

WOMEN IN LONDON'S ECONOMY

**‘By 2016 seven out of ten new jobs
in London will be filled by women.’**

GLA Economics 2006

WOMEN IN LONDON'S ECONOMY

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Mayor's foreword

London's economy is critically dependant on the contribution of women. But this will dramatically increase in the future. Women are projected to take 7 out of 10 of the new jobs in London through to 2016. This presents both a major opportunity for women to access well paid and varied career options, and for employers to use all the skills that women have to offer. Furthermore as only five key economic sectors are set to provide the bulk of new jobs there is a clear indication of training, skills and recruitment imperatives for education providers and employers in London.

By many measures, the position of women has improved enormously in recent decades. Legal rights in such areas as divorce, abortion and contraception and sexual and domestic violence have been gained. Women have made great advances in challenging and changing discriminatory cultural stereotypes and attitudes and in asserting their right to live as they choose. London has witnessed many positive changes. But in the economic sphere, this report shows that the picture is much more mixed.

It contains some disturbing findings. Contrary to what is often supposed it shows that the relative position of women in London's economy is worse than in the rest of the UK. The few highly publicised cases of gender discrimination in parts of the City

are clearly not an aberration but the tip of an inequality iceberg. At the other end of the pay spectrum, women are disproportionately confined to low paid occupations and held back by an unfair burden of family care. Tackling the barriers that perpetuate such inequality is a number one challenge for women and for London's future economic growth.

Key findings outlined in this report include:

- The gender pay gap is greater in London than at UK level. Comparing mid-point (median) earnings for women and men working full time, the gender pay gap is only slightly higher in London than the UK – 15 per cent compared to 14 per cent. However, the average (mean) gender pay gap is 24 per cent, compared to a UK figure of 18 per cent. This reflects the significant number of highly paid jobs in London in which women are extremely under-represented.
- The part time pay gap is greater in London than in the rest of the UK. Median earnings show that women working part time earned 51 per cent of the full time rate for men, compared to 57 per cent in the rest of the UK.
- There has been an increase in wage inequality for women in London over the

last 6 years that has not been seen in the UK as a whole.

- In 2004 the highest paid 10 per cent of male full time workers in London earned £36.66 an hour, while the lowest paid 10 per cent of female full time workers earned £6.78 an hour and the lowest paid 10 per cent of female part time workers earned a mere £4.85 an hour.
- Women's employment rates are lower in London than in the rest of the UK: nearly 70 per cent of women in Britain are in work, but only 62 per cent in London. One significant reason is the much lower proportion of women working part time in London. For women with dependent children the barriers to part time work are particularly high: 27 per cent are in part time work in London compared to 41 per cent in the UK.

Qualitative research supports these findings by showing that:

- Gender segregation and subject choice in schools and colleges are intrinsically linked and that young women are receiving inadequate careers advice. Women remain a minority of entrants to A levels and degrees in many of the subject areas that employers in the five growth sectors seek.
- Employers believe the GLA could play a stronger role in promoting awareness about employment opportunities and appropriate training.
- Retaining skilled women workers with caring demands requires an improved combination of flexible working practices and affordable and flexible childcare.



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This particular discriminatory dynamic for women needs to be understood. The exclusion of women from the great majority of the highest paid jobs in London reflects discrimination that is simply unacceptable. The numbers of women working part-time reflects the unequal family responsibilities that fall on women, which women attempt to balance through working part time or flexibly. The downward career move and pay penalty that women often suffer as a result represents an inequality outcome that is considerable, and a severe loss to London's economy. New steps now needed include:

- A national macro-economic policy that invests more in London – women are suffering particularly badly from the fact that participation in work as a whole is lower than in the rest of the UK and unemployment is also higher.
- Educational and training provision that addresses gender segregation and equips women to have the best chance for the most rewarding jobs. One of the

important reasons that I have asked the government for strategic direction of London's Learning and Skills Councils is to ensure that the training needs of women in London are met.

- Firmer measures on entrenched discrimination and occupational segregation. More companies need to monitor the experience of women employees, provide statistics on where women are located in their job and pay structure, and develop the business case for equality.
- Childcare and other care provision that is affordable, high quality and flexible. Government needs to invest more to meet

London's childcare needs and higher real costs. Employers can help by supporting the extension of flexible working policies.

- A robust and modernised framework of equality law with positive and comprehensive duties to equality available to women in whatever sector they work.

If such steps are taken the recent increase in attention to the position of women in work and society can lead to meaningful change.



Mayor of London
January 2005

Chapter 1:

Introduction

1.1 Overview

This is the second report from a dedicated programme of research by the Greater London Authority (GLA) into Women in London's Economy. It presents quantitative analysis of women's contribution to the London economy, and factors which constrain that contribution. To provide a fuller picture of women's work - and worklessness - in London, it supplements the quantitative data with an exploration of women's experience in the workplace and outside it, obtained through qualitative research. Finally, the report assesses recent developments in anti-discrimination policies and equality and anti-discrimination law.

The analysis updates and extends that published last year.¹ Its core messages are:

- over the period to 2016, women are projected to take 7 out of 10 of the 558,000 net additional jobs which will be created in London
- economic growth is a more important driver of the increase in women's jobs than changes in the representation of women within different sectors and/or occupation categories
- the gender pay gap in London is wider than in the rest of the UK
- using median hourly earnings women working part-time in London earn 51 per cent of the full-time rate for men
- the part-time pay penalty is greater in London than in the UK as a whole
- the gender pay gap is partly a result of direct discrimination, but it also reflects occupational segregation: women are less likely to work in well paying sectors than men, and within the same sectors, women are more likely to be restricted to roles of lower status and hence pay than men
- women's pay in London has become more unequal over time, unlike in the UK as a whole
- women are less likely to be in employment if they have dependent children, and this effect is more pronounced than for similar women elsewhere in the UK; in particular, women with dependent children are much less likely to work part-time in London than elsewhere.

For individual women, these facts represent a denial of equality and a constraint on their ability to realise their potential. They also mean that the London economy - the most dynamic and productive in the UK - is being denied the benefits of a major economic resource. Increasing the number of women working in London, especially within higher productive roles, will increase London's output. Women's under-representation in the workforce, and in the more productive roles in that workforce, reduces London's output significantly.

London's future growth presents both a challenge and an opportunity: to tackle barriers to the equal representation of women in sectors and grades, to simultaneously ensure employers have the full range of skills and experience available, and to allow for greater equality in the career paths, incomes and lifetime outcomes of women.

1.2 Report structure

Chapter 2.1 provides an overview of the conclusions of the quantitative research.

Chapter 2.2 analyses trends in London's economy and their impact on future employment.

Chapter 2.3 specifically analyses patterns of part-time work, and women's position in relation to it.

Chapter 3 illustrates the issues raised in the rest of the report with material from women in focus groups commissioned specifically for this study.

Chapter 4 comments on current prospects in policy and legislation bearing on women's role in the London economy.

Chapter 2:

Quantitative research

2.1 Overview

Women are projected to take over two thirds of the 558,000 net new jobs created in London to 2016. The greatest number of job increases for women is projected to be in the Business Services sector, with 217,000 projected extra jobs by 2016. Although women's representation in this sector is slightly below the London average, its continued expansion drives the expansion of women's employment.

In general, economic growth is a more important driver of the increase in women's jobs than changes in the representation of women within different sectors and/or occupation categories. On the whole, sectors which are shrinking have less strong representation than those which are growing. Of the 388,000 rise in women's employment, 298,000 comes from growth in sectors in which women are reasonably well represented and 90,000 from a rising share of employment in other sectors.

This general picture hides rather separate patterns. London provides a range of jobs that are associated with its world city status, usually in central London and with a preponderance of full-time positions. In this part of the London labour market, access to senior roles is a key element in improving women's prospects. Women are projected to

becoming increasingly represented as managers and senior officials, which is a key element in this story.

In London in 2004, the mean full-time female wage was £14.76 per hour while the mean full-time hourly wage for males was £19.45. This gives an absolute gender pay gap of 24 per cent - larger than the UK mean gender pay gap of 18 per cent. This is because the mean gender pay gap includes the influence of highly paid workers, who are more prevalent in London than the UK generally and are more likely to be male than female.

And the part-time pay gap is wider in London than in the rest of the country. Although the part-time mean gender pay gap is reversed in London, with women earning 5 per cent more than male part-time workers, the mean full-time female wage is £14.76, compared with £10.51 for part-time women. The part-time pay gap for females is 29 per cent in London, higher than the 27 per cent gap experienced in the rest of the UK.

Part-time work is much less concentrated in the high productivity, high paid areas of central London and is more associated with residentially-based jobs. Female part-time jobs are widely dispersed throughout London, reflecting the locations of town centres, whereas male part-time jobs tend to be located around the four key employment

pillars of London (Central Activity Zone, Docklands, Heathrow and Croydon). Part-time workers, not surprisingly, are not prepared to travel as far to work as their full-time colleagues. Women are less likely than men to commute from the wider South East into London for work. Of those women who do commute, they are more likely to be working full-time than part-time.

There are two challenges for the effective operation of the labour market. At one end, there is the challenge of ensuring that the investment in women's skills in the high productivity arena continues to generate a return as family pressures increase.

We do not yet understand fully why higher paid jobs are not available on a part-time basis. The LDA has commissioned research that will analyse family-friendly working practices (including part-time opportunities in small- and medium-sized enterprises in London), which is due to report in early 2006. But we do know that women moving from full-time to part-time work, on average, make a downward occupational move, evidence that some women working part-time are under-utilising their skills. At the same time, there are fewer part-time jobs in London than elsewhere in the country.

In London, 7 out of 10 women working part-time state that the reason they do not want a full-time job is to enable them to spend more time with their family or because they are prevented from doing so because of domestic commitments.

Occupational projections suggest that there will be a fall in the number of administrative, secretarial and clerical jobs, as well as a declining share of women in these categories. Many of these jobs have provided part-time opportunities outside central London, and this may mean that further challenges lie ahead.

The different structure of the labour market for women in London is particularly well illustrated by the low rate of employment for women with dependent children, where 27 per cent work part-time in London compared to 41 per cent in the country as a whole. Indeed, recent research has shown that having children is a key driver of worklessness for women in London. The more children a woman has, and the younger the youngest child, the more likely she is to be out of paid employment.

So the second challenge is to improve both access to flexible working, including part-time job opportunities, and the quality of such jobs.

2.2 Future job growth for London

More working aged women in London

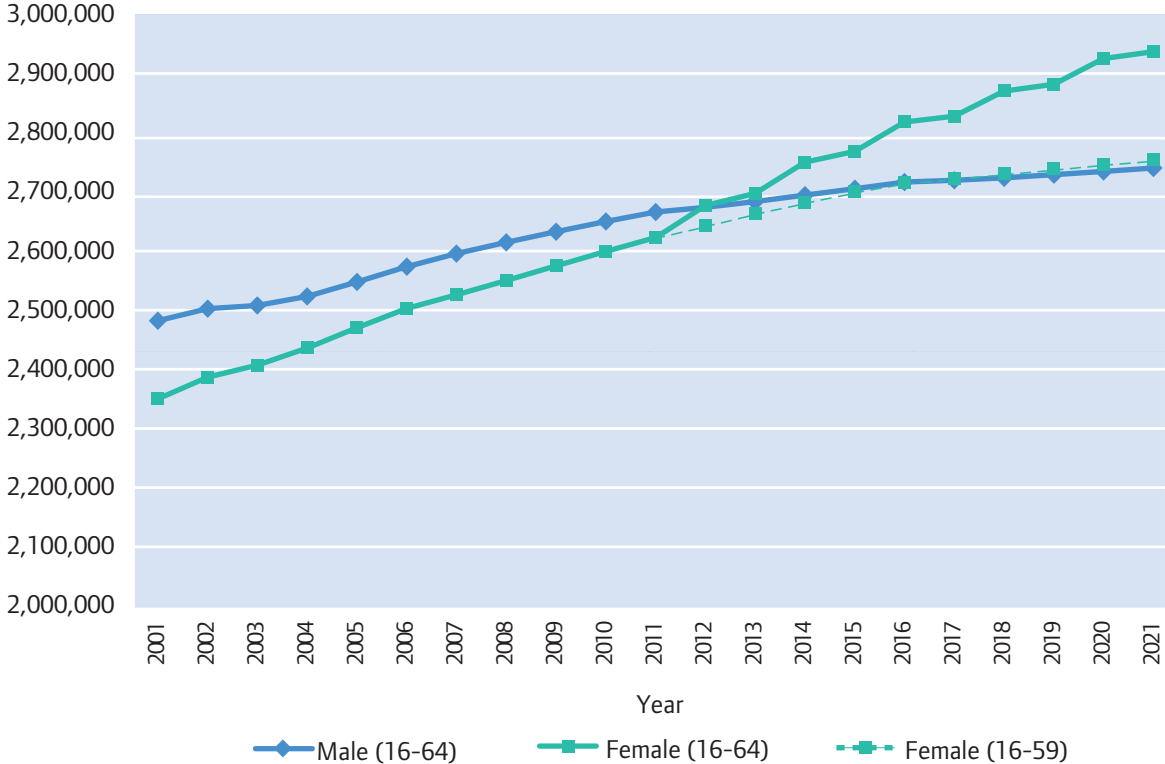
London's population is projected to grow. Because of this, and changes to the retirement age of women, there will be an increase in women of working age in the capital. Working age women are projected to outnumber working age men by 2013, as shown in Figure 1.

Industry projections by gender

By 2016, just over 5 million jobs² are projected to be in London. GLA Economics employment forecasts are based on trends from 1971 onwards, and use the ratio of employment to output to determine growth.

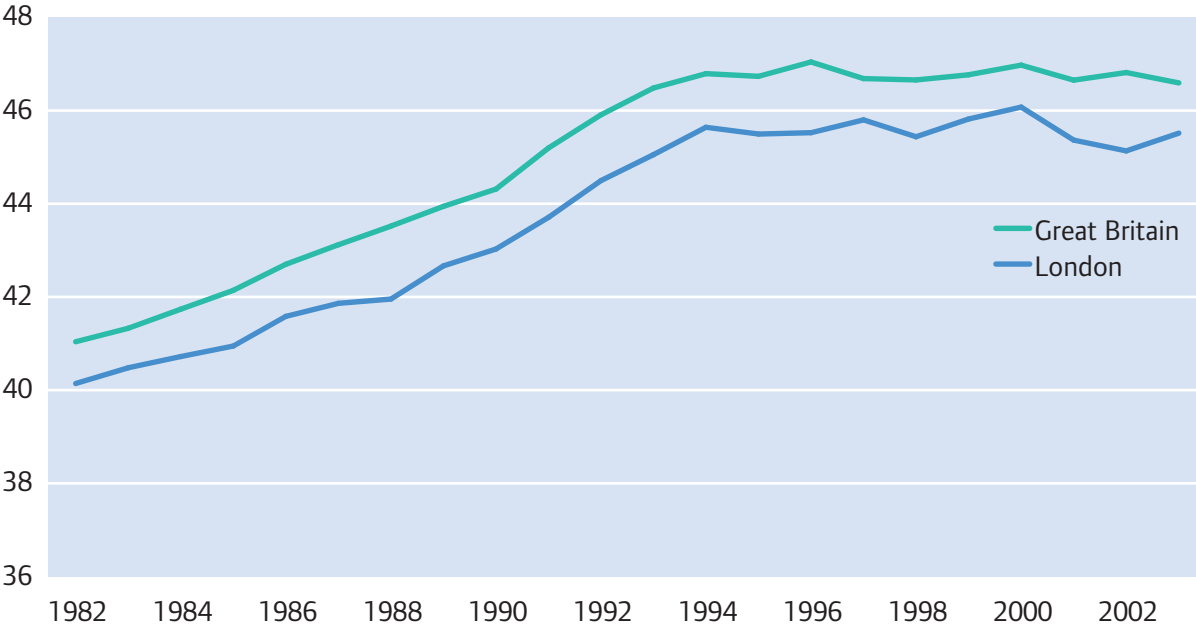
For sector projections, breaks in the historic trend of log employment divided by output are identified for each sector in turn. Depending on the characteristics of these historic trends, different start years are used to project the trend forward. Trend-based forecasting has been used for all sectors with the exception of Business Services, which is calculated as the residual of total employment less the other 11 sectors. The reason behind this is that the current trend in

Figure 1 Working aged population projections from 2001 to 2021 by gender



Source: Data Management and Analysis Group, Sc 8.07

Figure 2 Female percentage of total employment in London and Great Britain, 1982 - 2003



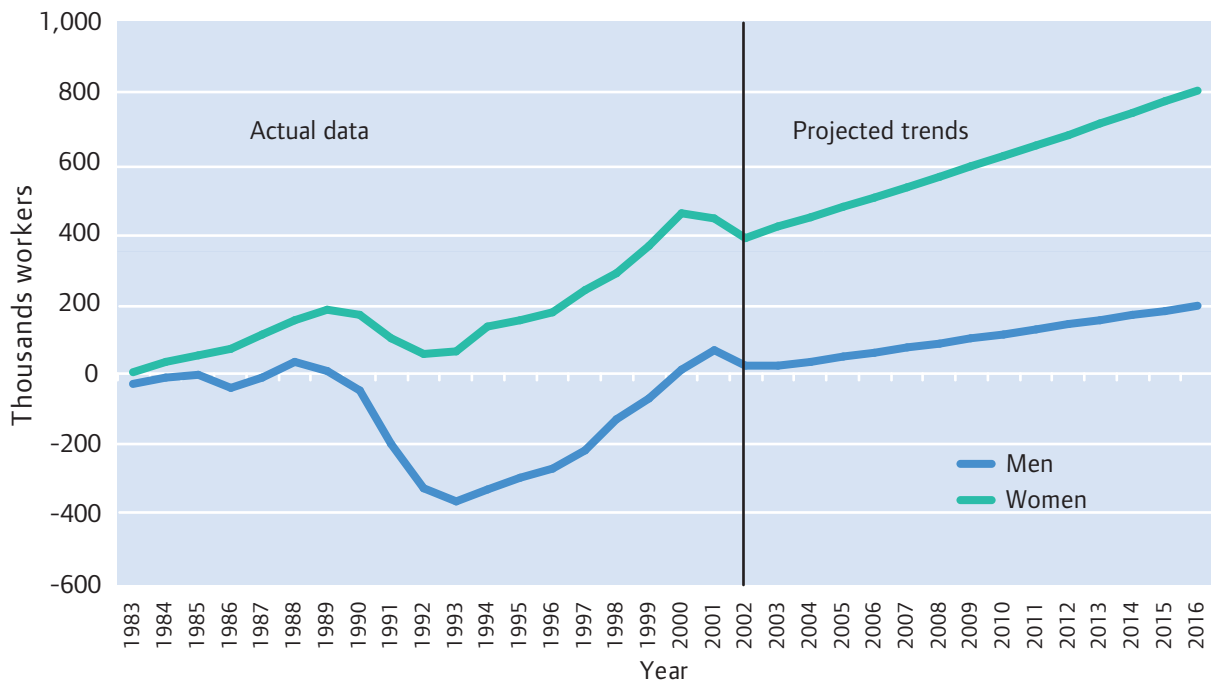
Source: GLA workforce employment series from Experian Business Strategies

Table 1 Change in numbers and proportion of female jobs by sector for London, 2003 - 2016

Sector	Number of female jobs, '000s		Change in female job numbers '000s	Proportion of females by sector	
	2003	2016	2003-2016	2003	2016
Business services	455	672	217	0.42	0.47
Other services	180	255	75	0.50	0.50
Hotels & restaurants	148	205	58	0.48	0.48
Health & education	494	534	41	0.75	0.76
Retail	215	253	38	0.54	0.57
Financial services	154	161	7	0.46	0.43
Wholesale	70	72	2	0.29	0.28
Primary & utilities	5	4	-1	0.32	0.34
Transport & comms	93	92	-1	0.27	0.28
Construction	24	21	-3	0.10	0.11
Public administration	112	93	-19	0.48	0.50
Manufacturing	89	64	-24	0.33	0.35
Total	2,038	2,426	388	0.45	0.48

Source: Experian Business Strategies (historic data) and Volterra (projections)

Figure 3 Cumulative changes in jobs for London by gender, 1983 - 2016



Source: Experian Business Strategies (historic data) and Volterra (projections)

Business Services is believed to be unlikely to continue at such a rapid pace in the future. To put this in context, were the historic trends in Business Services employment to continue it could account for over 40 per cent of total London employment by 2026 which seems unlikely. Nevertheless, Business Services is still projected to grow strongly.³

Each sector has been analysed in turn to look at changes in the proportion of women participating in that sector. To determine growth projections, three trends are calculated, from 1994 - 2003, 1994 - 2003 and 1982 - 2003, and the most appropriate trend or combination of trends is used per sector.

For gender-based trends, historic data are available from 1982 to 2003. As shown in Figure 2, the proportion of females rose sharply from 40 per cent of the labour force in 1982 to 45 per cent in 1994 and then appears to have levelled out at around that level. Figure 2 also highlights the fact that the percentage of the workforce that is

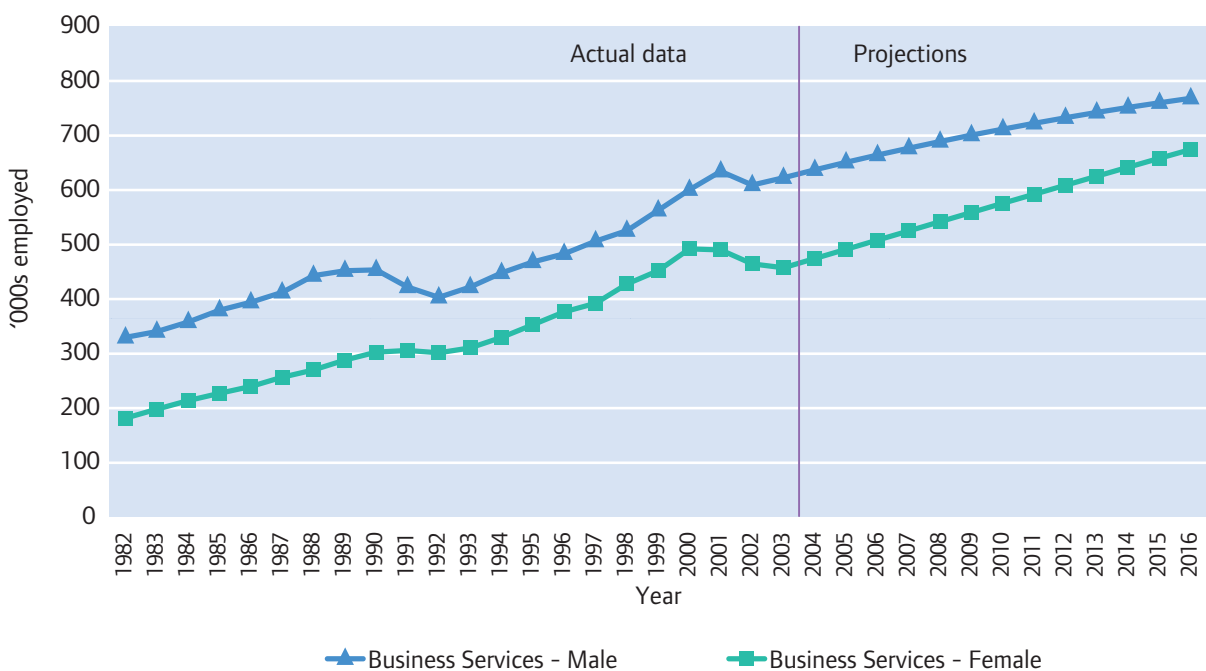
female is lower in London than in Great Britain as a whole.

The discontinuous growth trend for women's share of London's workforce creates uncertainty regarding the future. For this reason, the proportion of women in the total London workforce has been projected using a bottom-up approach that analyses each sector in turn.⁴ The aggregate result is that of the 558,000 net new jobs expected, 69 per cent of them (388,000) are projected to be filled by women (see Table 1 and Figure 3). This implies 2,426,000 female jobs by 2016, and an increase in the proportion of females to 48 per cent of the workforce.

Sector projections by gender

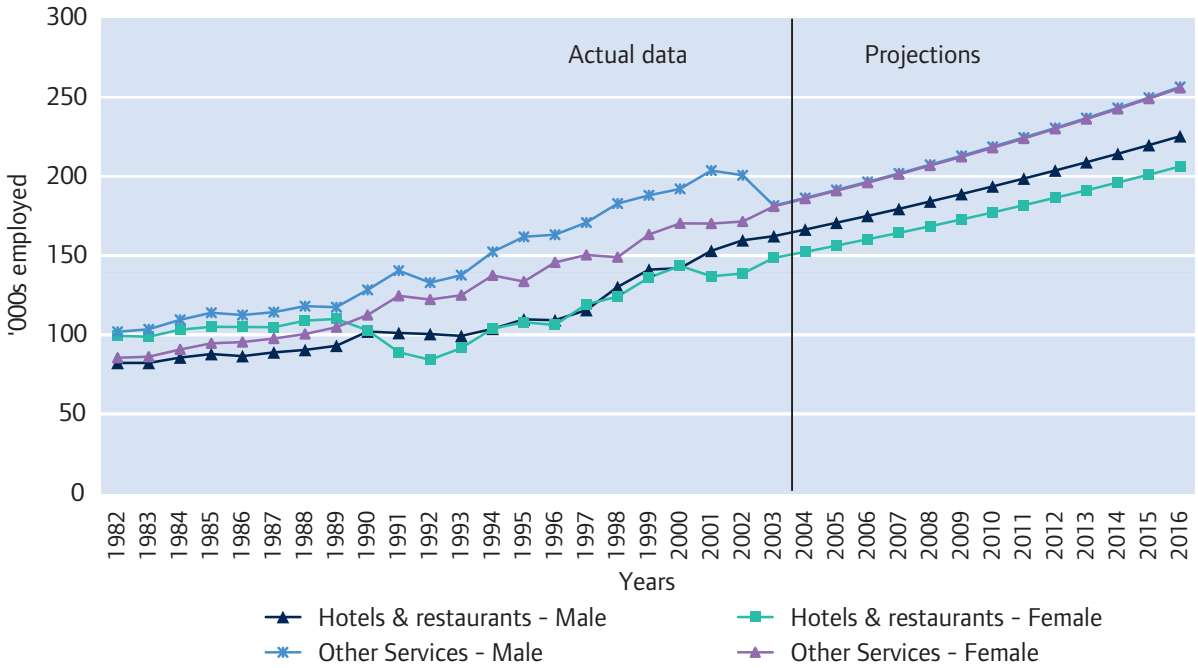
Business Services is the largest sector within London's economy and offers the largest increase in absolute jobs numbers for women (see Figure 4). Examples of industries included in this sector are business and management consultancies and industrial cleaning. By 2016, 217,000 additional jobs

Figure 4 Employment history and projections for Business services by gender



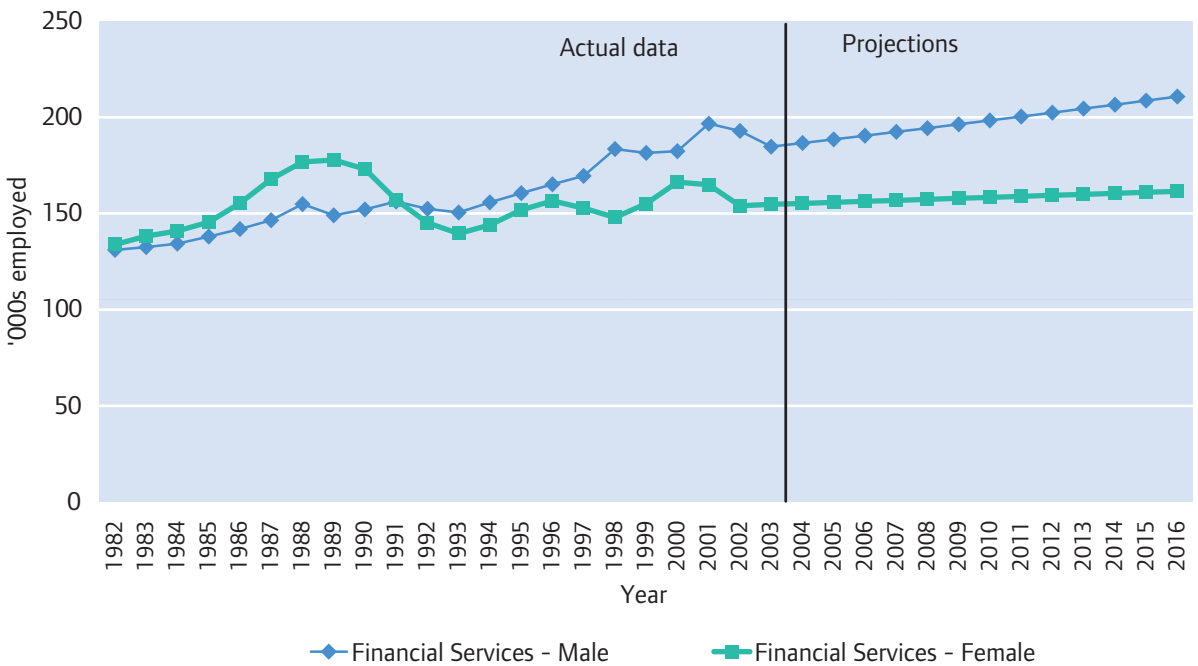
Source: Experian Business Strategies (historic data) and Volterra (projections)

Figure 5 Employment history and projections for Other services and the Hotels and restaurants sectors by gender



Source: Experian Business Strategies (historic data) and Volterra (projections)

Figure 6 Employment history and projections for financial services by gender



Source: Experian Business Strategies (historic data) and Volterra (projections)

are projected for women in this sector and there is projected to be an increase in the proportion of women from 42 per cent to 47 per cent of employees.

Other Services and the Hotels and Restaurants sector (see Figure 5) are both projected to be growth areas for London, with 75,000 and 58,000 new jobs expected for women respectively, but with no change projected in the proportion of female workers within them (see Table 1).

The Financial Services sector (Figure 6) is projected to see an increase in the number of female jobs of just 7,000, with a decline of three per cent in the proportion of women working in this sector. Industries included in the financial services sector include banks and pension funding.

Women will continue to dominate the Health and Education sector, representing around three quarters of the workforce, with a

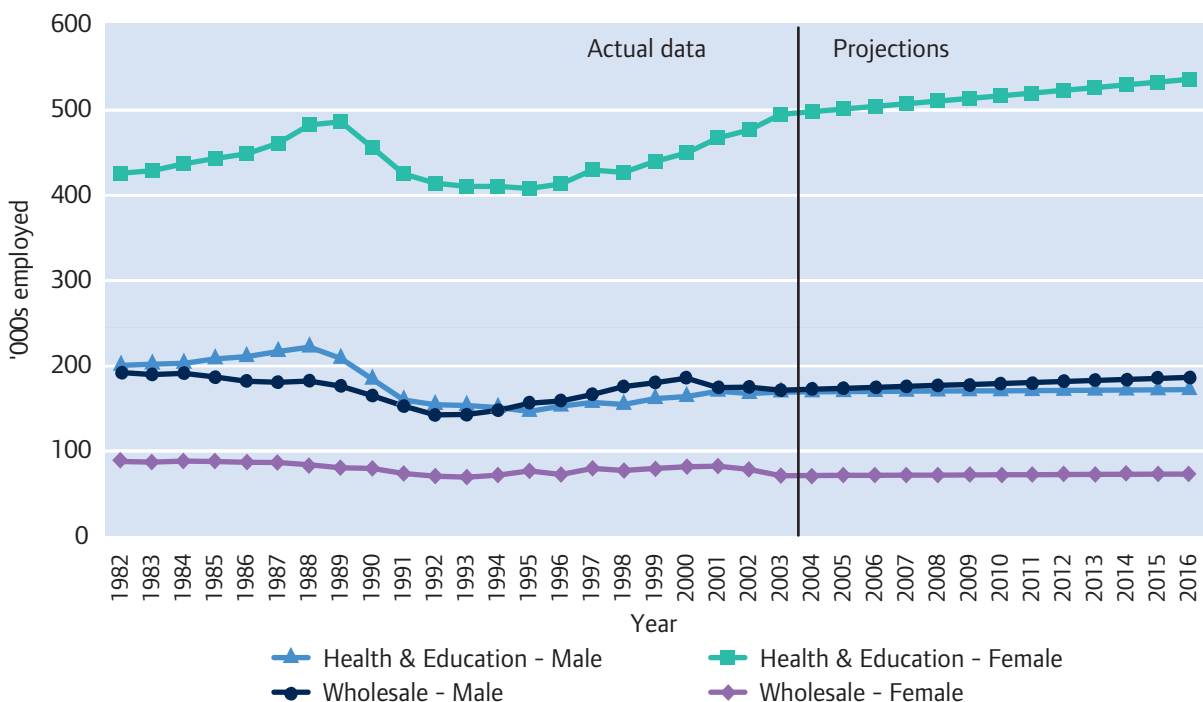
projected increase of 41,000 jobs. In the Wholesale sector, a slight reduction in the proportion of female workers is projected, but as this is a growing sector overall there will be 2,000 more jobs for females (Figure 7).

Primary and Utilities is a small sector for London, and is projected to decline overall, with 1000 fewer female jobs but with an increase in the proportion of women. The same pattern holds for the Transport and Communications sector (see figure 8).

Manufacturing has been in decline in London for a number of years, and will continue this trend. It is projected that there will be 24,000 fewer female jobs in this sector by 2016, but with a slight increase in the proportion of women making up the total workforce (Figure 9).

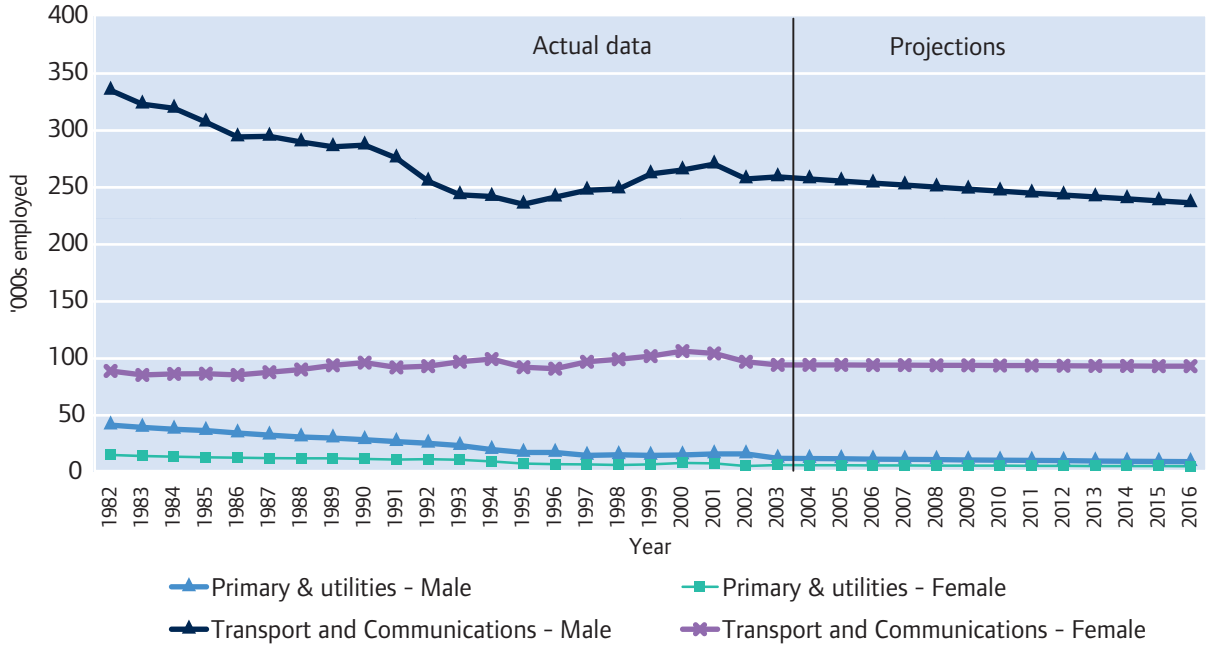
The Construction sector is projected to be in overall decline to 2016,5 with 3,000 fewer female jobs despite a slight increase in their

Figure 7 Employment history and projections for Health and Education and Wholesale by gender



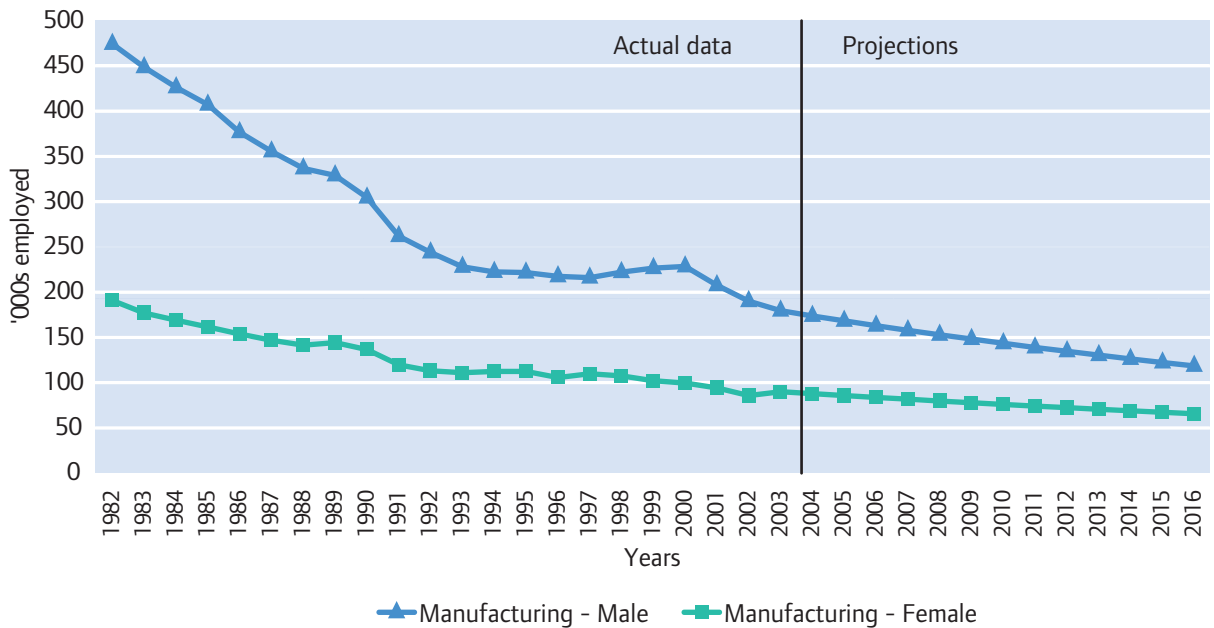
Source: Experian Business Strategies (historic data) and Volterra (projections)

Figure 8 Employment history and projections for Primary and Utilities and Transport and Communications by gender



Source: Experian Business Strategies (historic data) and Volterra (projections)

Figure 9 Employment history and projections for Manufacturing by gender



Source: Experian Business Strategies (historic data) and Volterra (projections)

proportion of the workforce. Women will continue to make up over half of employees in Public Administration, increasing their share of this sector but with a decrease of 19,000 jobs. (see Figure 10).

Detailed analysis of female job growth by sector

This section analyses the projected 388,000 net new jobs for women in London's economy by 2016 to determine how much of it is attributable to overall economic growth - and hence an increase in overall employment within London - and how much is caused by a change in the proportion of women working.

Table 2 is a matrix showing changes in total sector against changes in the proportion of women in that sector. The three key sectors for growth in women's employment are Business Services, Health and Education and Retail. In all other sectors, women's share is either static or declining, even in sectors showing overall growth; or they are sectors in decline.

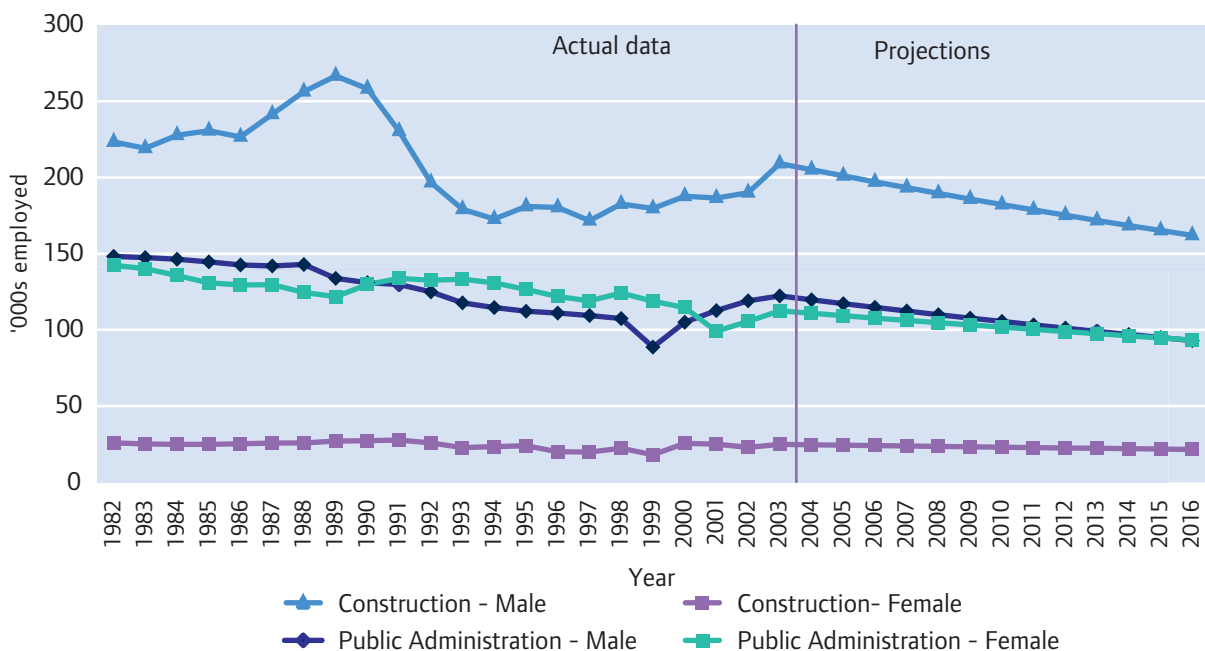
Table 3 shows that if the proportions of male and female workers were to remain constant across the sectors between 2003 and 2016, there would be an increase of 297,700 female jobs and an increase of 260,600 male jobs. However, women's increasing participation in London's labour market is projected to lead to an additional 90,300 jobs for women. This suggests, all other things being equal, that increasing overall economic growth is the key factor in improving the total participation of women in London's economy.

A full breakdown of projected changes in employment by gender and sector is given in Appendix A.

Occupational projections by gender

Turning from sectoral analysis to occupational analysis, Table 4 shows the link between pay and occupation. The more senior the occupation, the higher the associated wage. As women are less represented at more senior occupations, this

Figure 10 Employment history and projections for Construction and Public Administration by gender



Source: Experian Business Strategies (historic data) and Volterra (projections)

is a major contributory factor to the gender pay gap.

Projections by gender for total London employment in 2012 are available from Cambridge Econometrics. (GLA Economics and Cambridge Econometrics use different methodologies, so the data from the two sources are not directly comparable with each other.)⁶ According to CE, the largest increase in employment in London between 2002-2012 is projected to be in associate professional and technical occupations, with an overall increase of 235,000 jobs, of which women will fill 120,000 and men 115,000 (see Figure 11).

The next largest gain is projected in professional occupations, with 183,000 jobs

(91,000 for women and 92,000 for men) over the same period. Women are expected to gain a large number of jobs in personal service occupations (68,000), with little increase projected for men (3,000). These occupations include jobs such as care assistants, childminders, travel agents and beauticians, jobs towards the lower end of the pay range. There will be a modest increase in sales and customer services jobs for both men and women - 17,000 and 11,000 new jobs respectively - which again are jobs at the lower end of the pay scale. The largest job losses are expected in administrative, clerical and secretarial occupations - an occupation typically associated with women - where it is projected that around 117,000 female jobs and 35,000 male jobs will be lost.

Table 2 Breakdown of changes in employment by proportion of women in the sector and total sector change

		Total sector change	
		Decline	Growth
Proportion of women in sector	Decline		Financial Services Wholesale
	No change		Other Services Hotels and Restaurants
	Growth	Primary and Utilities Transport and communications Construction Public Administration Manufacturing	Business Services Health and Education Retail

Source: GLA Economics calculations based on Volterra employment projections

Table 3 Projected changes in employment by gender '000s of workers

Total			Women			Men		
2003	2016	Change	Change	...due to change in size of sector	...due to change in share of women in sector	Change	...due to change in size of sector	...due to change in share of men in sector
4,480.2	5,038.5	558.4	388.0	297.7	90.3	170.4	260.6	-90.3

Source: Experian Business Strategies (historic data) and Volterra (projections)

For men, the largest job losses will be in the skilled trades sector, with a projected decline of 73,000 jobs for men. CE projects a decline in transport and machine operatives (36,000 fewer jobs for men) and elementary occupations (51,000 fewer jobs).

Detailed analysis of female job growth by occupation

The absolute change in occupation projections can be divided between the amount resulting from changes to the size of the occupational category and that due to changes in the gender proportions within the sector. As the sector and occupation projections are obtained through different methodologies, the data are not directly comparable, and so we cannot say which occupational changes will take place within different sectors. However, overall

projections for changes in occupation across London are available.

Table 5 is a matrix showing changes in total occupational groups against changes in the proportion of women in each of them. Women are increasing their share within most growth occupations, both at the senior level - managers and senior professionals, professional and associate professional - and within lower-paid personal services. However, within sales and customer services, also a growth group, the projections show a small decline in the female share. Later we shall see that this occupation is the most common for both male and female part-time workers.

Once again it is useful to know how much of the change in occupational structure is due to what is happening with the economy as a

Table 4 London's occupations and pay by gender 2004

	Workers '000s		£ per hour at the median			
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Gender pay ratio at the median (A)	Proportion of women working in the occupation
Managers & senior officials	443	205	22.75	17.29	76.0	31.6%
Professional occupations	263	196	20.58	18.60	90.4	42.7%
Occupations	322	250	15.98	13.93	87.2	43.7%
Administrative & secretarial occupations	114	347	11.11	10.42	93.8	75.3%
Skilled trade occupations	134	18	11.10	6.97	62.8	11.8%
Personal service occupations	46	140	9.79	8.07	82.4	75.3%
Sales & customer service occupations	84	139	6.10	5.67	93.0	62.3%
Process, plant & machine operatives	101	9	9.27	6.72	72.5	8.2%
Elementary occupations	165	106	7.09	5.88	82.9	39.1%
Total number of workers	1,672	1,410				
Median wage			14.46	11.47	79.3	

Notes: (A) measures the pay ratio as the female hourly pay divided by male hourly pay.

Reasonably priced CV > 5% and <= 10%. Acceptable CV >10% and <= 20%

Source: Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings 2004 including full-time students

whole and how much is specifically due to changes in the proportions of women working in London. If we look at all occupational changes (Table 6), 72 per cent of the change (146,200 of 204,000) is explained by changes in the size of the occupational group and 28 per cent by the increasing representation of women. However, 44 per cent of the projected growth in managers and senior official occupations is

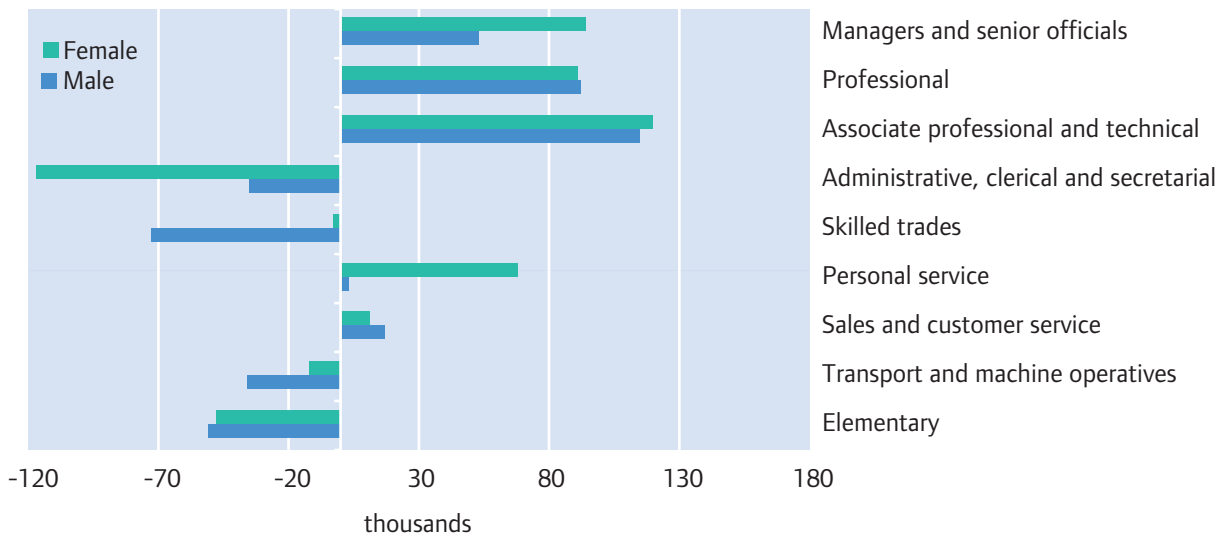
due to the increasing representation of women, leading to an additional 41,200 jobs.

Once again, total economic growth is of key importance for improving the numbers of women working in London's economy.

Pay

There are many influences that determine an individual's pay, from education, age and

Figure 11 Employment projections by occupation and gender for London, 2002 - 2012



Source: Data Management and Analysis Group, Sc 8.07

Table 5 Breakdown of changes in employment by proportion of women in the occupation category and total occupation change

		Total sector change in occupational group	
		Decline	Growth
Proportion of women in occupational group	Decline	Administrative, clerical and secretarial Transport and machine operatives; Elementary	Sales and customer service
	Growth	Skilled trades	Managers & senior officials Professional Associate professional and technical Personal service

Source: GLA Economics based on Cambridge Econometrics employment projections

work experience through to the type of job that they are doing and how well a company is performing at a specific time. Table 7 shows that, in the UK as a whole, male full-time workers on average earn the highest salaries, followed by full-time females, part-time males and finally part-time females. For London, the pattern is similar, except that part-time females earn more per hour than part-time males. There are many more women working part-time than men. Our previous research showed that occupational segregation - men and women doing different jobs - explains much of the gender pay gap. Occupational segregation must be addressed if the gender pay gap is to be reduced.⁷

Last year, we reported the gender gap based on the mean, as the median data were not available. However, the median figures are also significant, since the wage distribution is skewed: because the median identifies the wage of the middle wage earners it is

unaffected by any other aspect of the wage distribution. The median better captures the pay gap confronting the average person.⁸ The distribution of wages for men and women differs, with the male distribution having a larger upper tail. Consequently, the mean yields a larger gender pay gap than the median.

In London, in 2004, the mean full-time female wage was £14.76 per hour, and that of males £19.45. This gives a gender pay gap of 24 per cent - larger than the UK mean gender pay gap of 18 per cent. This is because the mean gender pay gap reflects the influence of highly paid workers who are more prevalent in London than the UK generally, and are more likely to be male than female.

The median hourly wage for full-time males is £15.20, and for full-time females £12.95⁹ This gives an absolute gender pay gap of 15 per cent for full-time workers at the median

Table 6 Projected changes in employment by gender '000s workers

Total	Women						Men		
	2002	2012	Absolute Change	Absolute Change	...due to change in size of occupation category	...due to change in share of women in occupational category	Absolute Change	...due to change in size of occupation category	...due to change in share of men in occupational category
Managers and senior officials	810.6	957.6	147	94	52.8	41.2	53	94.2	-41.2
Professional	625.9	808.9	183	91	76.7	14.3	92	106.3	-14.3
Associate professional and technical	844.0	1079.0	235	120	109.9	10.1	115	125.1	-10.1
Administrative, clerical and secretarial	625.6	473.6	-152	-117	-112.8	-4.2	-35	-39.2	4.2
Skilled trades	383.0	307.0	-76	-3	-6.0	3.0	-73	-70.0	-3.0
Personal service	262.9	333.9	71	68	56.0	12.0	3	15.0	-12.0
Sales and customer service	287.9	315.9	28	11	17.5	-6.5	17	10.5	6.5
Transport and machine operatives	224.5	176.5	-48	-12	-5.5	-6.5	-36	-42.5	6.5
Elementary	416.8	317.8	-99	-48	-42.4	-5.6	-51	-56.6	5.6
Total	4,481.1	4,770.1	289	204	146.2	57.8	85	142.8	-57.8

Source: GLA Economics calculations based on Cambridge Econometrics employment projections

rate. For every £1 that a full-time working man earns, a full-time working female earns 85p. At the median, the gender pay gap in London is only slightly wider than at UK level.

For part-time employment, in the UK as a whole the average male worker is paid 14 percent more than the female. But this mean gender pay gap is reversed in London, with females paid, on average, 5 per cent more than males. The median gender pay gap shows women earning 16 per cent more than male part-time workers (£7.68 for females and £6.61 for males). Part of this difference

can be explained by the different age profiles of male and female part-time workers: female workers tend to be older and therefore have more labour market experience, which results in higher wages.

On average, working part-time, regardless of gender, means that hourly wages are lower. In London, taking gender and hours status together, the largest mean pay gap occurs between full-time males and part-time males: 49 per cent. This is followed by the gap between full-time males and part-time females of 46 per cent. As more women work

Table 7 Pay differentials by gender and employment status for London and the UK in 2004

London (hourly rate £s)	Female		Male	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
Mean	14.76	10.51	19.45	9.98
10th percentile	6.78	4.85	7.39	4.68
50th percentile	12.95	7.68	15.20	6.61
90th percentile	25.00	19.62	36.66	15.54
90/10	3.7	4.0	5.0	3.30

UK (hourly rate £s)	Female		Male	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
Mean	11.21	8.19	13.73	9.36
10th percentile	5.50	4.66	6.08	4.50
50th percentile	9.52	6.32	11.10	6.05
90th percentile	19.13	14.18	24.08	19.26
90/10	3.5	3.0	4.0	4.3

Absolute gender pay ratio	London		UK	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
Mean	76	105	82	88
50th percentile	85	116	86	104

Absolute part-time pay ratio (part-time / full-time)	London		UK	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Mean	71	51	73	68
50th percentile	59	43	66	55

part-time the impact of this latter pay differential will increase. The median pay gap shows a similar pattern, with full-time male against part-time male having the largest pay gap: 57 per cent. The next pay gap, 49 per cent, occurs in both part-time males against full-time females and part-time females against full-time males.

The overall pay gaps are higher within London than in the UK as a whole for both the mean and median measures.

Table 8 summarises the mean and median pay differentials between men and women for London and the UK. The largest wage differentials between London and the UK are for full-time workers, regardless of gender (Table 9). Part-time workers in London have a lower pay premium, although this is higher for female part-timers than male. The London pay premium declines as you move down the

occupational hierarchy.¹⁰ As part-time workers are more concentrated in lower level occupations, this will contribute to their lower London pay premium relative to full-time workers.

What is vital to note is the large difference in pay between full-time and part-time workers - often called the part-time pay penalty. The mean part-time pay gap for women in London is 29 per cent, similar to elsewhere in the UK with a gap of 27 per cent. For males in both London and the UK, the part-time pay gap is higher than for females. The part-time pay penalty for London males, at the mean, is 49 per cent, much higher than the 32 per cent experienced by males in the UK as a whole.

In London, the part-time pay penalty is 41 per cent for females at the median wage. The difference at the median is even more extreme for male part-time workers: for every

Table 8 Pay ratios by gender and part-time/full-time status for London and the UK in 2004

Mean pay ratio by gender and part-time / full-time status							
London		Full-time		UK		Full-time	
		Female	Male			Female	Male
Part-time	Female	71	54	Part-time	Female	73	60
	Male	68	51		Male	83	68

Median pay ratio by gender and part-time / full-time status							
London		Full-time		UK		Full-time	
		Female	Male			Female	Male
Part-time	Female	59	51	Part-time	Female	66	57
	Male	51	43		Male	64	55

Table 9 Pay ratios by gender and hours status between London and the UK

Male full-time	Female full-time	Male part-time	Female part-time
1.37	1.36	1.09	1.22

Source: Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings 2004, Office for National Statistics

£1 earned by a full-time male, a part-time male will earn 43p – a part-time pay penalty of 57 per cent.

Changes in hourly pay over time and increasing disparities

Between 1998 and 2004, median hourly pay in London increased by 30–32 per cent for both males and females, both full-time and part-time (see Table 10; a fuller range of hourly pay figures for both 1998 and 2004 is shown in Appendix B).¹¹ But this figure masks growing disparities resulting from changes in pay distributions. Dividing the 90th percentile by the 10th percentile enables us to calculate the wage range of full-time and part-time workers by gender. The 90/10 ratio can be driven either by the highest paid pulling away from middle earners (90/50 ratio) or by the lowest paid falling further behind middle earners (50/10 ratio), or

indeed, some combination of the two. Therefore we present 90/10, 90/50 and 50/10 ratios for completeness.

In 1998, London female full-time workers at the 90th percentile earned 3.4 times the amount of those at the 10th percentile of the distribution; by 2004, this had increased to 3.7. This increase is a result of both the higher earners pulling away from the middle earners and the lower paid being left behind. In contrast, female full-time workers in the UK as a whole have seen no change between 1998 and 2004, with those at the 90th percentile earning 3.5 times the amount of those at the 10th percentile. This shows an increase in wage inequality in London not seen in the UK as a whole.

Part-time female workers in London have experienced an increase in wage inequality,

Table 10 Changes in hourly pay over time

Female	London				UK			
	Females, 1998		Females, 2004		Females, 1998		Females, 2004	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
10th percentile	5.37	3.85	6.78	4.85	4.14	3.40	5.50	4.66
50th percentile	9.83	5.84	12.95	7.68	7.22	4.89	9.52	6.32
90th percentile	18.22	14.00	25.00	19.62	14.53	10.67	19.13	14.18
90/10	3.39	3.64	3.69	4.05	3.51	3.14	3.48	3.04
90/50	1.85	2.40	1.93	2.55	2.01	2.18	2.01	2.24
50/10	1.83	1.52	1.91	1.58	1.74	1.44	1.73	1.36

Male	London				UK			
	Males, 1998		Males, 2004		Males, 1998		Males, 2004	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
10th percentile	5.70	3.33	7.39	4.68	4.76	3.20	6.08	4.50
50th percentile	11.57	5.10	15.20	6.61	8.74	4.70	11.10	6.05
90th percentile	26.87	10.95	36.66	15.54	18.43	14.70	24.08	19.26
90/10	4.71	3.29	4.96	3.32	3.87	4.59	3.96	4.28
90/50	2.32	2.15	2.41	2.35	2.11	3.13	2.17	3.18
50/10	2.03	1.53	2.06	1.41	1.84	1.47	1.83	1.34

mainly driven by the top pulling away from the middle. In contrast, for this group in the UK as a whole, there has been an overall decline in wage inequality, despite the top pulling away from the middle, because of the very substantial gains of those at the bottom end of the wage distribution. This may reflect the introduction of the national minimum wage in 1999.

In London in 2004, the largest wage disparities were for male full-time workers, with the 90th percentile wage at £36.66 and the 10th percentile wage at £7.39. As London has many of the highest paid jobs in the country, the wage disparities are higher in the capital than elsewhere. There has been an increase in wage inequality that has been driven almost entirely by the top pulling away from the middle. This is a similar for full-time men in the UK as a whole.

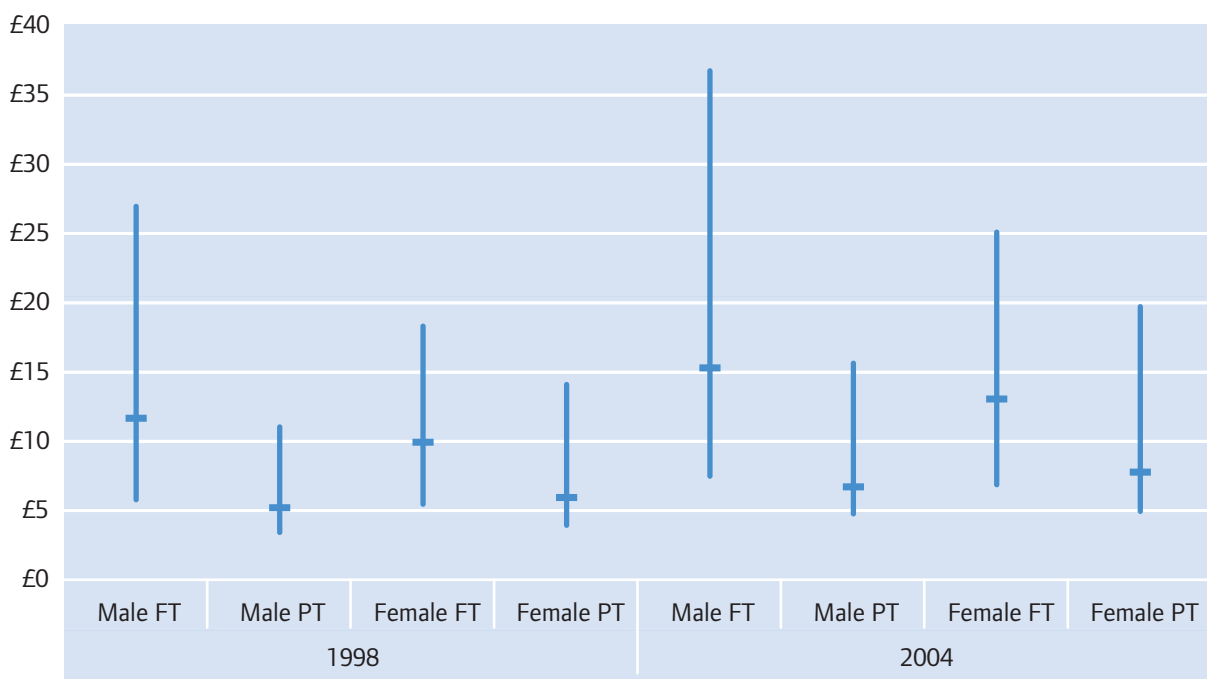
For part-time male workers in London, there has been no significant change in overall

wage inequalities. However, this masks the top earners pulling away from the middle counterbalanced by the bottom gaining on the middle. Male part-timers in the UK as a whole are similar to their female counterparts, with an overall decrease in inequality, despite the fact that the top is pulling away from the middle, because of strong relative gains of people at the bottom.

In summary, wage ranges have increased between 1998 and 2004, so there is greater disparity between the highest and lowest paid. This increasing disparity has been more marked in London than in the UK as a whole, and in London at a greater level for women than men (Figures 12, 13).

There is evidence that within the UK demand for high skilled employees has increased more than demand for non-skilled workers. This has meant that wages of skilled workers have increased at a faster rate.¹² Further, wage rates for women in full-time work in

Figure 12 Wage distribution for hourly pay for males and females in London, 1998 and 2004



Notes: Median hourly pay in London (10 and 90 percentiles). Male part-time at 80th percentile for statistical robustness.
 Source: Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings 2004, Office for National Statistics

skilled occupations (professional and managerial) in the UK have increased faster than wages in low skilled jobs such as sales and personal services, where more women are working part-time.¹³

Part-time pay penalty

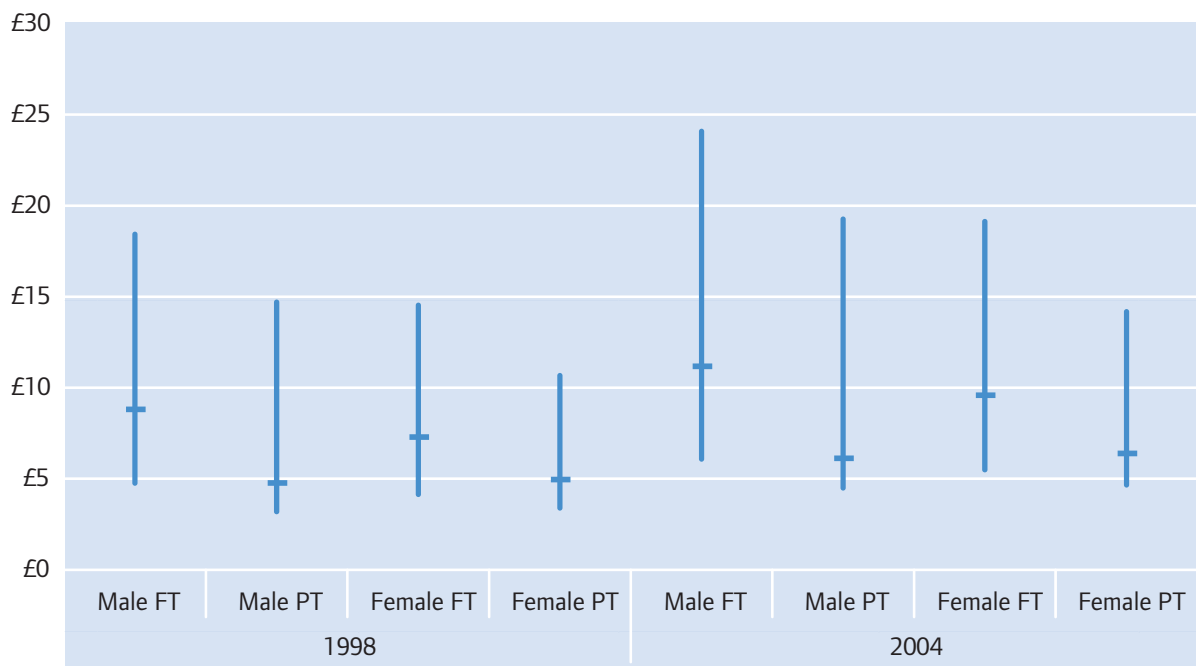
Research by Manning and Petrongolo¹⁴ shows that in 2003, women working part-time in the UK earned, on average, 22 per cent less than women working full-time. For London, the pay gap was 23 per cent.¹⁵ Their econometric analysis showed that occupational segregation of part-time and full-time women can explain most of the aggregate part-time pay penalty. Once again this implies that occupational segregation must be tackled if the pay gap between part-time and full-time workers is to be reduced.

For the UK as a whole, a number of factors may lead part-time female workers to concentrate into lower paid jobs. Women who work part-time are more likely to be recent entrants from non-employment. They

are less likely to have long spells of employment. Women may be forced to make changes of employers and downward occupational moves if they wish to reduce their number of hours from full-time to part-time, and they are less likely to be promoted if they stay with their current employer. Women may also choose to work part-time if it is believed that part-time employment will enable them to better balance work and home life. Part-time jobs are not available at all occupational levels. This may corral women who want to work part-time into lower-level occupations, potentially lowering the wages in those occupations still further.¹⁶

Analysis of transitions between full-time and part-time employment shows that women who move from full-time to part-time work are much more likely to change employer and/or occupation than those who maintain their hours status. Furthermore, when women make this transition, they tend to make a downwards-occupational move -

Figure 13 Wage distribution for hourly pay for male and females in the UK, 1998 and 2004



Notes: Median hourly pay in London (10 and 90 percentiles). Male part-time at 80th percentile for statistical robustness. Source: Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings 2004, Office for National Statistics

evidence that many women working part-time are not making full use of their skills and experience.

Women who move from full-time to part-time work with a change of employer suffer an occupational pay penalty of 8.9 per cent. For those who have worked full-time in the past 12 months but who return to work part-time there is an occupational pay penalty of 7.8 per cent. For graduates, the pay penalty is large: of the order of 17 per cent for those entering part-time employment from a period of non-employment. This suggests a more acute problem with under-utilisation of skills among high-skilled women.¹⁷

As shown in Table 11, the occupational distribution between part-time and full-time women is different, with few part-time women working as managers and senior officials and within professional occupations.

Research has shown that within individual occupations, the pay gap between part-time and full-time female workers is small. This suggests that women will not suffer a sizeable pay penalty if they can maintain their occupation whilst reducing the number of hours worked. These findings are confirmed by the analysis of part-time pay in Table 10, where although there are some pay penalties from working part-time in different

Table 11 Female wages in London, 2004

	Workers '000s		£ per hour at the median			
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Part-time/full-time gap ratio at the median (A)	Proportion of occupation working part-time (%)
Managers & senior officials	181	24	17.6	14.4	82.0	11.7%
Professional occupations	161	35	18.5	19.2	103.6	17.9%
Associate professional & technical	204	47	14.1	13.1	93.2	18.7%
Administrative & secretarial occupations	258	89	10.9	9.0	82.3	25.6%
Skilled trade occupations	12	6	7.3	6.3	86.6	33.3%
Personal service occupations	71	69	8.0	8.3	103.5	49.3%
Sales & customer service occupations	46	93	6.5	5.4	82.6	66.9%
Process, plant & machine operatives	7	***	6.6	***	***	***
London, Elementary occupations	38	69	6.5	5.5	84.7	64.5%
Total number of workers	977	434				
Median wage			12.95	7.68	59.3	30.8%

Notes: (A) measures the pay ratio as the female (part-time) hourly pay as a % of female (full-time) hourly pay at the 50th percentile. *** These figures are suppressed as they are not statistically reliable. Reasonably precise CV > 5% and <= 10%. Acceptable CV > 10% and <= 20%.

Source: Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings data 2004 including full-time students

occupations (ratio ranging from 82.0 to 103.6) they are lower than the pay difference between occupations. For part-timers, the highest paid occupational category is for professional occupations, with a median wage of £19.20 per hour, and the lowest is £5.40 for women working in sales and customer service occupations.

In terms of policy, potentially one of the most effective ways to reduce the part-time pay penalty would be to strengthen the rights of individuals to move between full-time and part-time work whilst maintaining their current job.

There does appear to be a latent demand for part-time work. Recent legislation¹⁸ enables employees with young children to request flexible working and requires employers to give such a request proper consideration; but they are not bound to grant it. The results of the second flexible working employee survey¹⁹ show that 14 per cent of employees reported that they had requested a change to their working arrangements in the last two years and 25 per cent of these requests were to work part-time. Thirty per cent of females had requested part-time work compared to 18 per cent of males.

We have highlighted the fact that fewer part-time jobs exist at higher occupation levels, but results from the survey show that those in higher level occupations were less likely to request flexible working in the first instance. Such requests were higher in sales and customer services occupations and administrative and secretarial occupations, at 19 per cent. They were lowest amongst managers and more senior officials and skilled trade occupations at 10 per cent.

This may reflect lower latent demand for flexible working among managers and senior officials, under-representation of women at these levels, or other reasons why more

senior level workers are less likely to request flexible working. At a recent business meeting held between the GLA and London business leaders, it was stated that despite trials of job sharing in management jobs, some positions were just not possible to be filled on a part-time basis. Additionally, it was stated that individuals felt that requesting flexible work would negatively impact on their promotional prospects: a step change was required in the culture of senior management.

Giving employees the right to request flexible working is a recent development in the UK, and the policy has yet to be fully evaluated. It remains to be seen whether the legislation for flexible working has been successful.

Life term earnings impact of working part-time

A recent UK study investigated the likelihood of women remaining in a given labour market state. Controlling for different individual characteristics, the study found that previous labour market history, as far back as four years, had a significant impact on current labour market status.²⁰ This has implications for those women with children who decide to work part-time to enable them to combine work with domestic responsibilities. Generally, women working part-time are low paid. If women are more likely to remain working part-time, they will continue to face low wages and subsequently lower career prospects.

Why are highly paid jobs not available on a part-time basis?

Women working part-time are often not making full use of their skills and experience. Why are women who have the skills and experience not working part-time in more highly paid jobs?

Potential explanations include:

- Women are choosing not to take higher paid jobs when working part-time even though the higher paid jobs are

available. For example, taking locally-available but less well-paid jobs may enable women to better combine work and family commitments.

- There are constraints on women taking up higher paid jobs that are available on a part-time basis. For example, if the jobs are centrally located issues of commuting time and costs will be a factor.
- Employers are not offering higher paid jobs on a part-time basis. Potential reasons include the additional costs of administration and the costs of liaison.

For employers, there is a fixed set up cost per additional employee, for example the costs of hiring, training and administering workers. The return to the employer is lower for part-time workers, as they work fewer hours in which the employer can get a return on these costs.²¹ As higher level jobs typically require more training and are most costly to fill, this may explain the lack of part-time jobs available at higher levels. If this view is adopted, a logical extension is that requests by full-time workers to reduce their number of hours will be viewed in a more favourable light than hiring part-time workers from the start as the fixed costs of training and hiring have already been met.

The cost of liaison may also impact on whether jobs are made available on a part-

time basis. For example, a manager issuing an instruction will only need to do this once if a single person is in post but will need to do it twice if two part-timers cover the same position. There are also impacts on others in the team who may need a task doing when the part-time post holder is not at work, and so unable to complete the task requested immediately. Many of these problems could be overcome with suitable knowledge management systems, but the implementation of such systems also has a financial cost that would need to be recuperated.

The London Development Agency has commissioned consultants to further analyse family-friendly working practices amongst small and medium sized enterprises. Their report is due for completion in early 2006.²²

Reasons for working part-time

Table 12 looks at all part-time workers and the reasons they state for working part-time rather than full-time (see Appendix C for details of the questionnaire used in the Labour Force Survey).

Table 13 shows London residents' reasons for working part-time: there are key gender differences. Half of male part-time workers state that they work part-time as they are students or at school. Only 16 per cent of female part-time workers give this reason.

Table 12 Reasons stated for working part-time rather than full-time in London and outside London

Reasons for working part-time	London		Outside London	
	numbers	%	numbers	%
Student or at school	95,000	23.2	689,000	16.9
Ill or disabled	9,000	2.2	77,000	1.9
Could not find full-time job	33,000	8.0	305,000	7.5
Did not want full-time job	273,000	66.6	3,010,000	73.8
Total	410,000	100	4,081,000	100

Source: Labour Force Survey 2003 (note: Data rounded to nearest 1000)

The absolute numbers doing so are similar, but the proportions are affected by the much higher overall rate of women part-time workers. Excluding students from the response, one in three part-time males states that he could not find full-time work, whereas this is given as a reason by only 7 per cent of part-time females. Women are more likely to say that they work part-time because they do not want a full-time job (77 per cent). In absolute numbers, this means that in 2003, around 14,000 men and 18,000 women were working part-time in London because they could not find a full-time job.

A more detailed question about why people work part-time emphasises differences

between men and women. Seven out of 10 women say their reason for not working full-time is that they want to spend more time with family, or that domestic commitments prevent them working full-time. Men's replies are more likely to fall in the 'another reason' category (46 per cent). These figures seem to confirm the uneven burden of domestic responsibilities between men and women and the knock-on effects of this on women's paid employment. Only one woman in 20 said she earned enough working part-time.

The qualitative research section later in the report gives a more in-depth view of women's reasons for their work patterns and choice of job.

Table 13 Reasons for working part-time by gender for London residents

Reasons for working part-time	London			
	Female numbers	%	Male numbers	%
Student or at school	50,000	16	45,000	50
Ill or disabled	***	***	***	***
Could not find full-time job	18,000	6	14,000	16
Did not want full-time job	245,000	77	28,000	30

Source: Labour Force Survey 2003 (note: rounded to nearest 1000)

Table 14 Reasons for not wanting to work full-time by gender for London residents

	Female	%	Male	%
Financially secure but work because want to	19,000	5.6	12,000	18.8
Earn enough working part-time	17,000	5.0	10,000	15.4
Want to spend more time with family	148,000	43.9	***	***
Domestic commitments which prevent working full-time	90,000	26.7	***	***
Insufficient childcare facilities available	***	***	***	***
Another reason	55,000	16.3	30,000	46.0

Source: Based on average across Spring and Autumn quarters over the period 2001-2004 from Labour Force Survey (LFS).

Note: *** suppressed as below statistical reliability levels. Figures rounded to nearest 1000.

2.3 Part-time employment

Proportions of working aged people who are employed part-time

Table 15 shows that the pattern of working for males and females resident in London is distinctive from that in Britain as a whole. London has a lower percentage of working-age people working either full-time or part-time than the rest of Britain, and the difference is larger for women than for men.

London's women are less likely to be working part-time than women in Britain as a whole. One in five women of working age works part-time in London compared to three in ten in Britain. London's women are slightly more

likely to be working full-time than women in Britain at 42.4 and 40.5 percentage respectively. For men, there is little difference in the percentage working part-time between those resident in London compared to Britain at around 7.5 per cent. However a lower percentage of London's men are in full-time employment than in Britain overall (67.0 per cent and 71.6 per cent respectively)

The latest position for London

The latest official data for London records 3,907,045 employee jobs in London; of these one quarter are part-time.²³ 68 per cent of London's part-time jobs are taken by women. In comparison, women account for only 41 per cent of full-time employees (see Table 16).

Table 15 Percentage of working aged population by gender and full-time/part-time status

	London	Britain
Women working part-time	19.8	29.1
Men working part-time	7.7	7.3
Women working full-time	42.4	40.5
Men working full-time	67.9	71.6
All women working full-time and part-time	62.2	69.5
All men working full-time and part-time	75.5	79.0

Source: Annual Population Survey 2004 data (resident based)

Table 16 Employees in London by gender and full-time/part-time status

	Number	% share of part-time or full-time	% share of total employees
Male part-time	311,400	31.6	7.0
Female part-time	673,000	68.4	17.2
Total Part-time	984,400		25.2
Male full-time	1,732,100	59.3	44.3
Female full-time	1,190,600	40.7	30.5
Total Full-time	2,922,700		74.8

Source : Annual Business Inquiry 2003

Differences between London and the rest of Great Britain

London has a different employment structure from other parts of Great Britain, with a lower proportion of part-time jobs: 25 per cent of jobs are part-time in London compared to 32 per cent in Britain as a whole. Furthermore, London's share of female part-time employees is significantly lower at 17 per cent than other regions, which record 24-26 per cent female part-time employees. London has a higher share of female full-time employees: 30 per cent compared to the 23-26 per cent recorded in other regions (see Table 17). Women in London are more likely to work full-time than part-time, unlike other regions where the proportions are generally similar.

London's past performance

Analysis of trends in London's total jobs (Figure 14) shows that the number of jobs in London declined between 1982 and 1993 and then recovered, to reach over 4 million in 2001. There was then a slight reduction

between 2001 and 2003. The growth in jobs between 1982 and 2003 was fuelled by an increase in part-time employees and full-time female employees. The numbers of female full-time employees increased by 148,200. Female part-time employees increased by 149,500. The number of male part-time employees doubled, increasing by 171,000 between 1982 and 2003 (but still only accounts for 8 per cent of all jobs in London). The only group to lose jobs over this period was male full-time employees whose numbers fell between 1982 and 2003 by 289,000.

Comparison with Britain as a whole

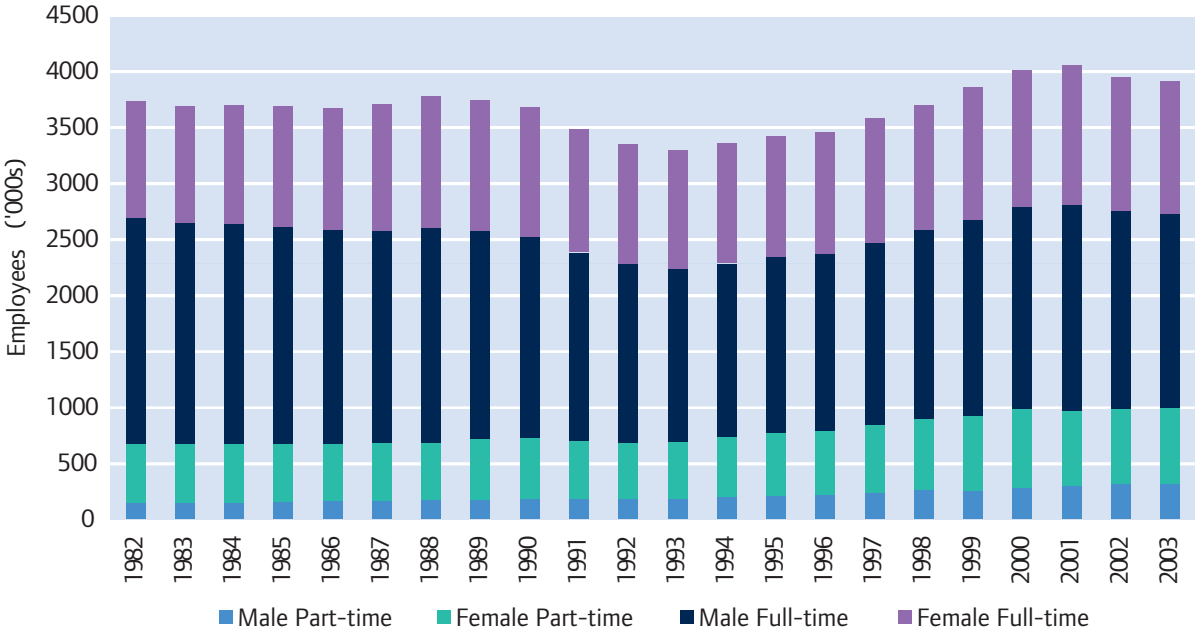
Figure 15 illustrates the long term growth in the share of part-time employment since 1982. This had increased from 24 per cent to 36 per cent by 2003. In London this growth was slightly slower, increasing from 18 per cent in 1982 to 26 per cent by 2003.

The trends in London are similar to the rest of Britain for male part-time workers: an

Table 17 Employees by full-time/part-time status, gender and region

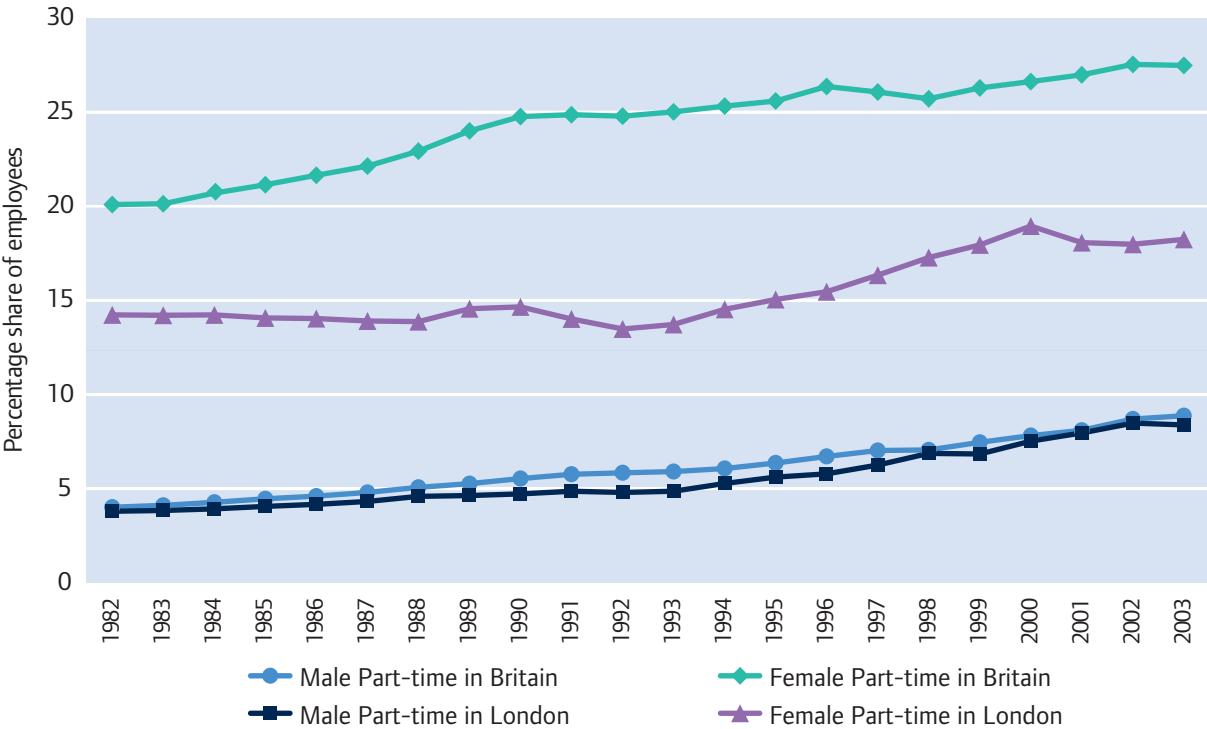
Region	Total employees	% share of total employees			
		male full-time	male part-time	female full-time	female part-time
London	3,907,000	44	8	30	17
South East	3,633,000	42	8	25	25
North West	2,991,000	43	8	25	24
Eastern	2,328,000	42	8	25	25
West Midlands	2,324,000	44	7	24	24
Scotland	2,299,000	42	7	26	25
Yorkshire & Humber	2,186,000	43	8	23	26
South West	2,152,000	40	9	23	28
East Midlands	1,768,600	43	8	24	25
Wales	1,115,000	40	8	26	26
North East	1,012,000	43	7	25	25
Total	25,716,000	43	8	26	24

Figure 14 Historic employment for London by gender and full-time/part-time status



Source: Experian Business Strategies Workforce Series 2005

Figure 15 Percentage of part-time employees in London and Britain 1982 - 2003



Source: Experian Business Strategies, Workforce Series 2005

increase from 4 per cent in 1982 to around 9 per cent in 2003. However the growth in part-time work for females was slower to arrive in London, and has remained at a lower level than that experienced in Britain generally.

Understanding the expansion of part-time employment in London

Between 1982 and 2003 the number of part-time employee jobs in London increased by 49 per cent.²⁴ To understand this expansion, two aspects of employment change need to be considered. First, the growth of sectors with a higher share of part-time jobs and the decline of sectors with lower shares of part-time jobs. Second, the change within sectors as the share of employees move towards either more part-time or full-time employment.

The Business Services sector had the largest growth in employment in London over this period. This sector includes the highest growth in part-time employment. The Hotels

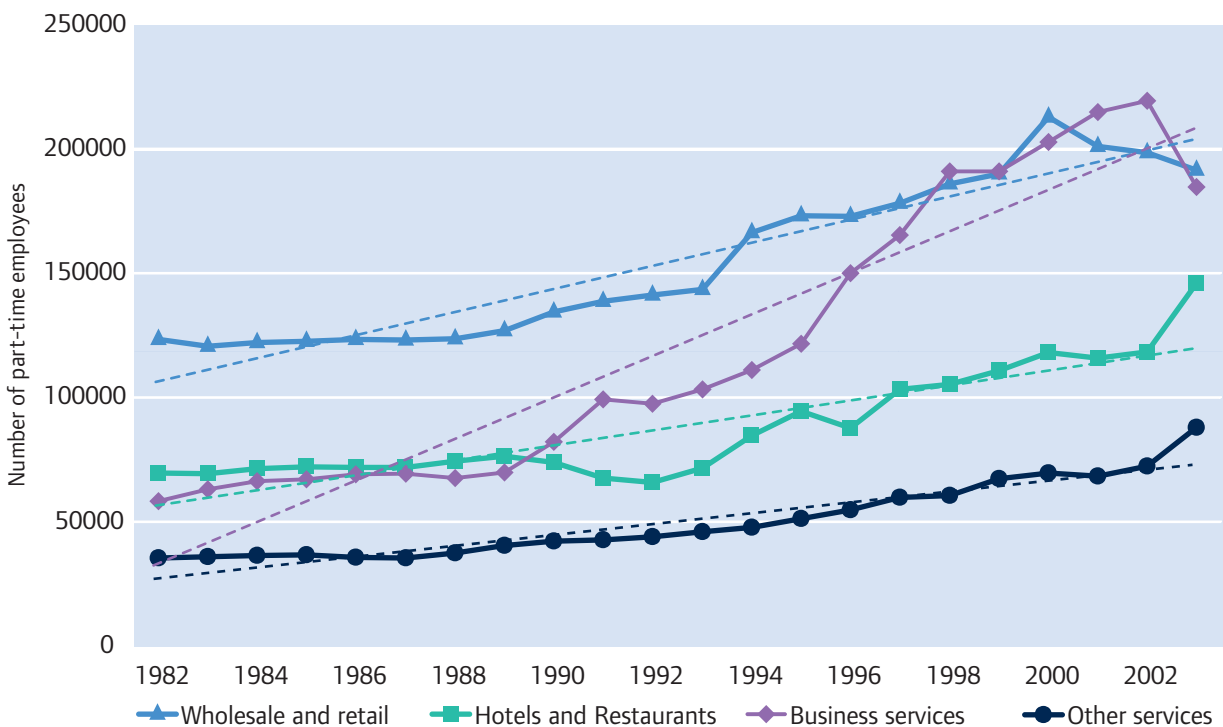
and Restaurants, Wholesale and Retail and other Services sectors have also experienced high growth in part-time employment (see Figure 16).

These four sectors also show the greatest increase in the proportion of their workforce which is part-time, as shown in Figure 17. In hotels and restaurants the share of part-time employees increased from 42 per cent to 49 per cent, in wholesale and retail from 22 per cent to 33 per cent, in other services also from 22 per cent to 33 per cent and in business services from 12 per cent to 20 per cent.

Where London's part-time work is located

London's full-time employment has four main pillars including the Central Activity Zone (Westminster and City of London), Heathrow, London's Docklands and Croydon. Areas with higher numbers of employee jobs are shown in red on Figure 18 while locations with fewer jobs are shown in blue.

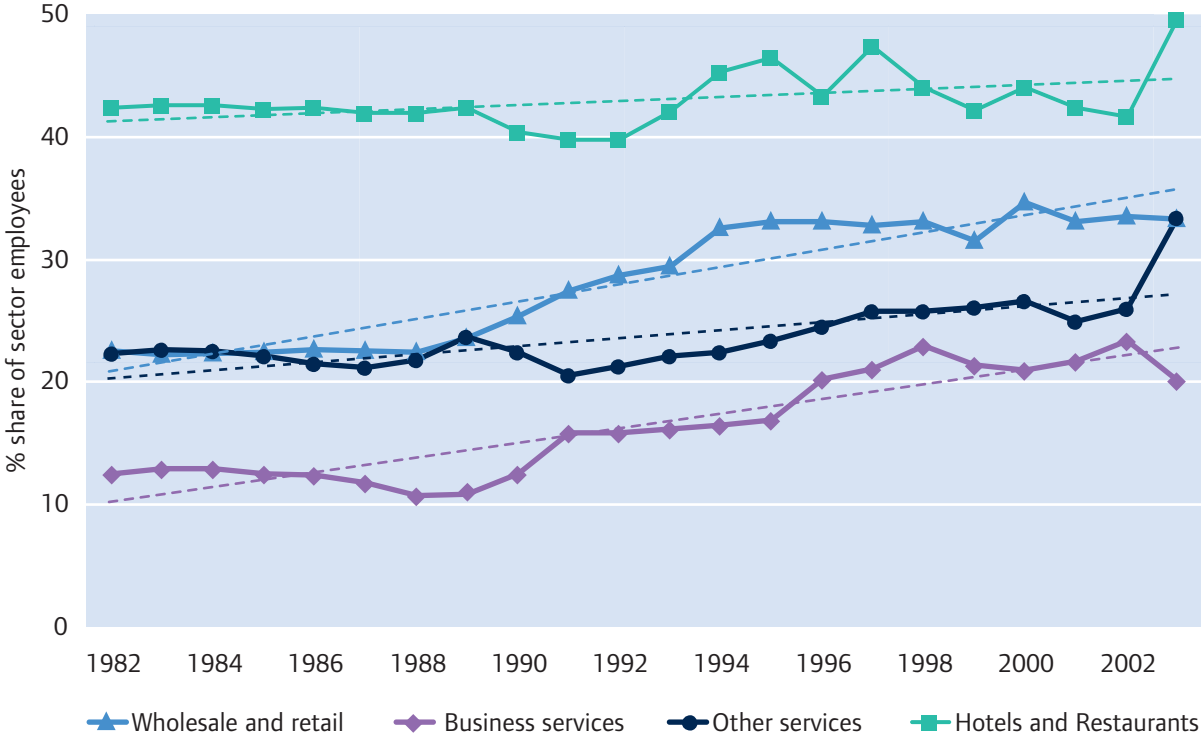
Figure 16 Changes in part-time employment across London sectors



Note: The dotted lines are linear trend lines.

Source: Experian Business Strategies

Figure 17 Changes in part-time employment within London sectors



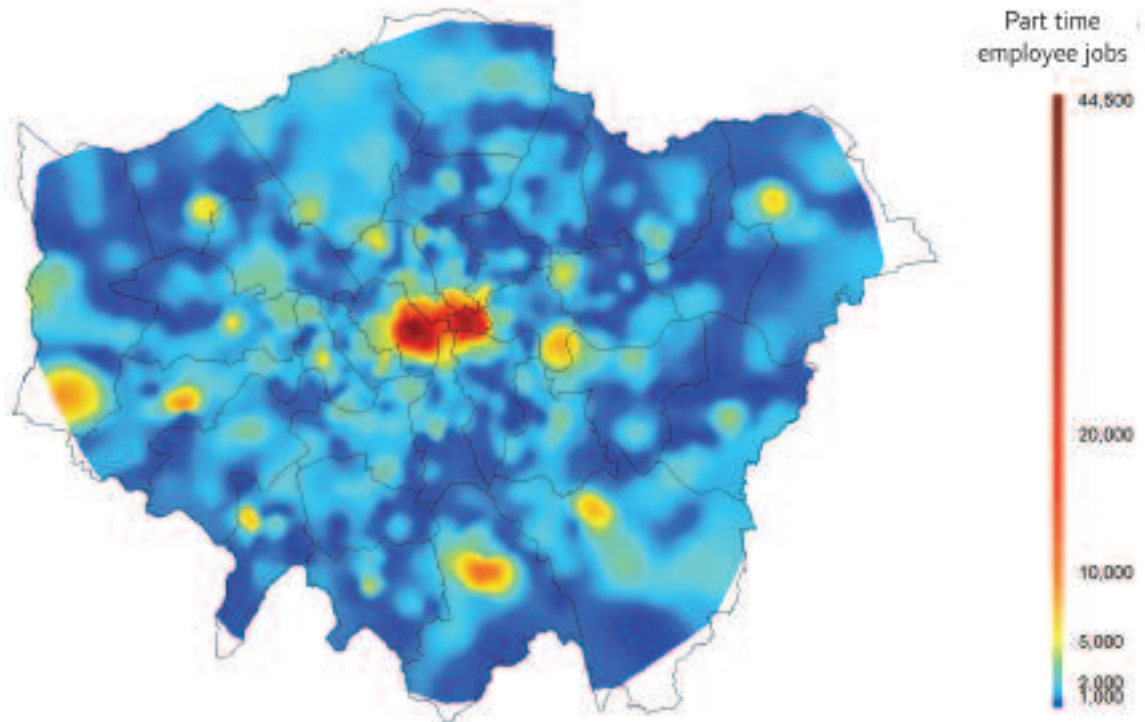
Note: The dotted lines are linear trend lines.
Source: Experian Business Strategies

Figure 18 Location of full-time employee jobs in London



© Crown copyright. All rights reserved. Greater London Authority LA100032379 2005
Source: Annual Business Inquiry 2003

Figure 19 Location of part-time employment in London



© Crown copyright. All rights reserved. Greater London Authority LA100032379 2005
Source: Annual Business Inquiry 2003

Figure 20 Female part-time employee jobs



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Source: Annual Business Inquiry 2003

Although there are fewer of them overall, the location of part-time employee jobs broadly follows that of full-time employee jobs (Figure 19), with the Central Activity Zone, Docklands, Heathrow and Croydon all clearly visible.

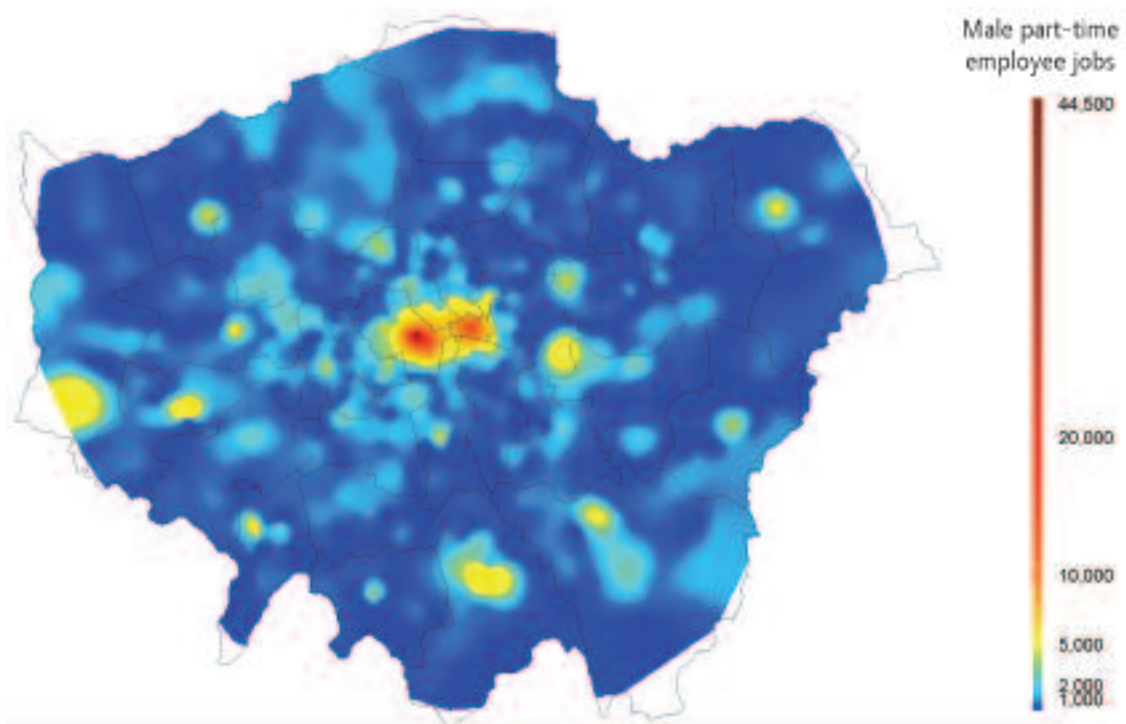
There are greater numbers of females working part-time (Figure 20) than males (Figure 21). Female part-time jobs are also more widely dispersed throughout London, with town centres clearly noticeable, while male part-time jobs tend to again reflect the four key employment pillars

Travel to work patterns for London residents
 Travel to work data from the 2001 census indicates that most travel to work involves commuting outside of the borough that the worker lives in, and that a quarter of all trips are from one of the outer boroughs to Central London.²⁵

There are differences between the travel to work patterns of part-time workers and full-time workers and between genders. Of all travel to work trips, 46 per cent are made by women and 54 per cent by men. There are no gender differences for those commuting into Central London from other parts of London overall (radial inflows). However, ninety per cent of these journeys are associated with full-time employment.

Women and part-time workers account for a large proportion of local flows, where people live and work in the same borough and therefore have relatively short commuting journeys. As shown in Table 18, 28 per cent of local flows are for part-time work compared to 18 per cent for commuting journeys across London overall. Part-time employment opportunities are more dispersed than full-time employment and this is reflected in the travel to work patterns. Similarly, half of local

Figure 21 Male part-time employee jobs



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 Source: Annual Business Inquiry 2003

flows are for female jobs compared to 46 per cent across London as a whole.

By contrast, women are less likely to live in London and commute to work outside of London, with only 37 per cent of such journeys being undertaken by women. Jobs where people commute from London externally are relatively more likely to be full-time occupations. Furthermore, women are less likely to be in these full-time jobs than they are for all full-time jobs.

Nearly three quarters of part-time worker trips are made by females, compared to 40 per cent of full-time worker trips. This is a reflection of women's employment type, as we have previously shown females take 68 per cent of part-time jobs and 41 per cent of full-time jobs.

For part-time jobs located in Central London the number of trips for females falls to

70 per cent: men are more likely to work in part-time employment in Central London than elsewhere in London, although in terms of absolute job numbers female part-time employment still dominates. Much of these gender differences can be explained by geographic differences in the location of types of jobs. For example, Central London is dominated by finance and business services compared to retail which is much more widely dispersed.

Commuters into London from the Wider South East

The Census 2001 reports that over 660,000 people commute in to London from the wider south east - that is the South East and East of England regions. Of these, 310,000 commute in to the boroughs of central London and 350,000 commute in to the rest of London. Some of these commuting journeys will include relatively long distances, for example from Southampton to

Table 18 Travel to work trips by full-time/part-time status and gender

Trip type	% of total trips	% of women/men	% Part-time/full-time	% Part-time workers women/men	% Full-time workers women/men
Radial Inflows	25	46/54	10/90	71/29	43/57
Radial Outflows	3	46/54	15/85	63/37	44/56
Central Flows	8	41/59	9/91	67/33	38/62
Local Flows	38	50/50	28/72	75/25	40/60
Orbital Flows	19	45/55	16/84	75/25	39/61
Out of London flows	7	37/63	12/88	71/29	32/68
Total	100	46/54	18/82	74/26	40/60

Radial Inflows: Journey originating in one of the 25 non-central boroughs and ending in one of the 8 central boroughs which are defined as Camden, Islington, Kensington and Chelsea, Lambeth, Southwark, Wandsworth, City of Westminster and City of London

Radial Outflows: Journey originating in one of the 8 central boroughs and ending in one of the 25 non-central boroughs.

Central Flows: Journey originating in one of the 8 central boroughs and ending in a different one of the 8 central boroughs.

Orbital Flows: Journey originating in one of the 25 non-central boroughs and ending in a different one of the 25 non-central boroughs.

Local Flows: Journey originating and ending in the same London borough for all 33 boroughs.

Out of London Flows: Journey originating in one of the London boroughs and ending outside of London. This data excludes people living in London but working outside of the Great Britain.

Westminster. Others will be short distances, for example from Surrey to just over the London border in to Kingston.

Table 19 shows that these journeys are overwhelmingly for full-time jobs. Commuters into London are mostly men, 65 per cent of all commuters. Further, men are predominantly commuting into full-time work: only 2 per cent of commuters are men working part-time.

Thirty-five per cent of commuters into London are women, 28 per cent commuting to London for full-time work. Seven per cent

of commuters are women working part-time (9 per cent for those commuting to areas outside of Central London).

Sector breakdown of part-time job opportunities

Table 20 analyses business sectors by employee numbers, gender and employment status. The retail sector has the highest proportion of part-time employees at 58 per cent, followed by hotels and restaurants (43 per cent) education (42 per cent) and health and social work (38 per cent). There is little part-time employment in the

Table 19 Share of commuters from wider south east in to London by gender and employment status

	Central London	Rest of London	London
Male full-time	63	63	63
Female full-time	31	26	28
Male part-time	2	2	2
Female part-time	4	9	7
All	100	100	100

Source: Census 2001

Table 20 Patterns of employment in London's sectors

	Total	Full-time		Part-time	
		% male	% female	% male	% female
Business services	921,000	48	32	8	12
Retail	373,000	26	16	25	33
Health and social work	346,000	17	45	5	33
Finance	323,000	52	38	2	8
Transport & communication	302,000	66	22	5	6
Wholesale	217,000	63	5	23	8
Hotels & restaurants	301,000	33	24	20	23
Education	282,000	21	36	9	33
Other services	254,000	41	31	10	18
Public administration	227,000	49	35	2	13
Manufacturing	224,000	61	28	4	7
Construction	126,000	83	10	2	5

Source: Annual Business Inquiry 2003

construction, transport and manufacturing sectors (which are also male-dominated sectors) or finance.

Sectors with a high share of female employees also tend to have a high share of part-time employees. However there are some notable gender differences by sector. Education and health and social work are sectors dominated by female workers - 33 per cent of employees in these sectors are female and part-time but there are few male part-time employees. In retail, 33 per cent of employees are female part-time workers and 25 per cent are male part-time workers. For the hotels and restaurants sector, 23 per cent of employees are female part-time and 20 per cent are male part-time.

Occupational levels

Table 21 illustrates that there are distinctive occupational differences between part-time and full-time status and between genders. Sixteen per cent of full-time female employees are working as managers and

senior officials, compared with 22.5 per cent of males. Only 4.7 per cent of female part-time employees are managers and senior officials, compared with 6.8 per cent of male part-time employees. 12.3 per cent of all female employees (both full-time and part-time) are in management and senior official occupations, compared with 21 per cent of all males. The percentage of female managers and senior officials who work part-time is 12.4 compared to only 3.2 per cent of males in the same category.

Both full-time and part-time female workers are most likely to be in administrative and secretarial roles. The second most common occupational category for part-time female workers is in sales and customer services, whereas it is in associated professional and technical for full-time females. There is a lower proportion of women working part-time as managers and senior officials and in professional occupations than either men or women working full-time or men working part-time.

Table 21 Occupation distribution (percentages) by full-time and part-time status, gender and occupation

Occupation	London - Female				London - Male			
	Full-time	Part-time	Total	(A)	Full-time	Part-time	Total	(A)
Managers and senior officials	16.0	4.7	12.3	12.4	22.5	6.8	21.0	3.2
Professional occupations	15.5	8.8	13.3	21.4	16.8	10.6	16.2	6.3
Associated professional & technical	21.9	13.7	19.2	23.1	17.9	10.2	17.2	5.7
Administrative and secretarial	24.0	22.1	23.4	30.7	6.8	7.5	6.9	10.6
Skilled trades occupations	1.4	2.0	1.6	40.2	13.5	6.7	12.8	5.1
Personal service occupations	9.8	12.6	10.7	38.2	***	***	***	12.3
Sales and customer service	5.5	18.7	9.8	61.8	3.4	20.4	5.0	39.5
Process, plant & machine operatives	***	***	***	***	7.8	7.8	7.8	9.7
Elementary occupations	4.5	16.6	8.4	63.8	9.3	27.2	11.0	23.9
All occupations	100	100	100	32.4	100	100	100	9.67

Note: *** these figures are suppressed as they are not statistically reliable.

(A) represents % who work part-time by occupational group.

Source: GLA Economics calculations based on Labour Force Survey data

Most common part-time jobs in London

Table 22 lists the most common job categories for both male and female part-time employees. As there are fewer men working part-time, only the three most common jobs are statistically robust enough to use; for women the top nine most common job categories are shown.

The median part-time hourly wage for London, as given in the Labour Force Survey 2003, is £6.90 for women and £5.70 for men. The most common job for both male and female part-time employees is in the wholesale and retail sector working in sales and customer service. Typical jobs in this category include telephone sales, checkout operators and sales assistants. The median hourly wage for jobs in this group is £5.20 for females and £5.07 for males.

The second most common jobs for part-time females are in the real estate, renting and business administration industry, working in

administrative and secretarial positions. Typical jobs in this category include counter clerks, receptionists and typists. The median hourly wage for jobs in this category is £8.25. The third most common part-time job for females is working in personal service occupation in health and social work: this includes jobs such as nursing assistants, ambulance staff, dental nurses and care assistants. The median hourly wage for jobs in this category is £6.10.

For male part-time workers the second and third most common jobs are different. In second place are jobs in elementary occupations in hotels and restaurants including jobs such as hotel porters, kitchen and catering assistants, waiters and bar staff, with a median hourly wage of £4.50. Previous research from GLA Economics has shown that more men than women work in bars in London, which is different from the pattern in the rest of Britain.²⁶ The third most common job type for part-time males is

Table 22 Most common part-time jobs in London

	Standard industrial code	Standard occupational code	Employee	Median hourly wage (£)
Female	Wholesale & retail trade	Sales & customer service	77,689	5.20
	Real estate, renting and business administration	Administrative and secretarial	23,456	8.25
	Health & social work	Personal service	23,378	6.10
	Health & social work	Associate professional & technical	23,005	13.00
	Education	Professional	22,991	14.33
	Education	Personal service	20,082	6.35
	Health & social work	Administrative & secretarial	15,320	7.12
	Education	Elementary	15,302	5.76
	Public administration	Administrative & secretarial	10,833	10.00
Male	Wholesale & retail trade	Sales & customer service	29,348	5.07
	Hotels & restaurants	Elementary	14,304	4.50
	Wholesale & retail trade	Elementary	12,812	4.56

Source: Labour Force Survey 2003

working in elementary occupations in the wholesale and retail trade sector. This includes jobs such as shelf fillers and pays, on the median, £4.60 per hour.

The fourth to ninth most common job areas for part-time female workers in London are all in the female-dominated sectors of Health and Social Work, Education and Public Administration. Jobs within these sectors are also predominantly within the Public Sector - Health and Social work has 57 per cent, Education 80 per cent and Public Administration 94 per cent.²⁷

Characteristics of part-time workers in London and the UK

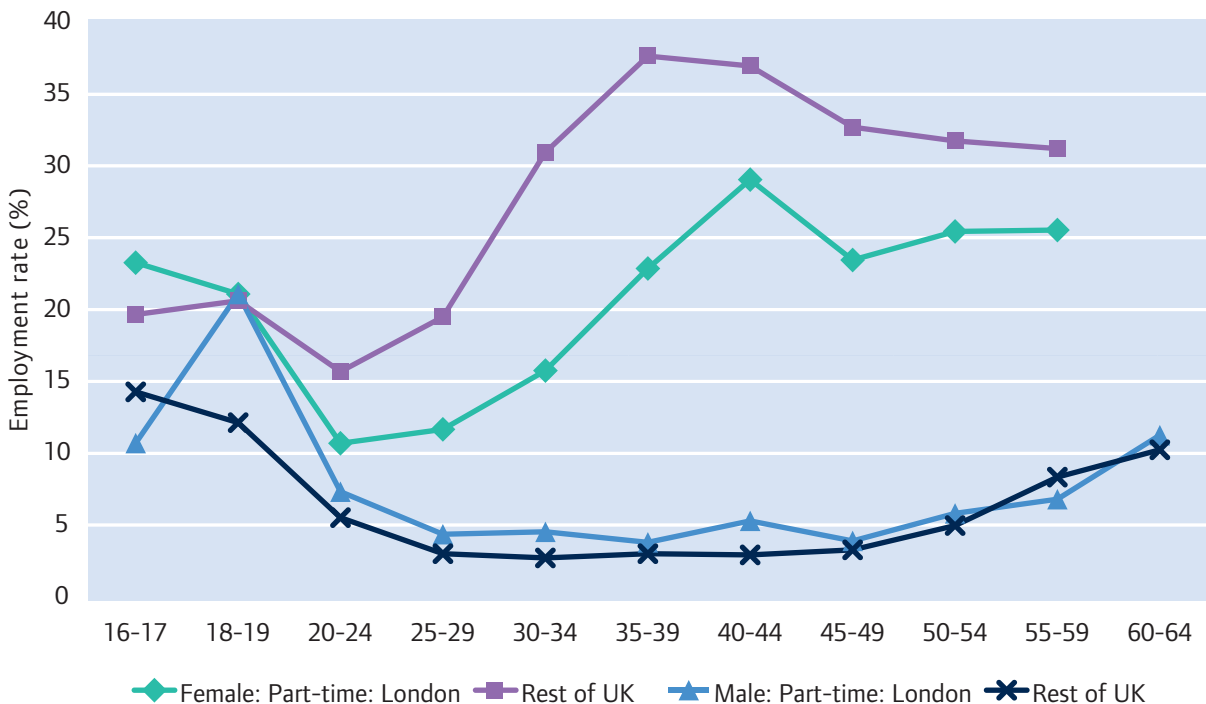
Age

Figure 22 shows that the part-time female employment rate is lower in London than in the rest of the UK except at ages 16-17. The largest difference occurs for ages 30-39,

where London's women are 15 percentage points less likely to be in part-time employment than women of the same age in the rest of the UK. For the 30-34 year old females, much of this difference is because they are more likely to be working full-time. For females the peak age of part-time employment in London is from 40-44 years, whereas the peak for the rest of the UK is earlier: 35-39 years.

By contrast with the picture for women, the pattern for male part-time workers is similar between London and the rest of the UK for all ages except teenagers. For males aged 16-17 years the part-time employment rate is 11 per cent for London and 14 per cent for the rest of the UK. For 18-19 year old females and London's males the employment rate is 21 per cent whereas for males in the rest of the UK this is lower at 12 per cent. The male part-time employment rate is relatively stable between the ages of 25-50

Figure 22 Part-time employment rate by age and gender for London and the rest of the UK



Note: excluding full-time students.

Source: Office for National Statistics, Labour Force Survey 2003

at around 4.5 per cent for London males and 3 per cent for males elsewhere in the UK. It then gradually increases for men aged 50 and older to a peak of around 10 per cent for males aged 60-64 years.

Figure 23 shows full-time employment rates. There is an 'n'-shaped curve for males, but an 'm'-shaped curve for women, with the London peak at 25-29 and the rest of the UK peaking at 20-24. For all women, there is a decline in employment rates as they enter a period when they are most likely to have to balance caring responsibilities with employment.

The employment rate is higher for full-time females in London aged 25-39 than in the rest of the UK, partially explaining why there are fewer part-time female workers in London aged 30-39. Women in their thirties who live in London are more likely to be working full-time than women elsewhere in the UK. Conversely, women in their thirties

in the rest of the UK are more likely to be working part-time.

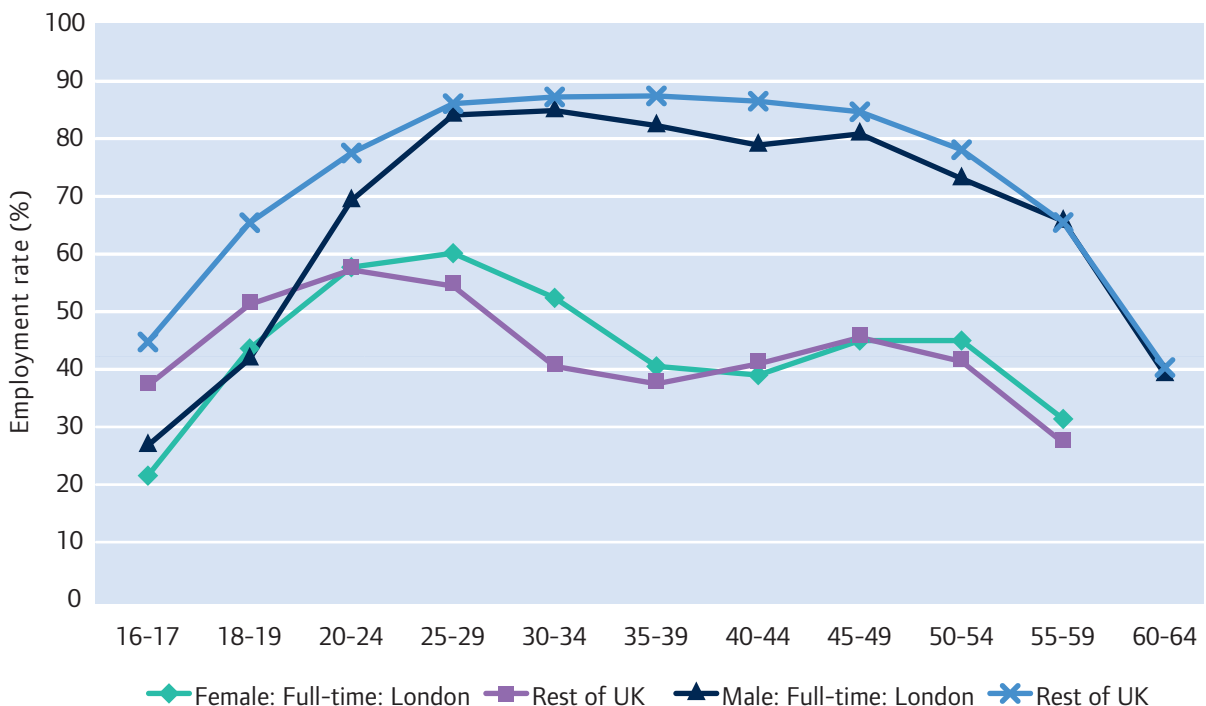
The dip in the female 'm'-curve occurs later in London than in the rest of the UK. Both categories then tend to return to full-time work, although at a lower rate than in their twenties, after which the employment rate drops once again.

Qualifications

In broad terms, the more highly qualified people are, the higher their wages tend to be. Recent research has shown that, on average, an extra year of education raises women's wages by around nine per cent.²⁸

There is a clear relationship between employment levels and qualifications held by women in full-time work. The higher the qualification level, the higher the employment rate. However, the story is more complex for part-time female workers in

Figure 23 Full-time employment rate by age and gender for London and the rest of the UK



Note: excluding full-time students.

Source: Office for National Statistics, Labour Force Survey 2003

London, partly because of the higher numbers of women working full-time. Women with degree or equivalent qualifications have the lowest part-time employment, but women with higher education (i.e. below degree level but above A level), GCE A level and GCSEs are more likely to work part-time than average. Women with no qualifications have low levels of employment rates for both part-time and full-time working (see Figure 24).

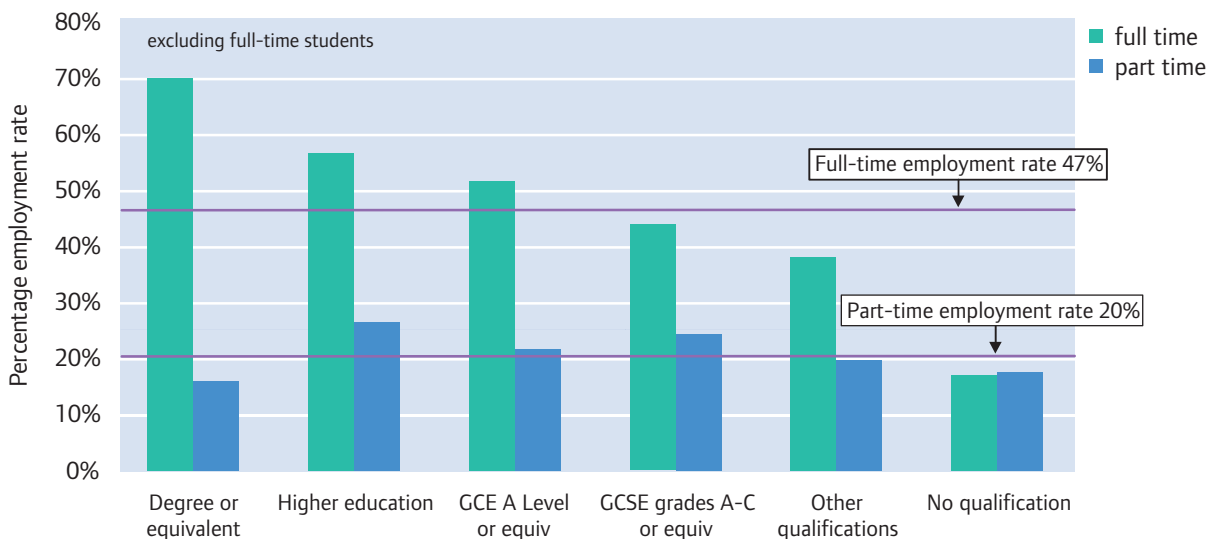
In order to account for the number of women working full-time in London we have also calculated the percentage of women working part-time as a proportion of those who are not in full-time employment (Table 23). For example, of women with degree or equivalent level qualifications, 70 per cent work full-time; 16 per cent work part-time - 53 per cent of the balance. This analysis highlights the fact that employment take up is lowest for those with no qualifications or other qualifications.

Dependent children

More women in London work full-time than part-time. This reflects London women's different age structure - which is younger than the rest of the UK,²⁹ the fact that women in London are more highly qualified than women elsewhere in the UK,³⁰ and the fact that there is a lower proportion of part-time jobs in London overall. Younger women are also less likely to have dependent children, which is a key determinant for working part-time.

London women without dependent children are more likely to work full-time than women elsewhere in the UK (63 per cent compared with 55 per cent), and correspondingly less likely to work part-time (15 per cent compared with 21 per cent). For those with dependent children, a similar percentage works full-time (26-27 per cent). But the key difference between London and the rest of the UK is that there is a marked difference between the percentage of

Figure 24 Female employment rates by qualifications and part-time/full-time status in London



Note: Higher education comprises NVQ level courses, diploma in higher education; HNC/HND, BTEC Higher; teaching; nursing; RSA higher diploma; other higher education below degree level)

Source: GLA Economics calculations, based on LFS 2002/03

women with dependent children working part-time in London (27 per cent) and elsewhere (41 per cent).

Recent research shows that having children is the key driver of worklessness³¹ for women in London. Both the age of the youngest child and the number of children a woman has are determining factors. Moreover, this effect persists for women with teenage children as well as those with young children: a woman with three teenage children is more likely to be out of paid work than a woman with one child aged 5-9³² We have also reported that of women working part-time, 7 out of 10 gave as their reason for not working full-time their desire to spend more time with their family, or domestic commitments which prevent them from doing so. Only five per cent of women (17,000) said they worked part-time because they earned enough money doing so, compared to 15 per cent of male part-time workers (10,000 men).

Research for the UK as a whole has also linked the decision to work part-time with having and raising children.³³ The costs of childcare and travel to work play an important role when women make this decision. Since childcare costs are higher in London, and travel to work time is longer than outside the capital, this is one of the

Table 23: Percentage of women who work part-time of those who are not working full-time

Degree or equivalent	53%
Higher education	61%
GCE A Level or equiv	45%
GCSE grades A-C or equiv	43%
Other qualifications	32%
No qualification	21%
Total	38%

Source: GLA Economics calculations based on Labour Force Survey 2003

Figure 25 Female employment rates for those with and without dependent children by part-time/full-time status



Source: GLA Economics calculations, based on LFS 2002/03

possible explanations of the lower proportion of women who work part-time in London.

Ethnicity

Over 300 languages are spoken in London, making it the most diverse city in the UK. Work currently being undertaken by GLA Economics indicates that there are certain diversity factors to consider when looking at the role of women in London's economy. GLA Economics is investigating these factors further at this present time.

2.4 Conclusions

Over the past two decades, the number of women participating in the labour market has increased. This trend is set to continue to 2016, with women projected to take 7 out of 10 of the 558,000 net additional jobs in London.

In 2004, the mean gender pay gap for London was 24 per cent - higher than the 18 per cent experienced in Great Britain as a whole. Last year our analysis showed that much of this gender pay gap is due to the different occupations that women and men choose to do, with fewer women filling higher paid jobs. Women's representation in management and senior official roles, and in professional and associate professional occupations, is projected to increase; since jobs within these occupations tend to be better paid, this may help to reduce the gender pay gap in the future. But the numbers of women working in personal service occupations are also expected to increase - and these tend to be jobs at the lower end of the wage spectrum.

As many women participate in the labour market on a part-time basis, and since this is an increasingly common form of employment, this year we have analysed the part-time pay penalty. For London the mean female part-time pay penalty is higher at 29 per cent than for the rest of the UK at 27 per

cent. The mean part-time pay gap is higher still for males in London, at 47 per cent compared to 32 per cent. At the median, women in London working part-time earn 51 per cent of the full-time rate for men; using mean hourly earnings, women working part-time earned 54 per cent of the full-time rate for men. The part-time pay gap appears to be driven by increases in wages for full-time workers based in London not enjoyed by part-time workers. It is also once again related to occupational segregation, as there are few part-time jobs available for better paid more senior jobs.

There are fewer part-time opportunities in London - only one in four jobs is available at 30 or fewer hours per week. And 7 out of 10 female part-time workers in London state that they do not want a full-time job, because of family or domestic commitments. Only five per cent of women said they worked part-time because they earned enough money doing so. Working part-time may enable women to balance work with other commitments, but doing so even for a short time may have a detrimental effect on their subsequent careers. There is evidence on a UK-wide basis that if women move from full-time to part-time work they are likely to down-skill. This down-skilling imposes a loss on both London's economy and the individuals involved.

Fewer part-time opportunities are available at more senior levels; and even with legislation giving individuals with young children a right to request flexible working, fewer people in more senior occupations are taking this up. The challenge of the part-time pay gap is complex, and relates to individual choice as well as employer provision. Individual choices may be constrained by many factors such as a lack of affordable and flexible childcare and other care provision, or by the fares and time costs of travelling into Central London for work.

Chapter 3:

Qualitative research

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is based on research conducted by the Institute for Employment Studies for the Greater London Authority. The broad aims of the research were to examine: the influences on women's employment choices, perceptions and experiences; attitudes to training and employment of women in sectors identified as areas of growth by GLA Economics (financial services; legal services; ICT; creative and media; and administration); work and employment practices that may form barriers to equality in these sectors; and other specific policies and practice, including best practice.

The methodology for this research comprised three main elements:

- A series of focus group discussions with young women in education and training, and women employees in growth sectors.
- In-depth interviews with key stakeholders. These included employers in London's growth sectors, the London Learning and Skills Councils, representatives of higher education institutions and training providers, and the CBI, TUC and trades unions.
- Interviews with a small number of individual women working in organisations in the growth sector, including some women working in senior roles.

Further details of the methodology are contained in the full-length report by IES, available on the GLA website.³⁴

Summary of main findings and policy implications

Careers advice

- Work experience is a lost opportunity for most young women. Placements are poorly planned and unrelated to career aspirations. Companies are losing a major opportunity to engage with, and attract, young people into their sector. Given that many employers express frustration that their efforts to attract female graduates are not paying off, more attention to engaging with girls before they make decisions about university would seem a sensible investment.
- Almost all stakeholders pointed to the need for more to be done at much younger ages in schools to challenge the development of stereotypes.
- Employers pointed both to the need for public action to challenge stereotypes at younger ages and to the need for some centralised action to promote jobs in expanding sectors.
- Girls and women were concerned that their higher education studies should give them a broad set of work options on graduating. The fact that certain types of degree programme open up, rather than shut

down, opportunities should be emphasised in careers material.

- The development of new careers material could be undertaken jointly between London-based universities and employers, perhaps with the employers sponsoring the new materials.

Flexible working

- Flexible working arrangements were highly valued by women, including flexibility to deal with short-term crises.
- Flexitime and home working were seen as available options, subject to the discretion of the managers. But part-time working was not generally seen as compatible with senior jobs involving responsibility, and it was felt that part-time workers would not be considered for promotion.
- Some organisations, particularly in ICT and the finance sector, had extended the right to request flexible working beyond the legal entitlement and have well-publicised formal policies. In other organisations, flexible working is less formalised and dependent on informal individual negotiation.
- The prevalence of the long hours culture was seen as restricting the availability of flexible working opportunities.
- More role models were needed of flexible working at all levels, including the most senior.
- The line manager plays a crucial role in supporting or rejecting requests for flexible working. Organisations need to ensure that managers are in tune with the objectives, so that the policies are consistently implemented. This may require a training strategy to address these issues.
- There were no examples of organisations claiming that flexible working arrangements were detrimental to productivity, but a lot of untested assumptions that these arrangements could not work in particular jobs. Pilot schemes to evaluate how such

arrangements work out in practice would be valuable.

Caring responsibilities

- Lack of provision for caring responsibilities is a major barrier for women in the workplace.
- Despite the existence in many organisations of a wide range of formal family-friendly policies, there was a perception by women with caring responsibilities that the work culture did not support people with family commitments.
- The dominant long hours culture in some sectors was seen as conflicting with policies promoting work-life balance.
- Women who attempted to balance work and family life were often perceived as less committed to their job than employees without family responsibilities.
- To cope with the barriers, some women resorted to leaving an industry to find alternative employment with more family-friendly working patterns. Other women said that they delayed having children until they had established their career.
- The lack of available and affordable childcare places in London was frequently cited as a barrier. Many women come to work in London from outside the capital and do not have family networks to fill the childcare gap.
- Women said they needed childcare provision with flexible hours.
- Employers cannot be expected to address the supply of childcare places - that is the task of the Government's National Childcare Strategy. But employer initiatives, such as emergency provision when normal childcare arrangements break down, can make a major contribution.
- There is also a need for childcare provision, preferably on site, by colleges and other training providers, especially for women who want to retrain later in life.

3.2 Women's employment in the growth sectors

Research by GLA Economics has identified a number of growth sectors in London's economy. These are sectors in which employment is projected to increase and in which there are highly paid professional jobs available. If women are to benefit equally with men from London's economic development, access to employment in these sectors is crucial.

For this research, five growth areas were identified as the key focus: legal services, financial services, media and creative industries, ICT, and administration.

Gender profile of the sectors

The latest data from the Labour Force Survey (LFS, Spring 2005) was analysed to compare the gender profile of these sectors in London with that in the rest of the UK.

Three of the five sectors are male-dominated - ie the majority of workers in the sector in London are male. The lowest proportion of women is in ICT, where 17 per cent are female, compared to 36 per cent in the creative and media industries and 41 per cent in the finance sector. By contrast, the legal sector and the administrative

occupations are female-dominated in London - 62 per cent of employees are female in the legal sector and 75 per cent in administration.

The same data also show that the proportion of women in ICT, finance, legal activities and administrative occupations is lower in London than in the rest of the UK. Only in the creative and media industries in London is there a higher proportion of women than in the UK as a whole.

Vertical segregation

Occupational gender segregation refers to the tendency for men and women to be concentrated in different jobs. Vertical segregation describes a situation where females may be concentrated in lower level jobs while males predominate in higher level, managerial or professional roles.

Although the legal sector is female dominated, a closer examination of the legal profession reveals that just over half of women (52 per cent) are concentrated in administrative and secretarial occupations, while most men are in professional occupations (73 per cent). Therefore, as a profession, it is highly vertically segregated, with the majority of women being at the 'bottom end' of the occupational hierarchy.

Table 24 Gender profile of employees in growth sectors: London and UK

	Rest of UK			London			Total		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
	%	%	N	%	%	N	%	%	N
Creative and media	67	33	610,915	64	36	560,907	66	34	845,414
ICT	79	21	280,376	83	17	269,435	80	20	336,315
Legal	35	65	216,140	38	62	98,917	36	64	276,599
Financial	54	46	3,212,842	59	41	2,217,221	55	45	4,007,559
Administrative	18	82	3,076,407	25	75	677,033	19	81	3,536,943

Source: LFS, Spring 2005

Similar patterns are to be found in all five industries and jobs examined - ie most men are clustered in the most senior occupational categories and more women are seen in the lower level administrative occupations.

In the finance sector, AMICUS has been working with the Equal Opportunities Commission and major financial services companies to tackle the large gender pay gap in the sector - 43 per cent for full-time workers in 2004, compared with 18.4 per cent across the whole workforce. One of the major factors accounting for the pay gap is believed to be the pattern of occupational segregation. Women are concentrated in occupations such as front of office branch staff, whereas men tend to be concentrated in higher paid roles such as IT, senior management and corporate banking.

Horizontal segregation

In addition to vertical segregation, these sectors are also characterised by horizontal gender segregation, which means that men and women tend to be concentrated in different types of occupation. Typically, women are under-represented in more technical jobs, while men are under-represented in administrative posts.

Skillset, the sector skills council for the audio-visual industries, conducts regular censuses of the workforce. The 2004 census highlighted horizontal gender segregation in that sector too.³⁵ Based on an employer survey, the report found that some occupations were heavily skewed to one or other gender, with women making up the vast majority of those working in make-up and hairdressing, costume and wardrobe, programme distribution, and cinema cleaning. In contrast, women had a very low representation in the technical occupations, including broadcast engineering, camera, lighting, sound, cinema projection, and processing labs.

Skillset has also conducted a study of the film production workforce, 58 per cent of which is now based in London.³⁶ The survey found that there were almost no women working in camera, sound, electrical and construction departments. Women working in the film production sector were less likely than men to be married or living as a couple, and only 21 per cent had dependent children compared with 39 per cent of men. The survey also highlighted the under-representation of ethnic minorities. Only one in 20 in the workforce was from an ethnic minority, whereas ethnic minorities make up 24 per cent of the working population in London.

3.3 Career choice

A key focus for the work commissioned by the GLA was to consider the reasons why occupations and organisations remain stubbornly segregated despite sex discrimination legislation being enacted some 30 years ago. We considered the career decision-making process itself and the influences on this.

Many influences are specific to females but others (such as bad careers advice) are applicable to both females and males. However, the negative impacts are often disproportionately larger for females than for males, since, for instance, female low paid jobs are often even lower paid than male low paid jobs.

Occupational segregation

Previous research has shown that the extent to which a sector or occupation is gender segregated is a major influence on the perceptions of young people regarding the attractiveness of careers in that area. Most of the five sectors considered in the research were strongly segregated. Largely, it was ICT, finance and some parts of the media that remained dominated by males; administration

remains female-dominated. In addition, employers confirmed that many of the sectors are vertically segregated as well: that is, while women may have made inroads into the lower levels of the occupation, they had made less progress upwards through the organisational hierarchy:

'The lower the job grade the more women there are. In the scientific areas women are also under-represented at all levels.'
(Technology employer)

'... some jobs still have a certain profile (in terms of gender segregation) and that is still a factor... it is possible to identify a male-female divide in these activities.'
(Trade union representative)

'The perception of an investment bank is that it is a male environment.'
(Financial institution representative)

Job stereotypes and peer group pressure amongst young people to conform to conventional job roles were believed to contribute to the under-representation of women in these sectors:

'Anecdotally, there are fewer female students going into those areas. It is to do with peer pressure expectations, stereotypes.' (Local LSC)

However, some of the sectors were seeing quite radical changes in recruitment leading to consequent changes to their profile, at least at lower levels of the organisations. Law is one of these areas:

'As far as trainees are concerned, two years ago we had seven males to 23 females and we struggled to maintain a 50:50 balance. There are far more strong female trainees coming through than males. It's been noticeable, it started to swing three years ago. Before that it was very much male-

dominated. I think it's down to academic results. Far more women seem to be getting top grades which you need now to get a training contract in a firm like this.'
(Law employer)

It is to be presumed that these changes will feed through into the perceptions that young people form of the sector. The important factor in changing perceptions of an occupational area is to achieve some 'critical mass' of visible females in a sector:

'The notion of critical mass which is applied to atypical jobs - for example, for women to stay in jobs like construction, there need to be a few women who can give support - can also be applied to 'A' Levels as well.' (National body)

Employers too were concerned about the low numbers of women coming into some areas, primarily ICT and finance. They can see that they are potentially losing out on talent. However, employers feel the problem starts earlier in the skills supply pipeline, and they feel there is little they can do given the current low numbers of females entering science and technology subjects at university:

'There is a barrier to recruiting women for technical jobs. The "talent pipeline" is less than representative of the population from when pupils start to select their subjects. Fewer girls take science and maths and this starts at about 16 and then filters through to university and then to the number of applicants.' (Technology employer)

'The company has done some research and found that only 20 per cent of students on IT courses are female. Females are simply not there to be recruited.' (IT employer)

'Another barrier is that we look for graduates in maths, economics and

engineering and women don't focus as much as men on those disciplines.'
(Financial institution)

In the section that follows, we outline the actions employers are taking to maximise the number of female recruits to these sectors, but also indicate the difficulties they are facing with this task.

Actions to change segregated patterns of employment

Companies were aware that they need to ensure their advertising material is attractive to the groups they are seeking to recruit. In addition to this, some companies were aiming to ensure that the individuals they field in recruitment rounds are representative of the profile of the company:

'We aim for a balance of people in our advertising - both photos and case-studies. When we attend universities we also make sure that the team is diverse in terms of ethnicity and male-female. Generally, I have found that females in the sector are always willing to accompany me to recruitment fairs as they want to promote [the fact] that it is a good sector for women.' (IT employer)

Employers were cautious regarding the extent to which efforts over and above such actions could be justified in cost-benefit terms. There were accounts of companies taking quite expensive actions with little result to show.

'In 2001/2002 the company ran a series of women in IT events. These were aimed at females at university who were just starting to think about their career options. There were three events which cost £80,000 between them. The events attracted 300 females. This generated a small blip in female applications...it is difficult to justify the cost as the company

may only get a few extra applicants for a good deal of money.' (IT employer)

One possible way around this difficulty is for companies to link together to share the cost of such campaigns. This may have the added benefit of leading to a wider impact as potential applicants see that it is not a lone company, but a group of employers in a sector, that is interested in recruiting them.

'As a member of the Association of Graduate Recruiters we have been discussing sharing the cost with other large IT companies in order to spread the message and encourage female applicants.' (IT employer)

Subject and qualification choice

As the earlier comments showed, the gender segregation of sectors and of academic/vocational subject choice are intrinsically linked. Perceptions of the profile of a sector influence the jobs that young people see as being potentially available to them; they then make their subject choices accordingly. Once subject choices are made, this closes off certain areas of work upon qualification, leading to the perpetuation of segregation in employment.

'The problem is down to schools and who goes into the Arts and Science routes.'
(Trade union)

'The company feels that targeting university students is too late and that promotion of IT to girls needs to happen earlier in schools, before the girls make their 'A' level or degree choices.' (IT employer)

'[I know a] teacher who [teaches] mathematics at a mixed school. In the classes for 'A' levels there are hardly any girls. Last year she had two out of 12. This year was similar.'
(Admissions Tutor, university)

Current statistics show that women remain a minority of entrants to 'A' levels and degrees in many of the subject areas that employers in the five growth sectors seek. While there is some evidence that the proportions of women graduates in these areas are increasing slightly, there are concerns that actions being taken by universities to assist them to identify the best candidates may place further barriers in the path of women considering taking maths. One interviewee felt that the move to introduce the Six Term Examination Paper (STEP) for maths might disadvantage women:

'STEP might be a barrier, if people are not confident, as women might be, they might decide against doing it. We do not have anything to do with this [additional exam] for reasons of widening participation.'
(Admissions tutor, university)

The young women who participated in the GLA research, as well as university staff who were interviewed, confirmed poor teaching as another factor influencing choice:

'A lot of schools are using staff who are not physicists to teach physics, and where that happens there is not the same enthusiasm about the subject... [while special initiatives can] go some ways towards inspiring students, it is more about having more maths and physics teachers in schools who are enthusiastic, and more women in that role.'
(Head of department, university)

'If you really want to know how something works and they haven't studied it, their knowledge isn't wide enough, it can be frustrating. One of my teachers was like that. He'd show you stuff from the text book but wouldn't know the proofs or logic behind it.'
(Female undergraduate student)

'In schools, the teachers who were teaching science often weren't teaching a subject they'd done a degree in and so they felt uncomfortable teaching you.'
(Female postgraduate student)

The importance of good quality information about the career options open to young people was emphasised by both employers and students, in particular the fact that certain types of degree programmes open up, rather than shut down, opportunities:

'There is a lack of knowledge of career options - and this is across the board - at GCSE. Science is not seen as a priority for many girls and many girls do not know they are closing potential career options when they select alternative subjects.'
(Technology employer)

'I just thought, "The opportunities...I'll have more options with this degree [maths] than I would in another degree". [Keeping my options open] was important to me because I had no idea what I wanted to do [after graduating].'
(Female undergraduate student)

Parental and other influences

The research confirmed that parents still remain a strong influence on young people's career choices.

'Early perceptions of jobs, in the family as well as in school, are very important.'
(National body)

Inevitably, the nature of the advice received from parents varied widely and largely depended on the parents' own employment experiences and knowledge. Some children gain more experience of, and enthusiasm for, a subject because of their family background:

'My mum did a degree in chemistry and my dad one in biochemistry. I had a lot of

presents like microscopes, chemistry and an electronics set.’ (Female postgraduate)

‘My dad was a chemist and when I was a kid it seemed like he could explain anything, because of his science background.’ (Female undergraduate)

Inevitably, though, while some parents encourage their children to aspire to well-paid jobs, others are not fully acquainted with the opportunities that potentially are available to their daughters. Some may even discourage them from taking up opportunities that are available, as the following extract from a focus group with senior administrators shows:

Focus group participant: ‘My mother wanted me to be a secretary.’

Facilitator: ‘Had she been one herself?’

Focus group participant: ‘She’d been a receptionist and secretary and when I went for more interesting jobs I was offered when I was a secretary and I grabbed them, my parents seemed to think it wasn’t done. I was somehow stepping outside the magic circle and they still don’t understand what I do.’

Some of the comments revealed that, nowadays, television role models can be an even stronger influence than either friends or family:

‘If I hadn’t seen all these programmes on TV I would never have thought of doing it, ever. Maybe I’d have thought of going down the medicine line but probably not into surgery. My friends influenced me but not in such a strong way.’ (Schoolgirl)

‘My aunty’s in the field of medicine, but I don’t really like medicine, I’m more to do with the whole forensic thing. I like

“CSI”.’³⁷ (Female student in further education)

The fact that that not all parents are informed about career options - and indeed some parents may not necessarily give full support to their children’s career aspirations - combined with the fact that television programmes may be less than realistic, only serves to increase the importance of ensuring that young women have access to good quality information, advice and guidance.

While it is true that these points may apply equally to young men, the outcomes of poor careers advice are more severe for women. As GLA evidence on salaries indicates, men typically end up in better paying jobs in a wider range of sectors; women who follow a traditional route are far more likely to end up in poorly-paying occupations. These research findings therefore emphasise the need for good quality careers advice across the board.

Careers advice

Concerns and complaints on the quality of career advice were voiced from virtually all of the groups we spoke to:

‘In our view, very little is being done. There was a survey, reported at a meeting I was at, that found there was very little advice and guidance being given.’ (Local LSC)

‘There are limitations in current careers advice and it does not challenge people’s perceptions of different kinds of jobs. Our submission to the Women and Work Commission identified deficiencies in the careers advice - including not making girls aware of the range of career choices or the opportunities available in higher paid sectors.’ (National body)

‘I wasn’t encouraged at all. It never crossed my mind to do anything else. The careers adviser at my school was rubbish

and all my head of year did was say "What subjects are you going to do, maths? That's nice". It was my own decision.' (Female undergraduate student)

Sometimes young women only find out about the full range of options that might have been available once they have taken up their place at university:

'When I got to university I realised there were things like pharmacology...' (Female postgraduate student)

The value of fully-qualified science teachers in guiding careers choices, as well as informed careers advisers, was emphasised by the postgraduate students who participated in the focus groups:

'My biology teacher [at school] used to lecture at university and was really helpful if anyone had any queries about what to study.' (Female postgraduate student)

'[Good teachers are important because of their] enthusiasm about career choices as well, if you've got people coming in and inspiring you about going and working in science you're more likely to think it's a good idea. Otherwise how do you know, your only exposure is going to be through your parents' work experience.' (Female postgraduate student)

A lack of careers advice can lead young people to make subject choices they regret once they subsequently have access to advice:

'We missed out on having a careers adviser from when we were making our choices for 'A' levels and GCSEs. Since [the careers advisor] came here this year loads of people in our year have swapped subjects and dropped or added subjects, so it has been an influence.' (Schoolgirl)

The timing of careers advice is critical. Advisers may find that young girls resent having to spend time thinking about careers when they have not yet chosen the subjects they wish to focus on at 'A' level. However, as we have seen, decisions made at age 15 to 16 regarding choice of 'A' level subjects may have severe implications for young people's subsequent career options. This point - that individuals ideally need to think about career options before choosing 'A' levels, rather than after completing them - is an important one that may need stressing by careers advisers, since young women may not recognise the implications of choices made at this age:

'We had a careers lesson once a week but last year doing GCSEs I couldn't think about it because I hadn't started my 'A' levels yet. I hadn't taken my GCSEs - it was way too early for me to start thinking [about careers].' (Schoolgirl)

Careers advisers may, therefore, find it beneficial to emphasise at the outset that choices made at age 16 regarding 'A' level subjects may serve to restrict the range of options available to young people when they come to consider university or employment. Young people tend to focus primarily on what they think they want to do, and this view often changes as they grow older. Encouraging them to consider what combination of subjects will keep the maximum number of options open to them may be a useful way of ensuring young women have a broader range of possible options available to them when decisions come to be made at age 18. Again, while these points apply equally to males and females, the data on education and employment show that the potential long-term impact is greater for women than for men.

Those involved with vocational education and training feel there are particular problems with the advice that young people receive on vocational pathways and options.

'Generally, regarding advice about vocational training, there is a mismatch [in the amount of information given about] the academic and vocational routes, the vocational routes need more prominence.' (Local LSC)

Some local LSCs were trying to change this situation by developing materials themselves to provide information on vocational routes:

'[This LLSC] has developed a pack for teachers to tell them what was available in terms of vocational options.' (Local LSC)

'I am putting together a list of work-based learning provider initiatives in this area.' (Local LSC)

Local LSCs also reported that some providers of work-based learning were being quite active in inviting children to go along and gain experience of non-traditional work-based tasters. While the LSCs would like to do more to support such efforts, funding could constrain their actions:

'About four years ago we had money for non-traditional tasters. More could be done but we are subject to decisions regarding discretionary funding. We rely on discretionary funding.' (Local LSC)

Taken together, the views of stakeholders and the experiences of the girls and women indicate that careers advice in many cases falls far short of what is desirable. Where advice is lacking, work experience can be invaluable.

Work experience

Work experience can be useful for a variety of reasons. It may help the young person feel confident she is making the correct career decision. Work experience may also provide an opportunity to view first-hand a variety of different types of job within the placement organisations which may feed into their

future career decisions. Sometimes a young person may obtain a placement in an area in which she believes she wants to work, but once having experienced it, discover it is not really what she wants to do.

In between these extremes of useful positive and negative³⁸ work experiences lies the great majority of work experience placements: unplanned, unrelated to what the young person wants to do, and presenting few learning opportunities.

'Some of my friends had really good work experiences where they could get involved with doing the jobs. When I [did mine, in] journalism, it wasn't very well organised. I turned up and they had forgotten and I had to do typing. I did a bit of writing but some of the time I'd finish a job they'd asked me to do and they'd have nothing else for me to do.' (Female undergraduate student)

'A lot of us didn't have much option where we could go, we didn't know where or how to organise it. I regret not going somewhere more interesting that would have helped me in seeing what the work environment is like.' (Female undergraduate)

'I had to work in some beauty school and they didn't have anything for me to do so I had to sit around and watch.' (Schoolgirl)

Where placements are well-organised these can be amongst the most rewarding learning opportunities for young people:

'I had to teach five children with learning disabilities the alphabet in a week and it was the most rewarding thing I've ever done. I came back to see them and they could still get to M and N.' (Schoolgirl)

Many of the comments from schoolgirls, undergraduates and women in employment indicated that, when it came to obtaining a

placement, they took what they could get rather than doing something they were actually interested in pursuing as a career. As well as being disappointing for the girls, this is a lost opportunity for employers in the five sectors which are the focus of this research:

'I wanted to do something like working in a bank. They didn't have any of those options so then I went to do hairdressing.'
(Schoolgirl)

Providing work experience opportunities is one way to promote job opportunities in particular sectors. Given the very clear shortcomings in the work experience arrangements for many of the girls and young women we spoke to, there is an almost open field for any employer that wanted to start offering placement opportunities to young people.

Attitudes, stereotypes and job characteristics

Young people may think that the job can only be done by men (or conversely, only by women) or may not relish the idea of being the only woman in a particular department or office:

'The technical side of the business is viewed as being a male-dominated area which may put off female applicants.'
(Telecommunications)

'The IT sector is perceived as male-dominated, techy and geeky. These perceptions are formed at an early age and most girls will have already made choices which will have shaped their long-term options before they leave school.'
(IT employer)

The young women themselves commented on the often quite erroneous nature of the stereotypes that abound about these sectors:

'A lot of people stereotype maths students, [saying] "maths is very isolating

and you don't spend time with other people". I don't think that's true. I always find if there's something I don't understand, if I talk through it with someone else then I can understand it so much more. It is a sociable subject.'
(Female undergraduate student)

The schoolgirls who took part in the research were readily able to identify male-dominated areas of work. They also shared common stereotypes about the nature of some of these jobs. Amongst all of the London region local LSCs, and amongst other stakeholders as well, there was a very strong consensus of opinion that work to address such stereotypes needs to start very early on. By the time young girls start to consider career options and subject choices, such attitudes may already be deeply entrenched.

'What is important is to get them when they are quite young and still at school, get rid of the stereotypes about what men should do, what women should do. You need to get to them before they go into post-16 education and training.'
(Local LSC)

'Schools - that is where work needs to be done, getting them interested in maths.'
(Admissions tutor, university)

'Education and careers guidance. There is a lot they could do to change perceptions of the industry in the roles [areas] in which women are under-achieving.' (Trade union representative)

The interviews revealed that most of the stakeholders believed that work needed to be done much earlier to prevent children acquiring such attitudes in the first place. Employers also believed this, but felt that they themselves were limited in what they were able to do to affect this situation. One employer suggested there was a role for the

GLA to play in helping to promote jobs in key sectors:

'Women need to be influenced earlier in the decision-making process. The industry is aware of how male dominated the IT sector is, particularly at the higher levels, and increased participation of women and awareness of the issue may help to redress this balance over time. As only one of a small group of companies it is difficult and the cost is prohibitive to talk directly to children in all schools. Organisations such as the GLA and schools careers services could encourage and promote the sector at an early age. The company would be happy to work with public sector organisations to promote the sector to schools, for example, talking to GCSE students, even if it is not branded marketing. Very often companies take a short-term perspective weighing cost against immediate benefit. Perhaps the GLA could take a longer-term view and companies would be able to support it as it would be better than anything they could do alone.' (IT employer)

Motivation for choosing careers in these sectors

The sectors selected for examination in this research are largely well-paying ones. Is this a consideration for many young women? Trainers and lecturers believed this was the case:

'The people who apply to us generally want to get well-paid jobs and we confirm that a maths degree is a good way to go if this is what you want. We also offer a wide range of joint degrees. And both males and females are equally enthusiastic. The fact is that with a good degree in maths from a place like [us], an employer who would pay a lot of money would be interested in you.'
(Admission tutor, university)

The young women we spoke to, though, were likely to cite a range of other factors as well as issues of money and status. We are not suggesting that money is not a factor for these women - and a highly influential one at that - but that other issues are also important in their career decisions:

'I was attracted by the different challenges - it is interesting - you would be doing different types of work all the time, especially during training, early on. It was exciting working on high profile cases. The appeal was working with international clients, important cases, and if you were good then as a woman you could succeed - and it was well-paid.'
(Lawyer)

'I wouldn't want a job where you were constantly working underneath someone and being told what to do. I'd like to have a job where I'm capable of managing my own day. If you've got a maths degree and you know what you're doing in a job you can do it yourself. That's what I want.'
(Female undergraduate)

'I have aspirations to start work with Deutsche Bank or a merchant bank. I think the amount of money you earn reflects your status in the company. You can keep on working up and up. I like to set myself goals to become the next step up. It gives you a kick to get to the next stage. It's what I've been like since I've been a little girl. I'm so competitive. I want to achieve my goals and with a maths degree you can put your knowledge to that use. In a team as well. You can work up the ladder to the top.'
(Female undergraduate)

Employers would be well advised to consider quite what it is that young people are seeking when they plan the content of their careers advertising materials. Minor modifications to

material to emphasise the range of varied jobs available, the status, the team work and, possibly, international work may serve to attract a wider range of applicants.

3.4 Flexible working

The interviews with women identified flexible working as a key issue for them in the workplace.

Definition of flexible working

The term 'flexible working' is used to cover a wide range of working patterns that do not conform to the traditional nine to five day, 48 weeks per year on an employer's premises. Flexibility can refer to both the place of work and the hours worked, and to a variety of different options, including: flexitime; term-time working; annualised hours; reduced hours contracts; part-time work and job sharing; and working from home. Flexible working arrangements can play an important role in enabling people to balance different aspects of their lives.

In April 2003, the right to request a flexible working arrangement was introduced for parents of children under six, or parents of disabled children under 18. The Second Flexible Working Employee Survey, published in July 2005, found that women employees were most likely to have requested part-time work, followed by flexitime and reduced hours for a limited period. Just over four-fifths of requests had been fully or partly accepted.³⁹

According to the Spring 2004 Labour Force Survey, 25 per cent of women and 15 per cent of men worked a flexible pattern in terms of hours (excluding those working part-time). There was a large gap between the public and private sector, with only 15 per cent of women in the private sector working a flexible pattern, compared with 45 per cent in the public sector.⁴⁰

Availability of types of flexible working

Women in the focus groups particularly valued the type of flexibility that was offered by employers who understood the need to vary hours or place of work at short notice to deal with family commitments. A flexible manager was one who could approve time off to deal with family emergencies or illness. A woman in the ICT focus group said:

'Supposing my daughter's sick in the morning or through the night, I've rung up my line manager, "can I look after her for the day", or "I'm going to be late". "Fine, but if you need to stay at home it's not a problem." I do try my best to come in and make other arrangements but it's nice that they say "If you can't, don't worry".'

Generally, the women employees felt that their employers would be willing to allow them flexibility to deal with short-term family crises. They did not seem to be aware of the legislation affording those eligible the right to time off to care for dependants. Flexible working, therefore, was viewed as discretionary, and dependent on the manager.

There was less awareness of the range of regular flexible working patterns or formalised policies, rather than one-off ad hoc arrangements. In the ICT focus group, however, home working was mentioned by the participants. One said of her company:

'They are really flexible, I know a couple of people on my project have kids and one has a two and a half year old and needs to pick up from nursery every day. The project manager [arranged for her to] work from home; she comes in one day a week. There's a lot of home working.'

Part-time working

Part-time working was also discussed as a type of flexible working. Generally, focus group participants held the view that part-

time workers were not seen as 'serious players' by managers in terms of career progression and promotion. In the focus group of women working in administration in the private sector, the view that part-time workers were not taken seriously was put forward:

'I'm not convinced that if you work part-time, they take us as seriously as someone who really wants to develop. I think the flexibility is there and I know plenty of people who get it, but I don't know them well enough to know whether that then hinders their career progression. But I think if you suddenly said "OK I want to work three days a week", you would be well looked after, but then you would suddenly find yourself not being considered for jobs at a more senior level.'

'Two people that I know who are part-time, I think three days a week, said that it impacted on their careers and they've not been able to find the roles at the next levels. They have been faced with coming back full-time or not taking the jobs.'

This view was strengthened by their perception that there were few women at senior levels working part-time. Other kinds of flexible working patterns, such as home working and flexibility over hours - eg start and finish time - were seen as more widely available than part-time working in the better paid and more skilled jobs.

This perception, that it was difficult to get part-time working above a certain level, was equally pervasive amongst the focus group participants in the schools. As one girl said:

'If you are really good at your job, then they'll probably make exceptions, but it would be hard for the employer. It would cost them more if you were part-time. Most employers don't want that. They want someone that's there who can do the job.'

The attitudes of employers towards part-time working echoed those of the focus group participants. While supporting a range of flexible working options, they tended to see part-time working as the pattern least compatible with senior roles.

In our interviews, a typical view was that in some jobs it became more difficult to work part-time with increasing seniority. In a law firm, working part-time was seen as stepping out of the 'partnership race'. In one telecoms company, there were no women on part-time contracts in technical or senior posts. As the interviewee explained, although in theory part-time working should be available at all levels, 'this has not translated into practice'.

Women who did work part-time at management level in these sectors had to be prepared to continually prove themselves, by, for example, putting in extra hours. According to a senior woman in a law firm:

'All those who have gone part-time seem to have done "part-time plus" to prove themselves. Whether it works depends on the business area you are in and the type of clients you have. If clients expect you to drop everything and fly off in the middle of the night, it would not work.'

A woman in the administration focus group said that there was a joke in her company, that 'you're paid part-time but you end up working full-time, because of the pressure from the organisation'.

Despite the high demand for part-time working identified in employee surveys, lack of access at senior levels to part-time posts appears to present a significant barrier to career progression for many women. The perceptions of the women in this research are borne out in a recent study for the EOC which found that part-time women workers were often employed below their potential

and lacked opportunities for progression and promotion.⁴¹

Flexible working policies

We spoke to several employers in the growth sectors about whether they had formal policies on flexible working and what these covered. Of the sectors we examined, the IT and finance sectors were most likely to have formal policies.

In these two sectors, employers who participated in the research said that all employees could request flexible working patterns, not just those who had statutory rights to do so. One ICT company explained its approach:

'[After the merger] the HR team looked at both companies' policies and increased flexible working. This was not done from a female bias point of view and the same arrangements and opportunities are available to all staff. The staff are responsible for their own time and can work from home if they choose to. They can also take sabbaticals for any reason - travel, charity work, childcare etc.'

A telecoms company said that it now has a wide range of flexible working arrangements open to staff, including flexitime, home working and sabbaticals. The company was clear about the business rationale:

'Flexibility will encourage employees to be loyal and will improve retention. It also means [the company is] less likely to lose members of staff going through life-changes. For example, it is possible to come back from maternity leave on a reduced-hours contract and not have to leave employment. Staff that have been in the job for a while and know it inside out tend to be more productive. In addition, the company does not have the recruitment and induction training costs.'

In another IT company, a flexible working policy was introduced last year which allows an employee to request any pattern of working hours, provided it could be accommodated by the business. The company publicises to employees the wide range of benefits to be gained by flexible working. It also sets out the formal process for reviewing requests for flexible working.

In contrast, in the creative industries sector, flexible working arrangements did not appear to be so widely available and tended to be negotiated in some companies on an individual basis. As one senior woman working in this sector said:

'You have flexibility informally for really good people, but you wouldn't want everyone to have it'.

Requests were dealt with on a case-by-case basis, and the outcome of the request could depend on how much they are valued by their managers.

Flexitime - choosing start and finishing times around core hours - was seen as relatively unproblematic by most organisations.

Take-up of flexible working

In organisations with formal policies on flexible working, there is a clear procedure, and requests are typically forwarded to the HR department. Most employers we interviewed could give a broad picture of the pattern of take-up. The majority of requests for flexible working came from women in junior or middle range job grades, and this was where the bulk of flexible workers were found. A small proportion of requests were from men. As one HR manager explained:

'While there are some people in more senior job grades who work flexibly, there is a definite decrease as job grade increases. This could be linked to

expectations of senior staff, ie the perception you need to appear “dedicated” to make it to the top, and the job patterns and level of travel required of senior staff, who are often in global roles’.

One law firm did not receive a large number of requests, but most of the requests it did receive came from secretarial or support staff returning from maternity leave. The firm said that it tried to agree to the requests and work around them, as part of an active policy of retaining staff.

In the finance sector, there were positive examples from individuals of flexible working arrangements being approved and successfully implemented. One woman said that her bank was very supportive to people wanting to work full-time on a flexible basis. She herself worked a compressed week of four days, involving longer hours on those four days. She felt there was a clear procedure for making requests, and a business case had to be made showing, for example, that the working pattern requested would not be detrimental to either the team, or the customers.

Some women did, however, express reservations about the extent to which access to flexible working depended upon the support of the line manager.

Another barrier to accessing flexible working was the type of work being undertaken. For example, in the finance sector, flexible working was generally not seen as possible in client-facing roles, according to some women interviewees. There was a perception that employees needed to be available ‘24/7’ in case clients needed to contact them. This meant that homeworking or any form of reduced hours or compressed week would be ruled out. A woman working in an insurance company thought that flexible working could be managed but this involved managing

clients’ expectations and setting some boundaries on availability. She had heard a senior woman in the sector call for an open debate on the issue. There is a need to evaluate untested assumptions held by some employers that flexible working would not be possible in certain jobs.

One senior woman stressed that if a culture was to be developed where flexibility is acceptable, staff need to see it being led from the top. In her organisation, the focus is on building a culture of ‘supported trust’ where employees are expected to deliver their work to high standards, but in a way that best suits them. Flexibility is not just associated with balancing work and family commitments, but as a way of supporting staff, for example, those with mental health problems or other impairments.

3.5 Impact of the long hours culture

In all the interviews and focus groups, mention was made by participants of the long hours culture and its impact. It appears as if long hours are now widely accepted as an intrinsic aspect of some areas of employment in these industries. Reasons may differ, but the trend is the same.

Meaning of long hours

The term ‘long hours culture’ is used to denote a regular pattern of working more than the contracted hours. In finance, legal services, the creative industries and ICT, long hours have become increasingly widespread.

In the finance sector, according to a national trade union officer, junior managers are expected to work more than the contracted hours – up to around 45 hours per week. ‘But at the senior management level this can go up to 60 hours per week at least.’ Another woman working in finance said that in client-facing roles, there was a perception that long hours were essential and people

might start at eight in the morning and finish at nine at night.

In the creative industries, long hours were the norm. Skillset's film production workforce survey showed that 70 per cent of those surveyed were working for 11 hours or more per day. A survey of members carried out by Women in Film and Television in 2004 found that nearly half of the respondents worked more than 48 hours per week.⁴² Of these, a quarter had children aged six or under.

Similarly, in some areas of legal practice, long hours are taken for granted. One HR manager in a city firm attributed the long hours to the requirements made by clients:

'Your clients are making the demands; they're giving you the deadlines. If they say I need X done in 72 hours, you have to deliver X in 72 hours. ...Real estate, which deals with property and planning, tends to be more regular hours, and so it's easier for you to have more of a routine in your life. The same with litigation to a greater or lesser extent.'

Focus group participants were aware of the pressure to work long hours in certain industries. As a student in a college focus group said of the finance sector:

'You may be getting the money but what are you going to do with it, if you can't use it because you're working 24 hours. In a lot of banking firms, they make you work a lot of hours. You get paid for it, but at the same time, when do you get time to socialise or spend the money?'

Impact of long hours on career progression

Some women felt guilty about sticking to their contracted hours, because their colleagues were staying late. Whereas leaving on time might be possible for someone at a relatively junior level, it was not seen as

acceptable in a senior job: 'It's a lot more pressured at the top. You have to work more hours'. Generally, the long hours culture was not seen as something that could be challenged. An indirect impact of this was that many women believed they would not be considered for promotion unless they were able to conform to that pattern. For women with children or other caring responsibilities, it was not possible to work late into the evening on a regular - rather than one-off - basis. Their perception that this was necessary deterred those with families from applying for promotion, because, as one woman said: 'Women are still expected to run the house'.

Another barrier resulting from the long hours culture was that of exclusion from opportunities to network. Because networking often took place after work, women who had to leave promptly felt excluded. One senior woman commented that:

'It is much harder for a carer to participate at the top level, because not only do you have long hours, but you have networking at night. You have to promote yourself and attend after-work drinks and dinners.'

A further consequence was to channel women into certain jobs within the sector for which long hours are less of a feature. In the finance sector, for example, women are more likely to be in compliance or credit rather than in sales or trading. In the legal sector, women are disproportionately found in areas such as employment law rather than corporate law.

It may appear that this element of gender segregation is an inevitable consequence of business pressures which must be accommodated. However, it does mean that a range of options is shut off from women who require regular hours or some degree of flexibility. It is also the case that the careers

characterised by long hours are amongst the highest paying in these sectors. As one woman in the finance sector explained, there were higher bonuses for those working in the client-driven, long hours occupations.

3.6 Caring responsibilities

The social norm that women fulfil caring roles seems to be replicated from generation to generation, with young women without children assuming they would be responsible for childcare, and reporting that this would be likely to present them with challenges at certain points in their career. Many young women had started to think and plan for how they would cope. However, elder-care did not emerge as a primary barrier to work or progression for any of the women, perhaps because of the age profile of the women we interviewed.

Childcare specific barriers

A number of barriers to the progression of women at work were specific to finding and being able to afford childcare which fits with work responsibilities and is flexibly provided. The long commute from home into London for many women, which in some instances was over one and a half hours each way, also increased the cost, and hence, affordability of childcare. Finding and affording childcare was also an issue for some women in education, primarily those interviewed in work-based training, and was recognised as a barrier to participation in learning, and indirectly to career progression, by many of the education and training providers and stakeholders who were interviewed.

Availability

There were two main issues concerning the availability of childcare: first, the absolute number of places, and second, the flexibility of the provision to meet the demands of women who work unpredictable hours,

outside of 'core' nine to five hours, or on a contract or freelance basis.

Around the issue of availability, there was a general perception that obtaining a childcare place for young children was difficult.

'I don't know whether the provision meets the demand. You have to put the child on a waiting list.' (Woman working in research at a university)

'There are only two registered childminders that deal with the primary school my daughter goes to, so if I wasn't lucky, what would I do?' (Woman working in the ICT/Telecom industry)

One law employer reported that more senior and better-paid law professionals who have children tend to opt for live-in nannies or au-pairs rather than childcare providers because of limited flexibility in other forms of childcare provision.

Where a job requires an individual to work flexibly, such as to stay late for meetings, or where a mother is working on a freelance basis, then the flexibility of childcare provision is paramount. Lack of suitably flexible childcare is likely to restrict the hours and nature of work that working mothers can undertake.

For many women, particularly those who perhaps did not get the opportunity to gain qualifications through compulsory schooling, the availability of childcare to support them while they undertake further study later in life to enhance their career prospects was also reported to be an issue.

Several of the local Learning and Skills Councils stakeholders that we interviewed for this study said the lack of affordable and flexible childcare to allow carers to study was a substantial barrier to progression.

Similar views were put forward by some education and learning providers. Despite having childcare provision on site, they described the difficulties associated with childcare for learners, due to the limited number of places and cost.

'There is a nursery, but it is hard to get into.' (HE provider)

'There are childcare facilities, a college nursery, and students could use this...the other issue is cost. Although the college does subsidise it, it still works out to be pretty expensive.' (FE provider)

Affordability

A union representative described lack of affordable childcare as a primary barrier to the employment and progression of women. There was some evidence from the working mothers we interviewed and the experiences of their friends and colleagues that the cost of childcare is a significant barrier which affects the feasibility of working in particular jobs, or at all.

One senior woman described how some women she works with are spending half their earnings on childcare. In contrast, another senior woman working in law felt that women who work in London are sufficiently well rewarded that they can afford good quality childcare. Clearly, perceptions vary according to the level of remuneration in the sector.

Some women mentioned that the cost of childcare was more of an issue for women who work part-time. It was generally felt that it becomes marginal as to whether it is worth the effort of working part-time once childcare costs have been taken into account.

There are also other tax and benefit issues which appear to affect the decisions and position of women in work. One woman

working in the ICT and telecom sector felt that the impact and financial benefit of promotion would be wiped out as she would lose the tax credits that she had previously been entitled to.

'Although I've progressed over the past few years, on the other hand the government take away the pittance they've given me towards my childcare ...and I'll probably get nothing again.' (Woman in ICT focus group)

Many of the women in focus groups and individual interviews said that time spent commuting had a significant impact on childcare costs. One woman thought that when she did have children, she would reconsider whether or not to work in London, because of the cost of childcare and time spent commuting:

'I'm in Hertfordshire, so if I have a child in a nursery in Hertfordshire, I'm an hour and a half away from home. It affects your choice of where you can work.'

One senior woman mentioned that commuting by train was unreliable which meant that childcare provision needed to be flexible. One employer in the law sector said that:

'When you're working in London your childcare arrangements could possibly be one to two hours away and that's significant. If you're working till 7pm at night, by the time you get to your train station that could be 30-45 minutes later you get your train home, but the time you get to your childcare it could have a knock on effect...I know a lot of people pay £800 a month per child.'

Balancing work and family

Several barriers to women entering work and progressing in work emerged from the

interviews. These were related to the existence of and pressure of social norms which traditionally expect women to undertake domestic and care responsibilities. The women employees with children whom we interviewed had, to some extent, managed to overcome, or to cope with, these social expectations, and combine employment with family commitments. It was common for women to be responsible for dropping off and collecting children from childcare, which required them to leave work promptly. Women also were almost invariably responsible for the care of children or dependants when they fell sick, which required them to take time off.

There seemed to be a perception that if a woman was in paid employment, then it was she who had to perform a 'juggling-act' to meet both the expectations of work and home. One woman working in the ICT and telecom sector described how she has to effectively fulfil two roles:

'It's a classic situation of having to do two jobs... I get home and have to do the other job which is making sure the house runs. My husband comes home, he opens the fridge, there's food in it and the washing's done.'

One LSC stakeholder took the view that a wide range of care responsibilities - elder-care as well as childcare - affects women's employment opportunities. As the population profile of the UK becomes older it is likely that elder-care will become an increasing problem.

Progression barriers for those with caring responsibilities

Perceived barriers to the progression of women with caring responsibilities varied by sector.

Commitment

There were several examples of the perception that employers felt women with

children were less committed to their job than other employees. This perception was particularly acute in sectors where working long hours is the norm, such as the legal and financial sectors. One student, who had work experience in a city financial firm in London via a programme set up by a Regional Development Agency in order to expand horizons and career opportunities, reported that the director of the company said:

'If you wanted to get anywhere that you couldn't have children... the director said that... so if it was a choice between a career and children, I'd choose children, but you have to accept that basically it'd be a big setback'.

The majority of women with children said that they were responsible for taking time off work, or making arrangements to work from home, when a dependant fell sick. One union representative said this was a problem and that if women in the workplace 'show any weakness, such as taking days off to care for dependants, then they "lose points"'.

Women's experiences of employer understanding in these instances were mixed. A woman in the ICT focus group said that her employer had been very flexible when she had to make arrangements to work from home because of unforeseen caring responsibilities. In contrast, another woman working in a senior management role said that if her son was ill, she would rearrange her diary to work from home, but give a reason other than childcare for doing so.

There were also perceptions of discriminatory treatment at interviews. Some women, particularly those on short-term contracts, said that when employers recruited they took into account a woman's age and inferred from this whether or not they were likely to have children in the duration of the contract.

The perception of discrimination in recruitment and promotion, owing to women having children and therefore needing time out of the workplace, was also voiced among one group of university students.

'They'd [employers] rather have men at the top to take more responsibility... I think it's probably quite hard for a woman to get to the top. They may choose someone else like a man, they never have children ordinarily!' (Student in a university focus group)

Long hours culture

There was a widely shared view amongst both stakeholders and employees that many employers expect employees to work beyond their contracted hours in order to meet client demands and to be seen to be a 'committed employee'.

'There is a long hours culture [in the City] which is one of the biggest barriers for women with caring responsibilities.' (Trade union)

One woman with a young child, working in the telecom sector, felt that although she works her contracted hours, this wasn't seen as being enough:

'People don't leave at 5:30 and I have to pick up my daughter at 6:30. I always feel I'm the first one out of the office, I don't know why I feel bad, but I do.'

An employer in the law sector said that working patterns typically became easier with seniority. However, she gave an example of something that had occurred in a recent round of promotions to partner level which she felt illustrated the work culture against women having children:

'They [the employer] picked strong candidates for partnership... once the

successful candidates were announced, two [women just made partners] then announced they were pregnant. I thought that was interesting, they didn't feel sufficiently comfortable to mention that before. That possibly tells you that things aren't quite as advanced.' (Employer in the law sector)

Flexibility requirements

Having caring responsibilities was perceived to limit work flexibility in some instances, for example, whether an employee is able to work beyond contracted hours at short notice, and also the extent to which they are able to travel outside of 'core hours'. For women working in one multi-national company there was often a requirement to travel internationally, which did not necessarily fit with family and caring commitments.

'There's an expectation you will move abroad... and I said no. I'm thinking about children... and I'd like a job where I don't have to travel for a period and I've been told, sorry, not available in the field you're in and the work you're doing, it's a global job and that's it.'

She went on to say that if she decided she did want a family, then she would have to look for another job, or another employer which would allow more flexibility.

In order for employees with caring responsibilities to work in this way, flexible childcare or a supportive partner is of utmost importance.

Short-term contracts/freelancing

Some sectors, such as the creative industries, are organised with a large proportion of employees working on short-term contracts or on a freelance basis. Working in this way, although flexible, presents some specific challenges to women

who have children, or who plan to have them in the future. In the creative industries sector, where freelance contracts are prevalent, women with children are under-represented in the workforce.

In the sciences, short-term contracts are often an issue. One woman currently studying for a PhD in a science subject said that:

'If you're on three-year contract when do you decide to try for a family? You don't want to start straight away when you start a job, then you've got to work long enough to be entitled to maternity leave. It's difficult to balance the two.'

A representative from one university's Academic Opportunities Committee reported that this is a common problem across all fields in academia.

Successful working on a freelance basis or on short-term contracts is often dependent on networking and being seen by the right individuals. Time out of the work environment because of having children can mean that some of these networks are lost and this makes it difficult to return to work with the same momentum as prior to maternity leave.

Time out of the workplace

Time out of the workplace can be challenging, not only for women working on a freelance basis, but also for those on permanent contracts. There were some perceptions that work moves on while women are on maternity leave, particularly in fields such as law and IT where there are frequent changes to practice or to technology. An IT employer said that:

'If someone has career break from IT, for any reason, then it is likely that things will have moved on when they return, as the sector moves quickly.'

Within this company, IT work was organised on a project basis. While this can be conducive to time out of the workplace, provided that it is planned in advance and worked into project plans, often when people return, 'they are not networked and can be out of people's minds for projects'. Where contacts are lost and women out of the workplace are not built into project teams for their return, this may impact on the rate of progression and workplace opportunities they have in the short- to medium-term.

One woman working in law believed that in this highly competitive sector, time out of the workplace to have children would affect promotion chances:

'If you're up against three other people, something's got to give and it will be the fact that you've taken that time out.'

Balancing work and family demands

Owing to the nature of the interviewees, the strategies for dealing with conflicts between work and family commitments were those made by women with children who had successfully returned to work in some of the growth industries. However, in the discussions, a range of other decisions made by women with children were frequently mentioned, including leaving the labour market and finding alternative employment.

Leaving the labour market

Several examples were given of women who had left an industry when they had children and had not returned. In general, the interviews seem to suggest that women who are 'established' in their field, or who are 'highly networked' with good contacts find it easier to return to work after having children.

One senior woman working in the IT sector has noticed that 'women leave the IT sector when they are around 30 when they have children'. She has had children herself, but was able to

fulfil a demanding senior role because her husband stays at home and has main responsibility for the care of their children.

'Missing women' - women who disappear from the job market - had also been noticed by an employer in the finance sector. The company had recognised that this was an issue, not least because they were losing highly trained and experienced staff:

'How can we get people who slip off the career ladder and bring up children? We have invested money in these women for years and then they just disappear.'

An employee in the creative sector also reported that it is difficult to return to the creative industry after a career break, unless you are well-networked, or established in the field:

'If a woman takes a career break they either stay out of the industry, and this represents a loss of investment and talent for the industry, or they move into another area within the sector which is more stable.'

Finding alternative work

Many of the women who go 'missing' from the growth sectors after having children may find alternative employment in another sector, or move within the sector to a job better suited to juggling work, home and caring responsibilities, with more 'family-friendly' working patterns and expectations. One woman currently studying science at post-graduate level said that:

'Colleagues of my age have... got to a point where they either carry on with a speciality and commit themselves to that, or they become a GP.'

This is because the job of a GP was seen as offering more regular hours than other areas of medicine and could be fitted around the

employee's needs for flexibility. One interviewee currently working in a City law firm felt that she could not continue with the pace and with the expectations of her working life when she had children, so would consider moving to a high street or local law firm in order to cope.

One woman working in the creative sector said that if women were able to return to work on a freelance basis after having children, as she did, then this gave them the opportunity to have maximum flexibility over their time and to undertake work when it best suits. This interviewee decided to work freelance after having children, so that she could take the school holidays off to care for them.

There were other examples of women swapping industries or jobs in order to meet the expectations of working while fulfilling caring responsibilities. For example, the mother of a schoolgirl in a focus group had worked in the legal sector prior to having children. After having children, however, this had changed:

'My mum went back, but not to a high flying career, she went back to filing papers in an office.'

Support networks

For those women who continue to work in full-time jobs that demand flexibility and travel outside work hours, family support networks were often reported to be critical in enabling them to work flexibly to meet employer and work demands. For example, one woman working in the creative sector felt that she was only able to sustain her career after having children because she had a very good family support network who could provide flexible childcare.

Another working mother, who is an employee of a multi-national company where global travel and overnight stays are part of normal

working life, said that many women can only undertake this type of work because they have strong support networks, from both families and partners. Other women in the same focus group, currently without children, reported that they plan to move out of London when they have children in order to be nearer to their families and support networks. This is likely to be a particular trend within the London economy, given its relatively young demographic, and may be a contributory factor to the loss of young talent from the city.

Career planning

Across all ages of women we spoke to, from school age to women already in work, it was very common for them to have thought out a 'career plan', and many had an idea of when they would try for a family in order to minimise disruption to their career. Others planned to have children at a time when they could 'afford' to have time out of work, usually when they felt they were or would be established, which was thought to make it easier for women to return to work. It was also believed that this would increase the likelihood that return to work could be arranged on flexible terms to provide the required balance between work and family:

'I really want to make something of myself, but I also want a family, so it's important to get as far as I can now so that I will have the opportunity to take some time out later on.' (A woman working in the law sector)

Updating skills

In some particularly fast-moving sectors, such as law and ICT, interviewees felt that women returning from a career break would need to undertake refresher training to get back up-to-date. This was one strategy that some women adopted to enable them to re-enter the labour market after having children. In some sectors or working environments where

practice and technology are constantly changing, such as IT, women returners are expected to get up-to-date in the same way that all other employees that have been in work are expected to. This may or may not be a substantial barrier depending on the length of time out of the workplace.

One senior woman working in the law sector reported how she 'minimised' her maternity leave to just three months in order to make it easier for her to return to work and so that she did not have so much technical information to catch up on. She mentioned that the Law Society ran a two day refresher course for legal professionals who had been out of practice for a while.

3.7 Good practice initiatives

A number of organisations have introduced specific initiatives to address the barriers that women face in entering and progressing within the growth sectors. The business case for recruiting and retaining women is well understood in competitive industries. They cannot afford to miss out on the talent and skills of half the workforce.

Flexible working

Several organisations have formal flexible working policies in which a wide range of options are open to all employees, not just those covered by the legislation.

IBM: Flexible Working Policy

IBM offers a wide range of flexible working options, and these have been extended to all staff, not just those with childcare or elderly-care responsibilities. A key objective is to enable staff to achieve a better balance between their work role and their personal lives. Among the flexible working options are a variety of reduced hours contracts (including compressed hours, annualised hours, jobshare and term-time contracts); home working; and mobile working (at

different sites). In addition, staff can suggest other working patterns for consideration. To support the flexible working policy, IBM has communicated to its employees the potential benefits of working flexibly. These include: the opportunity to combine domestic commitments with a career; increased job satisfaction, motivation and commitment; saving of money, inconvenience and time commuting; a more efficient approach to work; and better health and less stress.

In the creative industries sector, Skillset is developing an initiative to address the needs of those with family responsibilities.

Skillset: Back to Work Scheme

Skillset are currently developing a scheme in partnership with the film industry. The scheme aims to provide 16 women (eight teams of two women), who have a wealth of production experience in some of the technical grades of film production, with the opportunity to benefit from a flexible working schedule which will accommodate their parental responsibilities. The specific objective is to match the eight teams with eight film productions that are able to offer job-share roles for the participants.

Training for career progression

To address career progression barriers, some organisations have introduced tailored training programmes for women.

Citigroup: Women's Development Programme

Women often experience barriers to progressing beyond a certain level within finance organisations. To address these barriers, Citigroup has been running a successful women-only training programme since 2002-2003 aimed at junior professionals. The objectives of the course, 'Coaching for Success', are to retain and develop Citigroup women and provide them with the training to advance their careers. The course includes formal training sessions

on subjects such as Leadership Skills for Women, Goal Setting, and Influencing Skills. It also provides experience in public speaking, presentations and networking events. Course participants work in teams with 'coaches' drawn from the same business areas. Although promotion is not guaranteed, a measure of the course's success is that a high proportion of participants subsequently progress upwards through the organisation. Participants also say that the course has helped them and encouraged them to stay within the organisation.

Higher education initiatives

We came across examples of HE institutions trying to encourage women into degree subjects where they are traditionally under-represented, and which can open opportunities to enter a wide range of professional careers in growth sectors.

Department of Mathematics, University College London

In response to the under-representation of women in mathematics degrees, University College London decided to set up a 'Women in Maths' day to encourage young women in the lower-sixth form to consider taking a mathematically-based degree. It consists of interesting maths lectures and puzzles along with a talk about careers (usually with a woman careers officer) and a session on admissions. One aspect of the day which seems to work very well is that the young women get talking to each other and realise that there are lots of others like them. The department has had a good response from the young women who have attended these sessions. The Admissions Tutor said, 'We sometimes see that young women mention on their UCAS application forms that they attended the Women in Maths day. Although we have not formally evaluated the scheme, I estimate that usually two or three of the attendees end up coming to study maths at UCL'.

Chapter 4:

Policy and legislation – the opportunity for change

4.1 Introduction

Achieving equality and securing London's economic growth

This research shows that women are projected to fill seven out of ten new jobs created in the capital through to 2016 and are likely to become increasingly represented as managers and senior officials. This will have a small but welcome impact on occupational segregation, which is one of the main determinants of the gender pay gap. Overall, however, women in London face more inequality than in the rest of the UK. The gender pay gap is wider, the penalty for working part-time is worse and women's participation in the labour market is lower. The underlying causes of these findings need to be challenged not only in the interests of equality, but, for London's economy as a whole, so that employers have access to the widest possible range of talents available for expected job and skill opportunities. The stark difference between the London and UK picture for women, combined with the importance of London to the UK economy, shows that necessary solutions include a macro-economic policy which invests more in London, ensuring educational policy adequately equips women for the opportunities that exist, a continued improvement in addressing real barriers particular women face, such as the supply and cost of childcare and the opportunity

for flexible work, and a modernised legislative framework based on positive duties to equality.

The government has committed to the introduction of a Single Equality Act, and the Equalities and Discrimination Law Reviews and the Women and Work Commission will contribute towards the shape of that legislation. This research indicates that a Single Equality Act will have to be based on a framework of positive duties to equality, specifically address weaknesses in current legislation and provide comprehensive protection for women in whatever sector they may work, private as well as public, if it is to challenge fully the barriers to women's equality. It will also have to be part of a strategic vision capable of addressing the social factors that contribute to occupational segregation, ranging from education and careers advice through to childcare.

London's growth sectors

London's prosperity is crucially linked to making the most of the skills of all its workers, but this will mean tackling the barriers that still inhibit women's progress.

Although the growth figures suggest more women in London will be working in better paid jobs, especially as managers and senior officials, professionals and associate professional and technical workers, many will

continue to be concentrated in a narrow range of lower-paid jobs. As has been seen, this type of occupational segregation is a major factor causing the gender pay gap. The growth in women's employment provides the opportunity for progress in reducing their under-representation in better-paid jobs, but unless substantial progress is made in addressing the determinants of occupational segregation, a large proportion of women will continue to occupy low-paid jobs with poor prospects. As a result, London's economy and specific businesses will not be making the best use of women's skills and experience.

Part-time and flexible working

Chapter 2 shows that women in London are more likely to work full-time, but much less likely to work part-time, than elsewhere in the UK. Those who are working part-time tend to be concentrated in occupations where they predominate in the workforce as a whole: sales and customer services; administrative and secretarial occupations and personal service occupations. These are all lower-paid occupations, and part-timers earn less per hour on average than the full-timers in these jobs.

Chapter 3 suggests that women attempting to work part-time in senior positions believe they are not taken as seriously as full-time counterparts, or will suffer in subsequent career development, and that there is a lack of role models of senior women who have been able to work part-time and succeed in their careers.

While many organisations have flexible working policies, Chapter 2 shows that women are sceptical about how these translate into practice, especially while they were trying to prove themselves in their careers. Chapter 2 shows that senior officials and managers are the least likely group to request flexible working arrangements to look after young children.

Women in business

Last year's WILE report highlighted the under-representation and lower remuneration of women in business, from involvement at board level in major companies through to female entrepreneurship. This has not been a prime focus of this year's research.

Nevertheless, more recent figures showed only a slight increase in the proportion of women directors in the FTSE top 100 companies, from 8.6 per cent in 2003 to 9.7 per cent in December 2004.⁴³ A third of the top companies still have no women directors at all. Research by the Cranfield School of Management has further highlighted the levels of inequality in business by reporting that there were only 27 executive or non-executive directors who were black or from a minority ethnic background among 1,130 FTSE 100 boardroom posts. Of these only three were women.⁴⁴ This specific under-representation of black, Asian and minority ethnic women in business demands further enquiry and action.

4.2 Policy and legislative developments

Introduction

At a national level the last year has witnessed increased attention to the inequalities of women's position in the labour market, from entry level through experience in employment, to retirement and inequality in pensions and lifetime outcomes. London's research has made a significant contribution both to a greater understanding of the equality imperatives in the capital and to the national picture. Much of this enquiry has yet to produce tangible outcomes. The Women and Work Commission is due to report in January 2006. A major development has been the publication of the Government's Equality Bill. In addition to proposals for a public sector duty on gender equality, and provision for anti-discrimination measures on grounds of religion and sexual orientation in access to goods, facilities and

services, this Bill proposes the establishment of a unitary Commission for Equality and Human Rights and the abolition of the Equal Opportunities Commission and other existing statutory equality bodies. The precise character of this latter proposal is contentious and the Mayor has advocated changes to address this, as detailed below. Alongside this proposal for radical change in the shape of equality enforcement institutions, the Equalities and Discrimination Law Reviews have been established and will make recommendations on the shape of a Single Equality Act. This research highlights key issues which these reviews and a Single Equality Act must address.

Education, occupational segregation and the gender pay gap

Chapter 2 shows that in 2004, the gender pay gap, using mean hourly earnings, was 24 per cent for full-time workers in London, compared with 18 per cent in the UK as a whole. Severe segregation in the kind of jobs done by women and men has been found to be one of the major determinants of the gender pay gap, coupled with the generally lower value placed on work traditionally undertaken by women, such as nursing and caring.

Chapter 3 identified the importance of countering gender stereotypes at an early age as well as providing well-informed guidance over the choice of subjects for future careers. This mirrors one of the factors identified by the House of Commons Trade and Industry Committee in its examination of the effect of occupational segregation on the gender pay gap.⁴⁵ The Committee considered that the career options chosen by young women did not seem to have widened significantly, in spite of their improving educational attainment. They felt that the message about widening choice had not filtered down adequately to schools and that gender stereotyping might not be covered

adequately in the curriculum. They also questioned the variable quality of careers advice, work placements, and the links between businesses and schools. The Equal Opportunities Commission has called for the proposed new gender duty for the public sector - contained in the Equality Bill - to be strengthened so that it fully covers educational institutions. They say 'at present the proposal is that schools, colleges, universities will be covered by the general duty but not the specific duties' and call for this to be remedied.⁴⁶

Table 1 shows that five growth sectors are projected to create a net 429,000 jobs for women through to 2016. This indicates education and training imperatives for London: women should have access to advice and training that fully equips them to access the best jobs in these sectors. This will, in turn, ensure that employers can recruit from the broadest range of talents.

Early influences leading to occupational segregation is one of the issues reviewed by the Women and Work Commission, whose remit is 'to consider how to close the gender pay and opportunities gap within a generation.'⁴⁷ The Commission, chaired by Baroness (Margaret) Prosser, was set up by the Prime Minister in July 2004 and is particularly looking at:

- how men's and women's education and skills affect which jobs they can get;
- promotion and career progression - the 'glass ceiling';
- women's experiences in the job market before and after having children; and
- the different experiences of women working full-time and part-time.

Its Interim Statement of March 2005 considers that there are three 'main, overarching factors' causing the gender pay gap: 'women's labour market experience (both its

length and the number of interruptions), part-time working, and occupational segregation'. It has to be noted that the Commission says that it 'has been charged with paying particular attention to the public sector as a major employer of women'. This may prove a significant limitation. For example, while in London the public sector is a major employer of women, 70 per cent of employed women do not work in the public sector. Proposals from the Commission will need to embrace this reality if they are to be effective.

The Report of the Commission, originally due in autumn 2005, has been delayed and is not now expected before January 2006. However the Commission's Chair has indicated support for 'class actions' - a single pay discrimination case on behalf of an unlimited number of applicants. Should this be a definite recommendation of the Commission it will need to be anchored in a framework of law that creates a stronger duty to equality, covering all women in work, and which addresses the current limitations of the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts.

Equal pay and discrimination

The Sex Discrimination Act (1975) and the Equal Pay Act (1970) are the two main legal measures relating to women's pay and discrimination at work. While both of these have been useful in making specific cases for women's equality over the 30 years they have been in place, they have significant limitations in the extent to which they can make further in-roads on unequal pay caused by occupational segregation and the undervaluing of women's work. This is clear in researching the position of women in London's economy. As with other forms of discrimination, they rely on individuals making claims through Employment Tribunals, but many people are deterred from seeking such redress because of the costs and other difficulties entailed.

Regulations amending the Sex Discrimination Act came into force on 1st October 2005 (Employment (Sex Discrimination) Regulations 2005). These regulations implemented the revised EU Equal Treatment Directive 2002/73 and included: a new definition of indirect sex discrimination in employment matters and vocational training; the express prohibition of harassment and sexual harassment in employment and in vocational training and clarification that less favourable treatment of women on grounds of pregnancy or maternity leave is unlawful sex discrimination.

The regulations have been criticised for omitting anything on pay discrimination,⁴⁸ although the amended EU Directive applies to 'employment and working conditions, including dismissals, as well as pay, as provided for in the Equal Pay Directive 75/117'. The latter directive requires 'the elimination of all discrimination on grounds of sex with regard to all aspects and conditions of remuneration'. The Sex Discrimination Act excludes any claim as regards the payment of money. Applicants can only claim sex discrimination in pay where they meet the requirements of the Equal Pay Act, which requires an actual comparator rather than a hypothetical one. The implementation of the directive therefore maintains an unnecessary limitation which should be corrected.

Added to this, the House of Commons Trade and Industry Committee argued in its report, *Jobs for the Girls*,⁴⁹ that the Equal Pay Act is 'reaching the limits of its usefulness'. It noted that the rate of decrease in the gender pay gap has slowed down considerably in recent years. The Committee considered that the issue to address is no longer primarily that of direct discrimination but the consistent under-valuing of work done mostly by women, saying: 'Although there are difficulties in dealing with the deep-

seated problem of the undervaluing of women's work through legislation, the concepts of work of equal value and indirect discrimination are already embedded in statute and we believe it should be possible to build on these. We regret that the Government appears to be ruling changes out as 'too difficult' without having undertaken a serious review of the options.'

The Committee also referred to the continuing process of 'downgrading' of jobs which become increasingly undertaken by women. Against this background the Committee felt that Regional Development Agencies needed to explicitly tackle occupational segregation. 'Given their key role in ensuring that the needs and wishes of local businesses are taken into account in regional development policies and their position as local agents for the delivery of much of the Government's policy with respect to industry and commerce, we would have expected them to be playing a larger part in the attempts to engage the attention of employers on the disadvantages of occupational segregation.'

The Government has indicated that the Discrimination Law Review will include consideration of the Equal Pay Act. Changes to the legislation will need to encompass concepts of how work is valued if it is to have any impact on the gender pay gap and consider the limitations of the Sex Discrimination Act in parallel. Research indicates that an entirely new approach is required, based on positive duties to equality, and that this must embrace pay, occupational segregation and indirect discrimination.

Pay audits

Employers can undertake steps to identify any potential issues of inequality in pay by undertaking pay audits or equal pay reviews, but there appears to be no increase in the numbers willing to do so. The EOC found in

its latest survey that two-thirds of employers had no intention of carrying out an equal pay review.⁵⁰ This proportion had not changed since 2003. It appears that without a framework of positive duties, many employers are reluctant to subject their pay structure to open scrutiny.

Balancing work with family and other commitments

It is clear from this research that society faces a continuing, indeed growing, challenge in how to support people in balancing employment with childcare and other family and caring demands. This primarily appears as an issue affecting women, influencing many women's employment patterns - ranging from time out of employment right through to the demand for part-time working or flexibility in employment - because the major responsibility for such family or domestic demands continues to fall to women. The working through of this uneven responsibility contributes to occupational patterns, the gender pay gap and greater levels of female poverty in retirement. None of these are automatic outcomes. Childcare, for example, must be undertaken, but it is a matter of economic and social policy as to how the cost of this should be organised.

The Government's Childcare Bill, currently being considered in the House of Commons, proposes placing a duty on local authorities to ensure that there is sufficient childcare for parents who need it in order to work or train for work. As the Daycare Trust has pointed out, local authorities will need enough resources to ensure that provision is affordable by parents.⁵¹ The Bill's proposals continue to rely on the Working Tax Credit to ensure affordability, but in London this appears to be inadequate in the face of London's higher costs. Through the London Childcare Strategy, the Mayor is seeking ways of making childcare affordable to parents,

while also ensuring the sustainability of provision. Through the London Development Agency, he has set up a joint fund with the Department for Education and Skills to finance a three year Childcare Affordability Programme to pilot ways of making childcare affordable for London parents.

This research also indicates that best practice employers understand a business rationale for flexible employment, for example to assist them in gaining and retaining the diversity of female workforce their businesses require, but equally many believe that flexibility alone will not solve the care and family demands that impact on employees. Where there is opposition by employers, it seems that this is not always grounded in monitored evidence. This is confirmed by research by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development which found that only a quarter of organisations formally monitor the take-up of flexible working and only a fifth evaluated the effectiveness of their flexible working practices in the last year.⁵²

There are a number of possible solutions to address the competing pressures of paid employment and family commitments, falling between employers and wider governmental policy.

Flexible care

One of the difficulties of working part-time or atypical hours for parents is finding childcare which both fits with the hours of work and is affordable enough to make work financially worthwhile. Often nursery places are offered as five full days, or five morning or five afternoon sessions. Any other kind of arrangement, such as 10am to 3pm, will attract a higher proportionate cost, even if available. From the providers' point of view, this is understandable, since they will lose the income they would otherwise gain from filling the place full-time, unless there is a 'matching parent' using the place in the other hours.

This issue is the subject of one of the pilot projects under the joint LDA/DfES London Childcare Affordability Programme arising from the Mayor's London Childcare Strategy. Providers can apply through their local authority for funding for the extra cost of providing flexible hours, to bring down the cost of childcare to the parent to the upper limit for childcare tax credit, equivalent to £175 per week for a full-time place.

Part-time working

Chapter 2 shows that only a quarter of employee jobs in London are part-time, compared with one in three in Britain as a whole. Women are much less likely to work part-time in London than in Britain, but slightly more likely to work full-time. This is linked to the fact that women with children are less likely to work part-time in the capital. Part-time working can provide a way of combining paid work with childcare or other caring responsibilities, but this appears to be less of an option in London. Our research last year estimated the loss to the economy of the lower proportion of women working part-time as £1.46 billion.

Chapter 2 also shows the penalty for women working part-time in London. Switching to part-time work - because of care demands or any other reasons - may mean a significant downgrading of job and skills level and a permanent drop in salary for individuals, while it robs business of skills and experience available, purely because of inflexibility in work patterns.

These findings add to those identified by the Equal Opportunities Commission from its investigation of flexible and part-time working. The final report⁵³ included the following key points:

- Part-time working is mostly only available in low-level low-paid jobs, concentrated in certain sectors. In 2003-4, only four per

cent of women working part-time were managers or senior officials compared to 15 per cent of women working full-time.

- Working part-time has a detrimental and long-term impact on women's earnings. After 15 years, women who moved to full-time employment after only one year in part-time employment can earn up to 10 per cent less per hour than those who worked full-time for all 15 years.
- The part-time pay gap remains little changed since 1975.

Detailed research by the EOC found that 49 per cent of women working part-time in Great Britain are working below their past potential.⁵⁴ The research also found that four out of ten women part-timers who are doing lower-skilled work than they are capable of do so because it is less demanding and stressful than jobs that they have done in the past, but an almost equal proportion are working below their past potential because of limited market opportunities. Reasons include not being able to find part-time work which uses their experience, skills and qualifications, and career opportunities being limited with their current employer.

In its submission to the Women and Work Commission,⁵⁵ the TUC point out, 'The highly segregated nature of the UK's labour market is due in part to the fact that occupations are divided into those that can only be done by full-time workers and those that are better done by part-time workers. In their report for the Women and Equality Unit, Professor Sylvia Walby and Dr Wendy Olsen suggest that this gender segregation is a form of labour market failure and that these "occur when the labour market does not allocate the most appropriate worker to any given job slot as a result of labour market rigidities."'

Some women shift to part-time work as a personal compromise to assist them in balancing domestic demands with the need

for paid employment. However this comes at a significant immediate and longer term cost. Women may work part-time for a limited time, for instance while their children are very young, but this is likely to have a negative impact on their longer-term careers. It is also likely to be reflected in a lower pension in retirement. The kind of part-time work available to women is crucial to this, with women often finding that their current jobs are simply not open to part-time working, forcing them to work below their potential.

The challenge is to find ways of supporting those, women or men, who want to work part-time to continue in, or return to, jobs which make the best use of their skills and experience, rather than being forced into a low-paid job, or be placed in a situation where it is simply not worthwhile working at all. For those who do go part-time for a while, steps need to be taken to ensure that their careers are not permanently impaired. Given the persistence of demands that incline many women towards part-time work this negative pattern of under-utilisation of skills and experience needs to be tackled as part of ensuring London's economy has the range of talent required to facilitate growth.

Part-time pay

Most part-time work is low-paid, and this is largely attributable to the restriction in the range of jobs being undertaken and the value placed on these jobs. This means that the current legislation on pay is likely to have little impact because it cannot address the issues of valuation of jobs and does not address occupational segregation. This is a critical area for the Discrimination Law Review to address.

On 1 July 2000, the UK Government introduced the Part-time Workers (Prevention of Less Favourable Treatment) Regulations which implemented the 1998 European

Council Directive on part-time work. Under this, part-time workers should not be treated less favourably than comparable full-time workers on a number of counts, including in terms of the employment contract, hourly pay, unfair dismissal and complaints to employment tribunals.

The University of Essex measured the success of the regulation in terms of hourly pay and concluded that as yet the reform has had little or no impact.⁵⁶ They concluded that, 'The reform does not seem to have accelerated the process of equalisation in hourly pay between female part-timers and female full-timers or even between male and female part-timers.' Evidence from this and other research indicates that, to be effective, patterns of occupational segregation and the restriction of part-time work to low paid jobs would have to be tackled alongside such measures.

Low pay

The association of part-time work with low pay may be one of the main reasons for London's lower rate of part-time working: that is, that it is simply not financially worthwhile in the face of London's higher costs. The Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion found in 2003 that Londoners need to earn more than elsewhere to be better off in work than on benefits.⁵⁷ For instance, all lone parents in London moving into part-time work (16 hours) needed to earn more than the minimum wage to be just £10 per week better-off in work than on benefits. With high childcare costs they would need to earn at least £6.75 per hour with one child and £7.43 with two children.

GLA Economics has estimated the poverty threshold wage to be £5.80 an hour in London.⁵⁸ This is significantly above the national minimum wage, £5.05 per hour from October 2005. Adding a margin to ensure that the person involved does not fall

to the level of poverty wages yields a figure of £6.70 per hour as a living wage for London, after benefits and tax credits are taken into account. While 15 per cent of full-time workers fall below this level, 50 per cent of part-time workers earn less than the living wage level and 35 per cent of part-time workers receive less than poverty threshold wages.

Promoting flexibility

Flexibility in employment - in hours and patterns of work, home working, leave for caring responsibilities and other forms of flexibility - is one way of trying to reconcile paid work with other commitments. Chapter 3 showed that flexible working arrangements are highly valued by women facing such demands but some found that policies did not necessarily translate into practice. Some women had left a particular industry in order to find alternative employment with more family-friendly working patterns.

One of the key barriers preventing women working flexibly or part-time at senior levels in London is a long hours culture in the workplace, including after-work social activities. The National Centre for Social Research found in regional analysis of work-life balance surveys that 15 per cent of women working in London usually work 49 hours or more per week, compared with nine per cent of women working elsewhere in England.⁵⁹ Also, 34 per cent of women working in London do unpaid overtime, compared with 25 per cent elsewhere.

Currently the right to request flexible working is available to parents of children aged under six or those with disabled children aged up to 19. First introduced in April 2003, this measure seems to have achieved significant success, although somewhat fewer requests were fully accepted in the second year of its operation. Employers have to give requests

reasonable consideration, but do not have to grant them.

The results of the DTI's second survey of employees' experience of flexible working were published in July 2005.⁶⁰ Awareness of the right to request had gone up in all areas but was lower in London than any other area, at 58 per cent, compared with an England average of 65 per cent. Nationally, requests were highest in the occupations where women predominate: sales, customer services and secretarial occupations; and lowest among managers and senior officials and skilled trade occupations, where women are under-represented. More than a third of women with children under six had made a request to work flexibly over the last two years. Among women employees, the most usual type of request was to work part-time, representing 30 per cent of requests, followed by reduced hours for a limited period and flexi-time (both 19 per cent). Forty-three per cent of requests by women were to meet childcare needs and a further 10 per cent to allow them to spend more time with their families.

Most employees had their request fully or partially met, but the proportion was lower in the second year than the first - 81 per cent, compared with 86 per cent.

Extending the right to request flexible working

The Mayor, the Equal Opportunities Commission and others have argued for the right to request flexible working to be extended as widely as possible. However, some employer organisations have expressed concern in response to the Government's consultation on extending the right to request flexible working, launched in February 2005.⁶¹ The published responses to the consultation show that the employers' organisations want any changes to be restricted to limited groups of employees.

The Confederation of British Industry (CBI) 'accepts extending the number of employees who are eligible for the right to request working - so long as it extended one group at a time and there is no change to the structure of the right. Members would prefer to extend it to carers, provided this group is clearly defined.' They wanted the cut-off age for children whose parents have the right to request flexible working to be raised 'no higher than 12 in the first instance'.

The EOC considers that, 'The forward-looking businesses that use flexible working have found they resulted in vital recruitment advantage, higher levels of staff retention, lower absence rates, better employee relations and morale, and hence increased productivity... Many employers have found it works best to open up flexibility to all employees, not just parents and carers.'

The Government published its Work and Families Bill in October 2005. This includes proposals to extend statutory maternity pay and maternity allowance to nine months from April 2007 and a power for mothers to transfer statutory leave and pay to fathers, if the mother returns to work after six months but before the end of her maternity leave period. It also includes a proposal to extend the right to request flexible working to carers of adults from April 2007. However, it does not propose extending the right to request flexible working to parents of children aged 6 and over at present. The Chancellor's Pre-Budget Report of December 2005 says the Government will continue to examine the case for extending it to parents of older children in the future.

4.3 Promoting gender equality

Much of the criticism of the current discrimination legislation is that it is fragmented and inconsistent and encourages an adversarial approach rather than

promoting equality and diversity. The Government is proposing to introduce a public sector duty to promote gender equality and published a consultation document on its proposals⁶² on 4 October 2005.

These proposals will require public authorities to eliminate discrimination and promote equality of opportunity between men and women. It is proposed that public authorities be required to:

- identify and implement specific gender equality goals;
- develop and publish an equal pay policy statement; and
- assess the impact of new policies and changes to services on men and women - allowing negative effects to be mitigated.

The consultation closes on 12 January 2006 and the gender duty is expected to come into force in April 2007.

The current limitation of the duty to the public sector has focussed attention on the interaction of public and private sectors and the need to ensure that the application of equality standards is as wide as possible, taking in all employees, direct and indirect, of the public sector. The EOC is now calling for the Government to make a requirement on the private sector to promote gender equality and eliminate sex discrimination.⁶³

Contract compliance - using the equality power of procurement

One way in which the duty to promote gender equality can extend its influence is to exercise the considerable spending power of the public sector through the procurement of goods and services. This potential is included in the Government's consultation document: 'The gender duty covers all the functions of a public authority. Authorities will need to ensure that, where relevant, their procurement policies and procedures reflect

the requirements of the duty... This may mean including terms in contracts to ensure that gender equality is factored into the service provided. However any such terms must sit within the general procurement rules and guidelines that apply to public authorities which emphasise transparent, fair procedures and value for money.'

The consultation document also says that where a private contractor is delivering a service which would normally be delivered by the public authority itself, that would be deemed a 'public function' and would be subject to the gender duty. This applies only to the function itself, not to the contractor's other activities. This is a complex legal area which is to be clarified in the EOC guidance. The potential for a wider interpretation needs to be promoted.

This issue was raised in the House of Lords second reading of the Equality Bill, in relation to using contract compliance to close the gender pay gap. The Minister replied that, 'The critical issue about compliance is that it must be of relevance - that is requesting a contractor to take action to close a pay gap must be relevant to the outcome of the contract. Public authorities are responsible for their own procurement policies and procedures, but that requirement will have to be taken into account.' Experience has shown, however, that the exact meaning of these terms is open to interpretation and the Public Sector Duty would be an opportunity to test further the contribution that procurement powers may make to equality. The Minister also said that Government would be issuing guidance on 'how contracts between public authorities and private organisations for the provision of services may seek to protect convention rights.

In 2004, the European Union adopted two Directives revising EU rules on how public money is spent. These are a general, Public

Sector Directive (2004/18/EC) covering public services, works and services, and a Utilities Directive (2004/17/EC) covering energy, water, transport and postal services. According to the TUC,⁶⁴ 'Throughout the legislative process in Brussels, European trade unions and NGOs campaigned to strengthen the scope for considering social, employment and disability, ethical and environmental issues throughout the public contracting procedure. This campaigning achieved significant success in the revised rules relating to procurement. However, the UK Government has chosen to see the Directives as clarifying existing laws, rather than introducing new ones.'

The CRE has found that the Race Relations Amendment Act is having an impact on the private sector through public sector contracts worth more than £100 billion.⁶⁵ The Amendment Act requires public sector bodies to promote equality, in a similar way to the proposed Gender Duty. Michael Webster, partner in the City's first black law firm, Webster Dixon, said, 'Public bodies are demanding proof that private firms are committed to diversity or they won't use them. When you start hitting their bottom line, all of a sudden companies start finding ways of accommodating ethnic minorities.'

Using local and regional purchasing power

As well as national government, local and regional authorities can also use their purchasing power to promote equality. There is a National Procurement Strategy for Local Government, which includes equality as a consideration, primarily based on race equality. Nine regional centres of procurement excellence have been established, including one in London, and these provide the opportunity to develop this agenda.

This is an area where the GLA has taken a lead. Counsel's opinion⁶⁶ to the GLA stated,

'I do not consider that the GLA would be acting unlawfully if it gave some weight, at the tender evaluation stage, to a contractor's attitude to fair employment clauses.'

A recent announcement on the East London Line Extension shows an example of how an authority with a proactive commitment to equality can be effective:⁶⁷ 'Transport for London has included terms in its invitation to tender for development of the East London Line project that will help ensure fair opportunities for smaller suppliers, particularly those led by black and minority ethnic groups and by women who in the past have often found it difficult to access contract opportunities. The terms also require contractors to develop plans to ensure the local community benefit from the work opportunities the project brings.'

Procurement for the 2012 Olympics will also be based on a set of principles which includes the following: A key assessment criterion in the selection of contractors should be their commitment to working with the London Development Agency/Olympics Delivery Agency and others to underpin delivery of a programme of local community involvement and benefits including: employee representation; fair and ethical employment sourcing; London living wage; supplier diversity; local labour; community benefit; training and supply chain initiatives.

4.4 The changing legal and institutional framework

The Equality Bill

The Government published the Equality Bill in March 2005. The Bill proposes the creation of a new Commission for Equality and Human Rights to cover six equality strands (gender, race, disability, sexual orientation, religion and age) and human rights, and the dissolution of the three existing commissions: the Equal Opportunities Commission, the

Disability Rights Commission and the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE). The Commission is proposed to start in 2007, with the CRE joining in 2009. The Bill also contains proposals for a public sector duty on gender, as outlined above, and legislation on discrimination on the grounds of religion. Following parliamentary discussion the government accepted the case for measures prohibiting discrimination against lesbians and gay men in the provision of goods, facilities and services to also be in the Bill and has agreed to an amendment to enable regulations to be introduced. The Bill completed its Third Reading in the House of Lords on 9 November and at the time of writing is in the Commons.

During its progress through the House of Lords, concerns were raised about the adequacy of the powers, resources and structure of the new Commission to tackle all forms of discrimination and to take up cases on behalf of individuals.

One of the key concerns is that the single Commission will be set up with different levels of protection against discrimination for different groups, because of the varied nature of the existing equalities laws. The Mayor has supported the case for any new institution charged with upholding equality law to be under-pinned by a single equalities act which would bring existing laws on discrimination into a consistent and improved framework. The Government has taken the contrary view, with Baroness Ashton, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Department for Constitutional Affairs, replying to debate: 'The prospect of reform of the legislative framework, of course, makes it even more important that the commission should begin without delay its work in bringing together all the equality strands.' The proposal to site the main headquarters of the Commission outside of London has been criticised by the CRE and the Mayor.

Despite piecemeal responses to pressure on the Equality Bill, a fundamental structural problem persists in relation to the Government's proposals for the CEHR: who's continuing failure to establish representation from equality communities, with the sole exception to this being the Disability Committee and agreement that one Commissioner is to be a disabled person. It is to be feared that this flaw in the structure of the CEHR reflects a profound error in its ideological conception. The CEHR seems to embody a top down approach, whereby the great and the good will solve the problems of inequality. Experience indicates, however, that those who have a lived experience of inequality must be themselves represented in shaping equality law and in the social institutions to uphold that law.

The CRE noted that consultation with black communities produced opposition to the abolition of the CRE and support for representative structures on race equality in the proposed new Commission: 'The Bill provides for a decision making Disability Committee. The CRE has had strong representations from CRE stakeholders that there is a need for race to have a similar committee, particularly to dispense grants for local race equality work as per the CRE's Communities and Partnerships Committee which is provided for in the Race Relations Act. Some stakeholders have suggested that it would represent a regression from the current position if a similar committee is not provided for in the Equality Bill.'⁶⁸

There is considerable concern that the lack of a consistent legal framework for all equality strands may exacerbate weaknesses arising from a lack of representation of equality communities within the structure of the new Commission and an inadequacy of financial resources. The Mayor is seeking to ensure that the effectiveness of the Commission is

maximised and has made the case for amendment of the Equality Bill on the following points:

- **Achieving a representative Commission of Equalities and Human Rights**, by making it a statutory requirement that a representative proportion of Commissioners have personal or direct experience of one or more of the causes of discrimination or prejudice covered by the Commission, and specifically requiring that no less than one half of the Commissioners are women and no less than one quarter are from a black or other minority ethnic background. As a result of lobbying by the disability equality community, the Government has agreed that there should be at least one Commissioner who is a disabled person, but has made no other commitments on representation. The amendment would apply the principle recognised in this agreement - that Commissioners must include those with lived experience of discrimination - equally across the six equality strands to be covered by the Commission.
- **The establishment of decision-making Equalities Committees** for the individual equality strands, to allow a focus on specific discrimination as well as on cross-cutting issues and multiple discrimination. This proposal has been supported by the Discrimination Law Association and a range of equality lobbying organisations. At present the only commitment is to a Disability Committee. The Mayor has supported this but argued for consistency. In the parliamentary debates, opponents of Equality Committees have argued that they would lead to the Commission thinking out of 'silos'. Peers, including former Commission for Racial Equality Commission Chair, Lord (Herman) Ouseley, argued against this and for inclusion, and that without representative structures all Commissioners could be white men. In the

case of women's equality, these concerns could be met by a specific committee to cover gender issues.

- **Establishment of a Greater London Committee** motivated because of the specific characteristics of London and its population, and the equality duties of the Mayor and Greater London Authority under legislation. The Mayor is also opposed to moving the Commission to a location outside of London.

Equalities Review and Discrimination Law Review

These two reviews are working in parallel, under the auspices of the DTI. There is a Reference Group supporting both reviews.

The Equalities Review is chaired by Trevor Phillips and its remit is to report on the underlying causes of inequality, specifically to:

- investigate the social, economic, cultural and other factors that limit or deny people the opportunity to make the best of their abilities;
- provide an understanding of the long term and underlying causes of disadvantage that need to be addressed by public policy;
- make practical recommendations on key policy priorities for: the Government and public sector; employers and trade unions; civic society and the voluntary sector; and
- inform both the modernisation of equality legislation, towards a Single Equality Act; and the development of the new Commission for Equality and Human Rights.

The review is due to report in summer 2006.

The Discrimination Law Review is 'reviewing the effectiveness of equality legislation, with a view to making recommendations for creating a clearer and more streamlined equality legislation framework, aimed at producing better outcomes for those who

experience disadvantage.’ It is led by the Women and Equality Unit at the DTI and is expected to lead to a single equality bill. The Government gave a manifesto commitment to producing this bill within the lifetime of the current Parliament.

This presents an opportunity to remedy the defects of all the disparate current discrimination laws and regulations and provide a consistent and integrated legal framework. If it is to have an impact on the pay gap and occupational segregation it will need to improve fundamentally on the framework and provisions of the Sex Discrimination Act and Equal Pay Act.

It needs to provide remedies which do not have to rely on individual action for redress. To support the sort of ‘class action’ provision suggested by the Chair of the Women and Work Commission, Margaret Prosser, a comprehensive framework of positive duties would be crucial.⁶⁹

However, in addition to the problems that will be created by establishing a new structure of statutory equality institutions prior to a major overhaul of the law which the institutions will be charged with implementing, the review will face the weaknesses structured into the CEHR, as outlined above – unless these are tackled in the later parliamentary stages of the Bill. These represent a reversal of the understanding and practice developed over four decades – that it is critical that those with a personal experience of inequality are involved in anti-discrimination bodies, that discriminations have important specificities which must be understood, and that these principles will enrich an understanding of multiple discrimination and practical equality mechanisms.

4.5 Conclusion

The fact that research for this report shows that London’s growth pattern will mean

seven out of ten new jobs being filled by women over the next decade presents a challenge and an opportunity: to tackle barriers to the equal representation of women in sectors and grades, to simultaneously ensure employers have the full range of skills and experience available, and to allow for greater equality in the career paths, incomes and lifetime outcomes of women. Meeting this requires real measures, ranging from expanding young women’s educational and training choices to legislative renewal to create more positive duties to provide equality in all employment sectors. It requires action to widen part-time work opportunities beyond low-paid dead-end jobs and remove the barriers to different kinds of flexible working which would enable women at all levels to balance work with other commitments, through action both by employers and government.

This means that:

- The Commission for Equality and Human Rights needs to have a statutory requirement to represent and include those with a lived experience of inequality and discrimination, consistent with its provision in relation to disabled people. For women this could be addressed by a specific committee and appropriate women’s representation in the Commission to cover gender issues. It also requires sufficient resources, no regression in powers compared to existing Commissions, a national location in London appropriate to its critical equality functions and to be under-pinned by consistent, integrated and simplified legislation, providing a framework of positive duties to promote equality.

There is a strong case that the proposed public sector duty to promote gender equality should:

- include provision for public organisations to take action to close any gender pay gap, not simply to have a pay policy

- allow public authorities to require private sector contractors to demonstrate they are also taking action to close the gender pay gap
- be fully and effectively extended to educational institutions, particularly as educational experiences and subject choices have such a crucial impact on career choice.

The Discrimination Law Review must:

- Provide rights to equality and equal pay for women wherever they work, by developing a private sector duty to complement the new public sector duty on gender.
- Tackle entrenched inequality and the legacy of failure by existing law by considering specific measures such as the right to class actions and affirmative action.
- Strengthen rights to flexible working and the rights of workers wishing to shift from full-time to part-time without suffering a pay or career penalty.
- Base a Single Equality Act on a framework of positive duties to equality, applicable across all sectors and institutions, building on the best experience of recent legislation and addressing the limitations of the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts.
- Contribute towards the development of a strategic approach to occupational

segregation and its impact on pay, career and lifetime inequality. Educational opportunities, careers advice and training must provide the widest career choices and ensure women are enabled to take up the full range of jobs available. Social policy must be coordinated with legislation providing rights for employees and duties on employers. For example, this requires that the provision of affordable, quality childcare and other forms of care continues to be improved and that weaknesses in its flexibility be addressed.

Procurement

- Procurement powers should be fully used to promote equality through the considerable spending power of the public sector. The government could give a firm and clear lead to the whole public sector by the unequivocal inclusion of powers in the duty to promote equality.

If such steps are taken, the recent increase in attention to the position of women in work and society and the opportunity of the Discrimination Law Review can lead to meaningful change. What is clear is that inaction is not an option if women are to be fully represented across all sectors and levels of employment and business, and if London's economy is to continue to prosper.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Projected employment changes by sector and gender '000s of workers

The table below divides the projected sector growth into the number of jobs that would be expected with the existing split of

male/female within the sector and the part due to changes in the representation of women in the sector.

Projected employment changes by sector and gender

Sector	Total			Women			Men		
	2003	2016	Change	Change	Change due to change in size of sector	Change due to share of women in sector	Change	Change due to change in size of sector	Change due to share of men in sector
Business services	1075.3	1438.2	362.9	217.1	153.5	63.6	145.8	209.3	-63.6
Other services	361.0	510.6	149.6	74.7	74.7	0.0	74.9	74.9	0.0
Hotels & restaurants	309.3	430.0	120.7	57.7	57.7	0.0	63.0	63.0	0.0
Health & Education	661.2	705.0	43.8	40.9	32.7	8.2	2.8	11.1	-8.2
Retail	396.1	439.6	43.5	37.8	23.6	14.3	5.6	19.9	-14.3
Financial services	338.0	370.9	32.9	6.8	15.0	-8.2	26.1	17.9	8.2
Wholesale	239.4	256.4	17.0	1.9	4.9	-3.0	15.0	12.0	3.0
Primary and utilities	16.5	12.5	-4.0	-1.0	-1.3	0.3	-3.0	-2.7	-0.3
Transport & comms	351.3	327.4	-23.8	-1.2	-6.3	5.1	-22.6	-17.5	-5.1
Public administration	233.0	184.7	-48.3	-19.1	-23.1	4.1	-29.2	-25.2	-4.1
Construction	232.3	181.8	-50.5	-3.3	-5.2	1.9	-47.1	-45.2	-1.9
Manufacturing	266.7	181.4	-85.3	-24.4	-28.4	4.0	-60.9	-56.9	-4.0
Total	4480.2	5038.5	558.4	388.0	297.7	90.3	170.4	260.6	-90.3

Source: Volterra based on GLA Workforce series data

Business Services is the largest sector in London, with 29 per cent of employment projected to be within this sector by 2016. Of the 362,900 net new jobs projected in this sector, 217,100 of them are for women, and of these 70 per cent are due to an increase in the size of the sector.

The Health and Education sector is heavily dominated by female workers, and women are projected to increase their share of the workforce further. Of the 43,800 additional new jobs projected in this sector, women will take 40,900 of them; 80 per cent of these are due to an increase in the size of the sector.

Retail is also a projected growth sector for London in terms of both sector size and the proportion of women working within it. Of the projected 43,500 net new jobs in this sector, 37,800 of them are projected to be for women; 40 per cent of this change is due to women taking an increasing share of jobs.

Financial Services are a key strength of London's economy and also where many of the better paid occupations are. However, despite being a sector that is set to grow, there is a projected decline in the share of women. Of the projected 32,900 jobs within this sector, women are projected to take only 6,800 of them.

Appendix B: Hourly pay, gender pay gap and part-time pay gap for London and the UK in 1998 and 2004

Hourly pay and gender gap for males and females in London and UK in 1998 and 2004

FEMALE	London				UK			
	Females, 1998		Females, 2004		Females, 1998		Females, 2004	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
Mean	11.0	8.0	14.76	10.51	8.39	6.19	11.21	8.19
10th percentile	5.37	3.85	6.78	4.85	4.14	3.40	5.50	4.66
50th percentile	9.83	5.84	12.95	7.68	7.22	4.89	9.52	6.32
90th percentile	18.22	14.00	25.00	19.62	14.53	10.67	19.13	14.18
90/10	3.39	3.64	3.69	4.05	3.51	3.14	3.48	3.04
90/50	1.85	2.40	1.93	2.55	2.01	2.18	2.01	2.24
50/10	1.83	1.52	1.91	1.58	1.74	1.44	1.73	1.36

MALE	London				UK			
	Males, 1998		Males, 2004		Males, 1998		Males, 2004	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
Mean	14.75	8.74	19.45	9.98	10.65	7.25	13.73	9.36
10th percentile	5.70	3.33	7.39	4.68	4.76	3.20	6.08	4.50
50th percentile	11.57	5.10	15.20	6.61	8.74	4.70	11.10	6.05
90th percentile	26.87	10.95	36.66	15.54	18.43	14.70	24.08	19.26
90/10	4.71	3.29	4.96	3.32	3.87	4.59	3.96	4.28
90/50	2.32	2.15	2.41	2.35	2.11	3.13	2.17	3.18
50/10	2.03	1.53	2.06	1.41	1.84	1.47	1.83	1.34

	Absolute gender pay ratio (female/male)				Absolute gender pay ratio (female/male)			
	1998		2004		1998		2004	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
Mean	75	92	76	105	79	85	82	88
10th percentile	94	116	92	104	87	106	90	104
50th percentile	85	115	85	116	83	104	86	104
90th percentile	68	128	68	126	79	73	79	74

	Absolute part-time pay ratio (part-time/full-time)				Absolute part-time pay ratio (part-time/full-time)			
	1998		2004		1998		2004	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Mean	73	59	71	51	74	68	73	68
10th percentile	72	58	72	63	82	67	85	74
50th percentile	59	44	59	43	68	54	66	55
90th percentile	77	41	78	42	73	80	74	80

Note: Male part-time at the 80th percentile for statistical robustness

Mean pay ratio by gender and part-time / full-time status							
London		Full-time		UK		Full-time	
		Female	Male			Female	Male
Part time	Female	71	54	Part time	Female	73	60
	Male	68	51		Male	83	68

Median pay ratio by gender and part-time / full-time status							
London		Full-time		UK		Full-time	
		Female	Male			Female	Male
Part time	Female	59	51	Part time	Female	66	57
	Male	51	43		Male	64	55

Source: Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings, Office for National Statistics, 2004.

Appendix C: Labour Force Survey 2005 Questionnaire

Labour Force Survey: 2005 Questionnaire	
<p>120. YPTJOB <i>I would like to ask you why you took a part-time rather than a full-time job. Was it because...</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 you were a student/you were at school? 2 you were ill or disabled? 3 you could not find a full-time job? 4 you did not want a full-time job? <p>APPLIES TO PART TIME WORKERS i.e. APPLIES IF FTPTWK=2 (main job is part time) FOR CURRENT JOBS</p>	<p>EQ</p> <p>UK CODE 1st THAT APPLIES EUROSTAT</p>
<p>121. PTNCRE <i>May I just ask, was this because suitable care services</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 for children are not available or affordable 2 for ill, disabled, or elderly adults are not available or affordable 3 care facilities do not influence your decision for working part time? 4 you did not want a full-time job? <p>APPLIES IF YPTJOB=4 (RESPONDENT DOES NOT WANT A FULL TIME JOB)</p>	<p>UK SUMMER CODE ALL THAT APPLY MAIN EUROSTAT</p>
<p>122. YNOTFT <i>Why didn't you want a full-time job?</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 you are financially secure, but work because you want to 2 you earn enough working part time 3 you want to spend more time with your family 4 you have domestic commitments which prevent you working full-time 5 you feel that there are insufficient childcare facilities available 6 you have another reason <p>APPLIES TO WORKERS WHO DO NOT WANT A FULL TIME JOB i.e. APPLIES IF YPTJOB=4 (works PT because respondent didn't want FT job)</p>	<p>UK SPRING AUTUMN</p> <p>MAIN</p>
<p>123. YPTCIA <i>(May I just check,) is the main reason because you were ...</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 looking after children 2 looking after an incapacitated adult 3 or some other reason? <p>APPLIES IF YNOTFT=3 OR YNOTFT=4 OR YNOTFT=6</p> <p>Wanted to spend more time with their family Domestic commitments which prevent working full-time Some other reason</p>	<p>UK SPRING AUTUMN</p> <p>ASK OR RECORD CODE 1st THAT APPLIES MAIN</p>

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