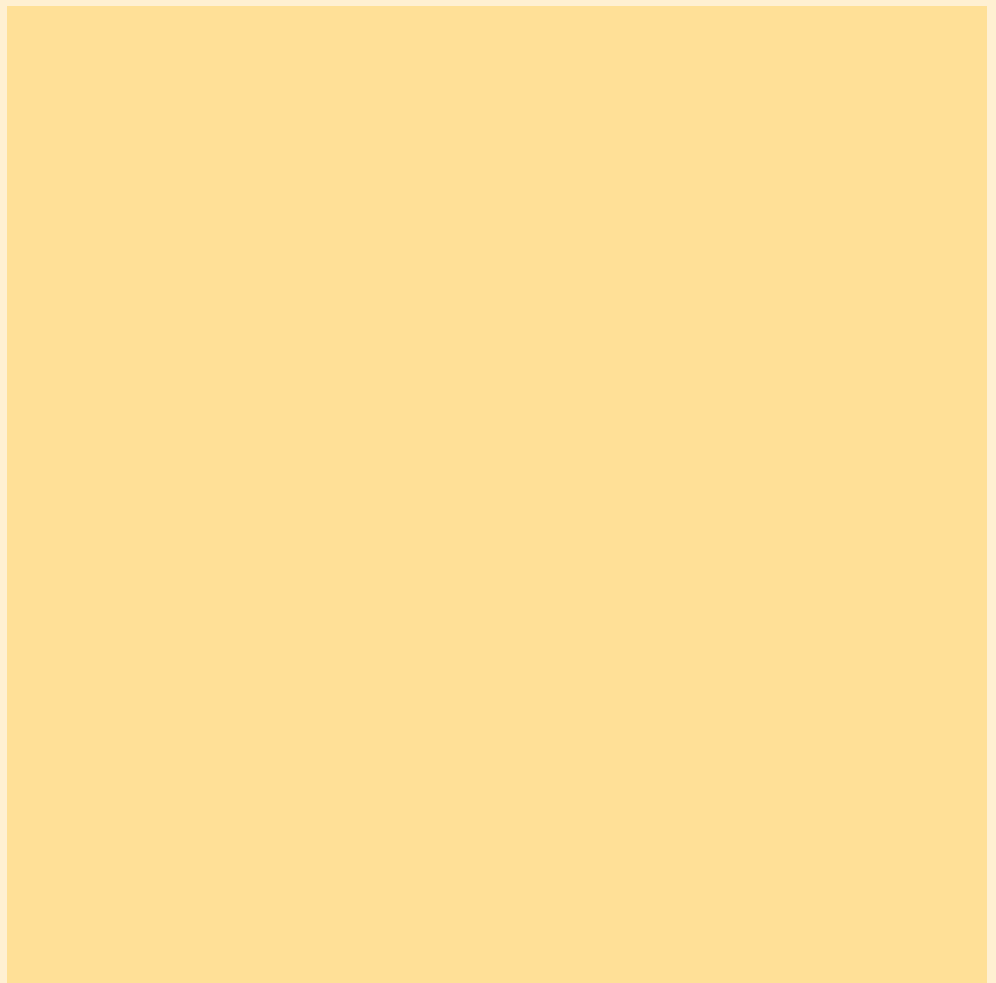




Gender, jobs and working conditions in the European Union



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European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

Gender, jobs and working conditions in the European Union

Colette Fagan and Brendan Burchell

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Foreword

The rising proportion of women in employment in recent decades has been one of the major changes affecting European labour markets. However, 'weight of numbers' has not produced an automatic reduction in gender segregation which remains a persistent feature of European society. There is still a 'glass ceiling' reinforced by workplace cultures and informal procedures that makes it difficult for women to break through into the higher levels of management. The unequal division of unpaid household work also persists. Women continue to shoulder the main responsibility for the second shift of running the home and looking after children, even when employed full-time.

In 1991 and 1996 the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions carried out statistical surveys on working conditions in all Member States. Since 1996, European surveys on working conditions have been designed with gender specific issues in mind. The Third European survey on working conditions (2000) collected information on the working conditions, health and well-being of the employed in the 15 EU member states from a gender sensitive perspective.

The present report examines the gender pattern of differences and similarities in working conditions in Europe. It also explains the reasons for the persistent gender segregation of the European labour markets and draws up policy recommendations for action aimed at providing decision makers with the relevant information they need. This research will undoubtedly contribute to a fuller understanding of the relationship between gender and many aspects of working conditions in the European Union.

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Introduction

The European Foundation's Third European survey on working conditions in 2000 collected information on the working conditions, health and well-being of the employed in the 15 EU member states. The information was collected from individual workers in face-to-face interviews, in which they were asked to describe a number of aspects of their work and workplaces through a series of structured questions. Two previous surveys were carried out in 1991 and 1995/6 that permit an analysis of trends in some working conditions. The first prototype survey with around 20 questions was conducted in 1991 in the 12 member states at that time. The second expanded survey was conducted in 1996, and was a representative sample of 1,000 workers in each of the 15 member states. The questionnaire was more extensive and was administered in face-to-face interviews away from the workplace. The survey in 2000 was extended and refined further. The sample size was approximately 1,500 in each country (500 in Luxembourg) collected from a household-based sampling frame with a maximum of one employed person per household selected for interview. See (Merllié and Paoli, 2001) for further information, including a discussion of the sample design and weighting against the Labour Force Survey (LFS) and other EUROSTAT survey sources on standard parameters. INRA-Europe conducted the fieldwork and data preparation.

The focus of this report is on gender issues in working conditions, building on the analysis of gender and working conditions conducted on the second wave of the survey (Kauppinen and Kandolin, 1998). It addresses the following research questions:

- What are the gender differences in working conditions in the European Union?
- What variation is there in working conditions between men and women in different occupational positions?
- What are the explanations for these gender differences, and hence the policy implications?

The possible relationships between gender and working conditions can be summarised using two hypotheses (figure 1). The 'gender segregated jobs' thesis starts from the observation that women and men are segregated into different types of jobs as a result of a combination of social and economic processes. This channelling of men and women into different 'job types' exposes them to different working conditions; conversely when they are in similar types of jobs it would be expected that they have similar working conditions. The 'gender relations' hypothesis states that some of the gender differences in working conditions are to do with the broader pattern of gender relations and inequality in society that transcend the focus on gender segregated employment conditions. One such gender relations condition is that women do most of the care work and domestic tasks in the family — the 'double shift' of paid and unpaid work. This gendered division of labour contributes to the process of gender segregation in employment, but in addition when men and women are in similar types of jobs some of their working conditions may still be different, such as their working time or earnings. Another gender relations condition might be that women are more exposed than men to intimidation, harassment and gender discrimination at the workplace.

The report also considers whether the established indicators of working conditions need to be revised to make them more 'gender-sensitive' to particular issues primarily associated with women's jobs, women's experiences in the workplace, or workload issues within households.

Figure 1 Framework for analysing the relationship between gender, employment and working conditions



Chapter 1 considers the methodological issues that have to be taken into account when interpreting individuals' reports of their working conditions and trends over the 1990s since the commencement of the European survey on working conditions. It then addresses the continuity and change in the extent of gender differences in exposure to those working conditions that can be analysed across two or three waves of this survey. Chapter 2 focuses on the pattern of gender segregation in employment and in household roles. Segregation is the basic difference in men and women's working conditions and the root cause of many of the other gender differences in working conditions that we observe in employment. In Chapters 3 and 4 we analyse indicators of a number of important facets of working conditions. Here we identify where gender differences exist, and explore the extent to which these can be traced to the occupational segregation of men and women in the employment structure. In Chapter 5 we use multivariate analysis to identify which working conditions have the most significant effect upon men and women's health, their satisfaction with their work-life balance and their satisfaction with their working conditions more generally. Conclusions are drawn in the final chapter.

Trends in the gendered nature of working conditions

The repeated cross-sectional nature of the European survey on working conditions is ideal for assessing the changing nature of working conditions in the EU. The report prepared by Merllié and Paoli (2001) monitors the changes in the surveys between 1991, 1996 and 2000. On most issues they conclude that there have been few changes in working conditions over the period. For example, the proportion of the workforce that is exposed to various physical hazards has remained stable (see summary below). Furthermore, their analysis shows that the gender differences in experience of these working conditions have also remained broadly stable.

This Chapter will look more closely at these changes by examining them separately for men and women. Like Merllié and Paoli (2001), we conclude that continuity is the norm and change is the exception. But the exceptions are important, where male and female workers are either converging or diverging in their experiences of work. Before describing those working conditions where we have uncovered evidence of differential change between men and women, some of the methodological aspects of these analyses will be discussed.

Summary of the main trends in working conditions revealed by the European surveys on working conditions

Structure of employment

- An increase in the proportion of employment that is concentrated in the service sector.
- Stability in the rate of self-employment, and fixed-term contracts for employees.
- An increase in the rate of part-time work, and hence a slight fall in average working hours.
- An increase in the proportion of jobs that are held by women.
- Persistent gender segregation, but with some modifications to the gender composition of different occupational groups.

Stable patterns in working conditions

- The proportion of the workforce that is exposed to various physical hazards has remained stable.
- The proportion of the workforce with 'enriched' job content (involving task complexity, solving unforeseen problems) has remained broadly stable, but with a decline in the proportion who undertake monotonous tasks.
- The overall extent of job autonomy (control over work methods) has remained broadly stable, but with some growth in inequality between higher and lower status jobs. This is due to any increases being concentrated in managerial and professional areas and some deterioration for other occupations, mainly in operative and service jobs.
- The proportion with work schedules that include working nights, weekends or variable start and finish times is stable.
- Average commute times remain the same.
- The rates of work-related health problems reported are broadly stable, but with some increases in the proportion that report backache and fatigue.

Changes in working conditions

- An increase in work intensity from 1991-2000, with most of the increase occurring in the 1991-95 period.
- A slight increase in the match between workers' skills and their job requirements.
- A slight increase in the proportion of people working with computers.
- An increase in awareness of health and safety issues.
- A slight increase in rates of intimidation.
- A slight decline in the proportion with jobs that involves contact with customers and other external users of their workplace.

Source: Merllié and Paoli (2001)

Methods and technical issues in assessing trends in working conditions

The scope of the Third European survey on working conditions has evolved since the first survey in 1991. The questionnaire has been revised and expanded, and the population covered has been extended to include additional countries. These and a number of other issues have to be considered in the approach to the data analysis that is adopted.

Questionnaire design

Many of the questions asked in 2000 were identical to those asked in 1996, and to a lesser extent in 1991. So in theory comparisons between these datasets should provide a neat opportunity to draw conclusions about changing working conditions over this period. However, there are a number of warnings concerning question design that one ought to be mindful of before taking the results of such comparisons at face value.

Question wording

In most cases great care has been taken by those involved in producing the questionnaire to ensure consistency between waves¹ where possible. But in some cases subtle changes to questions, filters or response categories have made questions incompatible. For instance, between waves 1 and 2 and waves 2 and 3, additional work-related illnesses have been added into the list that may tend to detract from the responses in the reduced list. For instance in 1991 and 1996, respondents were asked about backache and muscular pains in limbs. Then in 2000 separate items were added about arms, legs and shoulders.

The filtering into this question was also different between waves. In 1991 respondents were asked A6: 'Would you say that your professional activity affects or could affect your health?'. Only those who answered 'Yes, very much' or 'Yes, a bit' but not those who answered 'No, not really' or 'No, not at all' were asked the next question A7 'In which way(s) does your work affect your health?' This tended to produce lower levels of reported illnesses and problems than in 1996 and 2000 when they were asked 'Does your work affect your health, or not? (IF YES) How does it affect your health?'

The crucial difference between the two questions may have been whether respondents were shown the card listing health items before (1996, 2000) or after (1991) deciding whether work affected their health. This would have influenced them, as many of them would not have thought of items such as 'stress', 'personal problems in the workplace' or 'overall tiredness' as illnesses without being prompted.

Question framing

Responses to some questions, particularly more abstract ones, may be influenced by the 'mindset' created by the immediately preceding question or questions. In some cases this varied significantly between waves. For instance the question regarding the proportion of time 'working at very high speed' was asked after three very different questions in the three waves:

1991 'painful or tiring conditions' and 'carrying or moving heavy loads'

1996 'working with computers: PC, network, mainframe'

2000 a question about short, repetitive tasks of between 5 seconds and 10 minutes

¹ Wave 1 = 1991

Wave 2 = 1996

Wave 3 = 2000 (see page 7 for explanation)

It is possible that in 1991 respondents were thinking more of physically moving at very high speed when responding to the question; in 1996 they were thinking of time-pressured computer work; and in 2000 they were answering with respect to repetitive tasks.

Sample design and weighting

There have been important changes in the composition of the sample between 1991 and the two later surveys. In the first survey Sweden, Finland and Austria were omitted as they had yet to join the EU, and in 1996 east and west Germany were sampled separately. This is best dealt with in time series analysis by eliminating those three countries from the dataset when the 1991 data is used for comparisons with later waves, and being more cautious about the interpretation of changes over time in the German data when the analyses disaggregate data by country.

In each wave of the survey the sample was weighted using comparable demographic, geographic and economic indicators from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) as a reference. The assumption behind weighting against the larger LFS is that this means that the percentage results from the weighted European survey on working conditions are more representative of the actual distribution (true parameters) in the EU-15 population. Unweighted data has been used for the analyses in this Chapter due to the complexity of aggregating data with different weights in each of the waves. It is highly unlikely that this will have a significant effect on any of the analyses presented here, as we are still comparing like with like. In the following Chapters percentage tables are presented for the year 2000 which are calculated using the weighted data for this year in order to provide appropriate estimates for the EU-15 population (for further details about weights see p. 19).

Interpreting trends in individual's reports of their working conditions

The survey describes working conditions as perceived and reported by the employed in face-to-face interviews. This type of information inevitably includes a subjective element of assessment by the worker in their descriptions of their situation, rather than more systematic measurements of actual working conditions that might be obtained, for example, by the observations of a health and safety inspector. Similarly, part of the questionnaire asks people about the type of impact their job has on their health, and again this is based on their self-assessment rather than medical measures of symptoms, such as blood pressure.

Most survey data is by definition 'self-report'. Hence, as in any survey, methodological work on testing and designing questions is required to develop question items that are reliable and valid measures of what people's jobs actually involve. This includes drawing on the knowledge and results obtained from other types of investigation (such as workplace based studies, medical studies of the health impacts of certain conditions, etc.) to identify both the range of issues that need to be covered, and the best types of questions for uncovering this information. More generally, it includes an emphasis in the question design that asks people to describe their job content and workplace situation in precise measures. Thus, for example, many of the questions are of the type that ask people to indicate the proportion of their work-time that they spend working with computers, exposed to vibrations from tools or machinery, have to work at very high speed, etc. This design work has been an ongoing part of the Foundation's work in developing the European survey on working conditions, drawing on an expert advisory group (for example, see Dhondt and Houtman, 1997).

Despite the care that has been taken with the questionnaire design, it is still important to take the self-reported nature of the information into account in the interpretation. Self-reported measures of some aspects of working conditions are influenced by people's knowledge or awareness about their working environment and related health and safety issues. Put simply, people are more likely to be sensitised to whether or not they are exposed to certain working conditions — such as dangerous chemicals or stress-inducing work patterns — if they know what the defining features of these work conditions are. Similarly, if people are sensitised about the risks of certain working conditions they are more likely to attribute health problems to the nature of their job than to other factors such as their age or activities away from the workplace.

People's knowledge and awareness about the positive and negative aspects of their working environment will be influenced by a number of societal factors, such as legislation and education campaigns, and more general media and public debates, including the dissemination of results from the earlier waves of the European survey on working conditions. The established contemporary standards of what constitutes 'safe' and 'good' working conditions will also affect the workforce's assessments and expectations about their working conditions, and these standards are themselves a product of legislation and previous educational campaigns by trade unions and other interest groups in earlier historical periods. Other social and political changes may also have had a bearing on how people assess their working conditions in the current period compared to earlier ones. For example, the development of legislation and debate in the field of equal opportunities may have raised some people's awareness of workplace discrimination, harassment and related issues, or alternatively may have led some parts of the workforce to conclude that this problem has now been resolved.

Due perhaps in part to the dissemination of results in earlier waves of the EWCS, as well as developments in working conditions' legislation and related information campaigns there is now a much greater general awareness of the relationship between working conditions, stress and health than existed in Europe 10 years ago. It is possible that reported changes over time reflect differential sensitivity to these issues rather than genuine changes in working conditions. A similar point of caution applies to the comparison between countries, for it is likely that there is a greater awareness of health, safety and other working condition issues in countries with an established tradition of policy intervention and education campaigns on these topics, such as in the Nordic countries.

Confounding variables in the interpretation of the relationship between gender and working conditions

As these results are looking at change over time by gender, the usual problems of prior variables giving spurious correlations are minimised. With many other variables of interest in the European survey on working conditions, such as the relationship between occupational class and health, one cannot simply assume that observed differences in health between occupational classes represent an effect of class on health; it could be that chronically less healthy individuals tend to drift into less skilled or less challenging jobs. But, as there are no variables that are causally prior to gender, this type of 'social drift' process is not a problem in analyses involving gender.

However, gender simply divides workers into two categories, both of which are still highly heterogeneous. It is therefore important to consider some other variables in this analysis, which

might be as important, or more important, in understanding changes in the labour market over time, either as main effects or in their interaction with gender. There are a number of such variables that might need to be taken seriously to understand changing gender gaps over time; occupation, sector, age, working time and country are all obvious candidates. However, in order to keep the analyses of the large number of outcome variables manageable, the analyses will be restricted to take account of just one other such variable in the initial exploratory analyses — occupational class. This variable was chosen primarily for a-priori theoretical reasons, although subsequent analyses confirmed its primary importance in understanding differential change of men and women's labour market position over time. It was operationalised as a simple blue-collar/white-collar split,² although it is possible to disaggregate the occupational data further into one or two-digit ISCO categories. As subsequent analyses will show, not only is the difference between manual and non-manual employees considerably greater than the difference between men and women, it is not uncommon for the direction of change for men and women between waves to be in different directions.

Furthermore, gender and collar are themselves related due to occupational segregation: in waves 2 and 3 combined 49% of men are in blue-collar jobs compared with only 23% of women. Therefore any relative improvement in the working conditions of white-collar workers relative to blue-collar workers is going to seem like an improvement in the conditions of women over men (which, in a way it is, but this is a strange path to gender equality!).

Comparisons between the three waves of the survey

Comparisons between 2000 (wave 3) and 1996 (wave 2) are relatively straightforward (apart from down-weighting the separate East and West Germany in 1996). However, the 1991 survey (wave 1) differed in several important ways. Only 12 countries were included. This can be overcome by omitting the three new countries (Austria, Sweden and Finland) from all the trend analyses.

There were also far fewer variables included in wave 1, and sometimes their wording or filtering was a little different. In particular, the measurement of occupation was different, with a self-classification into 12 occupational/industrial categories. As cross-tabulation with the self-defined class variable confirmed, several of these categories straddled the manual/non-manual divide (i.e. farmer, fisherman, supervisors). For these reasons the analyses that included wave 1 were not broken down by collar.

Change versus continuity

There is perhaps a bias among both social scientists and statisticians to be more interested in change than an absence of change. Yet a careful consideration of all of the possible ways in which the gendered nature of working conditions over the period 1996-2000 has changed suggests that change is the exception, not the rule. The fact that we only discuss change here should not detract from the fact that for most aspects of working conditions the gender gap has remained very stable over the period 1991-2000.

² The white-collar category was created by collapsing ISCO codes 1-5 (legislators, professionals, technicians, clerks and service workers), and the blue-collar jobs by collapsing ISCO codes 6-9 (agricultural and fisheries, crafts, plant and machine operatives and elementary professions).

Method of analysis

The most illuminating way to explore the change over time of working conditions by gender and class is graphically, as shown in figure 2. If the four lines (representing each combination of gender and collar) are not parallel, a logistic regression can be estimated to determine the significance of the differences by wave, by gender, by collar, and (of particular interest) the interactions between gender by wave, and gender by collar by wave.³ These two interaction terms detect differential change over time of men and women. These analyses become much more complex for polychotomous dependent variables. Therefore all variables will be collapsed into two categories for the purposes of this analysis.

Changes in gender-related working conditions

Using the European survey on working conditions it was possible to explore whether the association between gender and particular working conditions had changed between 1991 and 2000, and in addition to incorporate the occupational distinction of blue-collar and white-collar for comparisons between 1996 and 2000. The analysis addressed whether there was a gender difference in the working condition under inspection, and if so, whether this difference had become more or less pronounced. The analysis found that the relationship between gender and the following working conditions had remained (largely) unchanged over the period of observation:

- type of contract, employer and employment tenure;
- physical environment and ergonomic conditions work;
- job control, autonomy and responsibilities;
- hours of work and many aspects of non-standard work schedules except for the pattern of Sunday work (see below);
- health and safety characteristics of jobs;
- patterns of workplace consultation;
- perceptions of the effects of employment on health and the perceived health and safety risks;
- attitudes to work, including satisfaction with working conditions.

Given this overall stability, we focus on the most recent 2000 wave of the survey to report the relationship between gender and working conditions in subsequent Chapters. In the rest of this Chapter we report on those working conditions where the available indicators show that notable changes in the relationship between gender and working conditions did occur over the period. The comparisons that are possible across the waves revealed three aspects where the relationship had changed: the speed of work, Sunday work and workplace intimidation.

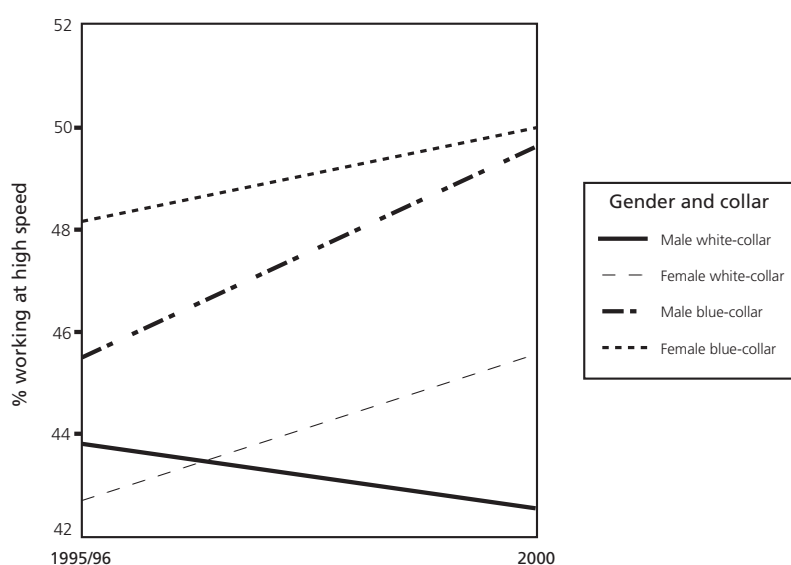
³ An interaction here refers to a complex relationship between three or more variables, whereby the relationship between two of the variables is moderated by a third variable. For instance, the relationship between an infectious disease (variable 1) and health (variable 2) might be dependent on the state of the body's immune system (variable 3). In this case, we are examining whether there is a change in the relationship between the aspects of working conditions (v1) and gender (v2) over time (v3), also taking into account occupational class (v4). Logistic regression is a technique ideally suited to investigating such complex relationships between a number of variables, and is particularly well suited to categorical variables like gender and class.

The speed of work

The speed of work is a key element of work intensity. The proportion of time that respondents worked at high speed was collapsed from seven categories, ranging from *all of the time* to *never* into two categories: *around a quarter of the time* or less, and *around half the time* or more.

Figure 2 clearly shows that there seems to have been an increase in the speed of work for three of the four groups, but a decrease for male white-collar workers, over the second half of the 1990s. It is also clear from this graph that at both points in time blue-collar workers report working faster than white-collar workers. A logistic regression was calculated with just the three main effects (wave, class and gender). When the three-way interaction between these variables was added to the variables, the fit of the model was significantly improved ($p < 0.0005$).

Figure 2 The change in speed of work by gender and collar¹



¹ The percentages given are those who say that they work at high speed 'about half of the time' or more, on a scale from 'never' to 'all of the time'.

An analysis including wave 1 data for the 12 older EU countries showed that this closing of the gender gap in the speed of work is part of a longer trend, as shown in figure 3. A logistic regression revealed that the wave by gender interaction was significant for the first time-period, but not for the second. Thus we can be confident of the convergence over the period 1991 to 1996, but over the period 1996-2000, the convergence between the genders that is suggested in figure 2 may possibly have been caused by sampling error.

This relative increase in the speed of work for women over men is of considerable importance. There is a strong relationship, found in the European survey on working conditions and in other studies, between the intensity of work and health, but the effect is even stronger for women than men (Burchell, Ladipo and Wilkinson, 2002; Merllié and Paoli, 2001).

However, this increase in the speed of work is not uniform across EU countries. As figure 4 shows, there is considerable flux in this variable over time. Figure 3 shows only the aggregate effect, but

figure 4 shows that the rate, and even the direction, of change between countries changed considerably between countries.

Figure 3 The closing of the gender gap in work intensity, 1991-2000

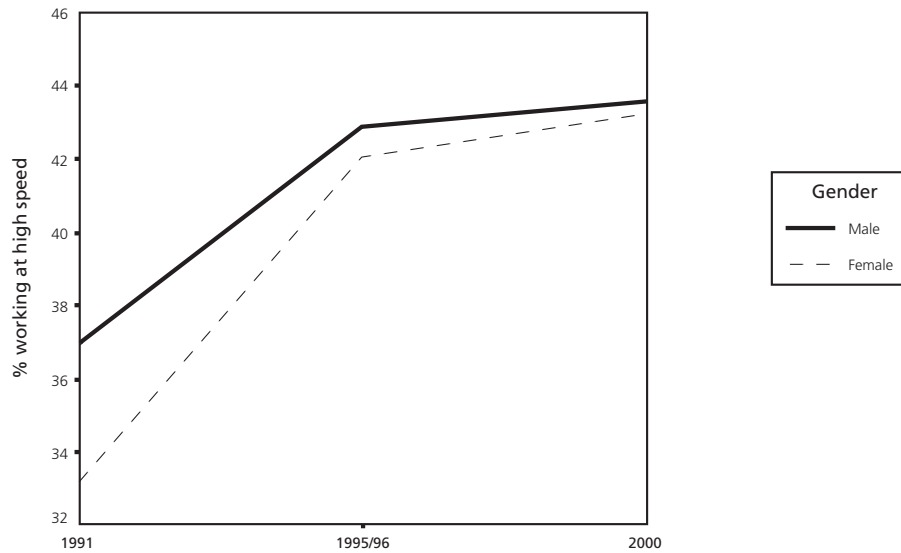
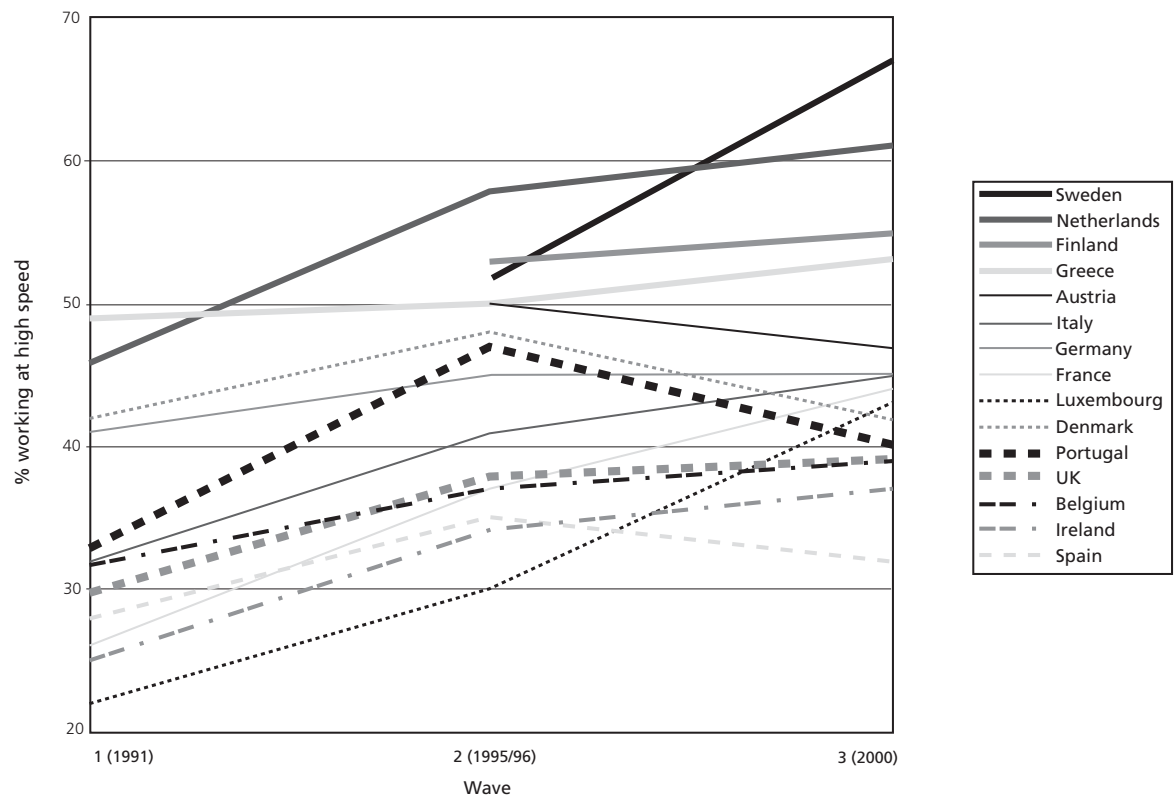


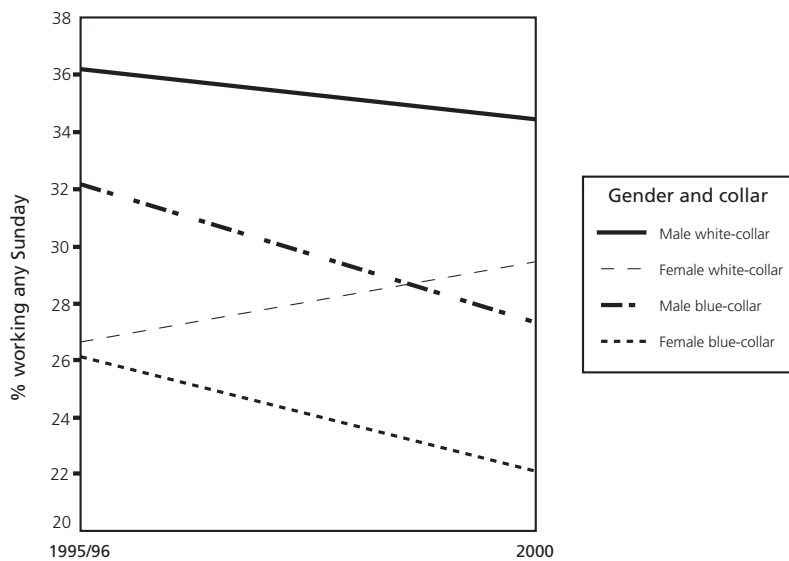
Figure 4 Speed of work in the EU, 1991-2000



Sunday working

In the second wave, 34% of men worked some Sundays, but only 26% of women. By the third wave, this gap had halved due to a slight increase in women's Sunday work to 27% and a decrease for men to 31%. However, as figure 5 shows, this increase in women's Sunday work was accounted for entirely by an increase for white-collar women; all other groups experienced a reduction in Sunday working. The logistic regression again showed a significant three-way interaction between the three variables, demonstrating the different trajectory of white-collar women from the other three groups.

Figure 5 Percentage of Sunday working¹



¹ Respondents were asked how many times a month they worked on Sundays. Here they are scored positively if they work one or more Sundays per month.

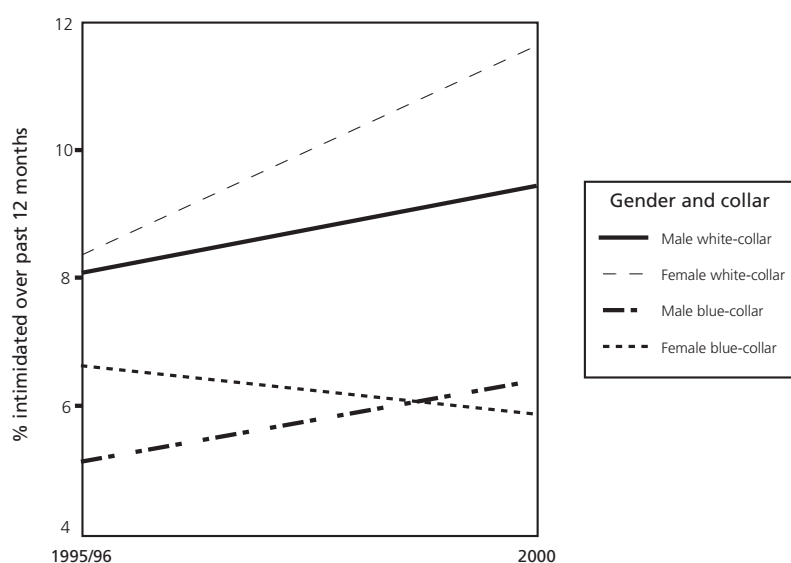
Intimidation

Respondents were asked whether they had, or had not, experienced intimidation over the past 12 months. Figure 6 shows that there had been a small increase for both groups of men, a larger increase for white-collar women, but a decrease for blue-collar women. Overall — due to the high proportion of women in white-collar jobs — this resulted in a larger gender gap in 2000 than in 1996. However, this result should be interpreted with caution. Somewhat surprisingly the highest levels of intimidation were reported in the UK, Finland, Sweden and the Netherlands, and the lowest in all the Mediterranean countries. This suggests that this variable might be very sensitive to cultural interpretations of what constitutes intimidation.

Conclusion

This Chapter has discussed a number of methodological issues that must be addressed when using the European survey on working conditions to analyse trends, focusing upon the relationship between gender and working conditions. Working intensity — measured by the perceived speed of work — had increased for both sexes over the period, but the increase had been greatest among women, so that the 'gender gap' in exposure to this working condition had reduced over time.

Figure 6 Changes in the experience of intimidation¹



¹ Respondents were asked 'over the past 12 months, have you, or have you not, been subjected at work to intimidation?'

Similarly, the gender gap in Sunday working was closing, largely due to women's growing involvement in this working pattern. On both of these measures there were divergent trends when occupational position was taken into account. Working at high speed was more prevalent for men and women in blue-collar jobs and has risen further for these workers as well as for women in white-collar jobs, while it appears to have fallen for men in white-collar jobs. Sunday work was more prevalent for men in both job categories, but the incidence of this form of work has diverged among women over the period as the rates of Sunday working have risen for women in white-collar jobs. Similarly the reports of intimidation in the workplace are highest for women in white-collar jobs, and it is this group that the rates of intimidation have increased most over the period.

Two national comparisons were also made, which indicate the caution that is needed in the interpretation of some of the differences between countries. The rate and direction of change in the speed of work varied quite a lot between countries. This is probably associated with a degree of 'catching-up' between countries with high and lower rates of working at high speed, but it may also reflect different stages in the business cycle if work intensity increases in periods of economic growth. The rate of workplace intimidation also varies between countries. This may indicate a genuine difference between countries, but it is more likely that this measure is very sensitive to cultural interpretations of what constitutes intimidation. This suggests that more refined questions may be needed to identify the extent of intimidation and certain other negative working conditions that are produced through social interaction at the workplace.

Overall, as with many other analyses of the dataset (particularly 1996-2000), continuity predominates and changes in working conditions over this four-year period are difficult to find. From this we can conclude that the pattern of working conditions in Europe, and the gender dimension in these patterns, remained pretty stable over the 1990s on the dimensions that it is

possible to analyse over time using the waves of the European survey on working conditions. Our second general conclusion from this chapter is that it is important to examine the interaction between gender and occupational position to tease out a fuller understanding of how gender is related to working conditions. Thus, in the following chapters we focus upon a gender comparison of working conditions revealed by the survey undertaken in 2000, starting with an analysis of the gender segregated nature of employment.

Gender segregation refers to the pattern whereby women are under-represented in some jobs and over-represented in others relative to their percentage share of total employment. A number of studies, including analysis of the previous European survey on working conditions, have revealed that a high level of gender segregation is a persistent feature of the structure of employment in Europe and the rest of the world (Anker, 1998; Kauppinen and Kandolin, 1998; Rubery and Fagan, 1993; Rubery et al., 1999).

Segregation is found across a range of employment dimensions. Women are over-represented in a limited range of occupations, industrial sectors, in the public sector and in small private sector firms, and in particular employment contracts, such as part-time work. As well as this horizontal segregation into different types of jobs, there is also pronounced vertical segregation, whereby women are under-represented in the higher status and higher paid jobs. This is seen in the occupational hierarchy, where men predominate in senior government, management and many professional occupations. Vertical segregation is also prevalent within occupational areas, with women under-represented in the higher grades. Thus most people work in jobs which are done mainly or entirely by their own sex, so that we can largely categorise jobs according to whether they are 'male-dominated' or 'female-dominated', with only a small proportion of employment which can be considered to be 'mixed'.

The extent of segregation is usually even more pronounced when examined at the level of the firm than with broader indicators of occupational or industrial segregation in the overall economy. Surveys that ask people about the gender profile of the people doing their job at their workplace show that most people are working alongside their own sex (MacEwen Scott, 1994; Burchell, 1996). For example, the occupational category of 'sales work' is less dominated by one sex than many other occupations, but men and women tend to be segregated into different sales companies, or within companies into different departments, depending on the item being sold.

Thus, gender segregation is an important starting point for analysing the work environment and working conditions of women and men. In itself, gender segregation is one working condition that is one indicator of the degree of gender difference in labour market positions. The gender segregated condition of working life contributes to a number of negative outcomes for women. The main cause for concern is that gender segregation is a major factor in the wage and related financial inequalities between employed men and women, for women are disproportionately concentrated in the lowest paid occupations, the lower grades within occupations, and in the lowest paid sectors. The policy implications of this association between gender segregation and wage inequality are two-fold: one is to reduce gender segregation; the other is to improve the wage conditions in female-dominated areas of employment.

However, segregation does not always operate unambiguously against the interests of women in certain economic periods or workplace environments. For example, economic restructuring over the 1970s and 1980s produced job losses in male-dominated manufacturing sectors and growth in particular areas of the service economy where women already had an established foothold. Similarly, particular hazardous working conditions — such as a poor physical environment or certain working-time schedules — may be disproportionately found in male-dominated areas of employment, while other negative conditions are mainly a feature of female-dominated jobs. Thus, the gender impact and hence policy implications of a number of working conditions that stem from

segregation may be more complex. It is important to improve the pay and working conditions in the jobs that women currently do, and not simply to focus on reducing segregation in the economy (Rubery et al., 2001).

In this Chapter we analyse the pattern of gender segregation in employment in Europe, and then turn to examine gender differences in the ‘second shift’ of household work. This sets the stage for the following Chapters, where we examine the relative exposure of men and women to other working conditions, and the contribution that segregation makes to these differences.

The pattern of gender segregation of employment in Europe

The gender segregation of employment in the EU in 2000 can be illustrated along a number of dimensions using the European survey on working conditions. To start with, there are some basic gender differences as well as similarities in the employment status of men and women, in the context of the general expansion across Europe in the incidence of ‘non-standard’ employment forms.

Overall, two thirds of the employed have a ‘standard’ employee contract of unspecified duration, which is similar for men and women (table 1). There are also few gender differences in the extent of multiple job holding, with 6% of the employed of each sex holding more than one job. Of the multiple jobholders, half did this on a regular basis, and the rest on an occasional or seasonal basis. On average those with regular extra jobs worked an extra 11 hours a week in the case of women and 13 hours a week in the case of men.

Table 1 Employment status by gender

%	Men	Women	All
Self-employed, sole traders	12	9	11
Self-employed with employees	7	3	5
Employee, contract of unspecified duration	66	68	67
Employee, fixed-term contract	8	10	9
Employee, via temporary employment agency	2	2	2
Apprenticeship or other training scheme	2	1	2
Employee with other or unknown contract status	3	5	4
Total	100	100	100
%			
Employees with a contract of unspecified duration	82	79	81
Employees with more than one job	6	6	6
Employed with a marginal part-time job ¹	3	14	8
Employed with a substantial part-time job ¹	7	27	16
Total % of employed who work part-time ¹	10	41	24

¹ ‘Marginal’ part-time refers to usual weekly hours of less than 20, ‘substantial’ part-time refers to usual weekly hours of 20-34, all part-time refers to usual weekly hours of less than 35.

One gender difference is that a higher proportion of men are in self-employment than women, in both sole trader businesses and as self-employed employers. The rate of self-employment among the employed is 19% for men and 12% for women. The use of temporary contracts for employees has increased in some parts of the European economy in recent decades. Women are more

exposed to the insecurity of fixed-term contracts than men, both as a proportion of all employment and all employees, but the difference in rates is slight. Overall, 11% of the employed are employees hired on a fixed-term contract or placed via a temporary employment agency, while another 4% are employees who have 'other' or unknown contractual arrangements.

Part-time work is increasing in most countries in Europe, largely associated with women's work (O'Reilly and Fagan, 1998). The gender difference in rates of part-time work is more pronounced than that of either self-employment or the different forms of temporary contracts. The gendered pattern of part-time work also cuts across self-employment and temporary contracts; for the rates of part-time work among the self-employed and temporary employees are almost twice as high for women than for men.⁴

Overall 41% of employed women and 10% of employed men are part-timers who usually work less than 35 hours per week, which includes 14% of employed women and 3% of employed men who are in 'marginal' part-time jobs with usual working hours of less than 20 hours per week.⁵ Part-timers are more likely to hold multiple jobs than full-timers, with 14% of male part-timers and 8% of female part-timers holding more than one job, compared to 5% of male full-timers and 4% of female full-timers. Among multiple jobholders the number of hours worked in these other jobs was an average of one hour more per week for those whose main job was part-time.

Part-timers of either sex are also more likely to be in the precarious position of holding a temporary contract than full-timers (16% of women part-timers and 21% of male part-timers have a fixed-term contract or are temporary agency workers compared to 11% of women and 9% of men employed full-time). Men in part-time jobs are also more likely to be self-employed than are men in full-time employment (25% compared to 18%), while the pattern is reversed for women less likely to be in self-employment if they work part-time (9% compared to 14%).

Table 2 presents the occupational situation of women and men, using the ISCO-88 (COM) classification of major occupational groups and their sub-categories. Men and women are disproportionately represented in particular occupations relative to their share of overall employment. Broadly speaking, women's jobs involve caring, nurturing, and service activities for people, while men monopolise management and the manual and technical jobs associated with machinery or physical products which are considered to be 'heavy' or 'complex'. Thus, men hold 80% or more of the jobs in the armed forces, the craft and related trades and plant and machine operator jobs. In these occupational areas women only have a presence of more than 30% of the jobs in food and textiles craft work (34%) and machine operators and assemblers (31%). Men also hold more than two thirds of the skilled agricultural and fishery jobs. At the top of the occupational hierarchy men occupy more than 60% of the legislative and managerial occupations, rising to over 70% in the sub-categories of corporate managers and senior government officials. In contrast, two thirds of clerical, and service and sales workers are women.

4 The rates of part-time employment are as follows: 34% of women and 17% of men who are sole trader self-employed; 17% of women and 7% of men who are self-employed with employees; 48% of women and 21% of men with fixed-term contracts and 53% of women and 27% of men who are temporary agency workers.

5 The survey also asked people for a self-assessment of whether they worked part-time, and on this subjective measure 6% of men and 34% of women were part-timers (18% of all employed).

The professional, associate professional and elementary manual occupations are more evenly split between the sexes at this aggregate level, but in these occupational groups the segregation is only exposed at the sub-category level. Hence, men predominate in the physical, mathematical and engineering professions and associate professions, while the majority of health and educational professionals and associates are women. In the elementary occupations women are disproportionately represented in cleaning and agricultural-related jobs, while men dominate general labouring activities.

Table 2 Occupational segregation of women's and men's employment

ISCO Occupational Groups	Men			Women			Total
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
1. Legislators, senior officials and managers	58	5	63	30	7	37	100
11 Legislators and senior officials	71	1	72	23	6	28	100
12 Corporate managers	66	5	71	23	6	29	100
13 Managers of small enterprises	53	5	58	35	7	42	100
2. Professionals	41	9	50	27	23	50	100
21 Physical, mathematical and engineering	75	6	81	16	3	19	100
22 Life science and health	30	3	33	41	26	67	100
23 Teaching	21	14	35	26	39	65	100
24 Other professionals	57	7	64	25	11	36	100
3. Technicians and associate professionals	46	6	52	31	17	48	100
31 Physical and engineering associates	75	3	78	17	5	22	100
32 Life science and health associates	17	3	20	50	30	80	100
33 Teaching associates	21	10	31	30	38	69	100
34 Other associate professionals	52	8	60	26	14	40	100
4. Clerks	28	3	31	45	24	69	100
41 Office clerks	29	3	32	46	22	68	100
42 Customer service clerk	26	2	28	40	32	72	100
5. Service workers and shop and market sales workers	28	5	33	33	34	67	100
51 Personal and protective services	30	5	35	33	32	65	100
52 Models, sales and demonstrators	25	6	31	33	36	69	100
6. Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	59	10	69	22	8	31	100
7. Craft and related trades workers	83	4	87	9	3	13	100
71 Extraction and building trades	92	6	98	2	..	2	100
72 Metal, machinery and related trades	91	5	96	4	..	4	100
73 Precision, handicraft and printing	75	4	79	15	6	21	100
74 Food, textiles, wood and craft workers	63	3	66	24	10	34	100
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers	77	6	83	14	3	17	100
81 Stationary-plant and related operators	82	3	85	15	..	15	100
82 Machine operators and assemblers	65	4	69	25	6	31	100
83 Drivers and mobile plant operators	85	10	95	3	2	5	100
9. Elementary occupations	41	9	50	22	28	50	100
91 Cleaning, domestic services, refuse and street vendors	32	9	41	22	37	59	100
92 Agricultural, fishery and related labours	27	15	42	44	14	58	100
93 Other labourers	67	8	76	16	8	24	100
10. Armed forces	90	2	92	7	1	8	100
All employment	50	6	56	26	18	44	100

Note: The ISCO classification is presented for the nine main occupational groups (1-digit classification) and the second level sub-category that exists within these groups (two-digit classification). ‘..’ indicates less than 0.5% for all tables in this Chapter.

Key for all tables in this Chapter: FT = Full-time PT = Part-time (under 35 hours per week) All = FT+PT

Source for all the tables in this chapter: The European survey on working conditions, 2000.

The rising proportion of women in employment in recent decades has altered the pattern of occupational segregation, but in itself the 'weight of numbers' has not produced an automatic reduction in segregation. On the contrary, much of the increase in women's employment in Europe over the 1980s and 1990s was because women were drawn into expanding areas of employment where they already had an established foothold, such as clerical jobs, sales, nursing and teaching. Within clerical work and blue-collar (manual) jobs the level of segregation has remained high and the sex typing may even have become more rigid. For example, clerical jobs became even more female-dominated in many countries over the 1980s and 1990s, and men's monopoly of many blue-collar manual jobs remained undented (Rubery and Fagan, 1993; Rubery et al., 1999).

Table 3 Women's presence in each occupational group by country, 2000

%	Legislators, senior officials and managers	Profes- sionals	Technicians and associate profes- sionals	Clerks	Service workers, shop and market sales workers	Skilled agricul- tural and fishery workers	Craft and related trade workers	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	Ele- mentary occupa- tions	All
Finland	30	40	72	87	66	44	14	15	65	49
Sweden	32	57	54	61	74	38	8	16	71	48
Netherlands	41	55	49	67	72	5	6	18	59	48
UK	37	58	37	75	75	-	7	13	45	47
Denmark	35	50	68	64	65	17	9	21	35	46
France	46	45	46	79	72	29	12	20	56	46
Portugal	42	52	30	66	58	36	23	61	71	46
Austria	38	37	57	68	78	50	11	23	51	46
Germany	25	38	58	71	74	37	11	17	51	45
Belgium	38	56	48	60	63	20	12	14	40	43
Ireland	35	51	44	73	58	20	7	38	26	43
Greece	45	54	26	61	51	46	16	3	53	41
Spain	33	49	62	68	39	25	19	11	49	39
Italy	39	54	34	51	60	25	16	14	45	38

Note: The countries have been ranked according to the female share of all employment. The armed forces, Luxembourg and agricultural work in the UK are not shown due to sample size limitations. The data is based on the original national samples, before adjusting for relative country size. The shaded cells indicate where women are more than 5% points under-represented relative to their share of all employment in the country in question. The cells printed in bold are where women are more than 5% points over-represented relative to their share of employment in the country in question.

One major area of change is that across Europe women have increased their representation in management and in certain professional occupations that had previously been male-dominated such as law, medicine and accountancy (Anker, 1998; Crompton, 1999; Hakim, 1996; Plantenga and Tjzens, 1995; Rubery and Fagan, 1993). In this sense the apex of the occupational hierarchy is less male-dominated than in previous periods. A number of processes have contributed to women's entry into particular professions. The growing proportion of highly educated women in the labour market has provided an 'education lever' for entry into the professional areas (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). This has coincided with a number of other factors that have also contributed to the increased recruitment of women in some professional areas. A number of occupations have expanded quite rapidly, making it easier for women to gain entry. In some other professional areas the absolute growth has been less pronounced, but the number of men present is stagnant or declining, associated with men exiting or avoiding professions where wages and other conditions are declining relative to opportunities elsewhere in the economy. One such

example are deteriorating conditions in some parts of the public sector relative to the high rewards offered by IT and other 'knowledge economy' activities in the private sector. A growing number of jobs or sub-specialisms require social or personal skills associated with 'customer service' which employers often perceive to be a particular competence of women. Finally, equal treatment legislation, associated developments in case law and progress made in collective agreements have also played an important role.

However, horizontal and vertical segregation remains prevalent across the managerial and professional occupations. As we can see, women's professional employment is largely concentrated in health, education and other care-related activities. Many other professions remain male-dominated, such as engineering, economics and IT specialists. Within each professional category, women tend to be under-represented in the more prestigious sub-specialisms (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990; Rubery and Fagan, 1993). For example, in law women are disproportionately found in family law and less visible in corporate law. In all managerial and professional areas women remain under-represented in the senior grades relative to their overall presence in the occupation. Organisational studies reveal that there is still a 'glass ceiling' sustained by workplace cultures and informal procedures that makes it difficult for women to break through into the higher levels of management. Those women that do succeed and enter senior management pay a high domestic price, for they are less likely to have children and more likely to be single or divorced than equivalent male managers (Wacjman, 1998).

While women have made some important in-roads in managerial and professional occupations, there has been little, if any entry by women into the male-dominated areas of manual work. Men's continued monopoly of these areas of employment are due to a combination of reasons. One is there has been little or no job growth in many male-dominated manual areas of work to ease the competition with men. Another is that the working conditions and content of many of these jobs are not attractive enough to provide the incentive for women to take on the effort and risk of entering non-traditional areas of work. This deterrent may include an occupational culture in which notions of being skilled and competent are rooted in a particular notion of masculinity equated with physical strength and the ability to endure other arduous conditions (Cockburn, 1981; Collinson and Hearn, 1997), which provides a particular set of occupational images and practices that can be used as a mechanism for excluding women.

It should be noted that the average picture of occupational segregation for the EU-15 is largely replicated at the individual country level (see table 3). In every country craft and related jobs and plant and machine operating are male-dominated, while clerical and service work is female-dominated (with the exception of service work in Spain). However, there is some variation between countries in the degree to which women are under-represented/over-represented in occupations relative to their share of all employment in the country in question. This applies particularly to the gender composition of professions, management and also elementary occupations. It is possible to calculate summary index measures of the degree of overall segregation in each country, but in itself this is an insufficient indicator of relative performance across countries. Analysis of the more disaggregated picture of women's presence in each occupational category is also necessary (Rubery et al., 2001).

Previous research has shown that women employed part-time are even more segregated into female-dominated jobs than women full-timers in every member state of the EU (Fagan and Rubery, 1996). This is illustrated for the EU-15 in table 4. Women in part-time employment account for particularly large proportions of the workforce in service and sales, cleaning, clerical and health and teaching professions. By contrast, the lower incidence of male part-time employment is more dispersed across the occupations, but with the highest rates found in agricultural, driving and teaching jobs. Part-time employment is rare in the managerial positions, regardless of gender.

Table 4 Occupational concentration of women's and men's employment by full-time and part-time status

ISCO occupational groups	%					
	Men			Women		
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All
1. Legislators, senior officials and managers	9	6	9	9	3	6
2. Professionals	10	19	11	12	16	14
3. Technicians and associate professionals	13	14	13	16	14	15
4. Clerks	8	7	8	24	19	22
5. Service workers and shop and market sales workers	8	12	8	18	27	21
6. Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	5	7	5	3	2	3
7. Craft and related trades	27	12	25	6	3	5
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers	12	8	12	4	2	3
9. Elementary occupations	7	15	8	8	14	11
10. Armed forces	1	..	1	..	..	*
All employment	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: '..' indicates less than 0.5%.

Related to this gender segregation is the different pattern of occupational concentration for the sexes (table 4). A quarter of employed men in the European Union are concentrated in the craft and related trades, and a further 12% are plant and machine operators. Overall, half of employed men are in manual (blue-collar) jobs (ISCO groups 6-9), compared to just over one in five employed women. Women's employment is mainly concentrated in clerical, service and sales work, where 43% of employed women are found. Around a quarter of each sex are employed in the professional and associated occupations, with 9% of employed men and 6% of employed women found in the highest level government and senior management grades. Women part-timers are even more heavily clustered into service, clerical and elementary jobs than women in full-time jobs. By contrast, men's part-time jobs are less heavily concentrated into particular occupational areas, and a high proportion of male part-timers are employed in professional or managerial areas compared to the situation of women in part-time work.

We have also developed a measure which subdivides blue and white-collar occupations according to the degree of gender segregation that characterises the occupational sub-category using the more detailed ISCO 2-digit data (see table 5). This shows clearly how most of the employed are doing jobs done by their own sex.⁶ Overall, only 17% of the employed are working in 'mixed' occupations

⁶ A variant of this approach would be to group the workforce according to the gender composition of their job at their actual workplace, a method that has been used in British studies to reveal a more pronounced degree of segregation (MacEwen Scott, 1994). However, the workforce was not questioned about the segregation at their workplace in this survey.

of either blue or white-collar status. Sixty three per cent of employed women are in occupations that are either female-dominated or very female-dominated, while 61% of employed men are in occupations that are performed mainly or almost entirely by men (table 6). Employment status adds another layer to the distribution: men and women who are employed part-time are more likely to be in female-dominated jobs or 'mixed' blue-collar jobs than their full-time counterparts.

Table 5 Categorisation of occupations by status and gender composition

	ISCO two-digit code	Occupational sub-category title
Very male-dominated white-collar (Less than 20% female)	-	None at the level of detail provided by the ISCO two-digit occupational sub-categories
Male-dominated white-collar (20-39% female)	11 12 21 24 31	Legislators and senior officials Corporate managers Physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals 'Other' professionals (e.g. finance and business, social work) Physical, mathematical and engineering science professional associates
'Mixed' white-collar (40-60% female)	13 34	Managers of small enterprises 'Other' associate professionals (e.g. finance and business, social work)
Female-dominated white-collar (61-79% female)	22 23 33 41 42	Life science and health professionals Teaching professionals Teaching associates Office clerks Customer service clerks
Very female-dominated white-collar (80%+ female)	32	Life science and health associates (e.g. nurses)
Very female-dominated blue-collar (80%+ female)	-	None at the level of detail provided by the ISCO two-digit occupational sub-categories
Female-dominated blue-collar (61-79% female)	51 52	Personal and protective services Sales and demonstrators
'Mixed' blue-collar (40-60% female)	91 92	Cleaning, domestic service, street vendors and other sales Agricultural, fishery and related labourers
Male-dominated blue-collar (20-39% male)	61 73 74 82 93	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers Precision, handicraft and printing craft workers Food, textiles, wood and related craft workers Machine operators and assemblers Other labourers
Very male-dominated blue-collar (Less than 20% female)	71 72 81 83	Extraction and building trades Metal, machinery and related trades Stationary-plant and related operators Drivers and mobile plant operators

Note: The armed forces are excluded from this categorisation.

Table 6 Concentration of employed men and women in gender-segregated job categories

	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
White-collar, male-dominated (less than 40% female)	16	10	16	9	4	7	12
'Mixed' white-collar (40-60% female)	11	12	11	11	6	9	10
White-collar, female-dominated (61-79% female)	12	22	13	34	36	35	23
White-collar, very female-dominated (80%+ female)	1	2	1	8	7	7	4
Blue-collar, female-dominated (61-79% female)	8	12	8	18	27	21	14
'Mixed' blue-collar (40-60% female)	5	12	5	6	14	9	7
Blue-collar, male-dominated (>40% female)	19	15	19	12	7	10	15
Blue-collar, very male-dominated (less than 20% female)	28	15	26	2	1	2	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: See the preceding table for the explanation of the job categories.

There are clear gender differences in lines of supervision and management in the workplace. These differences are associated with occupational segregation and with vertical segregation within occupational areas. Just over 60% of the workforce has a man as their immediate manager or supervisor, 21% are under the authority of a woman and the rest do not have a manager (table 7). The small proportion of women who are managers or supervisors are more likely to be in charge of other women: less than 10% of employed men have a woman as their immediate line manager compared to just over a third of employed women. Employed men are also more likely to have people working directly under their supervision and to be in a position to influence their wages or promotion: nearly a quarter of employed men are in this position of influence compared to 13% of employed women. Among those women and men with supervisory responsibilities larger proportions of the men are supervising 10 or more subordinates. Men and women are more likely to have a women manager if they work in part-time jobs, and part-timers are less likely to have supervisory responsibilities of their own.

Gender segregation and concentration is also evident across the industrial sectors. Construction, extraction and utilities are largely male enclaves (table 8). Men also predominate in transport, manufacturing and agriculture. Women fill almost all the jobs in private households — largely as domestic workers — and three quarters of the jobs in the health and education sectors. The sex ratio is more even in the other sectors shown. The expansion of part-time work has been driven largely by the changing employment practices in particular service sectors, although its use is spreading generally (Smith et al., 1998; Walwei, 1998). The service sectors of health and education, other community services, sales, hotels and catering and domestic workers rely particularly heavily on the use of part-time workers.

Table 7 Lines of supervision and management in the workplace, by gender

%	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Managed by a man	75	64	74	51	49	50	63
Managed by a woman	7	13	8	33	42	37	21
Not applicable	18	23	18	16	9	13	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
The % who have supervisory responsibilities ¹	25	12	24	17	8	13	19
The number of people supervised by those with supervisory responsibilities							
1-4	52	58	52	62	58	61	55
5-9	20	18	20	21	18	20	20
10 or more	28	24	28	17	24	19	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹Question 8 is 'How many people work under your supervision, for whom pay increases, bonuses or promotion depend directly on you?'

Table 8 Gender segregation by industrial sector

NACE sectors ¹	%						Total
	Men			Women			
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Construction	86	5	91	6	3	9	100
Extraction	82	2	84	16	..	16	100
Utilities	78	6	84	13	3	16	100
Transport, storage and communications	68	7	75	16	9	25	100
Manufacturing	68	5	73	20	7	27	100
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	55	10	66	24	10	34	100
Financial intermediation	51	7	58	27	15	42	100
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	51	5	56	30	14	44	100
Sales, hotels and catering	41	6	47	30	23	53	100
Other community, social and personal service activities	36	8	44	29	27	56	100
Health and social work and education	19	6	25	40	35	75	100
Private households and extra-territorial	2	3	5	35	60	95	100
All employment	50	6	56	26	18	44	100

¹Sectors are ranked by the degree of male-dominated segregation. '..' indicates less than 0.5%.

Any changes in the working conditions in sales, hotels and catering and in health and education has a major impact on women, for these sectors account for over half of all women's employment (table 9). Part-timers are even more heavily concentrated into these sectors than full-timers, and this applies for men as well as women. Manufacturing and financial services are also numerically important sectors, each employing one out of every ten employed women in the EU. Men's employment is less concentrated in particular sectors, but more than a quarter are affected by working conditions in manufacturing and another 17% are located in sales, hotels and catering. Construction, financial services and transport are also major employers of men. Looking at it from a different angle, the state in its role as an employer has a particularly large influence over the working conditions of women, for 32% of employed women work in the public sector or in a state-owned company, compared to 19% of men (table 10). Conversely men are more likely to be employed in the medium or large private sector companies. There are few differences by type of workplace between full-timers and part-timers for both sexes, although a smaller proportion of part-timers work in medium or large private companies compared to the distribution of full-time jobs.

Table 9 Industrial concentration of men and women's employment

NACE Sector ¹	%						
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Manufacturing	27	15	26	15	8	12	20
Sales, hotels and catering	17	21	17	23	26	24	20
Health and education	7	16	8	26	33	29	17
Financial services	11	13	11	11	9	10	11
Construction	13	6	12	2	1	2	7
Public administration	8	6	7	8	6	7	7
Transport and Communications	8	7	8	3	3	3	6
Agriculture	5	8	5	4	3	4	5
Other community services	3	6	4	5	7	6	5
Utilities	1	1	1	..	..	..	1
Private households and extra-territorial	..	1	..	2	4	2	1
Extraction	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹Sectors are ranked by the degree of male-dominated segregation. '..' indicates less than 0.5%.

Table 10 Concentration of women and men's employment between the public sector and private companies of different sizes

	%						
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Public sector or state-owned company	19	24	19	31	32	32	25
Private sector							
Interviewee works alone	9	15	10	9	9	9	10
Micro workplace (2-9 employed)	24	26	24	27	26	26	25
Small workplace (10-49 employed)	21	16	20	15	18	16	18
Medium workplace (50-249 employed)	14	11	14	10	10	10	12
Large workplace (250 or more)	13	8	13	8	5	7	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: The workplace size is based on the total number of people who work in the local unit of the establishment. Six per cent of employed men and 7% of employed women were unable to say whether they were employed in the public or private sector.

There has been much debate concerning whether employment is becoming more insecure and short-term associated with increased market uncertainty and changing organisational personnel practices (see Felstead et al., 1998 for a discussion; also Heery and Salmon, 1999; Burchell et al., 2002). Job tenure is only one aspect of employment stability, for in uncertain labour markets job tenure may even 'stick' if people become less willing to risk moving unless they are pushed. Nonetheless, job tenure provides some indication of movement in the labour market, although it does not identify the cause of movement. On average, women have been employed in their current job and with their current employer for a shorter average period of time than men, and for both men and women it is those in part-time jobs who have the shortest tenure (table 11). Some of this gender difference is due to women's higher propensity to exit the labour market or to change jobs when they have young children to care for, often switching to part-time jobs in many countries. Women are also disproportionately employed in sectors of the economy characterised by higher turnover rates for both sexes, such as sales and hotels and catering.

Table 11 Employment tenure with company and in present job, by gender

	%						
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Short tenure							
Employed in their current job for 1 year or less	18	32	19	20	28	23	21
Employed by the company for 1 year or less	18	32	19	20	27	22	20
Long tenure							
Employed in their current job for 10+ years	42	33	42	37	31	35	38
Employed by the company for 10+ years	45	36	44	40	33	37	41
Average tenure							
Average number of years in current job (median)	8	4	8	6	5	6	7
Average number of years with the company (median)	7	4	7	6	4	5	6

Life outside employment — the gender division of unpaid work and other activities

The ‘second shift’ of the unpaid domestic work involved in running a home, raising children and caring for elders must also be addressed alongside employment to obtain a complete picture of men and women’s work. For two in every three employed persons this second shift is arranged through the relationship of marriage or cohabitation (70%).⁷ Nearly 40% of the employed have dependent children in their home, which includes 5% who are lone parents (table 12). Women are more likely to be raising children in lone parent households than men, but some fathers who do not live with their children may also have the time demands of visits and other parental responsibilities.

Table 12 Family responsibilities of employed men and women

	%		
	Men	Women	All
Married/cohabiting parent with dependent child(ren)	34	35	34
Married/cohabiting, no child at home	36	36	36
Lone parent with dependent child(ren) at home	4	7	5
Sole adult, no child at home	26	22	25
Total	100	100	100

Note: Dependent children are defined as aged under 15 years and living in the same household. This applies to all the tables in this Chapter.

As table 13 shows, the regular domestic work associated with running a home largely fall to women in married and cohabiting couples, even when the women in these couples are employed. This is consistent with the results from more detailed studies (Gershuny et al., 1994, Van der Lippe and Roelofs, 1995). Typically across Europe this adds around 27 to 33 hours to their total weekly volume of work (Plantenga, 1997). This gender difference is even more pronounced when children are being raised, particularly for women with part-time employment. Men put very little time on a day-to-day basis into raising children, looking after their elders or running the home. For example, over half of the men who live with a partner and children spend less than one hour a day looking

⁷ A further 10% had previously been married or cohabiting.

after their children or elder relatives. This gender-based difference in household roles is also evident in the financial roles. Men provide the majority of the household income in couple households. In many households this is because the woman is not employed or is employed for a few hours, but it is also because men's jobs are generally better paid than women's. However, it is of note that nearly one in five employed woman with a partner and children state that they are the main financial provider in their household.

Table 13 Domestic responsibilities of employed men and women

	%		
	contributes most to household income ¹	mainly responsible for housework and shopping ²	looks after children or elders every day ³
Men			
Married/cohabiting parent	91	11	57
Married/cohabiting, no child at home	89	12	11
Sole adult, no child at home	53	43	4
All employed men	77	20	25
Women			
Married/cohabiting parent	19	93	88
+ employed full-time	24	92	86
+ employed part-time	13	95	89
Married/cohabiting, no child at home	22	91	23
Sole adult, no child at home	56	59	11
All employed women	31	83	45

Note: Lone parents are not shown separately but are included in the overall figures.

¹ 'I am the person in my household who contributes most to the household income'.

² 'I am the person in my household who is mainly responsible for ordinary shopping and looking after the home'.

³ 'I spend at least one hour a day looking after children or elder relatives'.

This gender division in the household constrains women's economic independence and men's involvement in their fathering role. These gender-differentiated roles also produce unequal workloads. On average, when women are employed they spend more time in total on paid and unpaid work, particularly if they work full-time. Time-budget studies show that there has been a gradual increase in the amount of time that men devote to looking after their children and to doing some household tasks, but that this development is slow and lags behind the changes in women's behaviour. One consequence is that women have less time to themselves for leisure, sleep and other personal activities.

What about activities other than employment or household work? People were asked how regularly they engaged in 'leisure, sport or cultural' activities. It was left to the respondents to decide what type of activities fell into this category, and for some people it will include activities such as 'watching TV' or 'relaxing' as well as more structured activities. Two thirds of the employed said that they engage in some types of leisure, sport or cultural activities during the week. Women are less likely to do these activities than men, particularly when they are mothers, living with a partner and are employed full-time (table 14). Eleven per cent of the employed are undertaking education or training courses outside work at least once a month. There are few gender differences among couples, but, among those who are single and childless women are much more likely to be involved in education or training activities than are men. Few people are engaged in civic activities on a

regular week-to-week basis, but a third do some form of voluntary, political and trade union activities outside work during the course of a year. Rates of civic engagement are broadly similar by gender and household status; the main difference is that single employed adults are less likely to be involved in civic activities than those who are married or cohabiting.

Table 14 Other activities beyond employment and domestic responsibilities undertaken by employed men and women

	%		
	'Leisure', sport or cultural activities during the week ¹	Education or training courses outside of work ²	Civic activities during the year ³
Men			
Married/cohabiting parent	66	9	34
Married/cohabiting, no child at home	64	8	32
Sole adult, no child at home	79	12	25
All men	69	10	31
Women			
Married/cohabiting parent	57	10	29
+ employed full-time	53	10	28
+ employed part-time	62	10	31
Married/cohabiting, no child at home	61	11	31
Sole adult, no child at home	71	22	29
All women	62	13	30

Note:

¹ Leisure, sport or cultural activity during the week (note it was left to the respondents to define what they consider 'leisure' or 'cultural' activities and leisure may include relaxing or watching TV as well as more structured activities).

² Education or training courses at least once a month.

³ Involved in voluntary, charitable, political or trade union activity during the year.

Conclusion

In this Chapter we have seen how gender segregation is a persistent feature of European labour markets, despite women's growing presence in this arena and the important in-roads that they have made into the higher status professional and managerial occupations. Women's labour supply behaviour has changed dramatically in recent decades, particularly among the younger generations: women have taken advantage of wider educational opportunities and their qualification levels have risen to match and often exceed those of men; and a growing proportion are pursuing continuous, full-time employment careers. Yet obstacles still remain in the labour market that make it difficult for women to enter or advance in many of the higher status and better paid areas of employment, and similarly deter men from entering 'non-traditional' female-dominated areas of employment. Progress to reduce these obstacles have been made in the development of equal treatment legislation, and the implementation of formal organisational 'equal opportunities' policies, but further reform is required to strengthen the legislation and to promote good practice in organisations (European Commission 2001). It has also become increasingly apparent from research and monitoring within organisations that it is important to tackle some of the more subtle or deep-rooted organisational practices and cultures that perpetuate gender inequalities. These factors are frequently expressed in terms of the metaphor of the 'glass ceiling'

that makes it difficult for women to advance up the hierarchy, but these factors also apply more widely to the barriers operating throughout the economy to deter women and men from moving into areas of employment where their sex is in the minority.

In this chapter we have also seen that women continue to shoulder the main responsibility for the second shift of running the home and looking after children. We will return to this issue later in Chapter 5 when we suggest that the greater impact of poor working conditions on health for women compared to men may be because of women's greater level of work activities outside of employment.

The overall theme of this chapter is that the segregated nature of men and women's employment and unpaid work are fundamental working conditions, which in turn are related to a number of other working conditions. In the next two Chapters we address the relationship between gender segregation and other working conditions.

Job content and workplace environment

3

In the previous chapter we described the pattern of gender segregation along a number of important job features. In this and subsequent chapters we shall examine the working conditions associated with the jobs that women and men do. One aspect of the analysis will be to simply compare the situation of the employed to identify gender differences and similarities in working conditions. This provides some basic and important insights into women and men's employment circumstances, but to obtain a better understanding it is also important to draw comparisons that take into account the types of jobs they have. In other words, there are three related questions:

- Do men and women have different working conditions?
- If so, are these different working conditions a result of men and women being segregated into different types of jobs?
- When we compare men and women in similar types of jobs and labour market positions do they have similar working conditions?

In this analysis we have decided to focus on the occupational position of women and men as an important indicator of the type of job that they do, rather than other dimensions of segregated labour market positions such as sector or employment contract. The working conditions associated with both of these employment dimensions are addressed in parallel reports prepared for the Foundation.

The fieldwork team used the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88) coding scheme to code the occupational data at the two-digit level, which provides 26 internationally comparable categories, that can be collapsed into 10 major occupational categories, as presented in table 2 on p. 18.⁸ There is an implicit ordinal ranking to the scheme, running from the high status managerial and professional occupations down to the semi-unskilled 'elementary' occupations for which there are few education or formal training requirements for entry.

This occupational data can be condensed into a smaller number of categories based on broad shared features in order to simplify the analysis and so focus on the main contours of difference. The distinction between white-collar (non-manual) and blue-collar (manual) jobs is associated with broad differences in social status, job content and certain working conditions and rewards, such as wages and working-time agreements. A more refined differentiation can be drawn that takes some account of the status and relative skill requirements for different white-collar and blue-collar jobs. This approach was taken by Goldthorpe (1980, see Marsh 1986 for a discussion), who developed a four-fold distinction between the 'service class' of managers and professionals; the 'intermediate level' white-collar occupations of clerical and sales work; manual/blue-collar craft workers and supervisors; and other manual/blue-collar workers. The OECD (1997) has recently drawn a similar type of distinction that refers to white-collar 'high skill' managers, professionals and associate professionals; white-collar 'low skill' clerical, service and sales work; blue-collar 'high skill' occupations in skilled agricultural and fisheries, craft and related trades; and blue-collar 'low skill' operatives and elementary occupations.

⁸ The ISCO classification scheme can also be used to code occupations at a more detailed three-digit level within the two-digit categories, which yields over 100 occupational categories. This level of detail can create some problems of comparability in international comparisons, and in any case is mainly of use in larger surveys.

This type of distinction between occupational status groups is useful for analysis, but the use of labels such as 'high' and 'low' skill requires clarification. What is considered to be 'skilled' work is only partly based on a systematic assessment of the technical requirements of the job. Contemporary and historical studies have revealed how the definition of 'skill' is also socially constructed through workplace systems of collective bargaining and job classification (Phillips and Taylor, 1980; Walby, 1986; Daune-Richard, 2000). For example, one of the reasons why some male-dominated manual occupations have been more able to define, formalise and regulate the training requirements for competency in their area of 'skilled' craft activity than other occupational groups was because of their bargaining power at particular historical periods of economic restructuring. Furthermore, feminist research has shown that many female-dominated jobs that are classified as 'low-skilled' actually have similar technical requirements to male-dominated jobs that are considered to be more skilled. The conclusions drawn from this research is that when activities are associated with 'women's work' this contributes to them being socially defined as low-skilled, because competency in this area is assumed to flow from women's attributes or domestic roles rather than from any effort and ability that can only be obtained through formal training or workplace experience. Further compelling evidence that there is a systematic gender-bias in definitions of 'skill' have been exposed in job evaluation assessments for 'equal pay for work of equal value' that have shown that women's skills are typically under-valued or unacknowledged in many job classification schemes (Rubery and Fagan, 1994). This gender bias in job evaluation is a major factor that contributes to the gender pay gap. Hence, it is essential to recognise that the terms 'high' and 'low' skill are only partly based on the actual technical requirements and job content of the occupation; they are also socially defined evaluations.

Table 15 Gender segregation and concentration by occupational status

Segregation

Occupational status group	%						
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
White-collar managerial jobs	59	5	64	30	6	36	100
White-collar professional jobs	44	7	51	29	20	49	100
White-collar clerical and service jobs	28	4	32	39	29	68	100
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	79	5	84	12	4	16	100
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	57	8	65	18	17	35	100
All	50	6	56	26	18	44	100

Concentration

Occupational status group	%						
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
White-collar managerial jobs	9	6	9	9	3	6	8
White-collar professional jobs	23	33	24	29	30	29	26
White-collar clerical and service jobs	16	19	16	42	46	44	29
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	32	19	31	9	5	7	20
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	20	23	20	11	16	14	17
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: FT = Full-time PT = Part-time All = FT and PT. Valid for all tables in this chapter.

We have followed the principle that valid distinctions can be drawn between broad occupational groups associated with job content, working conditions, material rewards and status to collapse the occupational data into a smaller number of categories, shown in table 15. This summary picture of the occupational status of men's and women's jobs shows that men hold over 60% of the managerial positions, have a near monopoly on the blue-collar 'craft' jobs, and also predominate in the blue-collar 'operating and labouring' jobs. Women dominate numerically in the white-collar clerical and service jobs, where they occupy two thirds of the jobs. Professional level occupations are more evenly allocated between the sexes. Looked at from the perspective of where men and women's employment is concentrated shows that around a third of both sexes are employed in white-collar managerial and professional jobs, but beyond this similarity the employment concentrations diverge. Clerical and service jobs account for 44% of women's employment, but only 16% of men's, mirrored by blue-collar jobs accounting for 51% of men's employment and 21% of women's employment.

The differences between full-time and part-time workers are striking. Generally, male part-time employment is more evenly spread between the different occupational status groups, whereas female part-time work is predominantly found in professional and clerical activities.

In this Chapter we start by examining the job content and skill requirements of men and women's jobs and their involvement in customer service and 'people' work. Then we address material, environmental and ergonomic hazards, work intensity, job autonomy, wages and perceptions of workplace consultation and health and safety. Working-time conditions are considered separately in Chapter 4.

Job content and skill requirements

Although men and women are largely segregated into different types of jobs, there are few gender differences in some of the fundamental features and requirements of their jobs — whether or not their jobs involve problem-solving and learning skills, complex tasks, teamworking and planning responsibilities (table 16). These activities are argued to be increasingly important requirements for companies to succeed with the growing emphasis on knowledge and customer-service in the contemporary 'New' or 'Information' economy (Gallie et al., 1998).

Taking the overall picture first, the majority of the workforce report that their jobs involve problem-solving or learning, although 10% have jobs in which neither cognitive skill is required. The workforce is quite spread in terms of whether they consider that their job involves complex or monotonous tasks. Nearly one in five employed people report that their jobs are entirely monotonous, while at the other extreme a third of the workforce consider that their jobs consist entirely of complex tasks. Team-working or task rotation is now a feature of employment for two thirds of the workforce.⁹ Just over a third have some planning responsibilities for production, staffing or working-time.

Men are more likely to report that their jobs make these kinds of demands on their abilities than women, but the degree of difference is quite small, except that a higher proportion of employed

⁹ More generally, over 80% of the employed can get assistance from their colleagues if they ask for it.

men have planning responsibilities. Men's greater levels of supervisory and managerial responsibilities (see Chapter 2) mean that more of them have planning responsibilities. The difference between full-timers and part-timers is more pronounced than the average gender differences. Part-time jobs provide fewer opportunities for learning, are more monotonous, and involve fewer planning responsibilities than full-time jobs. Comparing men and women in part-time jobs reveals similar levels of problem-solving and task complexity, but male part-timers are less likely to be involved in teamworking and more likely to have planning responsibilities. Thus the observed gender differences on these job features are mainly because of employed women's greater involvement in part-time work compared to the lower rates of part-time work among employed men.

Table 16 Selective indicators of the skill demands of men's and women's jobs

	%						
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
1. Problem-solving							
No problem-solving or learning	9	11	9	11	15	12	10
Some problem-solving or learning	24	33	26	26	31	29	27
Both problem-solving and learning	67	56	65	63	54	59	63
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
2. Task complexity							
Monotonous tasks, no complex tasks	16	25	17	18	25	21	19
Both monotonous and complex tasks	25	18	24	23	14	19	22
Neither monotonous nor complex tasks	21	30	22	26	35	30	26
Complex tasks, no monotonous tasks	38	27	37	33	26	30	34
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
3. Teamworking							
No teamwork or task rotation	33	43	34	37	37	37	35
Teamwork or task rotation	31	29	30	27	27	27	29
Teamwork and task rotation	37	28	36	36	36	36	36
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
4. Planning responsibilities							
No planning responsibilities	57	59	57	66	77	70	63
Some planning responsibilities	16	19	17	15	13	14	16
More extensive planning responsibilities	27	22	26	19	10	16	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: These indicators were derived from the following questionnaire items: problem-solving (Q2403/q2406); monotonous and or complex tasks (q2404/5); planning of production, staffing and or working-time (Q27a1-3), task rotation and or teamwork (Q27b1-2).

Not surprisingly, the requirement for these skills varies by occupational status (17). Problem-solving and complex tasks are mainly features of managerial and professional jobs, while planning of production, staffing and working-time is mainly the role of managers. The rate of teamworking is similar across the different occupational status groups. However, within each broad occupational status group the general picture is that these types of requirements are less prevalent in the jobs that women are employed in than in men's jobs. The main gender gap among managers is that women are less likely to report that they have jobs that solely involve complex tasks (where 'complexity' is assessed by the respondents of course) and fewer responsibilities for planning

production, staffing or working-time schedules. Among professionals there are similar problem-solving and task complexity requirements, but women are less likely to report formal teamwork arrangements or planning responsibilities. The smallest gender differences in these four criteria are found in clerical and service jobs. Among blue-collar jobs the gender difference in planning responsibilities and formal teamwork is slight but there are pronounced differences in the reported requirements for problem-solving and learning and task complexity. Women employed in blue-collar jobs judge that their work involves fewer requirements for problem-solving or learning, and to be less likely to consist only of complex tasks compared to the assessments that men make of their jobs. To return to our earlier discussion of skill, it is feasible that the extent to which these gender differences in reported assessments within occupational status groups are at least partly because men and women's perceptions of their work is influenced by the broader gender-bias in social definitions of 'skill'. Conclusive evidence cannot be drawn from this kind of survey data; evidence from systematic job evaluations and detailed organisational case studies is required instead.

Table 17 Selective indicators of skill demands in men's and women's jobs, by occupational status

	% Men				% Gender gap			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
White-collar managerial jobs	76	46	39	73	-6	-13	-3	-13
White-collar professional jobs	81	53	33	31	0	-1	-8	-14
White-collar clerical and service jobs	64	32	36	21	-7	-8	0	-11
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	64	36	37	23	-17	-49	-5	-1
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	46	19	35	8	-23	-11	-8	-3
All	65	37	36	26	-4	-7	-7	-10

1= problem-solving and learning 2= only complex tasks
 3= teamwork and task rotation 4= extensive planning responsibilities

Note:

1. These indicators were derived from the following questionnaire items: problem-solving (Q2403/q2406); monotonous and or complex tasks (q2404/5); planning of production, staffing and or working-time (Q27a1-3); task rotation and or teamwork (Q27b1-2).
2. The 'gender gap' difference is the percentage point difference obtained by subtracting the male score from the female score. A negative sign indicates that fewer women employed in this occupational status group report that their job involves this skill; a positive sign indicates the opposite.

The majority of employed men and women consider that their skills match the demands of their jobs. A similarly small proportion of men and women consider that they are under-skilled or over-skilled for their current job (table 18). These proportions did not change much when examined by occupational group, with two exceptions. Women were notably more likely to consider their jobs did not make full use of their skills if they were employed in the blue-collar operative, assembly and elementary manual jobs (12% compared to the 8% average). Similarly, men in clerical and service jobs were more likely to consider that their skills were under-used compared to men employed in other occupational areas (12% compared to the 8% average).

About a third of employed men and women had undertaken training in the last 12 months that was either paid for or provided by their employer (or themselves if self-employed), and the number of training days was similar for men and women (table 18). Training is closely associated with occupation (table 19), and is particularly a feature of managerial and professional occupations, decreasing steadily down through the intermediate non-manual and manual levels. Within each occupational group women had received less training than men; the difference was small among managers and professionals, but in the blue-collar (manual) job areas women were noticeably less likely to receive any days of training.

Table 18 The skills match and recent training received by employed men and women

	%						
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
The demands of my job match my skills	9	5	85	9	5	85	85
The demands of my job are too high for my skills	85	81	8	84	85	8	8
The demands of my job are too low for my skills	6	14	7	6	10	8	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Received no training from their employer in the last 12 months	69	74	69	66	72	69	69
Received 1-10 days training in the last 12 months	19	16	19	22	21	21	20
Received more than 10 days training in the last 12 months	12	10	12	12	7	10	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 19 The amount of training received by employed men and women by occupational status

	Number of days training received in last 12 months					
	Men			Women		
	None	Some	10+ days	None	Some	10+ days
White-collar managerial jobs	60	24	16	64	23	12
White-collar professional jobs	57	24	18	54	29	16
White-collar clerical and service jobs	65	22	13	70	22	8
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	77	13	9	87	7	6
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	80	14	6	88	7	4
All	70	18	12	69	21	10

Customer service and 'people' work

European economies are increasingly dominated by service activities, and many service jobs involve direct contact with customers and other service users such as pupils or patients. This is particularly a feature of women's jobs (table 20). To be more precise, white-collar jobs are typically providing services to people for a large part of their working day, and more so by women than men in these occupational areas. The picture is reversed for manual workers; here there is less contact with customers and other service users and women in manual jobs have less contact with people external to their workplace than men in manual jobs.

The social interaction involved in communicating and working with people — colleagues as well as people external to the workplace — can be enriching, but it can also place particular demands and risks on the worker. A number of studies have shown how many of these jobs frequently

involve demanding ‘emotional labour’, associated with caring for ill or emotionally distraught people, dealing with customer complaints, making customers feel relaxed and at ease, and so forth (Hochschild, 1983). Many service jobs also involve ‘aesthetic labour’ to develop and maintain a personal appearance and style of presentation in fitting with the corporate image (Adkins, 1995). Some service jobs also have a heavily sexualised construction of what ‘looking after’ the customer entails, whether as an implicit or explicit part of the job requirement, even before the obvious examples of prostitution and other sex work is considered. Examples include sexual innuendo and flirtation in some bar, waiting and hosting jobs.

Table 20 The proportion of employed men and women with service-oriented jobs

Full-time/part-time status

% Work involves contact with customers, pupils, patients, etc.							
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
At least half of the time	47	55	48	64	64	64	55
A quarter of the time or less	23	20	23	14	11	13	18
Never	30	25	29	22	25	23	27
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Occupational status

% Work involves contact with customers, pupils, patients etc. for at least half of the time		
	Men	Women
White-collar managerial jobs	65	79
White-collar professional jobs	61	75
White-collar clerical and service jobs	68	72
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	30	22
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	35	28
All	48	64

Emotional and aesthetic labour can be stressful and emotionally demanding and have negative effects on health and safety in ways that are often less apparent than the more documented hazards of working with heavy machinery or dangerous materials. In addition, contact with customers and the public can leave workers vulnerable to sexual and racial harassment, intimidation or even physical attack in a variety of service situations. For example, this has become a more widespread problem for public sector workers in many schools and hospitals in recent periods.

It is difficult to assess the full extent of violence, intimidation and discrimination that men and women experience from their colleagues and managers, customers or other people they interact with through doing their jobs. Some forms of intimidation, bullying or sexual harassment may be so rooted within the organisational culture and patterns of social interaction that it is accepted as a regular, usual part of life — however unpleasant — rather than an unusual event that is noticed and recalled. Similarly, people may not be aware that they have been unfairly discriminated against when applying for a job or promotion. In addition, the design of this survey is such that it only collects the opinions of people who have been able to secure and remain in employment within their organisation. Thus, the experiences of people who have not obtained a job due to

discrimination or have left the organisation due to discrimination or intimidation are not addressed.

Notwithstanding these difficulties and limitations of measuring these working conditions, this survey does provide some crude indication of these negative conditions of work (table 21). Around one in ten report that they have experienced physical violence or intimidation in the course of doing their jobs during the last year. Even more are aware of this risk and know that other people have had this experience in their workplace. Women are more likely than men to have been treated in this way or to be aware of this risk, with one in five of them aware that this has occurred at their workplace. Five per cent of men and 8% of women consider that they have been discriminated against on the basis of their sex, nationality, ethnic background, age, disability or sexual orientation within the last 12 months, and one in ten are aware that this is a feature of their workplaces. These figures are almost certainly an under-estimate of the true rates of intimidation, harassment and discrimination given the limited nature of the question asked in the survey.

Table 21 Intimidation and discrimination at the workplace

% Over the last 12 months							
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
They have personal experience of violence or intimidation	9	8	9	13	12	12	11
They know that this has been experienced by other people	15	14	15	19	19	19	17
They have personal experience of discrimination	5	6	5	8	7	8	6
They know that this has been experienced by other people	10	9	10	11	9	11	10
All	39	37	39	51	47	50	44

Note: The questions asked were ‘Over the past 12 months, have you, or have you not, been subjected at work to by either colleagues or other people at your workplace?’ and ‘In the establishment where you work, are you aware of the existence of X’ followed by a list of issues. The measure of discrimination includes sex, age, nationality, ethnicbackground, disability and sexual orientation.

Material, environmental and ergonomic hazards

Men’s jobs involve higher exposure to a poor material and physical environment than women’s. A number of indicators of poor physical environment are presented in table 22. Generally speaking, men are at least twice as likely to be exposed to these negative physical work conditions than women. The most prevalent of these hazards for men are loud noise, machine vibrations, or dangerous vapours, and for women it is loud noise, high temperatures and dangerous vapours. A large proportion of employed men and women’s work have a high exposure to one or more of these physical environmental hazards: 44% of employed men and 21% of employed women have a high score on the summary scale. The proportions reverse almost directly at the other end of the distribution: 26% of employed men and 44% of employed women have jobs in which they are not exposed to any of these physical conditions.

Part-time work offers some protection from these hazards, both in the sense of fewer hours of exposure and lower risks of exposure. The minority of men who work part-time have a lower rate of exposure than men working full-time, but the rate still exceeds that for women in full-time jobs. Among women the risk of exposure is slightly lower for those in part-time work for individual hazards (a five percentage point reduction on the summary scale).

Table 22 Exposure to material and physical environmental hazards by gender

% At least half of their time at work							
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Loud noise	27	18	26	12	10	11	20
Vibrations from hand tools, machinery, etc.	24	14	23	9	5	7	16
Breathing vapours, fumes, dust or dangerous substances	21	15	20	11	7	9	15
High temperatures	17	15	17	11	11	11	14
Low temperatures	17	16	16	7	6	7	12
Handling dangerous products or substances	12	8	12	7	6	6	9
Radiation	4	3	4	3	1	2	3
Summary scale of ambient exposure							
High score	45	31	44	23	18	21	34
Mid score	30	36	30	35	35	35	32
No exposure	25	33	26	42	47	44	34
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: The 'ambient exposure' scale is based on a summation of the seven items listed in the table, where the degree of exposure to each item was measured on a 7-point scale ranging from 'all of the time' to 'never'.

Poor ergonomic conditions are even more frequent (table 23). Forty seven per cent of employed men and women have jobs that entail repetitive hand or arm movements and 33% work in painful or tiring positions for at least half of their time at work. On these two measures the gender differences are negligible. A higher proportion of men spend at least half of their working day carrying or moving heavy loads than women. Again we see that part-timers are slightly less exposed to these risks than full-timers.

Table 23 Ergonomic conditions by gender

% At least half of their time at work							
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Repetitive hand or arm movements	48	43	47	48	44	46	47
Painful or tiring positions	33	30	33	35	29	33	33
Carrying or moving heavy loads	28	24	28	18	16	17	23
Summary scale of hazardous ergonomic conditions							
High score	27	24	27	25	19	22	30
Mid score	46	40	45	44	47	45	45
No exposure	27	36	28	31	34	32	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: The 'hazardous ergonomics' scale is based on a summation of the three items listed in the table, where the degree of exposure to each item was measured on a 7-point scale ranging from 'all of the time' to 'never'.

Jobs that involve short repetitive tasks can present ergonomic risks and may also be monotonous. Just over a quarter of employed men and women held jobs in which some of the tasks undertaken were repeated in a short cycle of one minute or less (table 24). When longer cycles of up to ten minutes are included the proportion rises to nearly half. Whether the job involves repetitive tasks does not vary noticeably between full-timers and part-timers.

For some of these workers the repetitious cycle of tasks may only occur for a small element of their working day, and in some contexts this task pattern may be experienced as a respite from more complex and demanding activities. For example, nurses who are rolling and preparing bandages for a small, regular part of their shift or waiting staff who are filling table condiments at the start of their shift may find this to be some relief from the demands of dealing with patients or customers. For others, short and repetitive tasks will be the main activity, and it is this group of workers who are most at risk of ergonomic problems and job monotony (for example, production line assemblers and packers, piece work in the clothing industry, fast food service workers).

Here we can see that having a job that involves short repetitive tasks is associated with a higher exposure to job monotony or having to work at high speed for both sexes. Repetitive tasks also increase exposure to poor ergonomic conditions for men, but for women the risk of poor ergonomic conditions is similar whether or not their job involves repetitive tasks.

Table 24 Incidence of jobs that involve short repetitive tasks and associated risks

Short repetitive work

%	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
	Yes, taking less than 1 minute	28	28	28	28	28	
Yes, taking 1-5 minutes	10	9	10	12	9	11	10
Yes, of 6-10 minutes	8	7	8	9	8	9	8
Total with repetitive tasks of 10 minutes or less	46	44	46	49	45	48	46

Associated risks

%	Men		Women	
	Has repetitive tasks	No repetitive tasks	Has repetitive tasks	No repetitive tasks
	Hazardous ergonomic conditions	38	18	33	32
Job is entirely monotonous	23	12	28	15
Work at high speed for at least 50% of work-time	56	36	52	34

So men are more at risk from material and physical hazards, and from lifting heavy loads, but there are few gender differences in the risk of poor ergonomic conditions or repetitive tasks. The gender differences observed are largely a result of men's greater involvement in blue-collar (manual) jobs. When the risk of a high rate of exposure to material and physical hazards and to ergonomic hazards is explored across occupational categories this reveals that these working conditions are more prevalent in blue-collar (manual) than in white-collar (non-manual) jobs (table 25). Considering material and physical hazards first, we see that in each occupational group men are more exposed to these hazards than women, with the gender difference being most pronounced in manual jobs and negligible in professional jobs. This comparison also makes it clear that it is more accurate to consider occupation and gender together rather than to draw simple gender comparisons, for the exposure is highest for men in manual jobs, followed by women in manual jobs.

The interaction between gender and occupational status also exposes some differences in the risk of ergonomic and repetitive hazards. Men are slightly more exposed to ergonomic hazards than women on average, and these risks are largely found in manual jobs. Yet the minority of women who work in craft jobs are more exposed to these risks than men in this occupational area, and among white-collar workers the ergonomic risks are higher for women, particularly in professional activities. Similarly, repetitive tasks are particularly prevalent in blue-collar jobs, and among blue-collar workers the rate is highest for women.

Table 25 Exposure to material, physical and ergonomic hazards by gender and occupational status

	Material and physical hazards		Ergonomic hazards of less than 10 minutes		Repetitive tasks	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
White-collar managerial jobs	23	17	12	16	37	42
White-collar professional jobs	19	20	8	15	33	36
White-collar clerical and service jobs	20	13	17	19	46	47
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	72	49	41	48	53	68
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	60	36	43	40	55	60
All	44	21	27	22	46	48

Similar proportions of employed women and men work with computers (table 26). Nearly one in three employed women spend at least half of their day working with computers, slightly more than the proportion of men (29%). Telework was defined in the survey as ‘working from home with a computer’ and on this basis includes people who take some of their work home, perhaps using their own computer, as well as those working more formally on a telework basis. On this definition 10% of the employed are teleworkers for at least part of their working-time, and the rate of teleworking is higher for men than women (12% compared to 8%). Despite the rapid explosion in the use of information technologies in the workplace half of the employed women and men never work with a computer. Part-timers are less likely to work with computers than full-timers.

The gender differences are more pronounced when occupational positions are taken into account. In each occupational group men are more likely to be working with computers than women, with the exception of clerical and service work. The largest gender difference emerges in the managerial and professional activities, which is where computer-based activities are more likely to be connected to higher-skilled ‘knowledge’ work than the more routine information processing of much clerical and service work. Telework is also largely associated with professional and managerial work, and again it is men in these jobs who are more likely to have this arrangement than women.

Table 26 The proportion of employed men and women who work with computers

Full-time/part-time status

	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
% who work with computers							
At least half of the time or more	29	22	29	37	25	32	30
Less than half of the time	22	23	22	19	17	18	21
Never	49	55	49	44	58	49	49
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
% who do teleworking from home with a pc							
25% of the time or more	3	3	3	2	1	2	2
Less than 25% of the time	9	9	9	7	5	6	8
Never	88	88	88	91	94	92	90
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Occupational status

	Work with computers for at least 50% of the time		Teleworking for at least 25% of the time	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	%			
White-collar managerial jobs	46	35	27	20
White-collar professional jobs	51	34	22	14
White-collar clerical and service jobs	43	44	9	4
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	10	6	6	4
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	11	5	3	2
All	29	32	12	8

Note: 'Telework' was defined as any work from home using a computer. This will include people with formal teleworking arrangements but may also include some respondents who defined themselves as having an element of teleworking in their jobs on the basis that take some of their computer-based work home. This definition is valid for all tables in this Chapter.

Other forms of home working — defined as 'home being your normal workplace, excluding teleworking' — are also rare (table 27). Altogether, 11% of employed men and women work at home as teleworkers or in other forms of home working for at least a quarter of their time. Home working offers a variety of potential advantages, such as reduced commuting time or more flexibility and autonomy to combine employment with the time demands of family schedules. The working conditions of home working also have potential risks. There are health and safety risks if the workspace is too small, poorly designed or ill-equipped. Home workers can also be socially isolated from other employees whose jobs are based at the enterprise.

Table 27 Proportion of employed men and women who work at home

	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Telework for at least 25% of the time	6	7	6	4	3	4	5
Other types of home working for at least 25% of the time	5	8	6	6	7	7	6
No regular home working	89	85	88	89	90	89	89
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Home working that does not involve teleworking is most common in managerial and professional jobs, and for women employed in blue-collar craft jobs. Considering the occupational profile of home workers shows some similarities between men and women: nearly half (46%) are professional workers and a quarter are blue-collar workers. The gender difference is that a higher proportion of men who are home workers are managers (18%), mirrored by the higher proportion of female home workers who are in white-collar clerical or service jobs (20%). Other more detailed studies of home working have shown that rates of home working are particularly high in certain local economies and among ethnic minority or migrant workers, and that this area home working is typically under-estimated in general surveys such as this one. These areas of 'hidden' home working are typically routinised 'piece work' such as sewing, packing and assembling, with poor wages and working conditions, undertaken by workers who often have few alternative labour market opportunities due to a combination of factors such as limited formal qualifications, domestic responsibilities, racism and high rates of unemployment in the local economy (see Crompton, 1997 for a review).

Table 28 Home working by gender and occupational status

% Work from home – excluding telework – for 25% of their time or more				
	Rate of home working		Occupational profile of home workers	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
White-collar managerial jobs	12	10	18	10
White-collar professional jobs	11	10	46	46
White-collar clerical and service jobs	3	3	10	20
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	4	14	22	15
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	1	4	4	9
All	6	7	100	100

Work intensity

A number of studies have suggested that the speed and intensity of work appears to be increasing in contemporary workplaces as a result of the implementation of new information technologies and production methods, 'leaner' workforces and increasing workloads (Gallie et al., 1998). This trend was already apparent in the second wave of the European survey on working conditions (Dhondt, 1998).

There are distinct gender differences in the factors that drive the pace of work in men and women's jobs (table 29). The main cause is the demands of other people — mainly customers and other service users such as patients — that is a feature of three quarters of women's jobs and two thirds of men's job. The work done by colleagues is the second most common cause, rather than the direct control of the labour process by the supervisor or manager. More men have their pace of work set by production targets or the speed of the machine they are working with, associated with the greater concentration of men's employment in manufacturing and construction. Compared to the situation of full-timers, part-timers are less likely to have their pace of work set by any of these factors other than the demands of customers, and overall their pace of work is less dependent on the factors listed.

Table 29 Factors driving the pace of work in men's and women's jobs

%	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Direct demands of customers, pupils, patients etc.	65	68	65	76	73	75	70
Work done by colleagues	47	38	46	43	36	40	43
Direct control of managers or supervisors	34	26	33	33	30	32	33
Numerical production targets	38	28	36	25	17	22	30
Automatic speed of a machine or movement of a product	25	20	25	15	11	13	20
% with a pace of work not dependent on any of the above	12	15	12	11	17	14	13
% with a pace of work dependent on 3+ of the above	24	16	23	17	11	13	19

Similar proportions of employed men and women work at very high speed. Approximately a quarter consider that they work at a very high speed almost all the time they are doing their jobs, and 44% spend about half of their work-time or more working at this high speed (table 30). As we saw in Chapter 1, the proportion of women that work at high speed has increased more rapidly for women than for men over the 1990s, producing a convergence in the speed of work for the sexes.

Tight deadlines are a common feature of many jobs, particularly for men. Over half of men say that their jobs involve working to tight deadlines for half or more of their work-time, but this is also the experience for 42% of employed women. One in five say that their workloads are such that they do not have enough time to get their job done, and again the gender difference is negligible. Using a scale measure of the 'work intensity' of jobs we see that the overall distribution is similar on average for employed women and men, although women are slightly less likely to be exposed to work intensity (40% of employed women have little or no work intensity compared to 34% of men). Sixteen per cent of employed men and women have high work intensity.

There are some small differences in work intensity between full-timers and part-timers. Part-timers are slightly more likely to be in jobs where they never have to work at very high speed, and are much less likely to be in jobs where they have to work to tight deadlines or have insufficient time to do their job. Overall, part-timers are less at risk of high levels of work intensity.

Table 30 Pace of work for employed men and women

	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
% who work at very high speed							
Almost/all the time	24	25	24	25	22	24	24
half to three quarters of the time	21	18	21	20	17	19	20
around a quarter of the time or less	30	29	30	28	28	28	29
Never	25	28	25	27	33	29	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
% who work to tight deadlines							
Almost/all the time	32	28	32	28	22	25	29
half to three quarters of the time	21	16	20	18	15	17	19
around a quarter of the time or less	29	27	28	31	27	30	29
Never	18	29	20	23	36	28	23
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
% with insufficient time to get their job done	21	15	21	22	18	21	20
% work intensity scale							
High	17	13	16	17	12	15	16
Some	50	46	50	46	44	45	48
No	33	41	34	37	44	40	36
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: the work intensity scale is derived from three questions which asked people how much of their work-time is spent working at very high speed (Q21b1); to tight deadlines (Q21b2); and if they have enough time to get their job done (Q2605).

Table 31 Work intensity by gender and occupational status

	%					
	Men			Women		
	No	Some	High	No	Some	High
White-collar managerial jobs	29	50	21	38	43	19
White-collar professional jobs	36	45	19	38	42	20
White-collar clerical and service jobs	43	44	13	42	45	13
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	28	56	16	39	51	10
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	33	51	16	38	49	13
All	34	50	16	40	45	15

In Chapter 1 we saw that working at high speed was more prevalent for blue-collar than for white-collar workers. When we take other aspects of work intensity into account with this three-item scale of work intensity and use a more detailed occupational breakdown we see that it is managers and professionals who are most at risk of high rates of work intensity (table 31). Among white-collar workers the risk of being exposed to some or high levels of work intensity are higher for men than for women in the managerial grades, but there is no gender difference in the other white-collar occupational categories. Among blue-collar workers in the craft occupations men are more exposed to some or high levels of work intensity than women, and a similar but more muted gender difference is also shown for blue-collar operating and labouring jobs.

Most employed men and women have to interrupt their work to deal with unforeseen demands on their effort. These interruptions occur more than once a day 51% of employed women and 45% of

employed men, while 28% are doing jobs in which they never experience interruptions (table 32). Working patterns that are punctuated by unforeseen interruptions are more prevalent for full-timers than part-timers. Most of these interruptions are inherent in the nature of the job for both men and women and more specifically due to requests from customers and service users or from colleagues. Men's work rhythms are more likely to be interrupted due to faulty machinery or work design, mainly because a larger proportion of men's jobs entail working with machinery and tools (see Chapter 2 above).

Table 32 The extent and nature of interruptions to the rhythm of work in men's and women's jobs

	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
% frequency of interruptions to deal with an unforeseen task							
A few times a day or more	46	34	45	56	43	51	47
At least a few times a week	25	24	25	18	19	18	22
Never	26	40	27	24	36	29	28
Don't know	3	2	3	2	2	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
% reason(s) for these interruptions (multiple responses permitted)							
The 'nature of the job'	66	63	65	67	67	67	66
External requests from customers, etc.	43	36	42	47	40	44	43
Internal requests from colleagues or supervisors	38	32	38	40	36	38	38
Faulty machinery, equipment or workplace design or poor work organisation	16	11	15	12	8	10	13
These interruptions are							
Disruptive	34	27	33	32	31	32	32
Neither/without consequence	53	62	54	57	57	57	56
Positive	13	11	13	11	12	11	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
% of the total workforce with disruptive interruptions	24	16	23	24	19	22	23

A third of those who experienced interruptions to their work found this disruptive, and overall just over one in five of the entire workforce experiences disruptive interruptions in their working days. The incidence of disruptive interruptions is quite similar across occupational categories, but is highest for managers, professionals and men in blue-collar craft jobs (table 33). More generally, disruptive interruptions were also found to be slightly more prevalent for people in jobs that involved contact with customers and other service-users.

Table 33 The incidence of disruptive interruptions to the rhythm of work in men's and women's jobs by occupational status

%		
	Men	Women
White-collar managerial jobs	28	25
White-collar professional jobs	26	28
White-collar clerical and service jobs	18	20
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	25	17
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	19	18
All	23	22

Job autonomy and control

Generally most employed men and women feel that they have some control or autonomy over their methods and speed of work, and to a lesser extent over the order in which they undertake tasks (Table 34). More than half can also choose when they take their breaks, although this is less common for women than for men. Taking methods, speed and order of work together, men have higher levels of work autonomy overall. There are few differences between full-timers and part-timers.

Men also have more working-time autonomy, indicated by the extent to which they are able to decide when to take holidays or days off, and whether they feel able to influence their working hours (table 35). It is possible that women may tend to report lower levels of working-time autonomy compared to men partly because many women have a greater need for more autonomy to manage childcare responsibilities with the time demands of employment. However, as we shall see below, occupational status also has a strong bearing on the degree of working-time autonomy that men and women report.

In the context of increasing public debates about the difficulties that many employees face when managing the demands of their jobs with the time demands of family responsibilities it is notable that 31% of employed men and 36% of employed women have very limited working-time autonomy. Part-timers have slightly more influence over their working hours than full-timers.

Table 34 Degree of work autonomy in men’s and women’s jobs

%							
Report they can choose to change	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Work methods	69	72	70	70	70	70	70
Speed of work	70	75	70	69	70	70	70
Order in which they complete tasks	63	65	64	66	63	65	64
When breaks are taken	64	63	64	58	51	55	60
% work autonomy scale							
Low	25	22	25	25	26	25	25
Some	33	36	33	37	41	39	35
High	42	42	42	38	33	36	40
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: The ‘work autonomy’ scale includes work methods, speed of work, task order and breaks. Low autonomy refers to autonomy on one or none of the 4 items listed, high refers to autonomy on all four items.

Table 35 Degree of working-time autonomy in men's and women's jobs

%							
Report they can	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Choose when to take their holidays or days off	59	56	59	54	52	53	56
Influence their working hours	46	51	46	40	44	42	44
% working-time autonomy scale							
Low: can't schedule leave/influence working hours	31	33	31	37	35	36	34
Some: can either schedule leave/influence working hours	33	27	32	34	32	33	32
High: can schedule leave/influence working hours	36	40	37	29	33	31	34
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

However, the most striking differences in levels of autonomy are those by occupational status (table 36). Work autonomy is most prevalent for managers and male professionals, and lowest for men and women in blue-collar operative jobs. It is striking that the work autonomy of women in professional jobs is lower than that for male professionals, which is probably to do with the particular demands of many of the care professions (teaching, nursing, etc.) which are the main areas of professional work for women. Men are also more likely than women to have autonomous working conditions in clerical and service jobs, but less likely to be autonomous than the minority of women working in blue-collar craft jobs.

Turning to working-time autonomy we see a similar pattern. The highest incidence of working-time autonomy is among managers and the lowest among blue-collar operative jobs. The main gender difference within occupational groups is that male professionals have notably higher levels of working-time autonomy than female professionals. Conversely, the small minority of blue-collar craft workers who are women have higher levels of working-time autonomy than the male majority in this occupational group.

Table 36 Degree of autonomy in men's and women's jobs by occupational status

Work autonomy

%						
	Men			Women		
	Low	Some	High	Low	Some	High
White-collar managerial jobs	7	20	73	8	25	68
White-collar professional jobs	10	37	53	14	50	36
White-collar clerical and service jobs	24	38	39	30	37	33
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	28	33	40	25	28	47
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	45	31	23	40	34	27
All	25	33	42	25	39	36

Working-time autonomy

	Men			Women		
	No	Some	Both	No	Some	Both
White-collar managerial jobs	9	24	67	9	25	66
White-collar professional jobs	25	28	47	41	30	29
White-collar clerical and service jobs	32	35	33	34	37	29
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	34	33	33	34	26	41
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	44	37	20	48	31	21
All	31	32	37	36	33	31

Note: see tables 34 and 35 for an explanation of the scales.

Wages

Wages are a critically important working condition. On average employed women earn less than men. This gender wage gap is a persistent feature of labour markets, although the degree of wage inequality in Europe is lower now than in previous decades due to a number of factors. The rising qualification levels and employment experience of women has reduced the ‘human capital’ differences between the sexes. Equal treatment in recruitment, promotion and training and the principle of equal pay for work of comparable value has been promoted through a combination of legislation and case law, collective agreements and other policy instruments. Much of the persistent wage inequality is associated with women being segregated into the lower paid occupations, companies and sectors in the economy (see Chapter 2 above). However, even when women and men are found in comparable jobs and with similar qualifications and experience there is still a wage difference that remains unaccounted for. Furthermore, in recent years the gender wage gap no longer seems to be declining in a number of countries, and in some it appears to be widening (Rubery and Fagan, 1994; Rubery et al., 2001).

In this survey the employed were asked the level of their net monthly earnings, using a 12-level income scale. The scale of the earnings thresholds for each category level was specific to the earnings distribution in each country. This was then translated into a harmonised income scale that allows the relative position of men and women to be compared. This shows that over a quarter of women fall into the lowest earnings band and 10% into the highest one, while the situation is virtually reversed for men (table 37). This gender difference is less extreme when the comparison is restricted to those in full-time employment, but even for this comparison women are twice as likely to have the lowest earnings and men are almost twice as likely to have the highest.

Part-timers earn less than full-timers on average, due to working fewer hours and to the concentration of part-time jobs in some of the lowest paid jobs in the economy (Rubery and Fagan, 1993). However, even among part-timers, it is women who are the most at risk of low pay — 47% of women part-timers fall into the lowest earnings band compared to 32% of male part-timers.

Table 37 Earnings distribution of employed men and women by full-time and part-time status

%							
Net monthly earnings scale	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Lowest	8	32	10	15	47	28	18
Low-medium	20	14	19	30	14	24	21
Medium-high	23	11	22	20	8	15	19
Highest	22	16	21	12	7	10	16
Don't know/refused	27	27	28	23	24	23	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: The data on net monthly earnings was collected using a 12-level income scale, where the earnings thresholds for each category were specific to the earnings distribution in each country. This was then translated into a harmonised income scale.

Table 38 Wage structures of employees

%							
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Fixed salary or wage	93	85	92	95	90	93	92
Piece rate or individual bonuses	9	8	9	4	3	4	6
Sunday work premiums	9	8	9	8	8	8	9
Payments for bad working conditions	5	2	5	2	1	2	3
'Other' individual payments	16	8	15	11	8	10	13
Company profit sharing scheme	6	5	6	4	2	3	5
Group performance bonus	3	2	3	2	1	1	2
Income from shares in the company	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
Other pay additions	7	4	5	5	4	5	5

The majority of employees receive a fixed salary or wage, although the incidence is slightly lower for part-timers (table 38). More employed men receive other additional payments than women; women in part-time jobs are the least likely to have these additional payments. This gender difference in receipt of additional payment is largely to do with segregation rather than differential payment structures for men and women doing the same work. Research on European payment structures has shown that premia compensation for overtime, 'unsocial hours', poor working conditions and performance-related bonuses are more developed in male-dominated areas of employment (Rubery and Fagan, 1994).

Worker consultation

In the final part of this Chapter we consider the extent to which workers feel that they are consulted about their working conditions, and are generally informed about, and protected from, health and safety risks. People's responses to these types of survey questions will be influenced to quite a degree by existing practices and standards in their workplace and the expectations associated with these norms. For example, an assessment of what constitutes satisfactory consultation will depend on expectations based on previous experiences of consultation. Similarly, people's assessments

about the adequacy of health and safety measures are affected by their awareness of the risks. Nonetheless, these very general indicators provide some insight into both issues.

There are very few gender differences in the broad picture of workplace consultation. Just over 60% of the workforce report that they are able to discuss their working conditions with their managers, employee representatives or external experts (table 39). However, nearly one in three are not consulted, and male part-timers are less likely to be consulted than other men or women. The majority of those who are consulted about their working conditions feel that this leads to positive improvements.

Table 39 Consultation about work organisation

%							
Type of discussion or consultation about work organisation and conditions	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
None	30	37	31	31	30	30	30
Colleagues only	7	10	7	6	6	6	7
Managers, employee representatives or external experts	63	53	62	63	65	64	63
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Of those who are consulted, the % who think this has some positive effect	85	87	85	87	84	86	85

Note: These indicators were derived from the following questionnaire items: consulted (Q30a1-2) and positive effect of consultation (Q30c1-3).

The majority of employed men and women report that they feel very or fairly well informed about the health and safety risks from the materials, instruments or products that they handle in their jobs, but just over one in ten felt unsure or uninformed (table 40). There was no major difference between the sexes. Part-timers were more likely to report that this information was ‘not applicable’ in their jobs, which may indicate a lack of information rather than that health and safety issues are irrelevant in their jobs.

Table 40 Perceived information levels about health and safety risks by gender

% who feel informed about the risks from the materials, instruments or products that they handle in their jobs							
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Very well informed	43	35	42	37	38	37	40
Fairly well informed	38	35	37	37	32	35	36
Not well informed or don't know	10	11	10	10	8	9	10
Not applicable	9	19	11	16	22	19	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

However, if we focus on the employed that are exposed to a selection of different risks then a gender difference is apparent (table 41). Women who are working with hazardous materials or environmental conditions; in poor ergonomic conditions; with computers; with people or from home feel that they are less aware of, or protected from, the risks of these working conditions than

men in similar situations. This analysis includes people who said that these issues are ‘not applicable’ in their jobs as well as those who say they are ill-informed so the explanation is unlikely to be that women are simply more aware of health-related issues than men in all areas of life including work. It suggests that women are less protected or informed about the risks in their jobs compared with men exposed to similar working conditions, however, this tentative finding requires further exploration. One indication that lends support to this hypothesis is that when we focus on people who are working in hazardous physical or material conditions, or with heavy loads, women are less likely to wear protective clothing or equipment than men (65% of women compared to 41% of men in these situations do not have protective equipment or clothing).

Table 41 Health and safety protection for employed men and women with high exposure to a range of potential hazards

% who feel that they are ill-informed about health and safety issues or that these are ‘not applicable’ for their jobs			
	Men	Women	All
Exposed to material/physical hazards	17	22	19
Exposed to ergonomic hazards	22	31	36
Working with computers	20	28	24
Working from home	20	23	22
Dealing directly with people external to the workplace	21	27	24
Total	100	100	100

Conclusion

In this Chapter we have looked at the relationship between gender, occupational status and various working conditions indicators that are available from the European survey on working conditions. The results have been summarised in the summary of the relationship between gender, occupational status and working conditions (over). The analysis has shown that there are some gender differences on some aspects of working conditions, but not a systematic pattern on all the indicators investigated.

The main gender differences are that women are more likely to be working in jobs dealing directly with customers or other users of their workplace; to be low paid; to have experienced or to be aware of intimidation and discrimination at their workplace, and to feel that they have insufficient health and safety information when they work in hazardous conditions. Compared to men, women are less likely to have planning responsibilities; are less exposed to physical or material hazards, and have lower levels of job autonomy and working-time autonomy.

We also explored gender differences within occupational status groups in order to assess whether the relationship between gender and working conditions was largely attributed to gender itself (the ‘gender relations’ thesis), or whether it was an outcome of gender segregated employment patterns (‘the gender segregated jobs’ thesis). This step in the analysis revealed that the ‘gender segregated’ thesis provides a fuller understanding of the relationship between gender and many aspects of working conditions, for two reasons.

One reason is that for some working conditions this more detailed analysis reinforced the message that the overall gender differences are still present when comparisons are made within occupational status groups, and in some instances the difference is more pronounced than when

it is averaged across all white-collar and blue-collar employment. For example, within each occupational status group women received less training than men and this gender gap was particularly pronounced in blue-collar (manual) employment. Similarly, within occupational status groups women are less likely to be working with computers. There are also important occupational differences between men and women who are home workers.

The second reason is that for some other working conditions there is an interaction between gender and occupational status that may even contradict the overall comparison for all employment. Firstly, among white-collar workers women are more likely than men to have the 'people' work of dealing directly with customers and other users of their workplace; while perhaps surprisingly the gender difference is reversed among blue-collar workers. Secondly, exposure to physical and material hazards is a particular risk for men, but mainly those men employed in blue-collar jobs, after them come women in blue-collar jobs. The risk of exposure is lower for white-collar workers, and there are few gender differences among these white-collar workers. Thirdly, the average gender difference in exposure to poor ergonomic conditions is slight, but on closer inspection it is evident that in some occupational categories, notably professional work, women are more at risk of ergonomic hazards than men with comparable occupational status. A fourth example is that job autonomy and working-time autonomy is generally higher for men and higher for both sexes if employed in professional and managerial jobs, but within the professions women have notably less working-time autonomy.

Another theme explored was to compare the working conditions of part-timers and full-timers. This reinforced much of the evidence that is already well known about the conditions of part-time work. Part-time jobs are segregated into a narrower range of occupations than full-time jobs (see Chapter 2) and the jobs are typically more monotonous with fewer opportunities for learning or formal training compared to full-time ones. Part-time work is also lower paid relative to full-time work, not just in terms of monthly earnings as collected in this survey, but also in many countries when expressed as an hourly rate (Rubery and Fagan, 1994). In this Chapter we have also identified some more positive dimensions to the working conditions associated with part-time work, for part-time workers have lower rates of exposure to physical, material and ergonomic hazards, and are less likely to have an intense pace of work.

Finally, it is important to consider whether the indicators from the European survey on working conditions that have been used in this Chapter are adequate for identifying the particular features that characterise much of women's employment, or whether they are biased in their focus towards the working conditions that characterise male-dominated areas of activity. There are a number of improvements that could be made to the indicators that we have used. Firstly, more emphasis should be placed on developing indicators that explore the positive and negative aspects of the 'people' work that women do, and the content of the questionnaire should be reviewed from this standpoint. In some parts of the questionnaire this might be addressed by refining existing questions, or definitions. For example, the item about 'moving or lifting heavy loads' should be refined to make it explicitly include 'moving and lifting people or heavy loads' in order to capture the risks and responsibilities of moving elderly patients, young children etc. Another example is that there is no item about the risks of contact with other peoples' blood, bodily fluids and infections that many care workers in health and education are exposed to. It would also be useful to refine the measure of short, repetitive tasks to identify whether these constitute different

proportions of the working day for women relative to men, and whether these short cycles are experienced as a negative activity or a welcome break from other more intellectually or emotionally demanding parts of the job. In relation to the issue of ‘people’ work and interaction at the workplace generally more substantial revisions are required to develop indicators of physical and psychological safety from intimidation and harassment, and to explore the issues of discrimination.

Secondly, the introduction of a question on earnings into the survey is an important new addition, but the question design needs refinement so that it is possible to derive measures of average monthly and hourly pay for men and women and hence calculate the actual gender pay gap. Finally, the questions about consultation and health and safety information are somewhat imprecise and would benefit from revision in order to provide a better understanding of how these issues operate and are experienced at the workplace.

Summary of the relationship between gender, occupational status and working conditions

Working conditions indicators	Gender differences	Relationship with occupational status group
Job content – selected items <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problem-solving and learning • Task complexity/monotony • Teamworking/task rotation • Planning responsibilities 	Full/part-time status has more of an impact than gender per se: part-time jobs offer fewer opportunities for learning, are more monotonous and have fewer planning responsibilities.	Problem-solving, task complexity and planning are mainly features of managerial and professional jobs. In each occupational status group these job content items are generally less prevalent for employed women compared to employed men. The smallest gender difference is found among clerical and service work.
Skills match and the amount of training provided by employers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Skill levels match job demands? • Number of days training received? 	A similarly high majority of each sex said their skills match their job demands, and the amount of workplace training was also similar on average. Part-timers are the most likely to say that their skills are under-used, and receive less training than full-timers.	Managers and professionals received more training than other workers. Within each occupational status group women received less training than men; this ‘gender gap’ was least pronounced in the managerial and professional categories.
Customer service and ‘people’ work <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The proportion of work time that is spent dealing directly with people external to the workplace (customers, passengers, patients, pupils, etc.) 	Particularly a feature of women’s jobs, whether in full-time or part-time work.	Particularly a feature of ‘white-collar’ work. Women in managerial and professional jobs do more ‘people’ work than men employed in these occupational categories. The picture is reversed for blue-collar (manual) work: women in these jobs have less ‘people’ work than men in these jobs.
Exposure to intimidation and discrimination at the workplace <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence, intimidation and bullying • Discrimination (sex, age, nationality, ethnic background, disability, sexual orientation) 	Women have higher rates of experience and awareness of violence and intimidation and discrimination at work.	

Summary of the relationship between gender, occupational status and working conditions (continued)

Working conditions indicators	Gender differences	Relationship with occupational status group
<p>Exposure to material and physical hazards As a proportion of work-time:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • loud noise; • vibrations from tools and machinery; • extreme temperatures; • dangerous products or substances. 	<p>Men are more exposed to these hazards than women.</p> <p>Part-time jobs offer some protection against these hazards, both in terms of lower risks of exposure and shorter working hours.</p>	<p>Within each occupational status group men are more exposed to these hazards.</p> <p>This gender difference is most pronounced in blue-collar (manual) jobs; it is negligible in the professional category.</p> <p>There is an interaction between gender and occupational status: the highest exposure is for men in blue-collar jobs, followed by women in blue-collar jobs; exposure is lowest for white-collar workers of either sex.</p>
<p>Exposure to ergonomic hazards As a proportion of work-time:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • repetitive hand or arm movements; • painful or tiring positions; • carrying or moving heavy loads; • short repetitive tasks. 	<p>No gender difference in rates of repetitive movement, painful positions, or short repetitive tasks.</p> <p>Men are more exposed to heavy loads, making them more at risk of these hazards overall.</p> <p>Part-time jobs offer some protection against these hazards.</p>	<p>Ergonomic risks are highest in blue-collar (manual) jobs.</p> <p>There is an interaction between gender and occupational status: women are more at risk of ergonomic hazards than men in all white-collar areas of work — particularly in professional jobs — as well as in blue-collar (manual) craft jobs.</p>
<p>Work with computers As a proportion of work-time:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • work with computers; • telework from home with a computer. 	<p>No gender difference in working with computers, but men are slightly more likely to do telework.</p> <p>Part-timers are less likely to work with computers.</p>	<p>Gender differences are more pronounced when occupational status is taken into account: in each occupational status group men are more likely to work with computers (including teleworking).</p>
<p>Home working</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Home is the main place of work (excludes telework) 	<p>No gender difference in the rate of home working, no difference by full-time/part-time status (but the survey may under-estimate women's greater involvement in casualised or informal sector home working).</p>	<p>There are gender differences in the occupational profile of home workers. Male home workers are more likely to be managers or blue-collar craft workers while female home workers are more likely to be clerical or service workers.</p>
<p>Work intensity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Factors setting the pace of work • Working at high speed • Insufficient time to get the job done • Tight deadlines 	<p>Women are more likely to have their pace of work set by the demands of other people; men are more exposed to production targets or machine speed.</p> <p>No gender difference in the requirement to work at high speed or whether they have insufficient time to do the job. Men are more likely to work to tight deadlines.</p> <p>Part-time jobs offer some protection against work intensity.</p>	<p>Managers and professionals are most at risk of work intensity (but blue-collar workers are the most exposed to working at high speed – see Chapter 1).</p> <p>There is an interaction between gender and occupational status: among managerial and blue-collar craft jobs women are less exposed to high levels of work intensity, but there are few gender differences in the other occupational status groups.</p>
<p>Disruptive interruptions</p>	<p>No difference by gender or full-time/part-time status.</p>	<p>The incidence is slightly higher in professional and managerial jobs.</p>

Summary of the relationship between gender, occupational status and working conditions (continued)

Working conditions indicators	Gender differences	Relationship with occupational status group
<p>Job autonomy and working-time autonomy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work methods • Speed of work • Task order • When breaks are taken • Choice when to take holidays • Influence over working hours 	<p>Men have higher levels of autonomy.</p> <p>There are few differences between full-timers and part-timers in work autonomy, but part-timers have slightly more influence over their working-time.</p>	<p>Autonomy is highest for managerial and professional workers.</p> <p>The work autonomy of women professionals is much lower than male professionals.</p>
<p>Wages</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Net monthly earnings • Wage structure 	<p>Women are more at risk of low pay than men and are also less likely to benefit from the highest earnings.</p> <p>This gender difference is also found among part-timers.</p> <p>A higher proportion of men have additional payments built into their wage structure.</p>	
<p>Consultation about work organisation and workplace health and safety protective measures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation occurs and is effective • Awareness of health and safety risks 	<p>The majority of men and women consider that they are effectively consulted, but nearly one in three of each sex is not consulted.</p> <p>Among those working in hazardous conditions, women are more likely to report that they have insufficient health and safety information and they are less likely to have protective equipment.</p>	

In this chapter we examine one final set of working conditions; the different dimensions of working-time. This includes the volume of weekly hours worked; the scheduling and variability of weekly hours and whether hours variability is led by the demands of the employer or is influenced by the employee. We also consider the compatibility of working-time schedules with family life and other commitments.

The volume and schedule of working hours

We have already noted that a higher proportion of employed women than men are in part-time jobs (see Chapter 2). This is a result of both labour supply and demand factors that are rooted in the existing pattern of gender inequalities in society. Many women seek part-time work when they have young children as one means of reconciling the time demands of mothering and employment, particularly when alternative sources of childcare are scarce. From the demand-side it is also the case that for some women the only jobs available to them in the labour market are part-time ones, for example because they can only obtain low qualified work in female-dominated occupations such as retail or personal services where employers are increasingly organising jobs on a part-time basis in many countries (O'Reilly and Fagan, 1998).

Defined using an hour threshold, 10% of employed men and 41% of employed women usually work part-time hours of less than 35 per week. This is slightly higher than the rates recorded for self-assessment, where 6% of employed men and 34% of employed women replied that they were part-time. However, this self-assessment was based on a question that simply asked people if they work part-time, rather than the more conventional LFS question that asks people to define themselves as either part-time or full-time, and is thus a rather imprecise measure.¹⁰

Table 42 shows the usual weekly number of hours worked by the employed in their main jobs, and includes a breakdown of the hour range worked by full-timers and part-timers using this 35-hour threshold. Just over half of employed men and women work a 'standard' week of 35-39 hours. The rest are dispersed across a wide range. National working time regulations, and more recently the adoption of the EU Working Time Directive are designed to promote the quality of working life through setting upper limits on the volume of working hours. This is in recognition of the negative impact that long working hours have on the workers' health and safety, the safety of their customers in some sectors of activity, and on the coordination of the time demands of employment with family life. A significant number of the European workforce regularly works long hours from week to week. This survey shows that around one in five employed men and one in ten employed women work very long weekly hours (48+) as a rule, a result that is also found using other European surveys (Fagan, 2001).

¹⁰ The relationship between full-time/part-time status and the number of hours worked per week varies between countries, sectors and workplaces, although it generally clusters beneath a 35-hour or 30-hour threshold. One reason for this variation is different regulations and conventions that define 'part-time' and 'full-time' hours. Another is that part-timers may work full-time hours on a regular basis due to overtime or other additional hours arrangements, while full-timers may work short hours for equivalent sorts of reasons. In this survey, 24% of the employed men who said that they worked part-time had usual weekly hours of 35 or more per week, as did 7% of the women part-timers, giving a total of 10% of all part-timers. Conversely, 7% of men and 14% of women who said that they did not work part-time had usual weekly hours of less than 35, giving a total of 9% of all full-timers. However, the question wording used in this survey was ambiguous because people were only asked if they worked part-time, rather than the conventional question that asks people to define themselves as either part-time or full-time.

Part-time hours range from short usual weekly hours (20 or less) into more substantial working hours, including some who work in the 30-34 hour range that it might be more appropriate to consider as 'reduced full-time hours'. Like full-time hours, the number of hours that part-timers work is influenced by national differences in working-time and fiscal policies. For example, a larger proportion of part-time jobs are organised around marginal hours in the Netherlands and the UK, while longer hours are the norm in Sweden and France (O'Reilly and Fagan, 1998).

Table 42 The usual weekly volume of hours of the employed in their main job

	%						Total
	20 or less	20<30	30<35	35<40	40<48	48+	
Men — full-time	-	-	-	66	10	24	100
Men — part-time	32	26	41	-	-	-	100
All employed men	3	3	4	59	10	21	100
Women — full-time	-	-	-	77	8	15	100
Women — part-time	34	44	22	-	-	-	100
All employed women	14	18	9	46	4	9	100
All employed men and women	8	10	6	53	7	16	100

Note: for all tables in this Chapter FT = Full-time PT = Part-time (under 35 hours per week) All = FT+PT

Source for all tables in this Chapter: The European survey on working conditions, 2000.

Table 43 The average usual weekly volume of hours by gender, occupational status and contract

	Average usual weekly hours of work (standard deviation shown in brackets)						
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
White-collar managerial jobs	50.6 (14.6)	26.4 (6.7)	48.7 (15.6)	48.7 (14.1)	25.8 (7.1)	44.7 (15.8)	47.3 (15.8)
White-collar professional jobs	43.6 (9.0)	22.6 (8.1)	40.6 (11.5)	40.7 (6.1)	22.2 (7.1)	33.0 (11.2)	36.9 (11.9)
White-collar clerical and service jobs	42.9 (9.6)	21.6 (8.1)	40.3 (11.7)	40.3 (6.3)	21.1 (7.1)	32.1 (11.6)	34.7 (12.3)
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	43.6 (9.5)	23.9 (9.0)	42.3 (10.7)	44.1 (11.7)	22.3 (7.2)	38.1 (14.4)	41.7 (11.5)
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	42.1 (8.2)	20.1 (10.8)	39.5 (11.2)	40.1 (5.0)	18.4 (7.6)	29.5 (12.6)	36.0 (12.6)
Self-employed without employees	-	-	47.5 (17.3)	-	-	40.3 (18.9)	44.8 (18.2)
Self-employed with employees	-	-	51.8 (16.0)	-	-	44.1 (16.2)	49.7 (16.4)
Employees	41.8 (7.3)	22.0 (9.2)	39.9 (9.5)	40.0 (5.2)	21.3 (7.2)	32.2 (11.1)	36.4 (10.9)
All employed	43.8 (9.9)	22.3 (9.0)	41.6 (11.9)	41.4 (8.1)	21.2 (7.4)	33.2 (12.6)	37.9 (12.9)

Note: For all tables in this Chapter

White-collar managerial jobs = ISCO 1

White-collar professional jobs = ISCO 2-3

White-collar clerical and service jobs = ISCO 4-5

Blue-collar craft and skilled manual jobs = ISCO 6-7

Blue-collar operating and labouring jobs = ISCO 8-9

Table 43 shows that long hours of work in Europe are particularly common for managers and the self-employed. Within each occupational status group men work longer average hours than women. Average part-time hours are shortest in the blue-collar operating and labouring (manual) jobs, reflecting the high rates of marginal part-time jobs among these occupations.

Commuting time adds another element to the length of the working day. The average daily commute time is 37 minutes, but nearly one in five of the employed (18%) spend at least one hour commuting each workday. Full-timers, particularly men, have the longest commute times.

There has been a tendency towards a diversification in the volume of hours worked over the week and year, associated with the spread of part-time employment in some parts of the economy as well as the development of new working-time arrangements for full-timers (Meulders et al., 1997, Hoffman and Boulin, 1999). In this context it can be argued that a second relevant indicator of working time conditions is the degree to which working-time practices are aligned with the preferences of the workforce. Thus, a mismatch between the usual volume of hours worked and the preferred arrangement can be considered as a negative working condition. In this survey it is possible to explore the mismatch in the volume of weekly hours only for people who defined themselves as part-time workers. Approximately one quarter of the (self-defined) part-time workers are under-employed and would like to work longer hours (table 44).

Table 44 Over-employment and under-employment of part-timers

% Would prefer to work	Part-timers (self-assessment definition)		
	Men	Women	All
More hours	24	22	22
Same number of hours	53	67	65
Fewer hours	17	7	9
Don't know	6	4	4
Total	100	100	100

Note: The definition of part-time work here is a self-assessed one by the people interviewed; this question was only asked of people who defined themselves as part-time workers.

These results are broadly in line with the results from a previous, more detailed survey of working-time preferences of both full-time and part-time workers that was carried out in the Foundation's Employment options survey, which included an analysis of gender and working-time preferences (see Fagan, 2001). The results presented here are broadly in line with the results from that study, except that in the earlier study it was the male part-timers who were the most likely to want to increase their hours, where part-time work was defined as usual weekly hours of less than 35. The discrepancy between the two surveys is probably due to the wording of the part-time self-assessment question in this survey, which as we argued above is an imprecise measure. When comparing the preferences of part-timers it should also be remembered that a much smaller proportion of men work part-time, and most of them are either young and at the start of their labour market career, or approaching retirement. In contrast, the larger pool of women part-timers have a different age and domestic profile, with many of them having moved into part-time work as one solution to reconciling the demands of employment with raising children. The working-time preferences of both groups are shaped by both their domestic situations and their labour market opportunities, and change as these circumstances change.

To provide a fuller picture, it is relevant to record that the Employment options survey also showed that a large proportion of full-timers would like to reduce their working hours in exchange for lower earnings, particularly those working the longest hours. This included around one in five male full-timers and one in three female full-timers who would prefer to switch to part-time work (Fagan et al., 2001).

Table 45 presents the incidence of different types of work schedules worked by employed women and men. The restructuring of working-time practices and the extension of operating hours — including the spread of the 24/7 economy — has fuelled a tendency for a growing proportion of the workforce to be doing their jobs at times which fall outside of the ‘standard’ daytime, weekday hours. This table shows that some types of schedules are more prevalent than are others. Considering daily schedules first, a sizeable proportion of the workforce has work schedules that involve evenings and or nights:¹¹ 12% of men and 10% of women have schedules that fall outside of the ‘daytime only’ category. One in five employed men and 8% of employed women regularly work long days of 10 hours or more. Part-timers are slightly more likely to work evenings or nights than full-timers, and much less likely to work long days.

Table 45 Working time schedules of employed men and women

%	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Daytime only	90	82	88	92	88	90	89
Long days (more than 10 hours per day)							
At least once a month	44	23	42	29	10	21	33
Six or more times per month	21	10	20	12	3	8	15
Total working long days at least once a month	65	33	62	41	13	29	48
Regular/fixed work schedules (row %)							
Number of days worked each week varies	25	42	26	20	25	22	75
Start and finish times vary	36	49	38	29	30	30	34
Number of hours worked per day varies	41	57	43	34	42	38	41
Working time schedule can change over the month	31	32	31	25	26	26	29
Control over daily start and finish times (column %)							
Fixed start and finish times, set by employer	43	34	42	50	45	48	45
Fixed start and finish times, some personal influence	20	17	20	21	24	23	21
Variable start and finish times, some personal influence	25	34	26	18	19	19	23
Variable start and finish times, set by employer	11	15	12	11	11	11	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Variable components to work schedules are also quite common. A quarter of the employed said that the number of days that they worked each week varied. A third had variable start and finishing times. Forty-one per cent said that the number of hours worked each day varied. From this survey we do not know in any detail how frequent these variations were, but we do know that 29% of the

11 This measure is based on the question item that asks people whether or not they only work in the daytime (Q1804). The survey also asked precise questions about night work (at least two hours between 10 pm and 5 am) and evening work (at least two hours between 6 pm and 10 pm)(Q16a, Q16b). Unfortunately, there were a large number of missing responses to both questions (18% and 13% respectively), and nearly all of these missing cases were from Germany. This makes these question items unreliable for the analysis.

employed said that their working-time schedule changes from month to month (71% said that their schedule never changes).

There is a gender difference in that employed men have more variable patterns in their work schedules, but the difference is not that pronounced. For example, 70% of employed women have fixed start and finish times compared to 62% of men. This tendency for women to have more regular work patterns than men is also apparent when the comparison is restricted to those in full-time work. Part-timers are more likely than full-timers to work a variable number of days and hours per day, but there is little difference in the variability of either start and finish times or the schedule over a month.

Variation in work schedules may be largely set by the employer, or it may be an arrangement over which the employed have some control, for example through formal 'flexitime' systems or other working-time policies. We have already seen that women have slightly less working-time autonomy than men on average, with this gender difference being most pronounced in white-collar work (see table 36). Here we examine the extent to which women and men work fixed or variable daily schedules, and whether they can influence these schedules.

Compared to men, women are more likely to have fixed start and finish times. This greater propensity for women to have fixed hours is both in circumstances where their employer controls their hours (48% of employed women and 42% of employed men) and where they work fixed hours but report that they have some influence over their schedule (23% compared to 20%). A minority of the workforce have variable start and finish times over which they have some influence, which is the best indicator that we have of the extent of formal or informal flexitime arrangements. Men are more likely to have this form of 'autonomous flexibility' in their work schedules: 26% of employed men compared to 19% of employed women.

Just over 10% of employed men and women have variable start and finish times which are set by their employer. There are few differences between employed women according to full-time or part-time status, but among men part-timers are more likely to report that they have variable start and finish times over which they have some influence.

Table 46 Types of shifts worked by employed men and women

%	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Work shifts	20	18	20	20	18	19	20
Work alternating shifts or permanent nights ¹	19	17	19	19	16	18	18
Distribution of type of shift							
Alternating morning/afternoon/night	37	24	36	27	42	23	31
Alternating morning and afternoons	30	32	30	44	17	43	35
Alternating day and night shifts	9	9	9	5	5	5	7
Permanent night shifts	8	8	8	8	11	9	8
Permanent morning or afternoon shifts	4	9	5	5	12	7	6
Split shifts (a break of at least 4 hours in between)	6	5	6	6	6	6	6
'other'	5	12	6	7	7	7	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹ Includes all those who said that they had an alternating rota or worked permanent nights. Excludes permanent morning or afternoon shifts.

Many, but not all, of the employed with variations in their work schedules are working shifts. Overall, one in five of the employed are shiftworkers (table 46). Shiftwork that comprises either a rotating element or permanent night shift affects 19% of employed men and 18% of employed women. The incidence of shiftwork is quite similar for full-timers and part-timers, and by gender.

The most common shift pattern involves alternations across mornings and afternoons with or without a night-time element. These two patterns account for 66% of all shift types. Women shiftworkers are more likely to work nights on either a permanent or rotating basis if they are employed part-time; a total of 58% of female part-time shiftworkers have nightwork as part of their shift compared to 40% of female full-time shiftworkers and 53% of male shiftworkers. Some mothers may elect for night shifts as one means of scheduling childcare if their partner or another relative is available to look after the children at night, but this may often be a compromise in the face of limited alternatives.

Turning to weekend work it is clear that Saturday work is now a regular part of the working week for more than half of the workforce, as is Sunday work for more than a third of the workforce (table 47). We saw earlier that women’s involvement in Sunday working has increased and converged on the rate of Sunday working among men (see Chapter 1). There are now few differences in the level of Sunday work between full-timers of either sex and women in part-time jobs, but male part-timers are the most likely to be working Sundays. Rates of Saturday work are also quite similar by gender and working-time status, except the rate is lower for women part-timers.

Table 47 Weekend working by employed men and women

%	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Sundays							
At least once a month	28	31	28	26	24	25	27
3 or more times per month	8	10	8	8	6	8	8
Saturdays							
At least once a month	55	56	55	52	47	50	53
3 or more times per month	23	28	24	25	21	23	23

Tables 48 and 49 provide some summary measures that compare the work schedules of men and women by occupational status group. Long days are a particular feature of managerial jobs for both women and men, although frequent long days are less common for female managers compared to male managers (table 48). In each occupational status group women are less likely to work long days compared to men, although the difference is not that great among men and women in blue-collar craft occupations. It is interesting that when women are employed in management and in blue-collar craft jobs — which are the most male-dominated areas of employment — that they are more likely to work long days than in other occupations. This suggests that the long hours may be one barrier that makes it difficult for many women to work in this area of the economy if they have childcare responsibilities.

We have seen that the rates of weekend and shiftwork are similar for women and men on average. Within occupational categories some differences emerge. For men the highest rates of Saturday and Sunday work are for managers and white-collar clerical and service workers; and rotating shift

patterns are particularly common for men in blue-collar operating and labouring jobs. The rates of weekend work and shiftwork are similar by gender in most occupational status categories, with some exceptions. Among clerical and service workers women are less likely to work weekends than men in these jobs, but they are more likely to do so than men among blue-collar craft workers. Among professionals it is women who are the most likely to work rotating shifts, and this is likely to be particularly associated with nursing and other health professions. Conversely, among blue-collar operating jobs women are less likely to work rotating shifts than men employed in this occupational area.

Table 48 Indicators of the incidence of non-standard work schedules by gender and occupational status

Men

%	Frequent long days	Frequent Saturdays	Frequent Sundays	Rotating shifts
White-collar managerial jobs	36	46	20	8
White-collar professional jobs	21	23	9	13
White-collar clerical and service jobs	17	37	15	19
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	19	28	9	17
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	15	23	8	34
All	20	24	8	19

Women

%	Frequent long days	Frequent Saturdays	Frequent Sundays	Rotating shifts
White-collar managerial jobs	29	48	22	8
White-collar professional jobs	8	19	10	22
White-collar clerical and service jobs	6	30	11	16
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	16	40	18	12
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	3	21	5	20
All	8	23	8	18

Turning to the issue of working-time variability (table 49) it is evident that male managers are the most likely to be able to influence their start and finish times, with 50% working variable hours on this basis and another 30% using a more fixed daily work pattern. The proportion of employed men with some influence over their start and finish times declines with occupational status, replaced by working hours that are either fixed or varied by the employer.

In the context of public debates and initiatives to promote ‘family-friendly’ working-time, where the focus has been particularly on helping women combine their childcare responsibilities with employment, it might be assumed that the ability for workers to vary their start and finish times might have become more established in women’s work schedules. This data suggests that this is not the case. We have already seen that on average employed women have less influence over their start and finish times — whether they use this influence to work variable or fixed schedules (table 45). Table 49 shows that this gender gap is particularly large among professionals, and also among managers. Instead, women in these occupations are more likely than men to say their start and finish times are controlled by their employers. There are few gender differences among clerical and service workers. Women in blue-collar craft jobs have a relatively high rate of variable hours

working through their personal influence, which matches the rate for women managers (and exceeds that of men in blue-collar craft jobs). Women in blue-collar operating jobs have very little influence over their daily schedules, although they are less likely to have their hours varied by their employer compared to men with a similar occupational status. Of course, it might be that women with domestic responsibilities manage this less through recourse to daily flexibility and mainly by changing to a particular fixed schedule that offer the ‘best fit’ with the time schedules of home life — by switching jobs if necessary to achieve this fit, including moving into part-time work. We consider this issue of ‘work-family’ compatibility in the next section.

Table 49 Working-time variability by gender and occupational status

Men

	%				
	Varied – personal influence	Fixed – personal influence	Fixed by employer	Varied by employer	All
White-collar managerial jobs	50	30	13	7	100
White-collar professional jobs	37	22	30	11	100
White-collar clerical and service jobs	20	22	45	13	100
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	23	19	48	10	100
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	13	14	56	17	100
All	26	20	42	12	100

Women

	%				
	Varied – personal influence	Fixed – personal influence	Fixed by employer	Varied by employer	All
White-collar managerial jobs	36	39	21	4	100
White-collar professional jobs	21	20	47	12	100
White-collar clerical and service jobs	15	25	49	11	100
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	36	15	39	10	100
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	11	18	62	9	100
All	19	23	48	10	100

The effect of working hours on work–family compatibility

These different schedules can be assessed for their impact on the degree to which they are compatible with the schedules of family life. Indicators of compatibility with family life are complex. At face value, work schedules that spill into the evening, nights and weekends can be considered disruptive to family life in that they present coordination difficulties with the daily schedules of raising children or creating shared ‘family time’. On the other hand, such schedules may offer alternative opportunities for the coordination of employment with family life. For example, some mothers with young children elect to work evenings or weekends if this means that other family members are available to take care of their children. Thus, respondents may consider that their work schedule is compatible with family life because it has been selected strategically in the context of having to arrange particular forms of childcare. In another context of more available childcare services then it might be the case that the types of schedules assessed as ‘family

compatible' would change. In this survey men and women were asked how well their working hours fitted in with family and social commitments outside of employment, which provides us with some basic insight on this issue. However, more detailed interviews would be necessary to obtain more considered opinions and to explore what people meant by 'compatibility', and what it was about their hours and other commitments that produced this sense of 'compatibility'.

A larger proportion of employed women report that their working time is compatible with family life (table 50). This is particularly the case for part-timers, many of which have elected to work part-time in order to manage employment with the time demands of being a mother (for example, see Fagan, 2001). Over 20% of employed men and 16% of employed women said that the time demands of their job were incompatible with their family life. Mothers who were employed full-time and all fathers were more likely to say that the demands of their jobs were incompatible with family life, and there was no gender difference in the distribution of their responses: a quarter said there was little if any compatibility. This lack of fit was less acute for men and women without dependent children, but it was mothers employed part-time who were the most likely to report that their working hours fitted 'very well' with their family and social commitments. Half of mothers employed part-time reported that their hours were compatible, however this leaves another half for whom part-time work did not provide such a good fit.

Table 50 Compatibility of working hours with family and other commitments

By gender and full-time/part-time status

%							
	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Very well	29	37	30	30	52	39	34
Fairly well	49	44	48	50	39	45	47
Not very well/not at all	22	19	22	20	9	16	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

By parenthood

%						
	Father	Men without dependent children	Mother, employed full-time	Mother, employed part-time	All employed mothers	Women without dependent children
Very well	27	31	27	50	38	40
Fairly well	48	49	48	41	45	45
Not very well/not at all	25	20	25	8	17	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The 'work-life' incompatibility was felt most by male managers; among women it was felt most by those in management and blue-collar craft occupations. However, overall, occupational status in itself is not strongly correlated with 'work-life' incompatibility (table 51). Rather, particular elements of work schedules are incompatible (table 52).

The volume of hours usually worked per week has an impact on 'work-family' compatibility. We have already seen this through comparing full-timers and part-timers in table 50; table 52 shows

that incompatibility increases as full-time hours lengthen. The incompatibility is particularly acute for those working at or in excess of the 48-hour maximum set by the Working Time Directive.

Table 51 Lack of compatibility of working hours with family and other commitments by gender and occupational status

%	Men	Women	All
White-collar managerial jobs	30	21	27
White-collar professional jobs	20	16	18
White-collar clerical and service jobs	22	14	17
Blue-collar craft and related manual jobs	20	21	20
Blue-collar operating and labouring manual jobs	22	14	19
All	22	16	19

The type of schedule also has an impact on ‘work-family compatibility’. There is one clear message that applies for both men and women. They are more likely to judge their work schedule to be incompatible with their family and social life if they work evenings or nights, rotating shifts, a varying number of days each week, or regular weekends. Variable start and finish times are also less compatible than fixed ones, particularly when the variation is set by the employer; but also when the worker has some influence in varying their hours. This appears to be paradoxical: why is it that workers who have varied start and finish times associated with some degree of autonomy report that their hours are less compatible with other activities compared to people with fixed start and finish hours? The explanation is likely to be found in the nature of the job, for this autonomy may be associated with a managerial or professional job that requires a commitment of long hours and thus the ability to influence start and finish times may provide insignificant relief from the other working-time features of the job. We return to this issue in Chapter 5.

Some workers do find ‘non-standard’ schedules to be compatible with their other commitments, for example, the survey shows that around a quarter of men and women working rotating shifts say that this fits in very well with their family and social life. However, this rate of compatibility is much lower than that reported by non-shiftworkers. So it seems that the working-time elements that contribute to a greater sense of work-family compatibility are regular, daytime, weekday hours and a moderate volume of work. In other words, the ‘standard working week’ that has been the benchmark of industrial relations since the earliest negotiations about working-time regulation. Yet this is in tension with many of the schedules that are being introduced to provide companies with more flexibility to cover variable or extended operating requirements.

The second message to take from table 52 is the gender difference. Men are more likely to report that their schedules are incompatible than women; for every component element of the schedules investigated and this gender difference is most pronounced among those with ‘non-standard’ elements to their work schedules. This is in the context that a higher proportion of men work long full-time hours and outside of daytime hours, and men are also slightly more likely to have variable elements in their schedules. Men’s weekend work is also more likely to be in addition to weekday work associated with their longer working hours. Nonetheless, what this table shows is that it is men’s working schedules that are the least compatible with family life. Thus, it is important that ‘work-family’ policy debates should address men’s schedules, rather than the usual focus tending to be on women. By making men’s work schedules more ‘family compatible’ it will enable women

to enter and progress in male-dominated areas of employment and it will also provide a basis on which to get men more involved in childcare and other household tasks.

Table 52 Lack of compatibility of working hours with family and other commitments by gender and work schedule

Volume of hours

	%		
	Men	Women	All
20 or less	17	9	11
20<30	14	7	8
30<35	23	12	16
35<40	15	17	16
40<48	22	23	23
48+	42	36	40
Total	22	16	19

Schedule

	%		
	Men	Women	All
Daytime only	20	14	17
Evenings and/or nights	37	28	33
Varies own start and finish times	26	17	22
Fixes own start and finish times	14	9	12
Start and finish times fixed by employer	17	16	16
Start and finish times varied by employer	42	27	36
Does not work shifts	19	13	16
Works shifts	34	27	31
Same number of days each week	18	14	16
Variable number of days each week	33	23	29
No Saturdays	12	9	10
Regular Saturdays	35	25	31
No Sundays	16	12	14
Regular Sundays	45	30	39
Total	22	16	19

Conclusion

The fundamental gender difference in working conditions is the volume of hours worked. A large proportion of women's employment is organised on a part-time basis. This is partly because many women with young children or other domestic responsibilities seek out part-time work as one means of managing the demands on their time, particularly when alternative sources of childcare are scarce. However, employers' decisions about whether to use part-time workers are influenced by a number of other considerations other than workers' working-time preferences, and as we saw in Chapter 2, part-time work is particularly concentrated in service and sales jobs, clerical and elementary manual jobs and has made less of an inroad into many of the higher status and better rewarded areas of employment.

A sizeable minority of the European workforce work very long weekly hours. This is more prevalent for men than women, but women are not immune: 21% of employed men and 9% of employed women have usual weekly hours at or above the 48-hour limit set by the Working Time Directive.

Aside from the volume of hours worked, the other main gender differences is that women tend to have more fixed or regular elements to their schedules — the same number of days per week, hours per day, fixed start and finish times. Men report more autonomy to vary their working hours. A slightly higher proportion of men have schedules that involve evening or nightwork, but the difference is not great. There is also little difference in men and women's involvement in weekend work and rotating shifts.

Part-time work may mean shorter hours, but it does not necessarily protect workers from being involved in schedules that fall out of the 'standard' of daytime, weekday schedules. Part-timers have higher rates of involvement in evening, nightwork and weekend work than full-timers.

Certain working-time conditions — notably long hours, nightwork and rotating shifts — are known to pose health risks, and have been the focus of health and safety protective legislation, including some parts of the Working Time Directive. However, to assess working-time conditions it is also relevant to consider working-time preferences, and in connection with this, the particular topic of 'work-family' compatibility. The European survey on working conditions shows that a large proportion of part-timers are satisfied with the volume of hours that they work but nearly one in five would prefer to work longer hours. Other sources, including the Employment Options Survey find a similar result, and in addition reveal that a large proportion of full-timers want to reduce their hours, including sizeable minorities of men and women who would prefer to work part-time. In other words, a large proportion of the workforce would prefer to adjust their hours and to move away from the extremes of very short part-time or very long full-time hours towards the middle-range of long part-time/moderate full-time hours (Fagan, 2001).

This survey has also shown that men and women are more likely to report that their work schedules are compatible with their family and social life if they have 'standard' work schedules of daytime, weekday, fixed hours and if they do not work long full-time hours. Men are even more likely to report this incompatibility, often because the 'non-standard' elements of their schedules are part of a longer working week. Thus work-family policy must address men's schedules and not just focus on women's employment patterns. However, more detailed investigation is required to gain a better understanding of what men and women consider a 'compatible' schedule to consist of, and why.

This analysis suggests that in discussions of working conditions it is also important to develop indicators of working-time preferences and 'work-family' compatibility, as well as the more usual measures of actual working-time patterns. Furthermore, information about the type of schedule, and the workers' degree of control over any variability in this schedule should be considered in conjunction with the volume of hours worked. No such systematic information is currently collected at a European level.

The impact of working conditions on health, work-family compatibility and satisfaction

In this chapter we examine the impact of men and women's working conditions on their health and their satisfaction with their working conditions, including the extent of 'work-life balance' that their job affords.

As already discussed in Chapter 1, the survey relies on people's reports of their health, rather than medical measures. Self-report data will not provide the same level of accuracy as medical assessments, but it does provide a reasonable reflection of variations in relative health across the working population. The correlations that are found between certain working conditions and reported health suggests that self-report measures are reasonably reliable. For example, analysis of this and previous waves of the European survey on working conditions (Merllié and Paoli, 2001; Paoli, 1997) show that health problems increase with the volume of hours worked and with work intensity; musculo-skeletal disorders were correlated with repetitive work and absenteeism increases significantly with the arduousness of the work (painful/tiring positions, repetitive movements). Another criticism of self-report data is that it is affected by 'negative affectivity', or in other words, people with a negative or pessimistic disposition are more inclined to report that they feel stressed or have other negative health effects than 'optimists' exposed to similar conditions. However, research has shown that even when personality dispositions are controlled this has little effect on the correlations found between working conditions and stress (Jex and Spector, 1996; Spector et al., 2000), and furthermore, that the causality is complex for working conditions themselves effect whether people have a positive or negative outlook (Payne, 2000). Thus, despite the inevitable subjective element in people's assessments of their health, the aspects of health that were covered in the survey are judged to be measured with sufficient reliability for this analysis.

Impact on health

Sixty per cent of the employed think that their job affects their health in some way, with full-timers more likely to make this assessment than part-timers (table 53). Most of the respondents are thinking about the negative effects of employment on their health, for only 1% mention that their job has a positive impact on their health. A substantial proportion of employed men and women believe that their health or safety is at risk because of their job, and more men (31%) than women (22%) believe they are at risk. Part-timers, particularly women part-timers are least likely to report that their job impacts on their health or exposes them to health and safety risks.

Health-related absences can be costly for employers as well as detrimental and costly for employees. Nine per cent of men and six per cent of women had been absent from work in the previous 12 months due to an industrial injury. The higher rates of industrial injury for men are in line with their greater exposure to a negative physical environment of working with machinery and dangerous substances (see previous Chapters). Ten per cent of employed men and women had been absent due to health problems that they attributed to their working conditions. Absenteeism rates were higher in connection with 'other health problems' caused by factors outside of the workplace. Women were slightly more likely to be absent for 'other health problems' than were

men. Some of this gender difference is probably related to gynaecological conditions but it is also because some workplace-related health problems may be particularly prevalent in certain female-dominated occupations, such as among nurses or childcare workers, but they are not recognised as ‘real’ problems in traditional health and safety legislation. The need to develop a more gender-sensitive perspective on health and safety is one of the objectives of the review of the EU regulatory framework on health and safety under the Belgian Presidency in 2001.

The average number of days of absence was similar for men and women for each type of absence. Part-timers were less likely to be absent, which is in part an artefact of their shorter working-time, but if absent for work-related reasons women part-timers were absent for more days than women full-timers were.

Table 53 Perceptions of the health impacts of employment and absenteeism rates

%	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Job affects their health in some way	62	55	61	61	53	58	60
Work improves health	1	1	1	1	2	2	1
Health or safety is at risk because of their job	32	25	31	24	19	22	27
Absenteeism in the last 12 months							
For at least one day due to an accident at work	10	6	9	6	5	6	8
If absent: the average number of days absent	21	15	22	21	23	21	21
For at least one day due to health problems caused by work	10	7	10	12	9	10	10
If absent: the average number of days absent	18	19	18	17	25	20	19
For at least one day due to other health problems	34	29	33	40	34	36	35
If absent: the average number of days absent	11	14	12	13	13	13	12

There are few gender differences in men and women’s perceptions of the health problems caused by their jobs, although part-timers report slightly fewer health problems than full-timers (table 54). We have grouped together a number of stress-related symptoms, which is the most frequently reported condition. This may be partly because of a growing public awareness of stress as a contemporary ailment. It may also be the case that some moderate levels of stress are a positive stimulus to productivity and creativity. However, stress is not just a ‘fashionable statement’; high stress levels are associated with negative working conditions, such as excessive workloads over which people feel they have little control, or poor workplace relationships (Jex and Spector, 1996, Spector et al., 2000). If all indicators of stress are counted then over 40% of the workforce have at least one symptom of stress from their jobs, if a narrower definition is drawn then we still find that over a quarter (25%) of employed women and men report at least two stress-related symptoms.

Table 54 Men’s and women’s assessments of the health impact of their jobs

%	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Hearing problems	11	6	10	3	2	3	7
Vision problems	9	8	9	10	5	8	8
Allergy-related problems (allergies, skin problems, respiratory difficulties)	10	8	10	9	7	8	9
Muscle-related problems (backache and other muscular pains)	30	24	29	33	26	30	30
Stress-related problems (headaches, stomach aches, heart disease, anxiety, irritability, sleeping problems, ‘stress’)							
One symptom	20	17	19	18	16	16	19
At least two symptoms	25	23	25	29	19	27	25
Total with some stress symptoms	45	40	44	47	35	43	44

Muscle-related problems are prevalent, and affect 30% of employed women and 29% of employed men. Backache is the most common of the muscle-related complaints. Smaller minorities of the workforce suffer from allergy-related problems, hearing or vision as a result of their working conditions, with men more at risk of these health problems than women.

Ill-health caused by working conditions

In this section we will look at the effect of a number of potentially important working conditions simultaneously on the number of ill-health symptoms arising from work. By looking at all of the possible causes of illness at work in the same model, we get a better idea of which variables are important, other variables being held constant, and which ones might be only spuriously connected to health at work.

Multiple regression to predict illness from work

A multiple regression analysis was run to predict the illness score from fourteen variables:

1. An index of exposure to poor ergonomic conditions
2. Has disruptive interruptions at work
3. An index of exposure to hazardous physical and material conditions
4. An index of unsocial hours of work (working evenings, nights and long days)
5. An index of work intensity
6. Older age
7. Gender (being female)
8. Occupational status group
9. An index of time autonomy
10. The number of hours of work
11. The number of sources of pace-setting
12. An index of hours variability in the work schedule
13. An index of weekend working
14. An index of task autonomy

The first 10 variables in this list entered the model using the stepwise procedure ($p < 0.005$) and accounted for 23% of the variance in the illness score. They are listed in order of the strength of the relationship with the illness index (see table 1 for further details of regression analysis).

This analysis showed that the following working conditions each increased the risk of work-related illness: exposure to poor ergonomic conditions, work that involves disruptive interruptions, exposure to physical or material hazards, unsocial hours, long hours, and a high degree of work intensity. Having some autonomy in working-time slightly reduced the risk of work-related illness.

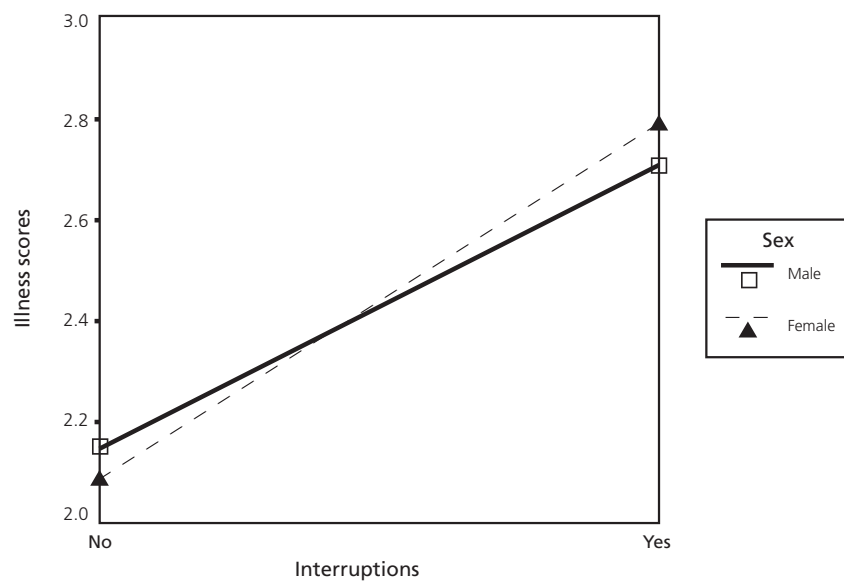
When these particular working conditions are controlled for an additional risk of work-related illness remains for those people working in managerial or professional work and to a lesser extent in skilled manual work.

In the initial bivariate exploration, there was no relationship between gender and the number of illnesses caused by work, but men tend to work in worse ambient conditions. However, once this difference in work conditions was controlled for, a tendency for women to report more work-related illnesses was uncovered.

Task autonomy was not significantly related to illness scores in any of the models. The other variables that were excluded from the model because they did not have statistically significant relationships with the illness scores (number of sources of pace-setting, hours variability, weekend working) all became insignificant as the other variables were added in.

In order to examine the relative strength of the variables included in this model on men and women, two-way analyses of variance were conducted in turn, to examine the combined effects of sex and each of the variables in this list on work-related illnesses. These models permit us to explore not only the separate effects of gender and working conditions on health, but also to examine the complex interactions between these variables.

Figure 7 The impact of interruptions on health¹



¹ The illness scores were derived from the number of illnesses that respondents reported were caused by their work, chosen from the list of 19 illnesses presented to them. To remove the strong upward struggle in the variable, it was recoded into four groups: 0, 2-3, 4+.

A consistent pattern emerged, which can be seen, for example, in figure 5. Clearly disruptive interruptions are associated with higher levels of work-related illness for both men and women, but the effect on women is more severe than the effect on men. The same can be seen for the intensity of work, where again the healthiest group are the women who work in jobs with the least time pressures, and the unhealthiest group are the women with the most time pressures at work (figure

7). The same pattern was also evident with working unsociable hours (figure 10) and variable hours (figure 9). The evidence from all of these graphs suggests that women have more to gain from an improvement in working conditions, but it tells us little about why women's health is more influenced by their working conditions than that of men. Further analyses are needed to determine whether it might be due to their additional domestic burdens, the nature of the jobs that they do, or a greater susceptibility to stress.

Figure 8 The effect of work intensity on health

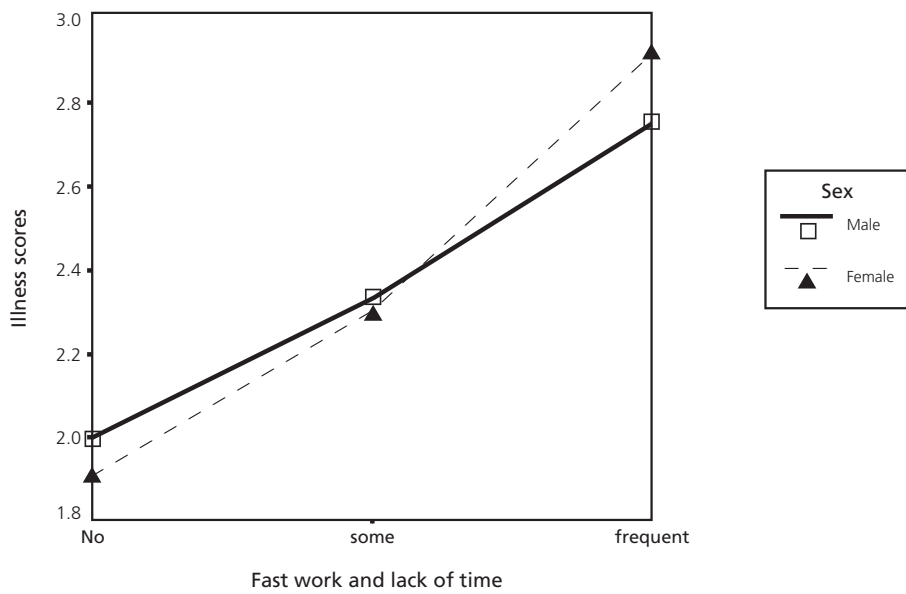


Figure 9 The effect of variable hours on health

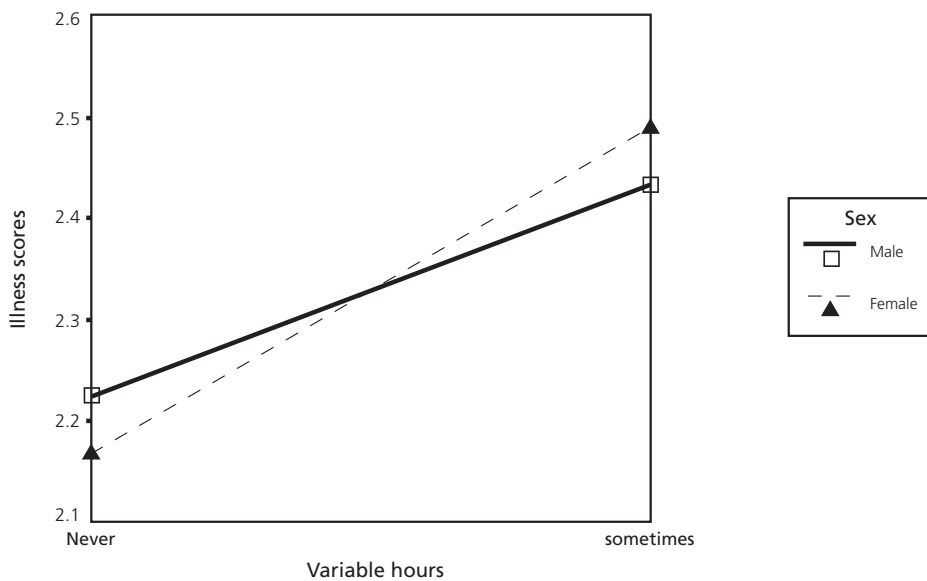
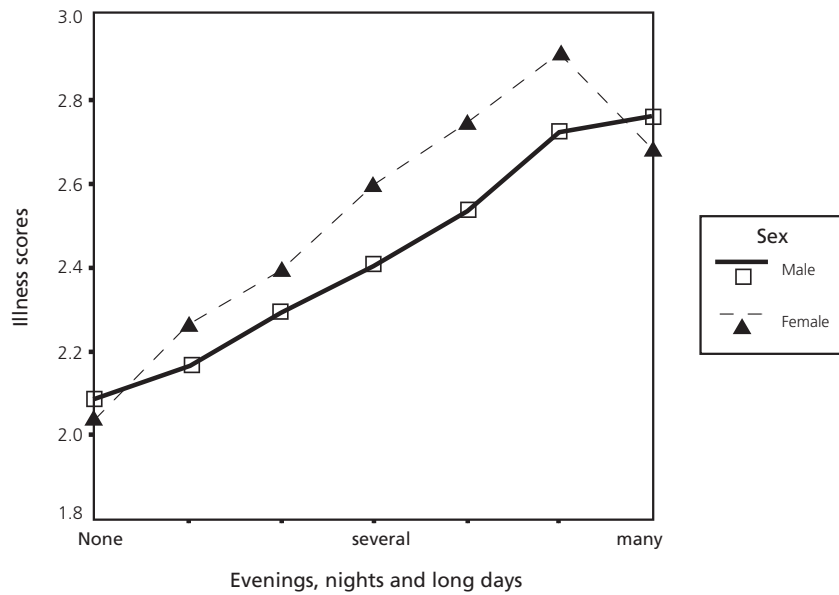
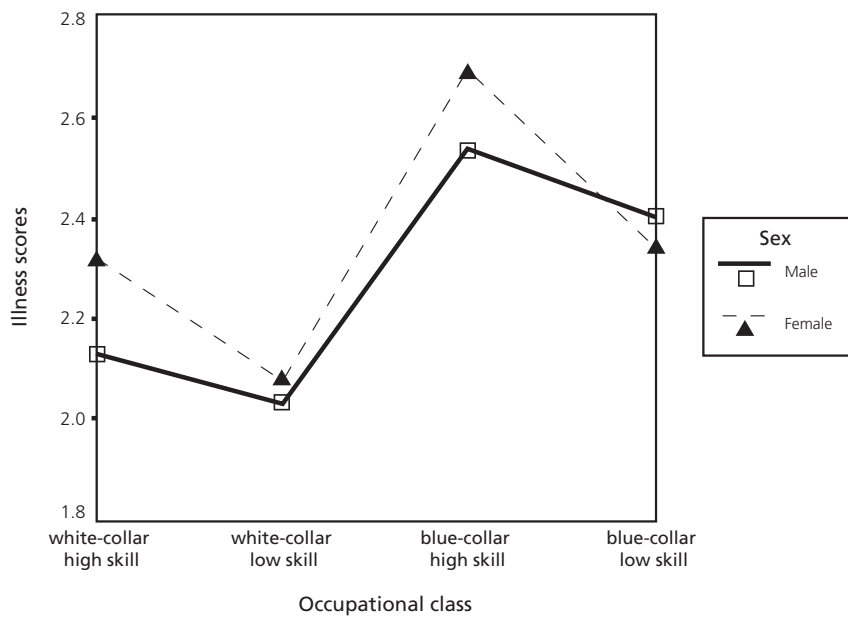


Figure 10 The effect of evening/nightwork and long days on health



The combined effects of occupational group and sex are also complex. Women are most heavily concentrated in clerical jobs, which have the lowest levels of occupational illness, and men strongly outnumber women in skilled manual jobs, which have the highest levels of occupational ill health. But within each of the occupational categories, except the less skilled blue-collar ones, men doing those jobs were healthier than women (figure 11).

Figure 11 The effect of occupational class on health



Work-life balance

A multiple regression was also conducted to determine the combined effects of working conditions on the responses to the question 'In general, do your working hours fit in with your family or social commitments outside work; very well, fairly well, not very well or not at all well?' Using the same set of independent variables, a stepwise multiple regression produced a model with the following variables (in order of importance, judged by the standardised regression weight) (see table 2 in the Appendix for further details of the regression analysis).

1. An index of unsocial hours of work (working evenings, nights and long days)
2. An index of weekend working
3. The number of hours of work
4. An index of time autonomy
5. An index of work intensity
6. An index of exposure to poor ergonomic conditions
7. An index of hours variability in the work schedule
8. Has disruptive interruptions at work
9. An index of task autonomy

The following variables did NOT have any significant contribution to the model (at the $p < 0.001$ level)

10. Occupational status group
11. Gender (being female)
12. The number of sources of pace-setting
13. Older age
14. An index of exposure to hazardous physical and material conditions

Clearly, in the case of work-life balance, as measured by this variable, the three most important variables point to the negative aggregate effects of unsociable hours and long hours. These variables all show strong, linear relationships such that the greater the level of non-standard hours, the greater the dissatisfaction. However, there is some evidence that the fourth variable, time autonomy, may be able to offset the effects of long or unsociable hours. This will be explored in more detail later.

The last five variables entered into the regression had considerably weaker effects on work-life balance, but they suggest that conditions within the job, such as the intensity of work, the flow of work, poor ergonomic conditions and limited control over tasks can also effect perceptions of the compatibility of work and non-work.

It is also interesting to comment on the variables omitted from the multiple regression. At a univariate level, women paradoxically show greater satisfaction with their working hours than men

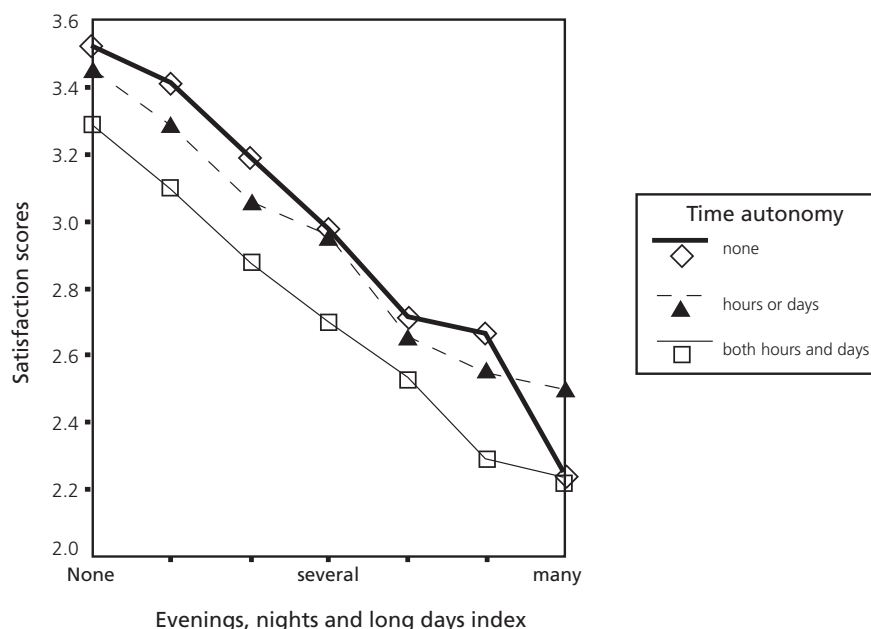
(see Chapter 4), perhaps because women have lower expectations about being able to find jobs that fit with their domestic arrangements than men, and are therefore ‘more easily satisfied’. But when other variables are added into the regression, the gender effect disappears.

Separate analyses were conducted to investigate whether there were gender differences in the effects of working conditions on work-life balance. The differences were minor; all of the effects described above were very similar for both men and women.

Unsociable hours and control over hours

These results suggest that empowering employees through control of their own working hours may be a simple way to offset the negative work-life balance effects of unsociable hours. To explore this important possibility in more detail, these two variables were analysed simultaneously in an analysis of variance. The results are illustrated in figure 12. This graph shows (as did the regression) that both control and unsociable hours have an effect on satisfaction with work-life balance. But it is also clear that the effect of control over working hours is relatively weak compared with the impact of working unsociable hours. In other words, employees tend to be able to cope much better with a low level of unsociable hours working that they can’t control, than with a higher level of unsociable hours working that they can control (the crossing of the lines at the extreme right side of the figure is probably caused by the small number of cases in the highest group on the unsociable hours index). In policy terms this suggests that regulation of hours is still important, even if the working of unsociable hours is ‘voluntary’.

Figure 12 The effect of unsociable hours on satisfaction with work-life balance¹



¹ Respondents were asked ‘In general, do your working hours fit in with your family or social commitments outside work; very well, fairly well, not very well or not at all well?’ On the resulting scale from 1-4, higher scores indicate less satisfaction with work-life balance.

Satisfaction with working conditions

Survey questions that record how satisfied people are with different aspects of their employment or other parts of their lives typically record high satisfaction levels. This survey is no exception, with only a minority reporting dissatisfaction (table 55). Interpreting these results is complex, but other studies of job satisfaction report that very high levels of reported satisfaction should not be taken at face value. More probing questions about satisfaction typically reveal that simple survey questions about job satisfaction obtain rather superficial responses, and that more considered responses reveal higher levels of dissatisfaction (Burchell et al., 2002). Nonetheless, it is useful to examine the kind of working conditions that are associated with variation in the levels of reported satisfaction.

Table 55 Men's and women's satisfaction with their working conditions

%	Men			Women			All
	FT	PT	All	FT	PT	All	
Very satisfied	26	31	27	28	37	32	29
Fairly satisfied	57	50	56	56	51	54	55
Not very satisfied or not at all satisfied	17	18	16	16	12	14	15
Don't know	1	2	1	-	-	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The table presents the result known from previous research, which is that part-timers report higher general levels of satisfaction with their working conditions than full-timers (Hakim, 2000). This is often argued to be a paradoxical result, given that many of the working conditions in part-time jobs are inferior to the conditions of full-time work. However, research that has asked about specific working conditions illuminate the picture by showing that part-timers are generally more satisfied than full-timers with their working hours but are often less satisfied with many other working conditions, particularly their rates of pay, access to training, promotion opportunities (Gallie et al., 1998).

It is the difference between full-timers and part-timers that produces the gender difference in satisfaction, as there is no gender difference in levels of satisfaction when full-timers are compared.

We explored which working conditions have significant effects on satisfaction with general working conditions using multivariate analysis, with a four-point scale from 'very satisfied' to 'not at all satisfied'. This was predicted from the same 14 independent variables as in the previous models.

The following nine variables together accounted for 12% of the variance in the satisfaction scores (all Ps <0.001). This is noticeably less than the variance accounted for in either the illness scores or the work-life balance scores. This is probably because a lot of the variance in job satisfaction is attributable to the positive aspects of work (such as intrinsic satisfaction with the work itself) that are not measured in this survey.

1. An index of time autonomy
2. An index of exposure to poor ergonomic conditions
3. Has disruptive interruptions at work

4. An index of task autonomy
5. An index of work intensity
6. An index of exposure to hazardous physical and material conditions
7. An index of weekend working
8. Higher occupational status group
9. The number of hours of work

The following variables did NOT have any significant contribution to the model (at the $p < 0.001$ level, see table 3 in Appendix 3 for further details of regression analysis):

10. An index of hours variability in the work schedule
11. Gender (being female)
12. The number of sources of pace-setting
13. Older age
14. An index of unsocial hours of work (working evenings, nights and long days)

This model shows that each of the following working conditions reduced men and women's satisfaction with their working conditions: poor ergonomic conditions, hazardous exposure, disruptive interruptions, work intensity, weekend working and long hours of work. Having some influence or autonomy over working-time and autonomy in work methods enhanced satisfaction. Being in managerial or professional work also enhanced satisfaction, while manual work reduced satisfaction.

There are some very clear differences in the relative ordering of variables in this list, compared with the lists for predicting illness or work-life balance. Most remarkable is the way in which unsociable hours and weekend working are centrally important to work-related health and work-life balance, but only marginally related to people's satisfaction with their working conditions. This may be because the way in which the question was worded did not encourage respondents to include working hours as a component of working conditions. Or alternatively, it may be the case that the variables that make people dissatisfied with their job are very different from the variables that cause illness or interrupt family life.

Again, these relationships between various working conditions and satisfaction were examined to see whether the relationships were similar for men and women. In general they were, but with one important exception. For men, there seemed to be little relationship between hours of work and satisfaction with working conditions — the men who worked the longest hours were just as satisfied with working conditions as the men who worked standard hours. But for women, there was a clear linear relationship such that the longer the hours, the lower the level of satisfaction.

Conclusion

In this Chapter we have used multivariate analysis to examine which working conditions have the greatest impact on the probability of work-related illness, whether or not the job is judged to offer work-family compatibility, and satisfaction with working conditions.

Each of the following working conditions was found to have a significant and independent effect on the probability of having work-related illness. The ‘traditional’ health and safety hazards of poor ergonomic, physical and material conditions are bad for health. A number of aspects of working-time conditions — having disruptive interruptions in the work-day, unsociable work schedules (evening, nights or long days), an intense pace of work and long hours of work — also increased the risk of work-related illness. Working-time autonomy helped to reduce the risk of work-related illness. Once specific working conditions are taken into account, being in managerial, professional or skilled manual work further increases the risk of work-related ill-health.

When differences in men and women’s working conditions and occupational position are controlled in the analysis we found that women were more susceptible to work-related ill-health than men. This may be partly due to the additional domestic workloads that many women carry. It may also be because there are other working conditions that women are disproportionately exposed to but which are not picked up by the existing indicators in the survey. This issue requires further analysis and consideration in light of the current review of the EU regulatory framework on health and safety.

The key working conditions that reduce the work-family compatibility of jobs are long and unsociable hours, for both women and men. Working-time control or autonomy had a positive effect, but the effect is weak compared to the negative effect of unsociable hours. It appears that a low level of unsociable hours that the employed have no control over is more compatible with family life than a higher level of unsociable hours over which they have some apparent control. Gender and occupation had no independent effect on ‘work-family compatibility’ once the actual working conditions were taken into account.

Finally, we found that satisfaction with working conditions was reduced by poor ergonomic conditions, exposure to hazardous material or physical conditions, disruptive interruptions, an intense pace of work, the volume of hours worked and weekend work. Satisfaction was enhanced by working-time autonomy, task autonomy, and managerial or professional status. The effects of these working conditions on satisfaction were similar for men and women, except that the volume of hours had less of an effect on men’s satisfaction levels than on women’s.

In this report we have examined gender differences and similarities in working conditions. In the introduction we argued that the possible relationship between gender and working conditions can be summarised using two hypotheses. The gender segregated jobs hypothesis starts from the observation that women and men are segregated into different types of jobs and that this accounts for their exposure to different working conditions; conversely when they are in similar types of jobs it would be expected that they have similar working conditions. The gender relations hypothesis states that some of the gender differences in working conditions are to do with the broader pattern of gender relations and inequality in society, such as women's 'double shift' of paid and unpaid work since they do most of the care work in the home, or their greater vulnerability to sexual violence and harassment in all areas of life. Both are relevant for interpreting the relationship between gender and working conditions.

The first bridging conclusion from the study is that the pattern of working conditions in Europe, and the gender dimension in these patterns, remained fairly stable over the 1990s. There are two important exceptions. Working intensity — measured by the perceived speed of work — had increased for both sexes over the period, but the increase had been greatest among women, so that the gender gap in exposure to this working condition had reduced over time. Similarly, the gender gap in Sunday working was closing, largely due to women's growing involvement in this working pattern.

The second related general conclusion is that gender segregation in paid and unpaid work is a persistent feature of European societies. Women continue to shoulder the main responsibility for the second shift of running the home and looking after children, even when employed full-time. In the labour market women have increased their share of employment and have made important inroads into the higher status professional and managerial occupations. Yet obstacles still remain in the labour market that make it difficult for women to enter or advance in many of the higher status and better paid areas of employment, and similarly deter men from entering 'non-traditional' female-dominated areas of employment. Progress to reduce these obstacles have been made in the development of equal treatment legislation, and the implementation of formal organisational 'equal opportunities' policies, but further reform is required to strengthen the legislation and to promote good practice in organisations (European Commission, 2001). It has also become increasingly apparent from research and monitoring within organisations that it is important to tackle some of the more subtle or deep-rooted organisational practices and cultures that perpetuate gender inequalities. These factors are frequently expressed in terms of the metaphor of the 'glass ceiling' that makes it difficult for women to advance up the hierarchy, but these factors also apply more widely to the barriers operating throughout the economy to deter women and men from moving into areas of employment where their sex is in the minority.

The segregated nature of men and women's employment and unpaid work are fundamental working conditions, which in turn are related to a number of other working conditions. Thus it is important to examine the interaction between gender and occupational position to tease out a fuller understanding of how gender is related to working conditions, for many working conditions are more closely related to occupational position (or sector) than to gender per se.

The third general conclusion is that there are some gender differences on some aspects of working conditions but not a systematic pattern on all the indicators investigated. In Chapter 4 we examined conditions associated with job content and autonomy, the workplace physical, material

and social environment and pay. One stark difference is women are lower paid. The other gender differences are that women are **more likely** to be working in jobs dealing directly with customers or other users of their workplace; to have experienced or to be aware of intimidation and discrimination at their workplace, and to feel that they have insufficient health and safety information when they work in hazardous conditions. Compared to men, women are **less likely** to have planning responsibilities, are less exposed to physical or material hazards, and have lower levels of job autonomy and working-time autonomy.

The fourth conclusion is that it is important to analyse gender differences related to occupational position because the gender segregated thesis provides a fuller understanding of the relationship between gender and many aspects of working conditions, for two reasons. One reason is that for some working conditions this more detailed analysis reinforced the message that the overall gender differences are still present when comparisons are made within occupational status groups, and in some instances the difference is more pronounced than when it is average across all white-collar and blue-collar employment. The second reason is that for some other working conditions there is an interaction between gender and occupational status that may even contradict the overall comparison for all employment. This is illustrated by the following examples. Among white-collar workers women are more likely than men to have the 'people' work of dealing directly with customers and other users of their workplace; while perhaps surprisingly the gender difference is reversed among blue-collar workers. Exposure to physical and material hazards is a particular risk for men, but mainly those men employed in blue-collar jobs, after them come women in blue-collar jobs. The risk of exposure is lower for white-collar workers, and there are few gender differences among these white-collar workers. The average gender difference in exposure to poor ergonomic conditions is slight, but on closer inspection it is evident that in some occupational categories, notably professional work, women are more at risk of ergonomic hazards than men with comparable occupational status. A fourth example is that job autonomy and working-time autonomy is generally higher for men and higher for both sexes if employed in professional and managerial jobs, but within the professions women have notably less working-time autonomy.

The fifth conclusion is that working-time conditions are another area of employment where there are major gender differences (Chapter 4). A fundamental difference is the volume of hours worked. A large proportion of women's employment is organised on a part-time basis. This is partly because many women with young children or other domestic responsibilities seek out part-time work as one means of managing the demands on their time, particularly when alternative sources of childcare are scarce. However, employers' decisions about whether to use part-time workers are influenced by a number of other considerations other than workers' working-time preferences.

A sizeable minority of the European workforce work very long weekly hours. This is more prevalent for men than women, but women are not immune. Aside from the volume of hours worked, the other main gender difference is that women tend to have more fixed or regular elements to their schedules — the same number of days per week, hours per day, fixed start and finish times. Men report more autonomy to vary their working hours. A slightly higher proportion of men have schedules that involve evening or night-work, but the difference is not great. There is also little difference in men and women's involvement in weekend work and rotating shifts.

The European survey on working conditions shows that a large proportion of part-timers are satisfied with the volume of hours that they work but nearly one in five would prefer to work longer

hours. Other sources, including the Employment Options survey find a similar result, and in addition reveal that a large proportion of full-timers want to reduce their hours, including sizeable minorities of men and women who would prefer to work part-time (Fagan, 2001). This survey has also shown that men and women are more likely to report that their work schedules are compatible with their family and social life if they have 'standard' work schedules of daytime, weekday, fixed hours and if they do not work long full-time hours. Men are even more likely to report this incompatibility, often because the 'non-standard' elements of their schedules are part of a longer working week. However, more detailed investigation is required to gain a better understanding of what men and women consider a 'compatible' schedule to consist of, and why.

Our sixth conclusion concerns the relative working conditions of part-timers and full-timers. The analysis reinforced much of the evidence that is already well known about the conditions of part-time work. Part-time jobs are segregated into a narrower range of occupations than full-time jobs and the jobs are typically more monotonous with fewer opportunities for learning or formal training compared to full-time ones. Part-time work is also lower paid relative to full-time work, not just in terms of monthly earnings as collected in this survey, but also in many countries when expressed as an hourly rate. Part-time work may mean shorter hours, but it does not necessarily protect workers from being involved in schedules that fall out of the standard of daytime, weekday schedules. Part-timers have higher rates of involvement in evening, night-work and weekend work than full-timers. In this study we have also identified some more positive dimensions to the working conditions associated with part-time work, for part-time workers have lower rates of exposure to physical, material and ergonomic hazards, are less likely to have an intense pace of work, and are more likely to say that their work schedules are compatible with their family and social life.

In Chapter 5 we examined the impact of working conditions on health, work-family compatibility and satisfaction with working conditions. Each of the following working conditions was found to have a significant and independent effect on the probability of having work-related illness. The 'traditional' health and safety hazard of poor ergonomic conditions and exposure to poor physical or material conditions is bad for health. A number of aspects of working-time conditions are also detrimental to health: having disruptive interruptions in the work-day, unsociable work schedules (evening, nights or long days), an intense pace of work and long hours of work. Working-time autonomy helped to reduce the risk of work-related illness. Once these specific working conditions are taken into account then being in managerial, professional or skilled manual work further increases the risk of work-related ill-health.

When differences in men and women's working conditions and occupational position are controlled in the analysis we found that women were more susceptible to ill-health than men. This may be partly due to the additional domestic workloads that many women carry. It may also be because there are other working conditions that women are disproportionately exposed to but which are not picked up by the existing indicators in the survey. This issue requires further analysis and consideration in light of the current review of the EU regulatory framework on health and safety.

The key working conditions that reduce the work-family compatibility of jobs are long and unsociable hours, for both women and men. Working-time control or autonomy also had a positive

effect, but the effect is weak compared to the negative effect of unsociable hours. It appears that a low level of unsociable hours that the employed have no control over is more compatible with family life than a higher level of unsociable hours over which they have some apparent control. Gender and occupation had no independent effect on work-family compatibility once the actual working conditions were taken into account.

Satisfaction with working conditions was reduced by poor ergonomic conditions and hazardous exposures, disruptive interruptions, an intense pace of work, the volume of hours worked and weekend work. Satisfaction was enhanced by working-time autonomy, task autonomy and managerial or professional status. The effects of these working conditions on satisfaction were similar for men and women, except that the volume of hours had less of an effect on men's satisfaction levels than on women's.

Finally, it is important to consider whether the indicators that are available from the European survey on working conditions are adequate for identifying the particular features that characterise much of women's employment, or whether they are biased in their focus towards the working conditions that characterise male-dominated areas of activity. There are a number of improvements that could be made to the indicators, which are discussed in more detail in the conclusions to the relevant Chapters.

The first recommendation is that more emphasis should be placed on developing indicators that explore the positive and negative aspects of the 'people' work that women do, and the content of the questionnaire should be reviewed from this standpoint. In some parts of the questionnaire this might be addressed by refining existing questions, or definitions. For example, the item about 'moving or lifting heavy loads' should be refined to make it explicitly include 'moving and lifting people or heavy loads' in order to capture the risks and responsibilities of moving elderly patients, young children etc. Another example is that there is no item about the risks of contact with other peoples' blood, bodily fluids and infections that many care workers in health and education are exposed to. In relation to the issue of 'people' work and interaction at the workplace generally more substantial revisions are required to develop indicators of physical and psychological safety from intimidation and harassment, and to explore the issues of discrimination.

A second recommendation is that while the introduction of a question on earnings into the survey is an important new addition, the question design needs refinement so that it is possible to derive measures of average monthly and hourly pay for men and women and hence calculate the actual gender pay gap.

A third and related recommendation is that the questions about consultation and health and safety information are somewhat imprecise and would benefit from revision in order to provide a better understanding of how these issues operate and are experienced at the workplace.

Fourthly, it is important to develop more comprehensive indicators of working-time preferences, work-family compatibility and the extent and type of working-time autonomy alongside the measures of actual working-time patterns. It would also be useful to collect information on the hours worked by other members of the household in order to take fuller account of the domestic situation. Furthermore, information about the type of schedule, and the workers degree of control

over any variability in this schedule should be considered in conjunction with the volume of hours worked. No such systematic information is currently collected at a European level.

Finally, a more detailed exploration of the different dimensions of job satisfaction would be a useful development because it is relevant for assessing the quality of this part of people's lives. Rather than just asking people for an overall assessment of their satisfaction it would be better to ask them how satisfied they are with different aspects of their job (e.g. training and promotion opportunities, working-time etc.) and which parts of the job they find exciting and fulfilling or monotonous or dull (e.g. repetitive tasks, dealing with customers etc.).

Appendix

Multivariate regression results

1 Regression table for the working conditions that are significantly associated with men and women's ill-health (NILLNESS—NTILES of ILLNESS)

Model	Unstandardised coefficients		Standardised coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity statistics	
	B	Std Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)	.959	.055		17.536	.000		
Poor ergonomic conditions	.306	.008	.281	38.186	.000	.712	1.405
Disruptive interruptions	.392	.019	.134	20.704	.000	.918	1.089
Hazardous exposure	.209	.011	.138	18.279	.000	.681	1.469
Works long days/evenings/nights	.07529	.005	.104	15.241	.000	.828	1.208
High work intensity	.175	.012	.098	14.602	.000	.866	1.155
Age	.08634	.006	.084	13.292	.000	.970	1.031
Female	.177	.017	.071	10.331	.000	.815	1.227
Managerial or professional occupation dummy	.138	.018	.053	7.523	.000	.781	1.281
Has some influence over own work-time	-.06284	.010	-.042	-6.503	.000	.936	1.068
Number of hours worked	.02906	.007	.031	4.435	.000	.788	1.270
Skilled manual occupation dummy	.07064	.023	.023	3.131	.002	.727	1.376

1. Dependent variable: NTILES of ILLNESS, based on a count of the number of symptoms identified at Q35.
2. Variables excluded from model: hours variability; skilled manual dummy; number of sources of pace-setting; task autonomy; weekend working (all not-significant at the 0.01 level).

2 Regression results for the working conditions that are associated with men and women's dissatisfaction with their work/life balance (Q20)

Model	Unstandardised coefficients		Standardised coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity statistics	
	B	Std Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)	1.212	.021		56.614	.000		
Works long days/evenings/nights	.119	.004	.248	30.948	.000	.614	1.628
Works at weekends	.110	.006	.145	19.461	.000	.710	1.407
Has some influence over own work-time	-.103	.007	-.103	-14.396	.000	.766	1.305
Number of hours worked	.07634	.004	.123	17.990	.000	.850	1.176
High work intensity	.07931	.008	.066	9.850	.000	.870	1.149
Poor ergonomic conditions	.04101	.005	.057	8.636	.000	.916	1.092
Hours of work variability	.08344	.012	.045	6.722	.000	.896	1.116
Disruptive interruptions	.08753	.013	.045	6.875	.000	.920	1.086
Has some autonomy in work methods, order and breaks	-.04198	.008	-.040	-5.549	.000	.756	1.323

1. Dependent variable: Q20 'In general, do your working hours fit in with your family or social commitments outside work: very well, fairly well, not very well or not at all well?'
2. Variables excluded from model: sex; age; occupation dummy variables; hazardous exposure; number of sources of pace setting (all not-significant at the 0.01 level).

3 Regression results for the working conditions that are associated with men and women being satisfied with their working conditions (Q38p2)

Model	Unstandardised coefficients		Standardised coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity statistics	
	B	Std Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)	3.244	.027		120.204	.000		
Poor ergonomic conditions	-.06574	.005	-.114	-14.339	.000	.704	1.420
Has some influence over own work-time	.09948	.006	.124	16.323	.000	.763	1.310
Disruptive interruptions	-.164	.011	-.106	-15.180	.000	.915	1.093
Has some autonomy in work methods, order and breaks	.07756	.006	.093	11.947	.000	.735	1.360
Hazardous exposure	-.03899	.007	-.048	-5.924	.000	.666	1.502
Works at weekends	-.02680	.005	-.044	-5.597	.000	.704	1.420
Managerial or professional occupation dummy	.05631	.012	.041	4.861	.000	.638	1.567
High work intensity	-.05357	.007	-.056	-7.823	.000	.861	1.161
Number of hours worked	-.01559	.003	-.031	-4.460	.000	.898	1.113
Skilled manual occupation dummy	-.07664	.014	-.047	-5.413	.000	.599	1.670
Unskilled manual occupation dummy	-.06138	.014	-.035	-4.351	.000	.679	1.473

1. Dependent variable: satisfaction with working conditions (Q38P2)
2. Variables excluded from model: sex; age; number of sources of pace setting; hours variability (all not-significant at the 0.01 level).

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Gender, jobs and working conditions in the European Union

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The growing proportion of women in employment in recent decades has been one of the major changes affecting the European labour market. However, despite the increasing presence of women in the labour force, gender segregation remains a persistent feature. There is still a 'glass ceiling' reinforced by workplace cultures and informal procedures that makes it difficult for women to break through into the higher levels of management. The unequal division of unpaid household work also persists, as women continue to bear the main responsibility for running the home and looking after children, even when employed full-time.

This report examines the gender pattern of differences and similarities in working conditions in Europe, drawing on the findings of the Foundation's Third European Survey on Working Conditions 2000. It explains the reasons for the persistence of gender segregation and sets out policy recommendations for action aimed at decision makers in this field. The report also considers whether the established indicators of working conditions need to be revised to make them more 'gender-sensitive' to particular issues primarily associated with women's jobs, women's experiences in the workplace, or workload issues within households.

The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions is a tripartite EU body, whose role is to provide key actors in social policy making with findings, knowledge and advice drawn from comparative research. The Foundation was established in 1975 by Council Regulation EEC No 1365/75 of 26 May 1975.

