



The dynamics of occupational segregation in comparative context

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Petra Beckmann
(Ed.)

Gender Specific Occupational Segregation



BeitrAB 188

Institut für Arbeitsmarkt-
und Berufsforschung der
Bundesanstalt für Arbeit

**Beiträge zur
Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung**

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The Dynamics of Occupational Segregation in Comparative Context*

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The Reskin and Roos (1990, Reskin 1994) model of the job queue and the gender queue provides a dynamic conception of the processes of gender segregation, desegregation and resegregation. This paper argues that when the Reskin and Roos model is applied to cross-national rather than single country studies it has to be adapted to integrate national variation in institutional systems and labour market conditions. This modification of the model sensitises the analysis to different processes of change and different outcomes which coexist with broadly similar trends in the pattern of occupational segregation across the European Union.

1 Introduction

Both single country and cross-national studies have revealed that there is a persistently high level of occupational segregation between women and men despite the continued increase in female activity rates in the formal economy. However, the picture is not entirely static, for labour markets are characterised by processes of desegregation and resegregation. At the aggregate level summary index measures show that while the overall level of segregation remains high, it did in fact decline in many countries during the 1970s. However in the 1980s this desegregation in some countries subsequently gave way to resegregation while in others the level of segregation declined only slightly (Barbezat 1993; Rubery and Fagan 1993)¹.

Even when there is little change in the net *level* of segregation this may disguise a change in the more detailed *pattern* of segregation, for divergent trends may be occurring within different parts of the employment structure, whereby the sex ratio in some occupations may be becoming more balanced while others are becoming more segregated (Garnsey and Tarling 1982). One solution to the problem of distinguishing between desegregation and resegregation has recently been suggested by Hakim (1993a) who argues that a new analytical framework should be adopted which focuses upon changes in the share of the female

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¹There is an on-going debate about how to calculate a summary index measure, which involves both technical and conceptual issues (see Blackburn et al. 1993; Garnsey and Tarling 1982; Hakim 1992, 1993a, 1993b; Jacobs 1993; Jonung 1984; Siltanen 1990a, 1990b, Siltanen et al. 1993; Tzannatos 1990; Watts 1990, 1992, 1993).

and male workforce who are employed in 'integrated' or 'mixed' jobs rather than in 'female-dominated' and 'male-dominated' occupations.

The apparently rapid degree of change in the female share of some occupations was in fact the impetus to research by Reskin and Roos (1990; Reskin 1994) in the United States and Crompton and Sanderson (1990) in the United Kingdom. Both studies sought to understand both the mechanisms of change, and the impact on women's labour market position. The 'job queue, gender queue' model developed by Reskin and Roos (1990) provides a comparative and dynamic framework for the analysis of this process of change. In this model men head the queue for 'good jobs'. The circumstances and actions of employers, the male workforce and women all influence the likelihood of women entering jobs previously reserved for men. Employers may start to recruit women because there is an expansion of employment which cannot be met by the male labour supply, or their recruitment policies change, reflecting a reranking of the sexes in the job queue. This reranking may be the result of changes in the nature of the job, associated with reorganisation in the production process or may be the result of statutory and collective pressure to adopt equal opportunities policies. Male resistance to women's entry may fall because the desirability of employment in the occupation has fallen relative to alternative jobs or because 'escape routes' into sub-specialities of the occupation are available. Finally, women may manage to move ahead in the queue by obtaining relevant qualifications or training. This model is summarised in Figure 1.

As well as providing a framework for understanding how changes in the sex composition of occupations occur, the Reskin and Roos (1990) model has two other advantages. Firstly, it does not take the structure or significance of occupations as static and thus recognises that the position of jobs within the occupational hierarchy can change over time. One reason for this change in the status of an occupation may be the change in the gender composition of the workforce, and other research has also stressed the gendered nature of organisations and work, such that the structure and organisation of jobs cannot be considered to exist independently from the pattern of segregation the structure (e.g. Cockburn 1983; Collinson and Hearn 1994; Walby 1988). Secondly, by providing a dynamic framework this model recognises that the process of change in the sex composition of an occupation will not inevitably lead to long term desegregation and integration for ghettoisation and even re-segregation may also result.

However, other factors must also be taken into account if the Reskin and Roos (1990) framework is applied to interpreting changing patterns of segregation in a cross-national rather than a single country study. When comparing occupational change within a single country the national organisation of both the labour market and gender relations can often be treated as a constant. However, a significant body of cross-national research has shown how national institutional differences in political systems, welfare state systems, family systems, labour market regulatory systems and state policies towards equal opportunities structure the organisation of the labour market and social reproduction and hence both the form and outcomes of gendered patterns of employment. These analyses range from general typologies or analyses of national gender regimes (see for example Connell 1987;

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Figure 1 THE RESKIN AND ROOS MODEL OF OCCUPATIONAL FEMINISATION

Structural changes which contribute to the disproportionate recruitment or retention of women in an occupation:

1. Employment restructuring: the changing shape of the job queue

- The expansion of the occupation leads to labour demand exceeding the existing (male) labour supply.

2. Employment reorganisation: employers' reranking of the sexes in the labour queue

- Customary stereotypes concerning gender differences in productivity or cost differentials change (e.g. reduced sex differences in the human capital proxy measures of productivity; direct experience of hiring women due to labour shortages or affirmative action programmes).
- Sex-specific demand for women's labour, particularly through the reorganisation of the task content and structure of jobs and their relabelling as "women's work".
- Industrial reorganisation raises costs of indulging sex biased preferences – employers no longer willing or able to preserve a male workforce through raising wage levels (e.g. increased vulnerability to wage cost competition; changing product market and personnel policies as national corporations and franchises replace family businesses)
- Male resistance to women's entry weakened or no longer an important consideration.
- Changing recruitment practices and weakening of sex biased preferences (e.g. weaker or less overt sex discrimination in recruitment and promotion due to sanctions of antidiscrimination legislation and the corporate image rewards from the "visibility" of equal opportunities; more women involved in the hiring process; generational change in attitudes)

3. Men's reranking of the desirability of different occupations in the job queue

- The deterioration of earnings, job security, other working conditions or occupational prestige relative to other jobs makes the occupation less attractive to men and so encourage them to vacate the occupation.

4. Men's resistance to women's entry falls

- Employment expansion reduces the threat of female competition.
- The desirability of an occupation is falling due to deteriorating earnings and other returns.
- A process of ghettoisation means that women are crowded into lower paid, lower prestige occupational sub-specialities while men are offered "escape routes" into superior specialities.

5. Feminisation of the labour supply: the changing shape of the labour queue

- Labour reserve of women already doing "female-type" tasks for employers to draw into "men's" jobs as they are re-labelled "women's" jobs.
- Increased qualifications levels due to greater educational opportunities for some women
- Women willing to enter "male" jobs because the rewards are better than those for "female" jobs.

Source: summary and adaptation of Reskin and Roos (1990) chapters 2 and 15.

jobs are female dominated and some secondary type jobs male dominated. Within each segment there are clear gender hierarchies but it would be wrong to suggest that gender provides the only or main dimension to labour market differentiation. The processes by which jobs and workers are ordered within the labour market hierarchy are multi-dimensional, and in the case of gender give rise perhaps effectively to separate queues of men and women for sex segregated occupations. Within the sex segregated queues there is again a rank ordering by ascribed productivity. The Reskin and Roos model, however, suggests that these gendered hierarchies are not totally isolated and that there are important points of intersection between the demand for male and female labour; thus employers are happy to maintain a policy of primarily recruiting men for a particular job until they find they have to move too far down the male labour market queue; it is at this point that employers recognise the relative attractiveness of female recruits from perhaps further up the female labour market queue, measured by factors such as qualifications. This process of switching between gendered labour market queues is influenced by other factors, as identified in Figure 1, such as the willingness of women to acquire qualifications for and to apply for jobs outside their traditional gendered areas of work, and changes in the nature of jobs which may lead firms to seek actively to change the type of recruits, to meet new customer demands or take advantage of new forms of work organisation. However, the tendency for labour market queues to remain gendered is indicated by the case studies undertaken by Reskin and Roos where occupations once male dominated become re-segregated as female dominated occupations, or occupations become subdivided into male and female dominated segments. Thus the analysis of segregation within this labour market queue perspective must keep in mind both the processes of integration or interconnection between male and female labour market queues and the processes of segregation and re-segregation which still seem to persist in most societies.

3 Applying the 'queue' model to occupational segregation in the European Union : an overview of trends

Both continuity and change in the pattern of segregation within the European Union in recent years can be explained using this reformulated labour market queue approach. Figure 2 shows the female share of selected ISCO major occupational categories by country for eleven member states of the European Union² (see appendix 1 for comments on the dataset used). Over the 1980s there was a consistent increase in the female share of professional and clerical jobs across the Community. In contrast, little change is observed in the male-domination of production and manual jobs, where female shares of employment are low and show no signs of increasing. A similar degree of stability is observed in the female-dominated service jobs and in sales jobs.

² No occupational data are available for Italy. Data for Germany refer to pre-unification West Germany. This analysis refers to the 12 member state European Union in 1991, prior to the expansion of the European Union in January 1995.

Figure 2. Trends in the female share of ISCO major occupational groups

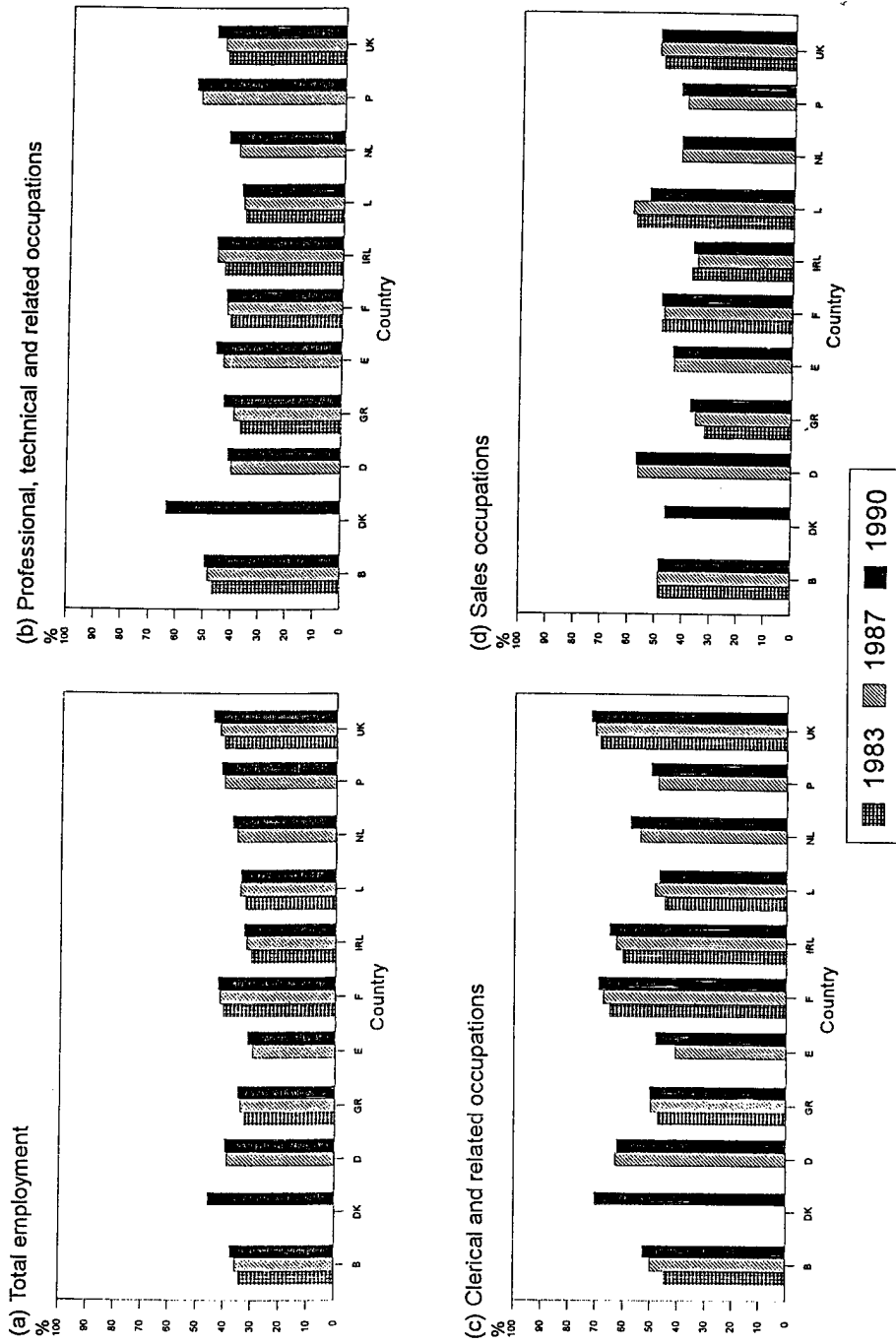
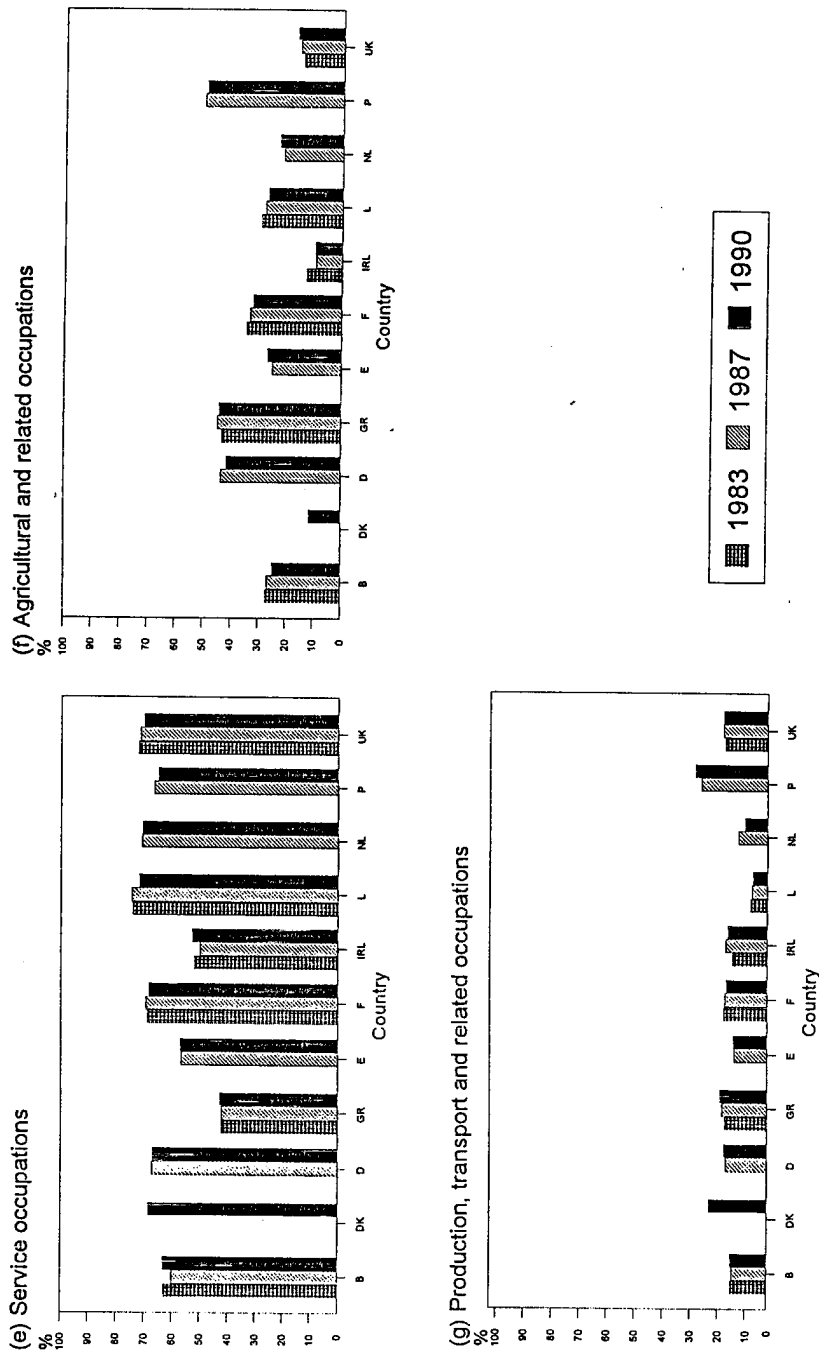


Figure 2 Continued



Note: 1983 data is missing or unreliable for Germany, Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands, similarly 1983 and 1987 data for Denmark is unreliable.

Source: EUROSTAT; Labour Force Survey, ISCO (68) 1 digit data.

This overview suggests a high degree of similarity in both the pattern of female-dominated and male-dominated occupations and the occupational areas which are becoming feminised across the European Union. In addition, more detailed occupational analyses reveal similarities across countries in both the maintenance of the male-domination of production and manual jobs and in the emergence of contours of segregation within more feminised occupational areas. These similarities are addressed first, before turning to examine country differences.

3.1 Continuity in the labour queue for manual jobs

The reformulated queue model of the labour market is consistent with the persistence of male-domination of production and manual jobs, and with little change in the sex segregation pattern within service and sales area, the other main manual and/or low skilled employment areas occupations. Within the manual job area there are still effectively gender segregated labour market queues.

Entry into production and craft related manual jobs has been restricted to men historically through the actions of trade unions, and through the construction of a male working culture, including for example long working hours. This area of labour market closure has been important historically in defining women's subordinate position in the labour market. However, there are strong reasons why the male domination of this employment segment has not been subject to challenge. If we take the labour market queue approach, for segregation to be changed we would expect that employers would either face a labour shortage or be concerned to develop cost cutting strategies involving the substitution of cheaper women workers. Employers' drive to substitute cheap labour to cost cut has developed within the context of a general fall in demand for male manual labour which has maintained a more than plentiful supply of male labour for these jobs, and has probably increased the incentive for men to maintain these jobs as areas of men's work. In this context, there is little incentive for employers to adjust the hours regimes or other working conditions to make them more 'female friendly'. Instead the sex labels of these jobs may have become more rigid as men struggled to avoid redundancy (Watts and Rich 1993). Conversely, the relative unattractiveness of many of these job areas to women has restricted the supply of willing and trained female recruits for these job slots which further constrains employers' ability to substitute female for male labour.

The detailed case study of driving jobs across European countries confirms this analysis. In most countries these jobs were no longer exclusively male, but women's representation remained low, often under 5% and under 10% in all cases. Bus driving is the area where most of the female entry had occurred. Historically, men have acted to preserve their domination of these jobs through strong male union organisation, particularly within the public sector, and also through contributing to the construction of these jobs on the basis of 'male' working conditions involving long hours and a predominantly male culture. The economic pressures of deregulation and privatisation in many countries might have encouraged employers to change their recruitment policies and switch to cheaper female labour for driving jobs, but this does not seem to have happened. For example, in the UK a

major fall in the relative pay levels of bus drivers, and the emergence of a new lower skilled driving job, has failed to lead to significant feminisation. A ready pool of male workers for these jobs continues to exist, even where employment conditions are deteriorating, because industrial restructuring over the 1980s produced high unemployment levels among male manual workers. At the same time there appears to be a notable absence of women queuing up for these jobs in most countries. Even where specific training schemes had been organised for women, for example in Italy, the take up rate had been very low (Bettio and Villa 1992). Equal opportunities policies, combined with the introduction of part-time jobs have had some impact in some countries such as the Netherlands (Plantenga et al. 1992). But overall, it appears that the dominant male culture, and the poor working conditions act as a deterrent for female entry into driving jobs when alternative labour market opportunities exist. In short, as the Italian experts put it, if women were going to bother to try and break down barriers into male jobs it was going to be in those jobs where the rewards were worthwhile (Bettio and Villa 1992).

Service and sales areas also experienced relatively little change in sex segregation over the 1980s, despite relatively large differences between countries in female employment shares. These differences, as we explore further below, are related in part to differences in the size and share of the male labour force queue. Thus in the Southern countries service sector work has remained relatively attractive to men, probably because of the lack of alternative job opportunities, and the male dominance has been maintained in part through the persistence of full-time working patterns often on a self-employment basis in these sectors. In many of the Northern countries much of the service sector is organised around part-time jobs which reinforces female domination even in periods of recession, thereby restricting the opportunity of unemployed men to lay claim to these types of jobs. Thus feminisation of sectors is often non-reversible as it is associated with a change in the status, pay and hours of a particular occupation, rendering it unacceptable even to unemployed males in their core working years.

3.2 Desegregation in professional jobs hides processes of persistent segregation

There is more evidence of increased intersections in the male and female labour market queues for professional jobs in the 1980s. Women have been increasing their 'attractiveness' as a source of labour supply to professional jobs by increasing their qualifications levels, while at the same time the relative attractiveness of some professional level activities has fallen, causing employers to look to new sources of labour supply for some professional level jobs. Thus although women have been increasing their share of professional jobs, this process of change has not been even. Some professional occupations remain male-dominated while others have remained or become increasingly feminised. For example, women hold less than one third of statistics, mathematics and computer science jobs in all countries, while they account for over 50% of all teachers in every country except the Netherlands (Table 1). Women's entry into professional jobs has reduced vertical segregation at the labour market level, but vertical segregation by gender has remained important within occupational areas (Hakim 1979). For example, feminisation is greatest in the lowest tiers of the educational system, for women hold a larger share of jobs in primary

Table 1: Similarity and difference in the female share of selected occupations

Countries ranked by the female share of the workforce	% female share of occupations (1990)			% female share of teaching sub-divisions			Year
	Statisticians, computing, etc.	Teachers	Cooks, waiters, bar staff, etc.	Primary	Secondary	Higher	
Denmark	28	57	78	57	(31)		1989
United Kingdom	20	60	77	82	51	19 Uni 45 other	1991
France	22	60	45	67	55	27	1989/90
Portugal	28	78	59	92	>63	31	1986/87
Germany	22	56	66	66	42	22 Uni	1989
Netherlands	13	46	60	63	28	20 Uni	1989
Belgium	17	59	60	65	53	17 Uni 43 other	1981
Greece	31	57	38	69	57	27	1986/7
Luxembourg	12	52	56	n/a
Italy	..	72	..	90	69	27	1991
Ireland	27	60	60	76	54	24	1989
Spain	26	59	41	61	51	28 Uni 35 Other	1988

Note: Denmark: % for secondary school teaching includes higher education.

UK: % for primary school teaching includes nursery education; higher education data for 1989.

Netherlands: % for higher education is calculated on a full-time equivalent basis and is for 1990.

Italy: all data are from National report.

Ireland: % for higher education is for 1981.

Data for teachers taken from National reports, EUROSTAT Labour Force Survey ISCO (68) 2 digit data. For computer professionals (ISCO 08), cooks, waiters and bar staff (ISCO 53), teachers (ISCO 13).

Source: Rubery and Fagan 1993.

schools than in secondary and higher education. Marked vertical segregation is also found within each educational tier, with men disproportionately represented as headteachers in primary school and as university professors relative to their share of subordinate posts.

Meanwhile the public sector has perhaps increased its importance for female professional employment (Schmid 1991). A high proportion of women in professional and managerial jobs are found in the public sector. In part this is attributable to the types of occupations found here, in particular the caring occupations. But detailed evidence from France, Germany and Spain shows that the female share of professional jobs, including many male-dominated engineering and science posts, is often higher in the public sector than in the private sector (Rubery and Fagan 1993: table 1.4). Thus the impact of women's entry into professional level jobs has been both a process of desegregation and resegregation.

The increase in women's share of professional level jobs is found across all European Union countries, in all cases associated with women's higher qualification levels and greater commitment to participation. However, the relative significance of supply side versus demand side factors in explaining the change in segregation varies between countries. In some countries, for example the UK and Germany, the continued increase in the feminisation of professional areas such as teaching has been associated with a decline in the attractiveness of these jobs, but in other countries, for example the Southern countries, pay levels in the public sector have risen at the same time as women have increased their entry rates. Here qualification strategies must provide the main explanations as women have shown themselves able to compete successfully in the open entry examinations to the public sector.

The public sector in fact provides a good example of how employers' policies may change for reasons other than simply cost cutting; for example pressure to act as good employers has forced public sector employers to set up more effective equal opportunity policies and to be seen to be non discriminatory in their policies. This also attracts more women to apply. However, even if the cause of the change in policy is not necessarily cost cutting, the concentration of women in the public sector creates the danger of ghettoisation, perhaps facilitating future pay squeezes and deterioration in working conditions once these jobs are firmly established as female dominated areas. Thus while the public sector offers opportunities for women, it may also contribute to sex segregation if a by-product is the continued male-domination of the private sector. For example, women have tended to enter the public sector higher level jobs in the UK and Germany at a time when declining relative pay levels may have encouraged male professionals to quit for better pay in the private sector. In addition, women's entry into public sector jobs may do little to change the attitudes and practices of private sector employers and may facilitate continued discrimination despite the expansion of a highly qualified pool of potential female recruits.

3.3 Continuity and change in clerical areas

Clerical work is another area where we see the effect of changing labour force queues on sex segregation, together with perhaps a likely trend towards resegregation even in those

countries where until recently clerical work was a male preserve. Women's increased qualifications combined with their increased participation in employment has perhaps finally broken down the barriers to the recruitment of women into clerical level jobs even in Southern countries, where many civil service and banking type jobs were until recently almost exclusively the preserve of men. Thus at the start of the decade there were more men than women in clerical jobs in all the Southern countries, and the Benelux countries as well, but by the end of the decade the female share was over or very close to 50% in all countries.

The rapidity of these changes perhaps provide support to the notion that once feminisation reaches a certain level the nature of the jobs change and there is a further surge towards resegregation. Certainly the Northern countries provided evidence that the trend to feminisation in clerical work in the Southern countries may not be part of a process of integration and the development of mixed occupations but the beginning of resegregation, as in the Northern countries the female share increased rapidly even within already highly feminised clerical sectors. It is in these employment areas that employers may benefit most from the existence of relatively well qualified women who are still available for relatively low paid work, owing to the persistence of discrimination in higher status segments of the labour market. The advantages to employers of switching from male to female labour may be greater in these non-manual job areas than in manual jobs requiring lower levels of education, in part because the male non-manual labour supply may have higher aspirations than the equivalent male labour supply for manual jobs. In short the incentives for switching between gendered labour market queues depend on the nature of the job and the relative expectations of the male and female labour supplies.

4 The influence of societal features on the pattern and meaning of segregation

In the Reskin and Roos (1990) model for analysing the dynamics of occupational feminisation, attention is paid not only to changes in sex composition but to analysing how this came about, through considering the influence of a variety of factors. These include the demand for labour, the forms and sources of labour supply, systems and levels of skill formation, patterns of industrial organisation, social and cultural attitudes, forms of work organisation, economic rewards of the job, trade union organisation and changes brought about by equal opportunities legal actions.

When this framework is applied in a cross-national context we have already found that it becomes necessary to take into account country differences in a range of industrial, social and institutional conditions which may be contributing to different processes of occupational segregation across EU member states, or which may lead to differences in the significance or consequences of similar levels of segregation. These differences can be divided first into factors that influence the shape of the labour market queue and second factors that influence the ranking of labour market jobs; this provides a framework within which to analyse how different patterns of segregation develop and transform.

4.1 Factors influencing the shape of the labour market queue: some societal differences

4.1.1 Employment interruptions and women's place in the labour market queue

Women's overall position in the labour market queue is influenced by life-cycle patterns of participation. In countries where women have relatively continuous employment patterns, for example France and Denmark, the critical issue for women is where they are located at the initial entry point into the labour market; this positioning will tend to have a major impact on their life time employment chances. Where most women still tend to quit the labour market and return, such as the UK and West Germany, women's employment chances will be determined both by their initial entry points in the labour market queue and by the treatment of women returners within the labour market system – are these accorded any recognition of skills and experience or automatically relegated to the bottom of the queue behind even first time entrants? Some of the Southern countries are moving towards a polarised pattern of participation, with some women having continuous careers and others in fact still quitting the labour market on a permanent basis. This division is in fact likely to be determined in part by the initial positioning of women in the labour market queue. If they succeed in obtaining a primary type job they may tend to stay, while if they fail and are relegated to the secondary sector they may quit (Bettio and Villa 1993; Dex and Walters 1989; McRae 1991; Quack et al. 1992; Rubery et al. 1995).

These different labour market participation patterns influence the processes of change at the occupational level, as well as the consequences and potential policy programmes to deal with segregation. For example, in countries with 'women returners' the problem of segregation into low paid jobs may be a factor likely to affect most women at some stage in their life cycle, while in the other set of countries those women who initially achieve a high status and high paid job may be more likely to hang on to it, albeit possibly at higher costs in terms of either choosing not to have children, or being less able to participate in the raising of their children (Bettio and Villa 1993). The implications of these differences may be that in some countries there is a stronger relationship within the female labour market between, for example, social class or qualification and occupational attainment while in other countries the main difference may be between being a continuous worker and a returner (although this difference diminishes the more that the 'returner' pattern is found only among the less educated female groups).

4.1.2 Women's access to education and training systems

The position of women in the labour market queue is critically affected by their access to education and training systems and the relationship between these systems and recruitment and promotion patterns. While women have been increasing their qualifications throughout Europe and using these as a lever to obtain entry into higher level and often male dominated occupations, the usefulness of qualifications in boosting position in the labour market

queue is perhaps greatest in the Southern countries where more use is made of qualifications and competitive examinations as routes into the public sector professions and indeed into other sectors such as banking. The importance of qualifications to women's position in these countries is reflected in the female shares of higher education which have reached a higher level often than in the more developed Northern countries (56% in Spain for example compared to 44% in the UK and 37% in France). However, as already argued the consequence of such systems may be an increasing over-representation of women in the public sector.

Significant differences have been established in other research in the ways in which education and training systems structure and segment labour markets (Marsden 1986; Eyraud et al 1990; Bynner and Roberts 1990; Lane 1989). The policies that need to be pursued to improve women's position in the labour market queue and to reduce the segregation of men and women as potential employees must be related to these different processes. For example, in Germany it is in the dual training system, in particular the allocation of women to training places in small firms and in female dominated vocational areas that the process of gender segregation takes hold (Quack et al. 1992). In France the education system is more important than vocational training within the labour market. Employer policies on recruitment and promotion within organisations play a more important role in segmenting the labour market in France (Lane 1989) while in Germany the young labour force has already acquired gender specific qualifications and occupational identities through the training process.

4.1.3 Social attitudes

The positioning of women within the labour market queue will reflect social attitudes towards the employment of women in general and towards the employment of women in particular in specific job areas. Social attitudes interact with other factors influencing job segregation. Thus the continuing exclusion of women from some job areas, such as service work in the South, can be seen as a perpetuation of now outdated social values which suggested it was inappropriate for women to work at night in restaurants and bars. These social attitudes are maintained by the continuing supply of male labour for this type of work, thus reducing pressure on employers to change their practices.

Women's access to certain job areas may be influenced by employers expectation of their appropriate family and social role, independent of the woman's own preferences and domestic situation. Thus in countries where continuing participation by women is the norm, women may be able to move up the labour market queue and effect entry into jobs requiring higher levels of training more easily than in those countries where women are expected to quit or work part time. These attitudes are in turn fed by differences in the institutional framework for child rearing including provision of child care facilities, length of the school day etc. (see EC Childcare Network 1990). Thus acquisition of qualifications and other factors likely to boost women's position in the queue will have a differential impact depending on the strength of the male breadwinner, female provider model in the country in which the women is located.

4.2 Factors influencing the ordering of jobs within the labour market

4.2.1 Systems of pay determination

The system of pay determination will have a major impact on the relative pay and status of particular occupations, and consequently on the meaning of different forms of segregation by gender. Thus if pay is determined at the organisational level, for example in the UK, whether women can gain access to high paying organisations may matter more than if they can gain access to higher level occupations, but in countries where pay bargaining is organised at an occupational level, such as in Denmark, Portugal and Greece the opposite may be the case. Research on EU member states has found a wide variety of payment systems and thus a wide variety of different pay structures and statuses (Rubery 1992, Rubery and Fagan 1994). Where pay differentials are narrow in fact the process of segregation matters less than where pay differentials are wide (Blau and Kahn 1992).

4.2.2 The impact of industrial organisation

Despite the creation of the internal market and the much discussed globalisation of production and consumption there is little evidence of convergence of industrial systems or patterns of industrial organisation even within countries with similar income levels. This lack of convergence has implications for how jobs are ranked within the labour market and thus for the prospects for women's employment. This can be illustrated with respect to entry into hotel management in the UK and Germany (for examples of the impact of industrial organisation on gender segregation in other comparative research projects see for example Hantrais and Walters 1994).

The most feminised catering industries in the EU are found in the UK, where 66% of the workforce is female, followed by Denmark (61%) and Germany (58%) (table 1). The female share of waiting and bar staff and of chefs and cooks is similar in Germany and the UK, but women have made greater inroads into the higher-level occupational area of hotel and catering management in the UK than in Germany. These differences are in part accounted for by differences in industrial organisation. Hotels in Germany are more likely to be smaller and family-owned (Prais et al. 1989; Quack et al. 1992) while large companies and chains dominate hotel ownership in the UK. Increasing numbers of management jobs in the UK are now reserved for those with formal management training, and although the majority of current managers are not formally qualified the majority of new recruits have diplomas or degrees. In the UK women account for over half the managers and over three quarters of all management trainees in hotel and catering (Crompton and Sanderson 1990) and over half the managers. In contrast, entry to management in the family-owned hotels in Germany is mostly through informal networks, so although it is now possible to obtain formal qualifications in hotel and catering management this is not a very useful way of gaining entry (Quack et al. 1992:65).

However, while an industry dominated by large companies and a managerial entry system increasingly based around formal qualifications appears to have facilitated female entry into higher-level occupations in the UK, the quality of these managerial posts must be taken into account. Other comparative research reveals that women are more likely to be employed in lower skilled tasks in the UK than Germany and that perhaps many of the managers in the UK system are substituting for inadequately trained and skilled labour compared to Germany (Prais et al. 1989). Moreover, within these management jobs women are in fact very low paid in the UK, receiving lower average earnings than the average for all employed women (Rubery et al. 1992). This provides an example of feminisation associated with the downgrading of the status and pay attached to a particular job area.

4.2.3 The impact of consumption patterns

Consumption patterns interact with systems of industrial organisation to shape the structure of jobs in a labour market. For example, attitudes towards food are implicated in the different pay and status, and thus occupational segregation patterns attached to jobs in catering. The preference for high quality, traditional food in countries such as France has preserved the system of craft working in catering, thereby maintaining the attractiveness of this type of occupation for men. In countries such as the UK, Ireland and even Germany there has been a much stronger move towards new forms of catering and work organisation in kitchens. This new type of catering has given rise to new forms of occupational segregation with men taking control of the technical management of food and food preparation, leaving women to perform relatively deskilled cooking tasks (Bagguley 1991). Thus a new type of vertical segregation has developed to replace the craft type system which still prevails in France.

4.2.4 The impact of career paths

The position of a job within a labour market depends not only on the intrinsic interest and rewards associated with the particular job but also on how it intersects with the contours of career paths and mobility chains. A job may lose attractiveness and thus become an area for feminisation if the promotion paths out of this occupation to higher grade levels have been broken or restricted. Moreover the links between occupations and career paths may vary not just over time but between countries.

For example, in the banking industry there are differences in the organisation of the labour market for clerical staff. In Denmark and Germany there is a strong distinction between qualified and non qualified banking clerical workers. The latter are not able to progress to higher grades as they lack vocational qualifications. In most other countries there is an integrated internal labour market for clerical workers but countries differ over whether there is the opportunity to progress through to management or whether specific management trainees are brought into higher level grades. There are thus two alternative routes to more women entering higher level positions; through graduate or management trainee recruitment or through progression up the internal labour market. The former is more common in the UK, the latter in for example France and Italy. It is interesting that in a study of the UK

and France the share of women in the higher grades in France was not so much higher than the UK, taking into account the greater seniority of the French women employees compared to the UK female bank employees. However, while the UK system provides some scope for rapid advancement into management, these opportunities are restricted to a minority of women (Crompton and Le Feuvre 1992).

Career structures are also likely to influence the opportunity for women to make entry into higher level jobs. A case in point is university teaching. In Italy entry to academic jobs is by public competition, and tenure is extended to the lowest level research jobs, but in Germany this status is reserved only for full professors. The outcome is that many women become concentrated as researchers in Italy, but with job tenure, while in Germany many women fail to maintain their position in the academic job market because the period of work experience leading up to the post of professor coincides with the period of child rearing.

5 Conclusions

It is the interaction between the country-specific labour market queue and the country-specific job hierarchy which will determine the level and changes in the pattern of segregation. We have seen that there are a range of factors influencing how jobs are ranked, how women are ranked relative to men and how significant the impact of divisions by gender may be on the overall organisation of work and employment. Gender divisions are likely to be more significant the more that women are concentrated into gender specific working time patterns, such as part-time work, and the more that the organisation of male jobs acts to exclude women through a male culture or long hours of work.

The labour market queue model adapted to the question of gender segregation reveals that cyclical variations in labour demand may have more than temporary or short term consequences for women's employment prospects. These changes start off long term changes in the organisation of the occupation, perhaps leading to an eventual process of resegregation. At a cross national level the labour market queue model emphasises the importance of contingent factors in explaining women's evolving role in the labour market. It may, for example, prove to be significant even in the long term that in Spain the increases of women in higher education coincided with a massive expansion of professional jobs. For example, over the period 1980 to 1991 women increased their share of medical professional jobs from 23% to 37%, of accountancy jobs from 11% to 21%, of legal professional jobs from 7% to 22% and university professional jobs from 21% to 28%, all job areas experiencing rapid employment growth. The period also saw a major growth in employment in clerical work, resulting in an increase in the female employment share of office clerks from 39% to 52%, representing a 67% increase in total female employment in this occupation over the time period (Molto 1992). If the expansion of these job areas had occurred before women had acquired the relevant qualifications they might have remained more firmly labelled as male occupations. Thus labour market conditions help to shape the particular path of development of segregation patterns. We have yet to discover how far the continuing decline in demand for male full-time labour in most advanced countries may impact upon the future prospects for women and for patterns of gender segregation. Furthermore, labour

market conditions and general policy developments may enhance or undermine the impact of specific policies designed to promote desegregation, such as positive action initiatives and equal opportunities. Whether a positive action programme succeeds in stimulating a more mixed sex profile of the workforce may depend more upon whether it is introduced within a favourable climate, such as employment expansion, than on the details of the programme itself. The design and evaluation of such policies should, therefore, take into account the wider labour market context.

National differences, for example in the system of wage determination or in promotion patterns, mean that the relationship between desegregation and women's employment prospects is not deterministic. This conclusion mirrors the findings at a national level in the Reskin and Roos book where desegregation was in some cases associated with a major deterioration in conditions and in other cases had done more to boost women's employment prospects. Monitoring changes in the level and pattern of segregation – whether at a cross-national, national or company level – must, therefore, be combined with evaluations of the outcomes. Is female entry into an occupational category occurring alongside a fall in the status of the occupation or the possible emergence of new segregation contours, such as between public and private sector employment or new occupational specialities and differentiation? Relative wage levels are one important indication of the employment conditions attached to an occupation where the sex composition of the workforce is changing. This may expose national differences in the wage outcomes of apparently similar patterns of female entry into an occupational area.

Appendix

Comment on the occupational dataset

This study on occupational segregation has provided the first comparison of patterns in trends across the 12 member states using occupational data from the harmonised European Community Labour Force Survey (see Eurostat 1988). The occupational dataset is coded using the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO 1968) and had not previously been released for analysis because it had not been checked for reliability. Therefore, we carried out various quality control checks: for internal consistency between years and across countries and by detailed comparisons with data sets provided from national sources. These tests suggested that any measurement biases for individual country data within the harmonised data set were no more severe than those present in the original single country data sets, and were consistent, thereby allowing for comparisons of trends over time within countries.

Issues of coding consistency *between* countries remain fundamental in any comparative research using a harmonised data set, involving questions both of measurement error and conceptual equivalence. The way in which work is organised and divided varies between countries and is associated with different reward and status hierarchies which are built into job titles (Marsh 1986:124-7). The ISCO system was developed specifically to try and minimise these problems of comparability but the saliency of this standard occupational classification will vary between countries precisely because of the different societal organisations of labour. In particular, the managers and administrators category (ISCO 2), which refers to government officials and general managers not specified elsewhere, presents major problems of interpretation (Dale and Glover 1990:15). However since this category is small - less than 2% of women's employment in each country in 1990 - it did not create a significant limitation for our analysis.

More detailed checks were carried out where possible for the six specific occupational case studies, and in all instances the Eurostat data were consistent with the patterns revealed by national data and sources. This increased our confidence in the quality of the data sets as a whole and the validity of our findings. However, because the measurement and conceptual issues increase with the level of desegregation the detailed two-digit data was only used for locating the occupational group within a category or rank position within a broader aggregate measure, for example to derive index measures of segregation over time or to compare the concentration of women and men in jobs categories derived by broad-banding the sex shares.

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