of time constraints and work rates; the linking of wages to output levels.

The question of why women, particularly, were chosen by employers for their suitability to particular work situations is of course fundamental to this analysis. The use of social stereotypes about women's 'natural' skills is one explanation
cited by Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin for the location of women in packaging and cleaning occupations, traditionally conceptualised in the manufacturing sector as unskilled. However the key to understanding employers' use of women, rather than men, seems to be related to the particular situation which existed in France at this time. Expansion in particular branches of manufacturing - chemicals, electronics, food processing, metal processing - required new sorts of automated production procedures, which were designated as unskilled or semi-skilled. Management practices based on neo-Taylorism, with its emphasis on deskillling, had become established in both France and Britain in the inter-war years, and the expansion of the post-war years was managed in accordance with these principles. Much of the available work was constructed as deskillled and came therefore to be seen as 'women's work' with correspondingly low rates of pay. The inexperience of the workforce described by Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin seems also to have been an important factor. Employers were able to introduce new work practices more easily with a previously inactive workforce which had little or no previous experience of the labour market and was therefore more malleable, less entrenched and less organised than the traditional workforce. Furthermore, employers appear to have deliberately sought out these reserves in rural or semi-rural areas and their physical isolation from other more organised and experienced workers may have played a part in their segregation into unskilled and low paid jobs.

Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin do not mention the potential opposition of trade unions to this process. However, it is an
important point that French trade unions did not have the right of representation in workplaces until 1968. Research evidence from Britain (Coyle, 1982; Cavendish, 1982) suggests that male-dominated trade unions would not oppose the introduction of lower wages and worse employment conditions into a female workforce, particularly if this allowed male workers to keep their 'skilled' status. Moreover, the assumption by Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin that women formed a docile, malleable workforce seems open to question. The impression is given of women as powerless actors, yet as Kergoat (1982) points out, there have been many French disputes, principally in the 1970s, involving women workers, mostly around the issues of segregation and low pay. Nor do Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin mention the possibility of other factors, such as patriarchy, which might be an alternative explanation for women's low occupational status and low pay.

Walby (1986a) argues that the economy does not change at a national level, but within particular industries. Furthermore, such changes may take place at time points when technical innovations are developed; such changes often involve "gender struggles" because the old balance of gender becomes destabilized. This is an argument in favour of a micro-level, historical analysis for an understanding of the development of women's employment patterns. Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin's analysis of the introduction of women into the labour force illustrates this point, yet it is not presented in the form of a "gender struggle", since they do not include the role of patriarchy in their analysis of the deskilling and segregation process.(1) Although the approach in this thesis is not
primarily a historical one, Walby's insistence upon an industry/occupation based detailed examination, a point also made by Beechey (1983) and Brown (1990), underpins this thesis.

Aspects of the ways in which women were used in French manufacturing industries are similar to those which explain the development of women's white-collar working. As Chapters 10 and 11 show, in both countries, white-collar work, previously a male domain, was compartmentalised into smaller separate 'rationalised' tasks, and labelled as unskilled 'women's work'. An additional common point was that the expanding bureaucratic industries required new labour, and the pools from which this labour was taken (agriculture and domestic work in the case of France; governessing in Britain) meant that the labour force was inexperienced, thus justifying low pay.

Whether this account owes much to the reserve army of labour thesis is perhaps open to doubt. Piore's description of the use in France of female labour in the post-1968 period corresponds closely to Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin's conceptualisation of latent and floating reserves, suggesting that it may have a more general application which goes beyond the situation in the manufacturing sector (Piore, 1978). Yet, Piore does not use either the terminology or the concept of reserves of labour. He describes the seeking out by employers of previously inactive female labour to fill temporary needs in the labour market, which the permanent workforce showed a lack of interest in. Whatever the title given to this sort of analysis, it is perhaps most valuable for its emphasis on a historical approach to the gender-based construction of jobs.
In the following section, the theory of segmented labour markets is described. This is a perspective which, unlike the reserve army of labour theory, continues to have wide currency in the sociology of employment, especially in its more recent formulations.

2.2.2. Segmented labour market theory
Segmented labour market theory emphasises structural aspects of the labour market by conceptualising it as two or more segments containing desirable and less desirable jobs, which are filled by particular groups of workers. The theory focuses on the demand for these workers and analyses the way in which they are allocated to certain jobs, thus providing an explanation of the context in which women's employment patterns develop. An example of this process is the concentration of women into poorly paid and low status occupations in the secondary sector, which are classified as unskilled or semi-skilled, where internal labour markets (ILM's) tend not to operate.

The concept of ILM's is a fundamental aspect of labour market segmentation theory (Dale, 1985). ILM's function in primary labour markets to protect workers from the external market, and to provide career paths and wage mechanisms; an important aspect is the ability of workers who are located in ILM's to restrict others' access to them. In this way, segments of the labour market which incorporate access to ILM's contain higher status jobs with higher wages than those where ILM's do not operate. Occupational segregation by sex and male/female wage differentials can thus be explained by the location of many
'feminised' jobs in segments of the labour market where ILM's do not operate. Even in occupations where internal labour markets exist, women may not have access to them. One reason for this may be because the domestic circumstances of many women (marriage, with or without children) may act as a constraint upon women's ability to acquire qualifications.

Distinctions can be made between different sorts of internal labour markets. For example, Althauser & Kalleberg distinguish between occupationally based and organisationally based internal labour markets (Althauser & Kalleberg, 1981). This distinction draws attention to the fact that in some occupations, upward mobility is achieved by changing employer while remaining in the same occupation (occupationally based). In others (organisationally based), upward mobility is largely dependent upon gaining experience and qualifications which are employer-specific. These ideal-types are particularly significant for women's employment, since, as explained more fully in Chapter 6, women with domestic commitments are less likely to be disadvantaged in terms of occupational achievement in occupationally based occupations than in organisationally based ones.

Why, according to labour market segmentation theory, are women, especially, concentrated in secondary labour markets? Early versions, such as that of Barron & Norris (1976), argued that secondary sector workers have certain characteristics, which include frequent job changing, a 'visible difference' (race and age, as well as sex), a lack of interest in training and in
economic rewards, and little solidarity or organisation; these characteristics, they maintain, tend to be found in women. Thus women come to be seen as a likely source of secondary sector labour and to be located in certain occupations, and, within occupations, in certain jobs. More recent and rather less essentialist explanations attribute the location of women (and other groups) in secondary segments to their lack of bargaining power (Crompton & Jones, 1984). Linked to this is a third explanation, that of the role of trade unions, and of men in general, in creating and maintaining these divisions (Rubery, 1980). Thus, more recent formulations of segmented labour market theory have begun to acknowledge the role of patriarchal relations. These explanations seem more useful than earlier ones such as those of Barron & Norris (1976), which fail to consider the origins of the characteristics which they propose, appearing to see them as 'natural' or 'given', rather than socially constructed.

Other developments in labour market segmentation theory (for example Craig et al, 1982; Dale, 1987) emphasise the construction of some types of jobs as women's jobs, rather than the allocation of women to existing types of jobs; this would meet Liff's criticism that segmentation theory has tended to be preoccupied with women as workers, rather than with women's work (Liff, 1987).

In this thesis, aspects of labour market segmentation theory are used in the construction, described in Chapter 6, of four 'occupational situations': French officeworking, British officeworking, French teaching, British teaching. These
combine structural elements relating to labour markets (occupationally/organisationally based ILM's), with the social and cultural contexts within which these occupations are located.

The following section focuses on theories which seek to explain how the notion of women's work as unskilled is maintained. Such perspectives provide a basis for explaining how patriarchal gender relations in the workplace are developed and maintained through the appropriation by men of technological developments.

2.3. Explanations relating to the technical division of skills

Sullerot (1971) analyses women's subordination in general, and occupational segregation in particular, as the effect of men's appropriation of technological developments; she uses the example of the development of the motor car, thus:

"It is only when motoring is universal and the ability to drive is commonplace, without prestige and relatively boring, that all women get a chance to do it. When cars were scarce and represented prestige and power, women were seldom allowed to own and use them."

(Sullerot, 1971: 10)

New, non-universal technological developments therefore represent power; patriarchy implies men's wish to possess these developments. New occupations, she argues, are similarly taken over by men, at least initially. Sullerot, rather optimistically, develops the notion of the 'time-lag': after a certain amount of time has elapsed and following the development of newer technology, women will gain access to these areas. The breaking down of discrimination and the
equalizing of opportunities is dependent upon narrowing this 'time-lag'. Sullerot's theory does not, however, explain why certain occupations remain male preserves. Moreover, the impression is given of men's work as a series of new occupations, each one vacated willingly to give place to women as technological developments occur. This seems unlikely; as Dale (1987), echoing Crompton & Jones (1984), says:

"If greater equality is to be achieved, it must be explicitly recognised that it can only be at the expense of the existing male workforce."

(Dale, 1987:345, my emphasis)

The theme of men's appropriation of technological change seems to be a helpful way of conceptualising the development of occupational segregation, combining the study of the labour process with the ways in which patriarchy underpins gender relations in the workplace. It is therefore an approach which reacts against the assumption that the home and family life are the primary site of patriarchal relations (Cockburn, introduction to Game & Pringle, 1984). Both explanations are, however, important and are undoubtedly interlinked.

Guilbert's study in the 1960s of the development of technology in French manufacturing industry led her to conclude that women and men were given different sorts of machinery to operate, the women being seen by management as suitable for machinery which required manual skills, a decision based on the skills which they had acquired in the domestic sphere, whilst newer, automatic machinery was given to the men (Guilbert, 1966). This theme has been taken up more recently by, amongst others,
Kergoat (1982), Cockburn (1983, 1985) and Game & Pringle (1984). Typically, in-depth studies of particular industries are carried out, and observations made, over time, of the technological division of labour which is thought to lead to occupational segregation and deskilling within those industries. Thus, Cockburn's study of the introduction of computer aided methods to the clothing industry showed that women had taken over jobs previously done by men and that these jobs had been downgraded; men's jobs were then limited to the operation of the computer aided design technology (Cockburn, 1985).

This way of theorising occupational segregation has come in for some criticism. For example, Liff (1987) argues that it ignores the likelihood that power does not reside in machines, but rather in relationships between people, and that a better understanding is needed of the articulation of machines and their operators. McNeil (1987) claims that Cockburn views technology as given and unproblematic. Women, she argues, could be considered to react in a healthy fashion to technology by not "jumping on the technological bandwagon", in view of the negative uses to which technology is often put (McNeil, 1987: 195). Furthermore, McNeil (1987) believes that the relationship between power and technology is more complicated than Cockburn makes out. This seems to be a sensible criticism, and one which argues for further study of gender relations and technology. Game & Pringle's approach seems to ignore the possibility that women themselves condone their apparent technical incompetence (Game & Pringle, 1984). Girls' socialization from an early age leads to alienation from
technology and related areas (Arnot, 1986). Cockburn (1987) explains the near absence of girls from technical Youth Training Scheme (YTS) placements in terms of the personal and social costs which girls would experience, were they to enter jobs constructed as male. The analysis of actors' own explanations is important, and often lacking from other empirical and theoretical work.

The technical division of labour thesis seems to be relevant only to manufacturing industry. It does not explain fully why, in clerical or office work, the technological developments associated with, first, the typewriter, and, secondly, the word processor, have not been appropriated by men. On the contrary, such developments have remained strictly the domain of women, and have not carried with them any significant increase in pay or status for women involved in such work. However, the ideas contained in Guilbert's work, described above, might suggest that this is because this sort of technology is linked to women's manual skills (Guilbert, 1966). As Cockburn indicates (1987), men are involved in the development of such technology, even if they do not necessarily operate it.

In summary, the theme of male appropriation of technology is used to explain the construction of masculine and feminine jobs, based on an assumption of women's incompetence in the face of technological developments. This leads to the construction of women's jobs as those which do not require technical competence. Such jobs can then be designated as unskilled, and their low pay thus justified.
In the final section of this chapter, explanations which are of a more socio-cultural nature are discussed.

2.4. Socio-cultural explanations

Two distinct, but nevertheless related theoretical perspectives are described: firstly, patriarchy, and secondly, an approach which relates to the articulation of home and paid employment.

2.4.1. Patriarchy

The theory of patriarchy, adopted by many feminist writers in the 1970s in opposition to Marxist-inspired explanations of women's economic position, has been conceptualised in many different ways in feminist writing, according to Delphy (1984). In this section, it is understood in a general way, as a theory which takes as its starting point the unequal relations of power through which men exploit women. In terms of different kinds of 'feminisms', a patriarchal approach probably equates with radical feminism; patriarchy is seen to be deeply embedded in issues which are not susceptible to change through policy.

Patriarchy is, generally speaking, not susceptible to measurement. However, one aspect of patriarchy which can be measured is the degree to which women and men share domestic tasks, including those tasks which relate to the upbringing of children. As discussed in Chapter 6, there is evidence from time-budget studies in both France and Britain that women carry out most of these tasks. Furthermore, there appears to have been little change over time in this unequal domestic division of labour. On this measure of the power relations within the home, there appears to be little difference between France and
Britain. French women may be more economically involved, to use Cockburn's (1983) phrase, but patriarchy in the home appears to be little different from Britain, where part-time working and discontinuity of employment are the usual patterns for women with children.

The domestic division of labour and occupational segregation are inter-related (Hartmann, 1979). Occupational segregation is necessary for a patriarchal system since it leads to male/female wage differentials, which help to maintain the superiority of men over women. Delphy (1984) sees the dependency of women in their domestic relationship with men as the basis of patriarchy. Women's low wages, in relation to those of men, encourage dependency since, Hartmann says, women have a financial interest in marrying better-paid workers. Because women are then in a situation of dependency, they service their husbands domestically. Occupational segregation, Walby (1986a) argues, is the product of a struggle for women's employment where patriarchal forces have not been strong enough to exclude women altogether; when such failure occurs, the solution is to separate women from men, and to locate them in lower grades, with consequently lower wages.

Marital relations, according to Maruani (1984), are usually based on patterns of dependency; these can be threatened by the growth of women's autonomy, which paid employment has the potential to bring. Using empirical evidence from a study of strikes of women shirt manufacturers and women in the printing industry, Maruani seeks to show that the low status, low pay and insecure employment of many women manual workers is
necessary for the maintenance of a patriarchal system within the home as well as in the workplace. It is sustained there by the combined efforts of male workers, trade unions and management. Maruani argues that patriarchy requires married women's work within the home to be the primary role, and 'visible' as such, whilst the secondary role needs to be that of 'invisibility' in unskilled jobs, poorly paid but nevertheless sufficient to supplement the family income. Married women's paid employment is only acceptable within the power relations of the family if the wages which it brings are limited to the immediate needs of maintaining, and perhaps slightly improving, the family's standard of living. Women's employment threatens these relations if it allows women to become socially and financially autonomous (Laufer, 1984). Again, this is the point made by Parsons (1954), although from a very different standpoint. Thus, patriarchal relations within the family provide an explanation for the earnings differentials between men and women: equal pay is against the interests of men's power within the home, and specifically within marriage.

What are the origins of patriarchy, and how is it sustained? Hartmann (1979: 207) locates a patriarchal system in a pre-capitalist era, where men learned the "techniques of hierarchical organisation and control" through their control of women's and children's labour. Male power, Cockburn (1983) argues, derives from men's greater activity in all spheres of social, political and economic activity. Thus:

"In all the institutions of society men are more active than women. They build wealth within them, build
competence, build rights and expectations...Women are relatively absent from this social and political sphere. They are obliged to give only a partial and conditional allegiance to work and union. They are mainly confined to the domestic world, which is characteristically isolated and private."

(Cockburn, 1983: 203)

Cockburn thus attributes unequal relations of male and female power to, amongst other things, men's greater economic involvement, by comparison with that of women. As shown in Chapter 4, labour force activity, measured in terms of full-time attachment and continuous work patterns, tends to be quite considerably greater amongst French women than British. From this standpoint, then, French women's economic involvement is greater than British women's. Taking Cockburn's assertion that economic involvement lessens inequalities of power between women and men, it follows that patriarchy may be at a lower level in France. Yet this is probably something which cannot be answered, since, as Hartmann points out, patriarchy is not something which can be measured empirically (Hartmann, 1979). Nevertheless, Walby, in a comparative analysis of women's unemployment in European Community countries, asserts that patriarchal relations in employment have "greater severity" in Britain than in the rest of Europe (Walby, 1985: 269). It is difficult to see the basis of Walby's assertions, and they should probably be viewed with caution. However, she raises an issue which is certainly worth exploring further.

The persistence of a patriarchal system provides a poor prognosis for the breakdown of occupational segregation and for the narrowing of male and female pay differentials; only a
renouncement in both domestic and employment spheres by men of the power relations which they have with women could bring this about (Hartmann, 1979; Maruani, 1984). Patriarchy, as a theoretical perspective, is therefore at odds with a 'liberal feminist' outlook, which asserts the usefulness of policies such as those aimed at bringing about equal opportunities. As an explanation of women's inequalities in the labour market, patriarchy on its own is probably inadequate. It is almost certainly untestable; in any case, in the original formulation, Hartmann made the point that it was not the kind of theory which was designed to be tested empirically (Hartmann, 1979). However, it is undoubtedly useful in understanding the unequal domestic division of labour, and its persistence over time. This is the way in which it is used in this thesis (see Chapter 6). It is also useful in explaining the persistence of power relations in the workplace, perhaps particularly in the way in which (male) employers discriminate against women with domestic responsibilities, as Curran's work, mentioned below, describes (Curran, 1985).

Patriarchy therefore tackles the issue of the origin of sex role differentiation in the home and in paid employment. This issue is not generally confronted in theoretical perspectives which seek to determine the articulation between the home and paid employment. The next section explores an approach, referred to as 'dual roles' or 'two roles', which seeks to explain women's employment patterns by reference to the relationship between home and employment. The role of policy in accommodating the dual roles of home and employment is a key aspect of this approach.
2.4.2. Family and paid employment

The 'dual role' approach to the understanding of women's employment was prevalent in Britain in the 1950s to 1970s, and, indeed, continues to be so (see Hantrais, 1990). It is also a theme of some French sociology of this period (for example, Sullerot, 1971). The approach focuses on the interaction of domestic life and paid employment; studies emerging from this tradition (for example Myrdal & Klein, 1956; Klein, 1965; Hunt, 1968; Hantrais, 1990) have tended to concentrate on policy measures which might ease the relationship between the two spheres. The dual role approach emphasises the role of policy, and for this reason, it is a helpful perspective in this thesis, where the contrasting social and employment policies in France and Britain are focused upon. Historically, its development is probably independent of the theory of patriarchy, although certain elements are in common. The dual role approach is concerned with how the domestic and employment roles articulate with each other, rather than why they exist or how they can explain employment patterns.

Oakley (1974) developed the notion of 'role conflict', marking a move away from the rather bland assertions contained in the studies of the 1950s and 1960s that a resolution of the two roles lay in the development of improved shopping hours and better household appliances. Oakley's work suggests that the growth of married women's paid work carried with it the possibilities of stress within the home. This stress can be conceived of both in terms of the time spent by women in paid and domestic work, and also in terms of changing relations between husband and wife as a result of a potential conflict.
between wives' private and public roles. Conflict between spouses as a result of women's paid employment was also predicted by Parsons (1954: 79). His belief in the primacy of what he called the 'conjugal family' led him to assert that competition on an equal basis between men and women in the occupational structure would lead to strain on the family unit, and "profound alterations in the structure of the family".

Explanations which attribute occupational sex segregation to the articulation of the domestic and the paid employment spheres tend to focus on the way in which employers hold stereotypes of women's work. These stereotypes relate to women's domestic role as carers, and as providers of a variety of services, such as cooking, cleaning and washing. Women's possession of these so-called 'natural' qualities justifies their segregation by employers into jobs requiring support or assistance, or dexterity (Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin, 1988a). The segregation of women into unskilled and low paid jobs is furthermore attributed to the women's own acceptance of these stereotypes (Kergoat, 1984). The socialisation of young girls and their subsequent domestic labour, Kergoat argues, provides a perfectly adapted preparation for less skilled work. The result of this is that employers, and most importantly, the women workers themselves, do not recognise their abilities as 'skills' as such, since they have not been acquired in the public training sphere, but rather in the private domestic sphere.

In addition to the segregation of women into particular sectors and jobs as a result of a process of stereotyping, women can
also be excluded from or restricted in the labour market on the basis of a social construction of their domestic role through employer discrimination. Curran (1985) demonstrates from a study of British employers' recruitment practices that almost three-quarters of employers in her sample preferred not to employ the mothers of young children, but did not apply the same parenthood criterion to fathers. If this sort of practice is widespread, then it could have an important effect on the structure of the labour market.

Liff (1987), however, argues that an approach which conceptualises employment patterns as flowing from the domestic division of labour is inadequate. It has, she argues, a tendency to restrict its field of vision to explanations relating to social policy, such as childcare provision and tends to ignore the role of gender relations in the workplace, for example the patriarchal behaviour of male workers and managers. Liff claims that it is difficult to see how such features of policy could affect occupational segregation, or affect gender relations within the workplace. Nevertheless, Beechey (1986) believes that this way of conceptualising women's employment patterns continues to be influential.

3. Summary of theories of women's employment patterns
The human capital approach allows for the measurement of occupational segregation and wage differentials in terms of individuals' investment in their future. This potential for measurement has an appeal for economists in a way in which patriarchy, for example, does not. Nevertheless, the theory is limited because, amongst other things, it fails to take into
account the social considerations which affect women's employment patterns.

Explanations based on the theory of patriarchy are at variance with those informed by Marxism, since Marxist approaches prioritise the role of capitalism in creating gender inequalities in the workforce, whilst patriarchal relations, argue its proponents, existed long before the development of capitalism. Patriarchal relations can be found in the domestic sphere, and in the workplace. In the home, they can take the form of unequal relations of power and dependency between women and men. One form taken by these power relations is evident in the unequal domestic division of labour; this relates not only to household tasks, but also to the issue of who takes primary responsibility for tasks relating to children. In the workplace, recruitment practices can be underpinned by patriarchal attitudes.

Much sociological thinking about women's employment has focused on the interaction of the home and paid employment. Initially, in the dual roles approach, the relationship between the domestic and the employment spheres was seen in unanalytical terms; however, later developments, for example patriarchy, made this relationship problematic, seeing gender relations within the home as the basis for women's subordination in the workplace.

Theories which are likely to prove useful in explaining the relationship of domestic circumstances and women's employment in France and Britain include the 'two roles' standpoint,
segmentation theory and patriarchy. The 'two roles' approach emphasises the role of policy in alleviating conflict between the domestic and employment spheres. This is an important aspect of this thesis, since employment and family policies which affect women in the labour market are compared and contrasted in France and Britain. A patriarchal approach plays down the role of policy, seeing women's disadvantage in the labour market as rooted in areas which are difficult, if not impossible, to alleviate through policy. Such areas include the alteration of childcare responsibility and the domestic division of labour. However, these perspectives should not be seen as discrete in their interpretation of the issues surrounding women's employment, although in terms of development they have different pedigrees.

4. Discussion
As indicated in this review of theoretical standpoints, various perspectives throw some light on the research question of this thesis. It seems likely that in an area of study as complex as women's employment, no single theoretical approach can adequately explain all aspects of women's employment patterns. Perhaps, therefore, an approach with the best explanatory power is one which recognizes this, and which combines aspects of different explanations of women's inequality within the labour force.

Examples of combining approaches can be seen in recent refinements in labour market segmentation theory, which have introduced the idea that women's position in the labour market
needs to be analysed in terms of supply-side factors by recognizing the social and ideological factors which underpin the sexual division of labour, as well as in terms of the functioning of the labour process (Rubery, 1988).

Beechey (1983) argues that neither a Marxist approach, nor one based on labour market segmentation theory, can adequately explain occupational segregation, which, she argues, pre-dates capitalism. She argues for an approach which incorporates two main elements: firstly, an analysis of the conditions under which women sell their labour power. This would lead to the construction of women as a particular sort of worker within the family, and within education and training, making a distinction between the ideology of women's primary responsibility for dependents, and the concrete constraints which this caring represents. A second component of Beechey's conceptual approach is the analysis of how gender is constructed within the labour process, in order to explain the reasons behind occupational sex segregation. Because different sectors of industry may require different sorts of explanation, occupational segregation in different industries would need to be examined. In summary, Beechey argues, this new way of conceptualising women's employment would combine an analysis of sexual division within the family with an analysis of women's occupational position within the labour market (Beechey, 1983).

Beechey thus selects elements from different theories, acknowledging the complexity of the issue, and argues that their sum will have better explanatory potential than any one individual theory. The selection of elements both from
theories relating to the influence of the home on paid employment and from those which emphasise the structure of the labour market makes for a combined approach which appears promising.

Beechey's view is developed in this thesis to underpin the notion of four 'occupational situations', embodied in teaching and officeworking in France and Britain, and explained in Chapter 6. Such a conceptualisation acknowledges, as Beechey does, that an examination of occupational achievement needs to take into account both structural elements of occupations and labour markets. In addition, the characteristics which women bring with them from a particular social and cultural context into the labour market have to be borne in mind.

However, Beechey's ideas are used in a rather different form for the purposes of this thesis. Firstly, Beechey refers specifically to the explanatory potential of her theory for occupational segregation by sex; it is used here in a rather more general way to try to understand the complexity of factors which underpin employment patterns and occupational achievement in two occupational groups in two different countries. Secondly, in order to take advantage of the added dimension of cross-national research, a policy aspect is added. Differences in French and British family and employment policies, discussed in Chapter 2, create distinct employment contexts into which women bring their labour. A further development of Beechey's viewpoint is the added importance attached in this thesis to structural features of labour markets in different sorts of occupations. As explained in detail in Chapter 6, occupations
can be, broadly speaking, either organisationally or occupationally based, and can demand pre- or post-entry qualifications. These structural aspects, as well as policy and socio-cultural dimensions, combine to create different employment contexts or situations. These mediate in various ways the relationship between domestic circumstances and women's employment.

Footnotes

(1) Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin's account can be criticized for its focus on the manufacturing sector. Nevertheless, it is important to appreciate that the expansion of manufacturing in France in the 1960s, and the reduction of this sector in Britain at that time constitutes a major difference between the two countries (Garnsey, 1984). Patterns of women's employment which developed in France in the manufacturing sector may well be more important both in themselves and in terms of the later development of more general patterns - in the service sector, for example - simply because a considerably larger proportion of the female working population was employed in manufacturing. This may help to explain the seemingly greater importance placed by French labour economists on developments such as Taylorism, which affected the manufacturing sector particularly, and which tend not to be seen as particularly important in the British literature. In addition, the disparity in the development of manufacturing in the two countries, may also go some way towards accounting for the different development of part-time and full-time employment. Whilst the growth in manufacturing in France was met by the construction of feminized full-time jobs, in Britain, any temporary growth in manufacturing tended to be met by the use of part-time female labour, although the absolute size of the part-time labour force in British manufacturing was never large (Garnsey, 1984). Jephcott's (1962) account of the construction of part-time jobs by Peek Frean management is interesting in this respect. She describes the way in which management devised a wide variety of part-time contracts, in order to fit in with the individual domestic responsibilities of the married women workers.
Chapter 4: Broad patterns of similarity and difference in women's employment in France and Britain

1. Introduction

This chapter describes general features of women's and men's employment in France and Britain. Using empirical work from previous studies, as well as some analyses using the Enquête Emploi 1985 and the Labour Force Survey 1984 (described in Chapter 7), its aim is to provide a background of general patterns of employment, against which the detailed study of two occupations, teaching and officeworking, can take place.

A structural feature common to both countries is their experience in recent times of a movement towards employment in the tertiary sector, and to service occupations and industries in particular. This has favoured women's employment. Both countries have suffered a reduction in the size of their manufacturing sectors as a result of the economic crisis of the mid-1970s onwards, although as Garnsey (1984) points out, France's manufacturing industry expanded in the 1960s at a time when Britain's was already contracting. In the mid-1980s, there was little difference between the relative sizes of French and British manufacturing and service sectors (Eurostat, 1985). The proportions of French and British women working in these sectors are also similar (OECD, 1985a). These factors are all important in terms of providing a backdrop for the study of the labour market. The move away from manufacturing towards the service sector is particularly important in the development of women's employment patterns, since the service sector employs more women than the manufacturing sector (Paukert, 1984)
An overview of differences and similarities between women's employment in the two countries in the mid-1980s is presented in the next section, against a background of men's employment.

2. Male and female participation levels in France and Britain

In 1985, 67% of the French male population of age 15-64 were in the employed labour force (1) and in the UK 75% (OECD, 1987). French women's participation in the 1985 employed labour force was similarly rather lower than British women's, with 48% of French women aged 15-64, and 55% of UK women participating (OECD, 1987). Thus, in each country, in 1985, as Table 4.1 shows, male labour force participation was higher than female, and male and female levels were somewhat higher in the UK than in France. The trends in participation levels over the past decade or so are similar in both countries, with men's participation in the employed labour force decreasing fairly steeply. By contrast, both French and UK women's employed labour force participation shows general stability over the past decade, as Table 4.1 shows.

Table 4.1: Employed labour force* participation rates, France and UK, 1975-85, women & men, age 15-64

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year</th>
<th>change 75-85</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-85</td>
<td>48 48 49 49 49 49 49 48 48 48 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54 54 54 55 56 56 54 53 53 54 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* OECD's terminology is 'civilian employment' (labour force excluding those seeking work)
Although there are at present similarities between France and the UK in aggregate female participation rates, this has not always been so. In France, women's participation dropped steadily from a relatively high level at the beginning of the century to the 1960s, and then started to rise again. Thelot (1987) sees the middle of the 1960s as the turning point, a time when France's manufacturing industry was expanding. In Britain, women's participation has risen steadily from the beginning of the century (Hakim, 1979).

French and British women's employment patterns appear to have many similarities; there are also some notable differences, which provide the major focus of much of the recent cross-cultural work on French and British women's employment. In the following section, these broad differences are discussed.

3. French and British women's employment: broad differences
At an aggregate level, the major features showing dissimilarity between French and British women's employment patterns are (1) levels of full-time and part-time working and (2) patterns of continuity and discontinuity over working lives. In the knowledge that cross-sectional data cannot be used to make longitudinal inferences, these differences are illustrated in Figure 4.1 (data in Appendix 4.1). Proportions of women working either full-time or part-time, or not in employment have been calculated for each 5-yearly age group. Figure 4.1 shows, for Britain, a clear two-peaked distribution, for both full-time and part-time working. Levels of part-time working are considerably higher in the period after family formation than before. For France, the distribution of full-time and
Fig. 4.1: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French and British women

Women, age 16–64, Britain, 1984

Full/part-time, not employed, by age

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984 age groups file LFS65, gemfile BR1

Women, age 16–64, France, 1985

Full/part-time, not employed, by age

Source: Enquete Emploi 1985 age groups file FRANCE81W, gemfile FR1
part-time working resembles an inverted 'U'; after the 25-29 age group, part-time working varies rather little by age, and is generally at a low level.

3.1. Differences: levels of part-time working

In both France and Britain a very high proportion of part-time workers are women; however, levels of female part-time working as a proportion of all women in employment are markedly different; in 1983, the proportion in Britain was double that in France: 41% of all British women in employment worked part-time, compared to 20% in France (Dale & Glover, 1990). France is unusual amongst EEC countries in combining a low level of part-time working with a relatively high female participation rate (Garnsey, 1984).

However, levels of part-time working in France have increased fairly rapidly since the beginning of the 1980s; using the ILO definition of the workforce (which includes those seeking employment), figures from the Enquete Emploi show that in 1982 19% of the female labour force worked part-time, and that this figure had increased in 1986 to 23% (Belloc, 1986: Table 1: 45). One reason for this rise in part-time working may be the attempts made by the Mitterrand administration of 1981-86 to encourage both employers and employees to consider this form of work (see Chapter 6). However, the effects of policy-related changes tend to be slow to show up in aggregate figures, tending to do so only at points such as job changes, returns to the labour market, and amongst the youngest cohorts. Nevertheless, the upward trend in levels of French part-time working can be detected through the 1970s, and is particularly
strong in the public sector (Garnsey, 1984).

Work history data gives added information about French and British levels of part-time working at different stages in the life-course. Comparing findings from the Women & Employment Survey (WES, Martin & Roberts, 1984) and the Vie Professionnelle et Vie Familiale study (VPVF, CERC-INED, 1981), Dex et al (1988) show that in Britain levels of part-time working predominate during the period of child dependency. In France, by contrast, there are no such marked life-cycle patterns; there, a small proportion of women works part-time in each age group. Part-time working is often associated with large families. Dex et al (1988) point out that in France generous family allowances are payable to those with large families, although they do not make a causal link between this feature of family policy and part-time working. Dale and Glover (1990), using secondary analysis of the 1983 and 1984 European Community Labour Force Surveys for the UK and France, similarly found that there was considerably less variation in levels of part-time working by age in France than in Britain, where levels of part-time working were strongly linked with the phase of family formation.

Furthermore, findings from the WES/VPVF comparative study suggest that in France there are two distinct groups of women part-time workers: firstly, a group in the higher paid occupations for whom, Dex argues, the choice of part-time work is related to a wish to avoid paying the top rates of household income tax. Secondly, there is a group which is more like British part-time workers in terms of their low status jobs and
relatively poor working conditions (Dex et al, 1988).

3.2. Differences: patterns of continuity and discontinuity of employment

Once women's overall and part-time participation rates are disaggregated by age or by lifecycle stage, clear differences emerge between France and Britain in terms of patterns of continuity and discontinuity. By and large, French women's attachment to the labour force, whether full-time or part-time, tends to have a markedly higher degree of continuity over the lifecycle; this makes their work histories more like those of men (Beechey, 1987). By contrast, British women's attachment, again whether full-time or part-time, tends to be discontinuous, with a break occurring at the family formation phase. In the following section, these patterns are discussed in more detail, firstly in relation to work history data, and secondly to cross-sectional data.

3.2.1. Continuity and discontinuity: work history data

Defining continuity as having no period greater than 6 months out of employment over the working life, Dex et al (1988) found that one-third of French mothers had worked continuously, whilst only 3% of British mothers had done so. However, the general picture of discontinuity in British mothers' employment patterns should not detract from the fact that the sum of their periods in employment amounted to over half of their potential working life.

The use by Dex et al (1988) of work history data reveals a relatively large group of older French women who appear to
have given up employment, perhaps permanently. In France 45% of women not in paid employment in 1981 had had no job in the previous 10 years, whilst in Britain this applied to only 23%. This suggests a polarisation in France of employment with either a high degree of continuity, or of semi-permanent withdrawal from the labour force (Dex et al, 1988). It is possible, however, that this feature can be attributed to a cohort effect, which may disappear once the older generation of women moves out of the population of working age.

The Dex study shows that whilst for French women a major determinant of staying in or leaving the labour force is the number of children they have, in Britain the most important factor is the age of the youngest child. This confirms Joshi's findings for British women (Joshi, 1985). It is interesting that Klein (1959), reporting her 1957 study of British married women, also noted this feature. However, the age of children begins to have an effect on the participation of French women from the third child onwards, with participation rates of women with three or more children rising as the age of the youngest dependent child rises (Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin, 1988b).

The trend towards continuous patterns of working is therefore more likely amongst French women, but it is certainly not universal. In addition to the differences which are shown up in later chapters of this thesis amongst French teachers and white-collar workers/officeworkers, there appear also to be differences in France in continuity patterns according to socio-economic groupings and according to wage-earning/non-
wage-earning status (non-wage-earners are employers, family workers and the self-employed). The participation patterns of wives of middle managers, technicians and office workers tend to be least sensitive to family constraints, and are more continuous, whilst the wives of manual workers tend to be "severely constrained" by these responsibilities and thus have a more discontinuous pattern (Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin, 1988b:167). However, it is not clear from this analysis if the determining factor is the occupation of the husband or that of the wife.

Analysis of the 1982 Enquete Famille showed that continuous work patterns are most likely amongst two very different occupational groups in France: women in management, and agricultural workers (Desplanques & de Saboulin, 1987). Non-wage earning workers, mainly agricultural workers and workers in small commercial enterprises, who comprise a markedly larger proportion of the workforce than in Britain, tend to have participation patterns which are relatively insensitive to child dependency (Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin, 1988a). This is likely to be linked to their tendency to work and live in the same place, which may give them greater flexibility in the inter-relationship of their working and domestic lives (Bouillaguet-Bernard & Gauvin, 1988a). It is interesting to note in this respect the similarity with Tilly & Scott's conception of the French and British 'family economy' of the pre-capitalist period (Tilly & Scott, 1978).

4. French and British women's employment: similarities
This section contains an examination of occupational
segregation by sex and the related issue of male/female pay differentials - features of women's employment in France and Britain which show at least superficial similarity. However, prior to examining the degree of occupational segregation by sex in each country, it is helpful to examine the relative proportions of women and men in each occupational group in France and Britain.

4.1. Occupational groups by sex: comparing France and Britain

The distribution of men and women in occupational groups in France and Britain is very similar (2). This is shown in Table 4.2, which uses the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO, see Appendix 7.1). Table 4.2 shows that women in both countries are primarily located in clerical, service and professional/technical occupations, whilst major occupational categories for men are production and professional/technical. Sullerot (1971) believes that it is necessary to analyse French women in agricultural occupations separately from those in other occupations since agriculture represents a way of life which is widely different from that of other occupations. Walters & Dex (1990) make a similar point, arguing that agriculture should be omitted from comparisons of French and British women's employment. However, re-calculation of Table 4.2 (analyses not shown here), omitting agriculture, demonstrates that the overall picture of similarity between French and British women is only slightly altered by this omission.
### Table 4.2: Occupational distribution of men and women: UK and France, 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISCO *</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>FRANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Prof &amp; tech</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Admin &amp; managerial</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Clerical &amp; related</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Sales</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Services</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Agricultural</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Production</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(50984)</td>
<td>(35778)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dale & Glover, 1990, Table 8


(see Appendix 7.1 for details of ISCO)

Occupational distributions by sex are now shown separately for France and Britain, using the occupational classifications in the Enquete Emploi and the Labour Force Survey, the two data sets used for secondary analysis in this thesis (see Chapter 7). Details of the classifications (PCS, CO80, SEG) are in Appendices 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4. These are also discussed in Chapter 7.

### 4.2. Occupational distributions by sex: France

In this section, the employed labour force, including unpaid family workers, is analysed according to the 1-digit, least detailed, level of the PCS. In general unpaid family workers are assigned to the same occupational group as the person with/for whom they work. However, in some cases, for example in the "professions liberales" (self-employed professions, included in PCS 3, see Appendix 7.2), unpaid family workers performing administrative or reception activities are
classified separately from the person with/for whom they work.

In Table 4.3, the titles of the occupational groups have been left in French. This is for two main reasons: firstly, several of the terms have no direct equivalence in English, and secondly, it seems advisable as a general principle to leave occupational titles in their original language, thus avoiding the confusion which might arise from different researchers using their own (and probably different) translations. A summary of the 1-digit occupational groups is provided in Appendix 7.2.

Table 4.3: Employed labour force by broad occupational group, France, women & men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational group (PCS*, 1-digit level)</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCS 1 Agriculteurs exploitants</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCS 2 Artisans, commerçants et chefs d'entreprises</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCS 3 Cadres et professions intellectuelles superieures</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCS 4 Professions intermediaires</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCS 5 Employes</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCS 6 Ouvriers</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(27657)</td>
<td>(38509)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Enquete Emploi 1985, files FRANCE11W & FRANCE11M

*PCS, Nomenclature des professions et des categories socioprofessionnelles, see Appendix 7.2

There are some similarities in the female and male occupational distributions. In PCS 1 and 2 (comprising a wide range of self-employed occupations), there are similar proportions of women and men; this is perhaps unsurprising given that both these categories are for the self-employed and, as we have seen, the unpaid family workers (likely to be wives) are for
the most part coded in the same category as the person for/with whom they work. The group which encompasses a broad range of semi-professional wage-earning occupations, PCS 4, also contains similar proportions of women and men.

Clear differences in the sex distribution of occupations are found in PCS 3 (executive/managerial and higher level professions), PCS 5 (white-collar employees) and PCS 6 (skilled and unskilled manual workers). Almost twice the proportion of men than that of women are classified in PCS 3, whilst the proportion of women in PCS 5 is over four times that of men. PCS 5 accounts for just under half of all women in employment; there is a similar situation for men in PCS 6, where over 40% of the male employed workforce is contained.

4.3. Occupational distributions by sex: Britain

Table 4.4 shows a markedly different distribution for women and men in Britain. Examining all those groups which contain 10% or more of the workforce of either sex, it can be seen that women are concentrated in 4 groups; in descending order of size, these are Order 6 (clerical & related), Order 9 (catering, cleaning, hairdressing & other personal services), Order 2 (professional & related in education, welfare and health and Order 7 (selling). The largest proportion is 30% (Order 6, clerical and related); these groups account for 78% of the female workforce. By contrast, men are considerably more evenly spread across occupational groups, with the largest group (Order 12 - processing, making and repairing & related) representing only 17% of the total. The two groups which contain 10% or more of the total (Order 5, managerial and Order
12, metal and electrical) account for only 29% of the male workforce.

Table 4.4: Employed labour force by broad occupational group, Britain, women and men, age 16-64

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational group (condensed K08 headings)*</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Order 1 Professional &amp; related supporting management; senior national &amp; local government</td>
<td>2.6 %</td>
<td>6.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 2 Professional &amp; related in education, welfare &amp; health</td>
<td>14.3 %</td>
<td>5.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 3 Literary, artistic &amp; sports</td>
<td>1.0 %</td>
<td>1.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 4 Professional &amp; related in science, engineering &amp; technology</td>
<td>1.0 %</td>
<td>6.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 5 Managerial</td>
<td>5.3 %</td>
<td>12.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 6 Clerical &amp; related</td>
<td>29.6 %</td>
<td>6.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 7 Selling</td>
<td>10.0 %</td>
<td>4.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 8 Security &amp; protective</td>
<td>0.5 %</td>
<td>3.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 9 Catering, cleaning, hairdressing &amp; other personal service</td>
<td>23.9 %</td>
<td>3.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 10 Farming, fishing &amp; related</td>
<td>0.8 %</td>
<td>2.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 11 Materials processing</td>
<td>5.3 %</td>
<td>8.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 12 Processing, making &amp; repairing &amp; related (metal &amp; electrical)</td>
<td>1.0 %</td>
<td>17.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 13 Painting, repetitive assembling, product inspecting, packaging &amp; related</td>
<td>3.9 %</td>
<td>3.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 14 Construction, mining &amp; related not identified elsewhere</td>
<td>0.1 %</td>
<td>6.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 15 Transport operating, materials moving and storing &amp; related</td>
<td>0.7 %</td>
<td>9.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order 16 Miscellaneous</td>
<td>0.3 %</td>
<td>2.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(27,896)</td>
<td>(38,944)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*OPCS Classification of Occupations (CO80)(1980), see Appendix 7.3
One interpretation of these analyses is that, quite simply, women occupy a narrower range of occupations than men, and that women tend to be found in jobs which are rather similar. However, another way of looking at this is that occupational classifications tend to have been designed with men's occupations in mind, and that more effort was therefore made during the design stage to draw fine distinctions between different sorts of typically male occupations. Less effort may have been made to identify, for example, different clerical tasks and the skills required to do these tasks, with the result that less fine distinctions were made. (3)

Table 4.5: Socio-economic grouping (SEG) by sex, Britain, 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEG* groups</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 employers and managers in central &amp; local</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>government, industry, commerce etc. - large</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>establishments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 employers and managers in industry, commerce</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- small establishments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 professional workers - self-employed</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 professional workers - employees</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 intermediate non-manual workers</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 junior non-manual workers</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 personal service workers</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 foremen &amp; supervisors - manual</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 skilled manual workers</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 semi-skilled manual</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 unskilled manual</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 own account* workers (other than professional)</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 farmers - employers &amp; managers</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 farmers - own account*</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 agricultural workers</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 members of armed forces</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(27,970)</td>
<td>(38,945)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>58.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 'own account' is defined as self-employed without employees except family workers
Source: Labour Force Survey 1984

*SEG, Socio-economic grouping, see Appendix 7.4
Analysis of socio-economic groupings by sex in Table 4.5 shows markedly different distributions for women and men. Women are concentrated in SEG 5 (intermediate non-manual), SEG 6 (junior non-manual) and in SEG 7 (personal service), and these three groups account for 65% of the female workforce. Men's occupations are more spread out over the groups. There are concentrations in SEG 9 (skilled manual), SEG 10 (semi-skilled manual) and SEG 1 (employers and managers - large establishments), but these account for only 43% of the male workforce. The SEG schema shows, then, that women occupy a narrower range of occupations than men.

5. Occupational sex segregation

Occupational sex segregation refers to the way in which women and men are concentrated in different occupations; this is conventionally referred to as horizontal segregation. Vertical segregation describes a situation where women and men in the same occupations are in jobs at different levels of status and responsibility (Hakim, 1979; OECD, 1985a: 38). Table 4.6 shows the high degree of similarity, at an aggregate level, of occupational sex segregation in France and the UK. Hakim's Sex Ratio Index (4) is used here to give a measure of under or over-representation of women in each category, in relation to their representation in the workforce as a whole (Hakim, 1979). It is a ratio of the percentage of all women working in an occupation to the percentage of women in the employed labour force. Thus a ratio of 1 indicates no segregation by sex within a particular category; the greater the value above 1, the higher the concentration of female workers, and the smaller the value below 1, the lower the concentration of female
workers.

Table 4.6: Occupational segregation in France and UK, 1983, Hakim's Sex Ratio Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISCO</th>
<th>FRANCE</th>
<th>UK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 professional/technical</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 admin/managerial</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 clerical &amp; related</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 sales</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 service</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 agricultural</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 production</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dale & Glover, 1988, Table 1, data from Labour Force Survey, SOEC, 1983

At this general level of analysis, it can be seen that there is a marked degree of similarity of occupational segregation in the two countries, with clerical and service occupations, administrative/managerial and production occupations being particularly highly segregated. It is very likely, of course, that a more detailed analysis of occupations within this group would show a higher degree of segregation by sex in technical occupations, and in higher status professional occupations.

Occupational segregation is a major factor in the explanation of male and female pay differentials. The following section contains a brief examination of the extent to which women's and men's pay differs in France and Britain.

6. Male/female pay differentials

In both France and Britain, there is a substantial difference between men's and women's pay, although the gap is rather less in France than it is in Britain. There are many different ways of presenting data on pay differentials; one way is to compare
average hourly earnings. For example, as Table 4.7 shows, the 1981 average hourly earnings of French women were 80% of that of French men, whilst in Britain, they were 70% of men's.

Table 4.7: Average hourly earnings in non-agricultural activities of women workers as % of those of men, France & UK, 1973-81

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>+1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K.</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>67.6</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>69.5</td>
<td>+7.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: adapted from OECD (1985a), Table III.1: 70

From Table 4.7 it can be seen that there was little change in the French male/female earnings differential over the eight years between 1973 and 1981. Stability over the past decade (up to 1988) is also confirmed by the French government's income and earnings statistics agency, the Centre d'étude des revenus et des coûts, CERC (1989). In Britain the earnings gap narrowed in 1979. Nevertheless, the earnings differential between women and men is less in France (80%) than in Britain (70%). Other British sources quoted by the Equal Opportunities Commission in its Annual Report show that in 1985, women's earnings (gross hourly earnings, overtime excluded, full-time employees only) were 74% of those of men (EOC, 1985, Table 4.1). The latest figures for Britain, calculated from the New Earnings Survey 1990, show that overall women's earnings were 77% of those of men (hourly earnings, excluding overtime pay).

Earnings are difficult to compare, even within countries, and different pieces of research report quite large differences.
For example, Bughin & Payen's calculation was that, in 1983, women's earnings were only 75% of those of men (Bughin & Payen, 1985). However, Bughin & Payen's calculations refer to the private and semi-public sectors only. The female/male earnings differential is considerably narrower for the public sector, and it seems likely that OECD (1985a) was combining private and public sectors to come up with their figure of 80%. In the public sector, figures for 1986 show that women's earnings were 85% of men's (calculated from INSEE, 1989: Tableau C.03-12). The private/public sector difference in average earnings is therefore quite marked. Although there is a considerable difference between the male/female earnings differential in the French public sector and that in Britain, the French private sector appears to be comparable to Britain. Having said this, however, it is difficult to come to any firm conclusion about whether the earnings gap is larger in Britain than in France, since the figures from different sources vary markedly. For example, the source of information for private sector workers in France is the DADS (Déclarations Annuelles de Données Sociales); this includes overtime (personal communication with V Pérotin, Centre d'Etude des Revenus et des Couts, Paris). Since women may not do overtime to the same extent as men, the female/male earnings differential may be larger than if overtime was excluded.

Earnings differentials also vary by occupational group. Bughin & Payen (1985) show that in the French private and semi-public sector, the differential was largest in top management groups. This has been confirmed by Benveniste & Lollivier (1988): in
1987, well-qualified women earned on average 69% of men's salaries, while the least qualified women earned 87% of their male counterparts. In Britain also, the female/male earnings differential is greatest for non-manual workers. Published statistics from the New Earnings Survey 1990 show that women manual workers' earnings are 72% of men in the same category, while the equivalent figure for non-manual is 64% (New Earnings Survey 1990, calculated from Table 26).

These aggregate data are probably of limited use; they do not, for example, allow for comparison of men and women with similar qualifications, nor can they address issues such as the effect of different length of service, or continuity over the life-cycle.

7. Summary of the characteristics of women's and men's employment patterns in France and Britain

The aim of this chapter was not to make overt comparisons between employment patterns in France and Britain, but rather to provide a background of aggregate-level data prior to the detailed examination of specific occupations (teaching and white-collar/officeworking). Nevertheless, it is possible to detect some broad patterns of similarity and difference. Participation levels are rather higher in Britain than in France for both women and men. Levels of unemployment (defined as seeking work, and not as registered unemployment) show little difference between women and men in France, but in Britain, the level for women is approximately half that for men. In both countries, more men are self-employed than women.
The employment patterns of women in Britain and France show differences related both to their part-time/full-time attachment to the labour force and to continuity over the life-cycle. French women have relatively low levels of part-time working. Moreover, they tend to show continuity of employment over the life-cycle, whilst British women are considerably more likely to work part-time, especially after family formation. In addition, British women have discontinuity of employment over the life-cycle by leaving the labour market during family formation. The high levels of women not in paid employment need to be borne in mind; evidence has been presented in this chapter that relatively large proportions of French women may be permanently, or semi-permanently, outside the labour force.

With the exception of agricultural occupations, occupational segregation by sex in France and Britain shows a high degree of similarity. Depending on the method of calculation, and which group is being compared, male/female earnings differentials appear to be of a similar order of magnitude in Britain and in the French private sector, but are narrower in the French public sector.

Footnotes

(1) The 'employed labour force' measure is generally regarded as preferable when describing women's participation (see, for example, Zighera, 1981), since it does not include unemployed women, who may be difficult to define. It is moreover more appropriate for comparative studies since it avoids the problem of using definitions of unemployment which change within countries over time, and which are unstandardised between countries.

(2) Although there appears to be some difference in the managerial/ administrative group with an apparently smaller
proportion of both men and women in this category in France than in Britain, this appears not to be due to differences in the occupational structure of the two countries, but rather to a conceptual difference, which has led to the French defining this category much more narrowly (Dale & Glover, 1988). This apparent difference provides an illustration of the difficulty of comparing occupations across countries; even though an agreed categorisation such as ISCO is used, the coding is done separately in each country, and, probably inevitably, conceptual differences arise.

(3) The new British occupational classification, Standard Occupational Classification, SOC, has attempted to include finer distinctions amongst the occupations which tend to be filled by women. For example, distinctions will be made in SOC between nurses and nursing officers, and between primary and secondary teachers.

(4) A similar measure has been recently criticised by Siltanen (1990). However, it is criticised as a measure of horizontal segregation, and in particular for inferences about trends over time. The principal objection is that for an index to give reliable information, it should be stable across levels of female and male employment participation both over time and in different situations. Siltanen demonstrates that if occupational segregation is stable over time, the Sex Ratio index decreases, as the female share of the labour force increases (Siltanen 1990: Table 2). Thus, she concludes, the Sex Ratio index will vary with the sex composition of the labour force, regardless of segregation patterns. By inference, this criticism applies also to cross-national work (comparison in different situations). However, despite these objections, the variant of the Sex Ratio Index used in this thesis has been retained. This is for three reasons. Firstly, no comparisons over time are made. Secondly, although cross-national comparison is the focus of the thesis, the index of segregation is not used for this purpose; it is used here to aid understanding of under and over-representation of women and men within one occupation within each country. Thirdly, although Siltanen's critique appears convincing, at the time of writing no response has been made by Hakim. It seems only reasonable to wait for such a response before discontinuing the use of the index, and related measures.
Appendix 4.1

Data for Figure 4.1

British women, age 16-64, 1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age</th>
<th>full-time</th>
<th>part-time</th>
<th>not employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>47.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>80.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1984
[Gemfile BR1]

French women, age 16-64, 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age</th>
<th>full-time</th>
<th>part-time</th>
<th>not employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>93.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>72.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>45.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>72.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Enquete Emploi, 1985
[Gemfile FR1]
Chapter 5: Domestic circumstances, employment patterns and occupational achievement: a review of existing work

1. Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine the relationship between women’s domestic circumstances on the one hand, and their employment patterns/occupational achievement on the other. The view is taken here that this relationship is unlikely to be generalisable to all occupations, and that it is useful to examine it in relation to particular occupations, each of which has different structural characteristics. A further aspect relates to the cross-cultural nature of the research question: since this question is examined in two countries, the cultural and policy context within which the home/employment function takes place needs also to be examined. The position taken is that the relationship between domestic circumstances and employment patterns/occupational achievement is likely to be a function of this interplay of social, cultural, structural and policy characteristics peculiar to each occupation in its particular context. The term ‘occupational situation’ is used to refer to this combination of characteristics; this is developed in Chapter 6. The notion that the home/employment relationship is likely to vary according to the ‘occupational situation’ is developed in this chapter.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss existing work on the relationship between women’s domestic circumstances and their employment. Domestic circumstances are defined here as personal and family characteristics: marital status, presence/absence of children, number of children and age of children. The term ‘domestic responsibilities’ is used
interchangeably with the term 'domestic circumstances'.

Much of the work discussed in this chapter uses work-history data, allowing for the relatively unproblematic discussion of employment continuity and discontinuity. This work cannot be replicated in the analyses contained in Chapters 8-11 of this thesis, although analyses of patterns of 'not working' give some, necessarily imperfect, indications of discontinuity. The purpose of introducing work-history material here is to indicate the likely background to the employment patterns, and to patterns of achievement in specific occupations. It is these patterns which are analysed with the use of cross-sectional data.

The first section is a general one, focusing on a discussion of research from both France and Britain into the home/employment relationship. It is not intended that the research in this thesis contributes to existing knowledge about the general nature of the home/employment relationship, irrespective of occupational group. Rather, this short section serves to set the context for the ensuing discussion of this relationship as it relates to the specific occupations under consideration in this thesis. As stated in the introductory chapter, a fundamental premise of this thesis is that the most valuable insights into the link between women's domestic circumstances and their employment are likely to come from an in-depth consideration of particular occupations. The second section in this chapter discusses research into the home/employment relationship as it relates to teaching and to white-collar working/officeworking. It is in relation to these occupations
that this research aims to contribute to existing knowledge about the home/employment relationship.

2. The general context: domestic responsibilities and women's employment

The relationship between domestic responsibilities and (a) employment patterns and (b) occupational achievement are discussed separately.

2.1. Domestic responsibilities and employment patterns

Marriage no longer represents a reason for leaving the labour market, but it can affect women's employment patterns. Evidence from the British 1980 Women & Employment Survey shows that married women, even those who have never had children, are more likely to work part-time than single women (Martin & Roberts, 1984: 18). In France, this effect is less obvious: there part-time working is associated primarily with women with two or three children, and with older women (Belloc, 1987; Dex et al, 1988). There is no apparent evidence from either country that marriage, without children, affects women's continuity of employment.

Children affect women's employment patterns in different ways in France and Britain. The British Women & Employment Survey, shows that the presence of children, and in particular the age of the youngest child, is strongly related to part-time working and to not working (Martin & Roberts, 1984). In France, by contrast, although women with children are more likely to work part-time than women without children (CERC, 1985), this relationship is considerably less strong than in Britain. It
has already been shown (Chapter 4) that the level of French part-time working is about half that in Britain. It was also shown that French part-time working was spread rather evenly over the age groups, unlike in Britain, where it was heavily concentrated in the family formation phase. In France, it is not the age of the youngest child which affects women's employment patterns, as in Britain. Instead, the number of children is important; women with three and more children are considerably more likely to work part-time, or to withdraw from the labour force than women with fewer children (Dex et al, 1988).

2.2. Domestic responsibilities and occupational achievement

Previous research indicates that the effect of domestic responsibilities on occupational achievement is likely to vary by occupational group. In the Rapoports' study of dual-career families, the demands of marriage, as well as of children, were seen as an explanation of why few women work in "top jobs" (Fogarty et al, 1971). However, the couples in this study tended to be high earners, who could offset some of these responsibilities by buying in domestic labour. The Rapoports' research suggests that the effect of domestic responsibilities on occupational achievement is likely to be greater in less well paid occupations, such as officeworking. Teachers may be in a better financial position to pay for domestic labour. Recent comparative research of a small number of well-qualified French and British women also indicates that French women in this category, many of whom are teachers, are able to pay for domestic labour (Hantrais, 1990). Thus, the effects of the unequal domestic division of labour, discussed in the next
However, regardless of whether women are able to buy in substitute domestic labour, French research suggests that women in paid employment tend to be responsible for organising domestic tasks (de Singly, 1987). This means that women may spend time thinking about their domestic responsibilities whilst they are at work. This is the concept of the "charge mentale", a 'mental responsibility', which intrudes upon women's employment in a covert way; it may be an important factor in preventing women from being in real competition with men for jobs (Haicault, 1984). Whilst this is an interesting concept, and one which is likely to be recognised by many women, it is difficult to see how it could be tested quantitatively. Whilst respondents can be asked to quantify their actual time spent on a variety of domestic tasks, as is done in research using time-budgets, the quantifying of 'mental time' is probably impossible. Nevertheless, there is a link between this concept and the more readily quantifiable unequal domestic division of labour, a factor which is discussed later in this chapter as a likely constraint on both French and British women's occupational achievement.

Both French and British research suggests that being married, with or without children, can also affect women's occupational achievement by reducing women's geographical mobility. This can be either in terms of the daily distance between home and the workplace (Fagnani, 1986; Beacham, 1985) or of moving to different parts of the country for promotion purposes (Llewellyn, 1981; Crompton & Jones, 1984). Since geographical
mobility, whether local or national, is considered in some occupations to be an important requisite for promotion, this is likely to be a factor in explaining married women's relative absence in higher level jobs. Using secondary analysis of the INSEE time-budget survey 'Enquête emplois du temps', de Singly (1987) found that married women with children spend the least time on travelling from home to the workplace, followed by married women without children; single women spend the most time on this type of travel.

There is, in addition, some evidence that British women with young children do not seek promotion opportunities. The Women & Employment Survey showed that whilst 26% of women with no children did not want promotion, this figure increased to around 50% for women with children aged 15 and less (Martin & Roberts, 1984: Table 5.28). Again, this may vary by occupational group. As discussed below, there is little evidence that teachers lack ambition for promotion, but there may be rather more evidence for this amongst officeworkers. In any case, it is probably unwise to interpret an unwillingness to seek promotion as proof of a lack of ambition. An alternative interpretation is that women are simply responding to their experience and perceptions of a lack of opportunity. As McNally, in her study of temporary clerical workers puts it:

"Another viewpoint might... stress the lack of choice and opportunities which necessitates resignation to one's fate and which renders an attachment to the home an understandable response to the fact of limited alternatives."

(McNally, 1979: 4)

McNally stresses, therefore, the importance of interpreting women's apparent lack of ambition in the light of a social
context.

The issues discussed so far are related to the supply of labour, that is to the employees themselves. In addition, there is evidence that domestic circumstances affect employer behaviour. Employers in both France and Britain appear to hold particular views of women with domestic responsibilities, seeing women with young children as suitable for some jobs, but not for others (Curran, 1985). Even with unmarried women, French employers have a "negative anticipation", de Singly (1987) argues, since employers assume that they will marry. However, there appears to be little work on employer discrimination in France; Fournier & Questiaux, in their wide-ranging review of French society, 'Traité du Social', claim that the scarcity of such work is because of the state's refusal to acknowledge that a country founded on principles of equality could practise institutionalised patterns of discrimination (Fournier & Questiaux, 1984:610). This view lacks credence, however, when one of the main thrusts of the French 1983 equal opportunities legislation is considered; amongst other measures, employers were required to monitor their recruitment practices, and to present annual reports on this subject. This is likely to be because of some evidence that employers had discriminated towards women in the past. However, it remains valid to say that there appears to be little available French research on the subject of employer discrimination towards the recruitment of women.

3. The effect of employment patterns on occupational achievement

In Britain, there is substantial evidence that a move to part-
time working (largely associated with the presence of children, and strongly related to the age of the youngest child) brings about downward occupational mobility. There is much evidence that part-time working is associated with a higher degree of horizontal occupational segregation (concentration into a few low level occupations) than full-time working; part-time working is also rare in the higher grades within occupations (Dale, 1987; Metcalf & Leighton, 1989).

Discontinuity of employment, due to the presence of children, is also a factor in women's downward occupational mobility. Using work-history data from the 1980 Women & Employment Survey (WES), Dex (1987) showed that women with children, who had for the most part broken their employment continuity, experienced a higher degree of downward mobility than women without children. Using the same data source, Martin & Roberts (1984) show that part-time working, the most common form of working for British women who have broken their employment continuity, is highly correlated with downward mobility. Thus, a combination of discontinuity and part-time working may be particularly damaging to occupational achievement, although there is evidence in Britain that, of the two, it is working part-time, rather than breaking employment, which is the most important factor in bringing about downward mobility (Martin & Roberts 1984; Dex, 1987; Dale, 1987).

In France, the effect of part-time working on occupational segregation, and on downward mobility is probably less clear than in Britain. Part-time working is not always associated with a higher degree of occupational segregation, particularly
since it does not tend to be combined with employment discontinuity, as in Britain (Dex & Walters, 1989; Glover, 1990). Women in the French public sector, the largest single employer of women, have the legally-enforceable right to move from full-time working to part-time working and back again, at no risk to their level of employment (Bue & Cristofari, 1986). An in-depth study of French and British mothers with professional qualifications showed that French women were able to move between full-time employment and part-time employment without loss of status, and without endangering their chances of promotion (Hantrais, 1989). In addition, there is evidence that French women part-time workers are rather less segregated by sex than their British counterparts (Glover, 1990).

French women show considerably less discontinuity of employment for reasons relating to the presence of children than British women, as already discussed in Chapter 4. However, when working lives are discontinuous, work-history data from the Vie Professionnelle et Vie Familiale (VPVF) study shows that there are serious consequences for women's pay; women with discontinuous work patterns earn on average 20% less than women with continuous work patterns (CERC, 1985). Dex & Walters' comparison of the WES and the VPFV leads them to conclude that part-time working and discontinuity of employment can involve similar disadvantages in terms of downward occupational mobility in both countries, but that this disadvantage is considerably more likely in Britain than in France (Dex & Walters, 1989). Nevertheless, part-time working and discontinuity of employment are not always distinguished conceptually in the literature. Yet, this distinction seems to
be an important one to make, particularly for policy-makers. However, in the analysis contained in this thesis, continuity/discontinuity of employment is not a variable which can be included. This is because cross-sectional data, and not longitudinal data or work-history data, are used. Part-time/full-time working is included in the analysis. However, the issue of the relative importance of part-time working or of continuity of employment in bringing about downward mobility cannot be tackled here.

In the research carried out for this thesis, the issue of whether part-time working is incompatible with occupational achievement is explored with reference to the particular occupations being studied here. It is hypothesised that the consequences of part-time working may be less for French women than for British women. Furthermore, within France, it may be possible to make a distinction between the private and the public sectors in this respect. If it can be shown that part-time working is not necessarily correlated with a reduction in women's employment opportunities, as it is in Britain, then this is a particularly important policy issue.

This use of cross-national research was mentioned in Chapter 2. To recap, cross-national work can be useful in bringing about the questioning of taken-for-granted relationships in one country. If it can be shown that a particular relationship is specific to one country, and not to another, then an assumed link can be queried. This seems to be a particularly valuable use of cross-national research. Furthermore, it may be possible to suggest that policies in one or other of the
countries may be at least partly responsible for the observed difference. This was referred to as the 'transfer of policy' use of cross-national work. If it is thought desirable by politicians or by pressure groups to try to bring about change in a particular relationship - in this case between part-time working and downward occupational mobility - then the example of another country's policies may be particularly useful. However, a note of caution was sounded about the 'transfer of policy' use of cross-national research in Chapter 2. It was pointed out that policies, the product of one country's social, economic and political history, do not necessarily transfer readily to another cultural context, and that they should not necessarily be expected to have similar outcomes in both countries.

The remainder of this chapter focuses on the two occupations chosen as case studies. Teaching and officeworking (see Appendices 10.1 and 11.2 for definitions) can be compared and contrasted in several ways, as the development in Chapter 6 of the four 'occupational situations' demonstrates in detail. The differences and similarities between teaching and officeworking, the basis for the choice of the two occupations as case studies is not introduced here, since Chapter 6 deals with these in detail. Suffice to say that teaching in both Britain and France is a professional occupation, demanding the acquisition of qualifications prior to entry, and able to exert social closure. Officeworking in both countries is defined as an intermediate non-manual occupation, not requiring qualifications prior to entry. In both France and Britain, of higher level occupations, teaching is the most highly feminised
occupation. In both countries, office/clerical working is the largest occupational group, with over 30% of the female workforce being classified as clerical workers (see Table 4.2, Chapter 4).

4. Domestic circumstances and occupational achievement: the case of teaching

The effect of marriage is discussed in Turnbull & Williams' examination of the differences between women and men teachers' salaries (Turnbull & Williams, 1974). Using a 1% sample of teachers in England and Wales, they conclude that it is principally the break in service of many married women teachers which accounts for their lower earnings, relative to those of men and of single women. However, they make the point that breaks from teaching are not always a deterrent to promotion. Their research showed that men and single women who had taken breaks from teaching by going into other employment, such as industry, had a higher salary than those who had either continuity of service in teaching, or those who had taken breaks for family formation. This suggests that, firstly, discontinuity is not inevitably a reason for low pay, and that, secondly, certain sorts of breaks from teaching are valued more highly than others. A break for child-bearing and child-rearing is unlikely to represent the same value to employers as a break for industrial experience, for example. In other words, there may be an important distinction between a break from employment, and a break from teaching.

Turnbull & Williams also suggest that what they call the 'supply price' of married women is lower, since their search
for work is circumscribed by their husbands' employment. Furthermore, they suggest, although they offer no evidence for this, that from the supply side, married women may be less ambitious for senior posts; from the demand side, employers may be wary of promoting married women because they may have subsequent breaks in service, or be absent through family responsibilities (Turnbull & Williams, 1974). This research is a rare example of a quantitative approach to studying teachers' achievement; unfortunately, it is now more than 20 years out of date. It is likely that some changes will have taken place during this time.

Evidence from the 1980 NUT/EOC enquiry into the promotion of women teachers, based on a national sample of around 2000 teachers, conflicts with this view of women teachers' lack of ambition (National Union of Teachers, 1980). This enquiry concludes that British women's lack of promotion relative to men is principally due to employers' discrimination towards older, married women. The report suggests that, because of women's tendency to withdraw for short periods from paid employment that they tend not to conform to the expected male career pattern. On this pattern, men are on the road to promotion by their mid-thirties; the late 20s and early 30s are "crucial years for major advance in the teaching profession" (NUT, 1980: 53). This is a period when women are often absent for family formation. Thus, when women return, they are likely to find themselves outside this established pattern, since they have not acquired essential middle management experience. By the time this has been acquired, they are regarded as too old for senior positions. Thus the "dynamism of youth" is
preferred to the "experience of age" (NUT, 1980). Yet, claims the report, employers tend to interpret this situation as originating in women's lack of ambition.

In the general section above, evidence was presented that the lack of geographical mobility experienced by many married women was likely to have the effect of curtailing women's promotion to higher grades. It is not clear whether career progression in British teaching is dependent on geographical mobility. Evetts (1989) concludes from her in-depth study of a small number of British women head teachers that they showed less geographical mobility in their work histories than their male counterparts. Evetts suggests that establishing a reputation within an education authority may be an important factor in promotion, at least in primary teaching. However, the range of jobs which such teachers can apply for will inevitably be narrower if they are restricted to one geographical area.

There are some contrasts here with the French situation. In France, since teachers are employees of the State, they can be required to move anywhere in France. If married women are unable or unwilling to move, then this is likely to constitute a major handicap to their chances of promotion. Indeed, the necessity to move to a teaching post may be one reason why many married women teachers follow the lower status, generalist teacher path. Such teachers do not have to be geographically mobile in the same way that their better qualified (and higher status) colleagues (professeurs agrégés/certifiés) have to be (personal communication with Magali Ferrero, University of Aix-en-Provence, Laboratoire d'Economie et de Sociologie du
Travail, based on preliminary findings of her research on French teachers). However, the situation is complicated; for example, it is only at the beginning of their careers that these better qualified teachers are obliged to teach in a location dictated by the state. Teachers with some years of service are able to have a considerably greater say in the location of their teaching post (personal communication with Linda Hantrais, University of Aston).

In sum, existing research indicates that many aspects of the home/employment relationship described in the first part of this chapter can be found in factors affecting teachers' employment patterns. Marriage and children are likely to affect employment patterns and achievement, but probably in a rather less acute way than in other occupational groups.

In the next section, the relationship between the domestic situation of officeworkers and their occupational achievement is examined.

5. Domestic circumstances and occupational achievement: the example of officeworking

In Britain, as in France, the major studies of clerical workers (Lockwood, 1958; Stewart et al, 1980; Crozier, 1971, for example) have not focused upon the issue of gender, even though some of these studies did include women. Women clerical workers are a key aspect of Crompton & Jones study, but the focus is on the proletarianization debate (Crompton & Jones, 1984).
Battagliola's examination of the work-histories of a cohort of French women and men clerical workers in public sector employment demonstrates the effect of family responsibilities upon women's occupational achievement (Battagliola, 1984). This study traces, over a number of years, the employment trajectories of a small cohort of similarly qualified women and men who entered the French Social Insurance bureaucracy at the same time. It observes the lack of promotion of women alongside the relatively rapid promotion of the men. Ironically, Battagliola concludes, the measures introduced to allow employees to combine work and family responsibilities (for example, leave without pay to look after sick children, opportunities to work part-time) have worked against women's interests, since they provide a pretext for their non-promotion. Furthermore, women's non-promotion introduces "rigidities" into the domestic arena: men's promotion has an effect on the family in that it demands family support, and requires women to take on a greater amount of domestic work. However, this situation does not work in reverse, Battagliola maintains. Women who are promoted cannot expect a shift in family responsibilities and support in order to encompass their new responsibilities in paid employment. Thus, she argues, equal opportunities legislation aimed specifically at women (in effect, if not in intention) is not necessarily having a positive effect on women's chances of occupational advancement. In turn, this lack of promotion promotes a segregated situation in the household, with women taking on more and more of the domestic labour, as their husbands receive promotion. The issue of gendered social policy, and the possibly negative effect of measures designed to smooth the home/employment
relationship is of great importance, and one which is discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

Battagliola concludes that, even with the same educational qualifications, French office work provides an arena for men's advancement, but not for women's. This confirms Cromptons's research into British clerical working, summed up thus:

"...women, even when employed by large-scale white-collar bureaucracies within which careers are technically possible, do not progress through the career hierarchy."

(Crompton, 1986:123).

Crompton & Jones' in-depth study of British women and men clerical workers in four contrasting workplaces concludes that domestic factors directly impinge on women clerks' chances of promotion (Crompton & Jones, 1984). They suggest that the combination of the high numbers of women with no qualifications on entry and their propensity to withdraw from the labour force is a major cause of clerical workers' relatively poor rate of promotion. Many women clerical workers fail to acquire relevant post-entry qualifications before they leave the labour market. At the point of entry, women and men in Crompton & Jones' study tended to have a broadly similar level of school qualifications, yet in the 35-50 age group, 55% of the men had achieved "relevant post-entry qualifications", compared with only 3% of the women. However, these figures do not refer to the same cohort; there may well be generational effects here which could account for at least some of the gender differences in qualifications. In addition, Crompton & Jones, acknowledging their limited sample size, make no claim for representativeness.
Another French study of the interaction between the domestic and paid employment spheres amongst officewomen suggests that the demands of the home are the principal reasons behind women's restricted employment opportunities (Barrère-Maurisson et al, 1985). Women, this study argues, have their pay and conditions structured by the interaction between family and paid employment; they accept low pay, underemployment and poor prospects of advancement if the job fits their domestic requirements. Thus:

"... the 'choice' of a job is very strongly influenced by her having to seek one which offers the best conditions for her to carry out this domestic work: the overriding criterion is that she should be out of the house for the shortest possible time. Thus, the distance from the workplace, the possibilities offered by the firm as to the working conditions (notably the hours to be worked) are the points primarily considered, long before the requirements of the job or the level of wage offered."

(Barrère-Maurisson et al, 1985:442)

Women's paid employment suffers, therefore, from the effects of domestic responsibilities - primarily of marriage and children. This picture of women's employment motivations appears unlikely to lead to promotion. However, a contrast probably needs to be made here with professional workers, such as teachers. It seems unlikely that the case for the home/employment interaction could be made so strongly for professional workers, who could, for example resolve some of this tension by buying in domestic labour. Thus, children might well have a lesser effect on women's employment patterns in teaching, since hours of work coincide more conveniently with school hours and holidays, and because pay is higher. Some of the tension between home and employment may be resolved by buying in...
domestic labour.

There is also evidence from France that married women in clerical work fail to achieve promotion because their domestic responsibilities intrude upon their ability to acquire qualifications (Pitrou & Guelaud, 1986; Appert, 1977). Appert's study of women in banking shows that, although women and men entered the occupation with similar levels of qualifications, that women gradually fell behind their male counterparts, as the demands of marriage (time, domestic work, children) impinged upon their ability to acquire qualifications. Many of these qualifications had to be acquired outside workhours in evening classes, increasing the likelihood that married women would fail to participate. In addition, geographical mobility is a requisite for promotion in French banking. In urban areas, this can mean a simple transfer from one branch to another. However, in rural areas, removal from one area to another may be necessary. Appert (1977) makes the point that for married women this may not be possible.

In Britain also, geographical mobility is likely to be an important ingredient in occupational achievement in certain sorts of white-collar work (Crompton & Jones, 1984: 82), whilst in others it is unbroken length of service which creates the necessary climate. In banking, they argue, geographical mobility is essential for promotion, even at the clerical level, and certainly at the managerial level. By contrast, in the insurance company studied by Crompton & Jones (1984), employees were promoted on the basis of employment continuity.
Many women, of course, are disadvantaged in relation to both of these strategies. Married women with and without children tend to be restricted in their geographical mobility - hence reducing their chances of promotion in banking - but they also fall down on the continuity requirement, because of family formation. Women in the Crompton & Jones study tended to leave the labour market, sometimes only for a relatively short period, at a crucial time for their promotion, precisely when their male peers were starting to acquire qualifications and to be promoted.

There is some rather limited evidence from both Britain and France that some married women officeworkers tend not to seek promotion (Pitrou & Guelaud, 1986; Crompton & Jones, 1984). For example, of the women in the Crompton & Jones study, only 62% expressed an interest in promotion, compared to 85% of men. However, these are both small-scale studies, which do not claim national representativeness. In addition, as Crompton & Jones say, these differences in attitude may only express the realities of the organisation (Crompton & Jones, 1984: 152). This point is given empirical weight in Battagliola's study of public sector officeworkers in France: both women and men showed a high level of ambition at the start of their employment. However, as the women saw their male counterparts gain promotion, whilst they themselves did not, their ambition lessened (Battagliola, 1984). By contrast with Britain, however, these women officeworkers did not have a history of employment discontinuity, or of part-time working at the time of family formation. Therefore, their relative lack of occupational achievement could not be attributed to
discontinuity; other explanations, such as employer discrimination, may have been responsible.

The difficulty of officeworkers in returning to their original occupation is shown by a comparison of the occupational distribution of full-time and part-time women workers in Britain, since this gives an indication of the occupations held by women before a break for family formation (typically full-time working) and after such a break (typically part-time working). Evidence from the New Earnings Survey 1988 shows that 41% of the full-time female labour force were in clerical work, compared with only 25% of the part-time female labour force (Metcalf & Leighton, 1989: Table 3.3.1). Clerical jobs are likely to be constructed on a full-time basis; even when part-time jobs exist, they will almost always be day-time jobs. Many British women working part-time are in fact working in the evenings and at weekends, when partners can look after children (Martin & Roberts, 1984).

6. Summary of chapter
This chapter has reviewed empirical work on the relationship between women's domestic circumstances, their employment patterns and their occupational achievement. The reduction of geographical mobility caused by domestic responsibilities, a possible unwillingness to try for promotion, and employer discrimination are some of the factors found in previous research to be explanations of married women's relative lack of occupational achievement. Previous work suggests that the effect of children on employment patterns and on occupational achievement may be different in France and Britain. These
factors have been discussed more specifically in relation to teaching and officeworking, and will be taken up at the end of the next chapter.

In the following chapter, the notion of an 'occupational situation' is developed; this relates to a theoretical position based on Beechey's (1983) standpoint, first introduced in Chapter 3. At the end of the next chapter, a series of expectations are drawn out, which form the focus of the analysis chapters, Chapters 8-11. These are based both on the review of previous work on the relationship between domestic circumstances and women's employment, discussed in this chapter, and on the socio-structural context of these two occupations in France and Britain, referred to as 'occupational situations', developed in the following chapter.
Chapter 6: 'Occupational situations'

1. Introduction

In this chapter, the social, structural and policy aspects of French and British teaching and officeworking are described and discussed. The aim of this is to develop the notion of how a combination of these aspects (referred to as the 'occupational situation') may help an understanding of the relationship between domestic circumstances and women's employment in particular occupations in a particular social and cultural context. Thus, the term 'occupational group' is used to refer to the occupational title 'teacher' or 'officeworker', whilst the term 'occupational situation' refers to the combination of structural, social and policy aspects which underpin each occupational group in each country.

Teaching is schoolteaching, although some initial analyses in Chapters 8 and 9 use a wider definition which includes teachers of post-school age pupils. For the purposes of this chapter, however, the definition is that of teaching children of compulsory school age, roughly 5-16 years. Officeworking refers to the clerical occupations in the white-collar group described in Appendix 10.1 and 11.2, as well as in Chapter 10, footnote 1 and Chapter 11, footnote 1.

The following explanation of the 'occupational situation' is also a justification of the choice of the two occupational groups. The ways in which they compare and contrast both in terms of their structure and in terms of their social and cultural context make them particularly interesting as case
2. The employment context: the notion of an 'occupational situation'

In Chapter 3, theoretical approaches to the explanation and prediction of women's employment patterns were described, and Beechey's argument was focused upon and expanded for the purposes of this thesis. Briefly, Beechey (1983) states that features such as the ideology and constraints of women's primary responsibility for dependents, as well as the construction over time of gender within the occupation in question need to be examined. In order to take on board the comparative cross-national aspect of this thesis, an aspect was added which relates specifically to particular social policies in France and Britain. In addition, a more precise consideration of the nature of different sorts of labour markets was built into the model.

In this chapter, this approach is operationalised with reference to four 'occupational situations': (1) French teaching, (2) British teaching, (3) French officeworking/clerical working (4) British officeworking/clerical working. Table 6.1 presents the structural, social and policy differences/similarities between these four occupational situations.

Table 6.1 has also been put into the form of a figure (Figure 6.1). The advantage of the figure over the table is that it shows more clearly those aspects which are common to occupations, and/or common to countries. Aspects of Table 6.1
and Figure 6.1 are discussed in turn below.

Table 6.1: 'Occupational situations': general and specific aspects of teaching and officeworking in Britain and France

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French teaching</th>
<th>French officeworking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- occupationally based with pre-entry qualification</td>
<td>- organisationally based with mainly post-entry qualification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 'job protection'</td>
<td>- 'job protection' (especially in public sector)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- extensive state daycare</td>
<td>- extensive state daycare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- relatively short work hours</td>
<td>- relatively long work hours (but shorter in public sector)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- relatively well paid</td>
<td>- relatively badly paid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- traditional domestic division of labour</td>
<td>- traditional domestic division of labour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British teaching</th>
<th>British officeworking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- occupationally based with pre-entry qualification</td>
<td>- organisationally based with mainly post-entry qualification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- limited 'job protection'</td>
<td>- limited 'job protection'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- limited state daycare</td>
<td>- limited state daycare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- relatively short work-hours</td>
<td>- relatively long work-hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- relatively well paid</td>
<td>- relatively badly paid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- traditional domestic division of labour</td>
<td>- traditional domestic division of labour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 6.1: General and specific aspects of teaching and officeworking in Britain and France
2.1. Occupationally based and organisationally based occupations

It is theorised here that teaching in both countries is an occupationally based occupation, whilst officeworking is organisationally based in both countries. The distinction between occupationally and organisationally based occupations is a structural one which relates to the nature of different sorts of labour markets (Althauser & Kalleberg, 1981; Kalleberg & Berg, 1987). A first distinction is made between external and internal labour markets. Internal labour markets (ILM's) contain job ladders which provide the means of upward occupational mobility; external labour markets do not. Internal labour markets can be further distinguished according to whether they are occupationally based, or organisationally based. Those without internal labour markets contain workers who tend to be unable to exert social closure and often have little bargaining power. Most part-time workers would, according to Dale (1987), be categorised in such labour markets.

Althauser & Kalleberg's distinction is useful in creating a conceptual framework within which women's chances of occupational achievement can be idealised, and it is used here in a slightly modified form to encapsulate the differences between teaching and officeworking. The term 'occupationally based' is used to denote an occupation, such as teaching, where entry - at the bottom of the job ladder - is dependent upon the prior acquisition of the appropriate qualifications. Upward mobility can be achieved either within the same institution (in the case of teaching, the same school) or by changing
institutions, but remaining within the same occupation (teaching).

Organisationally based internal labour markets, by contrast, do not typically require a set of qualifications prior to entry (although the possession of particular qualifications may allow for entry at higher points in the job ladder). Officeworking (the clerical end of the white-collar working classification used in this thesis, see Appendix 10.1 and 11.2) provides an example of an organisationally based ILM. Advancement is generally achieved via the acquisition of qualifications which may be specific to the organisation, or else by gaining experience in that organisation. Civil Service qualifications are an example of this, as are the various banking and insurance examinations. Upward mobility is usually (but not always) achieved within the organisation where the qualifications were acquired. Thus, the structural features of the two occupations are common to the two countries.

The difference in the nature of the job ladders - occupationally or organisationally specific - is particularly important if there is discontinuity of employment. Since discontinuity of employment is at a higher level amongst British women, this distinction may be particularly important for British women. If women employed in an occupationally based occupation (teaching) break their employment, they may be able to get back into the occupation (but not necessarily the same institution) with more ease than those in an organisationally based occupation. In the organisationally based occupation (officeworking), any qualifications acquired
in the period before the employment break may be specific to the previous organisation, and not readily transferable to another organisation.

Dale (1987) makes the case that part-time working, even in occupationally based labour markets such as teaching, does not tend to be part of an ILM, since it provides little or no opportunity for occupational mobility. Part-time working, Dale says, is constructed by employers as such. It provides little job protection, is unable to exert social closure, and does not tend to be organisationally-specific. This is undoubtedly the case for much of British part-time working. However, French part-time working is considerably more protected, as a later section in this chapter explains. Thus, it is likely that the distinction made between British full-time and part-time working cannot be made in the same way for France. Indeed, it is hypothesised in Chapter 6 that part-time officeworkers in France may be in a better position to secure occupational advancement than British part-time officeworkers. This is explored in the relevant analysis chapters (Chapters 10 and 11).

2.2. Pre-entry and post-entry qualifications

Teaching in both countries is an occupation demanding pre-entry qualifications, whilst officeworking is primarily a post-entry qualification occupation in both countries. However, a comment needs to be made here in relation to officeworking. The way in which officeworking has been defined in this thesis means that around a quarter of officeworkers are secretaries/typists. These jobs may not require post-entry
qualifications, since promotion to supervisory levels may be done on the basis of experience/length of service. The remaining three-quarters of the group are principally in banking and insurance, where post-entry qualifications are generally required.

The distinction between occupations which demand pre-entry qualifications, and those where qualifications can be acquired after entry is a particularly significant one for women. In societies such as Britain and France, where women take the prime responsibility for domestic labour (including the care of children), it is important to acquire qualifications before these domestic responsibilities make demands on women's personal resources (time, energy).

In addition, the distinction between occupations requiring pre- and post-entry qualifications is particularly important for British women, because of their tendency to have discontinuous employment patterns. Women in Britain, rather more than in France (although this varies considerably by occupation, as shown in this thesis), tend to break their employment continuity by leaving the labour market at the time of family formation, and returning after a break of a few years, often in a part-time capacity. In an occupation where women have an occupationally specific qualification, qualifications will typically have been gained before the period out of paid employment takes place. Re-entry to the labour market may be considerably easier in this situation than in an occupation without specific qualification requirements (Newell & Joshi,
The essential difference is between an occupation where the qualification provides an almost automatic passport to entry and re-entry, and one where experience and skills have been acquired within the organisation, and may not therefore be readily transferable to another organisation. As Joshi (1989) says:

"Women with paper qualifications were more successful at re-entering their original occupation than employees of banks and public administration whose skills, we surmise, were more specific to the employer."

(Joshi, 1989: 170)

In addition, re-entry into an occupationally-based occupation at the previous level of employment may be accomplished more easily, but, in Britain, generally only if this is in a full-time capacity (Dale, 1987).

Teaching qualifications in both France and Britain will probably have been acquired before marriage, and before family formation. The acquisition of qualifications in officeworking (for example, banking or insurance examinations) is more likely to be done after a possibly early marriage, and perhaps during family formation; some of it may have to be done via evening classes, as well as through on-the-job training. Studying for examinations will probably have to be done at weekends and in the evenings. Under these circumstances, it is readily understandable why, for women with traditional domestic responsibilities, the acquisition of qualifications which allow for advancement in clerical/administrative jobs is considerably more difficult than it is for young single trainee teachers studying full-time. Thus, teaching, with its requirement for pre-entry qualification, has an advantage in this respect over
office working. It is furthermore likely that this structural
distinction between the two occupations is equally relevant for
both France and Britain.

However, the greater ease of re-entry to the labour market in
France, especially for women in the public sector (the largest
single employer of women in France), may mean that the effect
of the distinction is less important in France than in Britain.
In addition, French women are rather unlikely to leave the
labour market; therefore the issue of re-entry is less likely
to arise. Whilst for British women, being in a pre-entry or a
post-entry qualification occupation may be a major determinant
of employment patterns, and possibly of occupational
achievement, this distinction may be less important in France.

2.3. 'Job Protection'

Policies which affect continuity and discontinuity of women's
employment in France and Britain are discussed in this section.
A distinction is made here between 'employment protection'
which, in British terminology, means a range of measures which
trade unions have won for employees, and 'job protection', a
term used here to refer specifically to measures which enable
the effects of discontinuity of employment, or of changes in
employment patterns, to be minimised. This is a concept which
is less familiar in Britain than in France. In France, the
group of employees which have an extreme form of job protection
are tenured public sector workers. Many French public sector
workers ('fonctionnaires titulaires') have the right to a 'job
for life'. If they leave employment in the civil service, they
can subsequently re-enter at the same level. This is self-
evidently important for women who leave employment for family formation. Various types of 'job protection' policies are discussed below.

2.3.1. Job protection: movement between full-time and part-time working

Since 1971, French public sector workers have had the right to work half-time if they so wish and/or their circumstances demand. Since 1982, they have also had the right to specify the proportion of a full-time job which they work (80%, 70%, 60%, 50%). They are subsequently able to demand back their job full-time. Private sector employees theoretically also have this right, but the decision to allow them to do this rests with the employer (Bue & Cristofari, 1986). These different legislative contexts lead Bue & Cristofari to say that French public sector part-time work is supply-led, whilst private sector part-time work is more likely to be non-voluntary, and hence demand-led. Since French teachers are employed in the public sector, they also benefit from the ability to move between part-time and full-time working. Whether it is advisable from the point of view of occupational achievement for teachers to do so is another issue. Although teaching is part of the public sector, and teachers are therefore able to move between full-time and part-time working, part-time teaching posts in France tend to be supply teaching posts. These have a reduced potential for occupational advancement. Therefore the ability of French public sector officeworkers to retain the same job on a part-time basis and to move back to it when appropriate for the employee is unlikely to be attractive for French teachers.
On the whole, however, French part-time working, especially in the public sector, carries with it fewer disadvantages than it does in Britain. Hantrais, in her study of well-qualified French and British women describes part-time working thus:

"Part-time was therefore a convenient compromise, but also generally a temporary expedient, which was not considered to be detrimental to status and promotional opportunities and could readily be exchanged for full time when their children were older..."

(Hantrais, 1990: 89)

By contrast, in Britain, a move from full-time to part-time working is likely to mean considerable downward mobility (Martin & Roberts, 1984; Dale, 1987). There is no equivalent British policy which safeguards the jobs of women who seek to move between full-time and part-time working, unless this is individually negotiated with employers.

2.3.2. 'Job protection': rights relating to part-time working

British part-time working carries with it considerably fewer employment rights than French part-time working. In Britain, there is no specific legislation relating to part-time work. Instead, the rights of part-time workers are defined in the Employment Protection Act 1978. Employees have to work at least 16 hours per week for a minimum of two years with the same employer, or at least 8 hours per week for a minimum of five years with the same employer to be entitled to certain employment rights. These include redundancy payment, maternity pay, the right not to be unfairly dismissed, and the right to return to work after maternity absence. Britain, alone amongst European Community countries, has refused to agree to the European Community Directive on part-time working,
ensuring that this remains a draft directive for all member countries (1). Thus, large numbers of British part-time workers remain largely unprotected, and particularly prone to discontinuity of employment. The degree of flexibility afforded to employers by the use of such labour is of course high, and the non-payment of National Insurance contributions for part-time workers earning below a certain level makes them an attractive proposition for employers.

In contrast to this, there is no financial incentive for French employers to employ part-time workers, and indeed, prior to legislation in 1981 designed to give part-time workers greater protection, it was more expensive for employers to use part-time labour than full-time (Garnsey, 1984). In the 1981 legislation, French part-time workers were given the same employment rights as full-time workers, pro rata the number of hours they worked. Furthermore, their cost to the employer for social security payments was made, pro rata, the same as full-timers. Prior to this legislation, employers incurred extra costs through the employment of part-time workers; there is now an official policy of 'neutrality', meaning that for neither employer nor employee does part-time working involve financial penalties. Thus, French part-time workers have sick pay, holiday entitlements, maternity leave, maternity pay and so on, in proportion to the number of hours worked. In addition, they are guaranteed the same rights as full-time workers with regard to seniority; they cannot lose seniority or promotion because they work part-time (Hantrais, 1990). The pro rata condition applies to those who work up to 20 hours per week or 85 hours per month. Above this, part-time workers are regarded as full-
time workers in terms of their employment rights (Garnsey, 1984).

In sum, British part-time working carries with it penalties in terms of continuity of employment. For example, part-time workers can be dismissed without any opportunity for redress. In addition, many have no right to return to their jobs after childbirth. French part-time working carries with it no such penalties. The guarantee of safeguards on seniority may be a particularly important element in protecting French part-time workers against downward occupational mobility.

2.3.3. 'Job protection': rights relating to childbirth and the bringing up of children

French public sector employees have had the right since 1976 (law of 9 July) to two years' leave after the birth of a child. The leave is usually unpaid, but employers sometimes pay a full or partial salary (Hantrais, 1990). This benefit became available to private sector firms of more than 200 employees in 1977 (law of 16 July), but only available to the whole working population in 1984 (law of 4 January), on the condition that the parent taking the leave has been with the employer for at least one year. Firms with less than 100 employees can refuse permission to take parental leave, if they can show that allowing it would be detrimental to the firm (ILO, 1988). Parents (but as it turns out, principally women) are therefore, generally, able to bridge the gap between the age of 0 and 2 years of a child, when daycare provision (see below) is at a relatively low level. Disregarding the 1984 extension of the law, which is unlikely to affect employment patterns of women

136
in the 1985 Enquête Emploi, the data used in this study, it can be seen that this form of job protection is more comprehensive for the public sector.

By contrast, the British government has consistently refused to consider unpaid parental leave measures. This refusal has meant that the European Community's proposed Directive on parental leave has remained in draft form since 1983. Of European Community countries, only Britain and Ireland have no provision for parental leave. The British government's view, backed up by the Confederation of British Industry, has been that such measures, along with those which would improve employment protection for part-time workers, would have a negative effect on the flexibility of labour required by employers (Rights of Women Europe, 1983; Hantrais, 1990).

The cost of daycare is also recognised by the French state. A childminding allowance is payable to parents in employment for children up to the age of three. Furthermore, 25% of childminding expenses can be deducted from taxable income (ILO, 1988). In Britain, no allowance is made for daycare costs. Indeed, it is only recently (1990) that the British taxation system stopped penalising parents for their use of workplace nurseries. Up to that time, daycare of this sort was seen as a 'perk', and therefore subject to taxation; the contrast between the two countries is amply demonstrated by this example.

Both Britain and France have maternity leave measures. These are summarised in Table 6.2 below. The details given in this table represent the statutory maternity leave provisions;
enhanced terms can also be negotiated through agreements between employees and employers. The civil service and local authorities offer somewhat enhanced terms to their employees (Hantrais, 1990).

Table 6.2: Maternity leave, France and Britain, 1988

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Eligibility</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Payment</th>
<th>Job Security</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>all women in employment are eligible</td>
<td>total of 16 to 28 weeks, depending on the number of children already in the household and including extensions for illness or multiple births. Starts 6 to 10 weeks before birth and 10 to 22 weeks after birth</td>
<td>Daily allowances of 84% of the average basic pay for the previous three months</td>
<td>Right to return to the same job. Pregnancy cannot be a ground for refusing to recruit a woman or for terminating employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>Women who have, at the beginning of the 11th week before birth, 2 years' continuous service of at least 16 hours with the same employer, or 5 years' continuous service of between 8 and 16 hours per week. Women who work less than 8 hours per week have no right to maternity leave. (see (a) below)</td>
<td>Total of 40 weeks, 11 before childbirth and 29 after.</td>
<td>6 weeks at 90% of the previous salary; 12 weeks at 50% of the previous salary; no pay for the remaining period.</td>
<td>Right to return to the same job, but employer can also offer alternative similar work, if small firm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: adapted from International Labour Office (1988), Conditions of work digest, 7, 2, Geneva (pages 98 & 137)

(a) Since 1987, a flat rate element is also payable to women who have completed at least 26 weeks of service, and who have paid National Insurance contributions for at least 8 weeks. This amounted to around £33 weekly in 1987.
The principal differences between the French and British systems of maternity provision are, firstly, the level of pay, and, secondly, the eligibility regulations. Although British maternity leave is quite substantially longer than French maternity leave, it involves a considerable drop in income. Whilst 84% of previous income is paid to French women for the whole maternity leave, British women receive less as time goes on, with the final part of the leave being unpaid. Eligibility for statutory maternity leave is unrestricted in France; this means that there is no length of service requisite, and that part-time workers are eligible for maternity leave and pay, at a level which is proportionate to the hours which they work. Only 54% of working pregnant women in the UK qualify for statutory maternity leave and pay, because of the two-year continuous employment and minimum 16 hours per week requirement (ILO, 1988: 265). This point is explored further in the section below on part-time working. In addition, since 1980, employers with fewer than five employees do not have to reinstate eligible women in the same job, if they can show this is not practical (Hantrais, 1990).

In sum, the differences in maternity leave and payment between the two countries mean that French women are able to ensure continuity of employment with considerably greater ease than British women. Hantrais (1990) argues that the two countries have markedly different attitudes towards maternity leave. This is exemplified by the fact that when British women take statutory maternity leave, they are deemed to have terminated their contract. Although those who have fulfilled the necessary conditions are guaranteed their jobs back at the end
of the leave, they have forfeited their rights during that period to benefits such as paid leave, pay rise and promotion. By contrast, French women on maternity leave continue to be seen as employees, thus not forfeiting their rights in the same way as British women have to. In addition, since 1988, maternity leave has been counted as a period of employment in estimating length of service.

2.3.4. Discussion of 'job protection' measures

It is evident from this account of the various measures which come under the umbrella of 'job protection' that France has a more comprehensive set of policies than does Britain. These advantages, combined with the range of employment rights which part-time working carries in France, are likely to mean that discontinuity of employment and part-time working, which tend to imply downward mobility in Britain are less likely to have such an effect in France, particularly in public sector employment. Thus, it could be hypothesised, solely on the basis of an examination of these sorts of policies, that the relationship between women's domestic circumstances, their employment patterns and their occupational achievement should be less acute in France than in Britain. However, as this thesis seeks to show, factors other than policy need to be taken into consideration; whilst particular policies may ease the relationship between domestic constraints and employment, it does not follow that they necessarily affect occupational achievement.

It is difficult to know what the effect might be on women's employment of taking advantage of 'job protection' policies.
As Battagliola (1984) argues (see Chapter 5), they may be a two-edged sword; women may be able to combine home and employment needs more successfully, but there may be consequences in terms of a slowing up of promotion, or the possibility that promotion remains static. Downward mobility may not ensue, but occupational achievement may not be at the level that it would have been at if these measures had not been taken advantage of. This is perhaps particularly a problem with those which allow for long absences from work, such as parental leave. The tendency for these measures to be taken up by mothers, but not by fathers, is a particularly important point, and may go some way towards explaining the lack of occupational achievement of the French women in Battagliola’s study. Thus, while re-entry and continuity may be considerably less of a problem for French women than for British women, there may be other issues of a more long-term nature which need to be considered. These cannot, however, be the principal subject of this thesis, since work-history data are necessary for the study of such questions. Nevertheless, the point remains that even if women benefit from measures which diminish levels of discontinuity, it should not be expected that they will have similar levels of occupational achievement with men. They may have employment patterns which more closely resemble those of men, but their occupational achievement may not be markedly improved by these measures. This is an important policy issue, and one which is returned to in Chapter 12.

2.4. The provision of daycare in Britain and France

Historical aspects of daycare policy have already been covered
in Chapter 2. In this section, details are given of the extent and coverage of daycare and out-of-school provision in the two countries.

The provision of these is markedly different in France and Britain. Comparison of the levels of daycare in Western European countries has shown that France provides a high level of state-funded, subsidised daycare (measured in terms of the number of places available for children of a particular age), whilst Britain provides a severely restricted level (Moss, 1988).

There is no current statutory obligation on central or local government in Britain to provide daycare facilities for children less than five years old, or for out-of-school facilities for school-age children. Local authorities have the power (but not the obligation) to spend whatever proportion they see fit of the block grant on such facilities. The result of this is a generally low level, with considerable regional diversity (ILO, 1988: 265). Only around 2% of British children under the age of 3 years are in any kind of publicly funded daycare; only some of this is full-time (Moss, 1988). Publicly funded daycare for children in this age group is essentially a 'social work' service for children defined by the state (personal social service departments) as being 'at risk' (Moss, 1988). Cohen (1990) argues that the restriction of state daycare to children in severe social disadvantage creates a stigmatised service.

The remainder of British daycare is composed of a variety of
privately funded measures. The General Household Survey (GHS) 1986 showed that childminding was the most common form of daycare used by women working full-time (OPCS, 1987). However, the GHS did not ask about 'household' daycare, where care of children is undertaken by a member of the family. Although now ten years out of date, the Women & Employment Survey indicated that, for children of women working full-time, grandmothers were the most common form of daycare, and for those working part-time, husbands were the most common form (Martin & Roberts, 1984). The British government of the 1980s believes that daycare arrangements are not an appropriate area for public provision. Towards the end of the 1980s, when demographic trends showed that women would be required in the workplace to make up for the shortfall of young people, there was a move from central government to encourage private industry to make daycare provision available. There are no figures available for the number of workplace nurseries set up, but it seems unlikely that more than a handful are currently operating (Cohen, 1990; Hardey & Glover, forthcoming). Since almost all British daycare is privately funded, the cost to parents of daycare can be high. This is self-evidently an important point for women on low salaries, and one which is taken up again in a later section of this chapter. An additional problem with British daycare is that the issue of out-of-school care (after school, half-terms and school holidays) is almost entirely ignored. Although information is lacking on the subject, it is estimated that only 0.2% of 5-9 year old children in the UK have access to any form of out-of-school care (Cohen, 1990).
The level of provision of daycare in France is considerably higher than in Britain. Having said this, however, it is important to note that there is discontent in France about the extent of French daycare (Baker, 1987). This relates particularly to the level of provision for children under the age of two. As in Britain, household daycare is important for this age group, and this is mostly provided by grandparents. It is rare for French husbands to be involved in daycare (Hantrais, 1990). Apart from household daycare, care of children under the age of two is provided by a range of agencies, almost all state-controlled. Recent government policy has been to increase the number of places; between 1986 and 1988, there was an increase of 14% in the nursery provision for children under the age of 2 years (Moss, 1988). An additional shortcoming is that daycare provision is not evenly spread; it tends to be concentrated in the metropolitan areas (Leprince, 1987). Nevertheless, in comparison with British daycare, the level of provision for all ages in France is markedly superior.

The 'ecole maternelle' (state nursery school) provides the backbone of French daycare provision. Although schooling is not compulsory in France until the age of 6, 94% of children aged 3-6, and 35% of 2-3 year olds are enrolled full-time at an 'ecole maternelle' (Leprince, 1987). This provides all-day care for these children. For older children, all-day care is ensured through a system of supervised homework when the school day is over. A range of holiday clubs, and Wednesday clubs (French schools are closed on Wednesdays), many of them supported by the state, provide facilities which help women to
combine domestic responsibilities and employment.

Almost all daycare in France is state-provided, although employers make an indirect contribution. Employers are obliged to pay a payroll tax, which is given over to the local family allowance fund, the Caisse d'Allocations Familiales. Local daycare provision is then set up by these associations, and by local municipalities according to strict central government standards of provision (Walters, 1985). It is interesting to note that daycare, although partly financed by employers, is not employer-based. The idea of the workplace nursery has long been abandoned in France in favour of local provision (Phillips, 1989). This is an interesting point in view of current British government pressure on industry to set up workplace provision (House of Commons Employment Committee, Minutes 18.1.89). Because French daycare is subsidised by the state, the full cost of provision does not have to be borne by parents, as is almost always the case in Britain. Fees are calculated according to level of household income and to the number of children in the family (Walters, 1985).

The availability of daycare is of clear importance for women's employment in countries where women take prime responsibility for domestic labour, including care of children. The low level of affordable provision in Britain is undoubtedly one of the reasons why women with children leave the labour force at the time of family formation, and return some time later, often in a part-time capacity. By contrast, the high level of state-subsidised provision in France is undoubtedly one of the reasons why there is more of a tendency for women in the labour
force to work full-time, and continuously. Thus, it is likely to be an important factor in explaining the difference in French and British women's employment patterns; however, as it is argued in this thesis, it does not necessarily follow that daycare provision has a positive effect on occupational achievement. The level of provision is undoubtedly a factor affecting the supply of labour, and the form which the supply takes, but it seems unwise to exaggerate its importance in equalising women's opportunities in the labour market.

Moreover, daycare provision does not affect all occupations in similar ways. Teaching is the occupation where, in both countries, the provision of after-school, holiday and half-term daycare provision matters the least of any occupational group. This is because teachers' work-hours largely coincide with their children's school-hours, on a daily, weekly, and yearly basis. Thus, it could be expected that the employment patterns of women teachers with children in both France and Britain would be largely similar, and that, furthermore, they would be largely unaffected by the level of daycare provision. However, the provision of pre-school daycare remains an issue which affects teachers' labour force participation. The provision of daycare before the age of 2 years is considerably less widespread in France than after this age; in Britain, it is at a low level up to the age of 5 years (and even lower for children over this age). Therefore, some effect of this gap in provision would be expected to show itself in the employment patterns of both French and British women teachers.

In occupations such as officeworking, by contrast, the issue of
daycare provision, both pre-school and after-school, becomes considerably more important. In such occupations, full-time working hours are difficult if, as in Britain, both pre-school and after-school provision is at a low level. Therefore, it could be expected that, of the two occupational groups in the two countries, the employment patterns of British officeworkers would be the most affected by a low level of daycare provision.

2.5. Pay and work-hours

In Table 6.1, it was stated that in French and British teaching, pay was relatively high, and work-hours (disregarding time spent in the home on activities such as marking and preparation) relatively short. By contrast, in French and British officeworking, pay was relatively low, and work-hours relatively long. These points are discussed here because of their relationship with daycare provision. The issue of pay is an important one, especially in Britain, where daycare is almost entirely unsubsidised by the state. If teachers do require daycare, for example for pre-school children, then the cost of daycare is likely to be less of a problem than for other less well-paid occupations.

Turning to officeworkers, typically poorly paid, and working relatively long hours, the issue of the availability and affordability of daycare is considerably more crucial than for teachers. Here, there is likely to be a clear difference between France and Britain. In France, because daycare is widely available, and subsidised to those on low incomes, officeworkers are likely to be able to bridge the gap between domestic responsibilities and employment with considerably more
ease than in Britain. British officeworkers, faced with a lack of affordable daycare, may well find that it is not worth their while staying in the labour market. The British part-time workers who use 'household daycare' (principally husbands) are likely to be working early in the morning or in the evening, so that husbands who work during the day can cover daycare. However, this is unlikely to be feasible for part-time working which takes place during normal office-hours, when husbands are unlikely to be available. As a result, of the four 'occupational situations' considered here, the constraint of inadequate daycare provision is probably most acute for British officeworkers.

2.6. Domestic division of labour
The concept of patriarchy was discussed in Chapter 3. To recap, patriarchy was seen by a number of French and British writers to be at the basis of women's disadvantage in the labour market. Various manifestations of patriarchy were discussed. For example, the view was expressed that marital relations, often founded on emotional and financial dependency, can be threatened by women's paid employment, particularly if it allows women to become socially and financially autonomous (Maruani, 1984; Laufer, 1984). Both the ideology of patriarchy, and the concrete constraints brought about by patriarchy are considered as relevant features in the discussion here of the 'occupational situation'. Ideological aspects refer to the relations of power and dependency upon which patriarchy is based. Thus, for example, women and men might make certain sorts of assumptions about women's role in the domestic sphere and in the labour market which would be
counterproductive to women's occupational achievement. The concrete results of these norms and values relating to women's and men's roles might be that women are expected to spend considerably more time on domestic tasks, including those related to children, than men. Thus, the time and energy devoted by women to domestic responsibilities would be likely to have an effect on the time and energy that they could devote to paid employment, and to advancement within employment.

Occupational achievement is likely to require an investment of time and personal resources. For example, to be promoted as a teacher requires the acceptance that the school day will not end when the pupils go home. A supervisory officeworker job may involve unpaid overtime, perhaps with little advance notice. Promotion in many occupations requires the acquisition of qualifications beyond those needed for initial entry. Traditional domestic relations may be founded on the pattern of a woman working full-time or part-time in a relatively low level job, where the hours are regulated and tend not to vary unexpectedly. Domestic tasks can then be fitted in around employment patterns; traditional sex-roles may be maintained with relative ease in this situation. It may only be when the pressures of paid employment make inroads on the time reserved for domestic tasks that patriarchal structures may be questioned.

Cross-national data exists on women's and men's attitudes towards sex roles in the form of the European Community's Eurobarometer series. However, the view taken here is that attitudinal research of this kind may be unreliable, and
particularly so in a cross-national comparative context. One aspect of patriarchy, the domestic division of labour between women and men, is included in the idea of the 'occupational situation'. Patriarchy, as a concept which covers many aspects of private and public life, is difficult, if not impossible, to measure. This was acknowledged in early formulations of the theory, such as Hartmann (1979), who emphasised that patriarchy was not designed to be empirically tested. Nevertheless, the domestic division of labour has the potential for measurement, and this has been done in time-budget studies in both France and Britain. Amongst other aims, these studies attempt to quantify the amount of time spent by women and men within households on a range of domestic activities, including those related to children.

In both France and Britain, as demonstrated by time-budget studies in both countries, women take primary responsibility for domestic labour (Gokalp & Leridon, 1983; Glaude & de Singly, 1986; Roy, 1990; Martin & Roberts, 1984; Gershuny et al, 1986). Generally speaking, these French and British studies show that despite the rapid growth in both countries of married women in the labour force, there is only limited change in the division of domestic labour between the sexes. In Britain, the time spent by women on domestic labour has diminished somewhat over the past two decades or so, principally due to the technological development of household appliances, but the share taken by men of domestic tasks, including those related to children, has remained largely unchanged (Miles, 1990). French time budget data is extensive; the government statistics agency, INSEE, carries out a regular
nationally representative survey of the use of time, allowing for change over time to be measured. Grimler & Roy's comparison of the 1985 and the 1975 French time budget surveys showed almost no change in the domestic division of labour over ten years (Grimler & Roy, 1987, cited in Hantrais, 1990: 164). In both countries, domestic tasks such as cleaning, washing and ironing are almost entirely carried out by women. Although British men tend to have more to do with the care of children than French men (Roy, 1990), it remains clear that domestic responsibilities in both countries are largely undertaken by women.

There is some limited evidence from France that in higher level occupations, such as teaching, men take rather more responsibility for domestic tasks, including the care of children, than French men as a whole (Hantrais, 1990). However, this study is not a longitudinal one, and makes no claim for national representativeness. Hantrais sums up the situation thus:

"... even with a cooperative and understanding husband, the woman (in both countries) retained responsibility for ensuring and paying for childcare, and if the arrangements broke down or the child was sick, she felt obliged to take time off work or make alternative arrangements."

(Hantrais, 1990:165)

While there may be some small indication, then, that in higher level occupations the domestic division of labour is more evenly spread than in lower level occupations, French women take ultimate responsibility for children.
Regardless of how marriage and cohabitation partners divide up the domestic labour, it is likely, however, that teachers' higher levels of pay enable them to hire domestic labour. Although traditional, patriarchal relations may persist within the homes of people in higher level occupations, the effect of these on the time and personal resources available to women may be considerably less than in a household where the level of household income is low. Thus, patriarchy, and its effects on occupational achievement, may be mediated through salary levels.

In the model set out in Table 6.1, the unequal domestic division of labour was seen as a constant for all four 'occupational situations'. Although the effect of this may be less in both French and British teaching, for the reasons set out above, the differences in this respect between teaching and officeworking are likely to be large. The point remains that both French and British societies are largely traditional in terms of sex-roles, and that these attitudes, and the constraints which accompany them, have seen little change over time. Thus, the unequal domestic division of labour serves as a constant against which the employment patterns and occupational achievement of women in both countries need to be seen.

3. French public and private sector differences

The different employment policies to which public and private sector workers are subject have already been explained. Public sector workers are, generally speaking, more highly protected in their work, since many benefit from what is in effect a 'job
for life'. In addition, particular benefits relating to part-time working were discussed; these mean that a full-time job can become a part-time job as job-holders demand. Thus, a part-time job is not constructed as such, as appears to often be the case in Britain (Dale, 1987), but rather it is a portion of an existing full-time job, and can revert to this.

Additional benefits which affect public sector officeworkers are the rather shorter office-hours than in the private sector. This may help reduce the need for lengthy daycare provision. In addition, although public sector workers do not earn more than private sector workers (de Singly & Thelot, 1988), the female/male pay differential is less in the public sector than in the private (see Chapter 4). If, as Brannen & Moss (1990) show for Britain, daycare costs are also met out of French women's earnings, then the rather higher relative earnings of women in the public sector become an important consideration.

In the last section of this chapter, the principal points contained in Chapter 5 are referred to. These relate to the link, shown in previous research, between domestic circumstances and employment patterns/occupational achievement in teaching and in officeworking. This background is combined with the discussion in this chapter on the four 'occupational situations', in order to establish some broad expectations from the analyses to follow in Chapters 8-11.

4. Expectations of the home/employment relationship for teachers and for officeworkers

Firstly, previous research, described in Chapter 5, combined
with the different aspects discussed above, suggests that the link between home and employment is likely to be different in each 'occupational situation'. For example, French teaching combines elements which might be expected to minimise disadvantage in the labour market. These elements include the following: a structural basis which allows for ease of re-entry; location in the French public sector with its range of measures to ease the home/employment situation and to protect employment, including part-time employment; a relatively high salary which can combat to an extent the effects of the unequal domestic division of labour; daycare provision which is likely to minimise discontinuity of employment.

By contrast, British officeworking has a combination of elements which might be expected to exemplify the least opportunity for occupational achievement of the four 'occupational situations'. It combines the following elements: a structure which makes re-entry difficult; few 'job protection' policies, especially for part-time working; relatively long hours, necessitating out-of-school daycare; limited affordable daycare facilities; relatively low salary, making paying for daycare and domestic labour difficult, and probably uneconomic.

A second broad expectation is that none of the 'occupational situations' is likely to show women achieving equality with men. Employment and social policies in France may smooth the home/employment relationship, so that employment patterns may well be close to those of men, perhaps particularly in teaching. However, occupational achievement, particularly of
women with children, is unlikely to be close to that of men. This is because of factors, shown in previous research, such as restriction of geographical mobility of married women with and without children, and patriarchal relations in the workplace, and in the home. In addition, the issue of gendered social policy may be crucial here: if it is only women who take advantage of measures which ease the home/employment relationship, then, unless strict anti-discrimination laws are applied, women may fall behind in such areas as promotion and training.

Thirdly, even in an 'occupational situation' such as French teaching, where the effect of children on employment patterns and on occupational achievement is likely to be minimal, a difference is likely to remain in occupational achievement between women with children and those without. There may be many reasons for this. For example, historically, single women teachers have been preferred to married teachers; it is possible that employer discrimination persists. French daycare is less adequate for young children than for older ones, and full parental leave may have been taken to cover these first two years; this may have had an effect on subsequent promotion. Geographical mobility is necessary for some sectors of teaching; this may be difficult for married women with children.

Moving from these general points, more detailed expectations can be set out, as follows:

1. Primarily because of policy differences, part-time working
in France is more likely to be associated with occupational achievement than in Britain.

2. Within France, part-time officeworkers in the public sector would be expected to achieve at a higher level than those in the private sector.

3. British officeworkers are likely to be the most affected of all four 'occupational situations' by lack of daycare. The effect of this is likely to be seen in high levels of not working, of part-time working and in low levels of occupational achievement.

4. French public sector officeworkers are likely to have higher levels of occupational achievement than private sector officeworkers.

These expectations are examined in Chapters 8-11 for French and British teaching and officeworking, using secondary analysis of the British Labour Force Survey 1984, and the French Enquête Emploi 1985. Prior to this, Chapter 7 describes the data, definitions and methodology of these surveys.

Footnotes:

(1) Curiously, Norman Fowler, while Employment Secretary, claimed to know nothing of the British government's blocking of the EC Directive on part-time work when being questioned by the House of Commons Employment Committee. When asked by Greville Janner M.P whether the British government intended to continue blocking the Directive, Mr Fowler answered thus: "If I recall correctly, it is still at an early stage. I do not think we have blocked it to date, as I recall." (Minutes of the House of Commons Employment Committee, 18.1.89, page 16, paragraph 93)

(2) The details of these laws relating to parental leave are from Cagan (1986), available for viewing at the French government department for women's rights, the Secretariat d'Etat des Droits des Femmes, Paris.

156
1. Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the two data sets used for secondary analysis in this thesis: the Enquête Emploi (EE) and the Labour Force Survey (LFS). Key aspects of each survey, such as sample design, data collection and response rate, are described. Definitions of employment, not working and unemployment are discussed in order to determine any differences between the two surveys and to provide a background to them. After discussing the rationale for using non-harmonised data, the two occupational classifications used in the British and French data are described and discussed. Definitions used in the analyses in this thesis are explained, as well as the reasons for using particular age selections in some analyses. In the last section, the method of secondary analysis is discussed, in terms of identifying its advantages as well as its problems. Some details of the issues involved in obtaining the French data are given in this section.

In this thesis, the national versions of the British and French Labour Force Surveys are used. The European Community Labour Force Surveys (CLFS) are drawn from each country's labour force data, and are subject to a 'harmonisation' process, whereby common definitions and concepts are used. These provide a useful comparative data source for a range of descriptive statistics required by the EC. However, a considerably narrower range of variables is included in the CLFS than in the national versions of the LFS. In addition, although the 'harmonised' nature of the CLFS has advantages, it does not
always overcome the problem of the differences between national definitions (see Dale & Glover, 1990). Such data represents an attempt to harmonise definitions which may not always be amenable to harmonisation, because they are culturally too disparate (Glover, 1989). Each country's concepts and definitions are based on a combination of political, social and historical factors. To seek to 'harmonise' these into a single European definition may be heavy-handed.

Furthermore, the EC Labour Force Survey categorises occupations according to International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) (ILO, 1968, see Appendix 7.1). Such a classification is undoubtedly useful in the production of comparative descriptive statistics. However, it may well obscure important distinctions which national classifications are able to make. The French occupational classification, the PCS (Appendix 7.2, and discussed in a later section of this chapter), contains a great deal of valuable detail, much of which is lost when it is condensed into the international classification. Since one aim of this thesis is to move from the general to the specific, through conducting an in-depth study of two occupations, teaching and white-collar working, it is important to keep as much detail as possible.

However, the approach of using national data sets has the evident disadvantage of not being able to provide precise and detailed quantitative comparison of the two countries. For example, in the logit analyses used in Chapters 8-11, the French and British data cannot be put into the same model. This means that it is not possible to compare results for
France and Britain directly, in the sense of comparing scores. Therefore comparison has to take place at the level of interpretation for each country. In other words, interpretations of findings can be compared, but the scores themselves cannot.

2. The data sources

Both the LFS and the EE are hierarchically organised data sets. The EE collects data at household, individual (adult and child) level. The LFS collects data at household and individual (adult) levels. Both data sets have been flattened or rectangularised, a process which does not allow for the linking of different levels - for example of children to a particular household or family unit. Thus the University of Essex Data Archive has, since 1982, taken a number of derived variables from the LFS, prepared by OPCS, and flattened the data so that household variables can be attached to individuals. In the case of the EE, the linking of household and individual level information was done by requesting the supplier of the data, the 'Laboratoire de l'analyse secondaire et des méthodes appliquées à la sociologie' (LASMAS), to include household information on each person's record. (1) In the following section, the methodology of the LFS and the EE is described in terms of sample design, data collection and response rate.

2.1. The Labour Force Survey

The Labour Force Survey (LFS) is a nationally representative sample of private households in the UK. It is conducted by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS) on behalf of the UK government's Department of Employment. It took place
bi-annually from 1973, and from 1983 onwards, annually. Its aim is to provide population estimates of the labour force both nationally, and in its 'harmonised' European Community form, cross-nationally. Through the LFS, the UK government claims to be in a better position to frame and monitor social and economic policy (OPCS, 1986). From time to time, the LFS includes questions of interest to other Government departments (for example on housing).

There are two elements to the LFS: a quarterly survey carried out in England, Wales and Scotland, and a boost survey conducted in the whole of the UK in March-May of each year. The data from the two surveys are added together. The sampling frame is the Postcode Address File (PAF). Three strata are identified; these have different population densities and are located in different types of local authorities. For Strata I and II, single stage sampling is used, whilst for Stratum III, two-stage sampling is used. In Strata I and II, where the population is most dense, random sampling from the PAF is carried out, with a constant sampling interval. In Stratum III, where the population is the least dense, clustering is used for reasons of cost. Postcode sectors are the Primary Sampling Units and sampling is carried out using the method of Probability Proportional to Size (2). After this, there is random selection from within each sector, with a constant sampling interval calculated for that sector (OPCS, 1986:4). Sampling error is estimated to be no different for the single-stage samples (Strata I and II) than it would have been had simple random sampling been used. The sampling error was greater, however, in Stratum III, where two-stage sampling was
used (OPCS, 1986:8).

The data collection procedure involves interviewing each household member age 16 and over from the sample of private households. Institutions are excluded. A household is defined as either a person living alone at an address, or a group of people living at a main residence who either share at least one daily meal, or who share living accommodation (OPCS, 1986: 27). Face-to-face interviewing is used. Proxy interviews, where one adult gives information on other adults in the household, if absent, are allowed. In the LFS, there is a heavy use of proxy interviews; these are less reliable than personal interviews, and may give rise to more missing information (Hakim, 1982). The response rate for the LFS in 1984 was 81% (OPCS, 1986, Table 3.1). This represents 61,648 households out of a total of 76,426 eligible households (OPCS, 1986:11).

2.2. The Enquete Emploi

The Enquête Emploi (EE) (meaning a survey of employment) is a nationally representative survey covering private households. It is carried out for the French government by the Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques (INSEE). It is the basis from which the Community version of the Labour Force Survey is drawn. The EE has been conducted annually since 1968, and takes place during a 4-week period; in 1985, this was in March. The aim of the EE is to provide inter-Census information about key aspects of labour force participation, as well as information about household composition. From time to time additional subjects are
surveyed at the same time as the survey of employment. Such topics included working conditions of salaried workers in 1984, and, in 1985, older people who are not in the labour force.

Although the EE aims to provide continuity from year to year, nevertheless, some changes have been necessary since its inception. The last major change occurred in 1982, when the questionnaire was modified to take account of a revised occupational classification system and to find out information about forms of employment which were becoming increasingly important - for example fixed contract and temporary work. Previous changes included one in 1975 to encompass ILO definitions of employment and not working.

Multi-stage area sampling is used, with one-third of the sample replaced each year. Rural communes and urban districts are stratified into 210 zones, which constitute the PSUs. From each of these strata, an area is drawn, using the method of probability proportional to size sampling (PPS). Each area is then divided into blocks and a second stage of sampling takes place, using PPS, in order to identify a block, from which a further sample is drawn, again using PPS. Clusters of about 40 addresses are identified in this way and each address is the subject of an interview. Private households which are principal residences are interviewed; institutions are excluded. However some categories of respondents who are attached to the household but who are temporarily living elsewhere are included (for example pupils at boarding school and those on military service).
The sampling fraction is in the order of 1/300; this gives a target sample size of 67,000 households (INSEE, 1987:46). EE response rate is 94%. This high response rate is doubtless largely accounted for by the reminder given to households that under the law of June 7 1951, it is compulsory to comply with government demands for statistical information; individuals may be fined either by refusing to respond or by giving inaccurate information. The quid pro quo of this is that individuals have the right during a limited time period to inspect data relating to themselves and to amend this information if necessary (law of January 6 1978) (INSEE, 1985:248).

Table 7.1: principal aspects of the Enquête Emploi 1985 and the Labour Force Survey 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coverage</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>LFS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of sample</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>multi-stage area</td>
<td>principally single stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>annual (March)</td>
<td>annual (March-May) + quarterly survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit of analysis</td>
<td>hierarchical household, individual, child</td>
<td>hierarchical household, individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response rate</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achieved sample</td>
<td>63,000 households</td>
<td>62,000 households</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INSEE deals with differential response bias by replacement of partial response households by households which are matched according to certain criteria. These include geographical and household characteristics, and sex, age and employment status of head of household (INSEE, 1987:61). Thus Table 7.1, summarising key aspects of the two surveys, displays response rates for the EE only for categories of non-contact or acceptance (INSEE, 1987:50).
3. Aspects of employment status in France & the UK

Although there are many aspects common to both the Labour Force Survey and the Enquête Emploi, they were not designed to be directly comparable with one another. Copies of the LFS and EE questionnaires are in Appendix 7.5 and 7.6. In this section, the aim is to set the context of women's and men's employment in France and the UK by looking at definitions of employment status, including levels of participation and unemployment, levels of part-time working and self-employment, and family workers.

3.1. LFS and EE definitions of the labour force

The LFS defines the labour force as the proportion of a group, for example of a particular age, which is either in paid employment, or unemployed and looking for work during the reference week, or seeking work and available to start within two weeks of the reference week (OPCS, 1986: 15). Employment can be for any number of hours during the reference week. In the Enquête Emploi, labour force participation is defined as those in employment for any number of hours, together with those who are unemployed during the reference week.(3)

3.1.1. Definitions of employment and not working in the surveys

INSEE stresses the importance of adhering to ILO definitions of employment and unemployment, and indeed this was one of the reasons for changing the questionnaire design in 1975. The ILO definition of labour force participation is therefore taken as the point of reference in the French data. In line with this, employment is defined as being in employment during the reference week, even for a period as short as an hour. People
who are not at work for reasons of sickness or who are on holiday, but who have a job to return to, are included. Women on maternity leave are counted as in employment, but not those on parental leave, where either parent can take prolonged unpaid leave (INSEE 1985a: 62). This represents a departure from the ILO definition, but one which is unlikely to make a difference to results of any analyses. The definition of participation includes career armed forces ('militaires de carrière') but not those on military service, who are counted as not in employment. This also constitutes a departure from the ILO definition of employment (INSEE, 1985:19). Students are classified as not in employment. Apprentices and people on work experience are classified as in employment as long as they are being paid; if unpaid, they are counted as not in employment. Temporary employment schemes (TUC, Travaux d'Utilité Collective), which appeared for the first time in the 1985 survey, are classified as in employment, although as part-time (INSEE, 1985:193). Unpaid family workers are considered to be in employment. Secondary analysis of course allows for the labour force to be defined differently from the received definitions. For example, in some analyses, French unpaid family workers are excluded. Any exclusions or inclusions are mentioned in the analyses, where relevant.

In the LFS, full-time students are counted as employed if they were in paid employment during the reference week. Not working is defined as all those who were not in employment, and not unemployed (see below for definition of unemployment). They are mainly people under the age of 16, housewives, and people who are retired from paid employment (OPCS, 1986). An
interesting historical note relating to Britain is that up until the 1881 Census, housewives were classified as in employment (Lewis, 1984: 146). Participants in government training schemes are counted as in employment if they define themselves as such. Unpaid family workers are considered to be in employment "if the work contributes directly to a business, farm, or professional practice owned or operated by a related member of the same household" (OPCS, 1984: 46). However, there is not a separate category of unpaid family worker, and the question refers to "work for pay or profit". Therefore, it is unlikely that unpaid family workers are identified.

Table 7.2 summarises the main categories of employed and not employed in the two surveys.

Table 7.2: Categories of employed and not employed in the EE and the LFS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>LFS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>women on maternity leave</td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armed forces</td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>military service</td>
<td>not employed</td>
<td>employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>students</td>
<td>not employed</td>
<td>employed if in paid work during ref.week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporary employment schemes</td>
<td>employed (PT)</td>
<td>employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>family workers</td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>employed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The EE category of not working includes people who initially define themselves as unemployed, but who fail to fulfil the conditions of unemployment, as laid down by the ILO definition (see below in section on unemployment). Housewives constitute the bulk of those not in paid employment, however (INSEE, 1985:193).
Because of the focus on employment rather than unemployment in this thesis, and because of the cross-national basis of the research, the employed labour force definition is used for most purposes. This definition includes all those in employment (according to each country's definition, as described above) during the reference week of the survey, whether self-employed or employees, and excludes those who are registered unemployed or who are seeking employment and not in employment.

3.2. Labour force participation

Table 7.3 shows that in France, levels of labour force participation are markedly higher for men than for women. If unpaid family workers are included, just under half of the female population age 16-64 are in some form of employment. When unpaid family workers are excluded, this figure drops to 45%. As would be expected, the inclusion or exclusion of family workers makes little difference to the male participation figures, where participation is at the level of 71% of the male population age 16-64.

Compared to France, levels of labour force participation are somewhat higher for both women and men in the UK. This is probably accounted for by the considerably lower levels of young people in the French employed labour force than in Britain. This is both because of high levels of youth unemployment in France and because there are considerably higher levels of young French people in post-16 education and training than in Britain.

Aspects of Table 7.3. are discussed in turn.
Table 7.3: Employment status, women and men, France and the UK, 1985, age 16-64

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>France</th>
<th></th>
<th>UK</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>women</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>women</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed labour force, including unpaid family workers, as proportion of sample population age 16-64 of each sex</td>
<td>49.6% (27657)</td>
<td>71.4% (38509)</td>
<td>52.5% (27,514)</td>
<td>75.2% (38,644)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed labour force, excluding unpaid family workers, as proportion of sample population age 16-64 of each sex</td>
<td>45.4% (25317)</td>
<td>70.7% (38127)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed, as proportion of sample population age 16-64 of each sex</td>
<td>6.8% (3819)</td>
<td>6.2% (3349)</td>
<td>5.6% (2947)</td>
<td>9.6% (4919)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed, as proportion of employed labour force, excluding unpaid family workers*</td>
<td>6.6% (1662)</td>
<td>16.6% (6325)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time, as proportion of employed labour force ***</td>
<td>21.8% (6031)</td>
<td>2.8% (1094)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Unpaid family workers were excluded from the Enquête Emploi question on self-employment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** Unpaid family workers are included in the LFS, but it is not possible to identify them as a separate group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*** Part-time working is according to respondents' own definition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, files FRANCE11M & FRANCE11W
Labour Force Survey 1984, file LFS109

168
3.3. Self-employment in France and the UK

In the LFS, respondents define themselves as employees or as self-employed. They are told that if there is any doubt about their status, then they should define themselves according to how they are described for tax purposes (OPCS, 1984:52).

In France, the distinction between the self-employed and employees is historically a very important one; it is described as a major distinction in the French occupational categorisation (INSEE, 1985:194). As in the LFS, EE respondents define their own status as self-employed or as employees. The question was not asked of family workers, although some spouses of self-employed people may be classified as self-employed if they consider themselves partners in the family enterprise. Thus, some of the French women classified as self-employed (7% of the female employed labour force) may not be self-employed in their own right.

Self-employment is higher for men than for women in France, with 17% of the male employed labour force self-employed, compared with 7% of the female employed labour force. To an extent, there is a built-in bias in the EE in favour of self-employed men, since the question on self-employment was not asked of unpaid family workers, the majority of whom are women, as Table 7.3 shows. In the LFS, it was asked of all those in employment, which, as already shown, includes unpaid family workers. In the UK, self-employment is also more common amongst men than women; 14% of the male employed labour force were self-employed, as opposed to 6% for women.
3.4. Family workers

Although the LFS includes unpaid family workers in the labour force, it is not possible to distinguish between this group and the rest of the employed labour force, since they are not coded separately. By contrast, it is possible to make this distinction in the French data, since unpaid family workers receive a discrete coding. Thus in Table 7.3, the absence of a category for unpaid family workers in the UK is due to the conceptual basis of the British survey, and not necessarily to an actual absence of such workers from the structure of the labour market. However, it is likely that the proportions of unpaid family workers are considerably higher in France than in the UK because of the large numbers of small agricultural and commercial businesses in France, which tend to rely on unpaid family workers for their supply of labour (see Tilly & Scott, 1987, for details of the history of the family economy in France). Although the number of small agricultural businesses declined fairly sharply after 1945, numbers of unpaid family workers have remained high (Economie et Statistique, 1988). As Table 7.3 shows, they represent 8.5% of the female employed labour force.

3.5. Definitions of unemployment

Unemployment is defined in the Enquete Emploi in accordance with the French interpretation of the ILO definition. This means that the unemployed are defined as the 'PSEREP' ("population sans emploi à la recherche de l'emploi", those without employment who are looking for employment in the reference week). However people who have found a job which has not yet started are not counted as unemployed, and this
represents a departure from the ILO definition of unemployment. (4)

In the LFS, unemployment is defined as those who, in the reference week, were without paid work, were actively seeking work, or were seeking work but not doing so in the reference week because they were waiting to start a job, waiting for the results of job applications, or because they were ill or on holiday.

Table 7.3 shows that, in France, similar proportions of women and men are unemployed. By contrast, in the UK, the level of unemployment amongst men is double that for women. This may reflect the greater availability in the British economy of part-time, insecure jobs which has accompanied the growth of the service industry (see, for example, Dale, 1987); these jobs tend to be filled by women. The decline of manufacturing industry has meant a reduction in the number of full-time, manual jobs, which are usually filled by men. Whilst similar structural developments have taken place in France, women do not occupy part-time, insecure jobs in the same proportions as they do in the UK, as shown in the following section. This contrast between female unemployment rates in the two countries is a major and important difference (Benoit-Guilbot, 1987; Barrère-Maurisson et al, 1989), but it is not an issue which is explored in this thesis, where the focus is on paid employment.

3.6. Part-time/full-time labour force participation

Two ways of measuring part-time working are conventionally used in surveys. The first is self-definition, where respondents
are asked whether their employment is full-time or part-time, without any reference to the number of hours worked. The second is where the number of hours a respondent works is coded either full-time or part-time according to a cut-off point, 30 hours for example. Disadvantages relating to the first method include the possible inclusion of a very wide range of hours in the part-time category. The second method has the drawbacks that some occupations, for example teaching, may have shorter hours than other occupations, but nevertheless constitute full-time working; however, both the LFS and the EE allow for this possibility. A further disadvantage relating to this normative method of defining part-time working is that in some countries, the cut-off point may be very close to full-time workhours, whilst in others it may be more like half-time; this point is clearly of relevance to cross-national research. In addition, it would be difficult to make a decision on an appropriate number of hours for both countries. In this thesis, self-definition of part-time working is used.

As already discussed, temporary employment schemes in France (TUC) are classified as part-time, and this may account for some of the increase in the levels of part-time work in 1985, as compared with previous years when the TUC schemes were not in existence (INSEE, 1985:193). Nevertheless, levels of part-time working had been on the increase before this date; details are given below.

Table 7.3 shows that in France 22% of the female employed labour force worked part-time in 1985; in the UK, the
proportion was more than double this, with 45% of the female employed labour force working part-time. OECD figures for 1983 show that France had one of the lowest levels of female part-time working in EEC countries (OECD, 1985: Table 10, p 26). For example, in Denmark, 45% of the female workforce worked part-time, and in Germany, the equivalent figure was 30%.(5) The UK is therefore near the top end of the range by comparison with other EC countries. Part-time working is, however, increasing in both countries. It accounted for around three-quarters of employment growth in both France and Britain over the period 1973-83 (OECD, 1985:28). In France the rate of increase in the level of part-time working has accelerated since this period: it has been calculated that, between 1982 and 1986, for every 2.5 part-time jobs created, 1 full-time job disappeared (Belloc, 1987).(6) French public sector part-time working has increased considerably more sharply than in the private sector.

In Britain, between 1979 and 1985, full-time working declined by just over 1%, whilst part-time working increased by 5% (OECD, 1987: Table 21). Thus, in both countries, growth in part-time employment has been accompanied by declines in full-time working.

4. Occupational classifications

Cross-national studies can use common systems of occupational classification. Probably the best known example is the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO, known by the French as CITP, classification internationale type de professions, see Appendix 7.1).
Cross-national comparison of occupations can also be carried out on survey data which has made use of different occupational classification systems. The issue here for the secondary analyst is either to re-code both systems into a third (for example, ISCO), to re-code one classification system into the other, or to retain both classification systems. ISCO has been judged inappropriate for the this thesis, principally because it lacks the detail necessary for the research question. There may be many problems related to the process of re-coding one classification into another. Although a high degree of detail is required in both schemas in order for this strategy to be successful, inevitably detail is lost in the final product, since the most detailed classification has to be re-coded into the least. In addition, the researcher needs to have access to a large amount of background detail relating to the structure and concepts behind each classification. Perhaps most importantly, re-coding one classification into another ignores the issue that each country's classification is based on a combination of economic, social, political and historical aspects, which may be unique to that country. The preface to ISCO itself states that ideally each country needs a classification which reflects its own history, culture and economy (International Standard Classification of Occupations, ILO, 1968). The decision taken here was to retain the French and the British occupational classifications. Thus, valuable detail in the French classification was not lost. In addition, the cultural background to each classification was preserved. However, as discussed in the introductory section to this chapter, the consequences of using two distinct classifications are that direct quantitative comparisons can only be made in
general terms. Comparison across countries of within-country interpretations can, however, be made.

The French government's statistics and survey agency, INSEE (Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques), uses the PCS (Nomenclature des professions et des catégories socioprofessionnelles, INSEE 1983, see Appendix 7.2) in all government surveys. By contrast, there is a tendency in Britain to use different occupational classifications in different government surveys; this point is discussed further below. In the Labour Force Survey, the OPCS Classification of Occupations (CO80, OPCS 1980, see Appendix 7.3) is the principal classification system used, but SEG (Socio-Economic Grouping, OPCS 1980, see Appendix 7.4) is also available. Since 1985, occupations have been coded at the most detailed level of CO80 after a period of some years when only relatively undetailed coding was done. This change of policy by OPCS appears to have been in response to the needs of academic users of the data set, rather than to those of government departments themselves.

4.1. The French occupational classification system (PCS)

The French occupational categorisation, the PCS, appears to be rather more similar to the British classification of socio-economic groups (SEG, Appendix 7.4) than it is to the CO80, as indeed the 'socioprofessionnel' component of the French name suggests. Both SEG and PCS take account of the employee/self-employed distinction; they also make explicit the differences in levels of skill and qualification.
The PCS was used for the first time in 1983, and was developed in an attempt to rationalise a situation where a variety of different classification systems were used for different government surveys; it also responded to a need to provide an updated schema (INSEE, 1983a:III). The fundamental distinctions of the PCS are between (a) employees and the self-employed, (b) different categories of self-employed relating to size and sector of their enterprise, and (c) different categories of public and private sector employees related to grade, specialisms and qualifications (INSEE, 1983a, XXXI-XXXIV). This last distinction is linked to INSEE's wish to deal better than in the past with occupational groups which are traditionally difficult to code; for example, there is the well-known difficulty of categorising occupations either according to a managerial function, or to the technical context of the occupation (INSEE, 1983a:III). There are 4 levels of detail in the PCS, ranging from a 1-digit level with 8 categories to a 4-digit level with 455 occupational titles. Distributions of women's and men's occupations at the 1-digit level were shown in Chapter 4.

4.2. OPCS Classification of Occupations 1980 (CO80)
Unlike the single system now used in French government surveys, there has been up to now a tendency in British large-scale government surveys to use one of a small number of classificatory systems. For example, the major source of earnings data in Britain, the New Earnings Survey, uses its own version of the occupational classification known as the Key List. The Census of Population and the Labour Force Survey use the CO80 (Employment Gazette, April 1988:216).
The CO80 is based on the Department of Employment’s Key Occupations for Statistical Purposes (KOS) in their aggregated or condensed form (HMSO, 1972). Originally developed for the analysis of Census data, KOS contains 400 ‘key’ occupational groups aggregated according to similarity of the type of work performed (Employment Gazette, April 1988:216). Distributions of women’s and men’s occupations using the condensed KOS headings were shown in Chapter 4.

It is acknowledged that several aspects of the CO80 give rise to conceptual problems, in particular in relation to the self-employed and managers (OPCS, 1980:vi). Unlike the French schema which reserves particular groupings for the self-employed (for example PCS1 and 2, see notes below), the OPCS classification treats some self-employed as managers on the basis that they "have independent responsibility which involves the performance of managerial functions" (OPCS, 1980:vi). Other self-employed people are classified according to the technical area of their occupation. Thus the owner of a wholesale establishment or of a farm is classified under managerial occupations, whilst a self-employed baker is classified as a baker.

Managers are assigned to KOS 5 (Managerial) on the basis of a judgement that the main activity is managerial and to a large extent independent of its technical or professional context. Yet managers of certain professional activities, such as engineering and head teachers, are assigned to the occupational group which relates to those activities. The French schema recognises the difficulty of making this distinction, and
incorporates managerial and professional activities in one group (PCS3), although they are of course separated at a more detailed level. However, it should be said that the C080 has no pretentions to giving information on employment status, being quite simply an occupational classification, which can subsequently be used in conjunction with employment status variables, in order to yield classifications which relate more strongly to social class, such as SEG and the Registrar General's classification.

The C080 has come to be seen as out-of-date, and too industrially based; it is furthermore recognised that an insufficient number of distinctions is made within those categories which contain typically female jobs (Employment Gazette, April 1988:214). Therefore, partly in response to a recognition that the use of more than one occupational classification creates difficulty in bringing together data from different sources, there is currently in preparation in Britain a new classification system, the Standard Occupational Classification (SOC), which will be used in all major government surveys from 1991 onwards. It is particularly interesting from the point of view of cross-national research that one aspect of SOC is its aim to align itself with the 1988 version of ISCO. A further aim of SOC is to make finer distinctions within categories which contain a high proportion of occupations filled by women; new and finer occupational categories are proposed for clerical and secretarial work, nurses and teachers, and a new group of 'childcare occupations' has been identified (Employment Gazette, April 1988: 215).
4.2.1. Socio-Economic Groups (SEG)

The British socio-economic grouping, SEG, is derived from a cross-classification of C080 and of employment status (self-employed/employee, manager, supervisor). It was originally derived in the 1940s, and updated in 1961, in response to calls from the Royal Commission on Population for a finer distinction of social grading. It is currently used in government surveys to convey social class divisions, especially in its 6-category collapsed form. Criticisms include its confusion of occupation and employment status, and the lack of evidence that each category is discrete (Marsh, 1986: 12). Nevertheless, its use of employment status makes it invaluable in the derivation of variables which show employment hierarchies, omitted from the C080. SEG is used in this thesis to derive a variable which makes a distinction between teachers with supervisory status, and those without.

In the following three sections, explanations are given of terms and definitions used in the analyses in Chapter 8-11. Terms and definitions which relate to particular occupations are explained in the relevant chapter.

5. Definitions of marital status

Both data sets categorise marital status in the same way. Single (never married) women are differentiated from women who are currently married, those who are divorced/separated, and those who are widowed. In this thesis, the categories of divorced/separated and widowed are generally grouped together with those who are married. This is theorised on the basis that, whilst divorced/separated and widowed women may, at the
time of the survey, be without a marriage partner, the effect of marriage is likely to remain with them.

6. Age selections
A variety of age selections are used in the bivariate analyses of the Labour Force Survey and the Enquete Emploi. These are explained in turn for each of the occupations.

6.1. British teachers
For British teachers, the base age 21-64 is used for most analyses. The lower limit was judged to be appropriate because this is the age at which teachers generally finish their training. The upper age limit is approximately the retirement age for women and men (although women can retire at the age of 60 if they wish). In other analyses, the age range is 30-44 years. This is used where it is important to make the distinction between women with and without children, and for analyses of occupational achievement (see below for definition). The lower age limit, 30 years, is used because it is unlikely that women will have been promoted to a higher level post before this age. The upper age limit is imposed because neither the Labour Force Survey nor the Enquete Emploi gives information on whether women have had children who have, at the time of the survey, left the household. Such women are classified as being without children, since the surveys ask only about dependent children living in the household. In order to avoid including such women in the category of women without children, an upper age limit of 44 years has been used. The reason for this is that children born to women of this age and below are likely (but not certain) to be too young to have
left the household. Thus, an age selection of this sort provides some reassurance that women with and without children have been correctly identified and can be compared.

6.2. French teachers

The age range 23-60 is the basis for most analyses. This is a somewhat smaller age range than that used for British teachers. This is because analysis of French teachers' ages (not shown here) demonstrates that almost all teachers fall into this age band. Young people in France tend to stay on at school until the age of 19 or 20, and training to be a teacher can take longer than in Britain. French teachers also retire somewhat earlier than their British counterparts.

As with British teachers, an age selection has been made for certain analyses where the distinction between women with and without children needed to be made. However, the age range selected for these analyses is different from the 30-44 range selected for British teachers. For French teachers, it is 30-54. The reason for the difference relates to the definition of higher grade teachers used in the analyses of occupational achievement. As explained in detail in Chapters 8 and 9, the definition of higher grade teachers in the British analyses is one which has been derived from the data for the purposes of the analyses in this thesis, since the Classification of Occupations 1980 does not have a category of higher grade teachers. The use of the SEG (socio-economic grouping) variable has resulted in, for Britain, a wide category of teachers with supervisory status, including subject teachers.
with responsibility for other teachers, heads of departments, deputy headteachers, and headteachers.

The definition of French higher grade teachers is considerably narrower than this, since it uses the category of headteachers and deputy headteachers contained in the French occupational classification. The French higher grade teacher, used in the analyses here of occupational achievement, is therefore defined in a considerably narrower way, and represents a higher level of achievement than that of the British higher level teachers. Analyses (not shown here) of the age distribution of both women and men French teachers in the higher grades showed that both sexes entered these posts at a later age than British women and men teachers did to the higher grade. Therefore, to have used the same age limit of 44 years for both French and British teachers might have yielded results which were artefacts of the definitions, rather than substantive findings. This decision to use different age ranges is analogous to historians comparing social phenomena in different countries; it is widely accepted that it is more relevant to compare 'social time' than 'real' or 'chronological time'.

6.3. British white-collar workers/officeworkers

The age range 16-64 is used for most analyses. The minimum school-leaving age in Britain is 16, and school-leavers can enter clerical working directly from school. Age distributions of white-collar/officeworkers (not shown here) demonstrate that this age range is an appropriate one for this group. As explained above, in some analyses where the distinction between presence and absence of children needed to be made, the age
range 30-44 was selected.

6.4. French white-collar workers/officeworkers

Following analyses (not shown here) of the age distribution of French men and women in this occupational group, the age range 18-60 years is used for most analyses. Where it is important to make the distinction between presence and absence of children, as explained above, the age range 30-44 years has been selected. Whilst it was judged necessary to extend the age selection for French teachers to 30-54 years, this is not appropriate for French officeworkers. This is because in both British and French officeworker groups, the higher level occupation, used in analyses of occupational achievement (see below) is an intermediate clerical position. Location in this position is unlikely to be restricted to older age groups, as in the case of French head teachers.

7. Occupational achievement

Occupational achievement is a term used in this thesis to mean location at a level which is above the basic grade in each occupation. For each occupation, occupational achievement is defined differently, and this is explained in detail in each of the analysis chapters (8-11 inclusive). The level of occupational achievement is not of particular interest here; what is at issue is being at a level within each occupation which is not the lowest. The higher level occupation may be considerably above the lower level (French teachers), somewhat above the lower level (British teachers), or only slightly above it (French and British officeworkers).
In the last section of this methods and definitions chapter, consideration is given to the method of secondary analysis, and to the practical details of acquiring data sets for secondary analysis.

8. The method of secondary analysis

Social research makes use of both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources, where the researcher collects data at first hand, include such research tools as questionnaires, interviews and observation. Secondary sources include a range of documents, personal accounts of various sorts, different kinds of media and the analysis of data sets collected by other researchers, organisations and so on. The analysis of such data sets is referred to as secondary analysis. Secondary analysis therefore allows for further exploitation of data which has been gathered for other purposes. Hakim (1982) underlines this aspect:

"Secondary analysis is any further analysis of an existing dataset which presents interpretations, conclusions or knowledge additional to, or different from, those presented in the first report on the inquiry as a whole and its main results."

(Hakim, 1982:1)

Secondary analysis is therefore not simply a re-working of data already analysed for a primary purpose; it has considerable potential for originality (Dale et al, 1988). Moreover, Hakim (1982:16) claims that it has the potential to "break the monopolies" in social research; government departments are no longer able to keep for themselves data gathered at considerable public expense.
A further advantage of secondary analysis is that it represents a relatively economical way of carrying out research, since the usual costs associated with carrying out a survey are dispensed with. The procuring of data which would otherwise imply a major investment in terms of time, money and personnel is a clear advantage, particularly if the data sets are large and nationally representative. Secondary analysis of large data sets can be used in conjunction with small-scale, qualitative studies by providing a backdrop against which more in-depth data can be considered. It can also be used in its own right, as in this thesis, where the large size of both the French and British data sets allows for detailed investigation of disaggregated occupations, as well as giving more general background information about employment in the two countries.

Up to now, the advantages of secondary analysis have been mentioned. There are, of course, disadvantages, which relate principally to the constraints of working with data which was collected for purposes not identical to those of the secondary analyst. Inevitably, there are aspects which have not been covered, or where a sufficiently detailed question was not asked. In addition, the definitions used may not be those which the researcher would, ideally, have wanted. However, secondary analysis has considerable potential for creativity, since new variables and definitions can be derived by combining categories. In this way, it is possible to overcome some of the problems inherent in using a data set designed by someone else for another purpose.

A further disadvantage with secondary analysis is that there
may be a tendency to use the data in an atheoretical way (Dale et al, 1988). When a questionnaire is first being designed, a great deal of thought has to go into the research questions which are to be addressed; these in turn relate to a particular theoretical framework. When already existing data are being used, there may be the temptation to bypass this phase.

A great deal of work is necessary, prior to the analysis stage, in order to understand the structure of the data, and the definitions used. The meanings behind categories are not always clear or straightforward, and detailed background material has to be available in order to throw light on the thinking behind the primary construction of categories. This issue is of even greater importance when data sets from other countries are used. For this reason, much time and energy was spent during this thesis in acquiring and understanding background material relating to the Enquête Emploi and to the French occupational classification. A good knowledge of the appropriate language is a clear pre-requisite. Even so, there are doubtless many aspects which a foreign researcher will fail to grasp, primarily those which demand a native or near-native understanding of cultural issues.

In Britain, the ESRC Data Archive at Essex University supplies data tapes to academic users. For large data sets, it is necessary to specify the required variables, and, if appropriate, sub-sets of the data. The tape is then read onto the user's computer system. The same procedure is in operation for France, with the exception that the organisation with
responsibility for supplying data tapes to users is both smaller, and of considerably more recent origin than the Essex Archive. This organisation is LASMAS (Laboratoire de l'analyse secondaire et des méthodes appliquées à la sociologie). In comparison to the Essex Data Archive, LASMAS has a small number of data sets available. However, it is possible to obtain data sets which are rather more recent than those which are generally available from the Essex Archive.

Obtaining a data tape from another country is necessarily more time-consuming and complicated than in the researcher's own country. An initial visit was required to Paris to discuss details of the data set with LASMAS, who had not dealt with non-French researchers prior to this. Details such as the character code which the tape would be written in, the block and record size, and the size of tape had to be negotiated. Because the tape was written in export format using software (SAS) which Surrey University did not hold, arrangements had to be made with the University of London Computing Centre to convert the tape into SPSSX export format. The size of the data set in its export form (56 megabytes) was an added problem. The large size was principally because a decision had been taken to ask LASMAS to attach certain key aspects of household information to each individual's case. (1) An additional reason for the size of the data was that variables were written in string, or alphanumeric, form. Once conversion of these into numeric form had been done, the problem of computer space was considerably less. However, the size of the data set meant that it had to be imported in subsets, which were subsequently merged into system files as necessary.
Dealing with data from another country is time-consuming. It was necessary to make telephone calls and personal visits to the government statistics organisation, INSEE (Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques), who design and carry out the survey. LASMAS, the organisation which supplied the data tape, was visited and communicated with on several occasions. French was the language of communication; this entailed the prior acquisition of technical terms relating to computing, secondary analysis and to social statistics. The tape had to be personally brought back from France, because of concern that magnetic screening devices at customs posts could destroy some or all of the data.

Footnotes

(1) The repetition of household level information on each person's record implies the generation of a very large data set, which, at least in the initial stages before subsetting takes place, requires a significant amount both of computer space, and of computer time. This problem is exacerbated by the need for extra temporary computer space during the process of importing the file. Experience gained from managing the French data set showed that, even when a large amount of extra space was obtained on the Surrey University Prime system, the file had to be imported in smaller portions, and subsequently merged into one system file. Space can also be taken up unnecessarily in the interior of the file if variables are written alphanumerically, since SPSSX does not allow for the compression of data which is not written in integer or string format. If variables are sent in alphanumerical format, a great deal of time and space can therefore be saved by converting variables into integer format during the process of importing the data set. Even after compression, however, data sets may remain too big to be manageable, and subsets will need to be created to deal with particular analyses and research questions.

(2) Probability Proportional to Size sampling (PPS) is a method of dealing with Primary Sampling Units with varying populations. The method ensures that if one PSU has twice as large a population as another, or if it has twice the number of addresses as another, then it has twice the probability of being selected. Then if the same number of persons is drawn from each selected PSU, the overall chance of a person being selected is the same (Moser & Kalton, 1971).
The initial employment status variable FI acts as the basis for a 3-part filter into employed, unemployed or inactive. Value 1 (in employment) contains two groups which are finally excluded from the employed labour force (population active occupée, PAO) once they have answered the employment questions. These include a particular group of students who receive a state grant, provided they agree to go into government employment ('élèves-fonctionnaires'), some students on work experience, and a group of semi-retired steel-workers. They are included in the initial employment filter, not because they are considered part of the labour force, but because information on these groups was particularly wanted (INSEE, 1985:19). They are finally excluded from the labour force after having answered the employment part (part A) of the questionnaire. Variable FI does not address itself to the notion of a reference week, merely concerning itself with a general status of employment. There is a subsequent question which asks about employment in the reference week; information from this question yields the variable AH. The variable which combines information from FI and from AM, whilst excluding the three groups listed above, is AH, value 1. This is compatible with the LFS definition of 'working during the reference week.

In the EE employment status (ILO version) variable, ACTBIT, the PSERE category is taken to be comparable with the LFS 'seeking employment' code in the variable ECONPOF; these two categories are used in Table 3.3 for the unemployed category. The category which is also considered by the ILO, but not the EE, to be part of the unemployed - those who have found a job which has not yet started - can be taken as compatible with the LFS category 'waiting for employment'. This is not included in the unemployed category in Table 3.3.

INSEE does not regard the identification of the unemployed as straightforward (Huet & Monnier, 1984:56), and a series of questions in the Enquête Emploi leads towards a final categorisation of unemployment. Respondents must satisfy several conditions in addition to an initial self-definition of unemployment. They must be taking effective measures to find work, they must be available for work, and they must not have done any paid employment during the reference week (INSEE, 1984: 68). Respondents declaring themselves as unemployed in the initial question on employment status, but who do not satisfy the availability for work condition, are not finally counted as unemployed. Thus it is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition of the ILO - and consequently the EE - definition of unemployment to be looking for work. By contrast, some people who declare themselves at the initial filter question as economically inactive may finally be categorised as unemployed. Some may define themselves as such spontaneously, whilst others (typically women at home and students) may define themselves initially as inactive, but may be eventually included amongst the unemployed as a result of probing by interviewers about their future
intentions in the labour market (Huet & Monnier, 1984:56).

(5) As OECD points out, cross-national comparisons of levels of part-time working need to be made with caution, because of the different definitions used.

(6) This calculation excludes temporary employment schemes (Travaux d'utilité collective, TUC) which are counted as part-time. If people on these schemes are included, Belloc's calculations show that the ratio of loss of full-time jobs to growth in part-time jobs becomes 1:4.
1. Professional, technical and related workers

01 Physical scientists and related technicians
02 Architects, engineers and related technicians
04 Aircraft and ship's officers
05 Life scientists and related technicians
06 Medical, dental, veterinary and related workers
08 Statisticians, mathematicians, systems analysts and related technicians
09 Economists
11 Accountants
12 Jurists
13 Teachers
14 Workers in religion
15 Authors, journalists and related writers
16 Sculptors, painters, photographers and related creative artists
17 Composers and performing artists
18 Athletes, sportsmen and related workers
19 Professional and technical workers n.e.c.

2. Administrative and managerial workers

20 Legislative officials and government administrators
21 Managers

3. Clerical and related workers

30 Clerical supervisors
31 Government executive officials
32 Stenographers, typists and card & tape punching machine operators
33 Bookkeepers, cashiers and related
34 Computing machine operators
35 Transport and communications supervisors
36 Transport conductors
37 Map distribution clerks
38 Telephone and telegraph operators
39 Clerical and related workers n.e.c.

4. Sales workers

40 Managers (wholesale and retail trade)
41 Working proprietors (wholesale and retail trade)
42 Sales supervisors and buyers
43 Technical salesmen, commercial travellers and manufacturers' agents
44 Insurance, real estate, securities and business services salesmen and auctioneers
45 Salesmen, shop assistants and related workers
49 Sales workers n.e.c.

5. Service workers

50 Managers (catering and lodging services)
51 Working proprietors (catering and lodging services)
52 Housekeeping and related service supervisors
53 Cooks, waiters, bartenders and related workers
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Maids and related housekeeping service workers n.e.c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Building caretakers, charworkers, cleaners and related</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Launderers, dry-cleaners and pressers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Hairdressers, barbers, beauticians and related workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Protective service workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Service workers n.e.c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Farm managers and supervisors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Agricultural and animal husbandry workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Forestry workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Fishermen, hunters and related workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Production supervisors and general foremen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Miners, quarrymen, well drillers and related workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Metal processors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Wood preparation workers and paper makers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Chemical processors and related workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Spinners, weavers, knitters, dyers and related workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Tanners, fellmongers and pelt dressers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Food and beverage processors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Tobacco preparers and tobacco product makers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Tailors, dressmakers, sewers, upholsterers and related workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Shoemakers and leather goods makers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Cabinetmakers and related goods makers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Stone cutters and carvers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Blacksmiths, toolmakers and machine tool operators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Machinery fitters, machine assemblers and precision instrument makers (except electrical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Electrical fitters and related electrical and electronics workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Broadcasting station and sound equipment operators and cinema projectionists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Plumbers, welders, sheet metal and structural metal preparers and erectors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Jewellery and precious metal workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Glass formers, potters and related workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Rubber and plastics product makers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Paper-and-paperboard products makers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Printers and related workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Painters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Production and related workers n.e.c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Bricklayers, carpenters and other construction workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Stationary engines and related equipment operators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Material-handling and related equipment operators, dockers and freight handlers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Transport equipment operators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Labourers n.e.c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n.e.c.: not elsewhere classified
Notes on Nomenclature des professions et des catégories socioprofessionnelles (PCS) occupational categories

PCS 1, Agriculteurs exploitants: this is a category for self-employed farmers running farms and farm enterprises, employing up to 9 people. Those who employ more than this are categorised in PCS2. Agricultural workers are in PCS 6.

PCS 2, Artisans, commerçants et chefs d'entreprise: a category for various kinds of self-employed people. It includes owners of a wide range of small businesses (defined as employing up to 9 people) ranging from food to building, and to different kinds of service industries. It also includes owner/directors of larger firms (defined as employing between 10 and 500+ people).

PCS 3, Cadres et professions intellectuelles supérieures: this is a category for people who have high level academic qualifications, who work in a variety of areas. These include certain sorts of self-employed professions - medical, judicial, engineering ("les professions libérales), professions such as higher and secondary education where salaries are paid by the state, and management posts ("cadres") in the public and private sectors. The term "cadres" is difficult to translate, but can perhaps be best understood as people with the appropriate qualifications to perform executive functions in a range of private and public organisations and industries. "Cadres" can be employed at senior, middle and junior management levels.

PCS 4, Professions intermédiaires: this group contains a wide range of semi-professional occupations, from health and school teaching, to technical and supervisory administrative occupations in public and private organisations. It contains principally employees, although some self-employed (for example, directors of small private schools) are categorised here.

PCS 5, Employés: Non-manual employees in both private and public sectors are classified here. PCS5 includes various support occupations in health and education, secretarial and clerical occupations, shopworkers, hotelworkers and various other service occupations.

PCS 6, Ouvriers: this category comprises skilled and unskilled manual workers in a range of industries, as well as agriculture.
Appendix 7.3

Notes on the Classification of Occupations (CO80) categories (OPCS, 1980)

Order 1: Professional and related supporting management; senior national and local government managers

This group contains highly qualified professionals such as solicitors, accountants, economists and personnel officers. It also contains some managerial personnel in marketing and advertising. Local and central government officials are categorised in Order 1, from around the middle levels (HEO, administrative local government functions) to the highest levels. There is also a category of 'other professionals' supporting management, which includes a diverse range of occupations - from company secretaries to librarians and managers' personal assistants.

Order 2: Professional and related in education, welfare and health

Teachers of different kinds are categorised in Order 2: Higher & Further Education, schoolteachers, school inspectors and playgroup leaders. There is also a wide range of health and welfare related occupations - from doctors and dentists to medical technicians.

Order 3: Literary, artistic and sports

Occupations such as authors, artists, actors and photographers are grouped in Order 3.

Order 4: Professional and related in science, engineering, technology and similar fields

A wide range of occupations related to these areas is found in Order 4. There are highly qualified degree-level (and over) scientists - biochemists, physicists, as well as professional engineers. However, occupations with lower level technical qualifications are also included, such as laboratory technicians. Architects and town planners are in this category.

Order 5: Managerial

Many different kinds of managers and occupations with managerial/supervisory aspects are included in Order 5. They range from site foremen to office managers, and from club stewards to higher level police and prison officers.

Order 6: Clerical and related

Clerks, secretaries and their supervisors are grouped here. In addition, civil service executive officers are in Order 6. The group also includes shopworkers, such as check-out operators, and postal workers (including postmen and women).
Order 7: Selling

This group includes shop assistants, salespeople and their supervisors. Van salespeople and petrol pump attendants are also grouped here.

Order 8: Security and protective service

Includes lower levels of police, security and armed forces.

Order 9: Catering, cleaning, hairdressing and other personal service

Cooks, waitresses, cleaners, hairdressers, and their supervisors are grouped together in Order 9. Nursery nurses are in this group (which seems anomalous in view of playgroup leaders being categorised in Order 2).

Order 10: Farming, fishing and related

A range of agricultural-type occupations is found here. Some supervisory functions are included at the foreman level, but farm managers are categorised in Order 5.

Order 11: Materials processing: making and repairing (excluding metal and electrical)

There is a very wide variety of process-type occupations here, from textiles to food and drink, and from printing to papermaking. Foremen are included also.

Order 12: Processing, making and repairing (metal and electrical)

Again, a very wide range of process occupations in the metal and electrical fields, together with foremen.

Order 13: Painting, repetitive assembling, product inspecting, packaging and related

Includes workers, foremen and inspectors in a range of assembling occupations.

Order 14: Construction, mining and related not identified elsewhere

Construction and building occupations: workers and foremen

Order 15: Transport operating, materials moving and storing and related

Foremen and workers in transport-related occupations

Order 16: Miscellaneous

A small range of foremen and unskilled workers in mainly manufacturing industries

Order 17: Inadequately described and not stated
Appendix 7.4

Notes on the SEG categories (from OPCS, 1980)

1 Employers and managers in central and local government, industry, commerce, etc. - large establishments

This group includes employers in industry and commerce who employ 25 or more people in non-agricultural enterprises, as well as managers in central and local government, industry and commerce who plan and supervise in non-agricultural enterprises which employ 25 or more people.

2 Employers and managers in industry and commerce - small establishments

Employers in industry and commerce who employ fewer than 25 people in non-agricultural enterprises, as well as managers in industry and commerce who plan and supervise in non-agricultural enterprises employing fewer than 25 people.

3 Professional workers - self-employed

Self-employed people, with and without employees, engaged in work which normally requires qualifications of university degree standard. With a few exceptions, such as teachers and lecturers who generally receive their pay from local or central government, the occupations in this group are the same as in SEG 4. The principal difference between SEG 3 and 4 thus relates to employment status.

4 Professional workers - employees

Employees engaged in work which normally requires qualifications of university degree standard.

5 Intermediate non-manual workers

Contains employees and self-employed people in non-manual occupations which are ancillary to the professions, and which do not normally require qualifications of university degree standard. Also in this group are foremen and supervisors in the non-manual occupations in SEG 6.

6 Junior non-manual workers

Employees in skilled and semi-skilled clerical, sales and non-manual communications occupations. Excludes any with supervisory activities in these occupations, who are classified in SEG 5.

7 Personal service workers

Employees in service occupations caring for food, drink, clothing and other personal needs.

8 Foremen and supervisors - manual
Employees (other than managers) who supervise others in manual occupations; they may or may not be engaged in such occupations themselves.

9 Skilled manual workers
Employees in manual occupations which require considerable and specific skills.

10 Semi-skilled manual workers
Employees in manual occupations which require slight but specific skills.

11 Unskilled manual workers
Employees in manual occupations not requiring specific skills.

12 Own account workers (other than professional)
Self-employed people in any trade, personal service or manual occupation not normally requiring training of university degree standard, and with no employees except family workers.

13 Farmers - employers and managers
People who own, rent or manage farms, market gardens or forests, and who employ people other than family workers.

14 Farmers - own account
People who own or rent farms, market gardens or forests, and who do not employ anyone other than family workers

15 Agricultural workers
Employees, foremen and supervisors engaged in agricultural work (tending animals, crops, operating agricultural machinery).

16 Members of armed forces

Note: Apprentices are classified according to the SEG group which contains the occupation in which they are apprenticed.
### 1984 LABOUR FORCE SURVEY (A) S764 QUESTIONNAIRE A

#### ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

**Interviewer's name:** .................................................................

**Interviewer's number:** ............................................................

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ring Per. No.</th>
<th>Relationship to HOH</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Age last birth day</th>
<th>Married, Single, Widowed, Divorced, or Separated?</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>HOH</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 1 3 4 5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 1 1 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 1 1 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 1 1 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 1 1 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 1 1 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 1 1 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 1 1 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 1 1 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**8. INTERVIEWER CHECK**

Check that person no. is ringed for each person in household and enter total no. of persons in household.

If 10 or more persons, continue on another Questionnaire A, starting on row below HOH and renumbering person nos. as 10, 11 etc.

**9. Number of households at this address**

Enter total no. of households.

If 11 or more households refer to Sampling Implementation Unit/Survey Controller and enter as well the total no. of households selected in sample.

---

198
1. ENTER REFERENCE WEEK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day of week</th>
<th>SKIP TO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Did you do any paid work (last week, that is) in the seven days ending Sunday (DATE AT D1), either as an employee or as self-employed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>SKIP TO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Even though you were not working, did you have a job or business that you were away from last week?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>SKIP TO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. What was the main reason that you were away from work (last week)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>SKIP TO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternity leave</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other leave/holiday</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick or injured</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending a training course away from own workplace</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laid off/short time worked interrupted by:</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad weather</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labour dispute at own workplace</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic and other causes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other personal/family reasons</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Was the job/business that you were in/away from last week:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>SKIP TO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CODE</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIRST</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPLIES</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Did you get the work that you were doing (last week):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>SKIP TO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>READ</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OUT</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Were you being paid for that work:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>SKIP TO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>READ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OUT</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. SHOW CARD B

Would you please look at this card and tell me which of these statements describes why you took a temporary rather than a permanent job?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>SKIP TO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CODE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIRST</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPLIES</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/No reason given</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. What was your (main) occupation (last week)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) ENTER JOB TITLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(b) DESCRIBE FULLY WORK DONE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

10. What does the firm/organisation you worked for actually make or do (at the place where you work)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBE WHETHER MANUFACTURING/PROCESSING, AND GIVE END PRODUCT OF FIRM. DESCRIBE FULLY.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
11. Were you working as an employee or were you self-employed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employee</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. How long have you been continuously employed by this employer?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Less than 3 months</th>
<th>3 months but less than 6 months</th>
<th>6 months but less than 1 year</th>
<th>1 year but less than 2 years</th>
<th>2 years but less than 5 years</th>
<th>5 years but less than 10 years</th>
<th>10 years but less than 20 years</th>
<th>20 years or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. Ask or record

Did you have any managerial duties, or were you supervising any other employees?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manager</th>
<th>Foreman/supervisor</th>
<th>Not manager or supervisor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Ask or record

Were you working on your own or did you have employees?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>On own</th>
<th>With employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. In the place where you worked were there:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Read</th>
<th>Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. In that job were you working:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Read</th>
<th>Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. Show card C

Would you please look at this card and tell me which of these statements describes why you look a part-time rather than a full-time job?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>FIRST THAT APPLIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I was ill or disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I could not find a full-time job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>I did not want a full-time job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Other reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. How many hours a week do you usually work in your (main) job/business, that is excluding mealbreaks and any paid or unpaid overtime?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IF VARIES, TAKE</th>
<th>ENTER HOURS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. Ask (or record if already told never do paid overtime)

In addition to this, do you work paid overtime:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Read</th>
<th>Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or never? |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

20. How many hours paid overtime do you usually work in a week?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IF VARIES, TAKE</th>
<th>ENTER HOURS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. Ask (or record if away from work last week)

Did you do any paid overtime (last week)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. How many hours paid overtime did you work (last week)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENTER HOURS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

23. Ask (or record if away from work last week)

Do you work unpaid overtime:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Read</th>
<th>Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or never? |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

24. How many hours unpaid overtime do you usually work in a week?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IF VARIES, TAKE</th>
<th>ENTER HOURS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25. May I just check, did you do any unpaid overtime (last week)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26. How many hours unpaid overtime did you work (last week)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENTER HOURS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

27. Interviewer total A + B + C and check total usual hours with respondent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enter total no. of usual hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OR CODE: 98 or more hours</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

200
### INTERVIEWER CHECK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did paid work (last week) (CODE 1 AT B2)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did no paid work (last week) (CODE 2 AT B2)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 29. How many hours did you actually work (last week) in your (main) job in total - that is, excluding mealbreaks (but including the paid/unpaid overtime you have told me about)?

- ENTER TOTAL NO. OF ACTUAL HOURS

**OR CODE: 96 or more hours**

- 96

#### 30. ASK OR RECORD

(Last week) did you work:

- READ more hours than usual [1] → 32
- OUT fewer hours than usual [2] → 31
- or the same number of hours as usual? [3] → 32

#### 31. What was the main reason that (last week) you did fewer hours than usual?

- Number of hours worked varies [04] → 33
- Bank holiday [03]
- Maternity leave [06]
- Other holiday leave [09]
- Sick or injured [07]
- Attending a training course away from own workplace [06]
- Started new job/changed jobs [10]
- Ended job and did not start new one that week [11] → 32
- Laid off/short time/work interrupted by: bad weather [02]
- labour dispute at own workplace [05]
- economic and other causes [01]
- Other personal/family reasons [12]
- Other reasons [13]

#### 32. Do your hours tend to vary from week to week?

- Yes [1] → 33
- No [2]

#### 33. ASK OR RECORD

Did you have any days off work (last week) because you were sick or injured?

- Yes [1] → 34
- No [2] → 37

#### 34. How many days (last week) from Monday to Saturday inclusive were you unable to work because you were sick or injured? (Please include even the days when you would not normally work.)

- ENTER DAYS

#### 35. How long in all were you/have you been unable to work in this (latest) spell of sickness or injury up to (DATE AT B1)? (Please include even the days when you would not normally work.)

- 1-3 days (not including Sunday) [01]
- 4-6 days (not including Sunday) [02]
- More than 1 week - 2 weeks [03]
- More than 2 weeks - 3 weeks [04]
- More than 3 weeks - 4 weeks [05]
- More than 4 weeks - 5 weeks [06]
- More than 5 weeks - 6 weeks [07]
- More than 6 weeks - 7 weeks [08]
- More than 7 weeks - 8 weeks [09]
- More than 8 weeks [10]

#### 36. Did this spell of sickness or injury end (last week)?

- Yes [1] → 37
- No [2]
## Enquête Emploi 1985 questionnaire

**INSTITUT NATIONAL DE LA STATISTIQUE ET DES ÉTUDES ÉCONOMIQUES**

**Appendix 7.6**

**Enquête sur l'Emploi**

Questionnaire confidentiel *

---

**Bulletin à ouvrir pour tous les ménages ayant accepté "interview (RI = 1)***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom de l'enquêteur : M.</th>
<th>Date d'enquête : (mois) 19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Ce ménage comprend personnes de 15 ans ou plus (ayant atteint ou dépassé 15 ans au cours de l'année d'enquête, c'est-à-dire nées en 19 ou avant).

- Si l'un au moins des membres du ménage est EXPLOITANT AGRICOLE, indiquer ici :
  - la superficie de l'exploitation en hectares s.a.u., et ares si cette superficie est inférieure à 5 ha ..........................................................
  - l'orientation des productions agricoles (voir carte n° 2) ..........................................................

---

### QUESTIONNAIRE INDIVIDUEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Occupation actuelle de M.***

- Travaille par exemple exerce une profession, à son compte ou comme salarié, occupe un emploi rémunéré, même à temps partiel, aide un membre de sa famille dans son travail même sans être rémunéré ; est apprenti, stagiaire rémunéré, élève-fonctionnaire, intérimaire, etc...
  - Classer ici les personnes pourvues d'un emploi, même si elles sont actuellement en congé de maladie, de maternité, en congé payé, etc. Ne pas y classer, en revanche, les personnes ayant interrompu leur travail pour une cause telle que service militaire, disponibilité, pré-retraite, invalidité...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Inscrit au chômage (d'autre d'une Agence locale de l'ANPE ou d'un bureau de main-d'œuvre d'une mairie)</th>
<th>3. Chômeur non inscrit auprès de l'ANPE</th>
<th>4. Étudiant, élève, stagiaire non rémunéré</th>
<th>5. Militaire du contingent</th>
<th>6. Retraité d'une activité personnelle, bénéficiaire d'une pré-retraite (payée par les ASSEDIC ou l'entreprise)</th>
<th>7. Femme au foyer</th>
<th>8. Autre inactif (y compris les personnes ne touchant qu'une pension de réversion)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


202
M... a-t-il déjà exercé une activité professionnelle? ........................  Oui  .... Non.

dé même s’il y a longtemps

* Exclure les activités purement occasionnelles, par exemple les jobs d’étudiant pendant les vacances.

Si OUI à la question précédente

Dernière profession exercée et qualification, grade ou position hiérarchique (cadre, maîtrise, technicien, ouvrier qualifié, O.S., manœuvre, etc…)

* Attention, pour les retraités, indiquer non la dernière, mais la principale profession exercée.

Activité de l’établissement  

* Préciser le plus possible

M... travaillait-il :

1. à son compte (artisan, commerçant, profession libérale…) ou en aidant un membre de sa famille dans son travail (sans être salarié)

2. comme salarié de l’État ou des collectivités locales

3. comme autre salarié

Nombre de salariés permanents si M... était à son compte :

A quelle date M... a-t-il cessé d’exercer sa dernière activité professionnelle ?

A n n é e 19

Si la cessation d’activité date de moins de 5 ans

- Mois de la cessation

- A la suite de quelles circonstances M... a-t-il cessé son activité (voir carte 1)...

Pendant la semaine de référence, du au 

M... a-t-il cependant travaillé ?  

Oui  .... Non.

Ne fut-ce qu’une heure, ne fut-ce qu’un travail occasionnel ou exceptionnel.

Même une activité non rémunérée en aidant un membre de sa famille dans son travail par exemple.

Les activités désintéressées ne sont pas prises en compte.

• POUR LES INSCRITS AU CHOMAGE (2 en QUESTION 8)  ▶  ▶  PARTIE B

• POUR LES AUTRES  ▶  ▶  QUESTION 12

M... cherche-t-il un emploi, une situation? ........................  Oui  .... Non.

Si M... ne cherche pas d’emploi, a-t-il déjà trouvé un emploi qui commence ultérieurement? ........................  Oui  .... Non.

203
ACTIVITÉ PROFESSIONNELLE PRINCIPALE

- Partie à remplir pour toutes les personnes ayant une activité professionnelle (1 en Q. 8 "Occupation actuelle") et pour toutes les personnes ayant travaillé durant la semaine de référence (1 en Q. 11). Décrire dans ce cas l'activité professionnelle de la semaine de référence.

14

Profession principale. (Préciser le plus possible ; exemples : ouvrier électricien d'entretien, ouvrier spécialisé sur chaîne, dessinateur d'études en électricité, ingénieur chimiste, caissière de libre-service, employé de comptabilité, etc.)

15

M... aide-t-il un membre de sa famille dans son travail, sans être salarié ? (exploitation agricole, commerce, artisanat, profession libérale).

- Si OUI inscrire ci-dessous le numéro individuel de la personne aidée

Oui.

Non.

Numéro individuel de la personne aidée

- Indiquer OUI si cette personne n'habite pas ou n'habite plus le même logement.

16

M... exerce-t-il sa profession :

1. à son compte (agriculteur, artisan, commerçant, membre d'une profession libérale, gérant majoritaire de SARL, gérant libre ou en location gérance, etc.)

2. comme salarié

17

ÉTABLISSEMENT industriel, commercial, exploitation agricole, etc... que M... dirige s'il est établi à son compte.

ÉTABLISSEMENT qui emploie M... s'il est salarié ou s'il aide un membre de sa famille dans son travail.

- ATTENTION : ne pas confondre cet établissement avec le siège social de l'entreprise ou de la société, seul dans quelques cas particuliers : chantiers de travaux publics par exemple.

Nom (ou raison sociale)...........

Rue (ou lieudit)................ N°

Commune ......................... Département

Activité de cet établissement

- Préciser le plus possible

A quelle date M... a-t-il commencé à travailler pour l'ENTREPRISE (la société) qui l'emploie (ou qu'il dirige) actuellement ? ....... Année 19

Si l'année indiquée ci-dessus est l'année d'enquête ou l'année précédente ........... Mois

• POUR LES PERSONNES ETABLIES A LEUR COMPTE ►► Q. 18
• POUR LES SALARIES DE L'ETAT ET DES COLLECTIVITES LOCALES ►► Q. 19
• POUR LES AUTRES SALARIES ►► Q. 20
• POUR LES PERSONNES QUI AIDENT UN MEMBRE DE LEUR FAMILLE DANS LEUR TRAVAIL SANS ETRE SALARIE ►► PASSER DIRECTEMENT Q. 23
18

SI M... EST ÉTABLI A SON COMPTE, emploie-t-il des salariés ? Combin ?

- Ne pas compter les gens de maison ni les apprentis ; dans l'agriculture, compter seulement les salariés permanents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0</th>
<th>aucun salarié</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 ou 2 salariés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3 à 5 salariés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6 à 9 salariés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10 salariés et plus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19

SI M... EST SALARIÉ DE L'ÉTAT OU D'UNE COLLECTIVITÉ LOCALE :

a) Quel est son grade ?

b) Quel est son statut ?

- fonctionnaire ou agent titulaire ou stagiaire, fonctionnaire-élève
- agent non titulaire : 2. contractuel (sans limitation de durée)
- 3. contractuel (pour une durée limitée)
- 4. auxiliaire
- 5. vacataire
- 6. autre cas • Préciser

20

SI M... EST SALARIÉ (SAUF DE L'ÉTAT ET DES COLLECTIVITÉS LOCALES) :

Classification de son emploi actuel

- ouvrier : 0. ouvrier sans indication de qualification
- 1. manœuvre ou manœuvre spécialisé
- 2. ouvrier spécialisé (O5, O1, O2, O3, etc...)
- 3. ouvrier qualifié ou hautement qualifié (P1, P2, P3, TA, etc...)
- 4. employé
- 5. technicien
- 6. agent de maîtrise dirigeant directement des ouvriers ou employés (ou ne dirigeant personne)
- 7. agent de maîtrise dirigeant des techniciens ou d'autres agents de maîtrise
- 8. ingénieur ou cadre (les employés, techniciens, agents de maîtrise, n'ayant pas la qualité de cadre ne devront pas se classer ici, même s'ils croient à une chance de retraite des cadres)
- 9. autres cas • Préciser ci-dessous

Donner en clair des précisions complémentaires : coefficient, niveau, échelon, position hiérarchique, etc...

- Surtout lorsque sa classification est imprécise (4,8 ou 0 à la grille ci-dessus)

21

Fonction principale (SEULEMENT POUR LES TECHNICIENS, AGENTS DE MAÎTRISE, INGÉNIEURS OU CADRES, 5 à 8 EN QUESTION 20 - a)

1. directeur général ou un des adjoints directs
2. fonction administrative, financière ou comptable
3. fonction commerciale ou technico-commerciale
4. production, fabrication, chantiers
5. entretien, travaux neufs, maintenance, dépannage
6. études, essais, méthodes, recherche
7. informatique
8. autres fonctions (sécurité, santé, etc...) • Préciser
9. ne sait pas se classer (polyvalent, petites entreprises, etc...)
SI M... EST SALARIÉ (SAUF DE L’ÉTAT ET DES COLLECTIVITÉS LOCALES)

Statut du travail

M... est-il intérimaire ? (Salarie placé par l’intermédiaire d’une entreprise de travail temporaire) .......................................................... Oui .......................................................... Non

Si OUI, durée totale de sa mission actuelle (en semaines) .......................................................... 

- Inscrive 98 si cette durée est supérieure à un an et demi
- Inscrive 99 si M... est inemployé actuellement, mais doit être très prochainement envoyé en mission.

M... est-il :

1. salarié d’un parent qui travaille à son compte .......................................................... Oui .......................................................... Non

Si OUI, durée totale de sa mission actuelle (en semaines) ..........................................................

- Inscrive 98 si cette durée est supérieure à un an et demi

M... est-il :

1. apprenti sous contrat .......................................................... Oui .......................................................... Non

M... est-il :

1. apprenti sous contrat .......................................................... Oui .......................................................... Non
2. en période d’essai .......................................................... Oui .......................................................... Non
3. stagiaire • Préciser ci-dessous la nature et la durée du stage .......................................................... Oui .......................................................... Non

Nature du stage : ................................................................................................................................................

Durée totale du stage (en semaines) ..........................................................

- Inscrive 98 si cette durée est supérieure à un an et demi

M... a-t-il un contrat de travail à durée déterminée ou un contrat saisonnier ?

1. un contrat saisonnier .......................................................... Oui .......................................................... Non
2. un autre contrat de travail à durée déterminée .......................................................... Oui .......................................................... Non

Durée totale prévue du contrat (en mois) ..........................................................

- POUR TOUS LES ACTIFS (RÉPONDANT AUX QUESTIONS DE LA PARTIE A)

D’après les réponses aux questions précédentes, ou en demandant un complément d’information,

Cocher la case se rapportant à la situation de M...

1. M... a une activité professionnelle effective (y compris apprentissage, stage de travail) ..........................................................

M... n’a pas d’activité professionnelle effective car il est :

1. élève-fonctionnaire ..........................................................
2. stagiaire en formation (FPA,...) ..........................................................
3. en dispense d’activité ..........................................................

Dans sa profession principale, M... travaille-t-il :

1. à temps complet ..........................................................
2. à temps partiel ..........................................................

Combien d’heures de travail M... a-t-il réellement accomplies pendant la semaine de référence du au dans sa profession principale ?

Nombre d’heures (y compris les heures supplémentaires réellement accomplies, non compris les heures payées mais non accomplies, les temps de trajet domicile lieu de travail, les heures perdues pour cause de maladie, congé, chômage,...) ..........................................................

- Pour certaines professions (mamins en mer, nourrices, concierges, gendarmes, pompiers, prêtres...) pour les heures passées en formation, se reporter à l’instruction aux enquêteurs.
Le nombre d'heures indiqué ci-dessus (question 26) est-il l'horaire habituel de M... ?

Oui.

Si l'horaire de M... change d'une semaine à l'autre répondre NON, et coder la raison qui convient en question 26 b.

Pour quelle raison M... a-t-il effectué moins ou plus d'heures que l'horaire habituel ?

Utiliser le code ci-dessous

00. Cessation d'activité
01. Début d'emploi, a trouvé un emploi qui commence ultérieurement
02. Maladie, accident (1 an ou moins)
03. Longue maladie (plus de 1 an)
04. Congé légal de maternité
05. Congé annuel, pour convenances personnelles, férié, pont
06. Mauvais temps, réduction saisonnière d'activité
07. Conflit du travail (grève, lock-out)
08. Chômage partiel (ou ralentissement des affaires)
09. Exerce actuellement les activités occasionnelles qui se présentent
10. Participation à une activité de formation (apprentis, etc...)
11. Horaires mobiles (à la carte)
12. Nombre d'heures effectuées variable d'une semaine à l'autre, mais horaires réguliers sur une base autre que la semaine (travail à équipe, rouvants SNCF,...)
13. Nombre d'heures effectuées variable d'une semaine à l'autre, et horaires irréguliers (artisans, professions libérales, cadres supérieurs,...)
14. Heures supplémentaires
15. Autres cas • Préciser

Quel nombre d'heures de travail M... effectue-t-il habituellement par semaine ?

Si M... déclare ne pas avoir d'horaire habituel, mettre 00

POUR LES SALARIÉS SEULEMENT (réponse 2 à la question 16)

Quel salaire net mensuel M... tire-t-il de sa profession principale ?

Y compris 13e mois, primes annuelles, etc... ramenés au mois

Tendre la carte n° 3 et inscrire la lettre (inscrire X si M... refuse de répondre)

POUR TOUS LES ACTIFS (REPONDANT AUX QUESTIONS DE LA PARTIE A)

M... cherche-t-il un autre emploi ?

Oui.

Pourquoi M... cherche-t-il un autre emploi ?

1. l'emploi actuel est un emploi d'attente trouvé à la suite de la perte de l'emploi antérieur ou, pour les jeunes surtout, pris en attendant de trouver un emploi stable
2. il existe une crainte ou une certitude de perdre l'emploi actuel
3. M... desire trouver un emploi correspondant mieux à sa qualification ou à sa formation
4. M... desire trouver un emploi mieux payé
5. M... desire trouver un emploi plus proche de son domicile
6. M... desire trouver des conditions de travail avantageuses, pénibilité meilleures
7. M... desire trouver un emploi dans une autre région
8. M... cherche une seconde activité à exercer en plus de celle qu'il exerce déjà
9. autres circonstances • Préciser
**FORMATION**

39. M... suit-il des études ou un stage de formation ? (études initiales, formation post-scolaire ou permanente, apprentissage, stage ou cours de formation)

- Pour les étudiants, stagiaires non rémunérés (réponse à la Q. 8) répondre OUI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Q. 41</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40. a. Quelle est la formation suivie par M... ? (voir carte no 4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Dans quelles conditions M... suit-il cette formation ?

1. M... poursuit des études initiales à plein temps sans exercer aucune activité professionnelle

2. M... poursuit des études initiales en formation alternée

3. M... est en apprentissage sous contrat

4. M... poursuit des études initiales tout en exerçant une activité professionnelle

5. M... est en formation post-scolaire ou permanente, stage ou cours de formation, etc.

- On entend par études initiales les études effectuées sans interruption de plus d'un an (à l'exception du service militaire et des congés de maternité). On considérera cependant les études dans le cadre du CNAM, du CNREC, ou en entreprise comme relevant toujours du post-scolaire même si elles sont effectuées en prolongement de la scolarité normale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PARTIE D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41. Fin des études initiales (renseigner AU CHOIX questions 41 a ou 41 b)

41. a. En quelle année M... a-t-il terminé ses études (apprentissage exclu)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ETA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. A quel âge M... a-t-il terminé ses études (apprentissage exclu)

- Pour ceux qui ont jamais fait d'études, indiquer 00 à la question 41 b : pour ceux qui comparent reprendre des études après une interruption (service militaire, maternité,...) indiquer l'année ou l'âge de l'interruption, même provisoire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AFE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42. Jusqu'à quel niveau M... a-t-il poursuivi ses études ? (voir carte no 4)

- dans l'enseignement général (primaire ou secondaire)
- dans l'enseignement technique ou professionnel
- dans l'enseignement supérieur (ou supérieur technique)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NEP</th>
<th>NEG</th>
<th>NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43. Quel diplôme(s) M... a-t-il obtenu ? (voir carte no 4)

- dans l'enseignement général (primaire ou secondaire)
- dans l'enseignement technique ou professionnel
- dans l'enseignement supérieur (ou supérieur technique)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DIEP</th>
<th>DIEG</th>
<th>DIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**RESERVÉ À LA DR**

Pour ceux qui ont déjà été enquêtés un an avant (MOB = 1) et qui avaient répondu à la partie A, activité professionnelle principale

Codification de la profession l'année précédente
### CARTE N° 3

**SALAIRE MENSUEL**

Salaire mensuel net, tiré de la profession principale, y compris 13è mois, primes annuelles, etc... ramenés au mois.

- moins de 1 000 F ........................................ A
- de 1 000 à moins de 1 500 F .......................... B
- de 1 500 à moins de 2 000 F .......................... C
- de 2 000 à moins de 2 500 F .......................... D
- de 2 500 à moins de 3 000 F .......................... E
- de 3 000 à moins de 3 500 F .......................... F
- de 3 500 à moins de 4 000 F .......................... G
- de 4 000 à moins de 4 500 F .......................... H
- de 4 500 à moins de 5 000 F .......................... I
- de 5 000 à moins de 6 000 F .......................... J
- de 6 000 à moins de 7 000 F .......................... K
- de 7 000 à moins de 8 000 F .......................... L
- de 8 000 à moins de 9 000 F .......................... M
- de 9 000 à moins de 10 000 F ......................... N
- de 10 000 à moins de 15 000 F ...................... O
- de 15 000 à moins de 20 000 F ...................... P
- de 20 000 à moins de 25 000 F ...................... Q
- de 25 000 à moins de 30 000 F ...................... R
- 30 000 F et plus ........................................... S
Chapter 8: British teachers and teaching

1. Introduction

In both France and Britain, the sociology of education has tended to focus on pupils and the process of schooling, rather than on teachers themselves. There are, nevertheless, exceptions to this; for example, the work of Tropp (1954) on British schoolteachers, and in France, the work of Berger (1979), focusing particularly on the social class background of primary teachers. Within the rather limited amount of work on British teachers, however, gender issues have not tended to be the focus of attention (Acker, 1989). A particularly clear example of this is Sikes' work on the life-cycle of the teacher, where an in-depth examination of different stages in teachers' lives does not consider in any detail whether women and men might experience these stages differently (Sikes, 1985). Nor in Berger's work is gender a key aspect, although more recent work in France demonstrates increasing interest in women teachers (Cacouault-Bitaud, 1987).

In the first section of this chapter, the history of sex segregation amongst British teachers is described and discussed. In line with Beechey's thinking (Chapter 3), this has the aim of aiding the understanding of current patterns of sex segregation in teaching. The second section explores the way in which women and men continue to be vertically segregated in teaching, and examines the extent to which these patterns are reflected in levels of pay. The third section describes patterns of employment amongst teachers, exploring the question of the relationship of these patterns to both women's
domestic responsibilities, and to their age/life-cycle phase. It aims also to specify teachers' employment patterns, in line with a general aim of this thesis to depart from generalised descriptions of women's employment. The final section is an analysis of the relationship between teachers' occupational achievement and their domestic characteristics. The theoretical and policy implications of this relationship are briefly discussed; this is developed more fully in a comparative way in relation to the four occupational groups in Chapter 12.

2. Occupational sex segregation and women's occupational achievement in British teaching: historical details

Teaching in Britain has not always contained more women than men, as it does today. For example, in 1870, before the sons of artisans and tradespeople left teaching to go into clerical and administrative work (Partington, 1976), proportions of women and men teachers were similar. Again, as Table 8.1 demonstrates, almost a century later in 1961, the proportion of women in teaching only amounted to 59%. Table 8.1 shows that while the numbers of women teachers increased steadily, the proportions of women diminished between 1891 and 1961, as the profession took in increasingly large numbers of men. This increase in the number of men is particularly obvious between 1951 and 1961.

The proportion of women has increased only slightly since 1961. In the mid-1980s, women constitute 63% of the primary and secondary teaching population (LFS 1984).
Table 8.1: Proportions of women teachers, census returns for England & Wales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>% of women</th>
<th>Total (women &amp; men)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>195,021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>230,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>251,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>256,407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>261,271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>301,679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>444,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: calculated from Gosden, P (1972), Table 1.1

The change in the proportions of women teachers reflects both demand and supply features. Women teachers, including married women who had generally been barred from holding many teaching posts, were particularly sought after when men were called up for the Second World War. Their numbers diminished sharply afterwards; Partington (1976) shows that the proportion of women in the teaching force in 1945 was 77%, whilst only three years later, in 1948, women represented only 64% of teachers. Structural features such as the extension of compulsory schooling, rises in the birthrate and male unemployment were also important; so also were post-second world war ideologies of motherhood. Nevertheless, despite fluctuating proportions of women teachers, teaching is commonly regarded as "women's work" and this preponderance of women has been seen as one explanation of the occupation's relatively low status (Tropp, 1954; Kelsall, 1980).

Whilst the degree of horizontal sex segregation may have seen changes over time, teaching in Britain has always been strongly segregated in a vertical direction; women teachers have traditionally been located in low status, low paid jobs within teaching; these are related to the teaching of young children.
To this day, women are strongly over-represented in the primary sector; indeed the teaching of children of nursery age (age 5 and under) remains almost exclusively the domain of women: DES figures for 1985 show only 11 male nursery teachers out of a total of around 1,800 nursery teachers in the whole of England and Wales (DES, 1985). Pupils' age is an important factor in the segregation of women and men teachers. Indeed, the association between women teachers and the teaching of young children has, in the past, received support from teachers themselves. In the inter-war years, the women teachers' union, the National Union of Women Teachers, asserted strongly that men were unsuitable heads for infant schools. By the same token, women were not seen as suitable at that time to be head teachers in mixed junior schools: the men teachers' union, the National Association of Schoolmasters (NAS) felt that women could not provide the necessary sensitivity to deal with the needs of growing boys (Partington, 1976). In addition, it was felt inappropriate for a woman to be in charge of men teachers. Oram (1989:28) cites a 1926 handbook for educational administrators which claimed that it was not the custom for "a master to serve under a mistress".

The segregation of women into the teaching of young children and of girls need not in itself, of course, have led to low status and to low pay. Nevertheless, there has been a longlasting ideology in teaching which places more value on the teaching of older children, probably because academic specialisation is involved (Saran, 1985: 97). Thus, up until 1944, salary scales for secondary teachers were higher than those for elementary teachers. This situation was underpinned
by the fact that, in the early years of the century, women tended not to be qualified ('certificated'), emphasising, and undoubtedly contributing to, the low status attached to the teaching of young children.

Differences between women's and men's pay were built into the salary structure, with a seeming acceptance from both management and teacher unions that women teachers should receive less pay, despite continuing protest by some women teachers. The concept of the family wage is helpful in understanding the rationale behind these built in inequalities: it was taken for granted that men, who were mostly married, needed higher salaries than women, who were mostly single. Even so, there appeared to have been resentment at the good living made by women, compared to that made by men, as the following quotation in the Times Educational Supplement of June 1919, quoted in Oram (1989) shows:

"teachers were divided into two main classes, married men with children and unmarried women. The first mentioned in receipt of £250 a year were poor men not able to dress properly, educate their children as they wished, or take part in social amenities which single women comparatively well off with £250 could enjoy."


As Oram points out, many men teachers were not married, and yet earned more than their unmarried women colleagues, who themselves were very likely to have to support ageing relatives.

Between 1925 and 1944, when the Royal Commission on Equal Pay was set up, the Burnham salary scales specified that women
should earn only four-fifths of men's salaries. In practice, the gap was greater than this, with women typically earning around 70-75% of men in the same sectors from the beginning of the century until the 1950s-60s, when the gap was closed somewhat after agreement to bring about equal pay in 1955. Whilst the thinking behind the family wage could be justified in the first part of the century when only a small proportion of women teachers were married - in 1931, this amounted to only one-tenth - it was more difficult to do so at the beginning of the second half of the century, when one-third of all women teachers were married (figures from Partington, 1976).

Not only was there seeming acceptance, prior to the equal pay agreement, that women should earn less than men, but the salary scales were, up to 1944, lower for elementary teachers than for secondary teachers. Since most elementary teachers were women, and the majority of secondary teachers men, this exacerbated the built-in pay differentials related to sex. The 1944 Education Act tried to remedy this situation by creating one basic grade for all teachers, regardless of whether they taught in primary (as they had then become) or in secondary schools. However, the conditions under which teachers could gain salary points (known as 'graded posts', and from 1971, as 'scale posts') clearly favoured men, since these extra points were associated with, amongst other things, working in larger schools and with older pupils. Women teachers, as we have seen, tended to work with younger pupils in schools which were almost invariably considerably smaller than secondary schools. Therefore an attempt to dispense with the distinction between primary and secondary teachers only served to reinforce the
different importance attached to primary and secondary schools. This system has remained in force to this day, and it is undoubtedly a major factor in explaining the gap between women's and men's pay.

A further aspect of segregation within different teaching sectors was the marked under-representation of women in higher level posts, such as deputy headships and headships. In 1905, there were more male heads in elementary schools than male teachers (Partington, 1976); figures shown in Appendix 8.1 show that in 1985, the ratio of male heads to male teachers in the primary sector was 1:2. Whilst this represents a slight worsening of the likelihood for men teachers of becoming head teachers, it needs to be compared with a ratio of 1:13 for women in 1985 (see also Appendix 8.1). Indeed the situation may be worse than this, since only full-time teachers are included in the DES (Department of Education and Science) figures, from which these ratios are calculated. Only in infant schools were headships invariably held by women; the amalgamation of junior and infant schools in the inter-war years led to a lessening of their opportunities, since headships of such schools tended to be given to men. Furthermore, many small rural schools, which could sometimes only attract women, were closed at this time.

2.1: Married women teachers - a reserve pool of labour
Married women have experienced a history of exits and entries to teaching throughout this century, suggesting that they have been used as a buffer at times when the supply of male teachers became limited (Evans, 1983). For example, the 1st World War
resulted in shortages of male teachers, who were replaced by married women teachers. Prior to this, 'marriage bars' (1) which prevented married women from being employed in permanent jobs, had operated in many areas. These were lifted during the war, but reinstated afterwards, when the teacher supply situation became less acute. The effect of this is shown by comparing the proportions of married women teachers at a time when men were in short supply, with those which existed at a time of acute male unemployment. At the end of the 1st World War, the proportion of women teachers who were married stood at 15%; in the 1930s it was 9% (Partington, 1976). Again in the 1950s, when the birthrate rose sharply, there was a government campaign specifically aimed at bringing back married women into teaching; it was recognised that part-time teaching posts might need to be created for such women. Thirty years later, in the recession of the early 1980s, married women had difficulty in finding part-time teaching work (Evans, 1983). Now, in 1989, again a time when the supply of teachers is low, calls are being made to attract married women back to part-time teaching, and local authorities are being urged to set up childcare facilities for women teachers with young children (DES, Teaching as a Career (TASC) Guidelines, May 1988).

2.2. Summary of the history of sex segregation in British teaching

Patterns of horizontal and of vertical sex segregation have been present in teaching for over a century in Britain. Teaching has been fairly strongly feminized, particularly in the first half of the 20th Century, yet women teachers and head teachers have been segregated into particular aspects: younger

217
children, smaller schools, rural schools, the teaching of girls. Teachers have had equal pay since 1955, after a history of institutionalized pay differences between women and men. Yet, on average, they continue to earn less than men, because pay is linked to posts of responsibility in larger schools, where women tend not to be located.

In the next section, the vertical sex segregation outlined in this historical review is pursued in relation to present-day teaching. Prior to this, however, definitions of teachers are discussed.

3. Defining teachers
The terms used in this chapter and that on French teachers are not of course directly comparable, although most cover similar ground. For example, the term 'secondary education' does not necessarily have the same parameters in the two countries, since in each country it covers a range of different teaching situations, which reflect each country's history, political situation, culture and so on. Nevertheless, the issue of direct comparability is seen here to be of secondary importance to the research question. It seems sufficient in order to examine and explain the effects of sex segregation in French and British teaching to establish that secondary education, for example, covers broadly the same ground in the two countries, that in both countries it implies the teaching of older pupils, and that it can be opposed to primary education in both France and Britain.(2)

As explained in footnote (3), the French data set (Enquête
Emploi) makes a distinction between head teachers and teachers, whilst the British data set (Labour Force Survey) does not. A proxy for this distinction has been created, resulting in the use of the terms 'supervisory' and 'non-supervisory'. Whilst these are not the equivalent of the head teacher/teacher distinction in either France or Britain, they nevertheless serve the purpose of creating a hierarchy of posts, the basis for the exploration of vertical occupational sex segregation. It is not the same hierarchy in the two countries, but it is nevertheless a hierarchy which reflects ascending and descending levels of responsibility, and of pay. The task of this research is to explain the position of women in this hierarchy relative to other women and to men within their own country, and to draw some conclusions about the situation in the two countries. It is not an aim of this work to produce comparative statistics about proportions of French and British women at particular levels in teaching. If this were the aim, then the non-equivalence of categories would constitute a major problem. Given that this is not the aim, it becomes considerably less of an issue.

In the following section, descriptive statistics are given on British teachers. The term 'teachers' is used both in its widest sense to include, firstly, all teachers, from nursery to university level, and, secondly, teachers in the primary and secondary sectors only. Whilst primary and secondary teachers are the primary focus of this chapter, nevertheless, it is useful to have background information on the position of women and men in teaching as a whole (referred to as the 'broad
definition'). This is the purpose of Table 8.2, where the information relates to the whole range of teachers. Nevertheless, the proportion of primary and secondary teachers who are women is also shown in this table. A second, narrower, definition is used for the analyses of the occupational achievement of women teachers. This includes only primary and secondary teachers, combined into one category, with sub-divisions of supervisory and non-supervisory.

4. British teachers: a description

Table 8.2 gives summary statistics for British teachers in the context of the employed labour force. To facilitate comparison, figures for French teachers are also given. Base numbers are in brackets. Table 8.2 shows that teaching represents a relatively small share of the employed labour force as a whole (4%), but that, for women, the proportion is twice that for men (6% compared to 3%). Using the broad definition of teaching, 57% of teachers are women, 43% are men. The more restricted definition of primary and secondary teaching shows that 63% of this group are women. Part-time teaching (broad definition) is predominantly female, with 23% of women teachers working part-time, compared to only 3% of men.

Many of the features shown in this table show a high degree of similarity with France. As would be expected, the statistics relating to levels of women teachers' part-time working differ between the two countries: levels of female part-time teaching in France amounted to 14% of all women teachers, whilst in Britain the equivalent figure is 23%. However, these levels
need to be seen in the context of part-time working as a whole in each country. In France the level of female part-time teaching was approximately half the level of part-time working as a whole (21%), and, similarly, in Britain, the level of female part-time teaching is half that of the level of part-time working in the female employed labour force as a whole (47%).

Table 8.2: Characteristics of teachers and of the employed labour force, age 21-64, Britain, 1984; France, 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Britain</th>
<th>France</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all teachers *</td>
<td>4.0% (60,841)</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of total employed labour force)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women teachers *</td>
<td>5.5% (25,026)</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of female employed labour force)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men teachers *</td>
<td>2.9% (35,815)</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of male employed labour force)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women teachers *</td>
<td>56.9% (2,404)</td>
<td>61.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of all teachers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women primary &amp; secondary</td>
<td>63.1% (1,936)</td>
<td>68.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of all primary &amp; secondary)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women as % of total empl. labour force aged 21-64</td>
<td>41.1% (60,841)</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part-time** women teachers</td>
<td>23.2% (1,368)</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of all women teachers *)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part-time** men teachers</td>
<td>3.4% (1,036)</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of all men teachers *)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part-time** women as % of tot. female employed labour force</td>
<td>46.6% (24,684)</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part-time** men as % of total male employed labour force</td>
<td>1.9% (35,402)</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

source: Labour Force Survey, 1984; files LFS6, LFS7 & LFS8
* 'broad definition' of teachers, from nursery to university level
** self-definition of part-time working

In summary, in both countries there are higher levels of women
than men in teaching, French teaching being rather more heavily feminised than British teaching. Despite differences between the two countries in levels of part-time teaching, in both France and Britain part-time working is considerably less common amongst teachers than in the female labour force as a whole.

The historical development of patterns of sex segregation amongst teachers was discussed in a previous section, showing that women teachers were strongly linked with particular areas of teaching. In the next section, segregation by sex amongst British teachers in the mid-1980s is examined. This has the aim of setting the context for the subsequent examination of the relationship between family and personal characteristics on women's employment patterns and on occupational achievement in teaching.

5. Occupational sex segregation, British teachers

This section focuses on sex segregation in teaching groups which fall within the 'broad definition' of teachers, described above. This ranges from the teaching of under-fives (nursery education) to university level. Table 8.3 shows the proportions of women and of men within each of these groups. Full-time teachers only are shown in this table, and in all those which use Department of Education and Science (DES) published statistics, since the DES does not give information on part-time teachers. To remedy this, Table 8.4 uses information from the LFS 1984 to show sex segregation for three groups of teachers, full-time and part-time combined. These three groups are university teachers, Further Education and
teacher training lecturers, and primary/secondary teachers; these are the only three distinctions made between teachers in the Classification of Occupations 1980, the occupational categorisation used in the Labour Force Survey.

Table 8.3 shows higher overall numbers of women than men amongst British teachers, indicating that, defined in this way, teaching is a female-dominated occupation, but not one which is markedly so. Women are, nevertheless, concentrated in nursery and primary teaching; their considerably higher numbers in primary teaching largely account for their greater representation in teaching as a whole. Leaving aside special education, which spans both primary and secondary age pupils, Table 8.3 shows an inverse relationship between the level of female representation and the age of pupils: the lower the pupil age range, the greater the representation of women. Thus nursery education, dealing with children up to the age of 5, has almost total female staffing (99% women), whilst the education of university students, mostly in their early twenties, is largely carried out by male teachers (11% women). It is evident that the association of women teachers with the teaching of young pupils remains in place, as it has done for most of this century. In addition, as Tables 8A, 8B and 8C in Appendix 8.1 show, even when the degree of feminization in a teaching group is high (such as in primary teaching), women teachers are concentrated in lower grades. Men are numerically relatively poorly represented in primary teaching, yet they have a 1-in-2 chance of becoming a head, comparing to a 1-in-13 chance for women (Appendix 8.1, Table 8A).
Table 8.3: sex segregation within teaching in Britain, full-time teachers, all ages, 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>groups</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>sex ratio index*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nursery</td>
<td>99.3%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>1,687</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary</td>
<td>77.8%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>169,591</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
<td>54.1%</td>
<td>234,556</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>special</td>
<td>65.9%</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
<td>16,144</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further Education</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>75.6%</td>
<td>78,953</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>university **</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
<td>89.0%</td>
<td>27,603</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
<td>528,534</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The measure used here to give a ratio of under or over-representation of women is Hakim's 'sex ratio index' (Hakim, 1979:26). This is calculated by dividing the observed proportion of women in a given occupational group or sub-group by the proportion of women in the group as a whole (which in British teaching amounts to 56.0%). Thus a ratio of 1 indicates no over or under-representation of women; less than 1 indicates over-representation of men; more than 1 indicates over-representation of women. Footnote (4) in Chapter 4 refers.

** figures for university teachers relate to 1986

Source: DES (1985) Statistics of Education: Teachers in Service in England and Wales, 1985, Department of Education & Science, adapted from Table B145; Association of University Teachers (AUT), Research Department Statistics

As indicated above, the DES figures are for full-time teachers only. Table 8.4 gives the breakdown by sex of the three groups of teachers identified in the Classification of Occupations 1980 for full-time and part-time working combined. Table 8.4 shows similar results to those derived from the DES statistics in Table 8.3.

Table 8.4: Teachers, by sex, full-time and part-time working combined, age 21-64

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>post</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>sex ratio index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>university</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>83.7%</td>
<td>100% (129)</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further Education &amp;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher training</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>100% (341)</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prim. &amp; sec.</td>
<td>63.1%</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
<td>100% (1936)</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>56.9%</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
<td>100% (2406)</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984, file LFSD

The concentration of women and men in different parts of
teaching is reflected in pay levels. These are shown in Appendix 8.2. They show that there is an inverse relationship between the mean annual salary in each sector of education (primary, secondary, Further Education and University) and the percentage of each sector who are women. In addition, examination of women's and men's salaries in jobs within each sector shows that parity, or near parity, is achieved. Thus, equal pay, measured horizontally in this way, has been achieved. However, because women tend to be concentrated in the lower, less well paid, jobs, their overall pay is 86% of that of men in the primary sector, and 89% of secondary sector men (Table 8D, Appendix 8.2). Of course, this pay differential needs to be judged in the context of a overall male/female pay gap of around 70% (1981 figures, see Table 4.4, Chapter 4).

6. Teachers' employment patterns

It has already been observed, in relation to more general patterns of women's employment, that continuity of employment during the life-cycle was one of the features distinguishing French from British women. Figure 8.1 charts levels of part-time working, full-time working and not working for British teachers by 5-year age group. Data used for Figure 8.1 are in Appendix 8.3. Despite the methodological problems of using cross-sectional data to examine employment continuity/discontinuity, it is possible, using cross-sectional data such as that from the Labour Force Survey and the Enquête Emploi, to draw some conclusions about the phases in the life-cycle when British women tend to be in full-time working, part-time working or not working. The terms 'continuity' and
'discontinuity' are used, in the knowledge that, strictly speaking, cross-sectional data do not allow for longitudinal inferences.

In Figure 8.1, part-time and full-time working are defined according to self-definition; 'not working' is defined as respondents who were not in employment during the reference week, and whose last job was in teaching. Thus some groups of trained teachers are excluded: these include people who have worked as teachers, but who are now in other employment, or whose last job was not in teaching, as well as people who have trained as teachers, but who have not practised as such. The sum of the three categories of full-time working, part-time working and 'not working' should not therefore be seen as constituting the entire population of women with teaching qualifications. Figure 8.1, nevertheless, suggests patterns of continuity and discontinuity amongst British teachers which can be used for comparison with Figure 9.1 in the chapter on French teachers, as well as with those for British women as a whole. These comparisons are made in Chapter 12.

Figure 8.1 shows that, for women, full-time working is at its highest level in the 21-24 age group (83%); the next peak of full-time working is in the 45-49 age group (70%). Between these two peaks, levels of part-time working are high; in the 35-39 age group, roughly one-third of those in employment are working part-time. Levels of not working are at their highest in the older age groups, reflecting, as with men, the effect of retirement and early retirement. However, there is a peak of not working in the 30-34 age group. The balance between levels
Fig. 8.1: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, British women teachers, Britain, 1984

Not in paid employment

Part-time

Full-time

Age groups:
- 21-24
- 25-29
- 30-34
- 35-39
- 40-44
- 45-49
- 50-54
- 55-59
- 60-64

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984
Files LFS7, LFS8, gemfile BRTEACH5
of not working and part-time working suggests that, during the
phase of having children, not working is a more common course
of action than part-time working; however, during the phases of
bringing up children (roughly the age of 35 years onwards),
part-time working appears to be more common than not working.

Although British teachers are likely to have more continuity of
employment than other occupational groups, many do have
discontinuous employment patterns. It could be expected that
this discontinuity, which may be due to domestic circumstances,
will have an effect on teachers' occupational achievement.
Before exploring this, the effect of teachers' domestic
characteristics on their employment patterns is analysed

7. Employment patterns and domestic characteristics

In Table 8.5, women teachers' employment patterns by domestic
characteristics, the age range 21-64 has been selected. The
age range has been restricted in certain analyses to the period
between the age of 30 and 44 years; the rationale for these age
selections was given in Chapter 7. Primary and secondary
teachers have been combined. A variable was derived as a proxy
for the primary/secondary distinction, and this is explained in
footnote (4). This distinction was not used in the bivariate
tables, principally because numbers were too small for this
sort of analysis. The distinction was used in logit analyses,
since this method of analysis is able to tolerate lower cell
numbers than bivariate analyses. There is no evidence from
previous research that primary and secondary teachers might
differ in terms of the relationship between domestic
circumstances and employment patterns.

Table 8.5: Employment patterns of women teachers, by domestic characteristics, age 21-64, Britain, row percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>not working</th>
<th>part-time*</th>
<th>full-time</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>single</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>married, ev.married:</strong></td>
<td><strong>no children</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+ children</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 0-4 yrs</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 5-11 yrs</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 12-18 yrs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>all</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* according to respondents' self-definition
** base age range 30-44 yrs

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984, files LFS11, LFS24, LFS48, LFSC

Table 8.5 shows that full-time working accounts for the largest proportion of each category, although the proportions vary quite considerably. Of single women, and of married women with no children, almost all work full-time (89% and 90% respectively). The similarity of these two figures demonstrates that, for British teachers, marriage no longer constitutes a reason for leaving the labour force. It has been noted that in the past, married women were less likely to be in teaching than single women. Married women with children are less likely to work full-time than those without, but full-time working remains (with the exception of teachers with pre-school children) the most common employment status. Table 8.5 shows, therefore, that the presence of children is related to higher levels of not working and part-time working. The number
of children makes little difference, although those with 2 or 3+ children are rather more likely to work part-time than those with 1 child. Bearing out previous research on women in employment (Martin & Roberts, 1984), the age of the youngest child has a strong effect on employment patterns: 37% of teachers with a pre-school child are not in employment, compared with 12% of those with a primary age child, and 5% of those with a secondary age child. As the chapter on French teaching will show, this is in contrast to France. However, it is the presence or absence of children which is the important factor in these employment patterns. If no children are present, then the likelihood of working anything other than full-time is small.

The analyses shown in Table 8.5 no doubt reflect the scarcity in Britain of pre-school childcare. However, once teachers' children are at school, and particularly at secondary school, this scarcity affects them less. As already discussed, after-school childcare is almost non-existent in Britain; however, unlike white-collar workers, for example, this is unlikely to constitute a major problem for teachers in terms of combining the demands of home and employment. In addition, the problem of most British women in employment of finding childcare for half-terms and for school holidays is not one which teachers have to face. This provides another reason for the likelihood that domestic concerns, particularly those relating to children, probably affect teachers' achievement less than any other occupation. Children still have an effect, and probably a marked one, but this is likely to be less than other British occupations. Comparison in the next chapter with France will
show that the effect of children is markedly smaller on French teachers than on British teachers.

In this section, a picture of the inter-relationship between British women teachers' employment patterns and their domestic characteristics has been established. The presence of children, and in particular the age of the youngest child have an effect on teachers' employment patterns. However, it can be expected that this effect will be considerably less than the white-collar workers studied in a later chapter, but that it is likely to be greater than for French teachers. A combination of structural and societal reasons is likely to account for these differences. This combination, conceptualised as the 'occupational situation' was developed in Chapter 6, and it is discussed further in Chapter 12.

In the next section, the relationship between teachers' domestic circumstances and their occupational achievement is examined.

8. Teachers and occupational achievement
The concept of occupational achievement was discussed in Chapter 7. It is operationalised for teachers by using the distinction between non-supervisory and supervisory posts. Thus, occupational achievement for teachers is defined here as employment in a teaching post with a supervisory aspect. This is a fairly broad definition, which is likely to include heads of subjects, heads of departments, deputy heads and heads. Since the Classification of Occupations (C080) does not
distinguish between different grades of teachers, a new variable was derived to incorporate the supervisory function. The way in which this was done is explained in footnote (3).

An additional age selection has been made for the purposes of Table 8.6. The age range 40-60 was selected for some analyses of occupational achievement by marital status because most supervisory posts were held by people in this age range.

The analyses of teachers' domestic circumstances and their occupational achievement are carried out using two distinct methods: bivariate analysis, and logit analysis. Bivariate analyses are useful for their ability to give insight into relationships. In addition, they may show up details which other, more sophisticated, methods can obscure. However, cross-tabulations of the sort shown in Table 8.6 cannot show the effect of one independent variable whilst controlling on others. Therefore, a second analysis of teachers' domestic circumstances and their occupational achievement has been carried out using logistic regression (logit). This is an appropriate method for assessing the effect of one independent variable on a dichotomous dependent variable, whilst controlling on the other independent variables. (5)

8.1.: Bivariate analyses of teachers' occupational achievement
Table 8.6 shows that, without controlling for the presence/absence of children, marital status has a strong effect on teachers' occupational achievement. Of those single women in the 40-60 age group, 57% are in supervisory positions, compared to 18% of married/ever married. Controlling for
presence/absence of children for women aged 30-44 years reduces this difference quite considerably to 23% for single and 14% for married women. Single status therefore improves chances of being in a supervisory position, but not dramatically in the 30-44 age group. There is a suggestion, however, that the likelihood of single women being in supervisory positions increases sharply with age, as would be expected.

Table 8.6: Domestic circumstances and occupational achievement, British teachers, age 20-60

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>supervisory</th>
<th>non-sup.</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single *</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married/ev.married *</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>single, no children**</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married/ev.married,no chil**</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all, no children **</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married, ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 + children</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youngest child 0-4 yrs</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youngest child 5-11 yrs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youngest child 12-18 yrs</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* age 40-60, not controlling for presence/absence of children
** age 30-44

Source: Labour Force Survey, file LFS111

Table 8.6 demonstrates that the absence of children is an important factor in bringing about occupational achievement. However, amongst those with children, the number and age of children does not alter occupational achievement markedly. The larger proportion of supervisory teachers with three and more children, and with a youngest child of age 12-18 years is probably due to an effect of age: supervisory teachers are likely to be older than non-supervisory, and those with
children in these categories are also likely to be older.

The bivariate analyses shown so far are not able to show the effect of one independent variable whilst controlling for the effects of the other independent variables. In particular, the effects of marital status and of children have been difficult to separate, and the effect of age has been hard to handle. The appropriate methodology for assessing the independent effect of independent variables on a dichotomous dependent variable is logistic regression. Details of this method of analysis are in footnote (5).

8.2. Logit analyses of teachers' occupational achievement

In this section, the occupational achievement of British women teachers is examined by using a logit analysis, where the dichotomous response variable is being in a supervisory teaching grade versus being in the non-supervisory grade. The model incorporates the independent variables relating to the domestic circumstances explored in the bivariate analyses above, but they also include two extra variables which allow for the exploration of further important aspects. Firstly, a variable which distinguishes between secondary and primary teachers has been introduced. Earlier in this chapter, it was stated that there was no known work on a possible difference between primary and secondary teachers in terms of the effects of domestic circumstances on their employment. The following analysis seeks, therefore, to shed some light on this. Secondly, and more importantly for the expectations set out at the end of Chapter 6, the effect of part-time working on
occupational achievement is analysed.

The independent variables included in this analysis are those family and personal variables which were used in the bivariate analyses above. These are: marital status (single, married/ever married, MAR1), age of youngest child (AGY2). Additional variables were included in the model: full-time/part-time working (FTOR), 5-yearly age groups (AGE8), and "secondary"/"primary" (SECP). A variable giving information about educational qualifications (QUAL) was also introduced. The issue of the effect of educational qualifications is not the focus of this thesis; however, it was judged appropriate to include it in the model in order to control for its effects, if any. As it turned out (see below and footnote 6), this variable was not statistically significant, and was omitted from the final model.\(^6\) The values of the dependent and the independent variables are described in Appendix 8.4.

The age of youngest child (AGY2) was included in the model rather than the number of dependent children, since bivariate analyses had shown the former to have more effect than the latter. However, a model with the number of dependent children variable (DEPC) rather than AGY2 is shown in Appendix 8.5. It was not possible to put both variables in the same model, since GLIM, the statistical package used for the logit analyses, will not calculate a score for one category of a variable, when it has already encountered an identical category with the same cases in another variable. In this case, the reference categories for the two variables, the category 'no children', were identical.
The following additive model was fitted:

\[
\text{SUPE} = \text{QUAL} + \text{SECP} + \text{MAR1} + \text{AGY2} + \text{FTOR} + \text{AGE8}
\]

where \( \text{SUPE} = \) non-supervisory/supervisory

\( \text{QUAL} = \) highest qualification achieved

\( \text{SECP} = \) "secondary" or "primary" sector

\( \text{MAR1} = \) marital status

\( \text{AGY2} = \) age of youngest child

\( \text{FTOR} = \) full-time or part-time

\( \text{AGE8} = \) 5-yearly age groups

Results (not shown here) from fitting this model showed that two variables, QUAL (highest qualification obtained) and AGY2 (age of youngest child) did not reach significance (at the .05 probability level). QUAL has been omitted from the model, but AGY2 left in because of its substantive interest. The approach adopted in the logit analyses was not to achieve the most parsimonious model, but rather to include variables of theoretical importance, even if they were not statistically significant. The analyses in Chapter 11, French officeworkers, show that the lack of statistical significance of some variables is an interesting finding.

A model omitting QUAL, but retaining AGY2 was then fitted, thus:

\[
\text{SECP} + \text{MAR1} + \text{AGY2} + \text{FTOR} + \text{AGE8}
\]

Results are shown in Table 8.7. Reference categories are included in the table.

Table 8.7 shows many values reaching statistical significance, some at highly significant levels. Among the several interesting features, some of which are discussed more fully
below after the examination of the odds ratios, are the negative values of the marital status variable (MARI); the non-significance of the age of youngest child variable (AGY2), but its negative direction on two values (3 & 4), and its near-statistical significance on value 3. Additional interesting features are the highly significant level and the negative direction of the full-time/part-time variable (FTOR), the high level of significance of the secondary sector/primary sector variable, and the increasing significance of age, with the age group 45-49 having the highest T-ratio of the AGE values.

Table 8.7: Parameter estimates for the log odds of being in a supervisory teaching grade, compared to a non-supervisory teaching grade, Britain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parameter</th>
<th>value labels</th>
<th>estimate</th>
<th>S.E.</th>
<th>T-ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>constant **</td>
<td>-3.666</td>
<td>0.9920</td>
<td>3.7 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECP (1)</td>
<td>secondary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECP (2)</td>
<td>primary</td>
<td>-0.5482</td>
<td>0.1939</td>
<td>2.8 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARI (1)</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARI (2)</td>
<td>married</td>
<td>-0.8172</td>
<td>0.2679</td>
<td>3.1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARI (3)</td>
<td>widowed</td>
<td>-0.7897</td>
<td>0.5698</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARI (4)</td>
<td>div/sep</td>
<td>-1.024</td>
<td>0.4713</td>
<td>2.2 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGY1 (1)</td>
<td>no children</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGY1 (2)</td>
<td>y.ch 0-4</td>
<td>0.02364</td>
<td>0.3877</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGY1 (3)</td>
<td>y.ch 5-11</td>
<td>-0.6296</td>
<td>0.3898</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGY1 (4)</td>
<td>y.ch 12-18</td>
<td>-0.2232</td>
<td>0.2722</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTOR (1)</td>
<td>full-time</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTOR (2)</td>
<td>part-time</td>
<td>-2.088</td>
<td>0.4668</td>
<td>4.5 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGEB (1)</td>
<td>20-24 yrs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGEB (2)</td>
<td>25-29 yrs</td>
<td>1.058</td>
<td>1.078</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGEB (3)</td>
<td>30-34 yrs</td>
<td>2.927</td>
<td>1.023</td>
<td>2.9 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGEB (4)</td>
<td>35-39 yrs</td>
<td>2.582</td>
<td>1.045</td>
<td>2.5 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGEB (5)</td>
<td>40-44 yrs</td>
<td>3.222</td>
<td>1.033</td>
<td>3.1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGEB (6)</td>
<td>45-49 yrs</td>
<td>3.785</td>
<td>1.026</td>
<td>3.7 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGEB (7)</td>
<td>50-54 yrs</td>
<td>3.381</td>
<td>1.035</td>
<td>3.3 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGEB (8)</td>
<td>55-64 yrs</td>
<td>3.492</td>
<td>1.056</td>
<td>3.3 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984, files LFS54 & GLIMFLOR3.OUT

* indicates significance at the .05 level of probability
** the 'constant' parameter is perhaps best understood in terms of Payne's 'paradigmatic person' (Payne, 1987). This is discussed further below.
Odds ratios were calculated by taking the exponential of the parameter estimates. Odds ratios of categories other than the reference category can then be compared with the reference category.

(a) marital status:
Women who are single have a higher chance of being in a supervisory position than those who are married/ever married. This bears out the bivariate analysis.

Odds ratios:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MARS (1) single (reference category)</th>
<th>MARS (2) married</th>
<th>MARS (3) widowed</th>
<th>MARS (4) divorced/separated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Odds</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The odds of being in a supervisory position are 0.4 if married/ever married, compared to being single.

(b) age of youngest child
This variable did not reach statistical significance, but was retained in the model for theoretical reasons. Firstly, it is important that the presence of children, and their age, did not have an independent effect, whilst marital status did. For reasons already discussed earlier in this chapter, teaching is an occupation where the presence of children is likely to have little effect. However, it needs to be noted that value 2 (youngest child of primary age) was close to reaching statistical significance, and that in addition, both value 2 and 3 showed a negative direction. It is likely that being in a supervisory position in teaching involves rather more than school-hours; since after-school childcare is so scarce in Britain, then it is likely that a primary age child, less able to look after itself than a secondary age child, would constitute more of a barrier than a secondary age child to
being in a supervisory position.

The odds ratios for this variable have not been calculated, since none reached statistical significance.

(c) age

Apart from the full-time/part-time variable, some values of the variable age have the highest T-ratios in the model. As age increases, so the probability of being in higher level teaching posts increases in a marked way. For example, the odds of being in such posts at the age of 45-49 years is 44.0 compared to being in such posts at the age of 21-24. The odds decrease somewhat after this age group, but they remain markedly higher than in the younger groups. These odds ratios demonstrate the importance of age in increasing the chances of being in a supervisory position. It is, of course, not surprising that promotion to a supervisory post is unlikely to happen in the first few years of teaching.

Odds ratios: 1 21-24 years (1) reference category
(2.9) 25-29 years (2)
18.7 30-34 years (3)
13.2 35-39 years (4)
25.1 40-44 years (5)
44.0 45-49 years (6)
29.4 50-54 years (7)
32.9 55-64 years (8)

(d) part-time/full-time working

The odds of being in a higher grade teaching post as compared to a lower grade teaching post are 0.1 if teachers are part-time, compared to full-time. As might be expected, the likelihood of being restricted to low level posts is strong if teachers work part-time.

Odds ratios 1 FTOR (1) full-time (reference category)
0.1 FTOR (2) part-time
8.2.1. Multiplicative effects

A useful way of identifying a set of characteristics which would give the highest chance of being in a supervisory position is via the concept of the 'paradigmatic person' (Payne, 1987), through 'multiplicative effects', where odds of a particular value can be combined with those of others.

The examination of the multiplicative effects in this model involves moving the 'paradigmatic person', who takes on the values of the reference categories of each independent variable, from one value to another. In this model, the 'paradigmatic person' has the following characteristics: secondary teacher, single, no children, full-time, age 21-24. The odds of such a person being in a higher level teaching post are 0.03 (exponential of the constant, see Table 8.7), extremely low. In the light of the odds ratios examined above, it is likely that it is age which is acting as the major restraint on occupational advancement. The effect of moving
the 'paradigmatic person' from age 21-24 to 44-49 increases the odds of being in a higher grade post by a factor of 44, i.e. the odds become 1.32 (0.03*44). However, if this person is then moved to being married, the odds are decreased to 0.5.

Thus, the characteristics of the woman with the highest odds of promotion to a higher grade teaching position are very similar to those of the 'paradigmatic person', with the exception of the age factor: secondary sector, single, no children, full-time, age 44-49.

In sum, three variables have large effects on the chances of being in a higher level teaching position. Age has a large effect, as would be expected. The most interesting results, from the point of view of the relationship of domestic circumstances and occupational achievement, are the large effects of full-time/part-time working and of marital status. In addition, the non-significance of the age of youngest child variable is interesting, although one category, children of primary age, is close to statistical significance, and has a negative effect on being in a higher level position.

9. Comparing women's and men's occupational achievement

Table 8.8 brings together key elements of the bivariate analyses. Although men are not the subject of this thesis, they can of course be used as a yardstick against which women's achievement can be judged. Indeed, this is usually the way in which policy-makers, or those who seek to change policy, make assessments, for example in relation to equal opportunities in
employment. Selecting full-time women and men teachers only, Table 8.8 compares the occupational achievement of men with those of women in three categories of domestic circumstances.

Table 8.8: Occupational achievement of women and men teachers, full-time working only, age 30-44 years, Britain, row percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>supervisory</th>
<th>non-sup.</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>women: full-time,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>single, no children</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>100% (74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women: full-time,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married, no children</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100% (97)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women: full-time,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married, children</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>100% (263)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>100% (418)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Force Survey, files LFS111,112

Table 8.8 shows that single women with no children are the closest to men in terms of occupational achievement. Married women, working full-time, with or without children are equally unlikely to be in supervisory posts, with men around three times more likely to be in such posts. This suggests that domestic circumstances, both relating to marriage and to children, are responsible for some women's occupational underachievement. Since married women without children are equally as unlikely as married women with children to underachieve by comparison with men and with single women, this suggests that employers may be discriminating against women not because of their current domestic commitments, but because of an assumption that they will, in the future, have domestic commitments (children) who will constitute a constraint upon women's ability to carry out a teaching job at a supervisory level. Alternatively, it is possible that women themselves, once married, fail to apply for supervisory level jobs, making
the assumption themselves that having children will be incompatible with carrying out work at that level. However, as discussed in Chapter 6, there is little evidence that married teachers lack ambition; indeed the evidence supported the view that employer discrimination against women with domestic commitments was the principal cause of women teachers' underachievement (NUT, 1980).

Turning to the occupational achievement of single women, there is also the possibility that assessments of future domestic responsibilities are being made by employers. If such assumptions were absent, then it would be expected that single women without children would have the same level of occupational achievement as men (although structural reasons such as the lack of opportunity for women in primary schools to obtain promoted posts are of course important here). It is likely, however, that as single women become older, assumptions about putative domestic responsibilities become less; indeed comparison of the occupational achievement of single childless women and men in the 40-60 age group (not shown here) shows that the two groups have similar levels of achievement.

However, evidence quoted by Partington (1976) of an analysis carried out in 1970 by the London School of Economics Higher Education Unit(7) suggests that there may be differences between the primary and secondary sector. This research used a 1% sample of teachers in England and Wales to show that there was little difference in the occupational achievement of single women and men in the primary sector, but that this was not the case in the secondary sector, where single women did not
achieve at the same level as men. Further analysis of this question would be interesting. It needs to be said, however, that even if it could be established that some groups of women primary teachers were achieving on a par with men primary teachers, the salaries of primary teachers are below those of secondary teachers, as Appendix 8.2 showed. In terms of pay, therefore, achievement at the primary level is inferior to that at secondary level.

10. Summary of chapter
Since the beginning of the 20th century, there have been strong patterns of sex segregation in British teaching. The feminization of teaching brought with it assumptions that women were suited to the teaching of young children, and of girls, and that, moreover, they should be paid less than men. Although equal pay was achieved in the middle of the century, pay differentials have continued, and women continue to be over-represented in primary teaching, and in non-supervisory positions in both primary and secondary sectors. In seeking explanations of this situation, the domestic circumstances of women teachers were examined, showing that the presence and absence of children are clearly linked to women's employment patterns - whether they work full-time, part-time or are not in paid employment. Amongst those with children, employment patterns are strongly affected by the age of the youngest child. Whilst inadequate after-school and holiday childcare provision affects teachers less than any other occupational group, they continue to be affected by inadequate pre-school childcare.
Teachers' occupational achievement (location in supervisory or non-supervisory posts) is less clearly affected by the presence of children, or by the age of the youngest child. The largest negative effects on teachers' occupational achievement were marital status and part-time working. Being without children, as well as being single, gave the best chance of being in a supervisory position. Comparing the occupational achievement of full-time teachers in different domestic circumstances with the occupational achievement of men shows that single women teachers, without children, continue, as history tells us, to be closest to men teachers in terms of occupational achievement.

Footnotes:

(1) The precise terms of the 'marriage bar' varied between local authorities, but, typically, the bar meant that married women with living husbands could not apply for permanent posts. Women had to resign when they married. Supply teaching posts could be filled by married women only if sufficient numbers of single women were not available. The bar was not universally applied however; Conservative-led councils tended to impose it, whilst those which were Labour-led tended not to. The marriage bar was finally brought to an end in Section 24(3) of the 1944 Education Act, after many local authorities had had to relax their policies because of a decline in the supply of male teachers during the 2nd World War. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that the attitudes behind it remained.

(2) A final point which needs to be made about the British categories of primary and secondary schools relates to the categorisation of First and Middle schools. This system affects only 3 of the education authorities in England & Wales, although there are a few authorities which have a mixture of primary/secondary and first/middle. In the DES figures, first schools are included with primary schools. Middle schools catering for pupils aged 8 to 12 are deemed primary; those with children aged 9 to 13 are deemed primary or secondary according to the decision of the local authority involved, and those for children aged 10 to 13 are deemed secondary (DES, 1985, Explanatory notes and definitions). In the tables derived from secondary analysis of the LFS, the primary/secondary distinction is related to the size of schools (in terms of the number of staff), and not to the age of pupils (see footnote 3).
Establishing higher level teacher categories: a distinction between teachers with supervisory and non-supervisory duties has been achieved, using the variable SEGF, socio-economic grouping, which distinguishes between employees with and without managerial/supervisory status. Whilst this tallies reasonably closely with published proportions of heads and teachers in the primary sector, it does not do so in the secondary sector. The reason for this is likely to be that few primary teachers apart from the head teacher have supervisory status, since there are relatively few posts of responsibility in primary schools; however, there are likely to be considerably more secondary teachers with supervisory duties who are nevertheless not head teachers, since there are more heads of department posts and other posts of responsibility in secondary schools. Therefore, the distinction between supervisory and non-supervisory has been used in to denote different hierarchical levels; it is not, however, a proxy for the head/teacher distinction.

Table F8.1 shows proportions of women and men teachers, aged 21-64, in these four categories.

Table F8.1: "primary" and "secondary" supervisory and non-supervisory teachers by sex, age 21-64, full-time and part-time combined, row percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>teaching post</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;secondary&quot; supervisory</td>
<td>30.7%</td>
<td>69.3%</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;secondary&quot; non-supervisory</td>
<td>59.7%</td>
<td>40.3%</td>
<td>919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;primary&quot; supervisory</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;primary&quot; non-supervisory</td>
<td>86.6%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984, file LFS9

Table F8.1 shows that whilst the distinction between "primary" supervisory and non-supervisory is reasonably similar to the proportions of primary heads and teachers shown in DES and NES data, the "secondary" supervisory and non-supervisory distinction is not comparable to the proportions of secondary heads and teachers shown in the published statistics.

Although the Labour Force Survey uses the Classification of Occupations 1980, which does not distinguish between primary and secondary teachers nor between head teachers and teachers, a variable has been derived from the LFS data which succeeds in making distinctions similar, but not equivalent, to these.

In order to distinguish between primary and secondary teachers, the variable EMPLOYNO has been used. This variable distinguishes between places of work which have either 25 or more employees, or less than 25 employees. Whilst these values do not correspond precisely to the distinction between primary and secondary schools, information from DES Statistics on teacher/pupil ratios,
and on pupils numbers in primary and secondary schools has allowed for the calculation that 95% of secondary schools have 25 and more teachers, and 94% of primary schools have less than 18 teachers (calculated from DES 1985, Table B122, percentages rounded).

The size of workplace variable therefore gives a sufficiently close approximation to the secondary/primary distinction for it to be used as a proxy. When information from this derived variable is presented, however, the terms primary and secondary are presented in inverted commas, thus: "primary", "secondary".

(5) Multivariate regression based on the principle of generalised linear modelling is used since it offers substantial explanatory power. The appropriate model to use if the dependent variable is dichotomous is logit. The package used was GLIM, Generalized Linear Interactive Modelling. Interpretation of the analyses yielded by GLIM involves a calculation of a T-ratio in order to test the statistical significance of the categories of each independent variable. This is done by dividing the parameter estimate by the standard error. If the result of this calculation is greater than 1.96, the 0.05 level of significance, then the category is judged to be significant at this level. Odds ratios were calculated by taking the exponential of the parameter estimates. Payne (1987) explains the difference between odds and probabilities in the following way: "In a sample of 100 young people where 80 are employed and 20 unemployed, the probability of being unemployed is 20% but the odds of unemployment rather than employment are 20/80, i.e. 0.25. In other words, respondents are one quarter as likely to be unemployed as to be employed" (Payne, 1987:207).

(6) It is interesting that this variable did not reach significance at the required level. This probably reflects both a feature of an occupationally based occupation such as teaching, as well as the limitation of the LFS educational qualifications categories. A major feature of occupationally based occupations is that qualifications are obtained prior to entry. Thus, promotion to higher grades is not dependent upon obtaining qualifications whilst in employment. However, teachers can, and do, obtain extra qualifications whilst in employment (Advanced Diplomas, for example), which may well help promotion, although they are not in themselves a reason for promotion. However, these sorts of qualifications, internal to teaching, are not a category in the LFS.

(7) Unsuccessful efforts were made to trace this research.
Appendix 8.1

Vertical occupational sex segregation: primary, secondary and university sectors

(a) primary and nursery teaching

Despite women's higher numerical representation in primary and nursery teaching, women are markedly under-represented in the higher positions within the primary and nursery education sector. Table 8A shows the extent of vertical occupational segregation within this sector, using the system of grades (termed 'scales') which represent both added responsibility and increased pay within the British teaching system. Thus Scale 1 represents the lowest position in the school hierarchy; the highest scale post below a deputy head position is Scale 4.

In Table 8A primary and nursery are combined, since there are so few men in nursery teaching. Higher grade teaching posts (2nd masters/mistresses, senior teachers, Scale 4 and Scale 3) have been grouped into one category, because of very small numbers in all but the Scale 3 categories. This category is termed 'higher grades' in Table 8A. The allocation of higher scale posts is largely determined by the size of school; since primary schools tend to be considerably smaller in size than secondary, it follows that they are unlikely to have large numbers of posts in Scale 4 and higher categories. Again, only full-time teachers are included in this table.

Table 8A: Vertical occupational segregation in teaching, primary and nursery sector, full-time working, all ages, 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>teaching post</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heads</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deputy heads</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher grades</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scale 2</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td>38.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scale 1</td>
<td>34.9%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>29.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(133,691)</td>
<td>(37,587)</td>
<td>(171,278)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ratio head:teacher 1:13

Source: DES (1985) Statistics of Education: Teachers in Service in England & Wales 1985, Department of Education & Science, adapted from Table B129

Table 8A shows the marked under-representation of women in higher grade posts in primary education. Over three-quarters of women teachers are employed in the two lowest grades; under one-third of men teachers are categorised in these grades.

There may be considerable variation by cohort, for example between women and men who entered teaching many years ago, and those who are relatively new entrants.
In Britain, almost all teachers enter the profession at Scale 1, and it is at this level, as well as at Scale 2, that the majority of teaching posts are found. It would therefore be expected that the highest percentage of teachers would be found in this category, and the lowest at the top of the hierarchy, where relatively few headships are available. This pyramidal pattern is indeed to be seen in relation to women primary teachers and heads. However, it is not the case for men primary teachers and heads, where, by contrast, the largest proportion is at the top of the hierarchy, in headship positions. These markedly different patterns suggest that primary teaching represents probabilities of advancement which vary strongly between women and men. This is illustrated by the difference in the head:teacher ratios for women and men nursery/primary teachers, shown in Table 8A. A head:teacher ratio of 1:2 for men suggests considerable ease of promotion for men in this sector. A head:teacher ratio of 1:13 for women illustrates that primary and nursery teaching does not represent the same sort of promotion prospects for women.

(b) secondary teaching

Table 8B gives information on vertical occupational segregation of secondary teachers and head teachers. In this table, the 'higher grades' category encompasses 2nd masters/mistresses, senior teachers and Scale 4 teachers. Unlike the primary teachers' table (8A) Scale 3 has been shown separately, since there are large numbers of secondary teachers in both Scale 3 and 4.

Table 8B: Vertical occupational sex segregation in secondary teaching, full-time teaching, all ages, 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>teaching post</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heads</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deputy heads</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher grades</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scale 3</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scale 2</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scale 1</td>
<td>39.8%</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(108,915)</td>
<td>(127,790)</td>
<td>(236,705)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ratio head:teacher</td>
<td>1:137</td>
<td>1:30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DES (1985), adapted from Table B129

Table 8B shows that women secondary teachers tend to be grouped at the lowest scale point, with 40% of women being in Scale 1 positions, compared with 19% of men. Women are considerably less likely than men to be head teachers, and to be employed in higher grades generally. A pyramidal structure, with the majority of posts at Scale 1, and the smallest number in the headship category, is apparent for women, and to a rather lesser extent, for men, for whom a diamond-shape describes the
data rather better. This provides a contrast with the primary sector, where the pyramidal structure was evident for women, but quite absent for men. Had part-time teachers, who are almost all women, been included in this table, an even greater proportion of women would be shown in the scale 1 positions.

Table 8B shows that the ratio between headships and other grades in the secondary sector is considerably higher for women than for men. However, the difference between these two ratios is somewhat less acute than in the primary sector. There is some limited historical evidence that women secondary teachers have been able to safeguard their positions rather more effectively than women in primary teaching. In the first half of this century, secondary women teachers working in all-girls schools appear to have been more successful than women primary teachers in safeguarding their positions, and thereby commanding relatively high rates of pay (Summerfield, 1988). They did this through the formation of professional associations which acted as "informal accreditation networks" by ensuring that access to the teaching of girls was restricted to women with suitable qualifications and experience. The advent of co-education after the 2nd World War decreased schoolmistresses' ability to operate closure mechanisms of the sort described above. However, it is possible that some elements of their strength have remained in their somewhat better position in relation to their male colleagues than is apparent in the primary sector.

(c) university sector

Table 8C: Vertical occupational sex segregation, university teachers, full-time working only, all ages, 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>teaching post</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>professor</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senior lecturer/reader</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lecturer</td>
<td>82.0%</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
<td>60.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>100.1%</td>
<td>100.1%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3,025)</td>
<td>(24,578)</td>
<td>(27,603)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ratio professorships:other grades 1:31 1:6

Source: Association of University Teachers (AUT) (1986)

The small overall numbers of women teachers in universities means that the number of women who attain the rank of professor is extremely limited. Employment in professorial positions can be seen from Table 8C to be a considerably more remote possibility for women university teachers than for their male counterparts. Not only are numbers of women university teachers considerably lower than those of men, but their chances of gaining access to professorships are markedly less. Table 8C shows that university teaching is strongly vertically segregated, with 82% of women being on the lowest level, lecturing, compared with 58% of men. Only 3% of women academics become professors, compared to 14% of men.
The above analyses do not take account of changes in recruitment patterns over time which may affect one sex rather than another. For example, it is only relatively recently that women have entered university teaching in any numbers. It might then be reasonable to expect them to be crowded into lower level posts, simply by reason of being on average younger than male university teachers. Only an analysis of vertical segregation by age and by sex would show this. Unfortunately there is no available evidence on this for the university sector. However, it is unlikely that all of the variance could be explained by reference to differences in the mean age of women and men. In particular, this is unlikely to be an explanation for the degree of vertical sex segregation in primary and secondary teaching, since the intake of male teachers does not appear to have dropped significantly over time.
Appendix 8.2

British teachers' pay

Before examining differences between women's and men's pay in the different teaching sub-groups, it is useful to examine, as in the French chapter, the relationship between the predominance of women or men in particular groups, and the average pay of that group.

(a) Pay levels in groups where women predominate

Levels of pay are determined in British teaching by size of school and by promotion to scale posts and to senior positions such as deputy headships and headships. They are also determined by length of service: salary increments are given for each year of service. This means that breaks in service, for example for family formation, have the effect of lowering women's salaries. They also have the effect of lessening the possibility of promotion, since women who have taken a break tend to return to a job which is on the lowest scale (Acker, 1989). This will also of course have a negative effect on pay levels.

It has already been noted that, in the past, the over-representation of women within teaching has been blamed for low pay for both women and men teachers. The French data confirmed this relationship, with teaching groups with a predominance of women commanding low pay relative to those where proportions of women were lower. Table 8D gives this information for Britain. DES Statistics do not give separate income data for primary & nursery, for special education, nor for part-time teachers.

Table 8D: teaching groups in Britain, mean annual pay levels, full-time working only, graduates and non-graduates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>teaching group</th>
<th>mean annual salary</th>
<th>% of each group who are women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>primary &amp; nursery</td>
<td>£9,663</td>
<td>78.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary</td>
<td>£10,157</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further Education</td>
<td>£12,547</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University *</td>
<td>£16,467</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DES (1985), information extracted from Tables B144 & B130; Association of University Teachers (AUT) (1986)

*data for the university sector relates to 1986

Table 8D shows that there is a marked relationship between the preponderance of women in each teaching group and the salary which that teaching group attracts, providing evidence that a group which is highly feminized suffers low pay in comparison to groups where men predominate. However, it needs to be borne in mind that, although entry to both primary and secondary sectors is now by university degree only, the primary and nursery sector has traditionally required lower qualifications than secondary teaching. Thus, some older primary and nursery teachers are likely to have only a teaching certificate, and

252
not a degree. This may account, in part at least, for the lower average salary of primary teachers, in comparison with that of secondary teachers. It might be expected, therefore, that the average salary of graduates in the primary and nursery sector would be higher than that for non-graduates. DES Statistics show that this is not the case, however; the average salary in 1985 for graduates in this sector was £9,207 compared with £9,805 for non-graduates (DES, 1985, Table B130). This apparent discrepancy is probably explained by the fact that non-graduates are likely to be older, and to have accumulated a greater number of salary increments because of their length of service.

The mean salary of full-time women and men teachers is now examined for each of the teaching groups.

(b) Salaries of women and men teachers

Table 8E gives details of mean annual salaries for women and men teachers; here a distinction is made between heads, deputy heads and different grades of teachers in the primary and secondary sectors. University lecturers are omitted from this table, because information on salaries disaggregated by sex was not available from the Association of University Teachers, and nor was it contained in the New Earnings Survey. The NES requires a sample of 100 or more for each occupation; this was not achieved for women university teachers, a telling fact in itself.

Table 8E: Annual mean salaries, full-time women and men teachers, 1985/6, England & Wales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>women's pay as % of men's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>primary &amp; nursery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heads</td>
<td>£13,381</td>
<td>£13,851</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deputy heads</td>
<td>£11,560</td>
<td>£11,880</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher grade teachers*</td>
<td>£11,855</td>
<td>£11,782</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scale 2 teachers</td>
<td>£10,187</td>
<td>£10,123</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scale 1 teachers</td>
<td>£8,757</td>
<td>£8,784</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all primary</td>
<td>£10,184</td>
<td>£11,784</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| secondary           |        |        |                           |
| heads               | £18,623| £19,511| 96%                       |
| deputy heads        | £15,466| £15,589| 99%                       |
| higher grade teachers** | £13,595| £13,659| 100%                      |
| scale 3 teachers    | £11,639| £11,759| 99%                       |
| scale 2 teachers    | £10,017| £10,105| 99%                       |
| scale 1 teachers    | £8,709 | £8,784 | 99%                       |
| all secondary       | £10,527| £11,786| 89%                       |

*=senior teachers, scale 4 and scale 3  
**=senior teachers and scale 4

Sources: Department of Education & Science, Teacher Statistics Branch, unpublished tabulations

253
Table 8E, comparing women's and men's salary within grades - that is horizontally - shows that parity or near-parity is achieved in most grades. Small differences can be seen in head and deputy head grades; this is likely to be due to the linking of salary to the size of school. The tendency for women to hold headships of smaller schools has already been discussed. However, when salaries are compared vertically, differences can be observed; this is of course because of the tendency for large numbers of women teachers to be grouped in the least well paid grades. From one standpoint, therefore, it can legitimately be concluded that women and men are receiving equal pay for equal work; however, from another, it can be shown that the structure of teaching - whereby women and men are unequally distributed amongst the different grades - works to the disadvantage of women. Thus, vertical sex segregation appears to be the issue in teaching which equal opportunities policies should address.
### Data for Figure 8.1 (British women teachers: full-time working, part-time working, not employed, by age)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age group</th>
<th>full-time</th>
<th>part-time</th>
<th>not employed</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21-24</td>
<td>82.6%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>69 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>78.2%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>225 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>62.8%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>282 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>57.4%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
<td>270 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>63.2%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>234 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>70.4%</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>186 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>68.5%</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>181 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>58.3%</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>103 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>57.4%</td>
<td>61 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Force Survey (1984), files LFS7, LFS8
Appendix 8.4

Variables used in logit analysis, occupational achievement
British teachers

Dependent variable

non-supervisory/supervisory (SUPE)
0 non-supervisory
1 supervisory

independent variables

part-time/full-time working (FTOR)
1 full-time
2 part-time

"secondary"/"primary" sector (SECP)
1 secondary
2 primary

age of youngest dependent child (AGY2)
1 no children
2 youngest child aged 0-4 years
3 youngest child aged 5-11 years
4 youngest child aged 12-18 years

number of dependent children (DEPC)
1 no children
2 1 child
3 2 children
4 3 or more children

marital status (MAR1)
1 single
2 married
3 widowed
4 divorced/separated

highest educational qualification (QUAL)
1 university degree
2 primary or secondary teaching certificate
3 other

age (AGE8)
1 21-24 years
2 25-29 years
3 30-34 years
4 35-39 years
5 40-44 years
6 45-49 years
7 50-54 years
8 55-64 years
Appendix 8.5

Logit analysis, British teachers, substitution of DEPC for AGYO

A model was fitted, substituting DEPC, number of dependent children, for AGYO, age of youngest child. For the sake of brevity, in this model the continuous age variable was used.

\[
SUPE = FTOR + SECP + DEPC + MARS + QUAL + AGE
\]

Table 8F gives results from fitting this model:

Table 8F: Parameter estimates for log odds of being in a supervisory teaching grade compared to a non-supervisory grade, British women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parameter</th>
<th>estimate</th>
<th>S.E.</th>
<th>T-ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>null</td>
<td>-5.845</td>
<td>.6509</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTOR (2)</td>
<td>2.211</td>
<td>.4751</td>
<td>4.7 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECP (2)</td>
<td>-0.5427</td>
<td>.1964</td>
<td>2.8 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEPC (2)</td>
<td>-0.1797</td>
<td>.2803</td>
<td>0.6 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEPC (3)</td>
<td>0.1151</td>
<td>.2699</td>
<td>0.4 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEPC (4)</td>
<td>-0.06809</td>
<td>.4717</td>
<td>0.1 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARS (2)</td>
<td>-0.7939</td>
<td>.2602</td>
<td>3.1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARS (3)</td>
<td>-0.9452</td>
<td>.5689</td>
<td>1.7 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARS (4)</td>
<td>-1.013</td>
<td>.4726</td>
<td>2.1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUAL (2)</td>
<td>-0.07765</td>
<td>.2121</td>
<td>0.4 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUAL (3)</td>
<td>0.2285</td>
<td>.4896</td>
<td>0.5 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>0.06943</td>
<td>.01079</td>
<td>6.4 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This chapter focuses on women's employment in French teaching. As discussed in Chapter 6, teaching is an occupational group which is female-dominated in both France and Britain, although not markedly so. It is one of the few examples of female-dominated higher status occupations; it is an occupational group where access is governed by possession of the appropriate qualifications, and in both countries, it is occupationally organised. A further aspect underlying its choice for detailed examination is that it is an occupation, both in Britain and in France, where the working hours are highly convenient for women with responsibility for children of school age. Thus, the issue of the provision of daycare is likely to affect teachers in both countries rather less than women in other occupations. However, in France both full-time working and continuity of working over the life-cycle are common for a large majority of women teachers, thus providing a contrast with teaching in Britain. A common context, nevertheless, for women teachers is the unequal domestic division of labour in both countries, which is likely to affect the personal resources (time, energy) which women can give to their paid employment. Nevertheless, because teachers are relatively highly paid (at least in relation to other women), the effects of the unequal distribution of domestic tasks may be mediated by their ability to buy in domestic labour.

In the first part of this chapter, the historical development of teaching is examined. The purpose of this is to set out a context for the present-day examination of women teachers, and
to provide potential explanations of present-day patterns. The second section explores sex segregation in modern-day teaching. This is followed by an examination of the employment patterns of French teachers (full-time working, part-time working, not working) in order to establish the extent to which such patterns are related to age/life-cycle phase. In addition, this section provides an opportunity to go beyond the general statements made about employment patterns in Chapter 4 and to specify this relationship for French teachers. In the final part of the chapter, the personal/domestic characteristics of women teachers are examined in relation to their location in lower and higher level teaching jobs. Comparison is also made of the occupational achievement of French men teachers with French women teachers in different domestic circumstances.

An important aspect of French teaching is that French teachers are civil servants. In Britain, the situation is more complicated: local authorities are teachers' employers, yet pay is negotiated nationally. The location of French teaching in the large and powerful public sector is important since the public sector has always been in advance of the private sector in terms of pay and conditions (Davisse, 1983). The French public sector is highly structured in terms of qualifications, advancement by internal competition, and pay linked to seniority. Being a tenured public servant ("titulaire"), as all teachers are, means that job security is total. For example, a teacher leaving the profession has the right to automatic re-entry, although the job will not always be in the desired location. This right to re-entry is a particularly important aspect for women who take a break from teaching for
2. French teaching: the development of occupational sex segregation

Women teachers were well established as an occupational group by the 19th century. A key factor here is the development at the end of the 18th century of girls' non-sectarian education. With this came the assumption that girls should be taught by women, creating a demand for female labour of this sort. Following the rejection of church-based schooling at the time of the French Revolution of 1789, the Lakanal decree of 25 October 1795 laid down the bases of the demand for women teachers:

"Chaque école primaire sera divisée en deux sections, l'une pour les garçons, l'autre pour les filles. En conséquence, il y aura un instituteur et une institutrice."

(Each primary school is to be divided into two sections, one for boys and the other for girls. As a result, there will be a male teacher and a female teacher.)

(quoted in Davisse, 1983:13, my emphases)

Here was state recognition of women teachers' role: firstly, as primary teachers, and secondly, as teachers of girls. It is possible to see the roots of women teachers' employment in low status aspects of teaching; women were not admitted to the "écoles normales", the teacher training route for secondary teachers, until the end of the 19th century, when state secondary education for girls was introduced. By that time, their association with the teaching of young girls is likely to have been firmly established, as well as their lack of qualifications.

Davisse (1983) cites debates which took place at the end of the
19th century where women's 'natural' maternal instincts were discussed in terms of their suitability for the education of young children. The term "école maternelle", the name still used in France for the first stages of education, roughly equated with Britain's 'nursery education', bears out this taken-for-granted relationship. By the same token, however, these maternal qualities were not judged to be appropriate for higher grade posts in teaching. Davisse gives a revealing quotation on women's perceived lack of suitability for posts as school inspectors:

"(dans l'inspection) il faut une grande activité intellectuelle et une grande puissance de travail dont les femmes, en général, sont peu capables."

(quoted in Davisse, 1983: 16)

(a school inspector has to be capable of a large amount of intellectual activity, as well as a strong capacity for work; in general, women do not have these capabilities."

The numbers of women primary teachers increased rapidly at the beginning of the 20th century. Davisse (1983) attributes this increase to, among other factors, the close relationship between the image of what she calls the "mère institutrice" (mother-teacher) and the domestic role of women; thus primary teaching was seen as appropriate for women.

Women have not been confined, of course, to primary education. However, within the secondary sector, they are to be found in larger proportions in lower status groups. For example, women teachers are well represented as generalist teachers ("PEGC") of the younger secondary age children below the age of 16, the age at which compulsory schooling ends. They are rather less
well represented amongst the ranks of teachers of older, more academically oriented, secondary pupils ("lycée" teachers). There is a historical reason for this: when secondary education, which was strongly male-dominated, expanded during the 20th century, there was a need for more secondary teachers. The labour market which was tapped to respond to this need was that of primary teachers. These teachers, mostly women, were encouraged to move to the lower end of secondary schools. The existing secondary teachers, mostly men, moved to the upper end of secondary schools, to the teaching of older pupils at the non-compulsory (and therefore higher status) stage of schooling. Thus, the position of male secondary teachers was maintained. Moreover, closure was brought about by the institution of an internal examination which teachers at the lower end of the secondary school had to pass in order to teach at the upper end.

In summary, French women teachers became firmly established as primary teachers, but made fewer inroads into secondary teaching, where they tend to this day to be located at the lower, compulsory, end. However, teachers were in advance of their female colleagues in other public sector occupations in terms of the employment conditions which they obtained, and certainly in advance of private sector occupations. Although teachers' pay was structured in the 19th century so that women earned less than men, equal pay was won as early as 1919 (law of 6 October 1919). Even earlier than this, in 1910, French teachers' won the right to two months' maternity leave on full pay, the first public servants to achieve this. The process of feminization did not threaten men's jobs, since they were able
to move into higher status posts at the upper end of secondary schools, where they continue to be over-represented in relation to women.

In the chapter on British teaching, it was suggested that the notion of a reserve pool of labour helped explain the employment patterns of married women teachers. In France, also, married women teachers were singled out, principally through the use of the marriage bar, but this was shortlived in comparison to Britain. This is explored in the next section.

2.1: Married women teachers: a reserve pool of labour?

Until 1900, French women teachers were forbidden by law to marry. However, in practice this preference for single teachers could not be sustained; by the early 1920s, 56% of French women teachers were married (Tilly & Scott, 1987: 185). The demand for labour following the First World War had the effect of bringing women into the public sector, as well as into the labour force in general. Of particular importance to the growth of female labour in the public sector was the ruling which allowed for the jobs of male public servants killed in the war to be passed on to their sisters, widows or daughters. Thus, at a time of low level of male unemployment and demand for labour, women, many of them married, were encouraged into the public sector.

However, Pétain's law of 11 October 1940, enacted at the beginning of the occupation, when male unemployment was at a high level, had the clear aim of creating a demand for labour in the public service, and this was done, in effect, by
imposing what is known in British social history as a 'marriage bar'. Recruitment of married women to the public service was stopped; married women already employed in the public service and whose husbands were themselves in employment could be dismissed with no compensation. The only exception to this was if these women had three or more dependent children. Women over the age of fifty were compulsorily retired.

Nevertheless, in contrast to Britain, where the 'marriage bar' was imposed and re-imposed several times as the demand for labour fluctuated, the exclusion of French married women from teaching lasted only a short time. The labour shortages which followed the ending of the 2nd World War meant that married women were soon pulled back into the labour force. Indeed, it was at this time that French women finally gained the right to vote, considerably later than in Britain, although, as in Britain, following on from a World War. Davisse (1983) argues that the unemployment of the Petain era was not in fact as severe as was made out at the time, and that the real reason for the exclusion of married women was linked to the Hitlerian philosophy of restricting women to the private sphere of the domestic and the reproductive. Davisse implies that the end of the war encouraged a rejection by the French of this sort of Germanic thinking. The end of the war also brought about genuine labour shortages, which women, married and unmarried, were called upon to fill.

The construction of married women as a reserve pool of labour seems to describe fairly accurately the way in which women in the public sector were treated in France. Nevertheless, this
was not a long-lasting situation, and in comparison to Britain, may be of considerably less importance in understanding women's employment patterns in teaching. The question of whether married women teachers in the mid-1980s have different employment patterns from those of either single women or men is addressed later in the chapter. Cross-sectional data cannot be used to pursue the way in which individual women may have been excluded from, or drawn back into the labour force. However, it can point to whether particular groups, married women for instance, are being used in particular ways within an occupation.

In the following section, the trends identified in this historical review are pursued in the examination of sex segregation amongst women and men teachers in the mid 1980s. Prior to this, however, the way in which teachers have been defined and identified is described.

3. Identification and definitions of French teachers
The French occupational schema, the PCS, shows 8 teaching and teaching-related groups. Three are classified in the 'executive and higher intellectual occupations' category. These are university teachers, secondary heads, deputy heads and inspectors, secondary 'lycee' teachers. The remaining five are in the "semi-professional" category. These are secondary generalist teachers, secondary technical teachers; primary and nursery school heads; primary and nursery school teachers; special education teachers. These occupations are listed along with their PCS reference number in Appendix 9.1.
As in the chapter on British teaching, two definitions of teachers are used. The first, the 'broad definition', includes all teachers, and it is used to give a broad background picture of sex segregation in teaching. This classification makes no inference about occupational mobility.

The second focuses more narrowly on school teaching, and includes secondary 'lycee' teachers, secondary generalist teachers, secondary heads, deputy heads and inspectors, as well as nursery and primary teachers, and nursery and primary head teachers. This second classification carries with it the assumption that mobility from one level (teacher) to another (head, deputy head, inspector) is possible. Ideally, primary and secondary sectors, and secondary generalist/secondary 'lycee' should be distinguished here, since it is not possible in the highly structured French system for teachers to move from one sector to another, or from one part of the secondary system to another, since qualifications demanded for these sectors are different. However, to do this would reduce base numbers to an unacceptable level. In addition, and more theoretically, the aim of this exploration is to establish the relationship between teachers' occupational achievement and their domestic/personal characteristics; there appears to be no prior evidence that this relationship is different for primary and secondary teachers. Therefore, in this second classification, primary (including nursery) and secondary are combined.

An important aspect of French school teaching is, however, the flat career structure, which probably provides considerably
less opportunity for promotion than British teaching. Stratification of French teachers takes place primarily prior to entry, through the highly differentiated qualifications required for different sectors. Once qualified, teachers' promotion is severely limited; pay differentials come about mainly through age (personal communication with M. Cacaouault, June, 1990). However, senior posts clearly exist - head teachers, deputy head teachers and inspectors in the secondary sector, and head teachers in the primary sector. Promotion to these posts needs, however, to be seen in the context of the French system. For example, secondary headships are often residential posts; therefore it is possible that promotion is sought, perhaps more by men than by women, because of the 'perk' of a house (personal communication with M. Cacaouault, June, 1990). It is the case, as Table 9A in Appendix 9.1 shows, that, even within the context of the expected under-representation of women at this level, there are very few secondary heads, deputy heads and inspectors who are women. However, this may well only apply to the secondary sector. It is probable that promotion to a primary headship is more in line with the British situation. It is therefore in the context of these issues, specific to French teaching, that this chapter is written.

The following section gives general descriptive statistics of teachers in France. For ease of reference, Table 9.1 repeats Table 8.2. Figures for Britain are alongside for the sake of comparison. The broad definition of teachers is used here, with separate figures for primary and secondary.
4. Descriptive statistics of French teachers

Table 9.1 puts the teaching profession into the context of the employed labour force as a whole, age 23-60.

Table 9.1: characteristics of teachers and of the employed labour force, age 23-60, France, 1985, (Britain, 1984)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fr</th>
<th>Br</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all teachers</td>
<td>4.5% (60,114)</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of total employed labour force)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women teachers</td>
<td>6.7 (24,923)</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of female employed labour force)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men teachers</td>
<td>2.9% (35,191)</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of male employed labour force)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women teachers</td>
<td>61.8% (2,714)</td>
<td>56.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of all teachers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women primary &amp; secondary teachers</td>
<td>68.6% (1,531)</td>
<td>63.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of all primary &amp; secondary)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women as % of total employed labour force aged 23-60</td>
<td>41.5% (60,114)</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part-time* women teachers</td>
<td>13.8% (1,672)</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of all women teachers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part-time* men teachers</td>
<td>2.5% (1,033)</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% of all men teachers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part-time* women as % of total female employed labour force</td>
<td>21.3% (24,923)</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part-time* men as % of total employed male labour force</td>
<td>.20% (35,050)</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* self-definition of part-time working


Table 9.1 shows that teaching represents a relatively small proportion of the total employed labour force (4.5%). Once this figure is disaggregated by sex, the table shows that a higher proportion of women than men are teachers: around 7% of the female employed labour force are teachers, whilst for men this figure is just under 3%. Slightly under 62% of all
teachers are women, and 69% of primary and secondary teachers are women. If this figure is compared with the percentage of women in the employed labour force age 23-60 (42%), it can be seen that teaching is an occupation where women are over-represented, but not markedly so. The level of part-time working by women teachers is about half that of the workforce as a whole. Part-time teaching is more common in the secondary sector than in the primary. In the primary sector, where women are concentrated, it is rare, since there is a resistance to splitting a class between the responsibilities of two teachers (personal communication with Annick SEGROS, SGEN-CFDT, September 1989).

There are several points of similarity with British teachers. In both countries, teaching represents similar proportions of the labour force as a whole; it is female-dominated in both countries, although rather more so in France than in Britain, both in relation to the broad definition (nursery to university-level), and to the narrow definition of primary and secondary teaching. In both countries, part-time teaching is almost all done by women, and in both countries the level of part-time teaching is approximately half that of part-time working as a whole.

The history of French teaching in an earlier section demonstrated the extent to which women in French teaching, became under-represented in the higher status levels of teaching, namely the teaching of older children, and in headships. In the next section, the extent to which this situation persists is discussed. The broad definition of
teaching is used.

4.1. Sex segregation in French teaching

In Table 9.2, Hakim's Sex Ratio Index (S.R index) is used to give an indication of over or under-representation of women in a particular teaching group, in relation to women's representation in teaching as a whole. Footnote (4) in Chapter 4 applies.

Table 9.2: Sex segregation in French teaching, full-time teachers, 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PCS group</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>S. R. index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4211): primary &amp; nursery school</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>1023</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4214): teachers and heads</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4221: generalist, sports &amp; arts teachers</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4215: special education teachers</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3411): secondary school teachers</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3414) heads &amp; inspectors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4224: technical &amp; vocational teachers</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3415: lecturers at university level</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>2714</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Enquete Emploi 1985, files FRANCE21W & FRANCE21M

Table 9.2 shows that, by comparison with their overall presence in teaching, French women are over-represented in one category only, the primary/nursery school teachers group (4211), which is the largest category amongst the teaching occupations. However, if the data allowed for a distinction to be made between nursery (école maternelle) and primary teachers, it is likely that the nursery sector would be seen to be almost
entirely dominated by women. Women are under-represented in several categories, from slight under-representation in the secondary sector, to relatively marked under-representation amongst university-level lecturers.

It is clear from Table 9.2 that the numerical domination by women of teaching as a whole is almost entirely accounted for by women's presence at the primary and nursery level, which, as data on teachers' pay in Appendix 9.2 show, is the lowest paid of the teaching sub-groups.

The under and over-representation of British women and men teachers was examined in a similar way in Chapter 8. It is not possible to make direct comparisons between proportions of French and British teachers in different categories, since definitions are not the same. Siltanen (1990) also warns against using Hakim's Sex Ratio Index to make cross-national comparisons. It is not the aim of this thesis to compare the actual proportions within and between groups, but rather to identify whether similar mechanisms are evident. What can be said is that a similar pattern can be seen in the two countries, in the sense that the underlying tendencies are similar. Bearing in mind what has been said about the difficulty of making direct comparisons, it can be tentatively concluded, however, that French women teachers may be rather less under-represented in the higher level categories than British women teachers. Analyses in Appendix 9.3 show ratios of heads to teachers for women and men teachers in France. These demonstrate, as in Britain, that in both the primary and secondary sectors, men have a greater chance than women of
becoming head teachers. Again bearing in mind the problem of direct comparison, there is some indication that French women teachers are at less of a disadvantage than in Britain.

The background to these patterns of sex segregation is now explored. Chapter 4 contained a general discussion of the employment patterns of French women by age/life-cycle stage, showing that, unlike Britain, patterns of part-time, full-time and not working are not strongly linked to family formation. Here, this is examined more specifically in relation to women teachers by (a) plotting their employment patterns at different age and life-cycle stages, and (b) analysing these employment patterns in the light of their personal/domestic characteristics. Analyses for men (not shown here) demonstrate that levels of not working and of part-time working are very low; full-time working is the predominant pattern, as would be expected.

5. Employment patterns by age/life-cycle stage

Figure 9.1 shows levels of part-time working, full-time working and not working by 5-year age group, for French women teachers. The data for Figure 9.1 are in Appendix 9.4. Teachers who are not in paid employment are defined as those who are out of the labour force at the time of the survey, but whose last occupation was in teaching. Thus respondents who are trained as teachers, but who have not practised as teachers, are excluded from this definition of not working, as well as those who may have practised as teachers, but whose last job was not in teaching. It is not possible to know how many respondents are excluded in this way, but the likely effect is an
underestimation of rates of not working, as well as introduction of a possible bias if particular cohorts were affected by structural factors, such as an over-supply of teachers.

Figure 9.1 shows that full-time working is the most common form of labour force participation in all age groups except the oldest, 55-59, where not working represents the largest proportion of that age group. In all groups, and especially in the oldest, part-time working represents the smallest proportion. At the age of family formation, taken roughly as the two youngest age groups, 25-29 and 30-34, not working is at a somewhat higher level than in the three middle age groups. In the 35-39 and in the 40-44 age group, economic inactivity is at a lower level than in younger age groups, and part-time working is rather higher. Figure 9.1 indicates that the differences in the age-groups of levels of economic inactivity, full-time and part-time working are small, and that most teachers in all age groups except the oldest work full-time. Figure 9.1 also gives an indication, inasmuch as cross-sectional data can so do, of the continuity of French women teachers' labour force attachment.

To refer back to the chapter on British teachers (Chapter 8), there are, as would be expected, differences between the two countries in relation to patterns of participation by age. These differences between French and British women teachers reflect to an extent the national patterns discussed in Chapter
Fig. 9.1: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French women teachers.
4. French and British men teachers both show very small levels of not working and part-time working during the life-course, yet French and British women teachers show differences both of overall level, and of age-related differences. Whilst not being in paid employment and working part-time are closely related in Britain to periods of family formation, this is less the case in France. It would therefore not be expected that there would be a strong relationship (although there is likely to be some relationship) between French women teachers' employment patterns and their personal/domestic characteristics, such as presence of children. This is explored in the following section.

6. Employment patterns and domestic characteristics
Table 9.3 examines employment patterns - not working, part-time working, and full-time working by a number of personal/domestic variables. Single and married/ever married women teachers are first examined, followed by two variables relating to dependent children under the age of 19 years. The first gives information on the number of children, the second on the age of the youngest child. Most of the analyses in the table are based on the full age range; however, the category of 'no children' is based on the range 30-44. Unless the age range is restricted, there is a risk of including women who appear to have no children, but who have in fact had children who have left the family home. The highest proportions in each category of the independent variables is highlighted.
Table 9.3: Employment patterns of women teachers by personal/domestic characteristics, age 23-60, row percentages, France

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>not employed</th>
<th>part-time*</th>
<th>full-time</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>100%  (411)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married, ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no children **</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>100%  (549)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100%  (499)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100%  (533)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 + children</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>100%  (186)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.child &lt;3 yrs</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>100%  (221)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.child 3-5 yrs</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>100%  (264)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.child 6-18 yrs</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100%  (733)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100%  (2126)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* according to respondents' self-definition
** age base 30-44 yrs

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, files FRANCE38W, 39W

Table 9.3 demonstrates, as predicted, that full-time working is the most common form of working for almost all categories of teachers, either with or without children, married or single. Having said that, however, there are some variations. Women teachers with children are more likely to be out of paid employment than those without; for example, those with a child of less than 3 years old are twice as likely to be out of employment as those with no children. This may be due to the relatively low level of state daycare provision in France before the age of around 3 years, discussed in Chapters 2 and 6.

Although the age of the youngest child makes only a limited difference to employment patterns, the number of children makes a considerably greater difference. The employment patterns of women teachers with one or two children are similar, but women with three and more children are considerably less likely to be in paid employment; 42% of women in this category are not in
paid employment. The level of part-time working is also at its highest (19%) in the group of women with three and more children, compared to 9% for those with one child, and 13% for those with two. Only 39% of women teachers with three or more children work full-time. This is likely to be due to French family policy: women with three and more children can receive an allowance which is roughly equivalent to a part-time wage (Lattès, 1987). There is probably also an effect here of patriarchal relations in the home; as Chapter 6 showed, French women, like British women, take the lion's share of domestic tasks, including those relating to children. Even though teaching, out of all occupations, allows women to combine most easily the domestic and employment spheres, taking care of three children as well as working full-time is likely to be hard.

In general, however, domestic circumstances appear to make less difference to women teachers' employment patterns than they do in Britain. Although single status makes full-time working rather more likely, overall, full-time working is the most common form of working. This is not a dissimilar picture to the pattern of employment for British teachers, as might be expected for an occupation which, despite societal differences, nevertheless has several common structural features, as discussed in Chapter 6. In Britain also, with the exception of women with a youngest child aged 0-4 years, full-time working is the most common form of working in each category, albeit at a lower level than in France. Nevertheless, as would be expected, given the poor provision of daycare for pre-school
children in Britain, Britain and France show differences in the patterns of working for different ages of children, and also in the higher levels of part-time working in Britain. It would be inappropriate, however, to suggest that the presence of children makes very little difference to women teachers' employment. As will be shown at the end of this chapter, when full-time teaching is considered separately, occupational achievement (location in higher or lower teaching posts) is lower for married women with children than for either single women or married women without children. The logit analyses will suggest that it is principally women teachers with three or more children who have lower occupational achievement. This may be linked to the tendency, discussed above, for women with three children to work part-time or to withdraw, probably temporarily, from the labour force. A history of part-time working, or of employment discontinuity, is likely to have a continuing effect on occupational achievement, even when full-time working has been resumed.

In the chapter on British teaching, it was suggested that patterns of part-time working, and of discontinuity related to family formation and to domestic responsibilities were important factors in explaining patterns of teachers' occupational achievement. It was argued that if the presence of children had the effect of bringing about part-time working, or not working, then this would show up in patterns of achievement. Since, as shown above, there appears to be less relationship than in Britain between these domestic factors and the employment patterns of French teachers, then it could be expected that an analysis of the occupational achievement of
French women would be less closely related to these factors. This analysis follows, carried out in two ways. Firstly, bivariate analyses of teachers in higher and lower teaching positions by the independent variables already introduced in the analysis of employment patterns are shown. Secondly, a logit analysis has been carried out. This gives the odds of being in a higher or lower teaching position for each independent variable, whilst holding the other independent variables constant.

7. Occupational achievement and domestic characteristics
In this section of the chapter on French teachers, the narrow definition of teachers, that is those in the primary and secondary sectors, is used. To recap, the higher level category is composed of secondary heads, secondary deputy heads, primary & secondary inspectors, primary/nursery heads. The lower is composed of secondary 'lycee' teachers, secondary generalist teachers, and primary/nursery teachers. The relationship between domestic characteristics and occupational achievement is analysed in two ways, as in the chapter on British teachers: firstly, by bivariate analysis (Table 9.4) and secondly by logit analyses (Table 9.5). For the reasons explained in Chapter 7, in the bivariate analyses, the age range 30-54 years has been selected where the absence of children is analysed.

7.1. Bivariate analyses of French women teachers' occupational achievement
Table 9.4 indicates that, overall, there is a limited
relationship between the occupational achievement of teachers and either the age of their youngest child, or the number of children they have. Having no children makes being in a higher level teaching post somewhat more likely: 11% of higher level teachers have no children compared to 6% of higher level teachers who have a child of less than three years. There may be an effect of age here: for example, the proportion of higher level teachers with 3 or more children is twice that of higher level teachers with 2 children. Nevertheless, it will be recalled that levels of not working, and of part-time working were higher in the group of women teachers with 3 or more children. If women have worked part-time in the past, or left the labour force temporarily, then this is likely to have an effect on their occupational achievement. A work history of part-time working and of discontinuity is unlikely to be a positive factor in terms of occupational achievement.

Table 9.4 suggests that there is a rather weak relationship between French women teachers' personal/domestic characteristics and their occupational achievement. This can be compared with Britain, where the negative effect of marriage (both with and without children) on teachers' occupational achievement appeared to be fairly strong and where the presence of children also acted as a deterrent. However, as in France, the number and age of children made little difference to occupational achievement. Some explanations for these differences are discussed in Chapter 12. They include employer discrimination towards women with domestic responsibilities, a lasting effect of discontinuity and part-
time working (for those with children), and an unwillingness of women with children to seek promotion, probably because of inequities in the domestic division of labour.

Table 9.4: Occupational achievement and personal/domestic characteristics, French teachers, age 23-60, row percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>higher(a)</th>
<th>lower(b)</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single *</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100%  (84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married/ever married *</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>100%  (533)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>single, no children **</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100%  (155)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married, no children **</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>100%  (259)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all, no children **</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>100%  (414)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married, ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>100%  (342)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>100%  (375)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 + children</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100%  (84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.child &lt;3 yrs</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100%  (128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.child 3-5 yrs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>100%  (157)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.child 6-17 yrs</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>100%  (529)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>100%  (1432)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* age base 40-60 yrs, not controlling for presence/absence of children
** age base 30-54 yrs

(a) secondary heads, secondary deputy heads, primary and secondary inspectors, primary/nursery heads
(b) secondary 'lycee' teachers, secondary generalist teachers, primary/nursery teachers

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, file FRANCE38W

A logit analysis is now presented showing the odds of being in a higher level teaching position compared to a lower level one (see footnote 5, Chapter 8, for an explanation of the principles behind logit analyses, the software used for the analyses, and the method of interpretation).
7.2. Logit analysis of French women teachers' occupational achievement

The dichotomous dependent variable is higher level and lower level teaching, and the independent variables are those personal/domestic variables which have been used in the bivariate tables above (marital status, M; age of youngest child, YCHI; number of dependent children, ENFM). Age (AGE7) has also been used as an independent variable. Two more variables, part-time/full-time working (NA) and primary/secondary sector (PSEC) were included in the model.

A model was fitted which included the qualifications variable, DIPL. This, and other variables, the marital status variable (M), and the children variables (YCHI and ENFM), did not reach statistical significance. The DIPL variable, included as in the British analyses as a control, was omitted from the model. The reasons for its non-significance are probably similar to those discussed for Britain: basic teaching qualifications are acquired before entry, and details of any subsequent internal qualifications acquired are not included in the data set (see footnote 6, Chapter 8).

However, the marital status (M) and the number of dependent children (ENFM) variables were retained, on the basis of their theoretical importance, and in order to examine the direction of the relationship, despite their lack of statistical significance. The number of dependent children variable was chosen rather than the age of youngest child variable, since the former has been shown in previous studies (Dex et al, 1988) to be a more important explanatory factor of French women's
employment. It was noted in Chapter 8 that GLIM, the software package used for the logit analyses will not give a score for two variables in the same model which have identical categories (in this case, the reference category for each of these variables, no children). However, Table 9G in Appendix 9.5 shows, for information, the effect of fitting a model which includes the age of youngest child variable (YCHI) rather than the number of children variable (ENFM).

The values of the independent variables are described in Appendix 9.6. They are PSEC (primary/secondary), NA (part-time/full-time), ENFM (number of dependent children), AGE7 (age, grouped 5-yearly) and M (marital status).

The model retained for analysis was as follows:

\[
\text{HETE} = \text{PSEC} + \text{NA} + \text{ENFM} + \text{AGE7} + \text{M}
\]

where HETE = teacher/head, deputy head
PSEC = secondary/primary
NA = full-time/part-time working
ENFM = number of dependent children
AGE7 = age, grouped 5-yearly
M = marital status

Table 9.5 gives the results of fitting this model. Reference categories (value 1 on each independent variable) are included in the table. Odds ratios have been calculated using the exponential of the parameter estimate. This gives a value of 1 to the reference category and the odds ratios of the other values are in relation to this value (ie <1 or >1).
Table 9.5: parameter estimates for the log odds of being in a higher level teaching post compared to a lower level teaching post, French women teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parameter</th>
<th>value label</th>
<th>estimate</th>
<th>S.E.</th>
<th>T-ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td></td>
<td>-4.063</td>
<td>.4394</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSEC (1)</td>
<td>secondary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSEC (2)</td>
<td>primary</td>
<td>1.662</td>
<td>.2907</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA (1)</td>
<td>full-time</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA (2)</td>
<td>part-time</td>
<td>-1.220</td>
<td>.5951</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENFM (1)</td>
<td>no children</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENFM (2)</td>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>0.05028</td>
<td>.2944</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENFM (3)</td>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>-0.1748</td>
<td>.3578</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENFM (4)</td>
<td>3+ children</td>
<td>0.7162</td>
<td>.4947</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE7 (1)</td>
<td>25-29 years</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE7 (2)</td>
<td>30-34 years</td>
<td>0.5356</td>
<td>.4651</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE7 (3)</td>
<td>35-39 years</td>
<td>0.3694</td>
<td>.4624</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE7 (4)</td>
<td>40-44 years</td>
<td>0.7111</td>
<td>.4505</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE7 (5)</td>
<td>45-49 years</td>
<td>1.401</td>
<td>.4322</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE7 (6)</td>
<td>50-54 years</td>
<td>1.538</td>
<td>.4693</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE7 (7)</td>
<td>55-60 years</td>
<td>1.767</td>
<td>.5374</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M (1)</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M (2)</td>
<td>married</td>
<td>-0.5216</td>
<td>.3126</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M (3)</td>
<td>widowed</td>
<td>-0.3440</td>
<td>.7136</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M (4)</td>
<td>div/sep</td>
<td>0.03284</td>
<td>.4272</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = significant at the 0.05 level
ns= not significant at this level

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, file FRANCE65W, GLIMFRTEACH1.OUT

There are only three significant variables in the model as fitted, NA (part-time/full-time), PSEC (secondary/primary), and some values of the age variable (AGE7). Several points are interesting, including the near statistical significance and the negative direction of the married category (value 2 of M) and the non-significance of the number of children variable (ENFM). Although some comparisons can be made with Britain, it is important to remember, however, that the definition of higher grade teachers is considerably wider in Britain than in France. In Britain, the definition is teachers with supervisory responsibility; it was pointed out earlier that this definition corresponded in the primary sector with headships, but that in the secondary sector, it was wider than...
this, probably including heads of department, and deputy heads.

(a) Marital status (M)
Although none of the marital status values reached statistical significance, one value (married) is near the 5% level (T-ratio of 1.7) and, like Britain, it is negative. There is a suggestion here, then, that marriage has a similar effect (i.e. negative) on being in a higher level post as in Britain. However, although it is not possible to compare parameter estimates across countries, since different data sets are being used, it is probably reasonable to say that the effect of marriage is less important in France than in Britain on women teachers' occupational achievement. The odds ratios show that the chances of being in a higher grade teaching position compared to a lower grade are 0.6 if married compared to 1 if single, all other variables held constant.

Odds ratios
1 single (reference category)
(0.6) married (2)
(0.7) widowed (3)
(1.0) divorced/separated (4)

(b) Children (YCHI)
There is little evidence from the logit analysis in Table 9.5 that children either increase or decrease the odds of being in a higher grade position, once other variables in the model are held constant.

Odds ratios have not been calculated for this variable, since no value was near statistical significance.

(c) Age (AGE7)
Although three values of the age variable fail to reach
statistical significance, it is worth noting that the odds ratios increase with age from the 30-34 age group. The odds of being a head in the 45-49 age group are 4.1 compared to the reference group. The odds increase to 5.9 in the 55-60 age group. In the British analyses (where the definition of higher grade was considerably wider), it seemed that a plateau was reached for promotion to higher level posts; the odds were best in the 45-49 group, and thereafter, there was some decline. This is not the case for France, where the odds are highest in the oldest group. Again, this may be a feature of the more highly structured nature of the French teaching profession, located as it is in the public sector.

**Odds ratios**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Odds Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-60</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) part-time/full-time working (NA)

The odds of being in a higher level teaching position compared to a lower level one are small if French women teachers work part-time. The odds of being in a higher grade position are 0.3 if part-time, compared to 1 if full-time.

**Odds ratios**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Working Status</th>
<th>Odds Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) secondary/primary (PSEC)

In contrast to British teachers, women primary teachers in France have a strong chance of being in higher level positions, compared to secondary teachers.
Odds ratios

1 secondary (reference category)
5.3 primary

7.2.1. Multiplicative effects

Multiplicative effects can be calculated by examining the 'paradigmatic person' (Payne, 1987). Starting with the values of the reference categories, the 'paradigmatic person' has the following characteristics: secondary sector, full-time, single, no children, 20-29 years old. Low odds of being in a higher grade position can be accorded to this person because of being in a young age group, and because of being in the secondary sector. Using the multiplicative effects of the odds ratios, the chances of being in a higher grade position can be increased five-fold by (a) moving the person to the primary sector, and a further six-fold by (b) moving to the oldest age group. This yields a picture of the woman teacher most likely to be in a higher grade position: primary sector, full-time, single, no children, 55-60 years old.

In sum, four variables have a large effect on the chances of French women being in a higher level teaching position. It has been noted that teaching in the primary sector gives a better likelihood of promotion than in the secondary sector; this was in contrast to Britain. Age, as expected, has a strong effect on occupational achievement. It was noted earlier in the chapter that French teaching is highly structured, and it was hypothesised that age would be a major element in gaining promotion. The number of children did not have a large effect, nor did marital status. However, it is an important point that
being married had a negative effect on being in a higher level teaching position, although it did not quite reach statistical significance. As expected, working part-time has a strong negative effect on promotion.

Apart from the primary/secondary sector difference, there are many similarities with British teaching here. This suggests that structural aspects of occupations (occupationally organised, pre-entry qualifications, relatively short hours, relatively well paid) are important elements in minimising the effects of domestic circumstances on occupational achievement.

8. Comparing women and men teachers' occupational achievement

In the final section of this chapter, men teachers are brought in as a point of comparison.

Table 9.6: occupational achievement of women and men teachers, full-time working only, age 30-54, France, row percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>higher</th>
<th>lower</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>women: full-time, single, no children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women: full-time, married, no children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women: full-time, married, children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Enquête Emploi, 1985; files FRANCE111M, 111W, 112W

The analysis in Table 9.6 makes a distinction between full-time French women teachers in three distinct domestic situations: single with no children, married with no children, and married with children. Table 9.6 indicates that the proportions of women in lower grade teaching posts is close to that of men
In one group of women, married with no children, the proportion is identical to that of men. This is an interesting finding; it indicates that in an occupation which is highly structured in terms of promotion conditions, and where, as the logit analysis showed, age has an important effect on occupational achievement, women can achieve equality or near-equality with men. This finding is discussed further in Chapter 12.

In this table, primary and secondary teachers have been combined. If this distinction had been made, it is quite likely that differences might emerge. In the discussion in Chapter 8 on the equivalent table comparing the occupational achievement of British women and men teachers, reference was made to research which suggested that single women in the primary sector, but not in the secondary sector, had similar levels of achievement to those of men. It is not possible to conjecture what the effect might be on the French analyses of making this distinction. However, it would be an interesting issue to follow up.

9. Summary of chapter

French teachers, in common with British teachers, have shown since the beginning of the 20th century enduring patterns of occupational segregation. Women were, and still are, concentrated in the teaching of young children, and at the younger, less academic, end of secondary schooling. French women teachers' employment patterns are linked in some ways to their domestic circumstances. Levels of part-time working are low in French teaching, and this form of employment is
relatively unaffected by domestic circumstances. However, levels of not working are more closely related to the presence of children, and in the particular to having young children. Having said this, there is evidence from the analyses in this chapter that the occupational achievement of French women teachers is rather little affected by their domestic circumstances. Bivariate and logit analyses have shown that the personal and domestic characteristics such as being married, and having children have little effect on occupational achievement. Age is the principal way in which French teachers get promotion, within a context where the promotion structure is very flat. Comparison of the occupational achievement of full-time married and single women teachers with the occupational achievement of men shows that the difference between women and men is not marked.
Teaching categories in the "Nomenclature des professions et des categories socioprofessionelles" (PCS)

Three teaching groups are categorised at the aggregate level 3, secondary and university level, ("cadres et professions intellectuelles supérieures", executive and higher intellectual occupations). These are groups 3411 ("professeurs agrégés et certifiés", secondary school teachers), 3414 ("directeurs d'établissement d'enseignement secondaire et inspecteurs", heads and inspectors in the secondary sector) and 3415 ("enseignants de l'enseignement supérieur", lecturers at university level). The remaining five groups are categorised at the aggregate level 4 (primary, special, generalist and so on), the "professions intermédiaires", semi-professional occupations. These are groups 4211 ("instituteurs", primary school teachers), 4214 ("directeurs d'école primaire ou maternelle", heads of primary and nursery schools), 4215 ("instituteurs de l'éducation spécialisée", special education teachers), 4221 ("PEGC et maîtres auxiliaires de l'enseignement général", generalist teachers in the secondary sector, and sports and arts teachers in the primary and secondary sector) and 4224 ("enseignants du technique court", teachers in the technical and vocational education sector).

Table 9A shows the structure of teaching occupations in the French data set; women and men are shown both combined and separately. The table sub-divides the eight groups according to aggregate levels 3 and 4; the occupations are presented within these levels in the same ranking as they appear in the PCS. In subsequent tables, the order in which they are presented is according to the level of female representation within each group.

Table 9A: Sub-groups within teaching, France, 1985, age 23-60, full-time and part-time working combined

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sub-groups (PCS group)</th>
<th>all</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate level 3 (executive higher intellectual)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3411: secondary school teachers</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3414: secondary school heads &amp; inspectors</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3415: lecturers, university level</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate level 4 (semi-professional)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4211: primary &amp; nursery school teachers</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4214: primary &amp; nursery school heads</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4215: special education</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4221: generalist, sports &amp; arts teachers</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4224: technical &amp; vocational education teachers</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total: (2714)</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

source: Enquête Emploi 1985, files FRANCE21M, 21W, 23M, 23W file APPFR1, disk 12
Appendix 9.2:

French teachers' pay

In this assessment of the pay gap in teaching, only full-time salaries are taken into consideration, since to include part-time working without controlling for the number of hours worked would artificially lower the mean salary. In France, part-time teaching is likely to be supply teaching ('remplaçant'), as in Britain. Since the pay of supply teachers is likely to be structured in a different way from that of permanent teachers (pay tends to be for the period worked, and not spread over the school year), information from survey data which refers to pay over the last month (as in the EE) may give misleading information.

Before examining women's and men's pay in teaching, it is informative to examine the relationship between the level of over-representation of women in each teaching sub-group, and the overall mean pay of that group; it is a recurring theme in the British literature that it is the feminisation of teaching which accounts for its low status and low pay relative to other professions (see, for example, Tropp, 1956). Table 9B gives this information for France.

Table 9B: Teaching occupations in France: mean pay levels, full-time working only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>occupational group</th>
<th>mean monthly salary (FF)*</th>
<th>% of each group who are women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4211: primary &amp; nursery school teachers</td>
<td>6,945</td>
<td>78.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4214: primary &amp; nursery heads</td>
<td>8,219</td>
<td>60.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4221: generalist, sports &amp; arts teachers</td>
<td>7,762</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4215: special education teachers</td>
<td>7,747</td>
<td>57.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3411: secondary school teachers</td>
<td>9,805</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4224: technical &amp; vocatio teachers</td>
<td>7,927</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3414: secondary school heads &amp; inspectors</td>
<td>11,564</td>
<td>35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3415: lecturers at university level</td>
<td>12,511</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, files FRANCE21W & FRANCE21M

* The Enquête Emploi measures pay in 19 salary bands of unequal size. Respondents are asked to include all extra allowances, such as that known as the 'treizième mois', the extra month's salary which most private sector employees receive. Overtime is included. Respondents are asked to divide this total by 12, in order to give a monthly total. Totals are net; in France this includes national insurance payments, but not income tax, which is payable in an annual lump sum. The issue of counting the various extra bonuses (13th month, 14th month, Christmas etc) which many, but not all, French people in employment receive, is likely to be problematic, according to sources from INSEE (Institut National de la Statistique et de l'Economie),
the French government's statistics institute (fieldwork in Paris, September 1989, interview with M. PONSOT). The income question was introduced into the Enquête Emploi in 1983, in the hope of being able to make available information considerably earlier than the principal source of income data, the DAS, now DADS, is able to. The DADS relies on information from employers, and provides rich, but necessarily complicated, data. On the other hand, there is only one question in the EE: "how much did you earn in the last month?" Respondents are asked to take into consideration any annual bonuses which they earned, to divide the total from these by 12, and to add the result to the amount earned in the last month. They are then asked to identify a band into which this total falls. Comparison of the EE data with other incomes data showed that there appeared to be some discrepancies; perhaps the principal problem was that of apparent under-estimation. As a result of this, INSEE has continued to rely on sources other than the EE for information on pay. It appears that rather little methodological work has been done, however, on the problems. M. Ponsot thinks that asking respondents to calculate annual bonuses on a monthly basis may be a major reason for inaccuracies.

A second problem associated with this question is that, in comparison with the rest of the EE, there is a somewhat lower response rate. Similarly, there appears to be little methodological work done by INSEE on any bias introduced by this.

For the purposes of this work, these problems are probably not serious. The response rate is still reasonably good; the issue of the bonuses is likely to revolve around whether there is random error, or whether it can be established that the errors are systematic. Not all occupations receive bonuses; private sector employees are considerably more likely to receive them than those in the public sector. Since teachers do not receive bonuses, it seems reasonably safe to say that there is likely to be relatively little error in the income data of this group. The problem is likely to be more serious with groups which span both private and public sectors, administrative/clerical workers, for example.

The mean salary levels in the tables are calculated on the basis of the midpoint of each salary band. For example band 2 goes from FF1,000 to <FF1,500; the midpoint of band 2 is therefore FF1,250. The lowest and highest bands (<FF1,000 and >FF30,000 respectively) do not have cut-off points; their midpoints are FF500 and FF35,000.

Table 9B confirms that there is a relationship between the predominance of women within a teaching sub-group and the level of pay associated with that group: groups with high levels of women tend to receive low pay. An example of this inverse relationship can be seen in the two highest paid sub-groups, secondary school heads & inspectors and lecturers at university level, which also have the lowest representation of women, 36% and 34% respectively. Similarly the lowest paid of the teaching sub-groups, primary and nursery school teachers, contains the highest proportion of women (79%).
Assessment of women's pay relative to that of men in teaching needs to be viewed at two levels: firstly, in terms of their pay in the teaching occupations as a whole, and secondly of their pay relative to that of men in the same teaching sub-group. Table 9C gives this information.

Firstly, Table 9C shows that, taking only full-time salaries into consideration, women teachers' salaries are lower than men's, with women earning 86.6% of men's salaries. Nevertheless the gap between women's and men's salaries is narrower than it is for the full-time working population as a whole; the Enquete Emploi 1985 gives women's mean salary for full-time working as 78.5% of the equivalent male salary. This suggests that teaching is an occupation which enjoys considerably greater equality than many other occupational groups. The overall difference between women's and men's pay is largely accounted for by the high proportions of women in the lowest paid of the teaching sub-groups, primary teaching (4221), since, as Table 9C shows, several of the teaching groups show parity, or near-parity between women's and men's pay in that group.

Table 9C: Teaching occupations in France, women's mean monthly pay, as a proportion of men's mean monthly pay, full-time working only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>occupational group</th>
<th>women's mean monthly salary (FF)</th>
<th>women's as % of men's salary</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4211: primary &amp; nursery school teachers</td>
<td>6,941</td>
<td>99.7%</td>
<td>622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4214: primary &amp; nursery school heads</td>
<td>7,848</td>
<td>89.8%</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4221: generalist, sports &amp; arts teachers</td>
<td>7,509</td>
<td>92.9%</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4215: special education teachers</td>
<td>7,456</td>
<td>92.4%</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3411: secondary school teachers</td>
<td>9,333</td>
<td>90.6%</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4224: technical &amp; vocational teachers</td>
<td>7,613</td>
<td>93.5%</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3414: secondary school heads &amp; inspectors</td>
<td>(12,567) (114.0%)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all female teachers:</td>
<td>7,717</td>
<td>86.6%</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all male teachers:</td>
<td>8,913</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

for all female full-time employed workforce (age 23-60): 5,656 78.5%
for all male full-time employed workforce (age 23-60): 7,210

Note: brackets indicate where base numbers are <20
Source: Enquete Emploi 1985, files FRANCE21W, 21M, 24W, 24M

Secondly, comparison in Table 9C of men's and women's salary levels within teaching sub-groups shows that, with one
exception, women earn less than men, with the biggest gap in the university-level teachers group. In one group - primary teachers - women's and men's pay shows parity. The single group which shows a higher mean salary for women than for men is 3414 (secondary school heads and inspectors). This group contains rather few cases, and because of these small numbers, the findings may be unreliable.

Nevertheless, the intra-group differences in women's and men's pay are small, and this is likely to be attributable both to the public sector's high degree of structure in relation to pay, where pay is linked to seniority. Since continuity amongst women teachers is likely to be the rule, it follows that most will lose little in the way of seniority. Thus, it is unlikely that women will fall behind their male counterparts in the same group to a large degree, and that any gap which does exist between women's and men's pay in particular subgroups is likely to be mainly attributable to women's somewhat lower seniority than men's. However, it is not possible to test this, since the EE does not give information on the total number of years worked, and the periods in and out of employment.

A factor which is likely to influence the disparity between women's and men's pay in primary headships is that, as in Britain, women tend to be heads of schools which have fewer pupils than those in which men hold headships. One reason for this is that women tend to be heads of nursery schools, which are usually smaller than primary schools. In addition, there is a tendency for small rural schools to be headed by women rather than men; in France, rural headships are considerably less in demand than those in urban schools. Since, as in Britain, the pay of heads is linked to the size of school for which they are responsible, there will be an effect on mean salaries for women and men heads (personal communication with Annick SEGROS, SGEN-CFDT, Paris, September 1989).
Appendix 9.3

Vertical occupational sex segregation in teaching occupations

The PCS has an in-built hierarchy which, in relation to teaching, places categories 3411, 3414 and 3415 (secondary and university sectors) in the higher intellectual occupations (category 3) above categories 4211, 4214, 4215, 4221 and 4224 (primary, nursery, general and technical education sectors), which are grouped in the semi-professions (category 4). Since the PCS, as its title "professions et categories socio-professionelles" suggests, incorporates a social dimension in its categorisation of occupations, it is reasonable to conclude that the 1-digit category 4 has less status than the 1-digit category 3. Table 9D distinguishes levels 3 and 4 to show the distribution by sex of teaching occupations within these levels.

Table 9D: 1-digit level teaching groups by sex, France, 1985, age 23-60, column percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>level 3 (higher intellectual)</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>level 4 (semi-professions)</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100.0 100.0
(1676) (1038)

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, files FRANCE21W & FRANCE21M

From Table 9D, it can be seen that women are more likely to be in level 4 teaching groups than men (80% of women are in these groups, as compared with 68% of men. Thus at the level of a 2-part hierarchy, which places secondary and post-secondary education above primary, special, general and technical education, women are more likely to be found in the lower half of that hierarchy.

Tables 9E and 9F focus on the secondary/primary education divide. Table 9E shows the ratio of heads to teachers by sex by means of a ratio calculated by dividing the numbers of women and men employed in headships by the numbers employed at the teaching level.

Table 9E: Vertical sex segregation, primary and nursery sectors, full-time and part-time working combined, all ages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching post</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head (group 4214)</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teachers (group 4211)</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ratio head:teacher</td>
<td>1:7</td>
<td>1:3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, files FRANCE21W & FRANCE21M

296
Table 9E shows that the ratio of women heads to teachers is 1:7, in contrast to 1:3 for men, suggesting that the chances of women teachers gaining promotion to headships is rather less than half that of men. Given what is known about the preponderance of women in primary schools, the likely scenario is therefore that of a female staff headed by a man. Again, were the data to make a distinction between nursery (école maternelle) and primary schools, it is likely that the ratio of women heads to teachers in nursery schools would be considerably smaller, since almost all nursery teachers are women. By the same token, the ratio of women heads to teachers in primary schools would be greater. Unfortunately, the data do not allow for this distinction to be made.

Table 9F gives the same information for the secondary sector.

Table 9F: Vertical sex segregation, secondary sector, full-time and part-time working, all ages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>teaching post</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>secondary heads &amp; inspectors (3414)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary teachers (3411)</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ratio head:teacher</td>
<td>1:16</td>
<td>1:7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, files FRANCE21W & FRANCE21M

Table 9F provides evidence that vertical sex segregation is of the same order of magnitude in both primary and secondary sectors. Whilst there are fewer headships available in the secondary sector than in the primary sector, (no doubt because primary schools are smaller and therefore greater in number than secondary schools), women have roughly half the chance that men have of gaining access to headships in the secondary sector. As Table 9E showed, there is a similar situation in the primary & nursery sector.
### Appendix 9.4

**Data for Fig 9.1, full-time and part-time working, not employed by age, French women teachers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age groups</th>
<th>FT</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>not empl.</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>67.9%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>66.9%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>71.2%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>73.1%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>74.8%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>66.4%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>56.4%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all 25-59</td>
<td>68.2%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>2032</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*source: Enquête Emploi 1985, file FRANCE35W, gemfile FTPTINAW*
Logit analysis, higher level versus lower level teaching, using YCHI, French teachers

YCHI (age of youngest child) was substituted for ENFM (number of dependent children).

The following model was fitted:

\[ \text{HETE} = \text{NA} + \text{PSEC} + \text{M} + \text{ENFM} + \text{DIPL} + \text{AG} \]

Table 9G gives the results of fitting this model:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
<th>S.E.</th>
<th>T-ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>null</td>
<td>-4.152</td>
<td>0.4507</td>
<td>9.2 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA (2)</td>
<td>-1.145</td>
<td>0.5905</td>
<td>1.9 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSEC (2)</td>
<td>1.660</td>
<td>0.2907</td>
<td>5.7 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M (2)</td>
<td>-0.5503</td>
<td>0.3129</td>
<td>1.8 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M (3)</td>
<td>-0.3936</td>
<td>0.7111</td>
<td>0.6 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M (4)</td>
<td>-0.01844</td>
<td>0.4267</td>
<td>0.04 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YCHI (2) y.ch &lt;3</td>
<td>0.5342</td>
<td>0.4770</td>
<td>1.1 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YCHI (3) y.ch 3-5</td>
<td>-0.06211</td>
<td>0.5147</td>
<td>0.1 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YCHI (4) y.ch 6-17</td>
<td>-0.03684</td>
<td>0.2825</td>
<td>0.1 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE7 (2)</td>
<td>0.5621</td>
<td>0.4633</td>
<td>1.2 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE7 (3)</td>
<td>0.5063</td>
<td>0.4624</td>
<td>1.1 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE7 (4)</td>
<td>0.8626</td>
<td>0.4701</td>
<td>1.8 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE7 (5)</td>
<td>1.543</td>
<td>0.4553</td>
<td>3.4 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE7 (6)</td>
<td>1.662</td>
<td>0.4859</td>
<td>3.4 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE7 (7)</td>
<td>1.889</td>
<td>0.5497</td>
<td>3.4 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = significant at the 0.05 level of probability
ns = not significant at this level

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, files FRANCE65W & GLIMFRTEACH1.OUT

Substituting the age of youngest child variable for the number of children variable makes little difference to the model, with only PSEC, NA and AGE7 reaching significance. Like YCHI, age of youngest child, ENFM, number of children, is not significant.
Logit analysis, French teachers, values of dependent and independent variables

**Dependent variable:**

teacher/head (HETE)

0 teacher
1 head

The definition of 'head' in the French data is considerably narrower than the definition of 'supervisory teacher' used in the British data. See footnote (2) for details.

**Independent variables:**

part-time/full-time working (NA)

1 full-time (reference category)
2 part-time

secondary/primary (PSEC)

1 secondary (reference category)
2 primary

marital status (M)

1 single (reference category)
2 married
3 widowed
4 divorced/separated

age of youngest dependent child (YCHI)

1 no children (reference category)
2 youngest child <3 years
3 youngest child 3-5 years
4 youngest child 6-17 years

number of dependent children (ENFM)

1 no children (reference category)
2 1 child
3 2 children
4 3 or more children

highest educational qualification (DIPL)

1 high (reference category)
2 medium
3 low

Notes: This variable is a recode of the Enquête Emploi variable DIPL. High=higher degrees (categories 10,11), medium=university and technical degrees (categories 30,31), low=below degree level (categories 32 to 71).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 20-29 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 30-34 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 35-39 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 40-44 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 45-49 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 50-54 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 55-60 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: the age groups are somewhat different for France. A broader first group has been selected because the lowest age for teachers in the Enquête Emploi is 22, and there are consequently few in the age group 20-24, used as the youngest group in the British analyses. There are also very few teachers over the age of 60 in France, unlike in Britain, where 64 was used as the upper limit.
Chapter 10: White-collar working and officeworking, Britain

1. Introduction

This chapter focuses upon British officeworking/clerical working. In Chapter 6 the decision to focus on officeworking was justified on the basis of a number of contrasts which it provided with both British teaching, and with French officeworking. It contrasts with British teaching on the basis of its structure (organisationally based, mainly post-entry qualification), whilst it shares with British teaching a national context of limited job protection for part-timers, as well as limited and expensive daycare facilities. In relation to French officeworking, the structural elements are similar, whilst the national policy context differs. A common element, acting as a constant variable, is that in both countries, women have prime responsibility for domestic work. It was suggested in Chapter 6 that the unequal domestic division of labour was likely to reduce the potential for women's occupational achievement, principally because the extra demands on women's time and energy of a higher level job might be seen (by employers and employees) as incompatible with the demands of the home.

In the first section of this chapter, the history of the feminization of clerical working is considered in order to set out a context within which modern-day white-collar working can be placed. In addition, a historical approach has the potential for providing explanations of officeworkers' employment patterns and occupational achievement, explored later in the chapter. The second section explores the representation of women and men in white-collar working in
order to establish the extent of sex segregation. The third section establishes the extent to which patterns of employment of British women white-collar workers reflect their age/life-cycle phase, and their family/personal characteristics. In addition, in line with an aim of this thesis to go beyond general statements about women's employment, it aims to specify life-cycle patterns of discontinuity and part-time working as they relate to white-collar working, and to compare these with distributions for women generally.

This section leads on to the examination of the relationship between officeworkers' occupational achievement and their family/personal characteristics. The theoretical and policy implications of this relationship are briefly discussed in relation to officeworking; this is developed more fully in a comparative way in relation to the two occupational groups in the two societies in Chapter 12.

2. The feminization of clerical working
Up to the middle of the 19th century, clerical working was almost entirely done by men. Based on male apprenticeship, and notions of personal service, it was a relatively high-status occupation (Lewis, 1984:196). Feminization of the occupation grew, however, so that by the beginning of the 20th century, 13% of clerks were women, and by the middle of the 20th century, 60% were women (Routh, 1980). Cohn (1985) suggests that the rapidity of feminization in clerical work is a major reason for its importance in terms of research into women's employment. The rate of increase of feminization was greatest around the World Wars (Anderson, 1988).
Both supply and demand factors account for the growth in the number of British women clerical workers (Lowe, 1987). On the supply side, there was an increase in the number of single or widowed, mainly middle class women who needed employment. The occupation of governess, the most accessible occupation for middle-class women up to the middle of the 19th century, had become increasingly low-paid.\(^2\) In addition, women had become better educated, with a growing number acquiring basic office skills.

On the demand side, the boom in trade and commerce, as well as the demands of an increasingly urban society had created a large number of clerical jobs (Anderson, 1988). Thus, a ready supply of female clerical labour coincided with an economic expansion which required this sort of labour. Prior to World War 1, almost all female clerks were employed in commercial and business organisations, referred to by Lewis (1984: 158) as the "inferior end of the office work hierarchy". It was only after the war that the number of women clerks in government offices increased. Thus, amongst the different industrial sectors where clerical working took place, there was also sex segregation. As in France, the postal services were a principal employer of women clerks; at the turn of the century, 45% of women clerks were employed in the postal services, 29% in local government, and 25% in the civil service (Lockwood, 1958: 122). In the private sector, women were primarily employed in the commercial office, making little headway into banking, railways and the law (Anderson, 1988).
It seems unlikely, however, that women replaced men in clerical jobs. Since they took the lowest paid jobs in the lowest grades, and left employment when they got married to be replaced by younger single women in the lowest grades, they do not seem to have posed a threat for men (Anderson, 1976). Anderson makes the important point that this situation was more a reflection of the growing sexual division of labour, than a situation where women competed with men. Anderson argues that it was only in the slump of the 1930s that male clerks were replaced by women, or had to compete with women for routine jobs rather than face unemployment. At other times, Anderson claims, men who have been replaced by women have been redeployed at higher levels in the office hierarchy, mainly superior career-based grades (Anderson, 1988). Lockwood (1958) shares the view that women were not in competition with men, since the nature of their work, he argues, was qualitatively different from men's. It was low status, according to Lockwood, because it required neither "superior masculine strength nor superior masculine intellect" (Lockwood, 1958:125). Lockwood's observation was that women's work was "peripheral to the main activity of the office" (Lockwood, 1958:122).

This view of women servicing the core work of the office raises the issue of the degree of sex segregation in clerical working. There is evidence, however, that in the Post Office, a major employer of women clerks, there was rather less sex-typing of occupations than might have been expected (Grint, 1988). Although women and men clerks were often located in separate offices, the work which they did, Grint asserts, was usually
identical. Equal pay in the Post Office was won for some grades in 1920, and in 1961 was extended to almost all women in major grades. This was at least a decade before the principal of equal pay was accepted for the United Kingdom as a whole. However, this did not mean that women and men's pay was the same, since gender-based inequalities, for example women's limited access to higher paid managerial positions, remained (Grint, 1988: 88). The Post Office may represent a special case, however, in terms of a low degree of occupational sex-typing. Generally, it seems likely that a stereotype of women's work became widespread in clerical occupations, with women being allocated to jobs such as stenography, and using typewriters and adding machines; this work was deemed unsuitable for men, who sought to retain higher status clerical and administrative jobs, created through economic expansion (Summerfield, 1989, Lewis, 1984).

However, unlike many other occupations, particularly manual occupations, where supervisors of women tend to be men, 'within office' upward mobility (promotion from clerical non-supervisory to a supervisory post) seems to have been to the advantage of women. One reason for this is that in the early offices, women tended to be physically separated from men; on moral and practical grounds, Anderson (1988) suggests, supervisors had also to be women. The later rationalisation of office labour into 'pools' had a similar effect. Thus, whilst men were promoted into higher grades (managerial and professional jobs such as accountancy), older women tended to be promoted into the clerical supervisory category. This has
led to the observation that women supervisors occupy a sort of "no man's land" in offices, where they are isolated from clerical workers, yet cut off from the higher grades reserved for men (Anderson, 1988).

The history of sex segregation in the civil service is particularly important to examine, given the high proportion of women clerical workers in this sector, both in the past and in the present. Lewis (1984) suggests that senior civil servants played a significant role in creating and maintaining patterns of sex segregation. In 1912, the Royal Commission on the Civil Service claimed that women were not suitable for higher grades because they lacked the ability to do sustained work, and were not able to adapt to a variety of work situations (Lewis, 1984: 195). Zimmeck (1984) cites evidence that the civil service examination for entry to administrative grades discriminated against women; for example only 3 examinations open to both men and women were held between 1918 and 1932. In contrast to this, there was very little opposition to the entry of women into the clerical and typing grades of the civil service (Lewis, 1984:196).

The cheapness of female clerical labour is often cited as a principal reason for its attractiveness to employers (Crompton & Jones, 1984). However, there is some evidence that the cheap labour thesis is insufficient as an explanation. Cohn's in-depth examination of the use and development of clerical labour in two contrasted organisations, the Post Office and the Great Western Railway (GWR), suggests that the nature of the organisation is also an important factor (Cohn, 1985). Whilst
the Post Office employed women clerical workers in large numbers, the GWR did not begin hiring women clerks until 1906, and by the 1930s there were still few women employed there. He concludes that if an organisation is primarily a white-collar one (such as the Post Office), then the cost of clerical labour is of greater importance than if the organisation is capital-intensive (such as the GWR). In a capital-intensive organisation, the cost of more expensive male labour can be offset by savings on capital equipment costs. In both situations, he argues, management is likely to have a patriarchal attitude towards employing women, but in a labour-intensive organisation, these attitudes are overcome in the name of profitability.

Thus, argues Cohn, the cheap labour thesis is only applicable under certain circumstances. The generalisability of Cohn's conclusions is perhaps open to question; Lowe (1987) suggests that they may only be applicable to the two organisations investigated by Cohn. Cohn himself concedes that the definition of clerical workers in the Post Office is considerably wider than that of clerical workers in, say, the civil service (Cohn, 1985:33).

However, whether or not the low pay thesis is correct, the fact is that women clerical workers did get substantially lower pay than male clerical workers, as Table 10.1 shows. Nevertheless, women clerical workers' pay has shown a steady increase over the past sixty or so years.
Table 10.1: Women clerks' pay as percentage of men clerks' pay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: constructed from data in Crompton & Jones (1984:27)

As with teachers, the concept of the family wage is useful in understanding the systematic under-paying of women relative to men. In 1916, Post Office employers explained it thus:

"If you pay women who are unmarried the same wage as you pay to the men, the majority of whom are married and have to maintain a family, you will really be paying the woman what is an individual wage at the same rate as you are paying the man what is a family wage. The right phrase... in this connection is 'Equal standard of comfort for people doing equal work'. If you pay a single woman the same wage as you pay a family man, you are giving her a much higher standard of comfort than you are giving them."

(quoted in Zimmeck, 1985: 163)

Single women were therefore not seen as supporting a family, since they often lived at home with their families. The likelihood that single women were financially responsible for elderly dependents was perhaps conveniently overlooked.

In view of the focus in this chapter on the relationship between the personal/domestic characteristics of women officewokers, and their occupational achievement, the different histories of married and single women clerical workers are briefly examined in the following section.

2.1. Clerical workers and marital status

The marriage bar was formally applied against women towards the end of the 19th century in many organisations employing large
numbers of clerical workers, including the civil service and banking (Summerfield, 1989). In the Post Office, a marriage bar was introduced in 1876, and, as in the civil service, it continued until the mid 1940s (Grint, 1988). This meant that only single women were employed in the Post Office 'major grades'. The bar was given legitimacy by the Post Office management for a combination of reasons: women would be distracted from their work because of their 'home attachments', they would have discontinuous work patterns because of family formation, they would take time off work because of family illness, and, if pregnant, would cause embarrassment at work (Grint, 1988: 97). In the Civil Service, the marriage bar was justified in the name of giving younger single women more career opportunities.

There is considerable evidence that single women supported the maintenance of the marriage bar (Zimmeck, 1984). In the 1930s, single women in the local government union NALGO were opposed to married women working because the concept of "pin money" might depress all women's pay levels (Anderson, 1988). Whilst giving opportunities to single women may have been the official reason for barring married women from employment, there seem, however, to have been strong ideologies against married women working. Lewis quotes the 1912 Royal Commission on the Civil Service as saying that the responsibilities of married life were incompatible with 'the devotion of a woman's wholetime and unimpaired energy to the public service' (Lewis, 1984:102). Zimmeck suggests that the marriage bar was only one of a series of institutional measures set up by top civil servants to
ensure the perpetuation of prescriptions of women's work and men's work, and the difference between them construed as differing realms of expertise (Zimmeck, 1984: 70).

Cohn (1985) concludes that employers were able to save money through the implementation of the marriage bar, since higher salary scales, based on length of service, would not be reached. Grint (1988: 97), however, explains the marriage bar by reference to a "patriarchal morality", supported by both management, and by the male-dominated trade unions. This ideology was illustrated by the employment in the Post Office of lone mothers as 'special cases' and divorced women only if they were the 'innocent party'.

However, the growing demand for labour, particularly evident in and after the Second World War, meant that married women were gradually used more and more in clerical working. Indeed, Anderson (1988) argues that the gains made by married women in office employment during World War II formed the basis for their rising share of employment after the war. Married women who had worked in offices before the war had priority both in the jobs previously held by men, and in reinstatement to the jobs which they had previously held; the principal gains were in national and local government. Employment of women contracted less after the Second World War than after the First; marriage bars were eroded by "the powerful role of married women in the war economy" (Anderson, 1988: 11).

2.2. The feminization of British clerical working: summary
Clerical working is an example of an occupation which has moved
over the course of a century from a male-dominated occupation with relatively high status, to one which is strongly feminized, and where the bulk of workers are in low paid and low status jobs. From this historical overview, it is likely that white-collar working, in its broad sense \(^1\), will continue to be strongly segregated by sex, with men occupying professional and managerial posts in considerably larger proportions than women, and with women strongly over-represented in the lower clerical grades. Yet, taking the narrower definition of clerical working (clerical non-supervisory and supervisory), it is likely that women would not be under-represented at the supervisory level. As pointed out, the development of all-women offices and typing pools has meant that supervisory positions at this level have been taken by women. Marital status appears to have played an important role in the employment patterns and occupational achievement of women clerical workers. The degree to which it remains so is one of the key questions addressed in this chapter.

In the next section, the trends outlined in this historical overview are followed through by examining sex segregation in modern-day white-collar working, and officeworking (clerical supervisory and non-supervisory). Before doing this, however, the way in which white-collar working is defined for the purposes of this chapter is explained.

3. Definitions of white-collar workers and officeworkers
White-collar workers in general, and officeworkers in particular, can be found across a wide range of industries.
Here, an attempt is made to establish a more precise concept of this broad occupational group by selecting those who work in industries which have been selected because they are likely to contain large concentrations of white-collar and clerical workers. These industries - national and local government, banking and insurance - are largely those which Crompton (1986: 128) describes as "the classic locus of the 'service class'". Occupational and industrial selections have been made in order to arrive at a working definition of white-collar workers.

Firstly, two industrial categories have been selected. These are the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) groups 8 and 9 (see OPCS, 1980) SIC 8 is entitled 'Banking, finance, insurance, business services and leasing. SIC 9 is entitled 'Other services' by OPCS; it includes public administration, education, research and development, medical, recreational services, and some personal services. Perhaps a more meaningful way of describing SIC 9 is to use the term 'non-marketed' services (Gershuny & Miles, 1983:4). However, there are some aspects of SIC 9 which do not fit this definition: for example, the inclusion of services such as recreation and hairdressing ('marketed' services in Gershuny & Miles' conceptualisation). There are, nevertheless, few managerial and clerical occupations in these services, as the profiles in Appendix 10.1 show. In addition, the category includes some services which are provided in both the public and the private sector (education, healthcare, for example). The term 'non-marketed services' is used here for both France and Britain, in the knowledge that it is not being used in precisely the way that Gershuny & Miles define it.
White-collar workers in industrial categories SIC 8 & 9 are not necessarily representative of white-collar workers as a whole. For example, there may be differences relating to pay. Information from the New Earnings Survey (NES) 1986 shows that the earnings of clerical workers in the banking/finance industry (SIC 8) are consistently superior to those of equivalent workers in other industries, particularly those in the public sector (New Earnings Survey, 1986).

Secondly, four occupational categories representing a broad definition of white-collar groups have been identified. These are the OPCS Classification of Occupations (1980) (CO80) occupations KOS Orders 1 ("professional and related supporting management"), 5 (managerial) and 6 ("clerical and related"). "Clerical and related" has been sub-divided into two parts by deriving a new variable which uses socio-economic groups (SEG's) to yield supervisory and non-supervisory levels. The self-employed have been excluded, since the concern here is to establish groups of people who are employees in the broad white-collar area; self-employed professionals and managers (akin to owners of firms) do not readily fall into this definition.

Some occupations have been excluded because they do not, a priori, come under the aegis of white-collar working. Occupations excluded from the definitions used in this chapter are shown in footnote (3). These are principally occupations which come under the general category of 'managers' (KOS 5) such as police and army officers. Postal workers (KOS 6) have
also been excluded. Detailed profiles of white-collar occupational categories thus developed are in Appendix 10.1. The aim of constructing these profiles was to arrive at a better understanding of the make-up of the four groups of white-collar workers used in the analyses of employment patterns later in this chapter.

3.1. White-collar working and occupational mobility

In creating a classification of white-collar workers, no assumption is being made about occupational mobility. Nevertheless, there are evidently differences between the four categories, which reflect a hierarchy of, for example, status, pay, and level of qualifications. It is evident that, on these criteria, the professional occupational group (KOS 1) is in a higher position in such a hierarchy than, for example, the clerical supervisory one. Nevertheless, having said this, it is unlikely (although not impossible) that there is upward occupational mobility from the clerical supervisory group to the professional group. The literature on the Weberian concept of social closure (Parkin, 1974, for example) describes the way in which the professions are able to exclude entry in a variety of ways, principally through the establishment of a set of credentials and qualifications which are necessary for entry. Professionals have therefore been excluded from the more narrowly defined group, officeworking (clerical supervisory and non-supervisory). Since occupational achievement is the focus of the analyses of officeworkers, it is important to establish that occupational mobility between these two grades is feasible.
Making the case for the limited nature of occupational mobility into professional occupations is rather more straightforward, however, than establishing whether there is likely to be occupational mobility between the clerical supervisory group and the managerial group. There are two principal reasons why a decision has been taken here to exclude the managerial group from a vertical scale reflecting occupational mobility. The first relates to theoretical reasons, and the second to practical reasons concerning the construction of the Classification of Occupations 1980.

Firstly, the definition of 'manager' is widely considered to be imprecise. The 1980 Classification of Occupations acknowledges the problem of deciding whether a person in a professional occupation who also has managerial duties should be included in KOS 1 (professionals supporting management) or in KOS 5 (managers) (OPCS, 1980, vii). In addition, it is unclear whether social closure mechanisms operate in relation to managers; this problem hinges on whether formal qualifications are a necessary attribute of managers. Crompton (1987: 423) suggests that management, unlike law or medicine, can be successfully pursued by those without qualifications.

Nevertheless, there is increasing evidence of a changing situation here; some managerial occupations may be becoming professionalised, in that credentials/qualifications are increasingly demanded (Abercrombie & Urry, 1983; Crompton, 1987). Unlike professionals, therefore, there is some doubt about the mechanisms of entry to the managerial occupational
group; this probably reflects the diffuse nature of the occupation.

There is a second, more practical, reason, associated with the Classification of Occupations 1980, why managers have been excluded from a vertical scale of occupational mobility. As shown in Appendix 10.1, Sections 3 and 4, a large proportion of the clerical supervisory and the clerical non-supervisory groups is composed of public sector employees (civil service, local government, social security). These are employees in the grade of Clerical Officer (clerical non-supervisory group) and Executive Officer (clerical supervisory group). However, promotion from the grade of Executive Officer to Higher Executive Officer bypasses the CO80 managerial group (KOS 5). Higher Executive Officers and above are classified in the 'professionals supporting management' group (KOS 1). Managers of social security offices are also in KOS 1 (see CO80 p xxxi). Therefore, the structure of the CO80 affects the argument about the possibilities of upward occupational mobility, a basic premise of which is that it should be at least possible (although not necessarily easy, particularly for women - which of course is the nub of the argument) to move upward from one level to another. On the CO80 criterion, it is not possible for clerical supervisory workers who are civil service executive officers to move upwards to the manager level. They would move upwards to the professional group (KOS 1). Therefore, whilst upward mobility from the clerical non-supervisory group to the clerical supervisory group is clear, the route from the clerical supervisory group to the managerial group is only open in the CO80 to private sector workers.
(principally banking, finance, insurance). Diagrammatically, this can be conceptualised thus:

Figure 10.1: CO80* White-collar occupational mobility routes

professionals supporting management (KOS 1)  
\[ \text{civil service} \quad \uparrow \quad \text{managers (KOS 5)} \]
\[ \quad \uparrow \quad \text{clerical supervisory (upper part KOS 6)} \]
\[ \quad \uparrow \quad \text{clerical non-supervisory (lower part KOS 6)} \]

* Classification of Occupations 1980, OPCS.

In the analyses which examine the relationship between family/personal characteristics and occupational achievement, both the professional and the managerial grades in white-collar working have been dropped. In summary, the reasons for this are: (1) the closure operated by professional groups, (2) the difficulty of establishing the extent of upward mobility to this diverse group, and (3) using the CO80, upward mobility for the large proportion of women and men clerical supervisory workers who are in the civil service is not to the managerial class, but to the professional class.

The qualifications of white-collar workers may be another way of ascertaining whether upward mobility routes exist between occupational groups. If it could be established that the majority of people in a particular occupational group have a qualification which is not held by people in a lower level occupation, then this would provide some evidence of restricted opportunities for mobility. Analysis of white-collar workers'
qualifications is shown in Appendix 10.2 (Table 10A). It shows, in common with a similar analysis for French white-collar workers (see Chapter 11, Appendix 11.3, Table 11A) that, whilst each occupational group has a qualification which is the 'norm' for that group, there is nevertheless a wide range of qualifications within that group. It would therefore seem speculative to base any decisions about upward occupational mobility on such evidence.

To summarise, two occupational classifications are used in this chapter. The first, white-collar working, comprises four categories: professionals, managers, clerical supervisory and clerical non-supervisory. These categories are used to show patterns of sex segregation. No inference is made from this about possibilities of upward occupational mobility. The second, officeworking - the lower half of the white-collar worker scale - comprises two categories: clerical supervisory and clerical non-supervisory. An assumption is made here that upward occupational mobility is possible between the two grades; this two-part scale is used for analyses of the relationship between personal/social characteristics and women's occupational achievement.

4. Occupational sex segregation, white-collar workers
The historical development of patterns of sex segregation amongst white-collar workers was discussed earlier in this chapter. It showed that the feminization of the occupation had brought with it strong patterns of sex segregation. In the next section, segregation by sex amongst white-collar workers in the mid-1980s is examined. This has the aim of setting the
context for the subsequent examination of the effect of family
and personal characteristics on women's occupational
achievement in officeworking. It is also referred to in the
final section of the chapter, when an assessment is made of the
position of women relative to that of men, in the light of the
analyses of the relationship between women's domestic
characteristics and their occupational achievement.

Table 10.2 shows the broad 4-category white-collar definition
analysed by sex. Both column and row percentages are shown,
since column percentages provide a better picture of vertical
sex segregation and row percentages give a clearer idea of
under and over-representation of women and men within
categories. In addition they allow for the calculation of a
measure of under and over-representation. A variant of Hakim's
measure of vertical segregation is used (Hakim, 1979:28).
Hakim's measure, the Sex Ratio Index, calculates the under or
over-representation of women in occupational groups in relation
to the female proportion of the total labour force. This
measure is modified here to show under and over-representation
of women and men in sub-groups of one occupation, in relation
to the female or male proportion of the occupational groups as
a whole. The index is calculated by dividing the proportion of
women or men in each occupational sub-group by the overall
proportion of women or men. Thus, it is an index of the
relationship of the observed value to the expected value if
women were represented in each occupational group in the same
proportion as in the grouped occupations. A value of 1
indicates no over or under-representation, >1 indicates over-
representation, and <1 indicates under-representation. These values are shown in brackets in Table 10.2(b). For further comments on Hakim’s Sex Ratio Index, see footnote 4, Chapter 4.

Table 10.2: Occupational sex segregation, white-collar workers, Britain

(a) column percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>professional &amp; related</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>managerial</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical supervisory</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical non-supervisory</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4781)</td>
<td>(2701)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) row percentages (Hakim’s Sex Ratio Index in brackets)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>professional &amp; related</td>
<td>27 (0.4)</td>
<td>74 (2.0)</td>
<td>100% (1428)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>managerial</td>
<td>23 (0.4)</td>
<td>77 (2.1)</td>
<td>100% (678)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical supervisory</td>
<td>63 (1.0)</td>
<td>37 (1.0)</td>
<td>100% (1103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical non-supervisory</td>
<td>83 (1.3)</td>
<td>17 (0.5)</td>
<td>100% (4273)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>64 (1.0)</td>
<td>36 (1.0)</td>
<td>100% (7482)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984, file LFS59

Looking first at the column percentages, Table 10.2 shows that, of women white-collar workers, only 8% are in the professional category. Women white-collar workers are concentrated in the clerical non-supervisory category (74%). By contrast, the largest proportion of men white-collar workers is in the professional category (39%), with the smallest in the clerical supervisory category (15%). In view of the earlier discussion on the historical development of sex segregation amongst clerical workers, it is interesting to note that the proportions of women and men in clerical supervisory positions.
are similar.

Turning to part (b) of Table 10.2, the sex ratio index demonstrates that women are not under-represented in clerical supervisory posts (in relation to their representation in white-collar working as a whole). Women have traditionally been in clerical supervisory positions because of the all-female nature of the early 20th century office, and the later typing pool. However, the lack of sex segregation at this level should not hide the fact that at higher levels of white-collar working, women are strongly under-represented, with indices of 0.4 in both managerial and professional categories. There is over-representation of women in the clerical non-supervisory group. In addition, Table 10.2(b) demonstrates that men are strongly over-represented in the professional and managerial categories (indices of 2.0 and 2.1 respectively).

In summary, British white-collar workers show a high degree of segregation by sex, which is particularly evident at the professional and managerial levels. However, at the clerical supervisory level, women are not under-represented; it has been suggested that structural reasons relating to the development of the occupation may explain this. The picture of sex segregation in British white-collar working therefore reflects its history: women are concentrated in the lower non-career strata of the occupation, whilst men have safeguarded their positions by working in the managerial and professional positions.

History can go a long way towards explaining patterns of sex
segregation. However, the roles of full-time and part-time working and patterns of continuity and discontinuity over the work-course are also important in understanding patterns of sex segregation. In the next section, the way in which these forms of working vary by age is examined. In this way, within the limitations of cross-sectional data, patterns of continuity and discontinuity as they relate to phases in the life-course are highlighted. From this, expectations of patterns of occupational sex segregation and of women's occupational achievement within occupations can be drawn.

5. British white-collar workers: employment patterns

In Chapter 4, employment patterns were discussed with reference to women as a whole, without disaggregation by occupational group. By reference to work-history data, it was shown that, generally speaking, French women tended to work full-time and continuously, whilst British women tended to work part-time and discontinuously. In this section, the employment patterns of British women white-collar workers are explored.

Figure 10.2 (data in Appendix 10.3) shows patterns of not working, full-time and part-time working by age for women white-collar workers, all categories (professional, management, clerical supervisory and clerical non-supervisory) combined. 'Not working' is defined as not being in paid employment during the reference week, but where the last occupation was in white-collar working. It is sometimes also referred to as 'not in employment'. As explained in the chapter on teachers, this definition excludes people who are now in other occupations, but who were previously in white-collar working. It therefore
Fig. 10.2: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, British women white-collar workers

Not in paid employment

Part-time

Full-time

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984

File LFS68 & 69, gemfile BROFFICW
underestimates the extent of not working in white-collar occupations.

Levels of part-time working amongst white-collar workers are lower than in the female labour force as a whole. Analysis of the Labour Force Survey 1984 shows that 19% of women white-collar workers, from clerical non-supervisory to professional), work part-time. This compares with around 44% for the female labour force as a whole (LFS 1984 figures).

Figure 10.2 shows that patterns of not in employment, full-time and part-time working are related to age groups/phases in the life-course. Full-time working is at a high level in the period prior to family formation, and, apart from the pre-retirement phase, is at its lowest level in the 35-39 age group. Levels of not working are at their highest in the 25-29 age group. Part-time working is at a low level until the family formation and the post-family formation phase, and it remains at a high level until the pre-retirement phase.

British women white-collar workers show similar patterns of employment to the totality of British women, although the two-peaked distribution is rather more exaggerated amongst white-collar workers than it is in the female population as a whole. This is in many ways a similar picture to that of British teachers' employment patterns by age (Figure 8.1, Chapter 8). Both show a distinct two-peak shape, although this is less accentuated for teachers. Both show that part-time working is associated with the phase of family formation, and especially post-family formation. However, the proportion of women white-
collar workers who are not in paid employment is considerably higher than for British teachers. In addition, levels of full-time working are higher for British teachers in the post-family formation period. Comparison between French white-collar workers, French teachers and British teachers is made in Chapter 12.

6. Employment patterns and domestic characteristics

The nature of the relationship between employment patterns of British women white-collar workers and their personal/family characteristics is explored in more detail in Table 10.3. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number. In order to facilitate interpretation of this table, the largest percentage in each category of the independent variables has been highlighted.

Table 10.3: Employment patterns of women white-collar workers, by personal/family characteristics, age 16-64, Britain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>not employed</th>
<th>part-time*</th>
<th>full-time</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>100%  (1707)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married/ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no children **</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>100%  (697)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100%  (1520)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100%  (1075)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+ children</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100%  (255)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 0-4 yrs</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100%  (1021)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 5-11 yrs</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>100%  (566)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 12-18 yrs</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>100%  (624)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>100%  (4958)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* according to respondents' self-definition
** base age range 30-44 years

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984, files LFS64, LFS67
Compared to the Women & Employment Survey, white-collar workers in Table 10.3 show both higher rates of full-time working for women with children, and lower rates of not working. As explained earlier, the definition of 'not working' used here is likely to provide an underestimate. This is especially the case for white-collar workers who are more likely than women in other occupations to change to another occupation after childbearing (Martin & Roberts, 1984; Dale, 1987). However, the difference between levels of full-time and part-time working provides another example of the need to specify the patterns of employment for women in particular occupations.

As discussed in Chapter 5, marriage is no longer a reason for leaving the labour force. British white-collar workers are no different from the totality of the female labour force in this respect. This is shown in Table 10.3 by a comparison of the proportions of single women not working and those of married women without children. The proportions are similar: 19% and 15% respectively. Married women without children are more likely than single women to work part-time, however (11% compared to 3%).

As would be expected, women with no children have different patterns of labour force participation from those with children. For example, 74% of women with no children work full-time; the highest proportion of full-time working - women with one child - is 38%. Table 10.3 also shows that there is some difference in the employment patterns of women with different numbers of children. Of those with one child, 42% are not in paid employment, whilst of those with two or three
and more children, the equivalent figure is around 30%. Levels of part-time working also vary by number of children, with 21% of women officeworkers with one child working part-time, compared with around 40% for those with two or more children.

The evidence from the Women & Employment survey that women's labour force participation is rather little affected by the number of children (Martin & Roberts, 1984:13) needs therefore to be specified for different occupations. The findings from the analyses of occupational groups in this thesis indicate that the relationship between the number of children and women teachers' employment patterns is not marked. By contrast, for white-collar workers, employment patterns vary quite strongly by the number of children. Part-time working is the most common pattern for white-collar workers for those with 2 or 3 children, whilst for those with one child, it is the least common pattern. What is noticeable in Table 10.3 is that employment patterns for women with two or three children are similar; it is where there is only one child that a difference emerges.

However, as the 1980 Women & Employment Survey suggests, the age of the youngest child does appear to have a greater effect on employment patterns than the number of children. Table 10.3 shows a strong relationship here. The age of youngest child variable uses categories which reflect the school phases of pre-school, primary and secondary. Given the low level of childcare provision for pre-school children in Britain, it is to be expected that there would be a low level of employment,
both full-time and part-time, during this phase. In addition, the constraints of the primary and secondary school phases are likely to be different: there may be a social expectation that primary age children are less able to be without adult supervision at home after school than secondary school children. It has already been pointed out that organised after-school care is almost non-existent in Britain. It is to be expected, therefore, that full-time working would be less common for white-collars workers with children of primary age, than for those whose youngest child was of secondary school age.

Analyses of British teachers' employment patterns in Chapter 8 showed that there was little difference by number of children, and that full-time working represented the largest proportion irrespective of the number of children. For teachers (although probably not for head teachers, or those with supervisory responsibilities), the working day coincides much more closely with that of their school-age children; in addition half-terms, and school holidays do not require substitute childcare. Full-time working is therefore considerably more feasible for teachers with school-age children than it is for officeworkers with children of this age. It is also more likely to be better paid and more rewarding than white-collar working, thereby making the childcare costs of working full-time more feasible.

Table 10.3 shows a clear relationship between these three school phases and the patterns of labour force participation of women white-collar workers. As expected, levels of not working
are highest amongst those with a youngest child of pre-school age; 71% of this group are not in paid employment; this contrasts with the other two groups which show considerably lower levels of not working (23% of those with a youngest child of primary school age, and 26% of those with a child of secondary age). Of those with a youngest child in the pre-school phase, levels of part-time and full-time employment are similar, 16% and 14% respectively. However, of those with a youngest child of primary age, the level of part-time working is higher than that of full-time working; here 46% are in part-time work, compared with 31% in full-time work. A further difference can be seen in the group with a youngest child of secondary school age. Here full-time working represents the largest proportion (61%); this compares with 12% in part-time employment.

To sum up this section, a picture of the strong inter-relationship between women's domestic characteristics and their employment patterns has emerged. Within the limits of evidence from cross-sectional data, women white-collar workers show patterns of employment discontinuity, which are linked to family responsibilities. In a context where childcare provision is minimal, the consequences are almost inevitably discontinuity and part-time working. Combined with the likelihood that many women may only have acquired minimal qualifications prior to a break in employment (typing/secretarial, for example), and that advancement in white-collar working tends to depend on continuity within one organisation, the likelihood of employment for women with
children at anything other than the lowest level is probably remote. Of the four occupational groups under consideration in this thesis, British white-collar working, and clerical working in particular, is likely to provide the clearest example of the inter-relationship between domestic characteristics, and both employment patterns and women's occupational achievement.

In the next section, occupational achievement among women officeworkers (clerical supervisory and non-supervisory) is examined in relation to the family/domestic variables shown to be linked to women white-collar workers' employment patterns in this section.

7. Officeworkers, occupational achievement and domestic characteristics

In this section of the chapter, both bivariate and logit analyses are used to analyse the relationship between personal and domestic characteristics of officeworkers and their occupational achievement (whether women are in a clerical supervisory or a clerical non-supervisory post). In the previous section, the relationship was explored between women's domestic circumstances and their employment patterns in white-collar working. Previous studies indicate that the occupational achievement of women is also strongly related to the presence/absence of children, and to their age, principally because of the connection between occupational segregation and part-time working/discontinuity (Martin & Roberts, 1984; Dale, 1987).

The previous section used the wider definition of white-collar
working (see footnote 1) because no inference was being made about mobility between grades. However, in this section, which deals specifically with factors which may affect mobility, only those grades between which mobility is feasible are used. Thus, the focus here is on clerical supervisory and non-supervisory grades, referred to collectively as 'officeworking'.

The issue of the relationship between women officeworkers' domestic circumstances and their occupational achievement is examined using two different methods of analysis: bivariate tables and a logit analysis. The bivariate analysis is shown first.

7.1. Occupational achievement and domestic characteristics: bivariate analyses
The effect of marriage on women's occupational achievement, without disaggregation by occupational group, was discussed in Chapter 5. Factors such as restrictions on time, on geographical mobility and on expectations were explored; the importance of the unequal division of domestic labour was underlined. In Chapter 3, the view that patriarchal relations in the home may constrain women's occupational achievement was discussed. The likelihood that these views would spill over into the workplace was also presented.

Table 10.4 gives details of women officeworkers' occupational achievement by marital status, with and without children, by number of children, and by age of youngest child. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.
### Table 10.4: Occupational achievement of officeworkers by personal/domestic factors, age 16-64, Britain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Clerical sup.</th>
<th>Clerical non-sup.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Single</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>100% (128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married/ever married</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100% (1422)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Single, no children</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100% (112)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married/ever married,</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100% (346)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no child **</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>All, no children</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married, ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100% (816)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100% (679)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 + children</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100% (163)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y child 0-4 yrs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100% (277)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y child 5-11 yrs</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100% (558)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y child 12-18 yrs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100% (848)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>101% (4223)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* age 40-60, not controlling for presence/absence of children
** age 30-44

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984, files LFS41,45,67

In the chapter on British teachers, it was shown that location in the supervisory grade varied by marital status, with married women being less likely to be supervisory teachers than single women. Older women, age 40-64, have been selected here; the reason for this is that younger women are less likely to have progressed to managerial grades. Table 10.4 shows that, in strong contrast to British teachers, the proportion of officeworkers in the higher grade varies little by marital status. Single women aged 40-60 are only slightly more likely than married women of the same age to be in the higher supervisory grade (22% compared to 16%). Of single women with no children, 28% are in the clerical supervisory group, compared with 32% of married women with no children. Thus, married women without children are slightly more likely than
single women without children to be in these higher level positions. However, although the difference in the direction of the relationship is interesting, the differences are small. Of more interest is the lack of difference between these two groups, particularly in comparison to teachers. Similar analyses of teachers showed that single women without children were considerably more likely than married women without children to be in higher level posts.

Table 10.4 shows that neither the number of dependent children, nor their age, have a strong effect on the achievement of women officeworkers. The principal difference is between those with and without children. This result is somewhat similar to that found for British teachers: the effect of the number of children on teachers' location in supervisory or non-supervisory grades was shown to be small. However, the presence or absence of children made considerably less difference for teachers. For example, of those teachers with no children, 18% were in supervisory positions, and 11% of those with one child were in such positions. The equivalent figures for British officeworkers are 31% and 10% within these same age groups.

In many of the analyses discussed so far, independent effects have been difficult to estimate. For example, the effects of children and of marriage (highly correlated variables, but which may well have separate effects) are difficult to distinguish in bivariate tables. As in Chapters 8 and 9, a logit analysis is carried out to assess the odds of being in a
supervisory officeworker position compared to a non-supervisory one.

7.2. Officeworkers' occupational achievement and domestic characteristics: logit analyses

The independent variables included in this analysis are those family and personal variables which were used in the bivariate analyses above. As in the analyses of teachers' occupational achievement, a variable giving details of qualifications obtained has also been introduced as a control variable, as well as a full-time/part-time working variable. Details of the independent and dependent variables are in Appendix 10.4.

Previous logit analyses (of supervisory and non-supervisory teachers) had shown that it was not possible to put the age of youngest child variable (AGY2) in the same model as the number of dependent children variable (DEPC). The reasons for this were explained in Chapter 8. Two separate models were fitted containing (a) the age of youngest child variable (AGY2) and (b) the number of children variable (DEPC). Both variables were statistically significant; the model (b) containing the number of children variable is shown in Appendix 10.5.

The following additive model was fitted:

\[
\text{OFFI} = \text{QUAL} + \text{MAR1} + \text{AGY2} + \text{FTOR} + \text{AG10}
\]

where OFFI = non-supervisory/supervisory officeworker
QUAL = highest qualification obtained
MAR1 = marital status
AGY2 = age of youngest child
FTOR = full-time/part-time working
AG10 = age (grouped 5-yearly)

The results are shown in Table 10.5.
Table 10.5: parameter estimates for the log odds of being in a supervisory grade, compared to a non-supervisory grade, British women officeworkers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Value Label</th>
<th>Estimate (s.e.)</th>
<th>T-ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NULL **</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.349 (0.1974)</td>
<td>11.9 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUAL (1)</td>
<td>high qual</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUAL (2)</td>
<td>med.qual</td>
<td>-0.2982 (0.1077)</td>
<td>2.8 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUAL (3)</td>
<td>no qual</td>
<td>-0.7847 (0.1507)</td>
<td>5.2 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARI (1)</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARI (2)</td>
<td>married</td>
<td>0.5987 (0.1188)</td>
<td>5.0 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARI (3)</td>
<td>widowed</td>
<td>0.6891 (0.3242)</td>
<td>2.1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARI (4)</td>
<td>div/sep</td>
<td>0.6453 (0.1952)</td>
<td>3.3 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGY2 (1)</td>
<td>no children</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGY2 (2)</td>
<td>y.ch.0-4</td>
<td>-0.7554 (0.2267)</td>
<td>3.3 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGY2 (3)</td>
<td>y.ch.5-11</td>
<td>-0.6628 (0.1869)</td>
<td>3.5 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGY2 (4)</td>
<td>y.ch.12-18</td>
<td>-0.4969 (0.1433)</td>
<td>3.5 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTOR (1)</td>
<td>full-time</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTOR (2)</td>
<td>part-time</td>
<td>-2.263 (0.1723)</td>
<td>13.1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (1)</td>
<td>16-20 yrs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (2)</td>
<td>21-24 yrs</td>
<td>0.8284 (0.2120)</td>
<td>3.9 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (3)</td>
<td>25-29 yrs</td>
<td>1.363 (0.2219)</td>
<td>6.1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (4)</td>
<td>30-34 yrs</td>
<td>1.569 (0.2432)</td>
<td>6.5 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (5)</td>
<td>35-39 yrs</td>
<td>1.683 (0.2408)</td>
<td>7.0 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (6)</td>
<td>40-44 yrs</td>
<td>1.426 (0.2506)</td>
<td>5.7 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (7)</td>
<td>45-49 yrs</td>
<td>1.220 (0.2540)</td>
<td>4.8 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (8)</td>
<td>49-54 yrs</td>
<td>1.492 (0.2564)</td>
<td>5.8 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (9)</td>
<td>55-59 yrs</td>
<td>1.450 (0.2746)</td>
<td>5.3 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* significant at the .05% level

** using Payne's terminology, this 'constant' parameter represents the 'paradigmatic person' (Payne, 1987). The paradigmatic person is composed of the reference categories on all of the independent variables, and is discussed below.

source: Labour Force Survey 1984, files LFS53 & GLIMBROFFOUT.1

In this model, all independent variables were significant at the .05 level of probability. Some have very high T-ratios, the highest being FTOR (2), part-time working. Odds ratios of the parameter estimates have been calculated by taking the exponential; this allows for statements to be made about the odds of being supervisory (the second category of the independent variable), compared to non-supervisory, all other variables in the model held constant. In the discussion of odds ratios, the supervisory position is referred to as higher level, and the non-supervisory as lower level.
(a) marital status
All values of this variable were statistically significant. Value (2) married has a higher T-ratio than the other values. All values are positive, meaning that women who are currently married, or who have been married, have a higher chance than single women of being in higher grade officeworker positions, after controlling for all other variables in the model. This confirms the bivariate analyses.

Odds ratios:  1 single (reference category)
1.8 married
2.0 widowed
1.9 divorced/separated

(b) Age of youngest child
All values of this variable reached statistical significance, with similar T-ratios. All three parameter estimates were negative, indicating that the number of children made little difference; it is the presence or absence of children which is the important point. This result bears out the bivariate analyses. The odds ratios show that the chances of being in a higher grade are 0.5 if there is a youngest child aged 0-4 years, compared to 1 if there are no children, all other variables held constant.

Odds ratios:  1 no children (reference category)
0.5 youngest child aged 0-4 years
0.5 youngest child aged 5-11 years
0.6 youngest child aged 12-18 years

The substitution of the number of dependent children variable, DEPC, for the age of youngest child variable, AGY2, makes almost no difference to the parameter estimates for the other variables in the model (see Appendix 10.5). However, it is interesting to calculate the odds ratios for the variable DEPC.
Values 2,3,4 (1,2,3+ children) are statistically significant and all are negative. The odds ratios for each of these values is 0.6, indicating that whilst the odds of being in a higher grade officeworker job are lower for women with children, the number of children makes little difference. This confirms the bivariate analyses shown in Table 10.4. This is a similar result to those obtained with the variable AGY2, age of youngest child, confirming the conclusion that it is the presence or absence of children which affects officeworkers' promotion, not children's age or their number.

(c) age
The chances of promotion increase as age increases, but there is the suggestion of a ceiling here, with the age of 35-39 being the optimal age for being in a higher grade officeworker position, after which the chances decrease somewhat. The odds of being in a supervisory post are 5.4 at age 35-39 years compared to 1 at 16-20 years.

Odds ratios:  
1 16-20 years (reference category)  
3.9 21-24 years  
3.9 25-29 years  
4.8 30-34 years  
5.4 35-39 years  
4.2 40-44 years  
3.4 45-49 years  
4.4 50-54 years  
4.3 55-59 years

(d) Full-time/part-time working (FTOR)
There is a very strong effect from this variable; it has the highest T-ratio in the model (13.1). The direction of the parameter estimate is negative. The odds ratios shows that the chances of being in a supervisory position for part-time
workers are extremely slim; 0.1 if part-time, compared to 1 for the reference category, full-time.

Odds ratios:  
1  full-time (reference category)  
0.1  part-time

(e) Highest educational qualification acquired (QUAL)
Both values of this variable reached statistical significance, value (3), few or no qualifications having a fairly strong effect (T-ratio of 5.2 compared to 2.8 for value (3), 'medium level' qualifications (see Appendix 10.4 for details of these categories). Both values were negative. Odds ratios showed that the chances of being in a supervisory officeworker position with 'medium' qualifications were 0.7 compared to 1 for the reference category ('high' qualifications).

Odds ratios:  
1  'high' qualifications (reference category)  
0.7  'medium' qualifications  
0.5  'low' or no qualifications

7.2.1. Multiplicative effects
Multiplicative odds (Payne, 1987) can be calculated from Table 10.5. In the model, the paradigmatic person has all the reference category values, thus: 'high' qualifications, single, no children, full-time, aged 16-20 years. The odds of a person with these characteristics being an officeworker at the managerial/supervisory clerical level, compared with being at the non-supervisory clerical level are 0.1 (exponential of parameter estimate -2.349). Thus the odds are very low. The effect on these odds of moving the paradigmatic person from one value to another of a variable can be explored. This is what Payne (1987) refers to as the calculation of the
'multiplicative effects' on the odds of being at one level of the dependent variable rather than the other. Footnote (4) explains how the odds can be increased by moving the paradigmatic person to different values of the independent values. Here, the highest odds can be accorded to a woman with high qualifications, married, no children, working full-time, and aged 35-39.

7.2.2. Discussion of logit analysis
Particularly interesting features of the logit analysis include the greater chance of a married woman (without children) being in a supervisory post than a single woman. Having children reduces the chances of being in a supervisory post. This is likely to be because women with children will probably have had discontinuous work-patterns; even though they have returned to work, their discontinuous work-history is likely to count against their chances of promotion. Part-time working has an extremely strong negative effect, indicating that even at the relatively low (in comparison with white-collar workers as a whole) position of supervisory officeworker, full-time working is the only acceptable form of working. Large numbers of British women with children work part-time; British officeworking provides clear evidence of how this form of working effectively reduces any chance of promotion.

8. Comparing occupational achievement, full-time women and men officeworkers
Up to now in this chapter, the emphasis has been on women's employment. In the final section, the occupational achievement of men officeworkers is compared with that of women in
different domestic situations (single/married; with children/without children). The analysis selects full-time workers only.

Table 10.6 brings together findings from earlier bivariate analyses, together with details of men's occupational achievement in officeworking.

Table 10.6: Occupational achievement of British officeworkers, women and men, full-time working, age 30-44 years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>clerical sup.</th>
<th>clerical non-sup.</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>full-time women, single, no children</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100% (103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full-time women, married, no children</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>100% (282)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full-time women, married, children</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>100% (306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>100% (293)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1984, file LFS113,114

Table 10.6 shows that there is a considerable gap between the occupational achievement of men and women officeworkers. Even taking the group with the highest occupational achievement—married women without children—the proportion in the supervisory category is half that of men. Unlike British teachers, where single women without children were the closest of the three groups to men's occupational achievement, single women officeworkers are less close to men officeworkers' occupational achievement than married women without children.
The important point to make here is that this is probably only the case at this level of white-collar working. Analyses (not shown here) of single women, married women with and without children in the four white-collar occupations identified earlier in this chapter (professional & related, managerial, clerical supervisory and clerical non-supervisory) show that proportions of single women are higher than those of married women without children in professional and managerial occupations. As age increases, single women become increasingly more likely than married women without children to be in these higher level positions. This suggests, therefore, that it is not that single women are being discriminated against in some way (for example, because employers assume that they will eventually have children), but rather that single women who remain at this level (a relatively small number, compared to the higher levels) may have failed to acquire qualifications.

9. Summary of chapter

Clerical working in Britain has moved from being an occupation which gave men the opportunity of relatively high status employment at the end of the 19th century to strong feminization of the occupation almost a century later. Women remain concentrated in relatively low status clerical jobs which offer few promotion opportunities, while men have safeguarded their positions by moving into the higher status managerial and professional posts. The background to occupational sex segregation in white-collar working is one of women’s employment patterns being strongly related to life-cycle phases, particularly those of family formation. These
patterns - full-time and part-time working, and not being in paid employment - are furthermore strongly linked to the presence/absence of children, to the number of children, and especially to the age of children. Occupational achievement - location in clerical supervisory positions - appears also to be linked to the absence of children, but the number of children and their age makes little difference. Occupational achievement is also related to age, and to being married, rather than being single. Part-time working is shown to greatly reduce the chances of being in supervisory positions. However, although married women without children, working full-time, have the best chance of being in supervisory positions, men are still twice as likely to be in these positions. A further important point is that although single women in the age group 30-44 achieve less than married women without children, they have higher rates of achievement than married women, with or without children, at higher levels of white-collar working (managerial and professional).

Footnotes

(1) The terms 'white-collar working', 'officeworking' and 'clerical working' are used in this chapter. 'White-collar working' is used to describe four categories of employees in industrial categories SIC 8 (banking, finance, insurance) and SIC 9 (principally non-marketed services of a collective nature). These four categories are (1) professionals, K0S1, (2) managers, K0S5, (3) clerical supervisory, part K0S6, (4) clerical non-supervisory, part K0S6. The term 'officeworking' is used to denote categories (3) and (4) only. The term thus covers a two-grade hierarchy of clerical work; it is co-terminous with Lane's "lower white-collar workers", defined as workers in clerical-administrative positions of a non-managerial kind (Lane, 1987). Profiles of these categories are in Appendix 10.1. The term 'clerical working' is used in the section which explores historical aspects of the occupation. It is more or less synonymous with 'officeworking'; however, it was felt that it had a rather old-fashioned feel about it.
because of its clear relation to the occupation of 'clerk'. The term 'officeworker' is used extensively in popular writing (for example in the various media), but it tends not to be used in British academic writing. However, in France, the term 'l'emploi de bureau', of which 'officeworking' is a direct translation, is used in academic work. For these reasons, it is used here.

(2) Lowe comments that the pay of many of the clerical grades was almost as low as that of governesses.

(3) Occupations in KOS 5 and 6, SIC 8 and 9 excluded from the definition used in this thesis of white-collar workers and officeworkers are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condensed KOS</th>
<th>Occupational title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>Restaurateurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>Officers, British armed forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>Officers, Commonwealth armed forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>Prison officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>Police officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>Fire service officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>Postmen and women, their supervisors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Post Office messengers, their supervisors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) The odds ratios of each variable suggest that having no qualifications, being single, being young, having children, and being part-time have negative effects on being at the higher officeworker level. By contrast, having 'high' qualifications, having no children, and working full-time have positive effects. Moving the 'paradigmatic person' from (a) being married and (b) being 35-39 years old increases the odds from 0.1 (the odds of the paradigmatic person being in a higher grade position) by multiplying by the odds of (a) being married and (b) being 35-39 (shown by the examination of the odds ratios to be the optimum age for being at the higher officeworker level). Thus, taking (a) first, gives the multiplicative score of 0.18 (0.1*1.8). Moving to the 35-39 age group gives a multiplicative effect of 0.97 (0.18*5.4). To illustrate how the odds can be decreased, the paradigmatic person can be moved from having no children to having a youngest child aged 11-18. This would give odds of 0.58 (1.19*0.6).
Profiles of white-collar groups, Britain

Profiles of four groups of white-collar workers - professional and related supporting management (KOS 1), managers (KOS 5), clerical supervisory (part KOS 6) and clerical non-supervisory (part KOS 6) - have been developed. SIC 8 (banking, finance) and SIC 9 (mostly non-marketed collective service, including national and local government) have been selected.

The aim is to arrive at a better understanding of the make-up of these four groups, perhaps in particular the manager group, which is notoriously difficult to define. For each group, the most detailed industry classification has been cross-tabulated with the most detailed occupational classification; women and men are considered separately. The occupational and industry groups with the largest concentrations are considered here for each group by sex.

1. professional and related supporting management (KOS 1 in SIC 8 and 9)

women (N=395)

1.1. Principal detailed occupation groups:

- librarians, information officers: 12%
- chartered and certified accountants: 9%
- marketing executives: 8%
- local government officers (admin & exec): 8%
- taxation experts: 7%

1.2 Principal detailed industry groups:

- local government: 10%
- national government: 9%
- libraries, museums: 8%
- legal services: 7%
- insurance: 7%

men (N=1108)

1.3. Principal detailed occupation groups:

- chartered and certified accountants: 14%
- taxation experts: 10%
- civil servants (HEO to SP): 10%
- marketing executives: 8%
- local government officers (admin & exec): 6%

1.4. Principal detailed industry groups:

- national government: 15%
- accountancy: 11%
- local government: 11%
- insurance: 9%
Summary: There is a rather low degree of clustering in this occupational group. With the exception of the occupation of librarian (a strongly feminised occupation), the principal occupation and industry groups show a high degree of similarity for women and men in the professional and related group. The predominance of men in the higher civil service ranks (Higher Executive Officer to Senior Principal) is shown up by the large proportion of men in national government (15%); this compares to only 9% for women.

[file LFS58]

2. managerial (KOS 5 in SIC 8 and 9)

women (N=154)

2.1. detailed occupational codes:

(Note: n.e.c. = not elsewhere classified)

There are two principal groups:

- office managers 47%
- managers n.e.c. 37%

2.2. detailed industry codes

Here there is very little clustering; the principal groups are:

- hospital managers 11%
- bank managers 10%
- sports managers 7%
- business services 7%

2.3. of office managers

- banking 21%
- business services 14%
- finance 11%

2.4. of managers n.e.c.

- hospital 18%

Otherwise scattered in almost all groups

men (N=493)

2.5. detailed occupational codes:

Again, there are two principal categories:

- office managers 52%
- managers n.e.c. 23%
2.6. detailed industry codes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>banking</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finance</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insurance</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sports</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hospital</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.7. of office managers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>banking</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finance</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insurance</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.8: of managers n.e.c.

Very scattered, small cell numbers in almost all industry categories

Summary: For men, the office manager category shows strong patterns of clustering; they are almost all in banking, finance and insurance. Although two of these groups hold also the highest proportion of women managers (the third is business services), the proportions are considerably smaller, with the remainder being distributed in very small numbers in many other categories. The picture for the 'managers n.e.c' group is similar for women and men - very little clustering, a high degree of scattering over all industry sub-groups.

Therefore, whilst a disaggregation of this sort enables a profile of men managers to be established, in particular as far as the office manager category goes, the profile for women is considerably more diffuse. This underlines the difficulty, both in empirical research, but also in reality, of providing a clear definition of a manager.

[file LFS57]

3. clerical supervisory, KOS 6, and SEG supervisory, in SIC 8 and 9

women (N=694)

3.1. detailed occupational codes:

almost all supervisory clerical are in 3 groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>supervisors of clerks</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supervisors of secretaries and typists</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civil service executive officers</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2. detailed industry codes:

rather little clustering; main groups are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>banking</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>national govern</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
local government 8%
insurance 7%
social security 6%

3.3.: of supervisory clerks:

banking 26%
local government 10%
national government 10%
insurance 9%
finance 6%

3.4.: of supervisory typists/secretaries

little clustering; small numbers in cells

legal services 11%
insurance 7%
banking 6%

3.5: of civil service executive officers

national government 68%
social security 18%

men (N=405)

3.6. detailed occupational codes:

almost all are in 2 groups:

supervisory of clerks 65%
civil service Executive Officers 27%

3.7. detailed industry codes:

principal groups are:

banking 25%
national government 20%
local government 8%
social security 6%

3.8.: of supervisory clerks:

banking 36%
national government 14%
local government 11%

Summary: There are rather more men than women in the civil service executive officer category, but the difference is relatively small. There is a smaller proportion of men than women in insurance clerk jobs, and in clerical work in the finance group. Disregarding the secretarial/typist category, which is entirely feminised, female/male differences are rather small in this offcierworker category.

[file LFS56]

348
4. clerical non-supervisory (KOS 6, SEG non-supervisory, SIC 8 or 9)

women (N=3516)

4.1. detailed occupational codes

almost all clerical non-supervisory women are in 2 groups:
- clerks 57%
- typists/secretaries 30%

4.2. detailed industry codes

There is considerably less clustering than for male clerical non-supervisory:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry Type</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>banking</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>national govt (civil service)</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local government</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legal services</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>educational services</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3. of clerks:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry Type</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>banking</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>national govt (civil service)</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local government</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>financial services</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insurance services</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education services</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4. of typists/secretaries:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry Type</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>legal services</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>national govt</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banking</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local govt</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>business services</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accountancy services</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

men (N=698)

4.6. detailed occupational codes

Male clerical non-supervisory are clustered into one group:

- clerks 91%

4.7. detailed industry codes

Rather more clustering than women clerical non-supervisory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry Type</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>national govt (civil service)</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banking</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insurance</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local govt</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social security</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary: There is considerably more occupational and industrial clustering for men than for women. The highest proportion of male clerks is in the civil service, whilst for women, the highest proportion is banking.

[file LFS55]
Appendix 10.2:

Table 10.A: White-collar workers by qualification, women and men, Britain

(a) men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>occupation</th>
<th>qualification</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KOS 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>101% (1083)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOS 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>101% (529)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOS 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100% (1150)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>occupation</th>
<th>qualification</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KOS 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100% (380)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOS 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>99% (154)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOS 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>102% (4130)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key:
KOS 1 = professional & related supporting management
KOS 5 = management
KOS 6 = clerical

Qualifications:
1 = 1st degree & post-graduate degree
2 = HNC, HND etc
3 = ONC, OND, etc
4 = 'A' level
5 = 'O' level & cse
6 = other professional or vocational
7 = no qualifications, don't know

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984, file LFS29
Appendix 10.3:

Data for Fig 10.2, British women white-collar workers by 5-year age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age group</th>
<th>full-time</th>
<th>part-time</th>
<th>not in paid employment</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>76.1%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>70.3%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>27.0%</td>
<td>1038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>51.9%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>39.7%</td>
<td>1012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td>37.2%</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
<td>733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>34.9%</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>46.9%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>76.8%</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984, files LFS 68 & 69, gemfile BROFFICW
Appendix 10.4:

1. Variables used in logit analysis

(a) Dependent variable

non-supervisory/supervisory officeworkers (OFFI)
0: clerical non-supervisory
1: clerical supervisory

Note: these are the 2 lower grades in the white-collar scale used in the early part of the chapter

(b) Independent variables

highest qualification achieved (QUAL)
1: 'A' level and over (deemed 'high')
2: 'O' level, CSE, vocational qualifications ('medium')
3: few or no qualifications ('low')

Note: these categories are arrived at by detailed analysis (not shown here) of the qualifications held by clerical supervisory and non-supervisory women (file LFS52).

marital status (MAR1)
1: single
2: married
3: widowed
4: divorced/separated

age of youngest child (AGY2)
1: no child <19 years
2: youngest child 0-4 years
3: youngest child 5-11 years
4: youngest child 12-18 years

number of dependent children (DEPC)
1: no child <19 years
2: 1 child
3: 2 children
4: 3 children or more

full-time/part-time working (FTOR)
1: full-time
2: part-time

Note: according to self-definition of respondents

age of respondent (AG10)
1: 16-20 yrs
2: 21-24 yrs
3: 25-29 yrs
4: 30-34 yrs
5: 35-39 yrs
6: 40-44 yrs
7: 45-49 yrs
8: 50-54 yrs
9: 55-59 yrs
10: 60-64 yrs
A model substituting DEPC (number of dependent children) for AGY2 (age of youngest child) was also fitted, thus:

$$OFFI = QUAL + MAR1 + DEPC + FTOR + AG10$$

The results are displayed in Table 10B:

Table 10B: parameter estimates for the log odds of supervisory officeworker grade, compared to non-supervisory grade, using no. of dependent children variable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parameter</th>
<th>value label</th>
<th>estimate</th>
<th>s.e.</th>
<th>T-ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NULL **</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.257</td>
<td>0.1930</td>
<td>11.7 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUAL (2)</td>
<td>med.qual</td>
<td>-0.4268</td>
<td>0.09992</td>
<td>4.3 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUAL (3)</td>
<td>no qual</td>
<td>-0.7884</td>
<td>0.1356</td>
<td>5.8 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAR1 (2)</td>
<td>married</td>
<td>0.5211</td>
<td>0.1106</td>
<td>4.7 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAR1 (3)</td>
<td>widowed</td>
<td>0.6167</td>
<td>0.2959</td>
<td>2.1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAR1 (4)</td>
<td>div/sep</td>
<td>0.4964</td>
<td>0.1837</td>
<td>2.7 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEPC (2)</td>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>-0.5084</td>
<td>0.1259</td>
<td>4.0 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEPC (3)</td>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>-0.5392</td>
<td>0.1523</td>
<td>3.5 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEPC (4)</td>
<td>3+ children</td>
<td>-0.5588</td>
<td>0.2779</td>
<td>2.0 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTOR (2)</td>
<td>part-time</td>
<td>-2.123</td>
<td>0.1478</td>
<td>14.4 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (2)</td>
<td>21-24 yrs</td>
<td>0.9182</td>
<td>0.2091</td>
<td>4.4 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (3)</td>
<td>25-29 yrs</td>
<td>1.503</td>
<td>0.2160</td>
<td>7.0 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (4)</td>
<td>30-34 yrs</td>
<td>1.889</td>
<td>0.2303</td>
<td>8.2 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (5)</td>
<td>35-39 yrs</td>
<td>1.932</td>
<td>0.2320</td>
<td>8.3 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (6)</td>
<td>40-44 yrs</td>
<td>1.742</td>
<td>0.2398</td>
<td>7.3 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (7)</td>
<td>45-49 yrs</td>
<td>1.558</td>
<td>0.2421</td>
<td>6.4 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (8)</td>
<td>49-54 yrs</td>
<td>1.697</td>
<td>0.2480</td>
<td>6.8 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10 (9)</td>
<td>55-59 yrs</td>
<td>1.697</td>
<td>0.2480</td>
<td>6.8 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG10(10)</td>
<td>60-64 yrs</td>
<td>aliased</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984, file LFS53 & GLIMBROFF5.OUT
Chapter 11: White-collar working and officeworking, France

1. Introduction

This chapter focuses upon French officeworking/clerical working. Theoretical reasons for selecting this occupational group, and for contrasting it with both British white-collar working, and French teaching, were explored in Chapter 6. To summarise these reasons, French white-collar working contrasts with French teaching on the basis of its structure (occupationally based, principally post-entry qualification); it shares these elements with British white-collar working, but its national context (job protection, daycare provision) provides a contrast with British white-collar working.

A further important distinction is made throughout this chapter between French public and private sector white-collar working. Job protection in the public sector is greater than in the private sector, and this is particularly relevant in relation to part-time working. Thus, there are differences and similarities between British and French white-collar working, and there are distinctions to be made within French white-collar working itself. Yet, a common point is that in both countries women take prime responsibility for domestic labour, and this demand on their time and energy, as well as the more general effects of patriarchy, form a backcloth for an examination of all of these occupational groups.

In the first section, the history of the feminization of clerical working is considered. The aim here is to both set a context for an examination of the present-day sex segregation
in the occupation, and to suggest historical explanations for modern-day patterns. Using secondary analysis of the Enquete Emploi 1985, the second section explores sex segregation amongst white-collar workers. In the third section, the extent to which the patterns of employment (full-time working, part-time working, not in paid employment) of French women white-collar workers reflect their life-cycle phase, and their personal/family characteristics is explored. This section leads on to an examination of the relationship between officeworkers' domestic circumstances and their occupational achievement.

2. The feminization of clerical working in France

Feminization of clerical working started in France around the end of the 19th century, and rapidly grew until, by the middle of the century, over 50% of clerical workers were women (Crozier, 1971: 16). The principal areas of employment were, in the private sector, banking and insurance, and in the public sector, the Government ministries, and the Post Office ('Postes et Télécommunications'). Davisse points out that there had been some women supervisors of postal services in the 18th century; these women were widows who had inherited the job from their husbands (Davisse, 1983:17). However, this system was stopped towards the end of the 18th century by male post office workers, who succeeded in getting employers to replace the inheritance of a post by a widow's pension.

There appear to have been both demand and supply features which brought about the feminization of French clerical work. From the supply side, other sources of female labour, such as
manufacturing, and agriculture, had decreased. In addition, single women faced a particular problem, since the demand for their labour as domestic servants had declined. Tilly & Scott (1987) relate this to a change in the nature of the housing of potential employers of domestic labour. An increasingly urban population, housed in small units, no longer wanted 'live-in' servants; instead, they sought married women with a home of their own, who would do the domestic work on a daily basis (Tilly & Scott, 1987). Thus, many single women, who would otherwise have been domestic servants, were attracted towards the growing opportunities in clerical work. A further factor in this shift was the improvement in the standard of education of women. Although the social class background of clerical workers is not the focus of this thesis, it is an interesting point to note that in France, clerical workers appeared to be mainly of working-class origin (Tilly & Scott, 1987), whilst in Britain, it tended to be women from middle-class backgrounds who took up clerical work (Zimmeck, 1985).

Married women tended not to be employed in clerical working in France in the early years of the century (Tilly & Scott, 1987). Although there were more married women in employment in France than in Britain, they were usually employed in small family businesses. However, the demand for clerical workers could not be met solely from the supply of single women, and gradually married women occupied clerical positions in larger numbers. Unlike Britain, the marriage bar which affected the public sector during the early years of the 1940s was short-lived, and had little long-term effect on the recruitment of married women (Davisse, 1983).
From the demand side, as in Britain, the growth of service industries such as telecommunications, banking and insurance, meant that a large number of clerical jobs were created. Nevertheless, in France, the supply of labour at the end of the 19th century appears to have outstripped demand in certain cases. The Bank of France reported at the time that it had 1,000 applications for only 25 jobs (Tilly & Scott, 1987: 157).

The excess of labour supply undoubtedly contributed to the unequal pay of women and men, along with the deskilling of clerical jobs. In the French post office at the end of the 19th century, women public sector clerical workers earned only two-thirds of the salary of men who were doing identical work (Davisse, 1983:22). Although figures for British women's pay are not strictly comparable, since they dealt with clerical workers in general (Table 10.1, Chapter 10), there is a suggestion that the gap between women's and men's pay was less in France than in Britain.

Crozier reports that clerical work became organized in narrow, relatively unskilled, specialities, and that it lost its previous opportunities for advancement (Crozier, 1971). Indeed, Crozier, in his classic study of bureaucratic structures in the French insurance industry, makes the rather unproblematic assumption that clerical work had become women's work, unskilled and with low pay:

"For this type of occupation, and for the compensation offered, only women can be recruited."

(Crozier, 1971:16)

Crozier furthermore suggests that women were content with their
lot, since it represented a considerable social and financial improvement on the occupations previously available to them. However, there is evidence of campaigning by women clerical workers in the public sector to complain that women's pay was perceived as a secondary income, and in 1946, public sector clerical workers won the right to equal pay (Davisse, 1983).

The origins of vertical sex segregation in French white-collar working can be traced back to the beginning of the century. As in Britain, prior to its feminization, clerical working had been well paid and it was of relatively high social status. Male clerical workers, according to Crozier, remained largely unaffected by the feminization of the occupation, and some, he argues, even benefitted from it. Many men were able to distance themselves from the new developments in clerical work (use of the typewriter, specialisation of tasks) by entering more skilled occupations. Occupations such as accountancy were also developing because of the growth of public and private sector service industries; male clerks were able to enter the lower levels of such occupations, and also became lower level 'cadres' (executive/managerial jobs) (Crozier, 1971). There are evident parallels with Britain here.

In addition, women clerical workers were recruited to a narrow range of clerical jobs (Davisse, 1983). Although relatively high qualifications were demanded by employers, the openings were few. The nicknames developed at this time to denote women clerical workers are revealing in this respect: "les dames dactylos" (lady typist), and "les demoiselles du téléphone"
Davissse argues that occupational sex segregation was justified on the grounds of typical female qualities, such as patience (Davisse, 1983). Whatever the origins of the delineation of female and male jobs, it is clear that strong patterns of vertical sex segregation had been laid down. As de Singly and Thelot say about the recruitment of women to the French public sector in the early part of the 20th century:

"... elle doit cependant savoir rester à sa place, celle des travaux d'exécution et non d'encadrement."

(de Singly & Thelot, 1988:59)

(... she must know her place, which is to carry out instructions, not to make decisions.)

Differences between the private and the public sector include the greater strength of the public sector trade unions, and the considerably higher rate of unionization in the public sector than in the private sector (Crozier, 1971). From the beginning of the 20th century, the public sector has been in advance of the private sector in terms of its more progressive attitudes towards working conditions, and conditions of employment (Davisse, 1983). Davissse claims that the public sector is regarded as an example for the rest of the workforce, especially in relation to equal opportunities. Rights such as maternity leave were won for all public sector employees in 1928, long before the private sector. On the other hand, it was not until 1982 that all public sector jobs became open to both women and men (Davisse, 1983). This example serves as a reminder that the French public sector should not be seen as a bastion of equal opportunities. Women's employment in the
public sector reflects the same characteristics as the rest of
the labour market. The difference, however, between it and the
private sector in terms of working conditions, such as shorter
hours and security of employment are especially important in
terms of easing the relationship between women's domestic
circumstances and their paid employment. As will be argued in
the final chapter of this thesis, the existence of policies
which ease the home/employment relationship do not necessarily
bring about equality between women and men in employment,
especially if these policies are gendered (have outcomes which
are gender-specific, since they are taken up almost exclusively
by women).

In this brief historical account of the development of French
clerical working, parallels with Britain can be observed. In
both countries, the occupation moved from one where men were
employed in relatively high status jobs to one where the lower
grades became highly feminized. In both France and Britain,
there is evidence that men were able to protect their position
by moving into the higher grades of white-collar working.
Thus, their position was not threatened by the feminization of
the occupation.

In the next section, sex segregation in modern-day French
clerical working is analysed; the broad definition of white-
collar working is used.(1) The analysis is done separately for
the public and private sectors.

3. Gendered white-collar occupations, France
Detailed attention is given here to the distinction between the
private and the public sectors, and to the definition used in the analyses of white-collar working and officeworking. The distinction between the private and public sectors is discussed first.

3.1. Distinguishing between the French private and public sectors

A basic feature of the French occupational structure is the distinction between public and private sector employment. This is considerably more important in France than in Britain. For example, the public sector is the largest single employer of women's labour in France. As discussed in Chapter 6, French public sector employees benefit from employment legislation, which tends to be rather more advantageous than that to which private sector employees are subject; the part-time legislation is particularly important here. Pay in the public sector tends to be rather less than in the private sector, but this is compensated for by shorter working hours, and by many public sector employees having job security, effectively a "job for life" (de Singly & Thelot, 1988). These aspects are likely to be of considerable importance for women with domestic responsibilities.

The public sector can be defined in different ways. The Enquête Emploi distinguishes between (1) a strict definition of employees of the state, working for Ministries and for a narrow range of public sector institutions, such as research establishments, schools and universities; (2) collective local services, such as housing and health; (3) the national and local social insurance organisations; (4) public utilities,
enterprises and nationalised industries. Which definition is used depends on the aim of the work (personal communication with Thelot, May 1990, see Appendix 11.1).

A strict definition of what de Singly & Thelot (1988) call the 'fonction publique' (corresponding closely to employment in British national and local government) would comprise categories (1) and (2) above. A rather broader definition (Thelot's 'secteur public') would also include (3) and (4). In this chapter, the narrow definition (categories 1 and 2) is used. This is, firstly, to avoid the ambiguity caused by the inclusion of semi-public and nationalised industries, many of which have only a recent history of nationalisation.

The second and more important reason relates to the concern of this thesis with employment policy and conditions. The public and private sectors have a different set of employment policies, which are of particular interest in relation to, for example, job security and part-time/full-time working. However, not all employees in the public sector (in the broad sense) benefit from public sector legislation. Generally speaking, the highly structured, and often more advantageous, policies of the public sector only concern 'fonctionnaires' (civil servants) who are mostly employees classified in categories (1) and (2) above. Employees in many nationalised industries, such as some banks, do not benefit from public sector legislation; their conditions are negotiated through collective bargaining, as in the private sector (Fournier & Questiaux, 1984). However, the situation is not clearcut. For
example, many nationalised industries have been in the forefront of the move to establish positive action programmes ("plans d'égalité professionnelle") in the wake of the 1983 equal opportunities legislation in France (personal communication with L. Hantrais, May 1990). However, for the sake of clarity, the narrow definition of the public sector ("la fonction publique") is used here.

There are, however, some disparities in the private sector classification. Analyses of the Enquête Emploi (not shown here) demonstrated that a small proportion of officeworkers (intermediate administrative and clerical workers) had private sector occupational titles, yet were classified as working in the public sector. These incompatibilities are brought about by there being no link between the classification of occupations from questionnaire schedules, and the separate coding, by INSEE staff, of 'places of work' into the various public/private distinctions (personal communication with Thélot, May 1990, see Appendix 11.1). The 9% of officeworkers with private job classifications, but who are nevertheless in public sector workplaces, have been eliminated from all analyses in this chapter.

In summary, the public sector definition used here means central and local government employees benefitting from public sector legislation, employment structure and working conditions. They work primarily in public administration, such as education, health and research. The private sector definition implies employees working in insurance companies, finance companies, some non-nationalised banks (merchant banks,
savings banks) and in letting/leasing. Nationalised banks/enterprises and social insurance organisations are therefore excluded from the analyses. In this way, tight definitions are used, which avoid ambiguity as much as possible.

3.2: Defining white-collar workers and officeworkers

As with the definitions of British white-collar workers, both occupation and industry selections have been made. The industries selected are NAP (Nomenclature d'activités et de produits 1973, Ministère de l'Economie, des Finances et de la Privatisation) major groups 11 to 14. These are similar to the British SIC 8 and 9 categories, comprising banking, finance, letting, and non-marketed services such as education, health, etc. The occupations selected are PCS (Nomenclature des professions et des catégories socio-professionnelles) categories 33 (public sector 'cadres'), 37 (private sector 'cadres'), 45 (public sector intermediate administrative), 46 (private sector intermediate administrative), 52 (public sector employees) and 54 (private sector administrative employees). Some non white-collar occupations have been omitted. They are principally in category 52, where INSEE groups public sector clerical workers with public sector manual workers, such as cleaners. In order to give a clearer idea of the detailed occupational and industrial groups in the definition of white-collar working, profiles of the broad categories of white-collar working are in Appendix 11.2.

In common with the chapter on British white-collar workers, two
classifications have been created. The first is used in initial analyses to show segregation by sex. It includes 'cadres' (executive/managerial), intermediate administrative occupations, and clerical occupations; such a scale does not suggest upward mobility routes. The French category of 'cadres' can be considered as similar to the British 'professional' category in this respect, since it is likely that both operate systems of social closure which effectively control entry unless the appropriate qualifications are held. In addition, in France there is evidence that the category of 'cadres' is largely self-renewing; this occupational group is markedly homogeneous from the point of social class (Marceau, 1974). The possession of pre-entry qualifications is almost always a requirement. This is in contrast to administrative and clerical posts, where recruitment at the lower levels tends to be considerably more open, and where length of service, and qualifications acquired during employment are likely to enable employees to gain promotion.

One way of assessing the extent to which social closure operates is to examine the educational qualifications of different occupational groups. If it can be shown that the majority of 'cadres' (executive/managerial), for example, hold university-level or 'grande école' (an élite group of French business schools) qualifications, which are likely to be obtained prior to employment, then it could be inferred that such occupations would be difficult to enter during employment, from a lower level. In practice, however, this is difficult to ascertain with the use of cross-sectional data, such as that of the Enquête Emploi. This is because such data does not include
details of dates of qualifications obtained (which would indicate for each individual whether qualifications were obtained during the work-course, or before it started). Analysis of the qualifications held by French white-collar workers is shown in Appendix 11.3. It indicates that within each category there is a range of qualifications, with each having a 'norm' qualification held by the majority of people in that category. There is a pattern of qualifications, but within each group, there is a fairly wide range of qualifications. Thus, this analysis is rather unhelpful in answering the question of whether mobility routes between occupational categories exist.

The white-collar occupational scales have been constructed in order to show as many hierarchical divisions as possible. In the private sector, it was possible to make finer distinctions than in the public sector, since private sector employees were asked about their degree of supervisory control. Thus, three grades of private sector intermediate administrative employees can be distinguished: senior supervisors, who supervise other supervisors; supervisors of intermediate administrative employees; non-supervisory intermediate administrative. By contrast, there is no variable in the survey which allows for distinctions to be made in the private sector clerical grade.

In the public sector, only one intermediate administrative grade can be distinguished; however, a distinction can be made between two grades of clerical employees. These are the categories D and C of the French civil service, referred to here as higher clerical and lower clerical. The terms
supervisory and non-supervisory have been avoided here, since there is no clear evidence from the PCS that the distinction between grade C employees and grade D involves issues of supervision. (4)

Figure 11.1: White-collar worker and officeworker classifications

Public sector white-collar
1. 'cadres'
2. intermediate admin.
3. higher clerical
4. lower clerical

private sector white-collar
1. 'cadres'
2. intermediate admin:
   (i) senior supervisory
   (ii) supervisory
   (iii) non-supervisory
3. clerical

public sector officeworker
1. intermediate admin
2. clerical

private sector officeworker
1. intermediate admin
2. clerical

In summary, this first classification (white-collar workers), which includes the occupational category of 'cadre', does not make an inference about upward mobility; it is used in initial analyses to show sex segregation of a range of occupations likely to be found in many white-collar workplaces. By contrast, the second classification (officeworkers), used to examine the relationship between officeworkers' domestic circumstances and their occupational achievement, carries with it the assumption that advancement from one level to another is possible. The white-collar occupations included in this second classification are restricted to administrative and clerical functions, and are referred to as 'officeworkers'. The point has been stressed already that direct comparisons cannot be made between France and Britain because national occupational classifications are being used. However, British and French officeworkers have been defined in a similar way, and some
broad comparisons can be made.

Using the categories shown in Figure 11.1, analyses of the segregation by sex of private and public sector French white-collar workers are shown in the next section.

4. Occupational sex segregation, white-collar workers, France

Table 11.1 analyses the distribution of women and men in the categories shown in Figure 11.1. Both column and row percentages are presented, as in the equivalent British chapter. Hakim's index of segregation is used with the row percentages.

Although the occupations shown in Table 11.1 are not straightforward to contrast, principally because of the differences in the way in which the hierarchical distinctions have been constructed in the intermediate administrative and clerical grades, certain broad comparisons can be made. De Singly & Thélot (1988) take the view that comparisons can be made with some confidence between the categories of 'cadres', intermediate administrative and clerical workers in the private and public sectors.

It is evident from Table 11.1 that both private sector and public sector white-collar employment is strongly segregated by sex, with women being markedly less well represented in the higher level jobs than in the lower clerical and administrative; this is shown clearly by the way in which the index of segregation is inversely related to the level of the job.
Table 11.1: Occupational sex segregation, white-collar workers, France

(a) public sector

(i) column percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'cadres' (executive/managerial)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intermediate administrative</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher clerical</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower clerical</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1550)</td>
<td>(695)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) row percentages (Hakim's Sex Ratio Index in brackets)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'cadres' (executive/managerial)</td>
<td>26 (0.4)</td>
<td>74 (2.4)</td>
<td>100% (410)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intermediate administrative</td>
<td>67 (1.0)</td>
<td>33 (1.1)</td>
<td>100% (502)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher clerical</td>
<td>82 (1.2)</td>
<td>18 (0.6)</td>
<td>100% (809)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower clerical</td>
<td>86 (1.2)</td>
<td>14 (0.5)</td>
<td>100% (524)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>69 (1.0)</td>
<td>31 (1.0)</td>
<td>100% (2245)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) private sector

(i) column percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'cadres' (executive/managerial)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intermediate administrative (1)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intermediate administrative (2)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intermediate administrative (3)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(680)</td>
<td>(423)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) row percentages (Hakim's Sex Ratio Index in brackets)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>women</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'cadres' (executive/managerial)</td>
<td>25 (0.4)</td>
<td>75 (2.0)</td>
<td>100% (189)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intermediate administrative (1)</td>
<td>33 (0.5)</td>
<td>67 (1.7)</td>
<td>100% (45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intermediate administrative (2)</td>
<td>51 (0.8)</td>
<td>49 (1.3)</td>
<td>100% (72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intermediate administrative (3)</td>
<td>47 (0.8)</td>
<td>53 (1.4)</td>
<td>100% (93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical</td>
<td>76 (1.2)</td>
<td>24 (0.6)</td>
<td>100% (704)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>62 (1.0)</td>
<td>38 (1.0)</td>
<td>100% (1103)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key:
(1) senior supervisory
(2) supervisory
(3) non-supervisory

Source: Enquete Emploi 1985, files FRANCE58W & 58M

370
There is evidence that the marked pyramidal effect shown in Table 11.1 (b) (i) for private sector women is not the case for women in the public sector. Women are rather better represented in the intermediate administrative grade in the public sector than in the same grade in the private sector. In the private sector intermediate administrative grade, women are relatively poorly represented at the senior supervisor level; they account for 33% of posts in this grade. By contrast, in the two lower intermediate administrative grades (supervisors of clerical workers, and non-supervisory administrative), women account for 51% and 47% respectively. Thus, as responsibility decreases in this grade, the representation of women increases, as the index of segregation shows.

In the 'cadre' (executive/managerial) grades, women account for about a quarter of each of the private and public sectors. This finding is in contrast to de Singly & Thelot's assertion that in the public sector, there are higher proportions of women in higher grade positions than in the private sector (de Singly & Thelot, 1988). However, specific definitions of the private and public sector are being used here, as explained in an earlier section. It is unlikely that the same definitions are being used by de Singly & Thelot. It is possible that a wider definition including the semi-public and nationalised industries would yield a somewhat different result.

Overall, white-collar working in the private and public sectors shows clear patterns of vertical sex segregation; however, there is some indication that at the administrative and
clerical levels, public sector women are rather less segregated. This suggests that public sector women have made some inroads into higher grade white-collar jobs in the public sector, but that they continue to be strongly under-represented at the top levels. British women white-collar workers show similar strongly pyramidal patterns to those of French private sector white-collar workers. Thus, in all three of these situations (French public sector, French private sector, British white-collar working), men have safeguarded their positions in the top grades, and in two of them (French private sector, and British white-collar working), women have made little impression on the intermediate grades, either.

In the chapter on British white-collar working, the roles of part-time working and of discontinuity of employment were seen to be important factors in explaining sex segregation, both in relation to women's employment as a whole, and to white-collar working in particular. In the introductory chapters, the differences between French and British women's patterns of part-time and full-time working, and of continuity and discontinuity were discussed. It was noted that these differences were quite marked, with French women tending to work full-time, and, according to work-history data, tending to work continuously over the work-course. It was suggested that these differences were likely to have an effect on both vertical and horizontal sex segregation, since discontinuous and part-time working were both likely to have a negative effect on women's employment chances. This effect is in terms of remaining at low levels within occupations, and in terms of having difficulty in re-entering some occupations after a break.
from employment, especially if this was combined with part-time working. In view of the discussion in the present section on sex segregation in French white-collar working, it might be expected, then, that women in the private sector would show higher levels of discontinuity and part-time working than those in the public sector. However, policy needs also to be taken into account; the job protection policies of the French public sector are likely to negate some of the effects of part-time working and of discontinuity.

As the following section shows, patterns of full-time working, part-time working, and not in employment vary quite considerably in French public and private sector white-collar working.

5. Employment patterns over the life-course

Figure 11.2 (data in Appendix 11.4) shows patterns of not working, full-time and part-time working, by 5-year age group, for French officeworkers, undifferentiated for the moment by private/public sectors. All categories (i.e. 'cadres', intermediate administrative, clerical) of white-collar working are combined here. Figure 11.2 shows interesting contrasts with French women as a whole. The discussion which follows has, of course, the caveat that cross-sectional data, and not longitudinal data, are being used. It needs to be emphasised that the data used here are cross-sectional, and not longitudinal; strictly speaking, comparisons should not be made between age-cohorts. However, in relation to the working population as a whole, there is evidence from other sources
Fig. 11.2: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French women white-collar workers
using work-history data (Dex et al., 1988) which bears out the
evidence from cross-sectional data. However, Dex et al's
findings did not disaggregate either teachers or officeworkers;
thus the findings need to be interpreted with caution.

Figure 11.2, French women white-collar workers, contains the
suggestion of a two-peaked distribution for full-time working.
Part-time working is at its highest level in the family
formation period (apart from the 16-19 age group). There is
only a slight reflection of this in the figure for French women
as a whole (Chapter 4). There, the distribution of full-time
working is flat for the family formation and post-family
formation period; part-time working shows only a suggestion of
a two-peaked distribution.

Up to now, the discussion has focused on French white-collar
working without distinguishing between the private and public
sectors. Figures 11.3 and 11.4 (data in Appendix 11.4) show
the distribution of full-time, part-time working and not
working by 5-year age group for each of these sectors. There
are interesting differences between these two figures. In
Figure 11.4, private sector white-collar working, both part-
time and full-time working are at lower levels in the family
formation phase. There is some slight indication here of a
two-peaked distribution; perhaps the most interesting aspect is
the way in which levels decline steadily across the age groups.
The proportion of private sector officeworkers who are not in
paid employment is at a high level across the age groups; as
age increases, so also does the level of not working.
Fig. 11.3: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French women white-collar workers, public sector.
Fig. 11.4: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French women white-collar workers, private sector.

Source: Enquete Emploi 1985
By contrast, Figure 11.3, public sector white-collar female employment by age, shows that the line representing total employment (i.e. full-time and part-time) is in the shape of an inverted 'U'. This indicates that levels of employment are not lower during the time of family formation, as they are for British women in employment. However, the line representing full-time employment shows a distinct 2-peak pattern, suggesting that, at the time of family formation, the level of full-time working drops, and recovers again only in the 45-49 age group, after which it again drops off in the pre-retirement phase.

Part-time working appears to be used in public sector white-collar working in a way which is unlike that of the French female labour force as a whole: as in Britain, it reflects the demands of family formation, but, unlike Britain, total employment does not fall off at this time. Thus, the pictures of employment in different life-course phases are in quite marked contrast for public and private sector white-collar working. They suggest that, within the limits of cross-sectional data, some public sector white-collar workers' response to family formation is to switch to part-time working in the same occupation, whilst some private sector white-collar workers' response to family formation is to leave the labour force.

It appears that a generalised interpretation of French women's employment patterns as full-time and continuous needs to be specified for different occupations. In addition, levels of not working are high for French white-collar workers,
particularly those in the private sector. In discussions about paid employment, there is perhaps a tendency for levels of not working to be overlooked. Yet, amongst those aged 30-34 years in private sector white-collar working, almost half are not in full-time employment; of the remainder, only a small proportion, around 10%, is in part-time working. Thus, around 40% of this age group are not in paid employment. Moreover, although, generally speaking, it is the case that part-time working is at a low level in France, compared to Britain, comparison of French public and private sector white-collar workers has shown that, in the public sector, levels of part-time working are quite considerably higher than in the private sector. For example in the 35-39 age group in the public sector, the post-family-formation period, around 20% of women are working part-time.

In sum, detailed examination of white-collar workers' employment patterns has suggested that French women's employment is linked to their life-cycle phases in different ways. As well as examining the way in which part-time working is related in different ways to these phases, the discussion has also shown that it is important to take levels of not working into account. The need to go beyond generalised statements about women's employment by examining in detail different occupational groups has been emphasised.

Evidence from Britain demonstrates that part-time working and discontinuity are important factors in explaining women's disadvantage in the labour market (Martin & Roberts, 1984;
Dex, 1987). Yet, within the limits of cross-sectional data, French public sector officeworking provides an example of continuity, combined with a fairly high level of part-time working. This suggests that, in certain circumstances, where part-time working is accompanied by job security and other employment rights, that this form of working is not necessarily disadvantageous for women's employment prospects.

There is a view in the French literature that part-time working is simply a tool for employers' flexibility (Maruani & Nicole, 1989). This is probably accurate for low-level work such as private sector retailing. However, it may be a less appropriate view for some public sector work; a distinction needs to be made between the two sectors here. It is suggested that part-time working in the public sector is "chosen", whilst in the private sector, it is imposed by employers (de Singly & Thélot, 1988; Lehmann, 1985). There is some evidence that the right of French public sector workers to select the proportion of the working week which they wish to work (50%, 60%, 70%, 80%) has led to managers complaining that the conditions enjoyed by part-time workers cause problems. For example, the proportion of women opting for part-time working at 80% of full-time working is reported to be problematic for public sector managers, since almost all of these women take a Wednesday off, the day when schools are closed (Social & Labour Bulletin, 1986:296). This is hardly an example of employers using part-time working to provide flexibility. Indeed, it is the inflexibility of this situation about which employers complain.

In this section, some broad statements have been made about
patterns of part-time/full-time working, and of not working amongst French officeworkers. In the next section, rather more detailed analyses are carried out of the personal and domestic characteristics of part-time/full-time and not working white-collar workers. The private and the public sector are shown separately. To aid interpretation of the tables, the largest proportion in each category has been highlighted.

6. White-collar workers' domestic characteristics and employment patterns

In this section, the domestic characteristics (marital status, presence/absence of children, number of children, age of youngest child) of white-collar workers are examined in relation to employment patterns of not working, full-time and part-time working. The public sector is examined first in Table 11.2.

Table 11.2, shows that, in the public sector, women's employment patterns are fairly strongly affected by their domestic characteristics. For example, being married somewhat increases the likelihood of not being in paid employment, but the largest proportion of married women is nevertheless in full-time employment (52%). Indeed full-time employment is the most common form of working for most of the sub-groups shown in Table 11.2. For example, the majority of women with 1 or 2 children work full-time, and those with children up to the age of 5 years tend to work full-time. In line with expectation, 47% of women with three or more children are not in paid employment; as previously discussed, there are social policies in France which encourage women with this number of children to
leave the labour force.

Table 11.2: Domestic characteristics and employment patterns of women white-collar workers, age 18-60, public sector, France

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>not empl.</th>
<th>part-time</th>
<th>full-time</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married, ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no children *</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 + children</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch &lt;3 yrs</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 3-5 yrs</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 6-18 yrs</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* age base 30-44 yrs

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, files FRANCE75W, 77W, 101W, 102W

Probably the most interesting thing about Table 11.2 is that, contrary to expectation, the levels of not working increase among women with older children (and therefore among older women). Of those with a youngest child less than 3 years, 13% are not in employment. Of those with a youngest child aged 6-18 years, 37% are not in employment. Full-time working decreases as the age of the youngest child increase, whilst part-time working increases sharply. It is not clear from the policies described in this thesis why this might be the case, and it would be an interesting question to follow up. The finding bears out Dex et al (1988) in their finding that part-time working is rather higher among older women than younger. It also confirms Battagliola (1984) in her conclusion that women officeworkers in the French Social Security organisation turned to part-time working in the later stages of their
working lives. This is explained by Battagliola as a response by these women to their frustration at being promoted less than their male counterparts. It is quite specific to the public sector, as Table 11.3, private sector white-collar working, shows.

Table 11.3: Domestic characteristics and employment patterns of women white-collar workers, age 18-60, private sector, France

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>not empl.</th>
<th>part-time</th>
<th>full-time</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100% (291)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married, ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no children *</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>100% (156)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>100% (503)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>100% (394)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 + children</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100% (394)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch &lt;3 yrs</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>100% (134)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 3-5 yrs</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100% (144)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 6-18 yrs</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100% (350)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>100% (1300)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* age base 30-44 yrs

Source: Enquete Emploi 1985, files FRANCE75W, 77W, 101W, 102W

Table 11.3 demonstrates that the employment patterns of women white-collar workers in the French private sector vary considerably by their domestic characteristics. For example, women who are married with no children are more likely to be out of paid employment than single women (41% and 27% respectively). Neither group is likely to work part-time. In addition, having 2 or more children increases the likelihood of not working, but, again, part-time working is not strongly affected. Women with young children (up to the age of 5 years) are more likely to be out of paid employment than in either full-time or part-time employment. The extent of not working
needs therefore to be emphasised.

There are some important differences between the private and the public sectors here. Generally speaking, levels of not working are considerably higher for private sector workers, and part-time working considerably lower. In contrast to the private sector, levels of part-time working in the public sector are sensitive to the number of children, and to the age of the youngest child. In the private sector, it is the levels of full-time working and those of not working which vary according to domestic circumstances; part-time working remains fairly constant, and at a low level.

Comparing this to British white-collar women, there are evident similarities, particularly in relation to the private sector. The relationship between marital status and patterns of not working and of full-time working are markedly similar in British and French private sector white-collar working; however, there are differences in part-time working, where British white-collar women who are married are more likely to be working part-time than French private sector white-collar women who are married. Whilst the analysis of British women white-collar workers and their domestic characteristics showed that their labour force participation is clearly shaped by the age of their youngest child, this is considerably less evident for France. Indeed, in the public sector, in strong contrast to British white-collar workers, levels of not working and part-time working are higher amongst those women with older children.
British white-collar employment patterns, then, were clearly linked to family responsibilities, with the result, in a context of poor childcare facilities, that discontinuity and part-time working was likely. However, the picture is less clear for France. Family responsibilities appear to have a rather more muted effect on the employment patterns of French women white-collar workers. However, important differences can be observed between public and private sector white-collar working. In the private sector, there is a suggestion of discontinuity, with rather little use made of part-time working; moreover, levels of not working are high. Yet, in the public sector, there are higher levels of part-time working, associated with the period after family formation, there is little apparent discontinuity, and considerably lower levels of not working. The public sector demonstrates that part-time working can be combined with continuity. Here again, then, is evidence of the need to go beyond generalised pictures of French women's employment patterns as full-time and continuous, and British women's as part-time and discontinuous; the need to examine in detail particular occupational groups is clear.

The policy context of French public and private sector officeworking is likely to be important here. As already discussed (Chapter 6), part-time workers are rather better protected in the French public sector; taking up the option to work part-time may constitute less of a threat to future employment prospects, since public sector workers can resume, by right, full-time employment in the same job. Private sector workers can also do this, but not if they work in a small firm,
and only at the discretion of the employer. There may also be the effect of the rather more organisationally-based public sector. A system of internal public examinations, combined with the "job for life" aspect of much public sector working, may explain the position of French women in the public sector in comparison with their counterparts in the private sector.

This section has examined the effect of family/domestic variables on women's employment patterns. In the next section, the effect of these factors on women's occupational achievement is examined. Part-time and full-time workers are combined here; given the discussion in the previous section of this chapter, it might be expected that in France, domestic factors would have less of an effect on occupational achievement than in Britain. The second classification, exemplifying occupational mobility, is used here. As explained in an earlier section, this includes the two major lower categories of white-collar working, namely intermediate administrative and clerical grades. These are referred to collectively as 'officeworkers'.

7. French officeworkers: occupational achievement and domestic characteristics

Both bivariate and logit analyses are used to explore the relationship between the occupational achievement (location in intermediate administrative or clerical positions) of officeworkers and their personal/domestic characteristics.

7.1. Occupational achievement and domestic characteristics: bivariate tables

Table 11.4 shows that there are some differences in marital
status between those in intermediate administrative posts and those in clerical posts; moreover, the relationship is in different directions for the public and private sectors. In the public sector, 38% of single women are in intermediate administrative posts, compared to 27% of women who are married or have been married. In the private sector, 18% of single women are in the higher level posts, compared to 23% of married, or ever married, women. However, the results in the private sector analysis should be treated with caution, since numbers are small in the single status category.

The effect of marriage is likely to be combined with that of children here. Selecting women without children, Table 11.4 shows that there is some difference in the proportions of single and married women in higher and lower level office jobs in the public sector, but not in the private (although numbers are especially small here). In the public sector, of single women, 33% are at the intermediate administrative level, compared with 26% of married women without children. Analysis using logit modelling is likely to be a better way of answering this question, since this method allows for the effect of each independent variable to be assessed, whilst controlling on other independent variables.

Table 11.4 demonstrates that in neither public nor private sector French officeworking, is the number of children, or their age, related strongly to whether women are in higher or lower grade officeworker positions. Furthermore, unlike Britain, the presence or absence of children is not an important factor, although it is rather more important in the
private sector than in the public.

Table 11.4: Occupational achievement, officeworkers by personal/domestic characteristics, age 18-60, France

(a) public sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>interm.</th>
<th>clerical</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>admin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married/ever married</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>single, no children</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married/ev. married, no child</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all, no children</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married, ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 and more children</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.child &lt;3 yrs</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.child 3-5 yrs</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.child 6-18 yrs</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) private sector:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>interm.</th>
<th>clerical</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>admin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married/ever married</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>single, no children</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married/ev. married, no child</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all, no children</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married, ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 and more children</td>
<td>(6 )</td>
<td>(94 )</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.child &lt;3 yrs</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.child 3-5 yrs</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.child 6-18 yrs</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*age 40-60 years, not controlling for presence/absence of children
**age 30-44 years

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, file FRANCE77W
Comparing this with British white-collar workers, there is some common ground with French public sector women, and rather less with private sector women. British single women were rather more likely than married women to be in clerical supervisory positions, although there was not a large difference between the two groups. Married British officeworkers without children were more likely than their single counterparts to be in clerical supervisory positions. British officeworkers without children were considerably more likely to be in higher grade positions. The age of the youngest child made little difference to whether British women were in clerical supervisory or non-supervisory posts, although again, the difference between those with and without children was more marked than with French officeworkers.

In summary, these two tables show that the number of children, and the age of children make little difference to the occupational achievement amongst French officeworkers. Being single, rather than married, makes being in an intermediate administrative post rather more likely in the public sector, but not in the private sector. Comparison of the total proportions of women in intermediate administrative positions in the private and the public sectors (15% and 23% respectively) with proportions of women with different numbers and ages of children shows that in neither sector does occupational achievement vary markedly by domestic responsibilities.

It was shown earlier that levels of not working were markedly higher amongst private sector white-collar workers than public
sector, and that domestic responsibilities appeared to be more highly related to patterns of employment in the private sector than in the public sector. The picture which appears to be emerging is one of public sector women with domestic responsibilities being able to carry on in employment, possibly working part-time, whilst their counterparts in the private sector are considerably more likely to withdraw from the labour market. However, of those women who remain in employment, domestic responsibilities, particularly those related to children, appear to have little effect on occupational achievement. It is likely that daycare provision plays an important role here; this is, of course, in strong contrast to Britain. However, overall, only 15% of private sector women are in intermediate administrative positions, compared to 23% of public sector women.

A disadvantage of bivariate tables is that independent effects are hard to establish. Logit analyses are able to do this; results of an analysis of the odds of being in an intermediate administrative rather than a clerical position according to a range of domestic/family variables are now examined.

7.2. Occupational achievement and domestic characteristics: logit analyses

The variables used in these analyses are those family and personal variables which were used in the bivariate analyses in the earlier part of this chapter (marital status, age of youngest child, number of dependent children). In addition, a full-time/part-time working variable, and an educational qualification variable were included in the models. Details of
these variables, and the way in which they have been coded for the logit analyses, are in Appendix 11.5. The public sector is examined first.

7.2.1. Public sector: logit analysis

An additive model, including qualifications, marital status, number of dependent children, and 5-yearly grouped age was fitted. The marital status variable did not reach statistical significance, but it was left in the model, since it was near this level, and because the direction of the relationship (negative) was important. Similarly, the full-time/part-time variable did not reach significance, but has been left in the model because of the important contrast with previous logit analyses for other occupational groups, where full-time/part-time working was highly significant, and was negative. The number of children variable, also not reaching statistical significance, was left in, because of its theoretical importance, and because of the contrast which it provides with the analyses for British officeworkers. This variable was used in preference to the age of youngest child variable, since previous work, such as Dex et al (1988) suggests that this variable is less important than the number of children variable in explaining French women's employment patterns. A model using the age of youngest child variable was tried, but showed a very low level of significance for that variable, confirming Dex et al. The bivariate analyses of the effect of these two variables on women officeworkers' vertical segregation had suggested that neither was important.
The fitted model for women public sector officeworkers was:

\[ \text{PUCL} = \text{DIPL} + M2 + \text{ENFM} + \text{NA} + \text{AQ1} \]

where \( \text{PUCL} = \) clerical/intermediate administrative, \( \text{DIPL} = \) highest qualification obtained, \( M2 = \) marital status, \( \text{ENFM} = \) number of children, \( \text{NA} = \) full-time/part-time, \( \text{AQ1} = \) age, grouped.

Results are shown in Table 11.5:

Table 11.5: parameter estimates for the log odds of being in a higher compared to a lower officeworker post, women age 18-60, France, public sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parameter</th>
<th>value</th>
<th>label</th>
<th>estimate</th>
<th>s.e.</th>
<th>T-ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>null **</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-1.568</td>
<td>.2853</td>
<td>5.5 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIPL (1)</td>
<td>high qualif</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIPL (2)</td>
<td>medium qualif</td>
<td>-1.496</td>
<td>.1680</td>
<td>8.9 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIPL (3)</td>
<td>low qualif</td>
<td>-1.880</td>
<td>.1871</td>
<td>10.0 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2 (1)</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2 (2)</td>
<td>married, ev. married</td>
<td>-0.3401</td>
<td>.1933</td>
<td>(1.8) ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENFM (1)</td>
<td>no children</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENFM (2)</td>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>0.04935</td>
<td>.1906</td>
<td>(0.3) ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENFM (3)</td>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>-0.01442</td>
<td>.2289</td>
<td>(0.1) ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENFM (4)</td>
<td>3 children</td>
<td>0.04666</td>
<td>.3622</td>
<td>(0.1) ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA (1)</td>
<td>full-time</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA (2)</td>
<td>part-time</td>
<td>0.1912</td>
<td>.1735</td>
<td>(1.1) ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (1)</td>
<td>18-24 years</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (2)</td>
<td>25-29 years</td>
<td>0.8578</td>
<td>.3331</td>
<td>2.6 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (3)</td>
<td>30-34 years</td>
<td>1.563</td>
<td>.3318</td>
<td>4.7 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (4)</td>
<td>35-39 years</td>
<td>1.827</td>
<td>.3485</td>
<td>5.2 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (5)</td>
<td>40-44 years</td>
<td>2.069</td>
<td>.3675</td>
<td>5.6 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (6)</td>
<td>45-49 years</td>
<td>2.040</td>
<td>.3764</td>
<td>5.4 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (7)</td>
<td>50-54 years</td>
<td>2.438</td>
<td>.4048</td>
<td>6.0 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (8)</td>
<td>55+ years</td>
<td>2.569</td>
<td>.3804</td>
<td>6.8 *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** this is the 'constant,' used in the calculation of multiplicative effects, see below

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, file GLIMFROFF1.OUT, using GLIMDATAFR.OFF1

Table 11.5 shows that there are only two variables which reach statistical significance(5). These are the qualifications variable (DIPL) and age (AQ1). There are some large T-ratios; for example, DIPL (3), low qualifications has a T-ratio of 10, and value 8 of the age variable (AQ1) has a T-ratio of 13.1. In the age variable (AQ1), T-ratios become progressively
larger, as age increases. Although the marital status variable (M2) does not quite reach statistical significance (T-ratio of 1.8), its direction is negative. Perhaps the most interesting result in Table 11.5 is the non-significance of the full-time/part-time variable (NA). Previous logit analyses for British teachers, French teachers and British officeworkers have given a significant (and in some cases highly significant) result for this variable; in addition it has always had a negative direction. In addition, the logit analysis indicates that, all other variables in the model held constant, neither the presence of children, nor their number, has an effect on public sector officeworkers' achievement.

Odds ratios for those variables reaching statistical significance, or near to doing so, are shown below.

(a) marital status (M2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Odds ratios</th>
<th>M2 (1) single (reference category)</th>
<th>M2 (2) married, or ever married</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chances of being higher level officeworker, compared with being in a lower level post are 0.7 if married, compared to 1 if single.

(b) qualifications (DIPL)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Odds ratios</th>
<th>DIPL (1) high qualifications (ref. category)</th>
<th>DIPL (2) medium qualifications</th>
<th>DIPL (3) low or no qualifications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The odds of being a higher level officeworker compared with being a lower level one are 0.2 for those with both 'medium' and 'low' qualifications, compared to 1 for those with high qualifications. Thus, the acquisition of qualifications is an
important condition of being in a higher level post in the public sector.

(c) age (AQ1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Odds ratios</th>
<th>Age Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>LE 24 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>25-29 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>30-34 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>35-39 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>40-44 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>45-49 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>50-54 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>55-59 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The odds of being a higher level officeworker compared with being a clerical worker are 2.4 if age 25-29, compared to 1 in the lowest age group. The odds increase sharply with age up to 55-59, when they are 13 times those of the reference category.

7.2.2. Multiplicative effects: public sector

Multiplicative effects can be calculated using Payne's concept of the 'paradigmatic person' (Payne, 1987), represented by the constant parameter (-1.542) with an exponential of 0.2. Table 11.5 shows that the paradigmatic person has the following characteristics, composed of the reference categories of each independent variable: highly qualified, (single), (no children), age LE 24 years. The odds of such a person being in higher level officeworker position are 0.2. They are undoubtedly low because of the age of this person (being in such a position at this age is very unlikely). The odds can be changed (improved) by shifting this 'person' into another age group, for example 50-54 years, thus: 0.2*11.3. This increases the odds eleven-fold, giving odds of being in a higher level position for a highly qualified person of age 50-54 years of 2.26. The person with the highest chance of being in higher
level officeworker position has the following characteristics:

- well qualified
- (single)
- (no children)
- age GE 55 years.

To summarise the logit analysis, increasing the odds of being in a French public sector intermediate administrative posts is largely dependent upon having good qualifications, and being in an older age group. Domestic characteristics, especially those related to the presence of children, have little effect. Being part-time has little effect on occupational achievement at this level.

The same analysis is now carried out for the private sector.

7.2.3. Private sector officeworkers: logit analyses
A model was fitted using the same variables as in the previous section. The marital status variable was far from reaching significance, but the variable was kept in the model for comparative purposes. The number of children variable was also kept in because two of the values were relatively close to statistical significance, and because of the direction of the relationship (negative) for each of the values of the variable. The age of youngest child variable was also fitted in a previous model; it showed a negative direction for each value, but with no value being close to significance. The full-time/part-time variable was retained, although it did not reach statistical significance. As explained above, in relation to public sector officeworking, this is an interesting empirical
finding. Table 11.6 shows the results of fitting the following additive model:

$$\text{PRCL} = \text{DIPL} + \text{M2} + \text{ENFM} + \text{NA} + \text{AQ1}$$

where

- PRCL = clerical/intermediate administrative
- DIPL = highest qualification obtained
- M2 = marital status
- ENFM = number of children
- NA = full-time/part-time
- AQ1 = age, grouped

Table 11.6: parameter estimates for the log odds of being in a private sector higher officeworker grade, compared to a lower one, women age 18-60, France

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parameter</th>
<th>value label</th>
<th>estimate</th>
<th>s.e.</th>
<th>T-ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>null **</td>
<td></td>
<td>-3.062</td>
<td>.5921</td>
<td>5.2 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIPL (1)</td>
<td>high qualif</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIPL (2)</td>
<td>medium qualif</td>
<td>-0.3561</td>
<td>.2931</td>
<td>1.2 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIPL (3)</td>
<td>low qualif</td>
<td>-1.076</td>
<td>.3414</td>
<td>3.2 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2 (1)</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2 (2)</td>
<td>married, ev. married</td>
<td>0.1854</td>
<td>.3520</td>
<td>0.5 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENFM (1)</td>
<td>no children</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENFM (2)</td>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>-0.1284</td>
<td>.3251</td>
<td>0.4 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENFM (3)</td>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>-0.4830</td>
<td>.3947</td>
<td>1.2 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENFM (4)</td>
<td>3 children</td>
<td>-1.423</td>
<td>1.084</td>
<td>1.3 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA (1)</td>
<td>full-time</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA (2)</td>
<td>part-time</td>
<td>-0.1820</td>
<td>.3594</td>
<td>0.5 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (1)</td>
<td>18-24 years</td>
<td>0.7749</td>
<td>.6875</td>
<td>1.1 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (2)</td>
<td>25-29 years</td>
<td>1.821</td>
<td>.6526</td>
<td>2.8 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (3)</td>
<td>30-34 years</td>
<td>2.410</td>
<td>.6548</td>
<td>3.7 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (4)</td>
<td>35-39 years</td>
<td>2.248</td>
<td>.7057</td>
<td>3.2 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (5)</td>
<td>40-44 years</td>
<td>2.228</td>
<td>.7282</td>
<td>3.1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (6)</td>
<td>45-49 years</td>
<td>2.651</td>
<td>.7433</td>
<td>3.6 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ1 (7)</td>
<td>50-54 years</td>
<td>2.664</td>
<td>.7435</td>
<td>3.6 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** this is the 'constant,' used in the calculation of multiplicative effects, see below

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, file GLIMFROFF2.OUT, using GLIMDATAFR.OFF2

As in the public sector model, there are only two variables which reach statistical significance at the 0.05 level of probability. These are the qualifications variable (DIPL), where one value (3, low qualifications) had a T-ratio of 3.2. The other variable reaching statistical significance was AQ1 (age, grouped). The full-time/part-time variable was far from
reaching statistical significance (T-ratio of 0.5), but, unlike the public sector, it has a negative direction.

Odds ratios have been calculated for those variables reaching statistical significance, or those close to reaching significance.

(a) qualifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>high qualifications (reference category)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>medium qualifications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>low or no qualifications</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The odds of being a private sector higher level (intermediate administrative) officeworker, compared with being a clerical worker are 0.3 if qualifications are at a low level, or if no qualifications are held. The 'medium' qualifications category did not reach statistical significance (T-ratio of 1.2).

(b) number of dependent children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>no children (reference category)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1 child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>3 children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The odds of being a private sector higher level officeworker, compared with being a clerical worker are 0.9 if 1 child (i.e. similar to the reference category of no children), 0.6 if there are 2 children, and 0.2 if there are 3 children. Although none of these values reached the required level of statistical significance, values 3 and 4 (2,3 children) were fairly close to doing so. However, value 4 (3 children) had a large standard error, indicating very few cases.
The odds of being a higher level officeworker, compared to a being at the lower level, increase markedly with age. For example, the odds of being in the higher position at age 55-59 are around 14 times those at age 24 years and less.

Results from Table 11.6 are similar in many ways to the analysis for the public sector, with the independent effects of age and of qualifications coming through. However, there is one difference relating to the number of children variable (ENFM). In the private sector, although not reaching statistical significance, all three values of this variable (1, 2, 3 and more children) have a negative value. In addition, the T-ratio for the values of 2 and 3 children are fairly close to reaching statistical significance, whilst the value for 1 child is far from this level, indicating that this result could have occurred by chance. This suggests that, all other variables held constant, (a) the presence of children is a negative factor in women's location at the higher intermediate administrative level, compared to the lower level, and (b) having more than one child is also a negative factor.

Thus, logit analyses have indicated a finding which was obscured in the bivariate analyses of private sector occupational achievement. This suggests that in the public
sector, women are able to combine more successfully domestic factors with occupational achievement, or, put another way, domestic factors are less likely to act as a constraint on public sector officeworkers' achievement at this level of white-collar working than in the private sector.

Nevertheless, this difference should be kept in perspective, since the variable concerned did not reach statistical significance. It should not obscure the fact that the two principal factors which improve the odds of private sector officeworkers being in the higher grade position are (a) age and (b) qualifications. To illustrate this, multiplicative odds can be calculated.

7.2.4. Multiplicative effects
Following Payne (1987), the 'paradigmatic person' derived from Table 11.6 has the following characteristics: high qualifications, single, no children, age 18-24 years. This person has very low odds of being in an intermediate administrative position, but shifting this person from the youngest age group to the oldest increases the odds 14-fold. Thus, the person with the highest odds of being in a private sector intermediate administrative position would have high qualifications and be aged 50 years or over.

7.2.5. Resume of findings for private and public sector officeworker logit analyses
For both public and private sectors, age and qualifications have the strongest independent effects on the odds of being in an intermediate administrative position. In the public sector,
marital status has some effect: being married decreases the odds somewhat of being in an intermediate administrative position. In the private sector, marital status was not significant. These findings bear out the bivariate analyses. The number of children variable was not significant for the public sector, but there was some indication that in the private sector, the odds of being in a higher grade post were less if there were 1 or 2 children.

Age and qualifications are factors which would be likely to increase the odds of men being located in higher level positions. The results from the logit analyses of both public and private sector French officeworkers suggest that women officeworkers are closer to a male pattern of vertical segregation than British women officeworkers, where marital status and children variables were significant variables in the model. This bears out Beechey's assertion that French women conform more closely to a male model of employment than British women (Beechey, 1987).

The point which is perhaps most interesting in the analyses of the occupational achievement of French public and private sector officeworkers is the lack of statistical significance of the full-time/part-time working variable. It appears from these analyses that, once all the other independent variables in the models are held constant, working part-time does not affect chances of being in a higher level (intermediate administrative) position. There is some slight difference between the private and public sectors here, in that the direction of the parameter estimates are not the same (negative
for the private sector, positive for the public sector). However, in neither model was the variable close to statistical significance.

Why might there be a difference between private sector and public sector officeworking in the effect of children on occupational achievement? As previously discussed, private sector women may be rather more likely to have discontinuous employment patterns. This was suggested by the analyses of not working, full-time and part-time working by 5-year age group, and by the bivariate analysis of these different forms of working by number of children. Table 11.3 showed that in the private sector, the level of not working of women officeworkers increased sharply as the number of children increased. It may be, therefore, that family formation has a greater effect on private sector women's employment than on the public sector, as the analysis of women officeworkers' employment patterns by age suggested. Private sector women may have breaks from employment because of children, and then may experience difficulty in accessing higher grade positions because of this discontinuity. There are similarities here with British women, although the strong effect of part-time working on occupational segregation is not likely to be replicated in French private sector women. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the levels of part-time working seem to be relatively unrelated to the phases of family formation, and to the number of children. However, the variable being discussed here, number of children, did not quite reach statistical significance; therefore it would be unwise to attach too much importance to these results. The
negative direction of the parameter estimates is, nevertheless, important to note. Although the effect of qualifications on occupational achievement is not a central aspect of these analyses, they had a strong effect, particularly in the public sectors. It is not possible, however, to go much further on this issue, since the data set does not give details about whether these qualifications were acquired before recruitment or after.

In sum, the factors that govern promotion for French women officeworkers appear to be similar to those assumed important for men - length of service and qualifications. The consequences of domestic characteristics on both private and public sector occupational achievement, at this level, appear to be considerably less important than in Britain. In contrast to British officeworkers, part-time working does not appear to be a barrier to promotion. However, it needs to be remembered that occupational achievement, as defined for the purposes of these analyses, is at a relatively low level. It is likely that part-time working would be a considerable barrier to occupational achievement at higher levels of white-collar working.

Up to this point, comparisons with men have not been made. Nevertheless, the occupational achievement of men acts as a useful yardstick against which to measure women's occupational achievement. In the last two sections of this chapter, comparison is made between the occupational achievement of men and that of full-time women in a range of domestic circumstances.
8. Occupational achievement of French officeworkers: comparing women and men

Table 11.7 distinguishes between three groups of full-time women officeworkers: single, no children; married, no children; married, children.

Table 11.7: Officeworkers' occupational achievement, full-time working, women and men, age 30-44, France

(a) public sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>intermed</th>
<th>clerical</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>full-time women, single, no children</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100% (88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full-time women, married, no children</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100% (196)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full-time women, married, with children</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>100% (391)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>100% (250)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) private sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>intermed</th>
<th>clerical</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>full-time women, single, no children</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100% (49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full-time women, married, no children</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>100% (77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full-time women, married, with children</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100% (190)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>100% (167)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, files FRANCE115M,114W

Table 11.7 shows that in both the public and the private sectors, the occupational achievement of men officeworkers is superior to that of any of the groups of women. The gap between any one group of women and men is smaller in the public sector than in the private sector, but not markedly so.
In the public sector, the occupational achievement of single women, with no children, is most similar to that of men. Of single women, 33% are in intermediate administrative positions, compared to 43% of men. Of married women, with no children, 25% are in intermediate administrative positions, compared with a similar level of 26% for married women with children. This suggests, as the logit analysis did that, for full-time officeworkers, marriage constitutes a constraint on the occupational achievement of public sector officeworkers, but that the presence of children makes little difference. Reasons why marriage may have a negative effect on occupational achievement were suggested in Chapter 5. There may also be a difference between single women and married women in the level of qualifications. It is possible also that the single women in this analysis are younger than the married women. Further analysis of the qualifications and age of single and married women might show that the single women were both younger and better qualified, indicating that further occupational mobility is likely for this group.

By contrast, the analysis of French private sector officeworkers in Table 11.7 shows that, out of the three groups of women, the occupational achievement of married women without children is closest to that of men. The occupational achievement of single women without children is at a fairly similar level to that of married women without children. Contrasting this with the public sector, it is possible that single women in the private sector are less well qualified. The logit analyses indicated that qualifications were a less
important factor in occupational achievement in the private sector than in the public sector. It would be interesting to pursue further the issue of differential qualifications of single and married women at different levels of white-collar working.

9. Summary of chapter
At the beginning of the 20th century, French white-collar working was a relatively high status occupation, done principally by men. During this century, it has moved to being an occupation where high level 'cadre' jobs are principally done by men, both in the public and the private sector, and where the lower level jobs are highly feminised. Thus, the lower the grade, the higher the level of feminization. Differences between the public and the private sectors are principally in the higher proportion of women in intermediate administrative jobs in the public sector than in the private.

The background to French white-collar working today is one of employment patterns reflecting women's domestic responsibilities, but in ways which are different in the public and private sectors. In the public sector, levels of part-time working are relatively high after family formation, as women get older. They are also related to the number of children, and to the age of the youngest child (although more strongly to the former than to the latter). Unlike Britain, however, part-time working appears to be combined with continuity, rather than following on from a period out of the labour force.

In the private sector, levels of part-time working are low, and
unrelated to family formation; however, private sector levels of not working are high; not working appears to be more sharply associated with the presence of children than in the public sector. This suggests that a generalised picture of French women as working full-time and continuously needs to be specified for different occupations. Although the presence of children, their age and their number, makes almost no difference to public sector officeworkers' occupational achievement, there is some suggestion that they have an effect on women in the private sector. The effect of previous discontinuity of employment of private sector women with children, and of the longer hours worked by private sector officeworkers were discussed as possible reasons. An important result from this chapter is the finding that part-time working, at this level of white-collar working, does not appear to be an obstacle to occupational achievement.

Footnotes:

(1) As in the British chapter on white-collar working, French white-collar working is defined here in broad terms, using a scale which does not make any inference about upward occupational mobility. There are four categories for each of the private and public sectors. In the public sector the grades are: 'cadres' (executive/managerial), intermediate administrative, higher clerical and lower clerical. In the private sector, they are: cadres, intermediate administrative (supervisory), intermediate administrative (non-supervisory), clerical. These four categories are used in the introductory analyses of sex segregation; however, in the analyses of the relationship between domestic circumstances and occupational achievement, only two categories are used (intermediate administrative and clerical). When only these two categories are being compared, this is referred to as 'officeworking'.

(2) The term 'job protection' refers to protection of the sort which protects women's jobs while they have children and which goes beyond the usual maternity leave provision. The French public sector 'job for life' provision is of
particular importance here, as well as the ability of French public sector workers to switch from full-time to part-time working and vice versa, without endangering their job. A distinction which needs to be made here between the term 'employment protection' as used to cover a range of measures typically negotiated by trade unions in Britain (covering unfair dismissal, right to sick leave, maternity leave and so on), and the much more specialised protection which allows women either to have continuous employment or to be able to return to employment after a break at the same level as before the break. This is explained more fully in Chapter 2 and in Chapter 6.

(3) Occupations omitted from white-collar and officeworker definitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PCS category</th>
<th>occupation (own translation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3321</td>
<td>top rank army &amp; police officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4521</td>
<td>middle rank police officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4522</td>
<td>middle rank army officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4636</td>
<td>photographers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4661</td>
<td>restaurateurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5212</td>
<td>postmen/women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5216</td>
<td>school caretakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5217</td>
<td>public service cleaners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5221</td>
<td>nurse auxiliaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5222</td>
<td>health auxiliaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5223</td>
<td>ambulance workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5445</td>
<td>travel hostesses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) The public sector occupational categories allow for higher and lower clerical grades to be distinguished (categories 'C' and 'D' of the public sector occupational structure), but the intermediate administrative grade does not allow for sub-division. The private sector, by contrast, is able to be sub-divided into three intermediate administrative levels, through the use of a variable (Q) which distinguishes between levels of supervisors, but does not distinguish between different levels of clerical work. Therefore in the public sector classification, there is one intermediate administrative grade, and two clerical grades, and in the private sector, three intermediate administrative grades, but only one clerical grade.

(5) Statistical significance is defined at the 0.05 level of probability in the logit analyses
Chère Madame GLOVER,

Je me souviens parfaitement de notre entretien et je me réjouis que vos travaux aient abouti. J'ai d'ailleurs lu une étude de vous-même ou de Mme DALE, je ne sais plus, dans le bulletin statistique du Département Britannique de l'Emploi que je lis régulièrement.

Je commence par répondre à votre première question.

a) Il n'y a pas, dans l'enquête emploi, contrôle de cohérence entre le code PCS (chiffré par les agents de l'INSEE au vu des déclarations des enquêtés) et le code PUB, venant de votre fichier des établissements. Il est donc tout à fait possible, logiquement, que des incompatibilités apparaissent.

b) Au vu de votre tableau, ces incompatibilités me paraissent assez peu nombreuses : 8,8% des employés du privé ont un code PUB fonction publique ; 2,5% des employés de la fonction publique ont un code PUB privé ou sécurité sociale, ou secteur public. C'est assez peu en réalité.

c) Personnellement, dans mon livre "Gens du privé, gens du public", devant cette difficulté j'ai donné la primeur au code PUB : les employés de la fonction publique sont alors ceux qui ont à la fois CSE = 52 ou 54 et PUB = 1 ou 2, les employés du privé (au sens strict) ceux qui ont CSE = 52 ou 54 et PUB = 5, les employés du secteur public ceux qui ont CSE = 52 ou 54 et PUB = 3 ou 4. On peut naturellement discuter cette convention. Je ne suis pas sûr qu'en changer conduise à des résultats très différents. Plus précisément, un résultat qui dépendrait de cette convention, c'est-à-dire qui serait différent si l'on définissait les employés du privé ou de la fonction publique, différemment, en donnant la primeur au code CSE, ou en demandant que les deux soient satisfaits, serait un résultat peu robuste et donc, dans lequel je n'aurais guère confiance.

.../...
A votre seconde question, la définition d'une "sphère publique" peut être très variable selon le sujet traité. Je me permets de vous renvoyer au chapitre 3 de mon ouvrage. La sphère publique doit être prise dans un sens très large dans certains cas (ex : sécurité d'emploi, durée du travail peut-être,...), elle doit être découpée dans d'autres cas selon ses différentes parties, car elles ne sont pas sur le même pied : ex : salaires beaucoup plus élevés dans les entreprises publiques que dans l'État et a fortiori les communes. Donc au total la frontière peut être plus ou moins globale.

A votre troisième question, la réponse générale est sans doute non : les non titulaires (chargés de mission, vacataires, auxiliaires,...) ne bénéficient pas de façon systématique de toutes les dispositions prises en faveur des titulaires de la fonction publique. La sécurité de l'emploi en est un bon exemple. Cependant, je ne pense pas que ceci doive vous entraîner à distinguer systématiquement au sein des employés de la fonction publique les titulaires et les autres. Ce peut être intéressant pour certains aspects. Mais de façon systématique, je crois que ce serait superflu. D'abord parce que notre clivage, dans l'enquête emploi, entre titulaire et non titulaire est très imprécis (par exemple il y a d'une année sur l'autre des titulaires qui seraient devenus vacataires : ceci illustre l'imprécision de notre distinction), et je ne lui fais pas beaucoup confiance. Ensuite, un certain nombre de dispositions sont prises pour toute la fonction publique et, dans ce cas, même de façon théorique et conceptuelle la distinction ne s'impose pas.

J'espère vous avoir fourni les éléments que vos souhaitez et je reste à votre disposition pour des compléments éventuels. Naturellement, je lirais avec plaisir les commentaires que mon ouvrage "Gens du privé, gens du public" vous inspirerait.

Je vous prie de croire, Madame, à l'expression de ma considération distinguée.

Madame Judith GLOVER
Department of Sociology
University of Surrey
Guildford Surrey GU2 5 XH
Royaume-Uni
Appendix 11.2:

Profiles of French white-collar workers:

Each white-collar occupational category is described in terms of its principal detailed industrial categories. Private and public sectors are described separately.

(a) private sector:

(i) women:

1. 'cadres' (management/executive)
   - 32% in insurance
   - 23% in banking *

2. intermediate administrative
   - 25% in insurance
   - 23% in banking *

3. clerical
   - 31% in insurance
   - 21% in banking *
   - 10% in credit unions
   - 10% in political party admin, campaigning groups

(ii) men:

1. 'cadres'
   - 37% in banking *
   - 22% in insurance
   - 16% in credit unions

2. intermediate administrative
   - 43% in insurance
   - 20% in banking *

3. clerical
   - 36% in banking
   - 25% in credit unions
   - 16% in insurance

(b) public sector:

(i) women:

1. 'cadres'
   - 59% in central/national public sector administration
   - 9% in municipal administration

2. intermediate administrative
   - 48% in central/national public sector administration
   - 28% in municipal administration
   - 6% in education administration
3. clerical
45% in central/national public sector administration
25% in municipal administration
10% in educational administration

(ii) men:

1. 'cadres'
   53% in central/national public sector administration
   15% in municipal administration

2. intermediate administrative
   57% in central/national public sector administration
   25% in municipal administration

3. clerical
   44% in central/national public sector administration
   31% in municipal administration

* non-nationalised banking - merchant banking, savings banks
Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, file FRANCE103M & W
Appendix 11.3:

French white-collar workers and their qualifications

In Table 11A, the private and public sector occupations at each level have been combined, making three categories of office worker: top management, intermediate administrative workers, and clerical workers. As explained above, finance and service industry categories have been selected. Qualifications have been grouped in order to distinguish degree level, technical qualifications, and general qualifications. However, as the coding notes for the Enquête Emploi point out (p 95), the distinction between technical and general qualifications is not always easy to make. The order in which the qualifications are set out follows the hierarchy established by INSEE, so that the first qualification in the table represents the greatest value in the labour market, and so on (p 94 of coding notes).

Table 11A: 3 levels of white-collar workers by qualification, France

(a) men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>occupational group</th>
<th>qualification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  6  total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top management</td>
<td>49% 8% 20% 6% 9% 7% 99% (592)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;cadres&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intermed. admin</td>
<td>10% 11% 31% 15% 19% 14% 100% (420)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical</td>
<td>3% 5% 25% 26% 19% 22% 100% (658)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>occupational group</th>
<th>qualification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  6  total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top management</td>
<td>49% 9% 20% 9% 10% 4% 101% (201)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;cadres&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intermed. admin</td>
<td>10% 9% 32% 25% 15% 10% 101% (579)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical</td>
<td>2% 5% 23% 35% 18% 18% 101% (2422)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Enquete Emploi 1985, files FRANCE53M & 53W

Key:
1. University degree, post-graduate degree, business school degrees
2. Pre-university diploma and professional training
3. Baccalauréat with or without higher general and technical training
4. Lower technical training (no 'baccalauréat')
5. General education certificate
6. No or little qualification

412
Appendix 11.4:

Data for Figure 11.2:

French white-collar workers (public and private sector combined)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>full-time</th>
<th>part-time</th>
<th>not working</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>66.4%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>76.7%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td>701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>65.9%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>68.2%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>60.5%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>54.0%</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>60.5%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>4527</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, files FRANCE75W & 77W, gemfile FROFF1

Data for Figures 11.3 and 11.4:

Fig. 11.3: Public sector white-collar workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>full-time</th>
<th>part-time</th>
<th>not working</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>59.5%</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>74.7%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>65.8%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>67.5%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>54.8%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 11.4: Private sector white-collar workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>full-time</th>
<th>part-time</th>
<th>not working</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>57.8%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>63.4%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>51.3%</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>39.9%</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>40.2%</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>40.3%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>51.9%</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>73.2%</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>42.8%</td>
<td>1175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Enquête Emploi 1985, files FRANCE75W & 77W, gemfiles FROFFPUB,FROFFPRI, gemdisk 3

413
Appendix 11.5

French officeworkers, variables for logit analyses

Dependent variable (public sector: PUCL; private sector, PRCL)

0: clerical
1: intermediate administrative

Notes: the three lower categories derived for the 5-category white-collar scale have been collapsed into two categories which correspond to the major categories of the PCS occupational classification (public sector: 45 & 52; private sector: 46 & 54).

Independent variables

highest qualification achieved (DIPL)

1 High (categories 10-42 of var DIPL)
2 Medium (categories 43-51 of var DIPL)
3 Low (categories 60-71 of var DIPL)

Notes: 1. High: mainly baccalauréat with or without higher general and technical training
2. Medium: lower technical training, no baccalauréat
3. Low: general education certificate, no qualifications

marital status (M2)

1 single
2 married, ever married

Notes: Value 2 combines women who are currently married, with those who have been married in the past (widowed, divorced/separated)

age of youngest child (YCHI)

1 no children
2 youngest child <3 years old
3 youngest child 3-5 years old
4 youngest child 6-18 years old

Notes: dependent children living in the family home, aged 18 years and less

number of children (ENFM)

1 no children
2 1 child
3 2 children
4 3 and more children

414
Notes: dependent children living in the family home, aged 18 years and less

full-time/part-time working (NA)

1 full-time
2 part-time

Notes: according to respondents' self-definition

age (grouped 5-yearly) (AQ1)

1 GE 24 years
2 25-29 years
3 30-34 years
4 35-39 years
5 40-44 years
6 45-49 years
7 50-54 years
8 LE 55 years
Chapter 12: Summary and discussion

1. Introduction

The first aim of this chapter is to bring together some key points of the analyses in the preceding four chapters. The employment patterns (full-time working, part-time working, not working) of teaching and officeworking in France and Britain are compared and contrasted. Secondly, the main findings from analyses of the relationship between domestic circumstances and occupational achievement in each occupational group are discussed. Women's and men's occupational achievement in the different occupational groups/situations is then compared. A further issue relates to part-time working, and whether it is incompatible with occupational achievement. Consideration is then given to theory and policy implications of the findings.

To recap on terminology, the term 'occupational group' is used to denote the occupational title of teaching and/or officeworking; the term 'occupational situation' is used to refer to the range of social, cultural and structural elements which make up the context within which the 'occupational group' is located. Because of the importance of the private/public distinction in French officeworking shown in the analyses in Chapter 11, five occupational groups and/or situations are referred to.

2. Employment patterns: from the general to the particular

The specific nature of the employment patterns of women in each occupational group is underlined here, using the broad definition of teaching and white-collar working. This makes the point that particularly interesting aspects emerge when
occupations are examined in detail. The case studies in this thesis underline the need to go beyond generalisations in order to look at particular occupations. In order to facilitate comparison, the graphs of employment patterns by age, presented in each of the analysis chapters, are brought together. Figure 12.1 shows employment patterns for all women in France and Britain. Figure 12.2 brings together employment patterns for British and French teachers and for British and French white-collar workers, both public and private sector. As indicated earlier in this thesis, the cross-sectional nature of the data does not allow for any longitudinal inference, but it does provide an indication of the relationship between employment patterns and different life-cycle stages.

There are clear differences in the overall employment patterns in France and Britain, as Figure 12.1 shows. As discussed in Chapter 4, these strongly contrasted pictures have been seen as a fundamental difference between French and British women's employment. Moving from the general to the specific, Figure 12.2 shows that each occupation reflects to an extent the 'macro' patterns shown in Figure 12.1. The inverted 'U' shape, characteristic of French women's employment patterns is evident in varying degrees in both teaching and in white-collar working. Part-time working, generally speaking, is at a low level, and tends not to be particularly sensitive to life-cycle stages. In Britain, the two-peaked distribution, clearly evident in the national picture (Figure 12.1), is also apparent in both teaching and white-collar working (Figure 12.2, b and c). British part-time working appears sensitive to life-cycle
Fig. 12.1: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French and British women (repeat of Fig. 4.1)

Women, age 16–64, Britain, 1984
full/part-time, not employed, by age

Women, age 16–64, France, 1985
full/part-time, not employed, by age

Source: Labour Force Survey 1984, file LFS65, gemfile BR1
file: Enquete Emploi 1985, gemfile FR1
Fig. 12.2: Full-time working, part-time working, not employed by age, French and British women teachers and white-collar workers

(a) teachers, women, France, 1985
(b) teachers, women, Britain, 1984

c) white-collar, women, Britain, 1984

(d) white-collar, women, France, 1985
(e) white-collar, women, France, 1985
stages; levels are low at the time of family formation, and higher after this stage.

However, there are also evident differences from the national patterns. In France, private sector white-collar working (Figure 12.2 (e)) shows a marked difference from the inverted 'U' shaped curve of Figure 12.1. In private sector white-collar working, levels of both full-time and part-time working show lower levels at the time of family formation. This contrasts with French public sector white-collar working (d), where the total (full-time plus part-time) employment curve is in the shape of an inverted 'U', but full-time working is at a lower level in the family formation phase, and shows a two-peaked shape. Part-time working in public sector white-collar working shows sensitivity to life-cycle work-patterns. Thus, there are features here which show some similarity with Britain.

The employment patterns of French teachers (Figure 12.2 (a)) show little concession to either discontinuity or to part-time working; neither patterns of not working nor part-time working are strongly related to the conventional family formation phase. Thus, French teaching approximates most closely to the stereotypical picture of French women's employment as being full-time and continuous over the life-cycle.

By contrast, British teachers' and white-collar workers' employment patterns in Figure 12.2 (b) and (c) differ from the national aggregate distribution (Figure 12.1) in a less marked way than in France. British teachers and British white-collar
workers show employment patterns of a distinct two-peaked shape. In addition, part-time working is closely related to family formation. There are differences of degree, however. Levels of not working amongst teachers aged 30-34 years are around half those of white-collar workers of the same age. Part-time working also shows different patterns: in teaching, it more closely follows the two-peaked curve for full-time working, showing less marked differences by life-cycle phase.

In sum, whilst it remains largely the case that French women's labour force participation is full-time, and continuous, there are important exceptions. There is rather less variation in British employment patterns between the general distribution of employment patterns and the particular patterns of teachers and white-collar working. The different features of the 'occupational situations' of each occupational group can help explain these macro/micro differences. The discussion in Chapter 6 of the policy elements of each 'occupational situation' suggested that in Britain domestic circumstances and life-cycle stages would have a strong impact on employment patterns. This was principally because of the limited 'job protection' policies in Britain which, in France, appear to have the effect of countering the effect of part-time working and of discontinuity of employment. In Britain the degree of similarity in employment patterns between the two occupations suggests that structural and/or policy aspects may have less effect on an overall pattern of discontinuity and of part-time working. The role of policy appears to be important here, and perhaps more important than the effect of each occupation's structure. As already discussed in Chapter 6, teachers are in
the most favourable position to minimise the effect of domestic circumstances on their employment patterns. Their qualifications will probably have been acquired before the onset of domestic responsibilities, the occupation is able to exert social closure, re-entry may be easier because of the occupational basis of teaching rather than the organisational basis of officeworking, pay is at a reasonably high level, and hours are relatively short. Nevertheless, the persistence in both British teaching and officeworking of the two-peaked distribution of employment patterns suggests that the lack of job protection policies and daycare policies may be able to override the structural advantages which teaching has over officeworking.

In France, the greater variety of patterns may suggest also the importance of policy. French public sector workers can take advantage of a range of employment policies which help minimise the effect of domestic responsibilities and family formation. The protection of part-time working may be particularly important here. French private sector officeworkers are less well-off in terms of these sorts of policies. Yet, both of these occupational groups are able to use France’s widespread daycare provision. In addition, the structural constraints (organisationally based, principally post-entry qualifications, relatively poor pay, relatively long hours) affect the two groups in similar ways. This suggests that it is the job protection policies of the French public sector which are accounting for the difference between the two groups' employment patterns.
The contrasts between the national 'macro' patterns and the 'micro' patterns of particular occupations underline the necessity to examine disaggregated occupations. While 'broad-brush' pictures provide necessary background material, this thesis has shown that important variations between occupations can be missed if only the 'macro' aspects are presented.

3. Employment patterns and domestic circumstances: summarising the relationship

In Table 12.1, details of the analyses of the relationship between domestic characteristics and employment patterns, presented in each of the four chapters, 8-11, are brought together. (1)

Table 12.1: Women's domestic circumstances and employment patterns: summary of occupational groups, row % age 21-64

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British teachers domestic circumstances</th>
<th>not empl.</th>
<th>p-t</th>
<th>f-t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married/ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no children **</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+ children</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 0-4 yrs</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 5-11 yrs</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 12-18 yrs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French teachers domestic circumstances</th>
<th>not empl.</th>
<th>p-t</th>
<th>f-t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married/ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no children **</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+ children</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch &lt;3 yrs</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 3-5 yrs</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 6-18 yrs</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Table 12.1 continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British officeworkers</th>
<th>domestic circumstances</th>
<th>not empl.</th>
<th>p-t</th>
<th>f-t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married/ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no children **</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+ children</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 0-4 yrs</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 5-11 yrs</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 12-18 yrs</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French officeworkers - private sector</th>
<th>domestic circumstances</th>
<th>not empl.</th>
<th>p-t</th>
<th>f-t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married/ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no children **</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+ children</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch &lt;3 yrs</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 3-5 yrs</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 6-18 yrs</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French officeworkers - public sector</th>
<th>domestic circumstances</th>
<th>not empl.</th>
<th>p-t</th>
<th>f-t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married/ever married:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no children **</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+ children</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch &lt;3 yrs</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 3-5 yrs</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.ch 6-18 yrs</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** age base 30-44 years

The main comparisons are: the issue of the relationship between employment patterns and marriage; the similarity between French and British teachers; the relationship of the number of children to the employment patterns of British officeworkers; the importance of the distinction between French private and public sector officeworking.

Firstly, in Chapter 6, it was noted that there was no evidence from previous work that, in either France or Britain, marriage, without children, constituted a reason for leaving the labour force. This is, largely speaking, the case for three of the occupational groups shown in Table 12.1. However, in both public and private sector French officeworking, there is a tendency for levels of not working to be considerably higher amongst women who are married, but without children,\(^{(2)}\) than amongst single women. More detailed knowledge of the socio-cultural background of French officeworkers is probably necessary in order to understand this finding. Qualitative research, and historical background at a considerably higher level of detail than in this thesis are no doubt necessary.

Despite cross-national cultural and policy differences, there are similarities between the employment patterns of French and British teachers. The most common pattern for both groups is to work full-time (68% and 67% respectively). This result suggests that structural features of the 'occupational situation', common to both countries - minimal need for out-of-school daycare, acquisition of qualifications prior to family formation, the existence of internal labour markets, relatively
high pay - may minimise differences between each country's home/employment relationship.

One important difference between French and British teachers' employment patterns is that the age of the youngest child has an effect on British women teachers' employment patterns; having a pre-school child is strongly related to not working, unlike in France. Similarly, as expected from previous research into French women's employment patterns, French women teachers with three or more children have a tendency to withdraw from the labour force. Public policy which grants an allowance to women withdrawing from the labour force with this number of children is probably responsible for this tendency. Since French teachers have the right to a job, re-entry is automatic. Thus discontinuity of employment may be judged by these teachers to be a relatively risk-free proposition. Whether this is the case is discussed in a later section of this chapter.

A third noteworthy point in Table 12.1 relates to British officeworking. This occupational group shows a marked relationship between the number and ages of children and women's employment patterns. Although previous research suggests that in Britain, the number of children is unrelated to employment patterns, the analyses of British officeworking here show that having one child is related to not working, whilst having two or three children is related to part-time working. A possible explanation for this is that, if women have one child, then this is likely to be a young child, for whom daycare provision needs to be found. Since officeworking
is poorly paid, and British daycare is expensive, withdrawal from the labour market is likely to be the logical response. Meeting daycare costs for two or three children on a low salary is unlikely to be economically viable. The higher level of part-time working of women with two or three children may be accounted for by being able to meet part-time daycare needs through members of the family, such as a husband on shift-work.

There is a marked relationship in British officeworking between employment patterns and the age of the youngest child: 71% of women with a pre-school child are out of the labour market, 46% of women with a primary-age child work part-time, and 61% of women with a secondary-age child work full-time. This is a clear illustration of the interdependence in British officeworking (and possibly other low-paid occupations in Britain) of employment and whether children are in the primary or secondary stage of education. Something of this pattern could be seen in British teaching, but not to such a marked extent.

In common with British officeworking, French private sector officeworkers also show a marked tendency to be out of the labour market when they have two or three children. For these women, however, part-time working is not a common pattern. This may simply be because of a low availability of part-time office jobs in the private sector. Part-time working is at a high level for women with children in the public sector. This reflects the importance of policies which protect part-time working.
The difference between French public and private sector officeworking is of clear importance in this and in other respects. Levels of not working are overall surprisingly high in the private sector, compared to the public sector. This may reflect the lack of job security in the private sector, compared to the public sector where many employees have a guaranteed job. Both occupational groups reflect the national pattern of women with three or more children leaving the labour force; however, in the private sector, the proportion of women in this group (80%) is almost double that in the public sector (47%). As noted earlier, levels of part-time working are considerably lower in the private sector than in the public sector.

This is likely to be a reflection of the increased opportunities for protected part-time working in the French public sector, where public servants can move between full-time and part-time working at no risk to their job. Part-time working is heavily used by public sector women with two or three children. Public sector officeworkers appear to make use of part-time working in a way which is quite different from those in the private sector. The French public sector demonstrates that protected part-time working can permit women to have continuity of employment. In addition, the policy of full-time/part-time movement means that part-time jobs (in public sector officeworking) are not constructed as such, as Dale (1987) has suggested for Britain. If employers are able to construct jobs as part-time, then they may be particularly subject to occupational sex segregation, and, in Britain, to
little job protection. Part-time jobs which evolve in a protected environment from full-time jobs are unlikely to be subject to these sorts of disadvantage. This means that part-time workers can be employed at levels other than the lowest, assuming that the full-time job from which their part-time job evolved was not also at the lowest level. As Chapter 11 showed, the occupational achievement of French officeworkers does not appear to be impeded by working part-time.

The low level of employment (either part-time or full-time) of French private sector officeworkers with two or three children may be explained by the low pay and long work-hours typical of this occupation. Even though daycare is relatively widespread and subsidised in France, it is nevertheless not free. It is likely that women with two or three children working long hours for a relatively low wage make the calculation that it is not worth their while continuing in employment. This may be particularly the case if there are few prospects for advancement, or if advancement depends on the post-entry acquisition of qualifications, which women with little extra time because of domestic commitments may feel unable to acquire. In addition, as discussed earlier in Chapter 2, French women with three children are encouraged to leave the labour force through a public policy which pays the equivalent of a half-time wage. It may not be worth public sector officeworkers taking up this opportunity if they can hold onto their job by temporarily switching to part-time working, but it may be an attractive option for those in the private sector. The importance of state policies is evident here.
Overall, the employment patterns of French women teachers and officeworkers are considerably less affected by children (their presence or absence, their age, their number) than British women. This no doubt reflects national policy differences in daycare provision. Nevertheless, a distinction needs to be made between the ability to work full-time and continuously and whether women are able to achieve upward mobility within occupations. Earlier in this thesis, it was suggested that an assumption is sometimes made in Britain that policy changes (such as increased daycare provision) with the potential to bring about full-time, continuous employment patterns can also bring about occupational achievement. It was suggested that this assumption might be false, since it ignored the role of socio-cultural aspects which might remain unaffected by such policy changes, and which might have a profound effect on occupational achievement. Cross-national comparison was seen to be particularly useful in this respect, since, as in this thesis, countries with markedly different levels of particular sorts of provision can be compared in terms of outcomes, such as levels of occupational achievement.

4. Domestic circumstances and occupational achievement

Both bivariate and logit analyses were used to explore the effect of domestic responsibilities upon occupational achievement in the five occupational groups. The results from the logit analyses are used in the following discussion. Summary information from the logit analyses is brought together in Table 12.2. For the purposes of this discussion, those variables which are very close to statistical significance (T-ratio of 1.6, 1.7 or 1.8) are included with those which have
reached statistical significance (T-ratio of 1.96 and over).

4.1. Marital status and occupational achievement
In only two instances is marital status statistically significant (British teaching, British officeworking), but in two others, it is close to significance (French teaching and French public sector officeworking). Marriage has a negative effect on occupational achievement in British teaching, French teaching and French public sector officeworking. The theory of patriarchy is helpful in explain this finding. Marriage creates an additional imbalance of power between women and men, which leads to underachievement in employment. For example, one aspect of the unequal relations of power between women and men is the unequal domestic division of labour. This was discussed in Chapter 6, with reference to time-budget studies in the two countries which provided evidence that women continued to take on the majority share of domestic labour.

However, other aspects of marriage can act as restraints on women's occupational achievement. Promotion in many jobs requires the ability and willingness to move home, or to travel further from the home. Evidence presented in Chapter 5 suggested that unequal relations of power between marriage partners may mean that moving house because of the woman's job, or making allowances for a wife who has further to travel to work (and therefore less time to spend on domestic and child-related responsibilities) is not a consideration.
Table 12.2: Domestic circumstances and occupational achievement, summary information from logit analyses giving odds of being in higher level positions in each occupational group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>Single teachers higher chance of being in supervisory</td>
<td>Not statistically significant, except for children of primary school age making occupational achievement less likely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Married teachers higher chance of being supervisory</td>
<td>No children - higher chance of being supervisory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>Not statistically significant, but being married close to significance, and making occupational achievement less likely</td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British officeworkers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>Married officeworkers higher chance of being supervisory</td>
<td>No children - higher chance of being supervisory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French officeworkers (public sector)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>Not statistically significant, although being married close to significance, and making occupational achievement less likely</td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French officeworkers (private sector)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>Not statistically significant</td>
<td>Not significant, but having 2 or 3 children close to significance, and making occupational achievement less likely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, patriarchy is not confined to the domestic sphere. There may also be patriarchal attitudes on the part of (male) employers, which may take the form of discrimination. For example, employers may consider that, although a married woman may not yet have children, she will have them in the future. Since most British women leave the labour market at the time of family formation, employers may consider that a married woman of child-bearing age and who is childless does not represent a good investment. However, patriarchy does not apply to married women exclusively. De Singly (1987) referred to employers' 'negative anticipation' where an assumption was made that single women would get married and have children. According to
this view, promotion is less likely for single women than for men, because of these assumptions by employers.

In relation to British teachers, and to a lesser extent, French teachers, single status has historically been an important requisite for women teachers' advancement. During the phases of the 'marriage bar', it was even a condition of their employment. Nowadays, many more married women than single women are teachers, yet the findings from this thesis suggests that being married continues to act as a restraint on women's promotion in both Britain and in France. The reasons for this could be several; some have already been mentioned in the previous discussion of French public sector officeworkers. In addition, there may be a tendency for married women teachers not to put themselves forward for such posts, either because they believe discrimination takes place, or because higher grade posts would take up time and energy which domestic responsibilities already lay claim to.

The logit analyses show, however, that, after controlling on age, British married women officeworkers have a higher chance of being in supervisory positions than single women. It is, of course, unlikely to be the case that patriarchy does not exist in the homes of British officeworkers, or in their workplaces. Alternative explanations need therefore to be sought.

It is important to remember that the sort of occupational achievement being discussed here is, relatively speaking, at a low level. Supervisory officeworker positions may represent promotion relative to non-supervisory officeworker positions.
but in terms of white-collar occupations as a whole, they are near the lower end of the scale. Therefore, the positive effect of marriage on occupational achievement discussed in this section is only likely to be relevant for low level white-collar workers (officeworkers).

It was shown in Chapter 10 that single women who are promoted beyond the basic non-supervisory clerical level tend to be at higher administrative levels in white-collar working. It is likely that single women who remain in the lower levels of white-collar working (officeworking) are relatively poorly qualified, and therefore not considered suitable for supervisory work. Married women may become promoted to the supervisory clerical level, but may tend to stay at that level.

In non-professional occupations, such as officeworking, promotion is probably less dependent upon such things as geographical mobility and having adequate time for the demands of a higher level job. Officeworking is an organisationally based occupation, where achievement is often related to internal labour markets within that organisation. The assumption in the literature (see Chapter 5) that the lack of geographical mobility of married women acts as an impediment may need to be specified to professional, occupationally based occupations. It is possible that lack of ability to be geographically mobile may act as an aid to occupational achievement: it may mean that once family formation is over, older married women show continuity within one organisation, and make progress in that organisation. Indeed, this progress
may be dependent less upon qualifications than on experience and continuity, especially if women are employed in secretarial work. As already noted earlier in this thesis, the officeworker definition contains at least two distinct groups: those who work in banking and insurance, where post-entry qualifications are necessary for advancement, and experienced secretaries and typists for whom a lack of post-entry qualifications may not be a barrier to occupational achievement.

4.2. The effect of children on occupational achievement
Turning to the issue of the effect of children on occupational achievement, the logit analyses show that out of the French occupational groups under consideration here, it is only in French private sector officeworking that having two or three children is close to significance, and reduces the likelihood of being supervisory. By contrast, in Britain, the presence of children of any age reduces the chances of being a supervisory officeworker, while, for teachers, having a primary age child reduces the chances of being a higher level teacher, once all other independent variables have been held constant.

There are likely to be two kinds of influences explaining the effect of children on British officeworkers and teachers. Firstly, there is the effect of children on women's work histories, and, secondly, there is the effect which having prime responsibility for children has on occupational achievement in a context where daycare is limited. If women have experienced discontinuity of employment because they have children, then this is likely to count against them when they
return to employment. Length of service will be shorter, and this is likely to affect long-term promotion. In addition, France's 'job protection' policies, described in detail in Chapter 6, are likely to attenuate the effect of children somewhat; they can ensure continuity of employment in some situations. Continuity is also encouraged through the wide provision of daycare in France. Secondly, as discussed in Chapter 6, in both countries women take prime responsibility for domestic labour, including that which relates to children. If there is also a lack of daycare provision, then occupational achievement is likely to suffer because women will be unable to put in the extra hours which a promoted post often demands.

The negative effect of two or three children on French private sector officeworkers' occupational achievement may also be related to women's work histories. In the private sector, there is less job protection than in the public sector, in the sense that women who leave the private sector do not have the right to return. The analyses of employment patterns showed that the level of not working amongst French private sector officeworkers was high amongst those with two or three children. It is possible, although not verifiable with cross-sectional data, that French private sector officeworkers who leave employment when they have two or three children have difficulty in returning. They may spend relatively long periods out of the labour market. Such discontinuity of employment is likely to count against them in terms of occupational achievement. In this respect, therefore, there are some parallels with British officeworkers.
The first expectation set out at the end of chapter 6 can now be addressed. It was a general one: that the relationship between domestic circumstances and women's employment could vary between occupational groups. It is clear that this is the case. In particular, it was hypothesised that the elements which made up the 'occupational situation' of French teaching would combine to minimise the constraints of the home/employment relationship. From the data presented, it can be concluded that this is the case.

By contrast, the 'occupational situation' of British officeworkers was thought to be such that the domestic circumstances of women would have the greatest effect on employment. This is not clearcut. Although, as expected, there is a strong effect of children on levels of not working and part-time working, there is an unexpected result in the analyses of occupational achievement, where, as discussed above, being married was shown to be associated with being in a supervisory position.

5. Comparing women's and men's occupational achievement
A weak relationship between domestic circumstances and occupational achievement, such as French women teachers, does not mean, however, that women achieve promotion at the same level as men. In the following section, analyses presented in each of Chapters 8-11 are brought together in one table, Table 12.3. Table 12.3 compares proportions of three categories of women with the proportion of men in higher level positions in each occupation. The categories of women are (i) single women without children (ii) married women without children and (iii)
without children (ii) married women without children and (iii) married women with children.

In all occupational groups except one, the occupational achievement of women is inferior to that of men. The exception is French teaching, where one group of women - married women without children - achieve on an equal footing with men.

Table 12.3: Domestic circumstances and occupational achievement: comparing women and men, all occupations, age 30-54

British teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men:</th>
<th>Single woman:</th>
<th>Married women, no children:</th>
<th>Married women, children:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39% supervisory teacher level</td>
<td>23% &quot;</td>
<td>14% &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13% &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

French teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men:</th>
<th>Married women, no children:</th>
<th>Single woman:</th>
<th>Married women, children:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13% at higher level</td>
<td>13% &quot;</td>
<td>10% &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7% &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

British officeworkers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men:</th>
<th>Married women, no children:</th>
<th>Single woman:</th>
<th>Married women, children:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54% supervisory clerical level</td>
<td>38% &quot;</td>
<td>28% &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22% &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

French officeworkers - private sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men:</th>
<th>Married women, no children:</th>
<th>Single woman:</th>
<th>Married women, children:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46% intermed. admin. level</td>
<td>29% &quot;</td>
<td>25% &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16% &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

French officeworkers - public sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men:</th>
<th>Single woman:</th>
<th>Married women, children:</th>
<th>Married women, no children:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43% at intermed. admin. level</td>
<td>33% &quot;</td>
<td>26% &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25% &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consideration needs to be given to the reasons why French teaching provides a context for women (or one group of women)
to gain equality of achievement with men. Logit analyses of French teaching showed that the primary means of advancement within the occupation was age. The description of French teaching demonstrated that the occupation is highly structured, as indeed is the whole of the French public sector. Recent legislation has decreed that equal numbers of women and men must be promoted. Whilst this legislation is unlikely to have affected the teachers in the Enquete Emploi, it provides an example of a way of thinking within education which may be important.

It needs to be remembered that primary and secondary teachers are combined in these analyses. Whilst the table indicates that some women teachers in France have equality with men in terms of achievement, it says nothing about the sector in which women and men achieve. Table9A in Appendix 9.1 demonstrates that women continue to be concentrated in the teaching of younger pupils. Not only does this constitute lower status teaching, but it is also less well paid than the teaching of older pupils in higher status schools such as the 'lycees'. The data presented in Table 12.3 needs to be interpreted in the knowledge that the women who are in higher level positions may well be in the primary sector, and that the men are more likely to be in the secondary sector.

The other occupational groups demonstrate, however, that equality is far from being reached. These data are consistent with de Singly's view that employers discriminate against single women through a process of 'negative anticipation' (de Singly, 1987, see Chapter 5). De Singly argues that employers
make the assumption that single woman will become married and have children. They therefore fail to promote single women in much the same way that they fail to promote married women with domestic responsibilities. If employers were not doing this, then it could be expected that single women would achieve at the same level as men. In British officeworking and in French private sector officeworking, single women achieve at a lower level than married women without children, and in the other groups at a lower level than married women with children.

The second broad expectation set out at the end of Chapter 6 was that in none of the occupational groups would women achieve equality with men. It was argued that, although social policies and structural aspects of occupations might smooth the relationship between domestic circumstances and women's employment, it was unlikely that women's occupational achievement would be at the same level as men's. This has been shown to be largely true, although French teaching demonstrates a partial exception. Nevertheless, the group attaining equality with men was married women without children. Even where the effect of children can be minimised through policy and occupational structure, those with children remain less likely than those without to achieve on a par with men.

This supports the third expectation set out at the end of Chapter 6, that even in an occupation where the effect of children can be minimised, women with children will achieve at a lower level than those without.
6. Part-time working and occupational achievement

An striking finding from the analyses is that part-time working need not act as an impediment to occupational achievement. This was found in French officeworking, where the logit analyses of both private and public sector officeworkers showed that working part-time was not a statistically significant factor in whether women were lower or higher level officeworkers.

The findings suggest that there are certain circumstances where this is the case. These circumstances include a high degree of protection of part-time jobs, the use of part-time working to ensure continuity and the flexibility of turning full-time working into part-time working in the same job. However, it was expected in Chapter 6 that part-time officeworkers in the French public sector would have an advantage over the French private sector in this respect. Although the legislation allowing women to switch between full-time working and part-time working applies to both the private and the public sector, in the public sector it is an employment right, whilst in the private sector, employer discretion enters into the issue.

However, contrary to expectation, the analyses did not show marked differences between the private and public sectors in this respect. There was only a limited indication that in the private sector part-time working had a negative effect on occupational achievement (the direction of the parameter estimate was negative in the private sector analysis, whilst it was positive in the public sector analysis). Nevertheless, in neither analysis did the variable reach statistical
significance.

This finding is important in policy terms, since, as already discussed in this thesis, there is considerable evidence from Britain that part-time working is a major element in women's downward occupational mobility. This is confirmed in the analyses of British and French teachers, and in those of British officeworkers, where working part-time had a strong negative effect on occupational achievement. These results suggest that, given appropriate policy measures, part-time working need not be a negative influence on women's occupational achievement. However, it was pointed out in Chapter 11 that part-time working at levels higher than the intermediate administrative grade was unlikely. In addition, part-time working at this level is likely to be dependent upon a full-time job having previously existed. The creation of part-time jobs at higher levels is another issue, and one which would probably require a widespread change of attitude on the part of employers.

7. Theory and policy implications

In Chapter 3, the theory of segmentation of labour markets was discussed. It suggests that women with domestic responsibilities working in occupationally-based occupations where pre-entry qualifications were demanded would be less likely to be disadvantaged than those in organisationally-based occupations. This was because women in occupationally-based occupations should be more likely than officeworkers to retain their occupation during family formation, and/or to re-enter it
with greater ease. The findings from this thesis bear this out to an extent, but they suggest that other aspects need to be taken into account. It seems reasonable to say that the structure of an occupation - organisational or occupational - is an important base point in terms of predicting whether women with domestic commitments will be able to achieve within that occupation. Thus, theoretically, women teachers with domestic responsibilities should be able to gain promotion with more ease than women office workers. However, the policy context - particularly the provision of daycare and the protection of part-time jobs - may alter this basic prognosis.

Patriarchy - in the form of an unequal domestic division of labour, as well as an aspect of employer discrimination - was conceptualised as an underlying factor in all of the 'occupational situations'. It was assumed to be acting as a constant variable. From these analyses, patriarchal forces may explain some aspects of the findings on the effect of marriage on occupational achievement, but there are other findings which need also to be explained by reference to structural aspects of the labour market, and by reference to policy. Public policy may be able to counteract some of the effects of employer patriarchy. Taking French teaching as an example, it is possible that in a highly structured context, where age and/or qualifications are the sole means of promotion, that the effect of employer discrimination can be minimised. A situation where panels decide on promotions according to a clear set of rules - for example according to a pre-determined quota of women and men - is likely to be to the considerable advantage of women. This finding may have policy implications for trade unions
seeking to build institutional ways in which discrimination against women can be countered.

As discussed in Chapter 2, recent public policy in France (1983) has forced employers to bring in measures which may reduce institutional discrimination within the workplace. It is too soon to know the effect of these measures. Whether they will be strong enough to counter embedded ideologies and practices based on an unequal balance of power between women and men remains to be seen. It seems far-fetched to imagine that policy can do more than go some way towards reducing the effect of patriarchal attitudes. Indeed, it would be misleading to analyse the French equal opportunities legislation as an attack on patriarchy, although it might have had this effect. The French Minister for Women's Affairs in the first Mitterrand administration, Yvette Roudy, demonstrates from her account of the climate in which the legislation was enacted that the ideology behind it was one of redressing, from a socialist perspective, an unfair situation. Indeed, when Roudy subsequently attempted to bring in legislation to outlaw pornography, an explicit attack on patriarchy, it failed to win support from her fellow socialists, and may have contributed to her downfall (Duchen, 1986).

Policy measures may be able to smooth the relationship between home and employment, for example by allowing women to accommodate more easily the demands of domestic work and paid work. It has been shown, for example, how continuity of employment can be helped by allowing women to reduce their
work-hours temporarily until domestic demands on their time decrease. However, such policies cannot change fundamental gender inequalities in the domestic division of labour, for example.

An important issue is whether, as the earlier discussion of Battagliola's (1984) work suggested, such policies are a two-edged weapon. Battagliola argued that these measures are largely taken up by women, even though they may in theory be open to both women and men. Policies such as part-time working and parental leave thus become gendered. Women may be able to combine home and employment more successfully (and indeed a social expectation may arise that they should be doing this), but there may be a slowing up in terms of promotion. Parental leave may be a particularly relevant example here. Under the European Community Draft Directive on Parental Leave, discussed in Chapter 2, and largely followed by France, women or men can take up to two years' unpaid leave. Apart from the obvious financial disadvantage in doing this, there may be serious repercussions in terms of promotion chances. Occupational achievement is unlikely to be at the level that it would have been at had parental leave, for example, not been taken. This would not be a problem if such policies were taken up by similar numbers of men and women; if this were the case, then family demands would be seen as normal episodes in working lives. Because they have become, in effect, women's issues, however, the resulting work patterns of women and men remain distinct. Men continue to accrue many years of unbroken service, whilst women with children fail to live up to this standard.

445
How far can daycare provision help to alleviate women's disadvantage in employment? These findings suggest that, although daycare provision in France is an important factor in allowing women to sustain continuous employment patterns, it is not a passport to occupational achievement. For example, in the one occupational group where some measure of equality of achievement for women and men was observed - French teaching - women with children did not achieve at the same level as those without. French private sector officeworkers showed a strong tendency to withdraw from the labour market if they had two or three children. The subsidised, but not free, provision of daycare is unlikely to be able to counteract the effect of low wages. Thus, whilst daycare provision may affect women's employment by allowing women to work in a way which resembles men's employment patterns (full-time and continuous), it may have a limited effect on women's occupational achievement. It may help lay the foundations for that achievement, but on its own it is unlikely to bring it about. Daycare is a necessary, but not sufficient, aspect of occupational achievement. Indeed, without a change in the cultural ideologies of gender roles, it seems possible that women may run the risk of increasing their burden. In France, not only can women work full-time and continuously, but they continue to undertake most of the domestic labour. The triple role of French women - mother, wife and full-time worker - is commonly talked about in France.

8. Conclusion
This thesis has demonstrated the usefulness of studying, cross-
nationally, particular occupations against a backdrop of general descriptions. It has shown that the constraints of women's domestic circumstances on occupational achievement vary according to the socio-structural context in which that occupation is located. It is only in one occupational group under examination in this thesis - French teaching - that women come close to equality with men. This suggests that policies which encourage continuity of employment, and which provide for daycare, can only go a certain distance in bringing about occupational achievement.

It has been suggested that the common assertion that daycare policies provide the answer to women's disadvantage in employment may be an over-simplification. Relations of power between women and men within the home and the workplace, as well as cultural ideologies about appropriate gender roles need attention, but are likely to be difficult to change. Anti-discrimination policies can go some way towards lessening discrimination at work, but it is difficult to imagine that policies could be devised which would equalise the relations of power within the home.

It remains a subject of speculation as to whether France's wide-ranging equal opportunities legislation, with its emphasis on positive action, will remedy the disadvantage faced by many women in employment. Much of this disadvantage relates to women's low pay, an important point in both countries. The issue of pay has not been central to this thesis, but it is of evident central importance. The parts of the 1983 French legislation which seek to elevate women's pay through improving
their qualifications may be of major importance.

In Britain, the future for women's employment opportunities is unclear. Present government policy is undoubtedly related to a free market approach; equal opportunities legislation has been shown to be ineffective. Future Labour Party policy includes the setting up of a women's ministry, similar to that which existed in the early 1980s in France, introducing widespread legislation which is similar to the 1983 French legislation, and introducing a minimum wage, as in France. Future research might study the effect of the French equal opportunities legislation. In line with the 'transfer of policy' use of cross-national comparison, discussed in Chapter 2, conclusions might be drawn about the likely effect in Britain of similar legislation, such as that proposed by the British Labour Party. As underlined in Chapter 2, however, the different socio-cultural climates of each country mean that the outcomes of policy in one country will not necessarily be similar to those in another country.

The case studies of teaching and officeworking have demonstrated the importance of the policy context against a background of patriarchy. In important respects, some French women's employment chances appear to be better than those of British women, principally because public policy can smoothe the relationship between domestic responsibilities, particularly those relating to children, and employment. It is a particularly interesting finding that, in contrast to Britain, part-time working, one way of combining the demands of
motherhood and employment, is not incompatible with occupational achievement in French officeworking. Yet, the take-up of these sorts of policies by women (and not by men) may mean that, in the long run, women who take advantage of them may hold back their occupational achievement. If domestic circumstances have an effect on the employment patterns of only one partner - either, as in Britain, through causing withdrawal from the labour force because no policies exist to counter this, or, as in France, by taking up those policies - the employment 'norm' will continue to be the male model of unbroken years of full-time service. A change in this situation is likely to require a deep-seated reassessment of gender roles in both countries. Policy may have relatively little part to play in this.

Future work related to this thesis could take several directions. A comparison of the relationship between women's domestic circumstances and their employment/occupational achievement could be carried out between Britain and another country with a higher level of daycare than France. Moss (1988) suggests that Denmark is an example of a country where daycare is both at a high level of provision and of a high standard. In addition, daycare provision appears to have developed in response to women's labour market participation. Such a comparison might highlight more clearly than the comparison of France and Britain the relative importance of other factors, such as occupational structure, and socio-cultural aspects, such as patriarchal attitudes.
A further possibility for future work could be an examination of the effects of the French equal opportunities legislation described in this thesis. It might be particularly interesting to compare younger and older cohorts of women. As from 1990, the Enquete Emploi has contained some information on work histories. This would enable some analyses of change in employment to be carried out.

Pursuing the Franco-British comparison in this thesis, further analyses of other professional and intermediate occupations could be done. The aim of this would be to see if the results from the case studies of teaching and officeworking could be generalised to other occupations. This might enable conclusions to be drawn about the relative effect on women's occupational achievement of particular aspects of the 'occupational situations' in a wider range of occupations than those studied in this thesis.

Footnotes

(1) For the sake of economy of presentation, none of the row or column marginals are displayed. These details are in the relevant chapters (see Tables 8.5, 9.3, 10.3, 11.2, 11.3).

(2) As explained in Chapter 7, Section 6.1, the age selection 30-44 has been used because children born to women in this age range are likely to be too young to have left the household. Thus there is some guarantee that women with and without children have been correctly identified and can be compared.
References:


Anderson, G (1976) *Victorian clerks*, Manchester, MUP

Anderson, G (1988) 'The white-blouse revolution', *Salford Papers in Economics* 88, 8, University of Salford

Appert, M (1977), 'L'emploi féminin dans une grande banque', Paris, Direction Régionale du Travail et de la Main d'Oeuvre de la région d'Ile de France, Echelon Régional de l'Emploi de Paris


Barron, R & Norris, G (1976) 'Sexual divisions and the dual labour market' in Barker, D & Allen, S *Dependence and exploitation in work and marriage*, London, Longman


Beechey, V (1986) 'Women's employment in contemporary Britain' in Beechey, V & Whitelegg, E (eds) Women in Britain today, Milton Keynes, Open University, pp 77-131

Beechey, V (1987) 'Women's employment in France and Britain: some problems of comparison', Working Paper from ESRC-CNRS project on Women's Employment in France and Great Britain, Milton Keynes, Open University

Belloc, B (1986) 'De plus en plus de salariés à temps partiel', Economie et Statistique, 193/194, pp 43-50


Benveniste, C & Lollivier, S (1988) 'Les écarts de salaire entre les hommes et les femmes continuent à se réduire', Economie et Statistique, 210, 3-9

Berger, I (1979) Les instituteurs d'une génération à l'autre, Paris, PUF

Bouillaguet-Bernard, P & Gauvin, A (1988a) 'Female labour reserves and the restructuring of employment in booms and slumps in France' in Rubery, J (ed) Women and recession, London, RKP, Chapter 2

Bouillaguet-Bernard, P & Gauvin, A (1988b) 'Women's employment, the state and the family in France: contradiction of state policy for women's employment' in Rubery, J (ed) Women and recession, London, RKP, Chapter 6


Brenner, J (1987) 'Feminist political discourses: radical versus liberal approaches to the feminization of poverty and comparable worth', Gender & Society, 1, 4, 447-465

452

Brown, R (1990) 'World war, women's work and the gender division of labour', paper presented to Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association Social divisions and social change, University of Surrey, April 1990


Bue, J & Cristofari, M-F (1986) 'Contraines et rythme de travail des salariés à temps partiel', Travail et Emploi, 27, 31-41


Cacaouault-Bitaud, M (1987) 'Itinéraires féminins et masculins chez les professeurs de l'enseignement secondaire: essai de définition et d'analyse', Table ronde internationale APRE, Nov. 1987, CNRS-IRESCO, Paris

Cagan, Y (1986) 'Spécial Femmes', Academie de Créteil, Volume 1, February


CERC (Centre d'étude des revenus et des coûts) (1985) 'Mères de famille: coûts et revenus de l'activité professionnelle', Documents du CERC, 75, 2ème trimestre, Paris, La Documentation Française

CERC (1989) 'Les français et leurs revenus: le tournant des années 80', Documents du CERC, No 94, 3ème trimestre, Paris, La Documentation Française


CITP (1968), Classification internationale type de professions, Genève, BIT


Crompton, R (1986) 'Women and the "service" class' in Crompton, R & Mann, M (eds) Gender and stratification, Cambridge, Polity

Crompton, R (1987) 'Gender, status and professionalism', Sociology, 21, 3, 413-428

Crozier, M (1971) The world of the officeworker, Chicago University Press


Dale, A (1985) The role of theories of labour market segmentation in understanding the position of women in the occupational structure, Occasional Papers in Sociology, No 4, University of Surrey


1454
Davisse, A (1983) 'Les femmes dans la fonction publique', Rapport au Ministre de la Fonction Publique et des Réformes Administratives, Paris, La Documentation Française


DES (1985a) (Department of Education & Science) Statistics: Schools, 1985, Department of Education & Science


Dex, S (1985) The sexual division of work, Brighton, Wheatsheaf


Duchen, C (1986) Feminism in France, London, RKP


Employment Gazette (April 1988) 'Standard Occupational Classification - a proposed classification for the 1990s', Department of Employment, pp 214-221


Eurostat (1985) Employment and Unemployment, Luxembourg

455
Evans, J (1983) A good career for a woman: is there a dual labour market in the teaching profession?, unpublished MSc dissertation, University of Surrey


Fagnani, J (1986) 'La durée des trajets quotidiens: un enjeu pour les mères actives', Economie et Statistique, 185, p47-55


Gallie, D (1978) In search of the new working class, Cambridge, CUP


Glover, J (1989) 'The classification of occupations in cross-national research: issues relating to the secondary analysis of large national data sets' in Hantrais, L (ed) Franco-British comparisons of family and employment careers, Cross-national Research Papers, Special Issue, University of Aston

Glover, J (1990) 'Horizontal and vertical occupational segregation: part-time and full-time working amongst women in Britain and France', paper presented to the British Sociological Association Annual Conference 'Social divisions and social change', 2-5 April 1990, University of Surrey, Guildford

Gokalp, C & Leridon, H (1983) 'Incidents de l'activité féminine sur la participation du père à la vie familiale', La revue Tocqueville, 5,11, p 397-418

Gosden, P (1972) The evolution of a profession: a study of the contribution of Teachers' Associations to the development of school teaching as a professional occupation, Blackwell, Oxford


456

Hakim, C (1979) *Occupational segregation: a comparative study of the degree and pattern of the differentiation between men and women's work in Britain, the US and other countries*, Research paper no. 9, London, Department of Employment


Hantrais, L (1989) 'A Franco-British comparison of the family lives and employment of women graduates', *Franco-British comparisons of family and employment careers*, Cross-national research papers, Special Issue, Aston University

Hantrais, L (1990) *Managing professional and family life*, Aldershot, Dartmouth

Hardey, M & Glover, J (forthcoming) 'Income, employment, childcare and lone parenthood' in Crow, G & Hardey, M (eds) *Lone parenthood: creating opportunities and coping with constraints*, Brighton, Wheatsheaf


HMSO (1972) *Key Occupations for Statistical Purposes (KOS)*, CODOT, Vol 1


INSEE (1983a) *Nomenclature des professions et catégories socioprofessionnelles (PCS)*, Index analytique, Paris, INSEE


INSEE (1986) Femmes en chiffres, Paris


Kaufmann, J-C (1978) La garde des jeunes enfants: enjeu social, Association Rennaise d'Etudes Sociologiques


Klein, V (1965) Women workers: working hours and services, a survey in 21 countries, Paris, OECD


Lane, C (1987) 'The impact of the economic and political system on social stratification and social mobility: Soviet lower white-collar workers in comparative perspective', Sociology, 21, 2, 171-198


Lehmann, A (1985) 'Le travail à temps partiel de 1978 à 1983': pratiques des employeurs et conditions d'emploi des salariés', Travail et Emploi, 26, 47-58

Leprince, F (1986) 'Les structures d'accueil de la petite enfance', These pour le doctorat de 3ème cycle en économie des ressources humaines, Université de Paris I


Le sexe du travail (1984), collective work, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble


Marsh, C (1986) 'Occupationally-based measures of social class' in *The measurement of social class*, London, Social Reseach Association


Maurice, Marc (1979) 'For a study of 'the societal effect': universality and specificity in organization research' in *Lammers, C & Hickson, D (eds) (1979) Organisations alike and unlike*, London, RKP


460

Ministère des Droits de la Femme (1982) Les femmes en France dans une société d'inégalités, Paris, La Documentation Française

Ministère des Affaires Sociales et de la Solidarité Nationale (1985) La politique familiale en France depuis 1945, Paris, La Documentation Française


New Earnings Survey (NES) (1986), London, HMSO

New Earnings Survey (NES) (1990), London, HMSO


Nomenclature des Professions et Catégories Socioprofessionnelles (PCS) (1983), Paris, INSEE


OECD (1985a) The integration of women into the economy, Paris


OECD (1987a) Economic Outlook, No 41, Paris


Partington, G (1976) Women teachers in the 20th Century in England and Wales, Slough, NFER


PCS (Nomenclature des Professions et Catégories Socioprofessionnelles) (1983), Paris, INSEE


Plaisance, E (1986) L’enfant, la maternelle, la société, Paris, PUF

Rapport au ministre des Droits de la femme (1982) Les femmes en France dans une société d'inégalités, Paris, La Documentation Française


Riley, D (1981) 'The free mothers: pronatalism and working mothers in industry at the end of the last war in Britain', History Workshop, 11


Roudy, Y (1982) La Femme en Marge, Flammarion


462
Saran, R (1985) The politics behind Burnham: a study of teachers' salary negotiations, Sheffield Papers in Education Management No 45, Department of Education Management, Sheffield City Polytechnic


Siltanen, J (1990) 'Social change and the measurement of occupational segregation by sex: an assessment of the Sex Ratio Index', Work, Employment & Society, 4, 1, 1-31


Steinberg, R (1987) 'Radical challenges in a liberal world: the mixed success of comparable worth', Gender & Society, 1, 4, 466-475


Tropp, A ((1954)'Factors affecting the status of the school teacher', Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology, London


Walby, S (1985)'Approaches to the study of gender relations in unemployment and employment' in Roberts, B, Finnegane, R & Gallie, D (eds) New approaches to economic life, Manchester, Manchester University Press

Walby, S (1986a)'Gender, class and stratification: towards a new approach' in Crompton, R & Mann, M (eds) Gender and stratification, Cambridge, Polity Press

Walby, S (1987)'Flexibility and the sexual division of labour', paper presented to WYCROW Conference Part-time work: whose flexibility?, University of Bradford, September


Walters, P (1985)'The financing of childcare services in France' in Cohen, B & Clarke, K (eds) Childcare and Equal opportunities, EOC, HMSO

Walters, P & Dex, S (1990)'Feminisation of the labour force in Britain and France', paper presented to Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association, Social divisions and social change, 2-5 April, University of Surrey, Guildford

Women of Europe (1986) Community law and women, Supplement No. 25, Brussels, Commission of the European Communities


Zighera, J (1981) Comparative study of the contingents entering and leaving the population of working age, Luxembourg, Eurostat


464