

“A” Level Sociology

Teaching Notes

Module: Family Life

Unit 5c: Women and Work

The main Aims of these Notes are to help you understand:

1. Non-sociological explanations of workplace inequality based upon gender differences.
2. Sociological explanations of workplace inequality based upon gender differences.

The main Objectives of this Study Pack are to help you understand:

1. An evaluation of the argument that physical strength differences are a cause of gender inequalities.
2. The nature and extent of male violence against females within the home ("domestic violence").
3. Empirical evidence relating to gendered inequality in the workplace.
4. The concepts of "horizontal" and "vertical" segregation.
5. An evaluation of sexual discrimination as a cause or effect of gendered inequality.

Introduction

Thus far in this series of "gender related" Notes we have looked at various aspects of **primary** and **secondary socialisation** in terms of:

- a. The general **purpose of socialisation**.
- b. The general **process of socialisation**.

In addition, we've started to look at **basic differences in gender socialisation** as this relates to male and female children.

At the start of this series I suggested that in order to understand and explain the process of **gender differentiation** (that is, the way in which males and females are "**made socially different**" by the application of different types of socialisation process), we need to consider it in relation to **wider social factors** (in particular, social relationships **outside** the family group). In order to do this, the Notes focus on one major area of social life (**paid work**); other areas, such as gender differentiation in education, are considered in their appropriate syllabus sections.

In exploring the idea of gender differentiation in its wider social context, it's evident that, as I've repeatedly stressed, we have to understand that the concept of **power** is extremely important here (as, indeed, it is in most areas of social life). In these Notes, therefore, we are going to look at a number of **aspects of power** as it is used and experienced on an everyday basis:

1. Firstly, in relation to **physical (biological) differences** between the sexes (with the focus of attention being on male capacities for violence).
2. Secondly in terms of such things as **sexual discrimination**.
3. Finally, in terms of various **socio-economic explanations** ("**Dual Labour Market**" theory, "**Reserve Army of Labour**" theory and the like).

Each of these will focus upon the **workplace** as an **example** of the way in which social relationships outside the home are gendered.

In the final Notes in this series, ("**Feminist Perspectives**") we will investigate - and explain - rather more subtle manifestations of **power** as they have been theorised by a variety of feminist writers, since we will be concerned to understand the way in which males have, **historically**, been able to dominate females in all areas of social life. In this respect, we will be looking at - and developing an understanding of - **feminist concepts** of **sex class** and **patriarchy** as a means of explaining the basis and persistence of (male) power.

Women and Work

When we look at the world of paid employment, we have to consider power relationships between males and females generally and we can begin by looking at a number of points that can be made about male domination of various social institutions.

As far as it is possible to tell, the following observations seem to hold true for all known human societies:

1. There has **never** been a society in which females, as a class or social group, have been more powerful than men. There have, of course, been societies (both now and in the past) in which females - as individuals - have occupied positions of great power.
2. The **primary female roles** in human societies have always been those associated with **child-rearing** and **home maintenance**. Roles associated with politics and military activities, on the other hand, have almost exclusively been performed by men.
3. In **industrialised societies** - even where the sexual division of labour has become blurred through the use of contraception, for example - males still outnumber females in terms of their overall power and influence.

As we have seen in the various Teachers' Notes relating to family life, **one way of explaining** these observations (or "facts" if you prefer) is by reference to **biological differences and predisposition's** between the sexes. As you will be aware, this perspective has been fairly well covered in previous Teachers' Notes, so I don't propose to go over the same ground again.

Lewontin ("Human Diversity", 1982) neatly summarises and criticises this type of "**biology determines culture**" argument (you will sometimes see it referred-to as "**biological determinism**" or "**biological reductionism**" - the idea that we can ultimately reduce all cultural differences to biological differences) when he notes that:

"The primary self-identification of a person as a man or a woman, with the multitude of attitudes, ideas and desires that accompany that identification, depends upon what label was attached to him or her as a child. In the normal course of events, these labels correspond to a consistent biological difference in chromosomes, hormones and morphology [bone structure and the like]. Thus, biological differences become a signal for, rather than a cause of, differentiation in social roles."

**Express, in your own words, the meaning of Lewontin's note that:
"biological differences become a signal for, rather than a cause of, differentiation in social roles."**

If we look around us, one of the most obvious (biological) sources of male power is their physical stature and strength.

Men, in general, are **physically larger** and **stronger** than **women**.

In the following section we will explore this idea in a bit more detail (since it is an interesting and fairly obvious **extension** of the "**biology determines culture**" argument). However, before we do so, we need to note that simply because males, as a group, are biologically stronger than females this is **not inevitably** so. Two points can be usefully noted:

1. Firstly, males have tended, **genetically**, to develop greater muscle development and physical strength because of the type of **role** they have historically played in society (military, work and so forth).
2. Secondly, and most importantly, there is **nothing** in a female's genetic make-up that prevents her developing muscle tone and physical strength that is the equal to - and in many cases in excess of - male muscle development. Women, if they so desire, can develop a strong, muscular, physique (as the evidence of female bodybuilders attests).

However, the fact that the vast majority of women tend **not** to pursue this course of action is itself **evidence** of the way, even in relation to their own bodies, women have been subjected to male domination. Women bodybuilders, for example, tend to be looked-upon, in our society as "deviant" or "freakish" - not "real women" at all...

The point of the above is to illustrate **Lewontin's** argument, namely that **biological differences** are used to **justify cultural differences**. The fact that women **choose** not to develop a strong, muscular, physique owes more to **male and female socialisation** than to **biology**.

Be that as it may, it is evident that male socialisation does appear to give men a physical advantage over women. In the main, men in our society are generally stronger than their female counterparts and this "biological" advantage has been used as a source of power and domination over women.

One way in which males are able to exercise **power** over females (at least on an individual level) has been through **violence**. By taking advantage of:

- a. Their greater strength and
- b. The marginalization / rationalisation of male violence against women in terms of such things as "domestic trouble" or as the actions of a "small minority" of psychologically disturbed men,

males are able to **subordinate** women - to effectively force them to submit to a "lesser" social role.

While we should not underestimate the extent of male violence towards women in our society (or the misery, degradation, humiliation and physical damage it causes), we should **not overestimate** its **significance** as a **causal factor** in **gender inequalities** at an overall level of social relationships between males and females.

In this respect, we have to understand why **some** (but not all) males are violent towards some women (but not others) and to do this we have to dig a lot deeper into the **underlying factors** involved in male / female gender relationships.

However, **violence** on an **inter-personal level** (that is, **between individuals**) within the family group, for example, is clearly a **social problem** (not the least to those **women** – and, to a lesser extent, **men** - who are subjected to this violence) and, as such, is indicative of a "**darker side**" to family life.

You might, in this context, like to note that **Dobash and Dobash** ("Violence Against Wives", 1980) have provided a useful statistical breakdown of family-related and non-family-related interpersonal violence, summarised in the following table:

Offence	% of Offences
Family	
Wife assault	24.00
Alleged wife assault	1.00
Husband assault	0.40
Child assault	3.42
Parent assault	2.18
Sibling assault	1.56
	(32.70)
Non-Family	
Male against male	37.20
Male against female	9.08
Male against police	14.06
Female against female	4.42
Female against male	1.65
Female against police	0.90
	(67.31)

Note: The above relates to offences reported to selected police departments in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1974

As **Thompson** ("Sociology") suggests, the main **problems** with the idea that "**male biology**" (in terms of greater physical strength and so forth) is a **causal factor** in the subordination of women are:

1. **Male violence** is **not random** and **arbitrary**. On the contrary, it occurs within a **clearly definable social context** involving various **political** and **economic factors**.

Not all men, for example, are violent towards women, just as "psychologically disturbed" men are not the sole practitioners of such violence.

In addition, **female capacities for violence** are fairly well documented in our society. Violence on the scale practised by men is, of course, not in evidence and female violence towards males tends to take place after a long history of male violence. Just as men use violence to "**solve problems**", females are just as physically capable of using it to "solve problems". The fact remains, however, that male violence towards women within the family is fairly routine, whilst female violence tends to be a "last resort".

2. Male violence towards women occurs in a situation that already has relatively **clearly-defined relations of domination and subordination**. That **violence** towards women is a **manifestation** of **male domination** (or the attempt to **reassert domination**) does not detract from the fact that violence **does not bring** these relations into being in the first place.

In this respect, the conclusion here is that male violence towards women is **not** simply the **means** by which women are dominated by men. On the contrary, it seems to be an **effect**, rather than a **cause**, given the idea that men tend to use violence as a means of **asserting** – or attempting to **regain** - something they feel they should have (**respect, authority** and so forth) or which they feel they have (temporarily) lost.

Put into your own words the idea that violence is an effect, rather than a cause, of male domination.

If violence was the **cause** of male domination over women, it would be reasonable to expect that **all** male / female relationships would be based upon either actual or implied threats of violence (and this, it is evident, is **not** the case).

We might also note that **male-against-male** violence tends to be a feature of our society and, once again, it seems to occur against a background where **relations of domination and subordination** are **not resolved** in other ways.

Thus, although it is evident that male violence directed towards females is not uncommon in our society, the idea that a male's "greater physical strength" is a determining biological factor in terms of gendered role relationships (domestic labour and paid employment, for example) is a conceptual non-starter...

If we translate this type of argument into the **workplace**, one **justification** frequently advanced for the fact that there tends to be a **gendered separation of social roles** (that is, men and women do different types of work) is that **males, because** of their **greater physical strength and durability**, are "**more-suited**" to a work role.

Females, on the other hand, are seen to be "**more-suited**", biologically, to a **nurturing role**. Whilst this type of argument may have had some currency in the dim and distant past (although, on the basis of anthropological evidence this is open to doubt), in relation to **modern** forms of **industrial production and organisation** it is not a particularly useful argument for two main reasons:

Firstly, it **over-simplifies** the nature of domestic / paid employment. The former, for example, may involve long hours with few "rest periods". It also involves a significant element of **physical labour** (cleaning, cooking, shopping, child care etc) that is frequently **greater** than the physical effort involved in paid employment.

Secondly, if you think about the types of paid employment in our society that:

- a. Pay the **highest wages / salaries** and
- b. Involve the **highest levels of status and prestige**,

one thing is relatively clear. The **most valued** occupations in our society (in terms of the above) are normally those **that require little or no physical labour** (they involve **intellectual effort**). On this basis, there seems little doubt that women could perform these "**socially valued**" types of work as well or as badly as men.

Conversely, the types of **paid work** that require **high levels of physical effort** (building work, general labouring and the like) are usually those where the **rewards** (in terms of pay and status) are **lowest**.

While it is true that, in our society, **women** tend to be **excluded** from work that involves **physical labour**, it is also true that they tend to be "**excluded**" from work that involves **little or no physical strength**. By "**excluded**" I mean (as we will see in a moment) the **denial of access to the higher levels of non-manual work**, for example (that is, those types of occupational levels that confer the highest economic and social rewards).

Gender Inequality in the Workplace

Thus far we have looked at the way **power** and **ideology** are significant concepts in explaining inequalities relating to gender relationships within the **home**. What I want to do now, therefore, is to move the focus of attention from the home to the workplace, to see if we can:

- a. Identify areas of gender inequality.
- b. Explain the persistence of any gender inequalities we discover.

As you may have guessed, gender inequalities within the workplace are not difficult to find, even in a society such as our own that has laws governing such things as **Sexual Discrimination** and **Equal Pay**. In the following section, therefore, we are going to look at some of the **empirical evidence** available and to do this I've focused upon **three main areas of gender inequality** in relation to **paid employment**:

1. **Unequal levels of pay.**
2. **Unequal levels of status.**
(This is sometimes referred-to as "**horizontal segregation**").
3. **Unequal levels of representation.**
(This is sometimes referred-to as "**vertical segregation**").

Each of the above will be explained in a bit more detail as we deal with them in turn, starting with:

1. Pay inequalities:

As the following three graphs show:

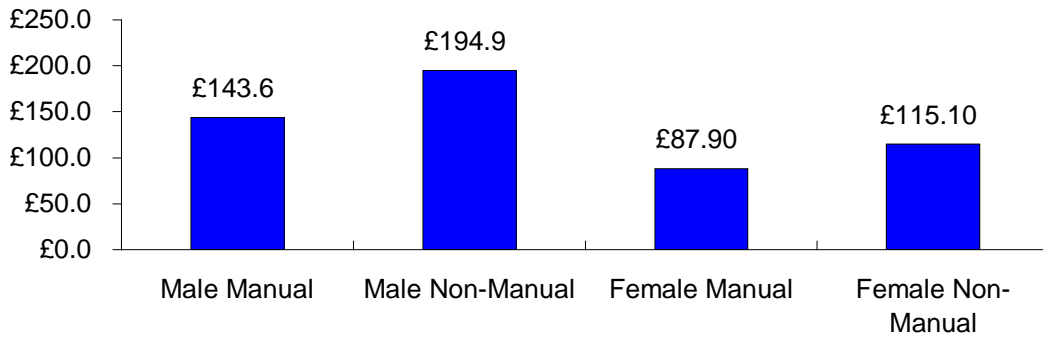
- a. There is a clear disparity between male and female average weekly earnings.

As might be expected, non-manual wage levels are significantly higher than manual wage levels. However, female non-manual average earnings are significantly less than male manual earnings.

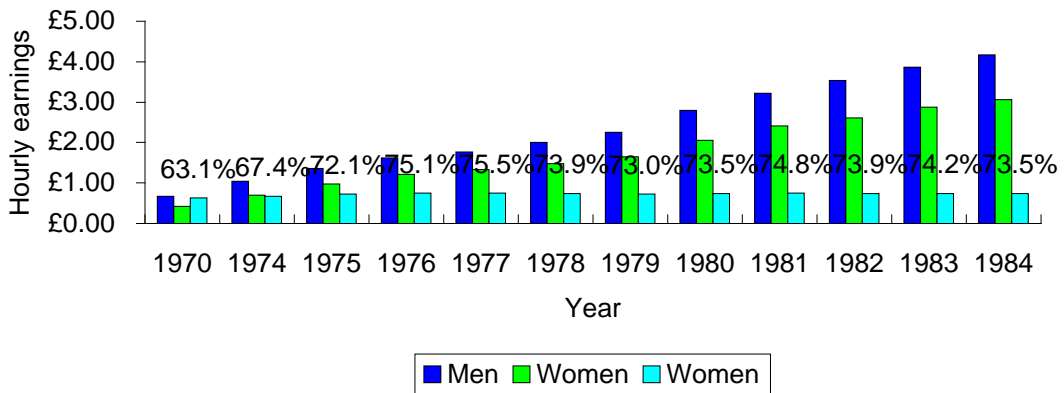
- b. In terms of overall average hourly rates of pay, females consistently earn less than males.

Considered over a 20 year period, for example, female earnings have been around one-third to three-quarters of male earnings.

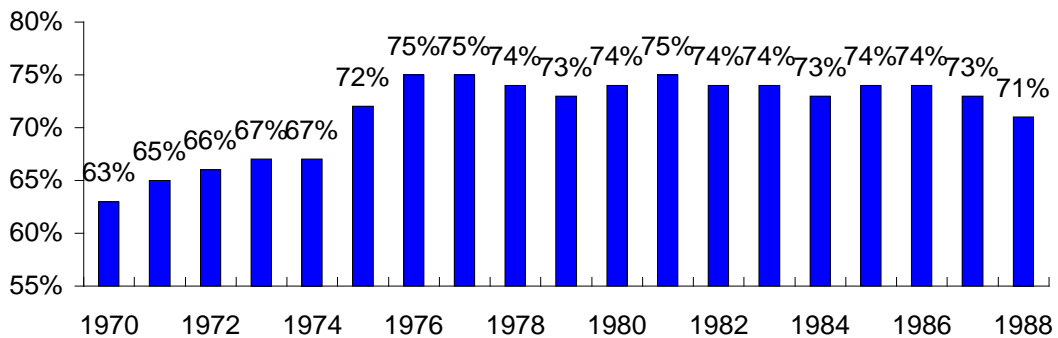
Male and Female Workers
(Average Weekly Earnings:1983)



Average Hourly Earnings



Hourly Female Earnings
(As % of Male earnings)

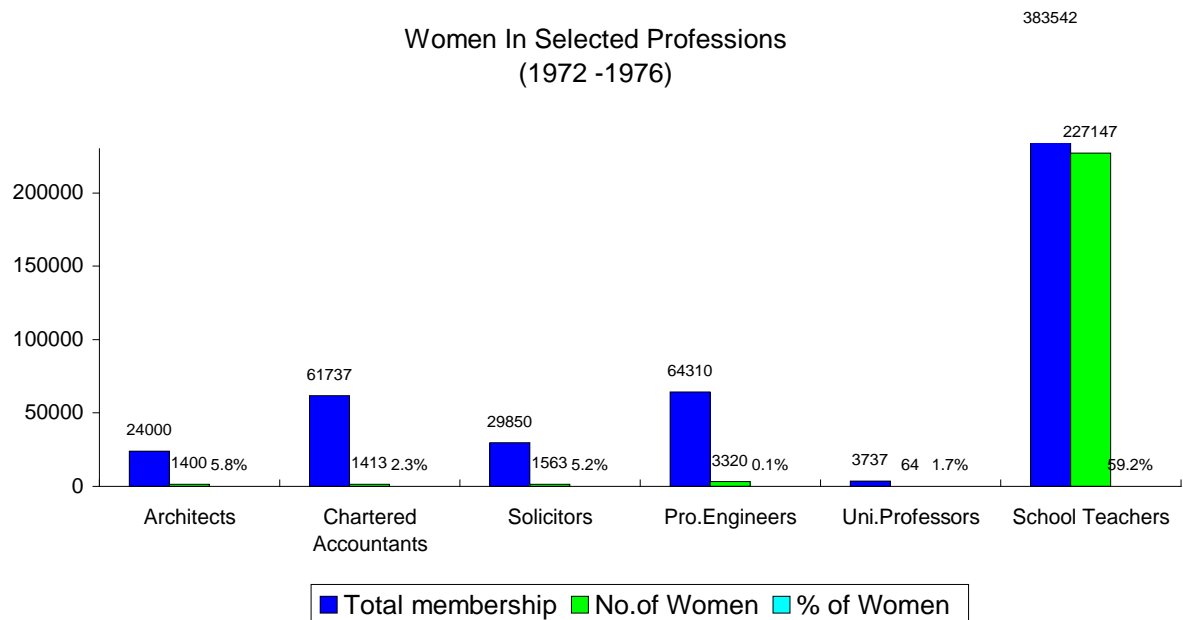


Question:
How might you account for the fact that:

- Non-manual workers earn more than manual workers?
- Females non-manual workers are paid less than male manual workers?

2. Unequal Status ("Horizontal Segregation"):

The following chart illustrates the idea that, in relation to professional employment, this area was - and remains - highly gendered. In all but one of the professions listed (teaching) female participation is fairly negligible.



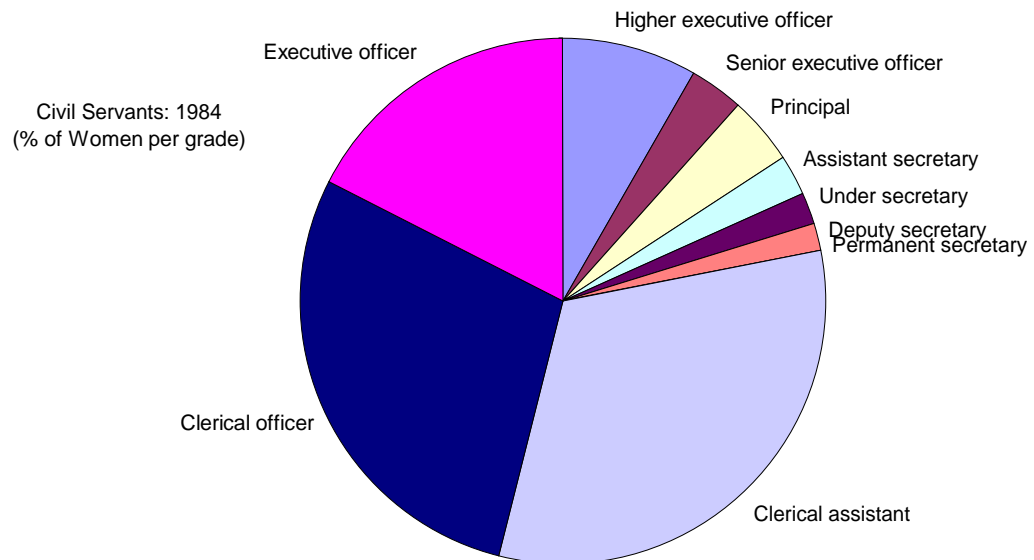
Since, as we have seen, professional employment tends to be the most highly-paid and prestigious type of employment, this has significant implications for women and their overall social status in our society.

In relation to a range of **manual / non-manual occupations** a number of points are evident:

1. Occupations are **highly gendered** in our society. That is, men and women seem to, by and large, do different types of work.
2. **Women's professional employment** tends to be concentrated in the so-called "**Caring Professions**" (those like education, welfare and health that involve dealing specifically with people, as opposed to finance, manufacturing and so forth).
3. Large numbers of woman find full-time employment in various **low-skill, repetitive, jobs** (assembly work, packaging and the like).
4. A significant number of women are **employed part-time** in various occupations
5. **Apart from clerical work** and the "**Caring Professions**", female **representation in non-manual work** varies between **10 - 30% of male representation**.

3. Unequal representation ("Vertical Segregation"):

The following chart illustrates the way that, **within various professions** (in this example, the **Civil Service**), female representation tends to be restricted to the lower occupational levels.



This is dramatically illustrated by the fact that, in 1984, three-quarters of **clerical assistants** (the **lowest entry grade** requiring the equivalent today of 2 - 3 GCSEs) were female, whilst **no Permanent Secretaries** (the **highest paid, highest status grade**) were female.

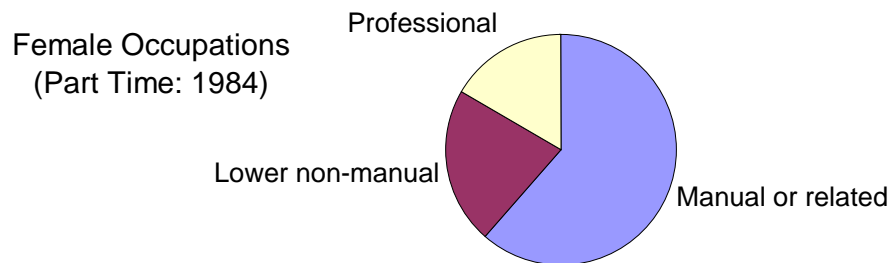
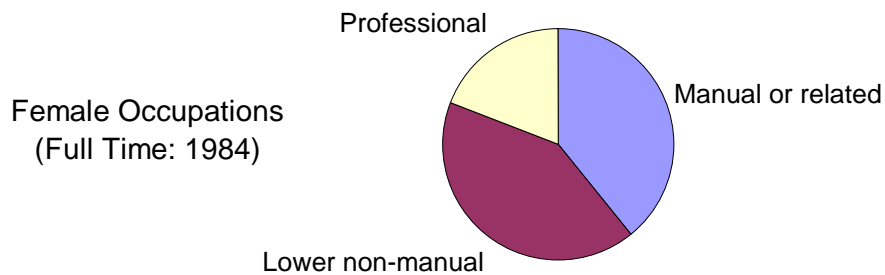
In **other professions**, the picture remains much the same (in **teaching** for example, **44% of all secondary school teachers** in 1980 were **female**, yet **99% of head teachers** were male).

In addition, **vertical occupational segregation** tends to occur in relation to with whom a person works. **Martin and Roberts** ("Women and Employment", 1984), for example, discovered that over 50% of the female respondents worked only with other women, whilst 81% of these women's husbands worked only with other men.

Finally, we can begin to suggest why female labour (on average) is generally less well paid and of a lower status than male labour by looking at the overall occupational picture. In this respect, we can identify a range of particularly gendered occupations (occupations in which 90% of the employees are of one gender).

Female	Male
Hand and Machine sewers	Miners
Nurses	Engineers
Maids, valets, etc.	Construction workers
Canteen assistants	Postal workers
Typists, secretaries.	Butchers
	Commercial travellers
	Armed Forces

The following charts also illustrate two important points:



1. Firstly, 80% of female full-time occupations are situated ant the middle / bottom of the occupational structure.

2. 60% of female part-time work involves manual labour of some description.

The above charts help to suggest why, on average, women receive **less pay** than their male counterparts, but they do not, of course, explain why:

- a. Women are generally under-represented in the higher occupational levels.
- b. Women, individually, tend to receive lower levels of financial remuneration than males.

To understand these ideas, we have to investigate further by going **behind** the **empirical data** to **theorise** the **reasons** for this general state of affairs. To do this, we can begin our analysis of various theoretical explanations by looking briefly at the concept of **sexual discrimination** in the workplace.

Sex Discrimination.

The idea that "gendered inequality" within the workplace has its origins in some form of sexual discrimination is a fairly common type of explanation (one that, for example, is relatively popular with **liberal feminists**). Before we consider its effectiveness as a form of explanation, however, we need to understand a little bit about the **background to anti-discrimination legislation in Britain...**

From January 1st **1976**, the **Sex Discrimination Act** made it **illegal** for one person to treat another less favourably on the grounds of sex in areas such as employment, education, training, housing, advertising and the like.

Under the Act, the **Equal Opportunities Commission** was established to oversee the working of this new law and the Commission's role was - and is - a dual one:

1. An **advisory** and **educative** role.
2. A **policing** role (insofar as it has the power to investigate possible breaches of the Act by employers and to instigate prosecutions should an employer fail to comply with the law).

In addition, individuals were also given the right to **sue** employers for discrimination at Industrial Tribunals.

The fact that Parliament (in this instance a **Labour government**) was moved to make discrimination on the basis of sex illegal is **indicative**, perhaps, of fairly **widespread sexual discrimination** (mainly, but not exclusively, in the workplace). However, the extent to which the **Act** has been **successful** in combating sexual discrimination in employment is open to question.

For **example**, between 1976 and 1978 (inclusive) only 643 cases were brought by individuals against their employer and, on average, less than 1 in 5 (or 20%) of the cases brought were successful.

Whether or not such figures are evidence of a lack of sexual discrimination in Britain is open to doubt, since it remains extremely difficult for an individual to prove discrimination against an employer. Where the burden of proof is placed on the complainant and not the defendant (an employer, for example, does not have to prove that they **did not discriminate** against an individual), there is an obvious **power imbalance** between the **resources** available to a **company** and those available to an **individual**.

While the Act does, like its **Race Relations counterpart**, appear to have been **successful** in removing **obvious discriminatory practices** (such as **advertising** jobs open to "males only") - cynics (of whom, in this instance, I am one) might argue that it has only stopped employers discriminating in ways where a breach of the Act cannot be easily denied - it would appear to have had **little or no real effect** on **discriminatory practices** in the workplace (there are, in any case, so many ways of avoiding responsibility under the Act - if an employer should so desire - that we have no reliable way of measuring its effectiveness).

The kind of empirical evidence at which we have just looked is probably evidence enough of discrimination against women in employment - and sexual discrimination in general appears to be fairly endemic in our society. However, the question we have to ask, here, is one of whether **sexual discrimination**, in itself, is a **cause** - or simply an **effect** - of **inequality** in the workplace.

As with explanations of gendered inequality based upon "physical differences" or "different skills and aptitudes" possessed by males and females, the main **problem** we have with the idea of sexual discrimination being considered a cause of overall workplace inequality is the fact that in order to do this we have to account for every individual's position in the workforce in terms of their individual abilities and experiences. In this sense, **individual "differences"** (whether they be biological, social or whatever) are seen to somehow **translate** into **group or class differences** that involve **gross over-simplifications** and **stereotypes** along the lines of:

"Women fail because they suffer sexual discrimination",

"Blacks fail because they are lazy and / or less intelligent than whites",

"Working class males fail because they are lazy and / or less intelligent than middle class males".

Seen in these terms, the kinds of "**structured inequality**" in the workplace that we have demonstrated empirically in relation to working women is somehow **reduced** to the sum total of hundreds of thousands (millions?) of people's **individual differences** which, if you think about it for a moment, is a quite mind-boggling concept. In this respect, a number of **problems** are clearly evident with this type of "explanation":

1. Firstly, it does not explain why it is women - and not men - who suffer discrimination.
2. Secondly, it does not explain why some - but not all - women suffer discrimination.
3. Thirdly, this form of "discrimination as a cause of workplace inequality" argument rests on the kind of complex "**conspiracy theory**" to which I referred above. In effect, "every powerful man" is somehow (individually) in control of an (economic) game where women are effectively excluded. Quite how men are supposed to understand the "rules" of such a game is not explained and neither does it take into account the fact that **economic production** takes place against a **clear organisational structure**. Simply to "discriminate against women as a (sex-) class" because they are women would **not make economic sense**. What is required here is a rather more convincing conceptualisation of the economic production process in our society (since, ultimately, it hardly matters to an employer who they employ to make profits - and, in any case, it would apparently make more sense to employ women willing to work for lower wages than men who are not).
4. Finally, it **represents gendered inequality** as a problem of "**attitude**". If "employer's attitudes" can be changed (by legislation?) then the problem will be resolved...

As I've suggested in point 3, **gendered inequality** is **not** simply a "**problem of attitude**" since, if it were, it would be relatively easy to resolve. On the contrary, the argument(s) we are about to explore illustrate that "**gendered attitudes**" are the **result** of a set of **economic "facts"** that relate to the **structure** of both economic production and the wider social world.

An **alternative** to this kind of "**individualistic**" / "**common sense**" explanation is the **sociological view** that, in effect, **reverses** the focus of our attention (moving away from the individual, as such, to look at the structure of the social relationships into which people enter in our society).

In this respect, we know a number of useful things about the **economic structure** of our society:

1. It can be broadly divided into **two main sectors**. One that involves high pay, high status jobs and the other which involves low pay, low status, jobs. This is an oversimplification, of course, but the basic idea is sound.
2. There is very **little individual mobility across** these **two sectors** (it is relatively rare, for example, for someone to "work their way up from the shop floor to senior management", road-sweepers do not suddenly decide to become solicitors, doctors or accountants and so forth).
3. Most employment in our society is created by **large Trans-National Corporations (TNC's)** - companies that have their headquarters in one country but which operate across a number of different countries - with clear management structures involving fairly **rigid recruitment and promotion policies**. **Vertical movement** within such companies is based on particular career histories involving such things as **class** and, of course, **academic, background**.

When we start to see the reality of the economic world, things start to take-on a rather different perspective, whereby we do **not** have to conceptualise "discrimination" in terms of thousands of separate (but powerful) men all somehow acting in unison across not just companies and industries but whole societies. On the contrary, it becomes a (far easier and more plausible) question of looking at two things:

- a. The structure of economic activity and the workplace in our society.
- b. The structure of various social group / class backgrounds and life histories.

Thus, we need to look at **gendered inequality** in terms **not** just of "the individual" in one or the other of these spheres (the "powerful and discriminatory male" in the former and the "powerless, victimised, female" in the latter), but in relation to the way in which the general characteristics of the two spheres work in combination. In effect, we have to ask **what social characteristics** do workers have to possess in order to fit into or qualify for employment in one or other of the main economic sectors?

Thus, it may be that if the social characteristics you possess are:

Youth,
No marital commitments and
A high level of education,

you will be able to fit more easily into the **first** of the sectors noted above.

On the other hand, if you are:

Young,
Married with young children for whom you have responsibility and
Only a relatively low level of education,

or you are:

Old and have
A low level of educational achievement,

you will **not** be able to fit into this first sector...

The **main point** to understand, for the moment, is **not** to deny that sexual discrimination takes place - it clearly does and the evidence (both empirical and in the form of women's employment experiences and testimonies) is compelling.

Rather, whilst sexual discrimination may well account for the fact that women working in similar occupations to men are denied similar levels of reward, - expressed by one senior (female) manager thus,

"Whilst I do not feel sexually harassed or overtly discriminated against in my work, I'm aware that, simply as a woman, I feel I have to work twice as hard as my male counterparts to achieve the same level of recognition and reward. This is a feeling shared by most of my female friends in the company for which I work - a company which, ironically perhaps, prides itself on its non-discriminatory employment policies",

- it cannot account for the fact that **work** in our society is itself **highly structured** and hence **"discriminatory"** (to both males and females who do not match the characteristics required).

"Discrimination" (in the widest sense), is therefore **not** so much a product of **individual relationships** in the workplace as the product of two related things:

1. The organisation of economic activity in any society.
2. The organisation of all other areas of people's lives (and, in the case of females especially, the organisation of family life).

In short, if we are to fully and **plausibly explain** gendered inequality in the workplace we have to understand how this relates to **women's overall social experiences** and **life histories** in **combination** with the **structure of economic activity** in our society, **rather** than in terms of **individual qualities** possessed or not possessed by males and females.

It's important to note here that this is not the whole story, of course, since it is evident that we have to eventually explain how people gain various social characteristics in the first place - but it's a big advance on rather simplistic "attitude conspiracy" theories...

Thus, whilst sexual discrimination may be practised by individuals, companies or even across whole industries, it is **difficult** to theorise how it could **persist** over a long period of time on an **ad hoc** basis. The point, here, is that for **sexual discrimination** to be **endemic** across a society (or, at the very least, in the workplace) there has to be some **underlying supportive structure** for discrimination - something that **rationalises** and **routinises** such practices.

On the above basis, it would seem that **sexual discrimination** should be considered an **effect**, rather than a **cause**, of workplace inequality and what we have to do next is to analyse **why gendered inequality** is **biased** against **women** rather than men.

Question:

Why is it difficult to support the idea that "sexual discrimination" is a cause, rather than an effect, of work-related inequality?

Summary

1. In our society, males are the socially dominant sex insofar as they occupy the most powerful economic and political positions.
2. In modern, industrialised, societies, differences in physical strength are not a cause of gendered inequality in the workplace.
3. Male violence against females represents an aspect of male domination. It is, however, an effect rather than a cause of gendered inequality.
4. Women in the workplace generally:
 - a. Earn less than men.
 - b. Are segregated into particular (lower status) forms of employment.
 - c. Occupy lower positions than men in any occupational hierarchy.
5. Sexual discrimination is a continuing feature of life in our society (despite legislation to prevent it). However, it is an effect, not a cause, of gendered inequality.
6. Women's inequality appears to be rooted in a "dual role" in relation to their primary role within the home and their secondary role in the workplace.
7. The relationship between the organisation of family life and the organisation of economic life is crucial to our understanding of gendered inequality.
8. Most female employment is concentrated in the "secondary" employment sector.
9. Females tend to have different life and work histories to males.
10. Women suffer workplace discrimination based upon various ideological myths about their various social roles and characteristics.

Examination Questions.

1. Critically evaluate the theory of a "dual labour market" as an explanation of gendered inequality in the workplace (25 marks).
2. What is meant by the idea of a "reserve army of labour"? (2 marks).
3. Briefly explain why women are more likely than men to be part of a "reserve army of labour" (5 marks).
4. How would you account for high rates of part-time work amongst women? (2 marks).
5. To what extent is it true that women are in a separate, segregated, labour market to men? (10 marks).