GENDER INEQUALITY REGIMES IN SCOTLAND: A STUDY OF SENIOR WOMEN MANAGERS

ISOBEL BRUCE MCDONALD

Department of Human Resource Management
The University of Strathclyde

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
15 June 2015

DECLARATION

This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.

Signed:

Date: 19 October 2012

ABSTRACT

Despite women's progress in the workplace over the last four decades, they remain under-represented in management, occupying only around a third of all management jobs. In addition, there are even fewer women on the higher rungs of the management career ladder, even though some women now do reach the top of organizations.

Much of the research that has examined women's under-representation has focused on developing frameworks with which to identify the elements in organizations that constitute barriers to women's progression, so that these in turn can be overcome. Although there has been an acknowledgement of the effect of systemic factors on women's progression in management, there is a lack of a framework with which to analyse them. The aim of this research is to address this gap by synthesising the business systems literature together existing gender based frameworks in order to provide a new and extended approach to the study of women in management.

This study was located in three sectors in Scotland, the Labour Movement, Local Government and Financial Services. A total of fifty-three interviews were carried out, comprising thirty-six senior women managers and seventeen background and elite interviews, making a total of fifty-three interviews.

The study found that business systems, like organizations exhibit patterns of institutionalised gender discrimination, which constitute that business system's gender inequality regime. The study also found that business systems institutions as well as shaping organizations are also engaged in a co-constitutive process with organizations and actors.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of people have helped with this research over the years and my thanks go to all of them. However, I am especially grateful to the following people:

Firstly, I would like to thank all the women managers who took part in this research and who gave of their time and life stories.

Thanks are also due to my supervisors, Professor Chris Warhurst for his advice and guidance during the earlier stages and Dr. Kirsty Newsome for taking over supervision in the latter stages. I am particularly grateful to Professor Dora Scholarios, for taking over supervision in the final stages and for her support and guidance during all of my studies. I would also like to thank the administrative staff at the University of Strathclyde, particularly Linda Brisbane, Pat McTaggart and Jean Nelson for their help over the years.

Finally, my thanks go to my friends, particularly Elaine and Mary, for all their support and to my father, Bob, mother Minnie and especially my grandmother, Isabella Bruce.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction and rationale

The Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s and 1970s, together with equality legislation such as the Sex Discrimination Act, 1975 seemed to open up new opportunities and new possibilities for women in the workplace. One particular prospect offered was that of building a management career and, potentially, climbing the organizational ladder, all the way to the top. However, while women have certainly made progress since 1975, they remain under-represented in management ranks. They may constitute 46.38% of the labour force (*Office of National Statistics (ONS),* 2011a), but they occupy only 32.05%[1] of all management posts (*ONS,* 2011a). As they climb the management ladder there are fewer and fewer of them and in FTSE100 companies, they comprise only 17.2% of senior executives and 5.5% of Executive Directors (Vinnicombe et al, 2010). Women managers also continue to experience a pay gap of 22.2%, higher than for women generally at 14.9% (*ONS*, 2011a).

Since the 1970s there has been a range of research into the under-representation of women in management. The earlier studies tended to focus on uncovering factors that constituted barriers to equality and these approaches fall into two broad categories: the 'gender-centered' approach (Horner, 1972; Riger and Galligan, 1980; and Terborg, 1977), which focuses on the individual, exploring possible biological and psychological differences between male and female managers and the ways in which they operate; and the situational or organizational structure approach (Kanter, 1977) which focuses on organizations and the barriers resulting from structural and situational factors within organizations themselves, such as career paths and performance standards. Early equal opportunities initiatives, in turn, often concentrated on developing policies and practices aimed at enabling these barriers to be overcome and included women in management training programmes and equality monitoring. Later research began to develop frameworks that could be used to analyse women's under-representation. These include Acker's

[1] Calculated from Labour Force Survey, Quarter 2, 2011

(2000, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2012) ‘inequality regimes’ and Connell’s (2002, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007) ‘gender regimes’. Both frameworks focus on aspects of the ways in which these regimes characterise organizations, and in doing so they uncover the practices and processes that lead to gender inequality.

The gender-centred and organizational structure approaches have been criticised by Fagenson (1990, 1993) for ignoring the social and institutional system in which both the women and the organizations are based, which she argues can be uncovered by the use of her ‘gender-organizational-system’ (GOS) approach, which focuses on the ways in which progress results from interaction between the individual, organization and social system. One example of systemic change and its effect on the numbers of women in the workplace was the Sex Discrimination Act, 1975, which made the marriage bar illegal, which in turn resulted in an increase in the numbers of married women in the workplace (Hakim, 1996, Walby, 1997). However much of the research that has been carried out using the GOS approach tends to be comparative international research (for example Adler and Izraeli, 1994) with a consequent gap in the literature in terms of within country research, comparing sectors of the economy. Although Acker (2006) has carried out sectoral research into women in banking in Sweden and Connell (2006a, 2006b, 2007) into gender equality in the public sector in New South Wales, Australia, again there is a lack of within country comparative sectoral research, which is addressed by this thesis.

Like Fagenson, both Acker and Connell also acknowledge the effect of systemic elements. However, there is a further gap in the literature in that there is a lack of a framework within the women in management literature with which to research systemic factors. Therefore a further focus of this thesis is the potential offered by the business systems literature (Whitley, 1992a) in identifying systemic factors that contribute to women’s under-representation in management. For example, Whitley (1992a) argues that institutions, such as the family, religious organizations, the education system, the political and legal systems and trade unions shape business systems. In doing so, they also impact on women’s lives. Business systems research has tended to be comparative at the level of the nation state or industrial sector and there is a gap in the literature in that this framework has not been applied to women in management. This gap is also addressed by this thesis, which posits

that by applying Whitley's theoretical framework to women in management and combining it with a gender inequality regime framework, based on Acker and Connell, a greater understanding of women's under-representation in management may emerge.

Scotland has been chosen as the country of analysis for a number of reasons. It is a country with its own legal and education systems and its own Presbyterian religious institutions. In addition, since 1997, it has had its own devolved Parliament. It is also a small country, with a population of only 5,222,100 (GROS, 2011), 80% of whom live in the country's 'Central Belt', which comprises only 10% of the land mass of Scotland, but where its industry and commerce is also concentrated (Scottish Government, 2009). Within Scotland, the research includes three case studies of Scotland's Labour Movement, Local Government and Financial Services sectors, all of which have a long history and importance in the country.

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the under-representation of women in management in three sectoral business systems in Scotland and, in doing so, to explore the influence of the institutional and organizational factors that constitute gender inequality regimes at the levels of the system and organization.

The research objectives are therefore to:

- Examine the context of women in management in three sectoral business systems in Scotland;
- Explore the ways in which institutional factors influence the under-representation of women in management:
    - within these three sectoral business systems
    - and within their organizational level;
- Explore the ways in which gender inequality regimes contribute to the under-representation of women in management
    - within these three sectoral business systems

- and within their organizational level;

- Make a contribution to the debates on gender inequality with particular reference to women in management.

1.2 The structure and organization of the thesis

This chapter sets out the background to the thesis, its rationale and structure. Chapters 2 and 3 constitute the literature review, with Chapter 2 examining the women in management literature, including the indicators of, and explanations for women's under-representation in management, as well as the ways in which women's management lives have been shaped historically by social, political and economic forces. Chapter 3 examines the business systems literature and framework, as well as institutions and neo-institutionalism, agency and structure, and path dependency, together with the issue of gender within the business systems literature including the gender composition of institutions.

Chapter 4 details the methodology for the research, including the research philosophy, research setting and sample, the research strategy and the research methods used for data collection and analysis. A total of fifty-three interviews were carried out in three business sectors, comprising thirty-six women managers, together with a further seventeen key informant interviews. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 comprise the three sectoral case studies of Scotland's labour movement, local government and financial services sectors. The results are presented thematically in each chapter. Chapter 8 draws together the themes of the findings and explores the ways in which they answer the research questions. Chapter 9 contains the conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter 2: Women in Management

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the literature on women in management. It begins by exploring the under-representation of women in management and in doing so examines four key elements: occupational segregation, the gender pay gap, marital status and parenthood. It then provides an historical perspective on women's under-representation including women's participation in the labour market, occupational segregation, the pay gap, marital status and motherhood, and considers how these have been shaped by social, political and economic forces over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It then goes on to explore the explanations for women's under-representation in management. It begins by considering the two perspectives which dominated women in management research in the twentieth century, the person or gender centred perspective and the situational or organizational structure perspective. Within the context of the organizational experiences of women in management, it then considers three further key organizational issues, gender neutrality, equal opportunities and managing diversity and culture. It then reviews a third perspective, the gender-organization system (GOS) perspective before considering the metaphor of the glass ceiling. It then goes on to examine two conceptual frameworks, the gender regime and the inequality regime that seek to analyse and explain women's under-representation in management. Finally it outlines a conceptual framework that encompasses the key elements of the person or gender centred perspective, organizational structure perspective, GOS perspective, gender regime and inequality regime that will be examined in the research.

2.2. Women in management

The Sex Discrimination Act, 1975 and the Equal Pay Act, 1970, came into effect thirty-seven years ago in the United Kingdom (UK). Since then women's position in the labour market has changed. In 1975 women constituted 36% of those in the

workplace (*Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC),* 1983). By 2011[2], this figure has risen to 46.38% (*Office of National Statistics (ONS),* 2011b). Although the number of women in management in Great Britain has also increased during this period, from 21% in 1971 (Hakim, 1996:155), women remain under-represented in this area, holding only 32.05%[3] of managerial jobs in the United Kingdom in 2011 (*ONS,* 2011b).

In addition, as women climb the management ranks there are fewer and fewer of them. In FTSE100 companies, they comprise only 17.2% of senior executives and 5.5% of Executive Directors (Vinnicombe et al, 2010). The number of women managers also varies between occupational groups, with women constituting 70.97% of Health and Social Services managers, but only 18.52% of Information and Communication Technology managers (*ONS*, 2010)[4] In addition, women managers working full-time experience a gender earnings gap of 24.4% (Perfect, 2011). They are also less likely than their male counterparts to be married and have dependent children (EOC, 2002)

These statistics highlight four key elements, occupational segregation, the gender pay gap, marital status and parenthood that are considered key indicators of inequality in management and they will be explored further in the following sections.

2.3 Occupational Segregation

Occupational segregation is defined as "the division of the labour market into predominately female and predominately male occupations" (Beechey, 1986:86). There are two forms of occupational segregation, vertical and horizontal (Hakim, 1979). Horizontal segregation "exists where men and women are most commonly working in different types of occupation", while vertical segregation "exists where men are working most commonly in higher grade occupations and women are most commonly working in lower grade occupations or vice versa" (Hakim, 1979:19, cited by Beechey, 1986:91).

[2] Calculated from Labour Force Survey, Quarter 2, 2011
[3] Calculated from Labour Force Survey, Quarter 2, 2011
[4] Calculated from Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings, 2010 Revised Results

Table 2.1 provides a comparison between the occupations of men and women in 2011 using the Standard Occupational Classification (*ONS*, 2012).

Table 2.1 Occupations of Men and Women using SOC2010

SOC 2010	Men	Women
1 Managers, Directors and Senior Officials	12.07%	6.07%
2 Professional Occupations	19.52%	20.44%
3 Associate Professional and Technical Occupations	14.72%	11.80%
4 Administrative and Secretarial Occupations	5.53%	19.63%
5 Skilled Trades Occupations	14.71%	1.57%
6 Caring, Leisure and Other Service Occupations	3.63%	15.80%
7 Sales and Customer Service Occupations	6.51%	11.88%
8 Process, Plant and Machine Operatives	10.67%	1.48%
9 Elementary Occupations	12.66%	11.33%
Total	100.00%	100.00%

Table 2.1 shows evidence of vertical segregation in that a smaller percentage of women hold management positions and a greater percentage of women rather than men are to be found in administrative and secretarial occupations and in caring, leisure and other service occupations. Evidence of horizontal segregation is evident after further analysis. For example the percentage of women in professional occupations shows that a total of 62% are either nursing, midwifery and therapy professionals (25%) or teaching and educational professionals (37%)[5]. In comparison 55% of men are engineering professionals (14%), IT and telecommunications professionals (23%), and teaching and education professionals (18%)[6] (*ONS*, 2012). Each of the two forms of occupational segregation will now be considered further in the following sections.

[5] Calculated from Table EMP16
[6] Calculated from Table EMP16

2.3.1 Horizontal occupational segregation

An analysis of the total figures for all people in employment in 2011 shows evidence of horizontal segregation in that 65%[7] of all women in employment can be found in the following professions: nursing, midwifery and therapy professionals; teaching and education professionals; administrative and secretarial occupations; childcare and related personal services; caring personal services; sales and customer service occupations; and cleaners and domestics (*ONS*, 2012). On the other hand, 52%[8] of men work as: managers, directors and senior officials; engineering professionals; IT and telecommunications professionals; teaching and education professionals; science, engineering and production technicians; skilled trades' occupations; and process, plant and machine operatives (*ONS*, 2012).

Horizontal segregation was also evident in 1975, when the UK's equality legislation came into effect. Then women constituted 63% of professional and related occupations in education, welfare and health, 71% of clerical and related occupations and 72% of catering, cleaning, hairdressing and other personal services (Beechey, 1986). Walby (1997:36), using an occupational orders classification, shows that, shortly after that, in 1981, 64% of women were to be found in three occupational orders: 30% in clerical and related; 21% in catering, cleaning hairdressing and other personal services; and 13% in professional and related in education, welfare and health.

When employment is analysed by occupation, horizontal segregation is also evident. Women make up 99% of personal assistants and other secretaries, 88% of nursing and midwifery professionals, 85% of housing officers, 84% of care workers and home carers, 81% of social workers, 71% of teaching and education professionals, 71% of waiters and waitresses, 68% of sales assistants and retail cashiers, 67% of catering and kitchen assistants and 66% of elementary cleaning occupations (*ONS*, 2012)[9]. Men make up 99% of large goods drivers, 98% of aircraft maintenance and related trades, 97% of electrical engineers, 95% of taxi and cab drivers, 91% of fire

[7] Calculated from Table EMP16
[8] Calculated from Table EMP16
[9] Calculated from Table EMP16

service officers, 90% of production managers and directors, 89% of quantity surveyors, 84% of architects, 78% of prison service officers, 77% of marketing and sales directors, 76% of police officers (sergeant and below), and 69% of health and safety officers (*ONS*, 2012)[10]. There is also horizontal occupational segregation in management as set out in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Percentage of women in each management category, Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings, 2010[11] (*ONS*, 2011a)

Management Category	**%**
Healthcare practice managers	84.62
Residential and day care managers	76.92
Social services managers	68.42
Hospital and health service managers	66.67
Office Managers	63.89
Human resource managers	61.06
Advertising and public relations managers	50.00
Restaurant and catering managers	47.92
Hotel and accommodation managers	45.83
Customer care managers	44.87
Managers in retail and wholesale	44.69
Property, housing and estate managers	37.36
Senior Officials in Local Government	36.36
Financial managers and chartered secretaries	36.18
Publicans and managers of licensed premises	34.48
Quality Assurance managers	31.43
Leisure and sports managers	30.56
Marketing and sales managers	28.73
Research and Development managers	28.26
Corporate Managers and senior officials	27.27
Purchasing managers	25.64
Storage and warehouse managers	20.79
Information and communication technology managers	18.52
Production, Works and Maintenance managers	16.63
Transport and Distribution managers	14.29
Managers in Construction	6.19

[10] Calculated from Table EMP16
[11] Calculated from Table 14.1a

2.3.2 Vertical occupational segregation

Since 1971 the numbers of all women in management has increased from 21 per cent in 1971 to 23 per cent in 1981, 28 per cent in 1990 (Hakim, 1996, p. 155), 33 per cent in 2001 (EOC, 2003), before falling back slightly to 32.05%[12] in 2011 (*ONS*, 2012b). At the level of Senior Manager and Director, statistics collated by the *EOC* (2002:5), as set out in Table 2.3, show the increases in women in those positions since data was first gathered in 1974.

Table 2.3 Percentage of women in senior management and director level posts
1974 -2001

	1974	1990	1995	2001
Director	0.6	1.6	3.0	9.6
Function Head	0.4	4.2	5.8	15.0
Department Head	2.1	7.2	9.7	19.0

Further research into women Directors in FTSE 100 companies shows that the number of women Directors has risen from 69 (5.8%) in 2000 to 121 (10.5%) in 2005 (Sealy et al, 2007) and 163 (15%) in 2012 (Sealy and Vinnicombe, 2012). During the same period the number of women Executive Directors rose from 11 (2%) in 2000 to 14 (3.4%) in 2005 (Sealy et al, 2007) and 20 (6.6%) in 2012 (Sealy and Vinnicombe, 2012), while the number of women Non-Executive Directors rose from 60 (9.1%) in 2000, to 107 (14.5% in 2005 (Sealy et al, 2007) and 143 (22.4%) in 2012 (Sealy and Vinnicombe, 2012). By 2012 there were still 11 companies without any female directors (Sealy and Vinnicombe, 2012), compared to 42 in 2000 (Sealy et al, 2007).

[12] Calculated from Labour Force Survey, Quarter 2, 2011

2.4 Pay

The pay gap is calculated, using average (mean) hourly earnings by comparing the percentage difference between the average female hourly earnings and average male hourly earnings (Hakim, 2004). The pay gap narrowed following the Equal Pay Act, 1970, showing the effect of the legislation. However as Walby (1997) points out, the major narrowing took place between 1970 and 1977, decreasing from 37% to 26%. In the following years to 2003, there was only a further narrowing of 8%, to 18% (Hakim, 2004), though since then the gap has narrowed further to 14.9% in 2011 (ONS, 2011a).

Although the UK government still publishes the pay gap based on average earnings, its preferred measure is now median earnings. As Perfect (2011) points out using median earnings generally produces a smaller pay gap and with this measure the pay gap in 2011 was 9.1% (ONS, 2011a) and was heralded as dropping below 10% for the first time. The pay gap for part-time women is much wider than that for full-time women, having narrowed by only 14% between 1970 and 2010 (Perfect, 2011). The resultant gap in 2010 was 34.5% based on average hourly earnings and 38.5% using median hourly earnings, an exception to the normal result of using median earnings (Perfect, 2011). Overall men continue to dominate in the higher paid occupations and women in the lower paid (Perfect, 2011).

However, Hakim (1996) argues that when looking at the pay differential weekly earnings provide a better comparison because of the greater hours worked. In 2000, using this measure women's earnings were 74% of men's, in 1975 they were 62% (*EOC*, 2001a), in 1970 they were 50% and in 1960 they were 51% (Hakim, 1996). This seems to show the effect of the UK's equal pay legislation. Using the UK government's preferred measure of median earnings, women's weekly earnings in 2011 were 82.5% of men's (ONS, 2011a).

For women in management the pay gap is greater than for women generally. Using the government's preferred measure of median hourly earnings the gap between male and female managers working full-time was 19.9% in 2011 (ONS, 2011a). Using median full-time gross weekly earnings it was 22.2% in 2011 (ONS, 2011a).

Using average full-time gross weekly earnings it was 22.7% in 2011, having decreased from 28.4% in 2001 (ONS, 2011a). The pay gap tends to be greater when gross weekly hours are used as men tend to work longer hours and receive overtime payments (Perfect, 2011). The pay gap also varies between different groups of managers in the UK as set out in Table 2.4

Table 2.4 Difference between full-time male and female gross mean weekly earnings 2010 (*ONS*, 2011)[13]

Category	Pay Gap %
Advertising and public relations managers	36.99
Corporate Managers And Senior Officials	33.76
Financial managers and chartered secretaries	33.30
Retail and wholesale managers	30.89
Pharmacy managers	29.58
Office managers	29.05
Hotel and accommodation managers	28.45
Property, housing and land managers	22.82
Social services managers	18.80
Personnel, training and industrial relations managers	18.20
Healthcare practice managers	16.37
Hospital and health service managers	16.22
Information and communication technology managers	15.38
Conference and exhibition managers	12.57
Senior officials in local government	7.04

[13] Calculated from Table 14.1a

2.5 Marital status and parenthood

A major change in the profile of women at work over the last forty years has been the increased participation of married women and women with dependent children. In 2010, the employment rate for women without dependent children[14] was 67.3%, while that for women with dependent children was 66.5% (Spence, 2011). In 2001 the employment rates were 65.4% for women with dependent children, compared to 72.2% for those without (Twomey, 2002). Married women's economic activity rates have increased from 42.3% in 1971, to 52% in 1980 (Beechey, 1986) to 75% in 2000 (EOC, 2001a). Married women in 2000 had a slightly higher economic activity rate than women generally (73%). They also had a higher economic activity rate than single women (69%) and separated, divorced or widowed women (67%). However, the percentage of married or cohabiting women who worked part-time was 46%, in contrast with 35% of single women and 40% of separated, divorced or widowed women (EOC, 2001a).

While many women in the post-war period continued to work after marriage, many stopped work on having their first child (Hakim, 1996). Since the 1970s, this too has been changing. One reason is the Sex Discrimination Act, 1975, which gave women certain rights to maternity leave and to return to work after pregnancy. However, a crucial factor in a mother's decision to take up employment has always been the age of her youngest child (Beechey, 1986). While the economic activity rates for women with dependent children increased from 49% in 1973 to 65% in 1994 (Walby, 1997), within this group, the highest increase has been in those with pre-school age children. In 1994, if the youngest child was under 5, the rate was 58%, up from 27% in 1973; if the youngest child was aged 5-9, the rate was 69%, up from 63% in 1973; if the youngest child was 10 or over, the rate was 79%, up from 68% in 1973 (Walby, 1997). The rate for women with no dependent children in the same period was 77%, up from 71% in 1973 (Walby, 1997). So, women whose youngest child is 10 or over are as likely to be economically active as those without children (Walby, 1997). The growth in the employment of women with pre-school children can be attributed to the increased participation by women in further and higher education.

[14] Children under the age of 16 or 16-18 who have never married and are in full-time education

This group are increasingly likely to return to work full-time after pregnancy. The growth of part-time work has also been a factor and women with children are more likely to work part-time than those with no children (Walby, 1997). In 2000, 65% of women with children aged 10 and under worked part-time, compared to 49% with children aged 11 and over and 43% of women overall (*EOC*, 2001a).

The marital status of women with children is also a factor in determining their economic activity. In 2011 the employment rate for married and cohabiting women with children was 70.9%, more or less unchanged since 2000, but up from 66.7% in 1996 (ONS, 2011a). For lone parents the rate was 57.3%, having increased from 50.7% in 2000 and 43.8% in 1996 (ONS, 2011a). For women with no dependent children, the employment rate is 65.4%, virtually unchanged since 1996 (ONS, 2011a). In 2000, the percentages of those who were employees and worked part-time were: married and cohabiting mothers 60%; lone parents 57%; compared to only 31% of those without dependent children (*EOC*, 2001a). The UK has lower numbers of working lone parents than similar groups in the EU (EUROSTAT, 1993, cited by Walby, 1997). This is attributed to the poverty levels of lone parent families, the benefits trap and lack of childcare facilities (Walby, 1997).

Women are subject to conflicting messages about whether or not they are harming their children by working, as can be found when examining news headlines. Some recent examples of these included “Working mums ‘harm child’s progress’ (BBC, 2003); “Working mothers’ children unfit” (BBC, 2009); and “Working mothers spend just 81 minutes each day looking after their children - including mealtimes” (Telegraph, 2011a). However an analysis by McMunn et al (2001:423) of the 1997 Health Study for England found that the negative effects on the well-being of the children of lone mothers was a result of socio-economic factors and disappeared when “benefits receipt, housing tenure and maternal education were taken into account”, sparking headlines including “New mothers told it’s better to go back to work” (Telegraph, 2011b); and “Working mothers do no harm to their children” (Guardian, 2011).

2.6 An historical perspective

As set out in Section 2.2, the number of women in the workplace, including women in management has increased over the past forty years. However when the statistics are examined over a much longer period the picture is more complex. This section therefore begins by examining women's economic activity rates over the last one hundred and sixty years and those of women in management over the last one hundred and ten years. It then goes on to explore the historical landscape of women's work and in doing so it presents historical examples of the four key indicators of gender inequality, occupational segregation, the gender pay gap, marital status and parenthood.

2.6.1 Economic activity rates

Statistics are often well documented though, of course, they need to be used with caution. The raw data is often gathered for a range of different purposes and can use different measures, so it is not always precisely the same factors that are compared. Hakim (1996:62) demonstrates this quite vividly in her examination of economic activity rates using censuses and Labour Force Surveys. In 1901 and 1911 the definition of an economically active 'adult' woman is one aged 10 and over, in 1931 it is one aged 14 and over and from 1981, it is one aged 16 and over. This could be considered a weakness in the comparison. However, in this case, the longitudinal nature of Hakim's analysis means that with care it is possible, from the statistics, to discern the changing shape of women's economic activity and that of women in management. On the surface, an examination of economic activity rates shows a convergence in the rates of women and men at the beginning of the twenty-first century. However, while the totals may be converging, there are inherent differences in the general patterns of men's and women's work. While women's economic activity rates were rising until 2001, men's rates were, and still are, falling. Over the past one hundred and sixty years women's rates have ebbed and flowed, but men's rates remained static for most of this period, starting to decline only in the past thirty to forty years.

Table 2.5 Economic Activity Rates 1851-2011[15]

Year	Women	Men
2011	70.9%	82.9%[16]
2001	72.6%	84.5%[17]
1991	71.7%	88.3%
1981	64.8%	91.3%
1971	58.8%	95.2%[18]
1961	47%	95%[19]
1951	43%	96%
1931	38%	96%
1921	38%	94%
1911	38%	96%
1901	38%	96%
1891	32%	94%
1881	32%	95%
1871	42%	100%
1861	43%	99%
1851	42%	98%

As can be seen women's economic activity rate in 1851 stood at 42% (for women aged twenty and over) compared to 98% for men in the same age group (Hakim, 1996:62). However, it is generally accepted that the 1851 census under-recorded the number of working women, particularly married women (Horrell and Humphries, 1998), although it did show that 25% had an 'extraneous occupation' (Beechey, 1986).

[15] People of working age is calculated by ONS as: 2011, age 16-64 for men and women; remaining years 16-64 for men and 16-59 for women.
[16] (ONS, 2012)
[17] (ONS, 2001)
[18] Figures for 1971 to 1991 (Lindsay and Doyle, 2003)
[19] Figures from 1851 to 1961 (Hakim, 2004:60)

By 1881, the economic activity rate for women (aged twenty and over) had fallen to 32% (Hakim, 1996:62). However, this decrease was not reflected in the overall numbers of women in work, which had increased by 37% since 1851, with the working population overall increasing by 36% (Mitchell, 1962). The decrease in women's economic activity rate was attributed to the decrease in the numbers of married women in the workplace, which is attributed to the growth in the desire for 'respectability' in the upper reaches of the working-class and one aspect of 'respectability' meant having a non-working wife (Hakim, 1996). At the same time, trades unions were becoming organized and were arguing for the 'breadwinner's wage', which could enable a husband to support his non-waged wife and children. This was also seen as a protection against the use of women and children as an alternative source of cheaper labour (Hill, 1998). This 'respectability' was institutionalised in part by the marriage bar, which meant women could legally be dismissed from employment on marriage. The marriage bar reflected the social norms and values of the times, and had the support of employers and trade unions. It applied mainly to white-collar jobs (Hakim, 1996). The increase in the numbers of married women in the workplace since 1951 can be attributed in part to the lifting of the marriage bar (Hakim, 1996, Walby, 1997), which was formally made illegal with the enactment of the UK's 1970s equalities legislation.

From 1881 until the beginning of the post-war period, women's economic activity rates remained relatively stable at around a third of the female population (excepting World War Two). The rates then increased to 43% in 1951, 47% in 1961, 57% in 1971, 64% in 1981, 71% in 1991(Hakim, 1996) and 72.6% in 2001, (*ONS,* 2001). While this appears to indicate a major change in women's work, and certainly more women of working age are now to be found in paid employment, during the last fifty years the proportion of women who worked full-time remained relatively unchanged at between 30% and 38% (Hakim, 1996). Women's full-time employment only increased by 3% between 1971 and 1995 (Walby, 1997). In fact, Hakim (1996) points out that since 1851, the proportion of women working full-time has remained within the 30-40% range and argues that all the increase in employment since 1951 has been in the form of part-time work, from 0.8million jobs in 1951 to 5.1 million in 1995, with the result that now almost as many women work part-time as full-time (Walby, 1997). Certainly the latest statistics show that 56.8% of women in

employment work full-time and 43.2% work part-time (*ONS*, 2012). In 1951 the part-time figure was 11%, rising to 25% in 1961, 38% in 1971, 39% in 1981, 44% in 1991 (Hakim, 2004:64) and 44.46% in 2001[20] (*ONS*, 2001).

From 1851 until 1971, men's economic activity rates were relatively stable and stood at over 94% (Hakim, 1996). Since then they have declined, as can be seen in Table 2.5. The decline has been particularly marked in the over fifty and under twenty-four age groups (Walby, 1997). This decline can be related to the decline of manufacturing in the United Kingdom, just as much of the recent increase in part-time work for women can be attributed to the growth of the service sector and the deregulation of the labour market. However, there has been an increase in part-time working for men in employment over the last sixty years, from less than 0.5% in 1951 to 8% in 1995 (Hakim, 1996) and 12.92% in 2011[21] (*ONS*, 2012)

As with women's economic activity rates, the picture of women in management in the 20th century is also more complex. As can be seen in Table 2.6, the number of women in management in 1911 was 20%, broadly similar to the 21% of women in management in 1971 (Hakim, 1996:155). However, the numbers declined in the inter-war period, rising again after the Second World War. In addition, the figure has fallen slightly in 2011.

Women in management are not just a 20th and 21st century phenomenon. There is a long tradition of women managing "business or people" (Kwolek-Folland, 1998:73). In the pre-industrial 'family economy' (Tilly and Scott, 1978, cited by Erickson, 1992), rural wives of tenant farmers managed not only the household, but aspects of agricultural work such as the dairy, milking, butter and cheese-making, often disposing of any surplus through trade or commerce (Miles, 1988). Their urban counterparts often worked in their husband's business and if a widow ran that business (Rendall, 1990). By the nineteenth century women could be found running businesses such as lodging houses and shops, often with their husbands, but also alone, when single or widowed (Murray, 1984). By 1911 women constituted 19% of

[20] Calculated from Table B1
[21] Calculated from Table B1

employers and proprietors and, as can be seen from Table 2.6, 20% of managers and administrators and higher professionals (Hakim, 1979).

Table 2.6: Percentage of women in management

Year	Percentage
1911	20%[22]
1921	17%
1931	13%
1951	15%
1961	16%
1971	21%[23]
1981	23%
1990	28%
2001	33%[24]
2011	32.6%[25]

Torrington and Hall (1991:461) point out that originally management positions came "as part of the right of ownership, the favour of the owner or the natural entitlement of those in a particular social position". This is likely to be true for women in management until the second half of the 20th century. For example, as organizations grew during the late 19th and early 20th century, one organizational role for middle-class women was that of welfare supervisor, the so-called 'acolytes of benevolence' (Torrington, 1989). The numbers of these welfare supervisors grew, up to and including World War One, so that by 1918 it was estimated that there were 1000 (Niven, 1967, cited by Woollacott, 1994). The welfare supervisors were the forerunners of today's HR managers, involved in "hiring, firing and factory floor supervision with extra duties of health, safety and moral supervision" (Woollacott, 1994:33). A parallel development was that of women factory inspectors introduced

[22] 1911-1961 (Hakim, 1979:28)
[23] 1971-1990 (Hakim, 1996:155)
[24] (EOC, 2003)
[25] (ONS, 2011)

in 1893 (Oldenziel, 2000). Both offered careers to middle class women particularly those concerned with the experience of working women. During the First World War their numbers grew as increasing numbers of women entered the workplace, particularly the munitions factories. The women recruited as welfare supervisors came from a variety of backgrounds including social work, academia and health care, with a few viewing it as a 'patriotic' duty.

The end of the war saw a diminution in opportunities for women and a return of women to the home. For example the Women's Factory Inspectorate was merged with the men's in 1921, which reduced the possibility of this as a career for women. The overall numbers of women in management also declined in the inter-war period, from 20% in 1911 to 17% in 1921 and to 13% in 1931 (Hakim 1979:28). The re-patterning of occupational segregation was one reason, another being the economic depression of the 1920s and 1930s. As a reaction to this the marriage bar was reinforced and even introduced by some organizations such as the BBC. There was also hostility to working women, even though 33% of working women had to support themselves.

It was not until the 1950s that the numbers of women in management began to increase again to 15% in 1951, 16% in 1961 (Hakim, 1979:28), 21% in 1971, 23% in 1981, 28% in 1990 (Hakim, 1996:155) and 33% in 2001 (EOC, 2003), before falling slightly to 32.6% in 2011(ONS, 2011b).

2.6.2 Occupational Segregation

As has been demonstrated in Section 2.3, when women find themselves in the workplace, they are likely to find the jobs they hold are occupationally segregated. However, occupational segregation is not just a post-war phenomenon. In 1851 80% of women worked in just three sectors, domestic service (40%), textiles (23%) and clothes production (17%) (Mitchell, 1962). In 1891, 52% of all working women were employed in just two occupations, domestic service and dressmaking and sewing (Hakim, 1996). Then, 75% of men worked in what Hakim (1996) terms 'male' occupations and 84% of women in 'female' occupations. By 1911, 70% of women in England were employed in only three trades: 35% were in domestic service; 19.5%

in textile working and 15.6% in dressmaking (Pinchbeck, 1969 and Hutchins, 1915, cited by Scott and Tilly, 1982). Then, just as now, not all women were in culturally prescribed roles, for example, women could be found in mining, although not underground, an occupation, which, in the second half of the twentieth century, would be seen as a 'male' industry.

Nor is occupational gender segregation merely a product of the Industrial Revolution. It can be found in pre-industrial society. The history of this time shows that women tended to work in family units with their husband or father at the head (Beechey, 1986; Leonard and Speakman, 1986). In this context, work for generations of women, was what Miles (1988:187) has termed "one indivisible whole of husband, home and family". Here women "tended their children, milked their cattle, tilled their fields, washed, baked, cleaned and sewed, healed the sick, sat by the dying and laid out the dead." (Miles, 1988:150). Within this 'domestic industry' (Clark, 1992) or 'family economy' (Tilly and Scott, 1978, cited by Erickson, 1992), there was occupational segregation, as in the fields only men used the plough and the scythe (Erickson, 1992). When this 'family economy' gave way to 'family industry' (Clark, 1992) or 'family wage economy' (Tilly and Scott, 1978, cited by Erickson, 1992), spinning was carried out by women, while weaving was carried out by men (Hall, 1982). When this 'family wage economy' was replaced by 'capitalistic industry' (Clark, 1992) or 'family consumer economy' (Tilly and Scott, 1978, cited by Erickson, 1992), spinning, now carried out in factories, became a male occupation, while weaving became a female occupation (Hall, 1982). It has been argued (Pinchbeck, 1981, cited by Hall, 1982) that the increased strength required to operate the 'mule' spinning machines in the factories made it a job suited to a man and not a woman. The same argument could be applied to the plough and scythe. However, as Hall (1982) points out 'strength' is not just a matter of biology, but is also one of social construction and of women's subordination. As spinning developed the male 'mule' spinner took on the role of supervisor, often over his female relatives, and this it is argued established spinning as a male occupation, an important job (Lazonick, 1976, cited by Hall, 1982), which was reinforced by the legal patriarchy of the time.

Although occupational segregation has declined somewhat since 1975, it remains a persistent feature of women's working lives and has a long history. As new

industries have developed and older industries disappeared, it could be argued that occupational segregation has adjusted to fit the new economic circumstances. In addition, Novarra (1980, cited by Alvesson and Due Billing, 1997) contends that over the centuries most societies have culturally prescribed men's and women's work and argues that women's work has traditionally been concerned with activities concerned with the survival of human life, while men's has been concerned with providing in order to sustain it. Women's roles therefore include "to bear children; to feed them and other members of the family; to clothe people; to care for the small, the sick, the elderly and the disabled; to be responsible for the education of children; and to take care of the home (including making products of use to the home)" (Alvesson and Due Billing, 1997:54). When occupation segregation is examined over the last one hundred and sixty years, it is clear that large numbers of women have been and still can be found in occupations which are in line with these culturally prescribed roles.

2.6.3 'A suitable job for a woman' (manager)

When the Agricultural Revolution transformed the landscape, albeit over a fairly lengthy period and agriculture became increasingly commercialized, the working lives of the wives of tenant farmers were also changed. Until that time they would have assisted their husbands in the running of the farms and might also have run businesses of their own, such as cheese making (Miles, 1988; Rendall, 1990; Vickery, 1998). However after the Agricultural revolution these women tended to withdraw from this work (Pinchbeck, 1981, cited by Rendall, 1990). This has been attributed to a number of factors: increased wealth encouraged gentrification (Rendall, 1990); cheesemaking, a major source of income for farmers' wives became industrialized; and social attitudes about appropriate female behaviour that made it increasingly difficult for women to be seen to manage large groups of men and so manage farms, which made it almost impossible for the widows of tenant farmers to continue to run the family farm (Davidoff and Hall, 1998).

In urban areas women, too, had been involved in business for generations, as part of the family economy, often running these businesses in the absence of male relatives. However, the early decades of the nineteenth century saw the growth of

the middle-class and with it the desire to establish its identity, part of which resulted in the separation of home and work for middle-class women, based on religious and moral principles (Rendall, 1990). This was to have a profound influence on that era's 'women in management'. There came an emphasis on 'appropriate' female behaviour, 'suitable' occupations and a view that women should be economically dependent on their male relatives (Davidoff and Hall, 1998). However, in addition to working in the family enterprise, women had also supported that enterprise in a number of ways: by contributing capital; through their own skills, knowledge and contacts; in maintaining kinship relationships; and through reproduction, providing the enterprise with its future personnel (Davidoff and Hall, 1998). While they continued to do this, what became clear was that as enterprises grew and became more profitable, the women of the family withdrew from any formal role in the business (Davidoff and Hall, 1998; Rendall, 1990). This process was often aided by the physical separation of home and work, whereby as income grew, business families moved to larger properties in more prosperous areas, reflecting their status (Hall, 1982). Excluded from civic and political life, many of these women became actively involved in particular forms of public life, including good works, church and voluntary organizations (Vickery, 1998).

This withdrawal from the formal business arena was only possible for sections of the middle-class. In smaller businesses, women continued to assist their husbands, although societal pressures might mean that their work would be hidden (Davidoff and Hall, 1998). For women without husbands or fathers to support them, work was inevitable. However, they were also constrained by notions of what constituted 'suitable' employment for women, which usually was an extension of women's role in the home. So women became, for example, teachers, dressmakers, milliners, village shopkeepers and ran lodging houses. In addition, these businesses were only expected to provide them with enough to support themselves and their families and usually ended when they retired (Davidoff and Hall, 1998). However, even if women had wanted to become entrepreneurs with bigger, more successful businesses, they were prevented from doing so because they were largely excluded from formal scientific and technical education and training and from the established business networks of the time (Davidoff and Hall, 1998).

The debate around the concept of 'suitable' work for women was not just confined to the middle class, but was also reflected in that class' attitude to the working class, particularly to the working conditions of women and children. The social reformers of the middle class were also concerned about the participation in the workplace of married women, particularly those with children. This is not surprising, given their attitudes on the role of motherhood. However, most working class mothers had always worked, which raised little comment within the family economy, when work was often undertaken in the home. It was only with the separation of home and work in the early 19th century that this became an issue (Rendall, 1990). This debate about working mothers is evident today (Harvey, 1999; McMunn et al, 2010)

It is also important to point out that not all women accepted their prescribed role in the nineteenth century, particularly those middle-class women who had been involved in the anti-slavery and social reform movements. Many of these women became involved in 'first wave' feminism, campaigning, alongside their male supporters, for improvements to the position of women such as the expansion of education, including admission to university from which women were barred until 1878 (Rendall, 1990), entry into the medical, accounting and banking professions from which women were also excluded. They also campaigned for changes to the law for married women's property rights, the right to divorce and of course the right to vote.

The first parliamentary debate on women's suffrage took place in 1867 and between 1870 and 1914 there were 28 bills which failed. Although women ratepayers were given the vote in local elections in 1869, and achieved subsequent limited voting rights dependent on age and circumstances, it was not until 1928 that women over 21 were able to vote in national elections, giving them parity with men.

2.6.4 An historical perspective on pay

As set out in Section 2.3, Hakim (1996) argues that when looking at the pay differential in the early twentieth and late nineteenth century, weekly earnings provide a better comparison because of the greater hours worked at that time. In

2012 the pay gap is 20.64%[26] (*ONS*, 2012a), in 2000 it was 26% and in 1975 it was 38% (*EOC*, 2001), while in 1970 it was 50% and in 1960 it was 49%, while in 1886 it was 48% (Hakim, 1996). In addition, the pay differential between men and women of between a half and a third goes back much further than the nineteenth century; it goes back seven centuries to medieval times (Erickson, 1982).

2.7 Explaining women's under-representation in management

Early research into women in management generally took one of two perspectives: the 'person-centered' or 'gender-centered' approach (Horner, 1972; Riger and Galligan, 1980; Terborg, 1977), which argues that it is the differences in the behaviour of male and female managers, whether through biology or socialization, which account for women's under-representation; or the situational or organizational structure approach (Kanter, 1977), which, in turn contends that the differences in behaviour between men and women should be analysed in terms of structural and situational factors within the organizations themselves, not in terms of gender differences. These two perspectives still dominate much of the research into women in management today.

2.7.1 The 'gender-centered' or 'person-centered' approach

Much of the very early research within this approach came from the United States, where by 1970 the proportion of women in management was 16%, compared to 15.6% in 1960 (Fagenson and Jackson, 1994:389). This had occurred despite the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII of which, made sex discrimination in employment illegal. These statistics prompted research into why there were still so few women in management (Powell, 2000). The research of this early period concentrated on "psychological variables that accounted for discrimination" (Calas and Smircich, 1996:223). The 'gender-centered' or 'person-centered' approach (Horner, 1972; Riger and Galligan, 1980; Terborg, 1977) emerged from this early work. It contends that gender diversity in management can be explained by the ways in which gender, both biological and as a result of socialization, influences the

[26] Based on gross weekly earnings for full-time employees

behaviours, attitudes, traits, skills and abilities of men and women (Parker and Fagenson, 1994).

Prior to the 1960s, male managers had been the norm in organizations. This resulted in the perception that men, not women, had the abilities, skills and qualities necessary for management positions. Management was viewed as 'masculine' (Schein, 1994) and so men, not women, were perceived to have the knowledge, skills and attitudes required to be managers (Parker and Fagenson, 1994). In the 1990s the reverse was argued, namely that the abilities, skills and qualities required by late twentieth and early twenty-first century managers such as nurturing, collaboration and concern for relationships meant that women, not men, were the more effective managers (Hegelson, 1990; Lunneborg, 1990, cited by Parker and Fagenson, 1994). A third 'complementary' gender-centred approach (Adler and Izraeli, 1988) argues that gender differences mean men and women are better suited to different managerial tasks. These three approaches suggest that there are gender differences and these mean: 'think manager, think male' (Schein, 1994); or 'think manager, think female'; or 'think manager, think male *and* female, though for different aspects of management'.

Early research using this 'gender-centered' perspective argued that there were indeed certain psychological variables which could explain gender differences in management. These included fear of success (Horner, 1969) and lack of risk-taking (Henning and Jardim, 1977). However Riger and Galligan (1980) contended that other studies which followed up Horner's research demonstrated other reasons for her findings, for example fear of success could be re-interpreted as fear of punishment for 'deviant' behaviour and they argued that greater caution was required when interpreting 'sex differences'. There have also been studies which show that there are few differences in the way men and women behave in managerial and leadership roles (Donnell and Hall, 1980, cited by Parker and Fagenson, 1994; Nieva and Gutek, 1981, cited by Izraeli and Adler, 1994; Powell, 1988, cited by Izraeli and Adler, 1994; Ragins, 1991, cited by Izraeli and Adler, 1994). In addition, sex differences have tended to show up in tests conducted in the laboratory, whereas field research has tended to produce little evidence for such differences (Fagenson, 1990; Riger and Galligan, 1980). Both settings are problematic. The laboratory may

make it easier to control for gender differences, but it may also create them (Riger and Galligan, 1980). In the field setting it may be difficult if not impossible to control for gender, hence no differences are detected (Riger and Galligan, 1980). Hence, Fagenson (1990) argues that, as a result, research using the gender-centered perspective can only produce tentative results.

However while it may be difficult to prove the causal effects of sex differences on behaviour, it is clear that societies do stereotype 'appropriate' masculine and feminine behaviours and traits. It is also clear that both men and women internalise sex stereotypes. Dipboye (1987:120) argues that this sex stereotyping is the "primary roadblock" to women's progress in management. Terborg (1977:650) identifies two types of stereotypes: "sex-characteristic stereotypes [which] refer to widely held beliefs concerning sex differences on various personality traits" and "sex role stereotypes [which] refer to widely held beliefs concerning appropriate male and female behavior". The latter would include boys being encouraged to play with trains and girls with dolls, while the former would include men being thought of as aggressive, competitive and strong, and women as passive, nurturing and caring. Dipboye (1987:121) contends that sex-characteristic stereotypes refer to how women 'are' and sex role stereotypes to how they 'should be' and he argues that they overlap in the sense that "what men and women *are* is the way they *should* be".[27]

Schein (1994) demonstrates the way sex stereotyping has been internalised by men and women and how this has changed over the past forty years. Her hypothesis that "successful middle-managers are perceived to possess those characteristics, attitudes and temperaments more commonly ascribed to men in general than to women in general" (Schein, 1973:99) was confirmed in the 1970s for both male and female managers. At the end of the 1980s when her work was replicated in the US by Brenner et al (1989), it was found that this 'think manager, think male' no longer held true for female managers. For them it was 'think manager, think male and female'. However male managers had not changed their view and in fact it had strengthened. Schein and Muller's (1989) research on business students in the US

[27] Emphasis in the original

confirmed Brenner et al's results, as did Dodge et al's (1995) research with male and female MBA students. Schein's research was further replicated globally amongst male and female management students in the UK (Schein and Muller, 1992; Schein and Davidson, 1993), in Germany (Schein and Muller, 1992) and in China and Japan (Schein et al, 1996). In all cases they found that male and female business students saw management as male and although there was some variation in the results for female students, they too gender typed management, unlike their US counterparts. It therefore seems difficult to disagree with Schein (1994:50) when she argues that "male sex typing of the managerial job is strong, consistent and pervasive and appears to be a global phenomenon among males". Nor when she contends that "[there is] a deeply held belief that managerial positions are 'for men only' or 'only men are really qualified' to do these jobs" (Schein, 2007:12).

2.7.2 The situational or organizational structure approach

The situational or organizational structure approach (Kanter, 1977; Riger and Galligan, 1980) argues that the differences in behaviour between men and women should be analysed in terms of structural and situational factors within the organizations themselves, not in terms of gender differences. Kanter (1977) contends that because the experiences of men and women in organizations are different, their behaviours in organizations are different.

Kanter (1977) argues that there are three critical variables within the work environment which can explain the status of women in management: job opportunity; power and its use; and the number of women at all levels in the organization. She contends that there are two categories of jobs within organizations, advantageous jobs and disadvantageous jobs. The former are predominately male and the latter predominately female. In other words, men predominate in jobs which offer opportunity in the form of assignments, development and promotion, the ability to exercise power and where their sex is in the majority. Women, on the other hand, predominate in jobs which offer limited opportunity and blocked career paths, little use of power and where their sex is in the majority.

From a review of the literature which has built up over the past thirty-five years using this perspective, certain themes emerge, which build on Kanter's analysis and can help to explain the progression of women in management: the ways in which organizational career paths 'filter' out women at various stages (Bartol, 1978); the importance of women performing to a higher standard than men, developing management styles which are acceptable to men, managing their careers by seeking out key organizational assignments and having a mentor (Ragins et al, 1998); the importance of networking (Ragins et al, 1998), but the difficulties in accessing social capital (Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2010; Timberlake, 2005) and the role of impression management (Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2010); the stereotyping of management jobs (Powell, 1993); prejudice towards female leaders based on role congruity (Eagly and Karau, 2002); the small numbers of women at higher levels remaining a barrier to the progression of women, but a critical mass of women at all levels proving an aid to the promotion of women to all levels (Cohen et al, 1998); and commitment to equal opportunities legislation and policies (Powell and Butterfield, 1994, cited by Powell, 2000).

2.7.2.1 Gender neutral or gender blind?

A further dimension to this perspective is provided by Izraeli and Adler (1994:11), who argue that the organizational structure approach assumes that organizations are “gender neutral”, whilst, in fact, organizations exhibit institutionalized patterns of gender discrimination. These patterns include occupational segregation, recruitment and selection patterns which support the status quo, presenteeism and sexual harassment. In addition, Izraeli and Adler (1994) contend that male managers have used their power to resist change in order to protect themselves from increased career competition from women and as a result senior executives have largely been able to exclude women from their ranks. Promotion to executive level is also more likely to be conducted on an ad hoc and unstructured basis, leaving it more open to bias and other discriminatory practices (Powell, 2000).

Further research has examined the relationship between emotion and power and has found that women and men are judged differently in organizations and as a result “gendered [emotion] display rules create emotional double standards and

double binds that restrict women's ability to develop power in their work relationships" (Ragins and Winkel, 2011:388-389). Women are also penalised for agentic behaviour which is valued by organizations, but women displaying it are perceived as lacking in social skills (Rudman and Glick, 2001) and hence are treated differently than men when applying for senior positions.

2.7.3 Equal opportunities and managing diversity

Equal opportunities policies and initiatives within organizations have not unnaturally tended to fall into one of two categories, person-centered or organization-centered. Under the person-centered approach the woman manager is encouraged to change her behaviour to become more confident, assertive and motivated. She can do this through education, women-only management training programmes and networking (Izraeli and Adler, 1994), thus increasing her human and social capital. Under the organization-centered approach the organization is encouraged to introduce and promote equal opportunities policies, for example in recruitment and selection, work design, flexible working, work-place nurseries, gender targeting, mainstreaming and discrimination awareness training. Whilst it can be argued that these equality initiatives may have had some success, a more detailed picture is provided by Hoque and Noon's (2004) analysis of the 1998 *Workplace Employee Relations Survey (WERS 98)* examining equal opportunities policies in the UK. They found that 64% of organizations stated they had a formal written EO policy, with 54% having a specific gender policy, yet only 37% of the latter collected statistics on women and men. The types of policies and the percentages of organizations with a gender policy offering them to non-management staff include: parental leave (46%); switching from full-time to part-time (60%); job-sharing (43%); workplace nursery (5%); and assistance with child-care costs (6%). However Hoque and Noon (2004) also found that 16% of organizations with a gender policy offered none of the EO practices and described these EO policies as 'empty shells'. The organizations more likely to have such empty shell policies were "smaller workplaces, private sector workplaces and workplaces without an HR or personnel specialist" (Hoque and Noon, 2004:481).

In addition, since the 1990s organizations have been advised to consider the business case for equality. This reflects the diversity management approach which has now tended to replace the social justice based equal opportunities approach (Kirton and Greene, 2010). This occurred in part due to the focus on the workforce as a source of competitive advantage as typified by the CIPD's (2011) view that "…people can make the difference between good and poor business performance. But everyone is different and unless employers take diversity seriously they will fail to recruit, retain and engage the commitment of the talent needed to sustain and improve business performance". However, Noon (2007) argues that the business case, with its individualistic focus and economic rationale, undermines the universal principal of equality, instead making it contingent on business needs.

This mixed picture is perhaps expected given that equality initiatives may well have encountered resistance of varying strengths, which is not surprising as they are often challenging the values, beliefs and attitudes of employees. They are after all, alongside the equalities legislation, attempts to change organizational culture, which will be explored in the next section.

2.7.4. Organizational culture

Organizational culture has been defined as "the pattern of basic assumptions that a given group has invented, discovered or developed in learning to cope with its problems of external adaption and internal integration, and that have worked well enough to be considered valid, and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to these problems" (Schein, 1984, cited by Legge, 1995). Schein identifies three levels of culture: artifacts and creations - the visible elements of culture, which include behaviour patterns, both word and deed, and company documents; values, which are not visible but can be discovered through interviews, questionnaires and analysis of company documents; and basic assumptions - which are invisible and preconscious (Schein, 1985, cited by Legge, 1995). Another definition of culture cited by Hofstede is similar to Schein's: "Culture consists in patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive

achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values" (Kluckhohn, 1951:865, cited by Hoftstede, 1984:21). These definitions suggest that deciphering and changing culture is not a simple process and they also suggest an embeddedness. Within organizations there have been some well publicised accounts of cultural change programmes, not in the area of equal opportunities, but designed to increase competitive advantage, e.g. BT, British Airways, Jaguar, the NHS (Legge, 1995) and these can provide insights into the reasons why equal opportunities initiatives have met resistance from both men and women and why such culture change may be so problematic.

Whether or not culture can be managed depends on whether it is something an organization 'has' or something an organization 'is' (Smircich, 1983). As something an organization 'has', it is a variable, which can be manipulated, while if it is something an organization 'is' then "it is questionable to what extent - or even whether- senior management can successfully manipulate or unilaterally change it" (Legge, 1995:186). Behaviour, based on values, stemming from basic assumptions (Schein, 1985) or mental programs (Hofstede, 1984), which is embedded, could be expected to meet resistance in the face of attempts to change it and there is evidence of this (Ogbonna and Wilkinson, 1990, Storey, 1992). Often the change is "directive" or "coercive" (Stace and Dunphy, 1988) and what changes is the first level of organizational culture. Although behaviour changes, attitudes and values do not, and the new culture meets resistance from sub-cultures within the organization. This is not to say that organizational cultures do not change, only that the pace of change is likely to be slow. Also, measurements of cultural change tend to concentrate on artifacts, not values or basic assumptions, which are more difficult to measure (Legge, 1995). This can give management the initial impression that culture change has been achieved when in fact change may only have taken place at this first level and may not have penetrated much further. While organizations often invest heavily in culture change programmes, equal opportunities policies and initiatives are unlikely to be integrated with an organization's business strategy. In fact, line managers can view equal opportunities as "being in direct competition with their attainment of strategic goals", there is little senior management support and the

funding is “minute” (Hammond and Holton, 1994:238-239). The success of equal opportunities also tends to be measured statistically, at the artifacts level, and there is little evidence of attempts to measure changing values.

An additional factor is that culture is often assumed to be "something that enters the organization by way of its members or as something that is generated within the organization", not as something external to the organization, in which its culture is embedded (Mills, 1992:99). Taking the example of sex stereotyping, this is something male managers do within organizations, something men (and women) do in society and bring with them into organizations and it is also something shaped and reinforced by institutions in society such as the educational system and religious organizations. In research using the organizational structure approach, little consideration is given to factors outwith the organization or to the interaction between the organization and the individual (Fagenson, 1990). This, then, is a key limitation of the organizational structure approach and also of the person-centered approach, which may be overcome by the gender-organization-system approach that will be discussed further in the next section.

2.7.5 The gender-organization-system (GOS) approach

Fagenson (1990:271) argues that the gender-organization-system approach "suggests that women's behaviour and limited corporate progress in organizations can be due to their gender, the organizational context and/or the larger social and institutional system in which they function”. The GOS approach considers two additional factors: "(a) an individual and his or her organization cannot be understood separate from the society (culture) in which he or she works, and (b) when the individual, the organization, or the system in which they are embedded changes, the other components change as well" (Fagenson, 1993:6). Parker and Fagenson (1994:19) contend that this “more systems-oriented view of organizations…views the status of men and women in organizations simultaneous with the organizational and societal context from which those status differentials or equalities emerged". They go on to propose (1994:19) that “rather than arguing that women are better than men or men are better than women…or that organizations particularly need to change…the GOS approach suggests that people,

organizations, roles and societies all change simultaneously in response to environmental shifts, albeit at different paces". As a result “progress occurs not as the result of singular action but, rather because of interaction among social forces, including political and legal activity, societal beliefs and values, and organizational and individual action” (Parker and Fagenson, 1994:19-20). Fagenson (1990:271) cites Martin et al (1983) and Terborg (1981) to argue that the GOS approach assumes that the individual both changes and is changed by situations and social systems, which is redolent of the agency/structure debate, which in turn will be examined in Chapter 3.

This interactionist process is evident in the historical perspective in Section 2.6 on women in management and women in the workplace over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Examples include the campaign for women’s suffrage; the desire for ‘respectability amongst the nineteenth century middle and working classes; and women’s increased entry into the workplace during World War I and World War II.

2.8 One metaphor and two concepts

The metaphor of the glass ceiling and two concepts, the gender regime and the inequality regime, seek to encapsulate and further explain women’s under-representation in management and each will be discussed in the following sections.

2.8.1 The glass ceiling

Women’s under-representation in management has been termed the ‘glass ceiling’. The picture painted by this metaphor is of a woman manager who looks 'above' her and can see where she wants to go, but whenever she tries to reach that more senior position she hits a barrier, but one that is "so subtle that it is transparent, yet so strong that it prevents women and minorities from moving up the management hierarchy" (Morrison and Von Glinow (1990:200).

There is no agreement over who first coined the term ‘glass ceiling’. Its first appearance in print is often attributed to Bryant, who referred to it in an interview in

Adweek in March, 1984 (Bollinger and O'Neill, 2008). In this interview Frenkiel (1984, cited by Falk and Grizard, 2005:23) quotes Bryant as saying "Women have reached a certain point – I call it the glass ceiling. They're in the top of middle management and they're stopping and getting stuck." This reference to women's inability to move beyond middle management is indicative of women's management experiences in the 1980s, as women struggled to move into senior management. This is highlighted by Hymowitz and Schellhardt (1986, cited by Eagly and Carli, 2007) who are usually credited with bringing the term into general use, arguing that "Even those few women who rose steadily through the ranks eventually crashed into an invisible barrier. The executive suite seemed within their grasp, but they just couldn't break through the glass ceiling".

By the mid-1990s, Calas and Smircich (1996:226) argued that "almost all of women-in-management research [is] *glass ceiling* research, since assuring women fair access to managerial positions has been its overriding objective"[28]. In other words it has dealt with identifying barriers to women's advancement and advocating strategies, policies and practices for overcoming these barriers. The glass ceiling metaphor has also been extended to include the 'glass wall' which keeps women segregated within occupational groups, the 'glass escalator' (Williams, 1992), which takes male managers past women to senior posts and the 'glass cliff' (Ryan and Haslam, 2005), where women in leadership roles are likely to find themselves in more risky and precarious positions than men.

However, this idea of the glass ceiling as a barrier that has slowly moved up from the middle to the top of organizations has been criticised by Eagly and Carli (2007:2) who contend that as some women do 'break through the glass ceiling' and reach the highest ranks of organizations, it is no longer possible to consider it to be an "absolute barrier" at the most senior organizational level. They argue that a better term is the glass maze or labyrinth defined as a "complex journey…not simple or direct…full of twists and turns both expected and unexpected…[but] with a viable route to the center" (Eagly and Carli (2007:2). This they contend reflects the fact that women can and do reach the 'center' or top of some organizations, though by a

[28] Emphasis in the original

route that is often complex and challenging. However, they also argue that in fact blockages to women's progress, such as prejudice, resistance to women's leadership, issues of leadership style, demands of family life and under-investment in social capital, exist at all organizational levels and that "the scarcity of female corporate officers is the sum of discrimination that has operated at all ranks, not evidence of a particular obstacle to advancement as women approach the top" (Eagly and Carly, 2007:3). This view is echoed by Acker (2009); Cotter et al. (2001); Ferree and Purkayastha (2000); Prokos and Padavic, (2005) and Wright and Baxter (2000).

2.8.2 Gender regimes

Connell (2006a) presents an analysis of the glass ceiling, arguing that it is built round three key points: the statistics show that women experience discrimination in organizations leading to under-representation in management; this discrimination is irrational; and it can be overcome by the elimination of organizational barriers to women's progress. However, she levels two main criticisms at this analysis. Firstly Connell (2006a:838) argues that it assumes an individual's gender falls into one of two biological categories, male or female, whereas gender is much more complex and dynamic involving "patterns of interaction and relationship, having little to do with differences in personal characteristics", as evidenced by sexual harassment in organizations. Secondly Connell (2006a:838) contends that "administration is thought to be, in principle, independent of gender. But there are underlying connections between the modern state and gender systems…[and]…state agencies and policies regulate the lives of women both in the family and in the public realm". In doing so Connell clearly questions the gender neutrality of the state and also, like the GOS approach, acknowledges its influence on the experiences of women.

The basis of Connell's (2006a:839) conceptual framework is a gender relations approach which she argues is multi-dimensional and "found in all spheres of life including organizations". She argues (2006a:839) that the "overall pattern of gender relations within an organization may be termed its *gender regime"*[29]*.* Connell

[29] Emphasis in the original

(2002:53-68) identifies four dimensions of a gender regime: gender division of labour, both in the workplace and the home; gender relations of power, in the workplace, the home and the society; emotion and human relations, amongst people and groups; and gender culture and symbolism, including language and attitudes, that define gender relations.

Connell (2006a) identifies several aspects to each dimension. For example, she contends that gender division of labour in the workplace can arise from historical horizontal and vertical occupational segregation, or from new forms of occupational segregation resulting, for example, from technological change. She states that gender relations of power in organizations include the problems women face in "establishing…[their]…authority" (Connell: 2006a:846). It could also be argued that these problems include issues such as management style (Ragins et al, 1998), impression management (Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2010) and stereotyping (Dipboye, 1987; Schein, 1973, 1994, 2007). Emotion and human relations problems result from what Connell (2006a:846) terms "solidarities and antagonisms associated with old patterns of gender division", such as occupational segregation, and the resultant resistance to and resentment at new patterns, which she terms "*the emotions of gender transition*"[30](2006a:843), directed at, for example organizational policies on sexual harassment. These problems are more likely to be found in what Connell (2006:844) terms a "polarized workplace", where "attachments and antagonisms...follow gender lines". However, even in what she terms a "depolarized workplace", where occupational segregation has sufficiently weakened and the focus is on "being businesslike" and on "individualism", she contends that evidence of 'the emotions of gender transition' can still be found, albeit much less often. Finally Connell (2006a) posits that organizational culture is gendered and gives examples of this, including issues surrounding the appropriateness of different forms of male and female language and male networks. She also contends that this gendered culture, too, is in transition with the goal being gender neutrality. However, it could be argued that the concept of organizational gender neutrality, though desirable, is at present unattainable, given the influence of societal culture. In addition artefacts are the simplest aspect of organizational culture to change but as Schein (1984, cited by

[30] Emphasis in the original

Legge, 1995) points out artefacts are underpinned by values. So, while artefacts may appear more neutral, values may in fact remain gendered.

Connell contends that these four dimensions constitute a model that can be used to describe and research any organization's gender regime. In her most recent research (2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007), using this framework focusing on different public sector sites in New South Wales, Australia, Connell (2006a:845) found that each site had a gender regime and "each gender regime was different: produced by a different organizational history and associated with a different configuration of personal experience and consciousness".

2.8.3 Inequality regimes

As set out in Section 2.8.1, Acker (2009:200) concurs with a wider definition of the glass ceiling and also acknowledges Connell's concept of the gender regime, but suggests that the concept of the 'inequality regime' better reflects the "complex, interlocking practices and processes that result in continuing inequalities in all work organizations, including at the top levels of management".

Acker (2000:205) contends that 'inequality regimes' are a feature of all organizations and initially identifies eight dimensions: "the bases for inequality, the visibility and legitimacy of inequalities, the degree of hierarchy and participation, the ideologies supporting and challenging inequalities, the interests of different groups in maintaining and/or diminishing inequality, the organizing mechanisms that maintain and reproduce inequalities, the types of controls and subversions of control, and interaction patterns and identities of participants". Acker (2000:205) also argues that these regimes have "common patterns" but also "variations", are "fluid, not fixed", and "the pace of change also varies". These dimensions have similarities to those outlined by Connell and discussed in Section 2.8.2.

Expanding on these dimensions Acker (2000, 2006b) points out that gender is one of the bases for inequality, the others being race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion and class, all of which manifest themselves in for example, occupational segregation and pay gaps. Acker (2006b:452) subsequently splits the

visibility and legitimacy of inequality into two separate categories and then argues that the visibility of inequality, or what she subsequently defines as “the degree of awareness of inequality” varies between organizations and also between groups within organizations, with for example senior managers often unaware of inequality while those groups affected, for example women, are only too aware of them. Similarly she contends that the legitimacy of inequality also varies between organizations, with, for example, some public bodies perceiving inequality as less legitimate than others, and goes on to argue that the legitimacy and the stability of equality can also be affected by the political, economic and social conditions of the time. Acker also states that the shape and degree of inequality is influenced by the degree of organizational hierarchy, with steeper hierarchies being more gendered, for example, than flatter structures, but even those require women to adopt appropriate behaviours in order to succeed.

Acker (2006b:445) subsequently redefines and widens ‘the degree of hierarchy and participation’ as “the shape and degree of inequality”. Having done so, she then incorporates the pay gap and occupational segregation as key features, pointing out that all organizations exhibit vertical and horizontal occupational segregation. In terms of ideologies, Acker argues that ideologies at the level of the state, the organization and the individual can support and oppose inequality, citing as examples the free market economy ideology prevalent in the US and UK in the 1980s and the women’s movements in the 1960s. Exploring the effect of the interests of different groups, Acker states that within organizations these different groups may compete against each other in order to maintain the status quo, pointing out that some middle managers may, in the face of organizational initiatives to reduce inequalities, conspire to maintain them. In terms of control, Acker contends that organizations use a variety of methods, including recruitment practices, coercion, reward and attitudinal commitment, to control the inequality regime and its members, enabling it to weed out those who challenge the status quo, such as, for example, deviant rather than conformist innovators (Legge, 1995). Acker also points out that gendered identities are also a form of control.

According to Acker (2006b:447) organizations also employ a variety of "organizing processes" to meet their goals. She (2006b:448) identifies several organizing processes including: the way the work is organized, normally based on "the image of a white man who is totally dedicated to the work and has no responsibilities for children or family demands other than earning a living"; the hierarchical structure of the organization, in which gendered structures such as occupational segregation and the pay gap are reinforced by for example job evaluation systems; recruitment and selection which reinforces occupational segregation, through models of the ideal worker; the use of networks, which at board level, for example, often result in the employment of men (Davies, 2011); and pay practices and supervision, which can result in gendered pay structures and unequal treatment by supervisors and managers.

These organizing processes, according to Acker (2012:215), form part of the "gendered sub-structure of organizations", a concept which she argues "is a way to begin to answer the persistent question: why do gender inequalities, including the gap between women's and men's pay and the sex segregation of jobs (IWPR, 2011), survive in spite of powerful women's movements, laws mandating equality, massive movement of women into the paid labor force and the achievement of gender equality in college graduation?" Other elements that constitute the gendered substructure include: organizational culture which Acker acknowledges is located in societal culture; interactions on the job between colleagues, which are influenced by gender assumptions and which can result in gendered practices including sexual harassment, as well as influencing the ways in which social capital is built through, for example, networking and mentors; and gendered identities formed both within and outwith the workplace. Together, she argues this "very broad [concept]…includes many, always interacting aspects" (Acker, 2012:217).

A further part of the gendered substructure is what Acker (2012) defines as the gendered subtext, constituted from "textual materials" (Acker, 2006b:447) including material from consultants, such as job evaluation schemes, and management textbooks. An additional element of this gendered subtext is organizational logic, defined as a "common understanding about how organizations are put together, the constituent parts, how the whole thing works" (Acker, 2012:217), also conveyed

through textual materials and management education and which are “built on the image of the gender neutral, abstract worker who has no body and no obligations outside the work place” (Acker, 2012:218)

Acker (2006b:455) contends that “inequality regimes can be challenged and changed…[though] change is difficult and change efforts often fail”. She argues that successful change initiatives have certain key elements: they target a small number of specific “inequality producing mechanisms”; they have support from outwith the organization as well as internal support; and they “often involve coercion or a threat of loss”. The lifting of the marriage bar, as a result of the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975, as well as the Act itself is an example of this, as are the equal opportunities initiatives designed to increase equality for women outlined in Section 2.7.3. However as Acker (2006) also points out these initiatives can often be in direct conflict with organizational goals such as profit maximization and cost minimization, and in addition they are influenced by the political, social and economic climate of the time.

Acker (2006b:442) also outlines the importance of what she terms “intersectionality” in the study of inequality regimes, whereby the importance of other elements “at least, race/ethnicity…and class” as well as gender are taken into account. Similar arguments have been made by others, for example Calas and Smircich (1996) who contend that much of the early research and literature on gender focused on white women. However, it could be argued that intersectionality should not just include gender, race/ethnicity and class, but also sexual orientation, age, disability and religion. Without diminishing the importance of intersectionality, it supposes that adequate research has been carried out in all these areas, whereas this is not the case. However, it may be that Acker’s (2000, 2009:201) contention, that the concept of an inequality regime, not a typology but “an analytic approach to understanding the ongoing creation of inequality in work organizations…can be used to identify inequality producing practices and their locations in particular organizing processes”, does have merit in extending the analysis of the under-representation of women in management and, when combined with the GOS framework and Connell’s gender regime, in identifying key elements of the gender inequality regime.

2.9 A conceptual framework: the gender inequality regime

In Sections 2.2, 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5, four key indicators of gender inequality in management were presented and discussed: namely occupational segregation, both vertical and horizontal, the pay gap, marital status and motherhood. Occupational segregation is also identified by both Acker and Connell as a feature of their regimes. It is part of what Acker (2006b) terms the 'shape and degree of inequality' and what Connell (2002) terms the 'gender division of labour'. In one respect Connell's definition is narrower in that it focuses on occupational segregation, while Acker's also includes the pay gap. However in another respect it is broader in that it acknowledges the gender division of labour outwith organizations, in the home and family. This acknowledgement of a societal dimension is also reflected in the GOS approach. Connell also includes an historical dimension and the importance of this was also set out in Sections 2.6, 2.6.1, 2.6.2, 2.6.3 and 2.6.4. This conceptual framework adopts Acker's terminology, but retitles it *the shape and degree of gender inequality*. In addition it incorporates two further indicators, namely marital status and motherhood, and it also includes an historical perspective. It is posited that this broadened concept will provide a wider and more holistic picture of the shape and degree of gender inequality in the case study organizations and in the lives of their women managers.

While the concept of *the shape and degree of gender inequality* presents a picture of the problem of women's under-representation, this conceptual framework will also explore the explanations for this. A key overarching concept is what Acker (2006b, 2009, 2012:219) terms the 'organizational sub-structure', a major part of which are the 'organizing processes and practices', which, she contends "continually recreate gender inequalities". Many of the key research findings identifying the barriers to women's progress, set out in Sections 2.7.1, 2.7.2, 2.7.2.1, 2.7.3, 2.7.4, 2.7.5, and 2.8.1, fall into this category. These can essentially be grouped into four sub-categories.

First is the organization of the work, particularly working hours, presenteeism, and its compatibility with relationships and family life. Acker contends that this is based on

the notion of the ‘unencumbered white man’. Second are elements that constitute and influence organizational careers, comprising: an organization’s career paths, through which Eagly and Carli (2007) acknowledge that, in what can be a labyrinthine process, women can now reach the top of organizations; the importance of advantageous and disadvantageous jobs (Kanter, 1977); the seeking out of key assignments (Ragins et al, 1998); the recruitment and selection processes (Acker, 2006b); the filtering processes that can remove women from the career ladder (Bartol, 1978); the higher performance standards demanded of women (Ragins et al, 1998); the importance of mentors and networking (Ragins et al, 1998); the importance of the accumulation of social capital (Ragins et al, 1998) but the difficulties women have in doing so (Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2010; Timberlake, 2005); the role of impression management (Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2010); and the stereotyping of management jobs (Powell, 1993).

Thirdly, the importance of stereotyping as a barrier to women’s progress was set out in the review of the ‘gender or person centered’ approach in Section 2.7.1. Stereotyping can also be placed in the category of the organizational sub-structure. It is used, both consciously and unconsciously, to classify male and female jobs and reinforces this through occupational segregation. Both Powell (1993) and Schein (1973, 1994, 2007) identify the gender typing of management as a male occupation. In addition Connell (2006a) contends that stereotyping is also evident in the concept of organizational power, which she argues is gendered and is still perceived as masculine, despite women’s, more recent, progress into management. This stereotyping can result in women managers having difficulty in “establishing...[their]...authority” (Connell, 2006a:846). In addition through this power men can exclude women from the organizational career paths and career ladders.

Fourth is what Acker terms the degree of awareness of inequality, which can differ between different groups in organizations. Finally and to an extent bound up with this category is the legitimacy of inequality, which again differs between different groups within the organization and, it could be argued between organizations. These two elements are important in terms of action that is taken to reduce inequalities in organizations.

It is posited that by integrating the key research findings of the person-centered and organization structured approach into Acker's *organizing processes and practices,* a broader framework for researching the case study organizations may be uncovered, created and developed.

In addition to organizational processes and practices, Acker (2012) contends that the organizational sub-structure is also composed of workplace interactions and behaviour, organizational culture and gendered identities. Some aspects of workplace interactions and behaviour have already been identified in the earlier categories of careers and stereotyping. However, Acker points out that this can also include more negative aspects, such as prejudice generally, prejudice towards female leaders based on role congruity (Eagly and Karau, 2002) and sexual harassment. It is posited that Acker's category of workplace interactions and behaviour can be subsumed into Connell's (2006a) wider category of *emotion and human relations.* This will allow an exploration the causes of these workplace interactions and behaviour, which Connell contends can be the result of the emotions of gender transition and can result in polarized and depolarized workplaces. This will also allow the historical dimension of gender transition to be identified.

Organizational culture was discussed in Section 2.6.4 and both Connell and Acker identify its importance. Acker (2012) classifies it as a key separate element of the organizational sub-structure and Connell's (2006a) fourth dimension is that of 'gender culture and symbolism'. Both focus on its gendered nature, with Acker (2012:216) pointing out that it "usually includes definitions of gendered behaviors, both acceptable and unacceptable, and images of multiple masculinities and femininities", while Connell (2006a:844) refers to "the way in which gender is understood and marked or symbolized". Both also acknowledge the different levels of culture (Schein, 1984, cited by Legge, 1995) and distinguish between artefacts, including the language of gender and its symbols, including for example male networks and the values and beliefs that underpin them.

These key features of the gender inequality regime are set out in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Gender inequality regime

The shape and degree of gender inequality

- Occupational segregation in organizations, home and family
- Pay gap
- Marital status
- Motherhood
- Historical perspective

Organizational sub-structure

- **Organizing processes and practices**
  - Organization of the work
  - Working hours, presenteeism, compatibility with relationships and family life
  - Elements that constitute and influence women's organizational careers
  - Career paths, key assignments, recruitment and selection, filtering processes, performance standards, mentors, networking, social capital, impression management
  - Stereotyping
  - Degree of awareness of gender inequality
  - Legitimacy of gender inequality

- **Emotions of human relations**
  - Workplace interactions and behaviour
  - Emotions of gender transition
  - Historical dimension of gender transition

- **Organizational culture**

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter began by describing the position of women in the workplace and of women in management. Using a range of statistics, it examined four characteristics of their under-representation in management: occupational segregation, the pay gap, marital status and parenthood, and did so both currently and historically. By

adding an historical perspective, this chapter sought to demonstrate the complexity of women's under-representation. Examples of this complexity included the long history of women managing "business or people" (Kwolek-Folland, 1998:73); the ebb and flow of the number of women managers, at 20% in 1911, declining in the inter-war period before rising to 21% by 1971; the embeddedness and consistency of the pay gap over centuries; and echoes of the current debates about working mothers in the nineteenth century. In addition this historical perspective sought to establish the ways in which women's management lives have been shaped by social, political and economic forces, and women's agency.

Secondly, a number of explanations for women's under-representation were set out, beginning with the perspectives that have dominated research into women in management since the 1970s, the 'gender-centered' or 'person-centered' approach (Horner, 1972; Riger and Galligan, 1980; Terborg, 1977) and the situational or organizational structure approach (Kanter, 1977; Riger and Galligan, 1980) and key barriers to women's progression in management resulting from these approaches were identified. These barriers constitute what has become known as the 'glass ceiling', which is an overarching term used to describe the gender and organizational factors that contribute to women's under-representation in management. However, this concept has limitations in that it does not provide a framework with which to analyse women's position, nor does it take account of systemic factors. In addition it was proposed that organizations are not gender neutral, but exhibit patterns of gender discrimination (Adler and Izraeli, 1994).

The importance of the institutional and social system in which the women and organization are embedded, highlighted by the GOS approach (Fagenson, 1990; Parker and Fagenson, 1994), was considered. Building on the first two perspectives, this approach argues that progress for women in management occurs through an interactionist relationship between the person, the organization and the system in response to political, economic and social forces, as well as through individual and organizational action. However it also points out that the rate of change of each element, the person, the organization and the system, is likely to be different and this chapter sought to use the historical perspective to demonstrate this interaction. However the GOS approach, too, is not an analytical framework.

Two existing conceptual frameworks were presented, namely the gender regime (Connell, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007) and the inequality regime (Acker, 2000, 2006a, 2006b, 2009). Both focus on the process and practices that produce these regimes and also recognise the presence of systemic elements. Connell presents four dimensions: gender division of labour in the workplace and home; gender relations of power in the workplace, home and society; emotions and human relations; and gender culture and symbolism. Acker (2000, 2006a, 2006b, 2009) presents a more detailed framework, with eight dimensions: "the bases for inequality, the visibility and legitimacy of inequalities, the degree of hierarchy and participation, the ideologies supporting and challenging inequalities, the interests of different groups in maintaining and/or diminishing inequality, the organizing mechanisms that maintain and reproduce inequalities, the types of controls and subversions of control, and interaction patterns".

Finally, in Section 2.9 and Figure 1, a new conceptual framework, the gender inequality regime was presented. This framework integrates the key findings from the existing approaches and frameworks and has two main categories: the shape and degree of gender inequality; and the organizational sub-structure. The former has five dimensions: occupational segregation in organizations, the home and family; the pay gap; marital status; motherhood; and an historical perspective. The latter has three sub-categories: the organizing processes and practices; the emotions of human relations; and organizational culture. The organizing process and practices has five dimensions: the organization of the work; elements that constitute and influence women's organizational careers; stereotyping; the degree of awareness of gender inequality; and the legitimacy of gender inequality. The emotions of human relations has three dimensions: workplace interactions and behaviour; the emotions of gender transition; and the historical dimension of gender transition. It is posited that this integrated framework will enable the examination of the context of women in management in the case study organizations and sectors and the key aspects of their gender inequality regimes that may contribute to women's under-representation.

This new conceptual framework recognises the importance of systemic elements, acknowledged by both Acker and Connell, and also of the social and institutional system identified by Fagenson. However, as set out in Section 1.1, this thesis has identified that there is a gap in the literature in that there is a lack of framework within the women in management literature with which to research systemic factors. Therefore, again as outlined in Section 1.1, a further focus of this thesis is the potential offered by the business systems literature (Whitley, 1992a) in identifying systemic factors and institutions, such as the family, the education system and trade unions, which contribute to women's under-representation in management. This thesis has also identified that there is a further gap in the literature in that this framework has not been applied to women in management. The next chapter will therefore examine the business systems literature.

Chapter 3: Business Systems

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the business systems framework, which it is argued may help to explain the under-representation of women in management. As Acker (2009:202) acknowledges gender inequality in organizations is "linked to inequality in the surrounding society, its politics, economic conditions, history and culture". Connell (2005:6) also contends that an organization's gender regime "is likely to share many features with the gender order of the wider society", while Fagenson (1990:271) points out that women's under-representation in management is also influenced by "the larger social and institutional system in which they function", as well as the organization in which they work.

There is a gap in the literature in that the business systems framework has not been applied to women in management. A further gap in the literature is that there appears to be an assumption that business systems are gender neutral, while they may exhibit patterns of institutionalised discrimination. It is proposed that a synthesis of the business systems framework with the gender-organisation-system (GOS), the gender regime, the inequality regime and the gender inequality regime frameworks may provide a new approach to the study of women in management.

The chapter begins by examining the business systems framework, institutions and neo-institutionalism, agency and structure, and path dependency. It goes on to consider the place of gender within the business systems literature itself and posits that business systems are not gender neutral, but gender blind. It then goes on to explore the role of institutions in terms of women in management and examines background institutions, namely the family, religious organizations and the education system, together with proximate institutions, that is the legal system, the political system, trade unions and the financial system focusing on their gender composition.. Finally it explores background and proximate institutions, focusing on the gender composition of the latter and both their effects on women's lives.

3.2 The business systems framework

Whitley (1992a:6) defines business systems as "particular arrangements of hierarchy-market relations which become institutionalised and relatively successful in particular contexts". He identifies sixteen characteristics of business systems, grouped under three main dimensions: firms as economic actors; market organization; and authoritative coordination and control systems. These characteristics, though distinct, are not separate, can be closely interrelated and are used to compare business systems embedded in different institutional contexts.

Whitley (1992a:8) argues that firms, as economic actors, can be compared in terms of five characteristics "the extent to which large, privately owned firms dominate the economy, combine diverse resources and activities, are run by salaried managers with considerable autonomy from property rights owners, undergo discontinuous changes in their activities and resources and internalise risk". The analysis of markets focuses on four characteristics: "the extent of long-term cooperative relations between firms within and between sectors; the significance of intermediaries in the coordination of market transactions; stability, integration and scope of business groups; and dependence of cooperative relations on personal ties and trust" (Whitley, 1992a:9). Finally, the authoritative coordination and control systems have seven characteristics which are: "integration and interdependence of economic activities; impersonality of authority and subordination relations; task, skill and role specialisation and individualisation; differentiation of authority roles and expertise; decentralisation of operational control and level of work group autonomy; extent of employer-employee commitment and organization-based employment system" (Whitley, 1992a:9).

Whitley (1992a) contends that business systems are shaped by and embedded in institutional environments. He identifies two types of social institutions, which he terms 'background' and 'proximate'. Background institutions are those like the family, religious organizations and the education system, which "structure general patterns of trust, co-operation, identity and subordination in a society" and which "reflect more general and underlying principles of cooperation, identity and subordination" (Whitley, 1992a:19-20). He identifies six features of background

institutions which influence the development of business systems and these are: "degree and basis of trust between non-kin; commitment and loyalty to collectivities beyond the family; importance of individual identities, rights and commitments; depersonalisation and formalisation of authority relations; differentiation of authority roles; and reciprocity, distance and scope of authority relations" (Whitley,1992a:20). These institutions, Whitley argues, form the basis of patterns of economic organization and provide a link between the modern economic system and the pre-industrial system. It could be argued that background institutions therefore have an important role to play in shaping women's lives and structuring their experiences of work and it is therefore important to identify their influences and also, where possible, threads from pre-industrial times and this will be examined later in this chapter.

According to Whitley (1992a:19) proximate institutions "are more often a product of the industrialisation process itself and frequently develop with the formation of the modern state". He argues that "they are also the result of more recent events such "large-scale political changes" (Whitley, 1992a:19) and include "those dealing with the financial resources and different kinds of labour power…[and]…the overall political and legal system" (Whitley, 1992a:25). He identifies six features of proximate social institutions: "business dependence on [a] strong cohesive state; state commitment to industrial development and risk sharing; capital market or credit-based financial system; unitary or dual education and training system; strength of skill-based trade unions; and significance of publicly certified skills and professional expertise" (Whitley, 1992a:27). Proximate institutions, too, it can be argued have an important role to play in women's working lives. For example changes to the law such as the Sexual Discrimination Act of 1975, assisted in opening up the workplace to women, ensuring that they could no longer be dismissed on the grounds of sex or marital status.

Whitley (1992b) contends that his approach is that of a 'business recipe'. However, although he identifies the factors, which shape business systems he does so rather as a list of ingredients. Whitley (1992a:37) argues that in any comparative analysis of business systems, "the nation state…is the obvious starting point" as "it is the dominant collectivity for organizing so many of the social institutions…such as legal,

education and financial systems". Much of the early research using the business systems framework took this approach. For example Lane (1992) compared the business systems of Germany and Britain. Her research is relevant to this study and in it she characterizes the British system as one dominated by family-owned and family-dominated organizations until the period immediately before and after World War Two (WW2). She shows that it was not until the 1960s that mergers produced the large, often diversified and multi-divisional, publicly quoted corporate businesses, which are now such a feature of the British system (Purcell, 1989) and this delayed, until then, the emergence of a professional managerial class in the United Kingdom (Lane, 1992). Examining authoritative coordination and control systems, Lane (1992:85) contends that the British manager is likely to be a generalist, whose authority is position or class based, whose managerial identity is created by "social origin and education" and for whom promotion often means moving firm.

Räsänen and Whipp (1992:47) concur that national comparisons are a useful starting point, but they also contend that analysis should also take place at meso-level and micro-level units such as "industries, sectors; districts, regions; production systems; crafts, professions, elites; corporations; kin networks; cultures, religions; parties, ideologies", as it is "problematic…to assume that there exists one dominant and stable business recipe within a nation state". They also argue that sector analysis in particular can provide a useful perspective on how "national social institutions are created, reproduced and modified". An example of a sector level analysis, though still at a comparative national level is O'Reilly's (1992) examination of the development of workforce flexibility in the French and UK retail banking sectors.

In a development of the business systems approach, Whitley (1999) introduced a typology of business systems: fragmented; coordinated industrial district; compartmentalised; state organized; collaborative; and highly coordinated. While there was research carried out comparing the tension between these ideal types and empirical research, Morgan (2007:142) points out that in the last decade the business systems perspective has "moved on…Whilst the original insights concerning how institutions shape organizations and how this leads to a limited number of business system types, remains essential, the centre of gravity in

research terms has shifted from typologies towards more detailed historical and processual studies of how organizations, actors and institutions are engaged in a process of co-constitution".

3.3 Institutions

At its broadest, an institution has been described as the "rules of the game in a society" (North, 1990:3). Scott (2001:48-49), on the other hand offers an "omnibus conception" of institutions as "social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience". He posits that there are three pillars of institutions: the regulative pillar consisting of "a stable system of rules, either formal or informal, backed by surveillance and sanctioning power (Scott, 2001:54); the normative pillar comprised of values and norms, that both constrain social behaviour while "at the same time they empower and enable social action" (Scott, 2001:55); and the cultural-cognitive pillar made up of shared beliefs and meanings that are culturally supported and can be "imposed on or adopted by individual actors and organizations" (Scott, 2001:58). Scott (2001:48) contends that institutions are both formal and informal, because they are "composed of cultural-cognitive, normative and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life". These rules, norms and meanings "arise in interaction, and…are preserved and modified by human behavior". As a result institutions are "transmitted across generations to be maintained and reproduced (Zucker, 1977, cited by Scott, 2001:49). This 'transmission' occurs through "symbolic systems, relational systems, routines and artifacts" (Scott, 2001:48). Scott (2001:48) also argues that institutions "operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction, from the world system to localized interpersonal relationships" and though resistant to change (Jepperson, 1991, cited by Scott, 2001) and signifying stability "are subject to change processes, both incremental and discontinuous".

The study of institutions is part of most social science disciplines, such as economics, political science, sociology and history (Peters, 2005). As a result there are different approaches, underpinned by the traditions of each discipline, though there are also similarities. Peters (2005:155) in discussing whether in fact there is "one institutionalism or many", points out that the similarities are that each discipline

views institutions as regulating human behaviour, diminishing uncertainty and both being formed by human actors, yet constraining their behaviour. However, he also points out that there are three main differences between the traditions including the ways in which constraint is exercised, the degree to which institutions are rigid or flexible, and whether they are viewed as "concrete objects…or intangible collections of norms and values". Scott (2001:69) contends that rather than attempt to construct one model of institutionalism, it is more useful to recognise their "different assumptions and emphases". He also contends that his three models, regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive are not associated with any particular social science discipline.

3.4 Neo-institutionalism

The 'new' institutionalism or neo-institutionalism first appeared in the 1970s through work by Meyer and Rowan (1977), Meyer and Scott (1983) and Zucker (1977) and argued that organizations were "shaped by institutional forces…are deeply embedded in social and political environments...[and]…their practices and structures are often either reflections of or responses to rules, beliefs, and conventions built into the wider environment" (Powell, 2007:). The three pillars (Scott, 2001) outlined in the previous section are part of this approach.

As Powell (2007) points out, analysis of institutions is often carried out at the level of the organizational field defined by DiMaggio and Powell (1983:143) as "those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products". Scott (2001:83-84) contends that "fields are bounded by the presence of shared cultural-cognitive or normative frameworks or a common regulatory system". He gives the example an education system as a field, arguing that at this level "institutional forces are likely to be particularly salient". However, organizations do not necessarily conform to institutional pressures, they can also resist them (Oliver, 1991). For example research by Dobbin and Sutton (1998) and Edelman et al (1999) on organizational responses to employment rights has shown that variability and Powell (2007) argues that one reason for this is the relative power of the actors within and outwith

organizations who 'manage' the legislation. In addition Friedland and Alford (1991) point out that organizations operate within, and are influenced by, societal contexts.

Change can be triggered by factors within or outwith organizations. External factors include political policy changes in for example employment law, economic crises, social movements, such as the women's liberation and civil rights movements, and shifts in cultural beliefs and values (Scott, 2001). Factors inside an organization that can trigger change include internal tensions (Scott, 2001), the decline in power of key stakeholders and technological innovation. Greenwood and Hinings (2006:828) outline a model of institutional change: precipitating jolts, leading to deinstitutionalization, then pre-institutionalization, followed by theorization, diffusion, institutionalization, resulting in contradictions, feeding back in a loop to deinstitutionalization. They also point out that "institutional structures embody patterns of power and privilege" (Greenwood and Hinings, 2006:820). Streek and Thelen (2005:1) argue that precipitating jolts, or as they term it "exogenous shock" are not the only determinants of institutional change, and gradual incremental change can also transform institutions. Four types of gradual change are: displacement where change occurs "through shifts in the relative salience of institutional arrangements" (Streek and Thelen, 2005:22) layering (Thelen, 2002) where "new elements are added to existing institutions" (Van der Heijden, 2011:9; drift which occurs when institutions are not maintained and so decay (Streek and Thelen, 2005) and conversion which is a result of institutions being "*redirected to new goals, functions or purposes*"[31] (Streek and Thelen, 2005:26). One of the key issues within institutional change is the tension between structure and agency and this will be explored in the next section.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) argue that, while at the initial life cycle phase organizational fields are relatively heterogenous, as they become established they also become more homogenous. They contend that this 'isomorphism' is evident not just at the structural level, but also at a cultural level within organizations and is a process by which changes in the environment produce responses in organizations, which are then followed by others and which eventually constrain the behaviour of

[31] Emphasis in the original

most, if not all, in the organizational field. DiMaggio and Powell (1983:67) identify "three mechanisms, through which institutional isomorphic change occurs", namely, coercive, mimetic and normative, which also highlight the ways in which institutionalization is reinforced (Powell, 2007). Coercive isomorphism "results from both formal and informal pressures exerted on organizations by other organizations upon which they are dependent and by cultural expectations in the society within which organizations function" (1983:150). In terms of women in management formal pressure has come from governments, for example, in the form of sex equality legislation and then from equal opportunities officers within organizations and formal and informal pressure has come from organizations such as the *EHRC*, and before that the *EOC.* DiMaggio and Powell (1983) also refer to informal pressure which has resulted in non-traditional forms of organizations introducing and maintaining traditional management hierarchies in order to do business with more traditional organizational forms.

Mimetic isomorphism occurs when organizations are faced with uncertainty, in for example their environment, and so "model themselves on other organizations" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983:151). The ways in which organizations reacted to the 'demographic timebomb' in the early 1990s is an example of this, when organizations were encouraged to broaden their recruitment pool and hence their labour force. This 'best practice' approach was advocated by academics, professional associations and consultants, disseminated and reinforced through conferences, training programmes and through the media. DiMaggio and Powell (1983:151) contend that "the wider the population of personnel employed by, or customers served by, an organization, the stronger the pressure felt by the organization to provide the programs and services offered by other organizations. Thus, either a skilled labor force or a broad customer base may encourage mimetic isomorphism".

Normative isomorphism "stems primarily from professionalization", the growth of which in the last fifty years "has been among organizational professionals, particularly managers and specialized staff of large organizations" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983:152). Important mechanisms for normative isomorphism are the formal education system, particularly the university sector, and membership of professional

networks, through which the 'professionals' learn appropriate behaviour; the recruitment, selection and socialization of managers within organizations; and the ways in which professional career paths have developed, which makes senior management and executives "virtually indistinguishable" and which also may give them similar perspectives on issues and problems facing their organizations (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991:71). This obviously has implications for the ways in which women managers climb organizational career paths. In fact DiMaggio and Powell (1983:153) acknowledge that people who "escape the filtering process", for example women managers, "are likely to be subjected to pervasive on-the-job socialization". In addition women managers undergoing personal development training, such as that encouraged under 'person-centered' equal opportunities initiatives may have problems between the rhetoric of such courses and the realities of their organizational life and so experience cognitive dissonance. They, and equal opportunities champions at the lower and middle levels of organizations may well be perceived as 'deviant innovators' (Legge, 1978) and as such are more likely to fail, while 'conformist innovators' (Legge, 1978) are likely to find that change can only take place within the constraints of the organization's prevailing ideology.

3.5 Agency, structure and institutions

The fundamental paradox of institutions (Grafstein, 1992, cited by Peters, 2005) is that they are created by human agents who are in turn constrained by them. Not surprisingly this paradox has been a focus of organizational research, resulting in four main approaches: the reductionist which usually reduces structure to agency and ignores the complex interactions between the two concepts; the determinist, which tends to result in structural reification; the conflationist which merges structure into agency and argues that the former is only reproduced through social practices; and finally the relationist in which structure and agency are regarded as separate but interrelated (Reed, 2003).

Advocates of the relationist approach argue that only it recognises that "both agency and structure possess independent causal properties that can exert a powerful influence on the course and consequences of socio-organizational life. But the varying potential for agency causality and structure causality can only be identified

and explained in relation to the complex interplay between them as it works its way through in particular institutional contexts that are always pregnant with possibilities for change – of varying scope and impact" (Reed, 2003:301-302). This runs contrary to Giddens' view that structure and agency cannot exist independently and are "two sides of the same coin" (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008:888). This conflation of structure and agency allows Giddens (1984, cited by Pozzebon, 2004) to argue that structure only exists through the activities of agents. Giddens is also criticised by Archer (1982, 2010) who argues that structuration is about the amalgamation of agency and structure and so about duality not dualism. Morphogenesis, she contends, on the other hand is concerned with dualism, is also sequential, as it takes account of the history of the emergence of systems. The historical aspect of structure can be linked to path dependency and this will be examined in the next section. Morphogenesis is also a process analysing the complex interchanges that result in systemic changes (Archer, 1982, 2010) and in addition its advocates argue that structures cannot just be changed by human behaviour as some structures are beyond the control of individuals and so constrain their behaviour (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008).

The agency/structure debate has implications for both women in management and equality generally. It raises questions about how women and other equality actors are constrained by structures such as background and proximate institutions and how actors, including women, individually or as part of social movements can act to change these institutions, or can fail to change these institutions.

3.6 Path dependency

At its broadest, path dependency has been defined as 'history matters' (Pierson, 2000). A narrower definition states that "once a country or region has started down a particular path the costs of reversal are very high. There will be other choice points but the entrenchments of certain institutional arrangements obstruct an easy reversal of the initial choice" (Levi, 1997:28, cited by Pierson, 2000:252). From an institutional perspective, path dependency "accounts for the continuity in institutional change and the variability of institutional environments" (North, 1990, cited by Nee and Cao, 1999:800). However continuity in institutions can also be maintained by

powerful individuals and groups (Nee and Cao, 1999) and in instances of required gradual change, path dependency can result in organizational inertia as the momentum of the organization is greater than the force for change (Bruggeman, 2002).

Path dependency is an important element in the business systems literature as it is used to explain the ways in which "national institutional settings influence, constrain or determine economic behaviors and interactions" and how these behaviours are entrenched (Djelic and Quack, 2007:164). However the concept has been criticised by Djelic and Quack (2007:162) for focusing solely "on the past", rather than the future and so they pose the concept of 'path generation' which they argue can help explain "the conditions under which the redirection of an existing path becomes likely" and which they argue is likely to be through "a series of incremental steps and junctures".

In the political sphere, path dependency is evident, particularly in terms of policy reform, which is influenced by previous decisions and institutions, and though not impossible is difficult as Wilsford (1994) demonstrated in his study of health care reform. Lupu (2012) also found evidence of path dependency in her study of women in the top positions in the four largest accounting firms in France. Research by Elman and O'Rand (2004) also discovered that decisions taken early in a woman manager's life including university selection and early career decisions had a path dependent effect on women's careers, with implications for the gender pay gap.

3.7 Business systems – gender neutral or gender blind?

As previously stated in Section 3.1., there is a gap in the business systems literature in relation to gender in general and women in management in particular, although management is a key element of authoritative coordination and control systems, and as such a key dimension of Whitley's (1992a) framework. Within the business systems literature, there is little research on gender, as is also the case in the analysis of institutions or in the literature of new institutionalism (Mackay and Meier, 2003). Although one piece of useful research is Lang's (2009) study of gender equality in Germany, specifically the women's policy infrastructure and the

challenges it faced. Lang argues that change was both the result of exogenous shock and endogenous gradual change. She also identifies the importance of 'veto players', defined by Tsebelis (2002:19) as "individual or collective actors whose agreement is necessary for a change in the status quo". Lang points out that these veto players include those with formal power such as government at state and regional level, and also those with informal power such as German business associations, who for example have been at the fore of ensuring the effects of EU gender legislation and directives were minimised in the course of their implementation.

As set out in Section 2.6.2.1 organizations are generally assumed to be gender neutral (Izraeli and Adler, 1994). The same assumption can be made about the business systems literature. However, just as organizations exhibit institutionalized patterns of gender discrimination, so it can be argued do business systems, at macro, meso and micro levels, and this will be explored in later sections of this chapter.

In addition, Connell (1987:120) argues that "gender relations are present in *all*[32] types of institutions…are a major structure of most…[and]…the state of play in gender relations in a given institution is its 'gender regime'". Examples of institutions include the school, the market, the state and the family (Connell, 1987), with each "oriented around one defining premise – the domination of men over women" (Giddens, 2006:463), that is normative hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005). However, Connell (1987, cited in Giddens, 2006) also argues that the gender order, comprising three interrelated elements, labour, power and cathexisis, is dynamic and can be changed by human agency. However as has been discussed in Section 3.5, human agency is itself constrained. Connell (1987, cited in Giddens, 2006) also contends that Western society is experiencing three forms of gender crisis tendencies, which could be used to reduce inequality: the crisis of institutionalisation, for example by the weakening of male domination through legislation; the crisis of sexuality, for example the growing strength of women's and gay sexuality; and the crisis of interest formation, such as married women's rights.

[32] Emphasis in the original

3.8 Women and business system institutions

As discussed in Chapter two, there is a long history of women managing “business or people” (Kwolek-Folland, 1998:73). Indeed, Kwolek-Folland (1998:211), writing about American businesswomen states that “the powerful female corporate executive officer of a late-twentieth-century conglomerate stands on the shoulders of Ojibwa fur traders, market women, butter makers, bankers and factory girls”. Her British counterparts it could therefore be argued stand on the shoulders of the 17th century lace trader, the 18th century draper’s wife and business partner, the 19th century factory inspector and all the women who have managed businesses and people over the centuries (McDonald, 2004). The following section will explore the ways in which background institutions have impacted on the lives of women within business systems.

3.8.1 Background institutions

As discussed in Section 3.2 background institutions include the family, religious organizations and the education system, which “structure general patterns of trust, co-operation, identity and subordination in a society” and “often manifest considerable continuity from pre-industrial societies” (Whitley, 1992a:19-20). Each of these institutions is examined in the following sections.

3.8.1.1 Family

In the pre-industrial 'family economy' (Tilly and Scott, 1978, cited by Erickson, 1992), women tended to live in family units with their husband or father at the head (Beechey, 1986; Leonard and Speakman, 1986). The importance of the family is reflected in conventions surrounding marriage and in the legal framework of the time. Rendall (1990) states that family relationships were determined by law, namely common law, the law of equity and ecclesiastical law, and by informal local conventions. Common law determined that on marriage a woman and her husband became one person under the law. He became her guardian and had custody of any children of the marriage. All her property passed to her husband, although for middle and upper class families the law of equity was often used to protect a

woman's inherited wealth. Ecclesiastical law was the only way of obtaining separation and maintenance. Records show that only four women ever achieved a divorce by the means available at the time, a Private Bill before the House of Lords (Rendall, 1990). Even after a marriage ended, the husband still had rights to his former wife's earnings and over their children.

Legislation improving women's position was introduced as part of the social reform movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 allowed women and men to divorce through the courts, although it was more difficult for women who had to prove not only their husband's adultery, but also bigamy, incest, cruelty or desertion, while the husband had only to prove adultery, a situation that was not remedied until 1923. The Married Women's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882 allowed women rights to their own earnings and property. Throughout the twentieth century the formal legal position of women within the family improved: the Law of Property Act, 1922, allowed men and women to inherit property equally; Guardianship of Infants Act, 1925, gave both parents equal rights over their children (BBC,nd); in 1929 women became 'persons in their own right' by order of the Privy Council (Hughes, 2000); contraception became free to all women in the UK in 1974 (BBC, nd); in 1990 it became possible for women to be taxed independently of their husbands (BBC, nd); and marital rape was declared illegal in the UK in 1994 (BBC, nd).

Attitudes towards working women have already been discussed in Chapter 2. However, historically work within the family and the family home was traditionally women's work (Holdsworth, 1988). Even by the 1930s there was little in the way of electric appliances such as hoovers and washing machines, and at that time many middle and upper class families still had servants (Holdsworth, 1988). By the 1950s and 1960s, Holdsworth (1988:30) argues that, "the first generation to enjoy household technology *en masse*, was also the first to have gone through full secondary education *en masse*"[33] and many of these women "felt they had good brains going to rust", and became frustrated at home as was articulated and explored by Friedan (1963).

[33] Emphasis in the original

More recently, in 2008 the employment rate for married/cohabiting parents of working age was 81%, for fathers the rate was 91% and for mothers 72% (ONS, 2009). However there are still gender differences in terms of work carried out within the family and the home, as well as evidence of historically traditional roles. For example, in 2005 women spent on average 180 minutes a day on housework, excluding childcare, while men spent 101 minutes. This compared to 215 minutes for women in 2000 and 128 minutes for men (ONS, 2005). The housework done by men and women differed with women spending more time than men on cooking and washing up, cleaning, washing clothes, and shopping, while men spend more time on repairs and gardening (ONS, 2005). In terms of childcare women spent twice as much time as men caring for their own children (ONS, 2005).

3.8.1.2 Religious organizations

It is perhaps unsurprising that just as many British women in the early twentieth century were campaigning for the right to vote, to an education and to enter the professions, there were also women campaigning to be ordained into the Church of England (Street, nd). However, it was not until 1994, that women were ordained as priests, though they had been ordained as deacons since 1987, as all churches had a dispensation from the Sex Discrimination Act, 1975, (Church of England, 2012). Since then there has been a lengthy and at times acrimonious debate on the ordination of women bishops. However, in 2011, 42 out of the 44 dioceses of the Church of England voted in favour and it is expected that there will be women bishops by 2014, provided the draft legislation is passed by the Synod and then by Parliament (Independent, 2011).

Other Christian religions did not take so long for women to undertake church ministry, with the Quakers and the Salvation Army being two of the earliest (Macdonald, 1999). The remaining British Protestant churches followed a similar pattern to the Church of England, admitting women first as deacons, or their equivalent, and then as priests or ministers. Macdonald (1999:31) argues that "there were always arguments about the nature of biblical evidence; issues of headship; the biblical injunction for silence of women and questions of authority",

with the struggle becoming increasingly bitter the nearer women's ordination came. The first Church to ordain women was the Congregationalist Church in 1917, followed by the English Presbyterians in 1921, the Baptists in 1922, the United Free Church of Scotland in 1954 and the Methodists in 1974 (Macdonald, 1999). The Church of Scotland ordained its first woman minister in 1969 and in 2004, the first woman was appointed Moderator (Brown, 2006). Unlike the Church of England women's ordination did not require an Act of Parliament. However, women in the Church of Scotland had been campaigning for ordination since 1922 (Macdonald, 1999). The Roman Catholic Church remains opposed to women's ordination and although there are Catholic organizations actively promoting women priests all are outwith the formal church. The first Jewish woman Rabbi in the UK was ordained in 1975.

Religious institutions can transmit mixed messages to men and women. These can come into sharp focus over ordination (Macdonald, 1999). The arguments against women priests are perhaps exemplified by the statement of Pope Paul VI on the Church's position "She holds that it is not admissible to ordain women to the priesthood, for very fundamental reasons. These reasons include: the example recorded in the Sacred Scriptures of Christ choosing his Apostles only from among men; the constant practice of the Church, which has imitated Christ in choosing only men; and her living teaching authority which has consistently held that the exclusion of women from the priesthood is in accordance with God's plan for his Church." This statement was reiterated by Pope John Paul II in 1994 (Vatican, 1994)

In addition to their views on women priests, the role of women in society is also set out by the Vatican. For example in 1995, Pope John Paul II issued a 'Letter to Women' writing that "there is an urgent need to achieve *real equality* in every area: equal pay for equal work, protection for working mothers, fairness in career advancements, equality of spouses with regard to family rights and the recognition of everything that is part of the rights and duties of citizens in a democratic State". However he also wrote of "*the many contributions made by women to the life of*

whole societies and nations[34]*.* This contribution is primarily spiritual and cultural in nature, but socio-political and economic as well" (Vatican, 1995).

3.8.1.3 The education system

Before the Education Act of 1870 made elementary education compulsory for all until the age of 10 working class education was limited, although there were local dame and church schools (Rendall, 1990). Middle-class boys might have gone to the local grammar school or to boarding school and on to university, though many girls would have been educated at home. Common areas of study for girls were spelling, needlework, the arts, drawing, piano playing and French, aimed at making them interesting companions, and education was often interrupted by household duties (Davidoff and Hall, 1998). In the nineteenth century there was debate about the education of middle-class girls, but even with the establishment of boarding schools such as Cheltenham Ladies College (1853), which taught girls academic subjects, such as Greek and maths, the intention was still to prepare women to support men not to pursue independent careers. In fact educating girls was thought to be damaging to their health, particularly to their reproductive organs, which might lead to infertility (Holdsworth, 1988). Despite this view, girls' education expanded from the 1850s onwards, with many of the female teachers coming from these new 'academic' schools.

In 1891 elementary education became free and in that decade the school leaving age was raised to 11, then 12, and in 1918 to 14. The Education Act, 1944 reformed the system and made secondary education available and free to all, through a system of grammar and secondary modern schools. More girls than boys passed the Eleven Plus examination which selected children for grammar schools and so a quota was used to ensure that the numbers of boys and girls in mixed grammar schools was similar (Gladstone, 2002). Although without these quotas it is estimated that girls would have taken around two-thirds of places (Murray, 2011).

[34] Emphasis in the original

This restriction in the numbers of girls going to grammar school had implications for the numbers of them going on to university. In the 1930s less than 2% of eighteen year olds went to university, with less than a quarter being women, a ratio that continued until the 1960s, when the figure started to rise, until in 1996/7 more women than men attended university (Dyehouse, 2007). In 2007, girls comprised 57% of those attending university, a figure relatively unchanged since 2003/4 (EHRC, 2010).

Women were not admitted to university prior to 1878, though there was a demand. After campaigns by women, often as part of the social reform movement, they were admitted to the University of London and thereafter to the provincial universities (Rendall, 1990). Although Girton College, Cambridge and Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford were established in 1869 and 1879 respectively, women were not awarded degrees from these universities until the twentieth century, with Cambridge being the last university to award degrees to women in 1947. At the time, there was considerable resistance to higher education for women, places were limited and only a few middle-class women went to university.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century some women were also demanding admission to the professions. Although traditionally a female occupation, medicine had become closed to women following the Medical Act of 1858 which required doctors to register in order to practice, which required a university education from which women were excluded, although women could continue to practice as midwives and nurses. In response to pressure women were finally admitted to medical schools and by 1891 there were 101 women doctors in the United Kingdom. Other professions opened up to women, including accountancy and banking. However the Law Society did not admit women until 1922 following the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919 which made it illegal to bar women from many of the professions and this Act also opened up the higher reaches of the civil service to women.

In today's education system there is still evidence of subject segregation, although little of it now exists in examinations taken at age 16 (EOC, 2006), unlike in 1980 when there were more pronounced differences (Beechey, 1986). However, at A

level/Higher grade boys comprise 76% of those taking physics, 73% of those taking computer studies and 60% of those taking mathematics, while girls make up 71% of those taking English literature, 68% of those taking modern languages and 62% of those taking biological sciences (EOC, 2006). This subject segregation continues in university with women making up 76% of those studying veterinary science, 76% of those studying education and 68% of those studying languages while men comprise 84% of those taking engineering and technology and 81% of those taking computer science.

3.8.2 Proximate institutions

Whitley (1992a) contends that proximate institutions are formed alongside the modern state. As discussed in Section 3.2, these include the legal and political systems, the financial system and trade unions and these will be examined in the following sections, focusing mainly on the gender composition of each institution.

3.8.2.1 Legal system and women's legal rights

The legal situation of women in terms of family life has been explored in Section 3.8.1.4 and in the nineteenth century, much of the debate about women's rights took place within the context of the campaign for women's suffrage. The first parliamentary debate took place in 1867 and between 1870 and 1914 there were 28 bills which failed. Although women ratepayers were given the vote in local elections in 1869, and achieved subsequent limited voting rights dependent on age and circumstances, it was, of course, not until 1928 that women over 21 were able to vote in national elections, giving them parity with men.

Women's work was regulated by the Mines Act of 1842, the Factories Acts of 1833 and 1844 and the Workshop Act of 1867, which limited the hours of work for women and children. Interestingly, this legislation did not apply to the largest group of women working in domestic service, which often involved heavy manual work, or to those in the sweated trades (Rendall, 1990). However, it was not until the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 that it became illegal to discriminate against women in education, work and training on the grounds of sex or marital status. In the same

year the Employment Protection Act introduced maternity pay and made it illegal to dismiss a woman because she was pregnant. Since then there have been a number of pieces of legislation extending women's rights at work, the latest being the Equality Act, 2010.

Until the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919 which made it illegal to bar women from many of the professions, women were prohibited from practising as a solicitor and were only admitted to the Law Society in 1922. The first woman barrister was also called to the bar in 1922. By 1985 women accounted for less than 10% of private practice solicitors, but in the following period the numbers increased dramatically to 33% by 1999 (McNabb and Wass, 2006). In 2010, the figure was 45.8% (Law Society, 2011). However, in 1997, women comprised only 16% of partners (McNabb and Wass, 2006) and by 2008 they constituted only 19.6 per cent of partners in the top 100 law firms (Chelell, 2008). In terms of the Bar, 34.8% of barristers are women, and 11.2% of Queens Counsel are women (Sauboorah, 2011). Women constituted 12.9% of the senior judiciary in 2010, an increase from 6.8% in 2003. However the Fawcett Society (2012a) calculate that based on current progress it will take 45 years to achieve an equal number of women in the senior judiciary.

3.8.2.2 The political system

The first women took her seat in Parliament in 1919, after the Representation of the People Act, 1918 enfranchised women over thirty if either they, or their husband, met a property qualification (BBC, nd). Until then members of the House of Commons had been men and the House of Lords continued to be wholly male until 1958 (UK Parliament, nd). The number of women MPs increased gradually from 16 in 1929, to 60 in 1993, then 120 in 1997 and 143 in 2010, 22% of the House of Commons (UK Parliament, nd). The large increase in 1997 is attributed in part to the Labour Party's use of women only shortlists (UK Parliament, nd). The first woman Minister was appointed in 1924, the first woman Cabinet Minister in 1929, since when 28 women have held cabinet posts (House of Commons, 2010) and the first woman Prime Minister was appointed in 1979 (UK Parliament, nd).

As can be seen the elected political system remains predominantly male. At the 2010 election, of the three main parties, 31% of Labour MPs were women, 16% of Conservatives and 12% of Liberal Democrats (House of Commons, 2010). The Fawcett Society (2012a) estimates that it will take 70 years, or nine elections for women to achieve equal representation.

3.8.2.3 Trade Unions

As discussed in Section 2.5.1, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, trade unions initially campaigned for a breadwinner's wage and were often hostile to women's employment. Although historically women have always been an important part of trade union history, comprising 16% of trade union membership by 1920, unions have been criticised for not championing the needs of women in the workplace (Kirton, 2006). Initially, and partly as a consequence of male attitudes, women set up their own union organizations, though by 1920 these had merged with the TUC and by 1922 women had reserved seats on the General Council (Kirton, 2006). By 1950, 18.1% of union members were women. However, after WW2, as they had done after WW1 trade unions supported employers in replacing the women who had undertaken war work and they continued largely to ignore women's employment issues (Kirton, 2006).

Kirton (2006:31) argues that it was the strike by female machinists at the Ford Dagenham plant in 1968 that was "pivotal in the history of women's trade unionism in Britain" and this strike, combined with feminism of the 1960s and 1970s resulted in trade unions beginning to campaign on women's issues. However, in her autobiography Barbara Castle (1993:411) describes a late 1960s pay dispute between the engineering unions and the engineering employers, which resulted in a poor deal for women workers and reinforced the "pay structure hierarchy which descended in the following order: skilled workers, semi-skilled, labourers and women". She contends that she "knew then that left to themselves the unions would never do anything serious about equal pay and that the government would have to legislate" (1993:412) and as a result she supported and subsequently introduced the Equal Pay Act of 1970. By 2000, women comprised 46.3% of union membership,

and although many union lay committees have a high representation of women, the proportion of full-time officials remains disproportionately low.

3.8.2.4 The financial system

In 2008, the UK financial services sector employed around 4% of the UK workforce (*EHRC*, 2009). Since then employment levels have fallen, but it remains one of the UK's major sectors. In 2009, the *EHRC* published its report into Sex Discrimination in the sector and found that: the gender pay gap for annual earnings of 55% was almost double that of the economy as a whole at 28%; the gender pay gap was 80% for performance related pay; and vertical occupational segregation was evident.

The *EHRC* investigation was initiated under Section 16 of the Equality Act, 2006 and as such was a formal investigation. The *EHRC's* predecessor, the *EOC* had similar powers and was poised to investigate Barclays bank in 1983 (Dickens, 2000). At that time the threat of an investigation was enough to persuade the bank to reform its recruitment and selection practices.

3.9 Conclusion

The importance and influence of society and its institutions on the under-representation of women in management are recognised by Acker (2009), Connell (2005) and Fagenson (1990). In addition, organizations do not exist in isolation and are part of industrial sectors, national and international business systems. This chapter therefore began by introducing Whitley's (1992) business systems approach, which firstly identifies management, and therefore women in management, as part of its coordination and control systems. Secondly Whitley (1992) also contends that business systems are shaped by background institutions, such as the family, the education system and religious organizations, and by proximate institutions, such as the legal system, financial system, political system and trade union system, and are embedded in these institutional environments. In turn this thesis posits that women in management and organizations are also shaped by these background and proximate institutions and are embedded in the institutional environment, business system and society in which they are located. In addition as stated in Section 3.1,

there is a gap in the literature in that the business systems framework has not been applied to women in management. This thesis will therefore examine the influence on women in management of the background and proximate institutions set out in Figure 2 and will also do so at a sectoral level (Räsänen and Whipp, 1992).

Figure 2: Key institutions

Background institutions	**Proximate institutions**
The family	The legal system
Religious organizations	The political system
The education system	Trade unions
	The financial system

This chapter went on to explore the concept of institutions, from North's (1990:3) broad definition of "the rules of the game in a society" (North,1990:3) to Scott's (2001:48-49) neo-institutionalist definition of institutions as "social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience", supported by three pillars, the regulative, the normative and the cultural-cognitive, and which can be both formal and informal. In terms of women in management these three pillars include legislation and codes of practice, values and norms and "culturally supported" (Scott, 2001:58) shared beliefs and meanings about women in the workplace and in management and these will be explored in this thesis.

This chapter also noted Morgan's (2007:142) assertion that while an examination of the ways in which institutions shape organizations and business systems remains important, it is also essential to examine the ways in which "organizations, actors and institutions are engaged in a process of co-constitution". Fagenson (1993:6) also acknowledges this process of 'co-constitution' pointing out that, in terms of women in management "when the individual, the organization, or the system in which they are embedded changes, the other components change as well". Neo-institutionalism also recognises this embeddedness and views change as both "incremental and

discontinuous" (Scott, 2001:48) or as Streek and Thelen (2005:1) term it incremental change and "exogenous shock". This thesis posits that change is also endogenous, from women themselves within organizations, business systems and society. This chapter also examined Di Maggio and Powell's (1983) concept of isomorphism, which they contend is both structural and cultural, with isomorphic change a result of coercive, mimetic and normative mechanisms, such as legislation, the use of similar sectoral approaches and the influence of professionalization, including not only education but also professional career paths and networks and these too will be explored in this thesis.

This chapter then examined the relationship between agency and structure, noting the fundamental paradox of institutions (Grafstein, 1992, cited by Peters, 2005), namely that while human agents create institutions, they are also constrained by them. The relationist approach (Reed, 2003) where structure and agency are separate but related is adopted in this thesis, as is Archer's (1982, 2010) morphogenetic approach, which stresses the importance of the historical dimension. The chapter therefore explored path dependency and the importance of it in demonstrating the ways in which "national institutional settings influence, constrain or determine economic behaviors and interactions" (Djelic and Quack, 2007:164). The importance of this in relation to women's careers (Elman and O'Rand, 2004) was also highlighted as was the way in which it has been shown to mitigate against incremental change (Bruggeman, 2002).

This chapter also pointed out that institutions and business systems are often assumed to be gender neutral. However as Connell (2005) points out, institutions are characterized by normative hegemonic masculinity. This thesis posits that just as organizations are not gender neutral, nor are business systems and they, too, exhibit institutionalised patterns of gender discrimination.

In Chapter 2 the long history of women in management was explored and so this chapter examined the ways in which, throughout that history, women have been constrained by institutions. In terms of background institutions, this includes the family, where until a century ago men's position at the head of the family was

enshrined in a legal framework as well as by convention and so this chapter set out the historical development of the rights gained by women during the twentieth century and demonstrated that the roles adopted by men and women in the family were by convention segregated, both historically and in the present day. In terms of religious organizations, this chapter examined the relationship between women and religious organizations in the United Kingdom, which until the twentieth century were headed by men and where the formal practice of religion was led by men, and where in terms of Christian teaching the roles for men and women were deemed to be biblically determined. It also set out the historical development of the role of women, particularly in terms of the ordination of women and women's role within the management of the churches. The third background institution to be examined was the education system, in which gender segregation is evident, both historically in terms of exclusion from universities, and in the present day in terms of subject segregation, which it is argued is part of the foundation of occupational segregation in the workplace. This thesis will therefore examine the influence of these three background institutions on the lives of the case study women in management.

Finally, this chapter examined four proximate institutions, the legal system, the political system, trade unions and the financial system. It focused primarily on the gender composition of each and demonstrated the existence of occupational segregation, and in the case of the financial system a large pay gap. It also examined the legislation governing women in the workplace and the attitude of trade unions to women. It is noted that each of the three case studies is also a proximate institution.

3.10 Conceptual Framework and Research Questions

The key features of the gender inequality regime were set out in Figure 1 in Section 2.9 of Chapter 2 and are also reproduced in Figure 3. These are the shape and degree of inequality and the organizational sub-structure, which is comprised of three main elements, the organizing processes and practices, the emotions of human relations and organizational culture. This thesis posits that each business system, organizational field, and institution, like each organization has its own gender inequality regime(s). This leads to the first research question:

Research Question 1: How do women managers experience the gender inequality regime at the level of:

a. the business system
b. the organization?

As has been demonstrated in Chapter 2, there are a range of factors within the organizational sub-structure that can influence women's progress in management. These are also summarised in Section 2.9 and in Figures 1 and 3 and are: organizing processes and practices; the emotions of human relations; and organizational culture. Organizing processes and practices comprise: the organization of the work, including working hours, presenteeism, and their compatibility with relationships and family life (Acker, 2006b); elements that constitute and influence women's organizational careers, including career paths (Bartol, 1978); gendered performance standards and management styles, and mentoring (Ragins et al, 1998); networking (Ragins et al, 1998); the difficulties in accessing social capital (Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2010; Timberlake, 2005); impression management (Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2010); and commitment to equal opportunities legislation and policies (Powell and Butterfield, 1994, cited by Powell, 2000).

Organizations are also embedded in industrial sectors (Räsänen and Whipp, 1992) and business systems which Whitley (1992a) contends are shaped by background and proximate institutions which, this thesis posits, also shape and influence the experiences and lives of women in management. These institutions are set out in Figure 2 and Figure 3. Background institutions comprise the family, religious organizations and the education system, while proximate institutions comprise the legal system, the political system, trade unions and the financial system. The importance and influence of society and its institutions on the under-representation of women in management are also recognised by Acker (2009), Connell (2005) and Fagenson (1990). In addition as stated in Section 3.1, there is a gap in the literature in that the business systems framework has not been applied to women in management.

There are three additional institutional elements that shape and influence women in management that will be explored in this thesis. Firstly, there are the three formal and informal supporting "pillars" (Scott, 2001:54)) of institutions, the regulative, the normative and the cultural-cognitive, which can be both formal and informal. Secondly, women's experiences are likely to be influenced by isomorphism and its coercive, mimetic and normative mechanisms (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983), such as legislation, and professionalization. Thirdly, as demonstrated in Section 2.6, 2.6.1, 2.6.2, 2.6.3 and 2.6.4, women have a long history in management and its path dependent nature is also likely to influence women's experiences.

Sections 3.8, 3.8.1, 3.8.1.1, 3.8.1.2 and 3.8.1.3 examined women's history in the background institutions of the family, religious organizations and the education system, demonstrating the ways in which women were constrained and enabled by these institutions and the ways in which women themselves brought about change within these institutions. This agency/structure debate was explored in Section 3.5. In addition, this interactionist relationship between the woman, the organization and the business system and society was explored in Section 2.7.5 which examined the GOS approach (Fagenson, 1990; Parker and Fagenson, 1994). This interactionist relationship or as Morgan (2007:142) terms it "a process of co-constitution" was also examined in Section 3.2. In addition, Section 3.4 demonstrated that change can be incremental or discontinuous (Scott, 2001) and can also be the result of "exogenous shock" (Streek and Thelen, 2005:1) or endogenous factors (Scott, 2001). It can also be the result of coercive, mimetic and normative change mechanisms (DiMaggio and Powell (1983).

These influencing factors lead to the second research question.

Research Question 2:

Which elements within the gender inequality regime enable and constrain women's progress in management at the level of:

c. the business system

d. the organization?

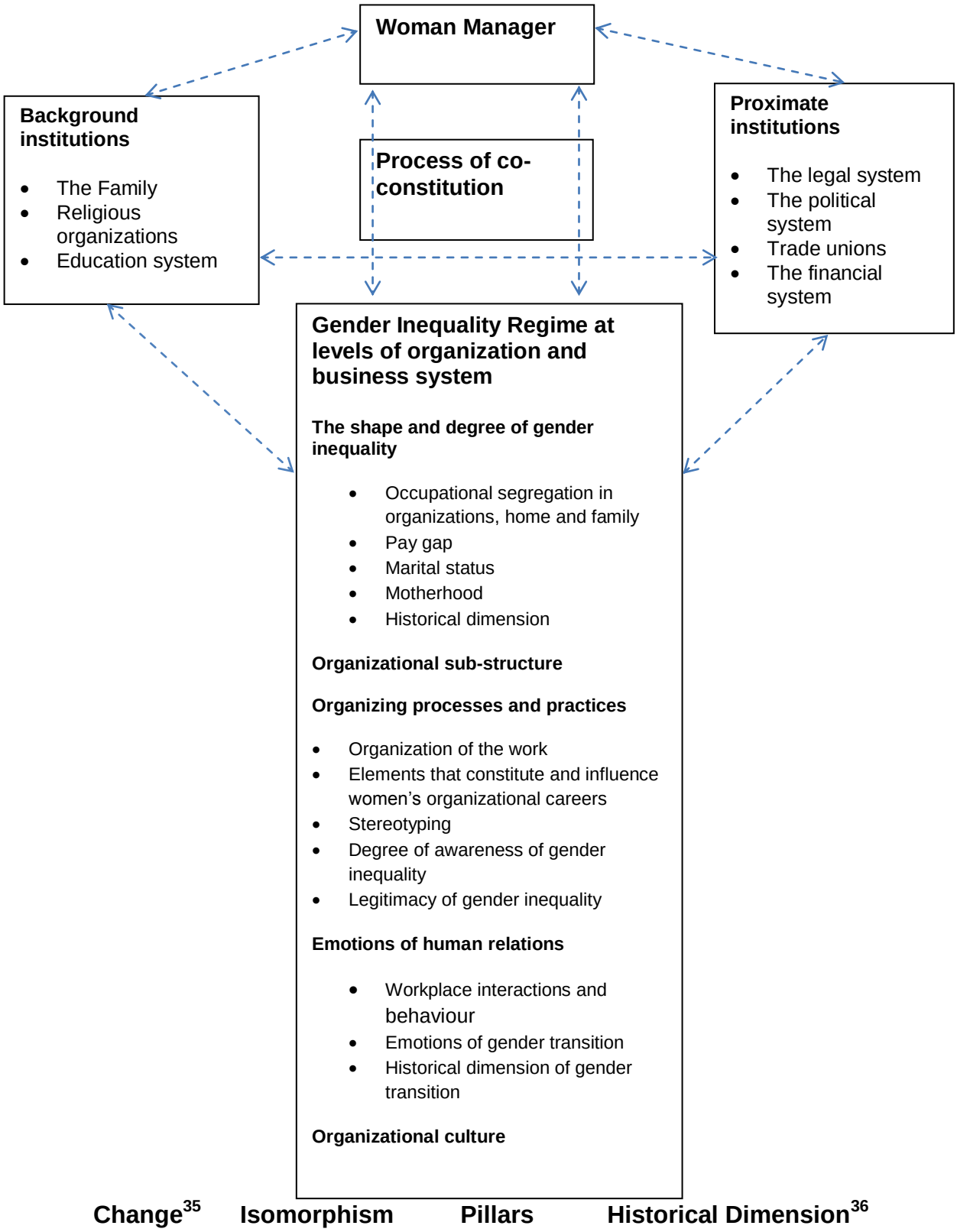
The concept of the glass ceiling was examined in Section 2.8.1. In the 1980s and 1990s it referred to women's seeming inability to break through from middle to senior management. However as Eagly and Carli (2007:2) have pointed out the glass ceiling can no longer be considered an "absolute barrier" as women have now broken through into senior management, albeit often by a labyrinthine route. This leads to research question three.

Research Question 3:

> How do senior women managers successfully navigate the gender inequality regimes of the business systems and organizations in which they work.

Figure 3 provides a pictorial representation of the factors that will be researched in the case studies. The arrows are not intended to signify relationships, they are merely to indicate potential pathways of co-constitution.

Figure 3: Conceptual framework



[35] Incremental, discontinuous, exogenous, endogenous.
[36] Encompasses path dependency.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology used in the study. It begins by setting out the research philosophy, then goes on to explore the research setting and sample, the research strategy and the research methods used for data collection and analysis. The role of the researcher is also discussed.

4.2 Research philosophy

The research philosophy adopted, according to Saunders et al (2003) depends on how the researcher views the development of knowledge. At its extremes, as Easterby-Smith et al (2008:57) point out "in the red corner is constructionism; in the blue corner is postivisim". Positivism is based on the methods of the natural sciences (Bryman and Bell, 2007; Saunders et al, 2003) and focuses only on phenomena that can be observed (Robson, 2011); it is 'value-free' (Robson, 2011); the researcher is viewed as independent of that being studied (Easterby-Smith et al, 2008); and its purpose is "to develop causal laws", through generating and testing hypotheses (Robson, 2011), normally using quantitative data (Anderson, 2009). Social constructionism, on the other hand argues that reality is socially constructed by individuals and is "created and maintained in interactions, and…[is]…culturally, historically and linguistically influenced" (Cunliffe, 2008); each individual's interpretation of that reality may be different (Saunders et al, 2003), resulting in multiple realities, which can also change over time (Holloway, 1997); the researcher is not independent but is part of that being studied (Holloway, 1997); the purpose of the research is to understand social reality (Saunders et al, 2003), normally using qualitative data (Anderson, 2009).

Critical realism is seen to offer a 'third way' between these two seemingly diametrically opposed research philosophies (Sayer, 2000), adopting a realist ontology that "there is a world which exists largely independently of the researcher's knowledge of it" (Sayer, 2004:6). However critical realism also argues that "gaining even partial access to that world is not straightforward (Fleetwood and Ackroyd,

2004:3). Sayer (2000:11) also points out that ontologically critical realism distinguishes between the 'real', the 'actual' and the 'empirical' defining the 'real' as

> *"whatever exists, be it natural or social, regardless of whether it is an empirical object for us, and whether we happen to have an adequate understanding of its nature. Secondly, the real is the realm of objects, their structures and powers"*

The 'actual' Sayer (2000:12) defines as "what happens if and when those powers are activated", while the 'empirical' he argues is "the domain of experience" and can refer to the 'real' or the 'actual'. He also points out that a key feature of critical realism is that of 'emergence' defined as "situations in which the conjunction of two of more features or aspects gives rise to new phenomena".

The research questions that form the focus of this research are outlined in Section 3.10. In looking at the ways in which women's progress in management is enabled and constrained by inequality regimes, places this research in the critical realist tradition, within which Bhaskar (2010:2) argues that

> *"we will only be able to understand – and so change – the social world if we identify the structures at work that generate those events and discourses…Those structures are not spontaneously apparent in the observable pattern of events; they can only be identified through the practical and theoretical work of the social sciences".*

Critical realism also recognizes the importance of 'generative mechanisms' (Bhaskar, 2010), that "offer the prospect of introducing changes that can transform the status quo" (Bryman and Bell, 2007:18).

Reference was also made in Sections 3.5 to the work of Archer (1982, 1995, 2010), who acknowledges a close link between her work and that of Bhaskar. Archer's morphogenetic model, in addition to viewing structure and agency as distinct entities that should be analysed independently, focuses on the complex interplay between agency and structure that result in systemic changes. This interplay is also temporal

according to Archer (1995:89) who contends that morphogenetic analysis "accords time a central place in social theory", with "its three-part cycles composed of (a) structural conditioning, (b) social interaction and (c) structural elaboration". As a result structure and action, or agency, "operate over different time periods". This temporal element signifies the importance of an historical dimension, which has been discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. In discussing her morphogenetic model, Archer (1995:90) argues that in structural conditioning

> *"systemic properties are viewed as the emergent or aggregate consequences of past actions. Once they have been elaborated over time they are held to exert a causal influence upon subsequent interaction. Fundamentally they do so by shaping the situations in which later 'generations' find themselves and by endowing various agents with different vested interests according to the positions they occupy in the structures they* ***inherit****"*[37]

Social interaction, Archer (1995:90) contends

> *"is seen as being structurally conditioned but never structurally determined (since agents possess their own irreducible emergent powers). On the one hand, the mediatory mechanism which transmits structural influences to human actors consists in the former moulding frustrating or rewarding contexts for different groups of agents, depending on the social positions they occupy."*

Archer (1995:90) goes on to suggest that the result of this social interaction is action by agents either "to [pursue] structural change" or "[defend] structural stability". The resulting structural elaboration, she argues, is "a largely unintended consequence…the combined product of the different outcomes pursued simultaneously by various social groups…largely result[ing] from group conflict and concession". Thus she argues

[37] Emphasis in the original

> *"every morphogenetic cycle distinguishes three broad analytical phases consisting of (a) a given structure (a complex set of relations between parts), which conditions but does **not** determine (b), social interaction. Here, (b) also arises in part from action orientations unconditioned by social organization but emanating from current agents, and in turn leads to (c), structural elaboration or modification – that is, to a change in the relations between parts where morphogenesis rather than morphostasis ensued. The cycle is then repeated"*[38]

In Chapter 2 examples have been given of this continuing cycle, for example, women's campaigns for suffrage, for admission to the professions and for employment protection. However, it could be argued that in these cases agents were eventually successful, at least under the law, in gaining the outcomes they desired.

Archer's ontological realism is not without its critics. However, these tend to be from alternative perspectives, such as King (1999) who criticises Archer from an interpretive perspective.

The research philosophy of critical realism determines the research strategy and methods used in this research and the research strategy will be considered in the next section.

4.3 Research methodology

Fleetwood (2007) points out that critical realism "rejects positivism's preoccupations with prediction and (often inappropriate) quantification and measurement" and contends that for critical realism "social phenomena can, often with great difficulty, be *understood*, but not often (meaningfully) *measured*, hence its preference for qualitative methods"[39]. As this research focuses on understanding the ways in which women's progress in management is enabled and constrained by inequality regimes

[38] Emphasis in the original
[39] Emphasis in the original

within the business system, organization and society and by the actions of the women themselves, qualitative research was selected as the most appropriate research strategy.

Hakim (2000:350) defines qualitative research as one which "is concerned with individuals' own accounts of their attitudes, motivations and behaviour". However while Strauss and Corbin (1990:170) also acknowledge this stating that qualitative research can be used to examine "people's lives, stories, behavior", they also point out that it can also be used to research "organizational functioning, social movements, or interactional relationships".

Miles and Huberman (1994) indicate that qualitative research can be carried out in a number of ways derived from different traditions, a view also endorsed by Denzin and Lincoln (2005). Miles and Huberman (1994:10) also contend that qualitative research is "fundamentally well-suited for locating the meanings people place on the events, processes and structures of their lives" (Miles and Huberman, 1994:10). Qualitative research also has "unique strengths...for research that is exploratory or descriptive, that assumes the value of context and setting, and that searches for a deeper understanding of the participants' lived experiences of the phenomenon" (Marshall and Rossman, 1995:39).

Although the research methodology is predominantly qualitative, quantitative material from secondary sources was also used and this will be discussed further in Section 4.5.

4.4 Research setting

Scotland was chosen as the research setting for a three main reasons. Firstly Scotland was a separate country until the Union of Parliaments in 1707. As a result, background institutions such as the religious and education systems, which form the basis of patterns of economic organization and provide a link between the modern economic system and the pre-industrial system (Whitley, 1992a), are different to those of the rest of the United Kingdom. For example, in terms of religion though Scotland was a Catholic country until 1560, its Reformation was a fairly bloodless

affair, unlike England (Smout, 1998). The Church of Scotland, or Kirk as it became known, is a Presbyterian church with no formal hierarchy, unlike the Church of England. In addition, the monarch is not head of the Church of Scotland and the state does not have control over appointments (Church of Scotland, 2004). Scotland's legal system, a proximate institution (Whitley, 1992a) is also different from England's. Its separateness and distinctiveness were also recognised and protected in the Union of 1707 (Lynch, 1992). While there have been attempts to replace it and the influence of Westminster and the English legal system have undoubtedly altered it (Cubie, 2002), it remains clearly Scottish.

Secondly, Scotland is a small country in terms of population. Its elites are therefore small in number and it has been described as "a close knit community where a high level of individual contact is possible" (Moore and Booth 1989:29, cited in McCrone, 1992a:137). It was therefore expected that it would be relatively straightforward to identify its senior women in management.

Thirdly, Scotland's economic transformation was revolutionary, not evolutionary as in England and as a result the process of urbanization in Scotland took place within a much shorter timescale than in England and Wales and much faster than any other European country, except Poland (Devine, 1999). One result of this was that by 1820 over half the population lived in the 'Central Belt' (Lenman, 1977), while today around 80% live in this region and industry and commerce too is concentrated in this area (Scottish Government, 2010a), which comprises only 10% of the land mass of Scotland.

Finally, there is a gap in the literature in terms of the Scottish business system and the place of women within it. In terms of the former there is a limited range of material on the economic, social and political history of Scotland, although since the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 there has been an upsurge of interest. In terms of the latter, while there is a body of historical and contemporary research on women in England and Wales, there is a gap in the literature in terms of Scotland, which is attributed to "ethnocentrism on one side of the border and male prejudices on the other" (Gordon and Breitenbach, 1990:1).

4.4.1 Scottish Business Sectors

As discussed in Section 3.4, institutional analysis is often carried out at the level of the organizational field (Powell, 2007), defined by DiMaggio and Powell (1983:143) as "those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products". Scott (2001:83-84) contends that "fields are bounded by the presence of shared cultural-cognitive or normative frameworks or a common regulatory system". DiMaggio and Powell (1983) also argue that, as organizational fields become established they become more homogenous, at both a structural and cultural level, resulting in similar responses to environmental change, which eventually constrain the behaviour of most, if not all, in the organizational field.

Three business sectors, or 'organizational fields, were chosen in which to carry out research. These were Scotland's Financial Services sector, Local Government sector, and Labour Movement, including Trade Union, sector. The Financial Services sector was selected because: it has a long history within Scotland (Munn, 2004); it is the second largest financial centre in the United Kingdom after London (Scottish Financial Enterprise, 2011) offering a range of services including "global custody, asset servicing, banking, investment management, corporate finance, general / life assurance and pensions" (Scottish Government, 2011a); in 2005 it was described by the then Scottish Executive as "the cornerstone of the Scottish economy" (Scottish Executive, 2005:6); despite the problems since then in Financial Services, it remains one of Scotland's major employment sectors with 94,600 jobs (Scottish Government, 2011a); and despite the 'nationalization' of two of Scotland's largest banks, it consists primarily of private sector employers. The Local Government sector was selected because: it is a public sector employer; it also has a long history within Scotland, with its tradition of municipalization in the early 19th century (Smout, 1997) when it was run by the middle classes (McCrone, 1992); there was evidence of a religious divide in the 20th century (Budge and Urwin, 1966; Bochel and Denver, 1970, cited in McCrone, 1992); and it is one of Scotland's major employers with 284,300 jobs (Scottish Government, 2012a), amounting to 11.24% of the country's total jobs. The Labour Movement, including the trade unions, was

selected because: it consists primarily of third-sector employers; it, too, has a long history and tradition in Scotland, particularly in the West (McCrone, 1992:190); it has formal and informal power in Scottish society, both of which have become increasingly important since the establishment of the Scottish Parliament; although its UK parliamentary and local government power has diminished since 2007, it continues to send the largest number of MPs to the Westminster parliament; Scotland has its own umbrella trade union congress, the STUC, formed in 1897; and though almost 90% of STUC affiliated trade unionists belonged to a British union (STUC, 2008), there is a discernable Scottish trade union sector; and union density in Scotland is higher than the UK average (Achur, 2011).

Secondly, these three sectors were also chosen as they are proximate institutions (Whitley, 1992a) and as such they are a feature of the modern Scottish state. As has been argued in Section 3.2 they have an important role in women's working lives. In addition, the Financial Services sector and Local Government are also major employers of women, with women comprising 73% of the workforce in the latter (UNISON, 2012). Women also constituted 46.3% of union membership in 2000. There are also relationships between each of the sectors with, for example trade union involvement in local government and financial services and labour movement involvement in trade unions and local government.

4.4.2. Women managers

An initial mapping of the three sectors showed that, unsurprisingly, most of the larger operational units were located within the Central Belt, at least in the Financial Services sector and the Labour and Trade Union movement. For example around two-thirds of Financial Services jobs in Scotland are located in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow (Scottish Government, 2010b), while the STUC and Scottish Labour Party headquarters are based in Glasgow as are the majority of the Scottish offices of trade unions, though some of the latter are based in Edinburgh. It was therefore decided that where possible the sample of women managers would be based in the Central Belt fifty miles long joining the east and west coasts of Scotland, though in practice some of the senior women in the Financial Services sector were located still within the Central Belt, but at its outer edge in Dundee. Local

government is spread throughout Scotland, but its largest councils and the most prestigious in terms of managerial employment are in the Central Belt, and will be referred to in the research as Tartan Council and Thistle Council.

In addition to the sector and location of the woman manager, consideration was given to her organizational position. Given the focus of the research on gender inequality regimes and the fact that some women do successfully navigate such regimes, it was decided to focus on the most senior women in the *core* business in these three sectors. So in the Financial Services sector the sample consisted of women managers who "run the money"[40], rather than work in a support operation, and therefore included women in retail and wholesale banking, asset management and fund management. In the Labour and trade union movement, the sample was comprised of women in senior positions employed by the movement, such as trade union and party officials. In local government, the sample consisted of women in the most senior council posts, such as a Director, or Head of Service.

The sampling strategy was purposive, as tends to be the case in qualitative research (Holloway, 1997; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Prospective interviewees were identified from two main sources: published material such as newspapers, company reports and internet sources; and key informant interviews with personal and business contacts. The initial interviewees often identified others and also facilitated access, so there was also an element of snowball sampling (Robson, 1993). Normally letters were sent outlining the research and requesting an interview. These were followed up by a telephone call, usually with the manager's Personal Assistant a few days later, to clarify the terms of the research and set up the interviews. Most, though not all, of the women who were approached, agreed to participate in the research.

A total of thirty-six women managers were interviewed. In addition a further seventeen key informant interviews were carried out, making a total of fifty-three interviews.

[40] Term used within the sector, from key informant interviews

The key informant interviews were carried out prior to the interviews with the women managers. Payne and Payne (2004:134) define key informants as "those whose social positions in a research setting give them specialist knowledge about other people, processes or happenings that is more extensive, detailed or privileged than ordinary people, and who are therefore particularly valuable sources of information to a researcher, not least in the early stages of a project". This proved to be the case and the key informant interviews were used, along with secondary data, to construct a picture of each business system and its key organizations. They also assisted in identifying each business system's senior women managers. In some cases they also facilitated access to these senior women. Most of the key informant interviewees were men.

In the Financial Services sector a total of fifteen interviews took place with senior women in banking, fund management, and asset management. A further six key informant interviews were also carried out with men and women in the sector. These are detailed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Financial Services Interviewees

Interviewees	Role	Family Circumstances
FS1	Managing Director and Head of Operations, US Banking Group,	Married, one child, husband at home
FS2	Head of Fund Accounting, European Banking Group,	Married, 2 children, husband works part-time.
FS3	Head of Scottish Operations, European Banking Group,	Married, no children, husband works full-time
FS4	Regional Managing Director, Retail Banking, Scottish and UK Banking Group	Married, no children. Husband worked full-time, now retired.

FS5	CEO, Scottish Investment Trust	Married, four children, husband works full-time in Financial Services
FS6	Chairman and CEO of Scottish subsidiary of UK Banking Group	Married, three children, husband works full-time.
FS7	Head of Risk Scotland, Corporate Banking, Scottish and UK Banking Group,	Married, works part-time 28 hours, 2 children, husband works in evenings
FS8	Head of Mutual Funds and Life Investment, Scottish Insurance Company,	Single, no children
FS9	Chief Executive of Scottish Life Assurance Society,	Divorced, no children
FS10	HR Director, Scottish Investment Fund	Married, no children
Key Informant Interviewees		
FS11	Male, Senior Sales Manager, European Asset Servicing Company	Married, one child, wife works part-time
FS12	HR Officer, UK Investment Fund	Lives with partner, no children
FS13	Union Activist, Scottish and UK Banking Group	Married, husband works full-time, one child
FS14	Ex- graduate trainee and HR Manager, Scottish and UK Banking Group	Married, husband works full-time, no children
FS15	Adviser, Scottish	Married, husband works

	Financial Enterprise	full-time, one child
FS16	Ex-graduate trainee, UK Insurance Company, now academic	Married, two children, husband works full-time

In Local Government the initial intention was to interview only the most senior women at 'first tier' level. However, as there were no women managers at this level in Thistle Council at the start of the research, this was broadened to the council's most senior women managers, who included second tier and in some cases third tier managers, as well as staff who were and/or had been responsible for equal opportunities in each council, a total of sixteen women. In addition, five key informant interviews were carried out with current and former councillors, trade union officials and personal contacts, resulting in a total of twenty-one interviews. To maintain the anonymity of the interviewees, no job titles are given, only the tier of the job.

Table 4.2 Local Government Interviewees

Interviewees	**Council**	**Tier**	**Family Circumstances**
LG1	Thistle	First	Married, two children, husband works full-time
LG2	Thistle	Second	Married, one adult child, husband works full-time
LG3	Thistle	Second	Married, no children, husband works full-time
LG4	Thistle	Second	Single, no children
LG5	Thistle	Second	Married, two children, husband works full-time
LG6	Thistle	Third or below	Married, no children

LG7	Tartan	First	Single, no children
LG8	Tartan	First	Married, two adult children, husband works full-time
LG9	Tartan	First	Married, two children, husband works full-time
LG10	Tartan	First	Married, no children, husband retired
LG11	Tartan	First	Married, two adult children, husband works full-time
LG12	Tartan	First	Married, no children, husband works full-time
LG13	Tartan	Second	Married, two children, husband retired
LG14	Tartan	Third or below	Married, one child, husband works full-time
LG15	Tartan	Third or below	Married, no children, husband works full-time
LG16	Tartan	Third or below	Married, two adult children, husband works full-time
Key Informant Interviewees			
Respondent LG17	Councillor	Divorced, no children	
Respondent LG18	Trade union activist	Married, no children	
Respondent LG19	Personal contact	Divorced, one adult child	
Respondent LG20	Former Councillor	Widowed	
Respondent LG21	Personal contact	Married, three children	

In the Labour and Trade Union movement a total of seventeen interviews were carried out, ten of which were with women who hold or had recently held senior positions in Scotland's Labour Movement, with the remaining seven being additional background and elite interviews with elected politicians, trade union officers and political advisers, consisting of two men and five women .

Table 4.3 Labour Movement Interviewees

	Role	**Family Circumstances**
Interviewees		
Respondent LM1	Full-time Trade Union Official – smaller UK union	Married, three adult children, two career family
Respondent LM2	Full-time Trade Union Official – medium UK	Partner, no children
Respondent LM3	Full-time Trade Union Official – medium UK union	Single, no children
Respondent LM4	Former Full-time Trade Union Official – larger UK union	Divorced, two adult children
Respondent LM5	Full-time Trade Union Official – larger UK union	Partner, no children
Respondent LM6	Full-time Trade Union Official –Scottish union	Married, no children
Respondent LM7	Lay Activist and Workplace Representative – larger UK union	Married, children
Respondent LM8	STUC Official	Single, partner, no children
Respondent LM9	Labour Party Full-time Official	Married, one child
Respondent LM10	Former Labour Party and STUC Full-time Official	Married, no children
Key informant interviewees		

Respondent LM11	Former Labour Councillor	Divorced, partner, two adult children
Respondent LM12	Labour Councillor	Divorced, two children
Respondent LM13	MSP	Single, no children
Respondent LM14	MP	Partner, no children
Respondent LM15	Former MP and former Councillor	Widowed, two adult children
Respondent LM16	Trade Union Regional Secretary	Male, married, two adult children
Respondent L17	Former Labour Adviser	Male, married, three adult children

The research methods will be discussed in the following section.

4.5 Research Methods

Data was collected using in-depth interviews, a method, which fits with the critical realist orientation of this research, and is used by a range of critical realist researchers including Archer, (2003). Qualitative interviews can be either unstructured or semi-structured (Bryman, 2004) and both types are also referred to as in-depth (Mason, 2002). Unstructured interviews are characterised by a loose format, with the interviewer often using no more than an opening question and a prompt guide, allowing the interviewee to talk freely, while semi-structured interviews, as the title suggests have a tighter structure, and a more specific interview guide, though here too, the interviewee is permitted, if not encouraged, to diverge from the subject (Bryman, 2004). However, Mason (2002:63) contends that the term 'unstructured' "is a misnomer, because no research interview can be completely lacking in some form of structure". She argues that all qualitative interviews have certain key characteristics: "an interactional exchange of dialogue; a relatively informal style; a thematic, topic-centered, biographical or narrative approach; and the perspective that knowledge is situated and contextual" (Mason, 2002:62).

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, and also earlier in this chapter, an historical perspective has been presented as important in this research. The in-depth interviews therefore were broadened to include an historical dimension, gained through the addition of a life-history focus. The life history method "focuses on the ways in which individuals account for and theorize about their actions in the social world over time…As such it prioritizes individual explanations and interpretations of actions and events, viewing them as lenses through which to access the meaning that human beings attribute to their experiences" (Musson, 2004:34). While this may be viewed as indicating that the method falls within an interpretive epistemology (Musson, 2004), it can also be used by research adopting alternative approaches. Connell (1991:143, cited by Dowsett, 1994), for instance, points out that the adoption of a life history focus also has the "capacity to reveal social structures, collectivities, and institutional change at the same time as personal life-[i.e.] the interplay of structural fact and personal experience".

This research focused on themes generated by the literature and therefore, taking into account Mason's perspective, the interviews were semi-structured (Smith, 1995) and used an interview guide (Bryman, 2004; King, 2004) (see Appendix A). During the interviews, the order of topics was modified as required and the interviewee and researcher were able to explore issues as they arose during the interview (Smith, 1995). In addition, the demographic information was generally obtained in the normal course of the interview, with any outstanding information obtained at the end. Its flexibility is a one advantage of the semi-structured interview, others being the fact that it allows the researcher to probe not only the verbal, but the non-verbal responses of the interviewee and it produces rich data (Bryman, 2004; King, 2004; Robson, 1993). The interviews were normally conducted in the interviewee's workplace, although some were conducted in coffee houses and two in the interviewee's home. Two were conducted by telephone, at the request of the interviewees. All the interviews were recorded with a digital recorder and were then transcribed. The interviews normally lasted around an hour, but they did vary in length from 40 minutes to three hours, at the behest of the interviewee.

Secondary data was also used in the research. Historical literature was used to analyse the development of the Scottish business system and the three business

sectors, as well as contemporary qualitative data such as company and newspaper reports. In addition, quantitative data from secondary sources including census data, government statistical reports, organizational documents and other published material was also used and analysed. On occasion this involved the reinterpretation of existing statistical evidence (Hakim, 2000). However, it also involved the re-analysis of material from existing datasets, such as government statistics. This raised some problems, particularly when changes were made to the collection of government data which resulted in difficulties in historical comparisons. One example of this is given in Section 2.5 in relation to women's economic activity rates. This is not an unusual problem when using secondary data (Hakim, 2000; Saunders et al, 2003). Nevertheless published data often provided fruitful information, including, for example, aspects of occupational segregation which will be discussed in later chapters.

4.5.1 Reflexivity

There are several disadvantages to the interview method (Bryman, 2004; King, 2004; Robson, 1993). Firstly, much depends on the skill of the interviewer, who should: be knowledgeable about the subject; have good listening skills; be able to empathise with the interviewee; question effectively; steer the interview; interpret the interviewees responses; be critical if required; and be ethically sensitive (Kvale, 1996, cited by Bryman, 2004). In this case the author spent many years as an HR Manager and in addition to being trained in interviewing techniques, has extensive practical experience, resulting in well-developed interviewing skills, in line with the above list. However, the author has consciously altered aspects of her style and content, aware that the purpose of these interviews is not the same as the purpose of a selection interview. Secondly, any interviewer can have biases which may affect the outcome of the interview and which should be acknowledged (Holloway, 1997). The author was aware that not all interview subjects would share her 'feminist' perspective on women in management and therefore in order to acknowledge her own potential bias, it was important for the author to examine her assumptions and beliefs about the research topic and questions at the start of the research and regularly review these during the research gathering (King, 2004; Potter, 1996, cited by Holloway, 1997). In addition a research diary was kept in which the author

detailed her feelings about the research process (King, 2004). Thirdly, the author used the taped interviews as a way of regularly reflecting upon her interviewing skills and role (King, 2004). Finally, the author was aware of the need to be reflective of the research process itself (Holloway, 1997). Reflexivity is important as it is argued that "researchers are always part of the social world they study..[and so should]…reflect on their own role in the research process and on the wider context in which it occurs" (Hammersley, 2004:934). In addition to day-to-day reflection on the research process, the review of the taped interviews and the research diary also provided opportunities for reflexivity, including the power relationship between interviewer and interviewee. It also included awareness of the ways in which elements within the researcher's background, such as class and age, played in the research process (Oleson, 2000).

4.6 Data analysis

As is usual in qualitative research, the data collection and analysis stages ran concurrently with each informing the other (Charmaz, 2006). Strauss and Corbin (1990:46) also point out that this not only enables "sampling on the basis of concepts emerging as relevant to that particular research situation, but it furthers verification of hypotheses while they are being developed".

The transcribed interviews were analysed, using NVivo, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). While CAQDAS is a useful way to index large amounts of data (Mason, 1995; Miles and Huberman, 1994), which it proved to be, the author was sensitive to Mason's (1995) advice to avoid treating the analysed material as variables to be counted. Although a number of basic codes were determined *a priori* from the literature (Bryman and Bell, 2007), a grounded theory approach (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) was taken in data analysis, with codes also emerging from the process of analysis (Barbour, 2000). In line with grounded theory, coding was begun as soon as the first few interviews had taken place. The initial set of transcripts and field notes were read several times and were then analysed on a line-by-line basis, with nodes, reflecting codes, created in NVivo. In subsequent analysis, patterns and themes were generated from the coded material

(Miles and Huberman, 1994). Barbour's (2000:876) set of nine questions as set out in Table 4.4 was particularly useful at this point.

Each category was sampled until it was saturated (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). In addition the interview guide was on occasions amended during this process, with additional topics added.

Much of the quantitative data accessed was in the form of government statistical reports and its analysis is referred to in Section 4.5.

Table 4.4 Aggregating data

•What are the most common themes?
• Are there any notable exceptions, i.e. a few individuals who do not discuss particular themes or who say very different things about particular topics?
• What are the range of views expressed with regard to a topic? Are views black and white or is there a spectrum?
• Can you identify any sub-categories, i.e. variations on your themes, further distinctions/qualifications?
• What concepts are appealed to?
• What language is used?
• What are the respondent characteristics associated with particular views?
• What views go together?
• What patterns emerge?

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the methodology used in this research. It began by setting out the conceptual framework that emerged from the literature review in Chapters 2 and 3 and continued by detailing the research questions that emerged from both the literature review and conceptual framework. It then went on to present and discuss the adoption of the research philosophy of critical realism.

The research setting was identified as the Scottish business system and within it three key business sectors, Financial Services, Local Government and Labour and Trade Unions were discussed. The sample of women managers within this system and sectors was then presented and explained.

The research adopted a qualitative research strategy, using in-depth semi-structured interviews. In order to explore the historical dimension of the research, the interviews contained a life history focus and in addition secondary data was used, including both qualitative and quantitative material. A grounded theory approach to data analysis and collection was adopted and discussed. In addition, the role of the interviewer and the relationship between interviewer and interviewee was also reflected upon. The findings resulting from the data analysis are presented in the next chapters.

Chapter 5: Case Study - The Labour Movement

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the research findings on the Labour Movement. It begins by describing the three main groups that make up Scotland's Labour Movement system, the trade unions, the STUC and the Scottish Labour Party and the organizations within them. It also explores the gender composition within the three groups generally and within their senior management and goes on to illustrate the career pathways within each group. It then examines: workload and working hours; management styles, performance standards and culture; sex discrimination; mentoring; career support and networks; the family; religion; and education.

5.2 Scotland's Labour Movement

There are three main groups that constitute Scotland's Labour Movement. Firstly, there are the trade unions most of which, though not all, are part of larger UK unions. Secondly there is the Scottish Trades Union Congress (STUC), an organization separate from, but with links to, the UK Trades Union Congress (TUC) (STUC, 2008). Finally, there is the Scottish Labour Party, which is part of the UK Labour Party and which can be divided into three groups: those people employed by the party, who are likely to be, but need not be party members; the party members elected as local councillors, MSPs, MPs and MEPs; and the unelected party members who constitute the bulk of the party. In addition other organisations are affiliated to the Scottish Labour Party, for example the Cooperative Party and many of the trade unions. It is important to note that to some extent these three groups overlap, with employees of the party and elected members being, in many cases, trade unionists, while many trade unionists are also members of the party and in many cases elected members. There are a number of other socialist groups and organizations that would consider themselves part of the Scottish Labour Movement. However, they tend to be small and as such are unlikely to be part of the 'ruling elite', so were excluded from this research. Each of the three groups will be examined in the following sections.

5.2.1 Trade Unions

The Certification Officer (2011a:23) reported that there were 176 trade unions in the UK in 2010/11[41] with a total membership of 7,328,905. However 85.7% of members were found in the fourteen largest unions, with 47.64%[42] found in the largest three unions (Certification Officer, 2011a:24)[43]. Unite the Union is the largest with 1,515,206 amounting to 20.67% of all trade union members in the UK, followed by UNISON with 1,374,500 members (18.75%) and the GMB with 602,212 members (8.22%)[44] (Certification Office, 2011a). The remaining eleven out of the fourteen largest unions are in order of size: Royal College of Nursing (RCN); Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (USDAW); National Union of Teachers (NUT); National Association of Schoolmasters, Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT); Public and Commercial Services Union (PCS); Communication Workers Union (CWU); Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL); British Medical Association (BMA); University and College Union (UCU; Prospect; and Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT).

A list of the top thirteen unions in Scotland, by membership[45], immediately shows similarities to and differences from the rest of the UK. The major UK unions all feature on the Scottish list, in approximately the same position. The differences are primarily in relation to the education unions which, although they feature on both lists, are different unions and these unions will be discussed further in Section 5.2.1.1. The Scottish list is: Unite the Union (170,828); UNISON (155,000); GMB (60,000); Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) (58,829); RCN (37,000); USDAW (36,036); PCS (35,350); CWU (20,037); UCATT (18,000); BMA (13,000); Prospect (10,902); Scottish Secondary Teachers Association (SSTA) (7,976); and National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers (RMT) (7,513) (BMA, 2008; RCN, 2007; STUC, 2008). A comparison is shown in Table 5.2.

[41] Latest year for which statistics are available for all unions is year to 31 December 2010.
[42] Calculated from data in Union Annual Returns and Certification Officer Annual Report 2010-2011.
[43] Calculated from data in Union Annual Returns and Certification Officer Annual Report 2010-2011.
[44] Calculated from data in Union Annual Returns and Certification Officer Annual Report 2010-2011.
[45] Calculated from data in STUC Report of General Council to Annual Congress 2008 and the web-sites of the BMA and RCN.

Table 5.1 Unions by Membership: a comparison between Scotland and the UK

Position	Scotland (2008)	UK (2010)
1	Unite the Union	Unite the Union
2	UNISON	UNISON
3	GMB	GMB
4	EIS	RCN
5	RCN	USDAW
6	USDAW	NUT
7	PCS	NASUWT
8	CWU	PCS
9	UCATT	CWU
10	BMA	ATL
11	Prospect	BMA
12	SSTA	UCU
13	RMT	Prospect
14	UCU	UCATT

Until recently it had also not been possible to obtain data on the proportion of male and female members of trade unions in Scotland. However some information is now available although, as can be seen from Table 5.2, it is still incomplete. Yet what there is does provide a partial picture of the gender composition of the membership of both Scotland's and the UK's trade unions.

Those unions with the highest proportion of women members are: the EIS (75.4%); Accord (75.2%); and UNISON (71%). This is unsurprising given that their membership respectively consists of teachers, employees of Halifax Bank of Scotland (HBOS) and employees in local government and health care – all occupations with a large female workforce. Those with the smallest proportion of women members are the FBU (6.07%), RMT (12%) and Prison Officers Association (Scotland) (14%), all representing traditionally male occupations. The percentage of

women members in the UK and Scotland is broadly comparable for most unions, the exceptions being the Prison Officers Association (Scotland), the NUJ and Accord.

Table 5.2 Women Members

Union	Scotland[46]		UK[47]	
	Members	% women members	Members	% women members
Unite	170,828	–	1,941,610	22.3161
UNISON	155,000	71	1,343,000	70.3169
GMB	60,000	45.15	575,892	43.1296
EIS	58,829	75.4	58,829	75.4033
RCN[48]	37,000	–	378,624	90.9895
USDAW	36,036	59	341,291	57.8263
PCSU	35,350	61.32	311,274	59.9748
CWU	20,037	20.5	240,817	19.8072
UCATT	18,000	–	128,914	2.5715
BMA[49]	13,000	–	131,253	42.7693
Prospect	10,902	21.51	101,532	21.5075
SSTA	7,976	61	7,976	61.0000
RMT	7,513	12	74,539	11.5201
UCU	6,667	39	117,804	45.9441
FBU	6,140	6.07	45,839	5.1746
Accord	3,502	75.2	27,477	68.5082
NASUWT	3,373	–	251,763	70.6601
NUJ	3,184	33	31,000	40.0000
Community	3,017	–	67,488	17.5498
Prison Officers Association (Scotland)	2,776	14	35,772	25.4053
Transport Salaried Staffs' Association	2,746	30	29,231	28.7229

[46] Data in STUC Report of General Council to Annual Congress 2008
[47] Calculated from data held by TUC (TUC, 2006)
[48] Not affiliated to STUC or TUC
[49] Not affiliated to STUC or TUC

In terms of the Movement's most powerful unions in Scotland, Unite is likely to have the lowest proportion of women (22.31% in the UK). Unite was formed by a merger between the T&G and Amicus, both with broadly similar percentages of women members. The low percentage of women is perhaps unsurprising as these unions represent members in industries such as engineering, manufacturing, shipbuilding and construction, which have, traditionally, been male occupations. The GMB also has a minority of female members albeit at 45.15%, whereas UNISON and the EIS have a majority of female members. This has implications for the gender composition of the union's paid officials, many of whom will come from the union's membership and in the case of many unions under their rules can only come from their respective memberships. Of the larger unions UNISON is an exception to this rule and employs non-members.

5.2.1.1 Scotland's education unions

The existence of Scottish education unions, combined with their high levels of membership, are indicative of the distinctiveness and separateness of the Scottish education system, with for example, its different qualifications of 'Highers' rather than 'A levels' and its historical administration through the Scottish Office in Edinburgh, until responsibility was devolved to the Scottish government in 1999.

While the NASUWT is represented in Scotland with 3,373 members (STUC, 2008), the majority of the country's teachers belong to Scotland's two teaching unions, the EIS and the SSTA. The EIS was "founded in 1847…[and contends that it]…is the oldest teaching union in the world…representing over 80% of teachers in Scotland" (EIS, 2007). For historical reasons the NUT does not recruit in Scotland and its rule book shows that it has reciprocal arrangements with the EIS for teachers who move from Scotland to other parts of the UK (NUT, 2008). The SSTA was "founded in 1944…[and]…is Scotland's second largest teachers' union, set up to focus on secondary issues, initially as a reaction to the undue influence exercised on national education issues at that time by the primary sector" (SSTA, 2012a). The SSTA claims to represent around a third of all Scottish Secondary Teachers (SSTA,

2012b). There is also an Association of Head Teachers and Deputes in Scotland with 1373 members (Certification Officer, 2012a).

This Scottish educational trade unionism is also reflected in Further Education, where the EIS-FELA (Further Education Lecturers' Association) is the dominant union and the "sole representative body for further education lecturers in Scotland" (EIS, 2006), although the ATL opened an office in Edinburgh in 2007 (ATL, 2008). There is also a new union, the Association of College Staff Scotland, established in 2009, which has 29 members. In Higher Education, the UCU dominates in Scotland's pre-1992 universities, with Scotland having its own "autonomous executive which operates under the umbrella of national UCU" (UCU, 2008). Again this reflects the distinctiveness of Scottish Higher Education with its traditional four year honours degree and its administration from within Scotland. In addition, it also reflects the history of the unionisation of higher education in Scotland, which formed its own Association of University Teachers (Scotland) in 1922, joining with the national AUT in 1949 (UCU, 2008). The EIS also has a foothold in Higher Education, largely for historical reasons. Prior to 1992, the EIS, was the recognised academic union in the Central Institutions of Higher Education, which became the new post-1992 universities, and also in the Teacher Training Colleges, which post-1992 merged with new or existing universities. Since 1992 there have been formal and informal disputes between the EIS-ULA (University Lecturers' Association) and the AUT/UCU over representation rights in the Higher Education Sector.

In addition to the education unions, there are other Scottish unions, including the Independent Federation of Nursing in Scotland with 930 members (Certification Office, 2011c) and the Scottish Artists Union with 877 members (Certification Officer, 2011d) However, most of the country's unions are UK unions, headquartered in London with regional offices in Scotland and these will be discussed further in Section 5.2.1.2.

5.2.1.2 Senior management in Scotland's trade unions

The structure of the trade unions is hierarchical. The title of the head of each of the unions in Scotland varies from union to union. For example, the EIS has a General

Secretary, UNISON a Scottish General Secretary, the GMB and Unite have a Regional Secretary and Prospect has a National Secretary. The Scottish regions of UK unions have "*different levels of autonomy and control"* (Respondent LM3) over the way in which they operate within Scotland. Some, like USDAW are highly centralised, whereas others like the GMB and Unison are less so and, for example, have some independent finances. All, of course have their own trade union congress, the STUC.

At the time that the fieldwork was conducted, out of the top thirteen unions shown in Table 5.1, there was only one female Regional Secretary in Scotland, in Prospect. Since then, a woman has become RCN Scotland Director, a union not affiliated to the STUC. However the remaining Regional Secretaries, particularly those of the largest and most powerful trade unions are, and traditionally have been, men. As Respondent LM16 pointed out:

> *The big players are all men, the main players are the STUC, the regional secretaries of the big unions*

The senior women trade union employees in Scotland are found at the next level, as Regional/National Officers or Regional Organisers. However their numbers, roles and selection methods, vary from union to union, as can be seen in examples from three unions, the EIS, GMB and Unison.

The EIS has in its Edinburgh headquarters, in hierarchical order, a General Secretary (male), 3 Assistant Secretaries (male) and 3 National Officers (female). It also has 4 Area Offices, staffed by 7 Area Officers, of whom 6 are male and 1 is female. The salaries of National Officers and Area Officers are at the same level[50]. Supporting all these officials is a group of predominantly female administrative staff. The posts of General Secretary and Assistant Secretary are semi-elected being appointed through a process of interview and election. It is not unusual for lay members rather than national officers to be appointed to these posts. In addition, it is over twenty-five years since a woman held the post of Assistant Secretary and the

[50] Interview data

post of General Secretary has always been held by a man. In 2011, the, then, General Secretary announced his retirement and in early 2012 he was replaced by another man, an activist. So, with a membership that is 75.40% female, the gender balance of the 14 officials within the EIS consists of 10 men (71.43%) and 4 women (28.57%).

The GMB has its regional headquarters in Glasgow with area offices in Aberdeen, Dundee, Inverness, Edinburgh and Kilmarnock. In addition to its Regional Secretary (male), GMB Scotland employs 3 Regional Senior Organisers (male), 19 Regional Organisers, of whom 5 (23.31%) are women, and 4 Organising Officers (male) out of a workforce of 45 staff[51]. The gender balance for these 27 officials is therefore 22 men (81.48%) and 5 women (18.52%), while the female membership of the union is 45.15%. The workforce also includes a Regional Political Officer (male), other specialist staff advising on matters such as equality and health and safety, and administrative and support staff the majority of the latter being women. Under its rules (GMB, 2008b), the Regional Secretary is appointed by Regional Committees of the Regional Council, both lay bodies. The Regional Council is elected by the membership in Scotland every four years, while Regional Committees are in turn elected by the Regional Council. Regional Committees also appoint the Regional Organisers and Senior Organisers of the union. Although initially appointed, all Organisers are required under the union rules to submit, within five years, to an election by the membership of the union, through the branches, in order to retain their posts. Once elected, they are also subject to re-election every four years.

During the interviews one phrase often used when discussing gender balance, or the lack of it, within the trade union movement was *'apart from UNISON'*, implying that this union had a better record. UNISON Scotland is headquartered in Glasgow with area offices in Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Inverness. Reporting to the Scottish General Secretary (male) are a management team of 4 Scottish Organisers (2 male, 2 female), each responsible for one of the UNISON Scotland's 4 objectives which are: recruitment and organising; bargaining and negotiation; campaigning; and efficient organisation. Each of these managers has a number of Organisers working

[51] Interview data

with them, between 66%-75% of whom are men. The union also has a Policy and Information Team, the only region to have such a unit, which was set up primarily in response to the Scottish Parliament[52]. Within this unit are a policy and research officer, communications officers and an equality officer. As is the case with the other unions the majority of administrative and support staff are female. In addition to having a senior management team which is 60% male, 40% female, UNISON's rules permit the appointment of staff who are not already members of UNISON. In addition UNISON's (2012b) rules enshrine the principles of proportionality and fair representation. The former is defined as "the representation of women and men in fair proportion to the relevant number of female and male members comprising the electorate" (UNISON, 2012b:61), while the former is defined as "the in fair proportion to the relevant number of female and male members comprising broad balance of representation of members of the electorate, taking into account such factors as age and low pay, the balance between full time and part time workers, manual and non-manual workers, different occupations, skills, race, sexual orientation, disability and gender identity" (UNISON, 2012b:60). The result of these principles is that all lay structures of the union are required to reflect the proportion of men and women that make up the membership, which should ensure a majority of women in, for example, each committee and delegation.

5.2.2 The STUC (and TUC)

The umbrella organisation of UK trade unions, the Trades Union Congress (TUC), is also headquartered in London with regional offices. However, the TUC has a very small Scottish office in Glasgow, unlike that of its other seven regional offices, all of whom have a traditionally staffed office with a regional secretary or in the case of Wales, a General Secretary, while Scotland's primary contact is listed as the Regional Education Officer (TUC, 2012a). This is primarily because Scotland has its own Scottish Trade Union Congress (STUC), which is an organization separate from, but with links to the TUC. The TUC Scotland web page recognises this, with a link to the STUC and its General Secretary, together with a statement that "the

[52] Interview data.

Scottish Trade Union Congress (STUC) is independent from the TUC, although we work closely together" (TUC, 2012b).

The STUC was established in 1897, in Glasgow where it continues to be based. According to Knox (1999:158) this was "primarily due to the feeling among Scottish delegates that not enough attention was being paid to matters concerning Scotland in the British Trades Union Congress (TUC)". It was also linked to the TUC's decision in 1895 to no longer permit the affiliation, merely the registration, of Trades Union Councils, organisations that were very influential in key cities in Scotland at that that time (Craigen, 1989). However, the STUC was not in opposition to the TUC, it was rather a reflection of the differences between Scotland and England in terms of education and law (Craigen, 1989). Nevertheless at that time trade unionism in Scotland was fairly segregated with "two-thirds of trade unionists…organised in exclusively Scottish organisations" (Knox, 1999:159), although the key craft unions were British unions. A generation later in 1924 the position was more or less reversed with 60% of Scottish trade unionists belonging to a British union, following a period of amalgamation (Knox, 1999). Knox (1999) also states that anti-English feeling also declined during this period as workers engaged in nationwide disputes building union solidarity. In 2006, almost 90%[53] of STUC affiliated trade unionists belonged to a British union (STUC, 2008). Trade union density in Scotland in 2010 is higher at 32.3% than the UK average of 26.6% (Achur, 2011), a fact noted by the STUC, although it is worth pointing out that both Northern Ireland and Wales have higher union densities than Scotland.

There are similarities and differences between the structure of the STUC and the TUC. The latter's policy making body is its annual Congress and its governing body is its General Council, which meets bi-monthly. The General Council in turn elects an Executive Council which meets monthly (TUC, 2012c). The General Council consists of 56 members, while the Executive Committee numbers 23 members (TUC, 2012c). The largest unions have automatic representation on the General Council with the remaining seats being contested by the smaller unions and in addition a number of seats are reserved for women and black workers, with young

[53] Calculated from data in STUC Report of General Council to Annual Congress 2008.

workers, LGBT and workers with disabilities having one reserved seat each (TUC, 2012c). Of the UK's 178 trade unions (Certification Officer, 2011a) 54 are members of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), which represents around 85% of UK trade unionists (TUC, 2012c)[54]. In addition, it has recently been announced that the TUC has appointed its first female General Secretary in Frances O'Grady, who will take up the role in 2013.

The STUC is a smaller body, with 39 trade unions and 20 Trades Union Councils affiliated in 2007/8[55] (STUC, 2008). The continued affiliation of the Trades Councils represents a difference from the TUC. The STUC's policy making body is its annual Congress, which elects its General Council. The General Council meets eleven times a year rather than bi-monthly and is smaller with 36 members. There is no Executive Council. Out of the 36 General Council members, 14 are elected from each of two sections, based on economic sectors, with 6 places in each section being reserved for women. The remaining 4 sections, Trades Councils, Black Workers, Disabled Workers and Young Workers having two members each, with one place in each section being reserved for women. Election to the STUC's General Council again differs from the TUC, both in terms of the composition of each section and in terms of the greater number of women's seats. In terms of the latter, while women comprise 38.18%[56] of the TUC General Council (TUC, 2007), they comprise 47.22%[57] of the STUC General Council (STUC, 2008).

5.2.2.1 Senior management in the STUC

The STUC is headed by a General Secretary (male) and a Deputy General Secretary (male). There are five Assistant Secretaries (three male and two female), a Head of Administration (female) and eight Administrators (seven female and one male) (STUC, 2012). The STUC also runs a number of funded project campaigns such as Close the Gap and One Workplace and these employees, of whom there

[54] Calculated from TUC membership figures and Certification Officer Annual Report 2010-11
[55] The latest year for which statistics are available.
[56] Calculated from information in the TUC General Council Report to Congress 2007.
[57] Calculated from data in STUC Report of General Council to Annual Congress 2008.

are fourteen women and four men, tend to be on short-term contracts. This was criticised by Respondent LM3 who said:

> *the STUC is not the force it was at all…I think they haven't moved with the times. If you look at their staff…it's actually quite scary, too many of their posts are based on project funding…whereas the TUC is much better in terms of employment, in fact I was just looking at doing a report just now on what the TUC is producing on migrant workers. Now of course they're bigger and they have more resources but they're more co-ordinated and they have their deputy, a woman called Frances O'Grady who is fantastic, dynamic, committed and she's given her head.*

However, not all interviewees criticised the STUC in this way, though most pointed out that their role had changed after the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, and as a result their profile had decreased.

5.2.3 The Labour Party in Scotland

Unlike the STUC, the Scottish Labour Party is part of a UK organisation, the Labour Party. However its position is somewhat ambiguous. According to Hassan (2002:155), "it is differentiated by a number of factors, historical, cultural and political, and while formally its autonomy has often been restricted, informally it has developed its own Scottish identity". That identity is unionist, but "the champion of Scottish interests" (Hassan, 2002:155), with the tension between the two positions at times causing difficulties for the party. At the time of writing and following Labour's defeat in the May 2011 Scottish Parliament elections, this tension is again evident and a matter of internal debate within the party, just as it was after the 2007 election. Hassan (2002:155) also contends that the Scottish party has a "culture of labourism, of working class politics, trade unionism and a defensive insular approach".

The Scottish Labour Party operates a hierarchical structure for its lay membership, consisting of Branch Labour Party, Constituency Labour Party (CLP), the Scottish Executive Committee (SEC) and the (UK) National Executive Committee (NEC)

(Scottish Labour, 2006). Before the advent of New Labour there were also District and Regional Labour Party groups between the Constituency Party and the Scottish Executive Committee. These have been replaced by Policy Forums. Before New Labour there were also Women's Committees, and their demise will be explored later in this section. The SEC "sets the party's objectives and oversees the running of the party in Scotland" (Scottish Labour, 2006). The SEC consists of "representatives from each section of the party – government, MPs, MSPs, MEPs, councillors, trade unions and CLPs" (Scottish Labour, 2006). The party has a Scottish General Secretary and a small group of employees based mainly in Glasgow, and it is within these employees that its women in management can be found. It also has 37 MSPs, 40 MPs, 2 MEPs and 349 local councillors (Scottish Labour, 2011). The gender composition of its parliamentary elected members is 17 women MSPs (45.94%) 10 women MPs (24.39%) and 1 woman MEP (50%).

An historical analysis of the Labour Party shows that women have always been part of it, although they have not always been publicly prominent. One group with perhaps the greatest public prominence is the Labour Party's elected members. While this research focuses on the Movement's women managers, it is important to be aware of the gender balance within the elected members at all political levels, namely local government, the Scottish Parliament, Westminster and the European parliament. The elected members, particularly those in government, have power within the party and their influence cannot be ignored. In addition to providing a context to the issue of gender relations within the Scottish Labour Party, in particular and the Labour Movement generally, they also provide a context for the political and legal framework in which the UK and Scotland's women in management function.

At Westminster Labour currently has 254 MPs, of whom 82 (32.28%) are women. The number of female Scottish Labour MPs is 11 out of 41, at 26.83% less than for the UK as a whole. Women have had a difficult time in Scotland in becoming selected and elected to a Scottish seat. Writing for the Campaign group of Labour politicians in 2006, Maria Fyfe pointed out that when she was elected in 1987, she was only the tenth ever woman elected for a Labour-held seat in Scotland. In fact she also pointed out that if she had not been successful, Scotland would have had no women Labour MPs at that time. Since Maria Fyfe was elected in 1987 a further

sixteen women have been elected as Scottish Labour MPs (House of Commons Information Office, 2010). The difficulty women had in being selected for the Westminster Parliament contributed to the campaign for 50:50 representation in the Scottish Parliament, which was ultimately successful. Burness (2010) presents an account of the campaign, which was also spoken about by a number of respondents Respondent LM15 said:

> *here was an opportunity, a once in a lifetime opportunity, and we intended to seize this and I think there was a lot of enthusiasm at first but I think they managed to embarrass a lot of the men into thinking they had to agree with this you know…and what they did was make it an issue among the unions to get support for it among union delegations to party conferences and so on…*

Respondent LM3 supported this:

> *…the fifty-fifty that we have for the Scottish Parliament that was one of the things that came through the STUC, the women's structures…all the unions at that time started to have women's committees, women's structures, women's officers and that allowed more women to come through…*

Respondent LM9 echoed the views of many of the women:

> *…I know there was a lot of criticism of it, but I think it was a wonderful, wonderful, thing that was done in the sense that you've got more women there now…*

The 50:50 campaign and the subsequent twinning process by Scottish Labour resulted in 28 men and 28 women being elected to the Scottish Parliament for Labour in 1999. However, despite this success and the perception that equal representation is secure, there is no party mechanism for maintaining women's representation in future parliaments. Respondent LM9 explained:

you can do that kind of radical thing when there are no sitting candidates and we always knew it would be much, much harder once the place was established to do and I think it was important we took that step then."

However others acknowledged this is an issue. Respondent LM13 pointed out that the Party had not been "*systematic…every time there's a vacancy".* Respondent LM14 echoed this:

"I think to be honest with you some people assumed when the Scottish parliament came in and we achieved this magnificent sex and gender balance, that that was it. I think a few years on people realise that's not it and that there's always the problem of retracting back. It won't go back the full length, but there's always the possibility of slippage"

In the 2003 election the proportion of Labour women increased, with 28 women and 22 men being elected. After the 2007 election the gender balance was 23 men and 23 women and after the 2011 election it was 20 men and 17 women (45.94%). So, there has been some slippage and it will be interesting to see what approach is taken by the Party in the lead up to the next Scottish election. For as Respondent LM10 pointed out this gender balance "*has an effect on the parliament and a good effect on the parliament".* Indeed many, but not all, of the women who were prominent supporters of 50:50 were subsequently elected to the Scottish Parliament in 1999. Their influence can be seen in the establishment of the Equality Unit and in the Parliament's Equality Committee, one of the Mandatory Committees and one which is not found at Westminster.

However while the 50:50 campaign was taking place, as a part of the modernization of the Labour Party in the 1990s, changes were made to the Party's women's structures. As has been mentioned, the women's committees were abolished and replaced with looser women's forums. There were mixed views on these new structures. Respondent LM10 pointed out the irony of the situation:

> *In a way I think the party as an organisation has suffered a bit because of fifty-fifty and the parliament because all the women that were active in women's politics went to the parliament…and obviously have a different focus now so I think in a way the movement in the party has lost out a little bit because of that which is quite ironic in a way*

Respondent LM15, who was very active in the 50:50 campaign indicated that the Women's Forum in one major city is *"basically a seminar, which is normally some sort of Saturday in November. I am afraid I haven't been to it for several years".* However Respondent LM13 from another city indicated that:

> *we have sporadic sets of meetings as women will get interested, so in the last year we've had a couple of training sessions to get women to stand for Council and we've had discussions about women in Zimbabwe, we had a social event and we had a meeting about issues to do with women in the Parliament that's probably just the last year which is probably quite a lot"*

Another change to Scotland's electoral system occurred in May 2007 when for the first time a system of proportional representation was used, albeit a different system to that used for Holyrood. Prior to the elections Labour controlled 14 out of 32 local councils and shared power in a further 2. It was expected that Labour would lose both seats and control of councils. In fact at one stage it was thought it might not retain control of any councils, though the results were better than Labour expected as it retained all or some power in 13 councils. Overall the party lost a total of 161 seats, leaving it with 348, in second place to the SNP with 363. However, the results for women councillors varied between cities as the Party took no action to increase or maintain the gender balance. Due to the nature of the STV system, the party did not contest all seats, so not all the elected councillors fought the elections. The selection process was at times brutal, although many took the opportunity of the severance scheme offered as a consequence of the introduction of remuneration for councillors. For example, in Tartan Council, a total of 24 councillors received severance, just over a third of the Labour group, and a third of whom were women. In Thistle Council a total of 17 from all groups received severance, only one of whom

was a Labour woman. Prior to May 2007, Tartan Council had 79 elected members of whom 69 were Labour Councillors, with 21 women (30.43%). After the election Labour took 45 out of 79 seats, but the number of women Labour councillors dropped to only 10 (22.22%). One of the women councillors who failed to win her seat was, in the old council, responsible for equality. Before May 2007 Thistle Council had 58 elected members, 30 of whom were Labour, with 6 women (20%). After the election Labour had 14 seats, 4 of which were held by women (28.57%). So, in both cities the number of women Labour councillors fell, as was expected under the new voting system. While in Tartan Council the percentage also fell, in Thistle Council it increased, though the city only had 4 Labour women. It is also important to recognise that fewer women can result in a lack of critical mass, which is likely to have implications for a number of issues, including women's future representation. In Scotland overall in 2007, Labour women accounted for only 17.5% of the Party's councillors (Kenny and Mackay, 2012a, 2012b).

In the interviews it became clear that a view was taken within the party that 2007 had was not the time to introduce a form of more equal representation, e.g. 50:50 for Labour councillors in Scotland. Local government was viewed as a more *long term process* (Respondent, LM9), given the number of sitting male councillors and the legal implications of such a policy. Research on the 2012 local elections by Kenny and Mackay (2012b) found that women comprised 138 out of 497 Labour candidates (27.7%) and 103 out of 394 elected councillors (26.14%), which though an increase still ensured that Scottish local government remained "male, pale and stale". However, following the elections Labour has indicated that it has established a new 50:50 target for local elections, to be achieved within eight years (Carrell, 2012).

In terms of the European elections, Scotland has 7 MEPS, two of whom are Labour, one male and one female. At the 2004 election the number of Scottish MEPs reduced from 8 to 7. Catherine Stihler the only female Labour MEP was the 8th on the list of elected MEPs. However, to achieve gender balance she was moved to second place on the Labour list, effectively ensuring that one of the longer serving male MEPs would not be re-elected, which produced something of a backlash against gender balancing.

This then is the context of Labour politics in Scotland and the culture in which the paid employees operate. The public face of the party is predominantly male, with the largest women's group being concentrated in the Scottish Parliament, as a result, in part, of the actions of second-wave feminist activists in the 1980s, who through the Women's Committee, became a powerful group within the party in terms of the equality agenda. Unlike the STUC, at present the Women's Committee no longer exists within the party structure and there does not appear to be a formal Scottish Labour women's caucus. However, recently Labour elected its first women leader in the Scottish Parliament, who has subsequently appointed women to five out of nine shadow cabinet posts.

5.2.3.1 Senior management and officials in the Labour Party

The first General Secretary of the Scottish Labour Party was appointed in 1918, but for many years the focus of the Party's organization in Scotland was administrative (Lynch and Birrell, 2004). It was also small. For example in the late 1960s it employed, in addition to the Scottish General Secretary, only two Assistant Organisers, four full-time election agents and office staff (Wood, 1989), It was not until the 1970s that research staff were employed (Lynch and Birrell, 2004). When this fieldwork was carried out, it was established[58] that the Party in Scotland employed 14 people: a General Secretary; a Deputy General Secretary; four Organisers, one of whom was also the Women's Officer; three Officers, dealing with External/Finance, Policy and Media Monitoring respectively; a Head of Communications; a Press Officer; and three administrative staff. Out of these 14 staff, 8 (57.14%) were women and 6 (42.86%) were men. The three administrative staff were women, so the balance amongst non-administrative posts was 6 men (54.54%) and 5 women (45.45%). Since then, the number of staff has been reduced to 11, and the gender mix amongst non-administrative staff of nine is now five men (55.56%) and four women (44.44%).

The Scottish Labour Party appointed its first female General Secretary, Helen Liddell, in 1977. She held the post until 1988, when she resigned and returned to

[58] Interview data

journalism for a period before becoming and MP in 1994, during which time she served as Secretary of State for Scotland, the first Catholic to hold the post. She was subsequently made British High Commissioner to Australia in 2004 and is now a Life Peer. The next General Secretary was Murray Elder who held the post until 1992, after which he worked as an Adviser to John Smith and then Donald Dewar. He was made a Life Peer in 1999. Jack McConnell became General Secretary in 1992 and resigned in order to stand for election to the inaugural Scottish Parliament. He was an MSP until 2011 and also First Minister of Scotland between 2001 and 2007. He was made a Life Peer in 2010.

Until the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, the post of General Secretary had a prominent role within Scottish society and represented the party in Scotland in the media, described by Respondent LM9 as "*the kind of political face"*. However, since devolution that role has passed to "*politicians in the Scottish Parliament*" (Respondent LM9), to senior MSPs and the Leader of the Scottish Labour Party in Holyrood. As an example since 1999 the Scottish General Secretary is rarely seen on television, whereas this used to be a regular feature of the job. Within this context after Jack McConnell, the Party's next appointment in 1999 was its second female General Secretary Lesley Quinn. She resigned in 2008, and with no desire to continue in politics became a Business Development Manager, at Glasgow City Building, the former Building Services Division of Glasgow City Council. She was succeeded by Colin Smyth, a former teacher and Labour Councillor (BBC, 2008b), who has recently resigned.

The Labour Party has a total of 17,000 members in Scotland (BBC, 2008a). However at the time of writing there are no published figures showing the percentage of members who are female.

5.3 Working at a senior level in the Labour Movement

The following sections examine the working lives of senior women in the labour movement. It explores elements that have enabled them to move up the career ladder as well as those elements that they have found to be barriers to progression. It also examines the ways in which they have navigated these elements. It begins by looking at career pathways, then goes on to examine workload and working hours.

5.3.1 Career pathways in the Labour Movement

This section examines the career pathways within the labour movement and looks separately at those in the trade unions, the STUC and the Party.

5.3.1.1 Career pathways in the trade unions

There are two main career pathways within the union movement, the activist and the full-time official. Only the latter is a union employee. Each will be examined in the following sections:

5.3.1.1.1 Activist career pathway

In describing how someone becomes an activist Respondent LM3 stated :

> *…you become a member, you become a shop steward and then you start to move outside your own workplace and you go to the more advanced training. You go to our summer schools, you go to our conferences…*

This is similar to research findings on union activism by Kirton (2006). Another Respondent (LM7) describing her own experience stated:

> *I first became what is now commonly called a workplace rep, a steward… and from there I became active at my local branch level and*

in the workplace and was elected eventually on to what was then a national…committee…Alongside that I became a member of the STUC Women's Committee and represented my union at different conferences.

Respondent LM3 identified the role of the union officer in encouraging activism:

Something would be happening in her workplace or something was happening to her that was unfair. So if there was no shop steward in that place, the official would go out and the official who was smart would think I'll get her as the shop steward… then if they have a good official, the official then develops them and then says how about going to that conference or have you thought about that and that's how they become activists.

One key feature of activism was described by Respondent LM2 as being:

very visible…if you're an activist you need the membership to re-elect you.

This is an important feature of activism in all unions. Even at the level of the workplace or branch, the activist, male or female, is likely to have stood for election, although some branches can struggle to fill posts. However, in moving onto regional or national committees in her union s/he will almost certainly be required to have been elected by the membership of her branch or region. For example to be elected to Unite the Union's Executive Council, members must have been activists for at least 10 years (Unite the Union, 2012) and it is not unusual for other unions to also have a service qualification.

In many unions there are committee places reserved for women. The number of reserved seats varies from union to union. For example the GMB's UK governing body is its Central Executive Council (CEC) with "around 55 members" (GMB, 2008a). It has a regional and sectoral structure, with one women's reserved seat for each of its nine regions (GMB, 2008b). This does not preclude women from being

elected to non-reserved seats and in 2006, 43.10% of the CEC lay members were women (GMB, 2007). UNISON (2007a) contends that it is "committed to achieving fair representation for women at all levels in the union. To achieve this, the rulebook requires all elected bodies to achieve proportionality for women. This means women should be represented on the various UNISON committees and structures at least in proportion to the percentage of women in membership. Because women make up over two thirds of our national membership, at least two thirds of the members of the national executive council will be women".

There is clearly an activist 'career path', moving, through election, from being a local representative to being a regional, sectoral and national representative. In fact an activist can be a representative at all of these levels simultaneously. The top rung of the activist ladder is the elected role of President of the union. Nowadays many unions operate an alternating gender balancing system in terms of the Union President and Vice President, so that a woman is President of the union every other year. Outwith their union, the lay activist can also be elected President of the STUC and TUC or to the SEC or NEC of the Labour Party and can also find themself nominated to represent the Labour Movement on external bodies. Respondent LM16 indicated that this gender balancing has been criticised:

> *there's been a bit of bad feeling with some of the men there because some of them can be on for years and never make it and women who have a far higher turnover make it much more quickly and I've heard some of them resent that*

Throughout this lay activist route the woman (or man) will continue to work for her employer with time off for union duties.

5.3.1.1.2 Employee career pathways

R4y There are two pathways to becoming a full-time official. The first is as the activist, usually a workplace representative and often also a member of branch and regional committees, who applies for a vacancy, when it arises.

Respondent LM5 summed it up:

> *[I was] increasingly active as a rep within [employer] at the time and I applied for and got a post as a trainee officer*

This would almost certainly be the route when the union's rules require a certain number of years of membership before applying for a post. Respondent LM5 laid out the advice she would given to activists wanting to make this move:

> *I'd tell them to get as good a grounding as they could within representation, bargaining, within the local level to develop themselves a profile within the region to do everything that they need to do in terms of confidence, ability to speak you know…the main thing the union expects of me is an ability to speak and an ability to be a leader and that's not necessarily about you know, leading from the front all the time but to have those kind of skills, to have the confidence to stand up in front of a room full of people and sound like I know what I'm talking about. So for yes, any young activist or new activist coming through and necessarily younger, it will be about getting as much experience locally but also building a profile, talking to the right people, making use of people like me.*

In unions where no membership requirement exists, posts can be advertised externally and can attract, as Respondent LM2 said:

> *people who have studied industrial relations or human resources or something like that who want to work in the area.*

The second pathway is to be promoted from within the union, from the administrative and support staff. One Respondent (LM2) who took this route described her early experience:

> *when I started in a sort of secretarial/admin capacity, I saw some of the full time officers who were inevitably male…dealing with members and*

I thought well I could do that and then I got to the stage where, and I think this is probably a pretty Scottish trait as well as a me trait, I was just bloody minded enough to be determined that it was going to happen.

This woman's experience was probably the exception, although one union has recently introduced a career path for administrative staff wanting to move up to an officer's post.

Within the job family of paid officers there are two main types of jobs, described thus by Respondent LM8:

I suppose you can be in the more policy area…or you can be a more full-time official where you're negotiating people's pay and conditions.

Policy jobs would include, for example Equality Officer, Research Officer, Communications Officer, while negotiating posts would tend to be the Organiser posts, the ones from which the Regional Secretaries and General Secretaries emerge. Many of the policy jobs are held by women, which can restrict their promotion opportunities as described by Respondent LM8 as she recounted how these posts were perceived:

I suppose what they used to say is, it was always the argument "Oh you're all academics" you know this kind of stuff and there was a bit of a tension between saying "Do you really understand what it's like"

For paid officers who are appointed, not elected, the interview panel would normally consist primarily of lay activists, usually from the region's Executive Council, together with the line manager to whom the successful candidate would report. The role of the line manager in the interview process was described thus by Respondent LM16:

[When] appointing a regional officer it would be me that would be in the panel with the NEC members and…I would expect to have an influence on the basis that I am going to be managing this person and they will

be part of a team of staff that I manage and you know there will be things that I need, particular skills gaps, personality traits whatever that I would expect the interview panel to take notice of.

These then are the career paths within the trade union movement, through the activist route or as a paid official. In the latter role the woman also has to decide whether to choose a negotiating role or a policy role. The research shows that one of the key decisions for a woman activist is to decide whether or not to use the lay ranks or the employee ranks for advancement within the union. It also shows that her decision is likely to be influenced by a variety of factors including her union's attitude to gender and these will be explored further in Section 5.4.

5.3.1.2 Career pathways in the STUC

The current STUC General Secretary, Grahame Smith, was appointed to the role in 2007. He had worked for the organization for 20 years and had latterly been Deputy General Secretary. Two out of his three predecessors, Bill Speirs (1998-2006) and Jimmy Milne (1975-1986) had come through the same route with fairly lengthy service within the organization. Only Campbell Christie (1986-1998) had come in from outside the organisation, having been UK Deputy General Secretary of PCSU for 10 years before moving back to Scotland to lead the STUC. The current Deputy General Secretary of the STUC, Dave Moxham, follows the traditional path, having been promoted from Assistant General Secretary.

A key feature of the STUC is that it is a small organization with limited opportunities for promotion. Staff on permanent contracts, who are senior staff, can be found in the Secretariat which, in addition to the General Secretary and his Deputy, comprises four Assistant Secretaries, each of whom will have responsibility for particular policy areas. These staff can come into the STUC from policy posts within the Labour Movement, for example from another union or having worked for an elected member and they can also be promoted from within the STUC, for example, from project posts. As indicated earlier, service is often lengthy. The only female Deputy General Secretary, now retired, began working for the STUC at the age of sixteen in an administrative post and moved through the ranks within the

organization until her retiral in 2004. However her replacement, a woman, was appointed as Head of Administration, not as a Deputy General Secretary. Not all staff stay that long and can move on, in the words of Respondent LM8 to *another trade union or into politics.* Staff have also moved on to the Scottish Labour Party which is also another small organisation.

5.3.1.3 Career pathways in the Scottish Labour Party

In her resignation speech to the Scottish Labour Party Conference, its then Scottish General Secretary, Lesley Quinn, described how she had joined the organization at sixteen as a shorthand typist and had then climbed its career ladder. This was perhaps a unique route and she described the difficulty she faced in moving out of the administrative role to that of an Organiser, the first step on the career ladder:

> *the problem I had was to apply for the position of an Organiser in those days you had to be a member of the National Union of Labour Organisers, but to be a member of the National Union of Labour Organisers you had to be an Organiser. So it was all very complicated. I think they'd be called a closed shop.*

However she did move up the career ladder from Organiser to Senior Organiser and then on to Scottish General Secretary, resigning in 2008.

Today's Organisers come from a variety of backgrounds including the STUC, the Trade Unions, having worked for an elected member, through the Party's youth organizations or through party activism and as Respondent LM9 pointed out:

> *to become an organiser's a lot easier…we do a traineeship now and...the whole ethos of the organisation in terms of its staff [has changed] and we've got Investors in People now we never had that, we don't have the closed shop any more, you don't need to be a member of a certain union to apply.*

Again as Scottish Labour is a small organization, staff do move on to other jobs. In the past these posts would often have been used as a springboard into selection as a Labour MP or MSP, routes taken by John Reid, Helen Liddell, Jack McConnell and Patricia Ferguson. However staff who have left in the more recent past have moved on to posts with the Party in London and to work for other private and public sector organisations. It is also worth pointing out that promotion opportunities within Scotland often come as a result of an increase in staffing in the lead up to UK and Scottish elections as was the case for both Respondent LM9 and LM10.

5.3.2 Workload and working hours

All women commented on issues about the workload, pattern of hours and long hours culture in these cash-strapped voluntary organizations. Respondent LM8 stated:

> *I feel my workload is really heavy here…I feel that sometimes there is too much on my plate.*

Respondent LM2 provided this insight into the pattern of hours:

> *I mean the hours of the job are Monday to Friday, nine to five with a clause that then goes on to say but you'll work the hours you need to work to get the job done effectively. So there is a lot of travelling, early morning, come back late. There are a fair number of overnight stays. There is some weekend work although not as much as there used to be.*

Respondent LM9 outlined her approach to counter this long hours culture, by building in flexibility though she also indicated that another manager may not take the same flexible approach:

> *I've changed it to the point where it's not the hours you're here, because I've seen folk sit longer, it's what you do when you're here and I'm very flexible in the sense that I mean yesterday I left at four I'd a*

parents evening that allows me to do that because, you know, later on I was on the phone for an hour, so I'm very flexible with the team but that's not to say that that kind of culture would not come back.

Respondent LM16 made the point that:

One of the big problems particularly for women in this type of job is it's still a macho culture, it's still a long hours culture. We don't make it easy for women to get to the top. And we need to change the whole structure of the organisation so you get away from that idea that you go to endless evening meetings or that you've got to be in the office first and out last, that sort of cultural thing has got to go. I mean a lot of women do that now, they in fact some women can be as ferocious in that sense as men but I think that was part of the whole problem that the men fitted into that far more easily than women and it was expected that that's the sort of lifestyle they would lead.

In addition an activist (Respondent LM7) said:

I wouldn't want to work full time for the trade union…because in my experience they don't make good employers, they don't, they campaign for things like work life balance and people are working sixty hours a week.

5.3.3 Management styles, performance standards and culture

When asked about their management styles and that of their male colleagues the perception of Respondent LM8 was:

I suppose I'm prepared to say when I've got too much work on and men tend not to do that. They either just don't do it or put their heads down.

Respondent LM2 stated:

> *I'm always looking for solutions rather than problems. I don't, I don't go out looking for confrontation. I don't particularly enjoy confrontation and I'll do whatever I can to avoid it but…I wouldn't set out to bang the table and have a battle and then look at a way of resolving something, I would look at a way of resolving it and then if nothing else, if none of that was working then I can bang the table. I have a fair number of colleagues who don't operate in that way, a fair number of male colleagues, who will be the stereotypical Mr Angry, not putting up with it and I sort of think you know well fine but what actually is that going to achieve. No I think I'm always looking for solutions, yes.*

Women also referred to the culture of the Labour Movement and their response to that culture in the development of their management styles. Respondent LM9 stated:

> *the organisation I work for is very macho, it is very macho and I mean you have to constantly be on your toes to survive in this organisation you've got this work macho side of it that you have to make work and I mean people say I'm aggressive, you know that people say "Oh I'm frightened of her" you know you get the comment "I wouldn't come to you with a broken pay packet"*

In terms of how she felt about this she said:

> *I think having to be hard is because you have to be hard in the job…when you go to meetings and you're doing a hard meeting and you've got somebody aggressively shouting at you, you just sort of have to be aggressive back to show them you're in charge. I suppose you're actually putting an act on. I've always said in the morning when I do my hair and I put my make-up on and my suit goes on I'm a different person…when I come to my work and I'm doing meetings or whatever, you know part of me, part of that is in there but there's a big*

part that's just an act, it is definitely an act, I'm playing a part…I mean I'm fine with it to be honest I think because I've done it for so long and I think part of it is that it's about survival, you know when you're doing a meeting, show a sign of weakness they'll kick you…they're just trying to be smart and you're basically slapping them down with your comments back and it's a game, just a game.

When asked if a women's performance had to be better than that of man in order for her to succeed, there were mixed responses. Some believed this to be the case, while others did not. In addition, some believed that women held themselves back, as articulated by Respondent LM15:

I often found that women themselves were holding themselves back because they thought I'm not good enough. I would say to them have you actually observed what some of the [men] *are like? For God's sake, don't you think you're better than that you know.*

This respondent however, also pointed out that there was a view from some men during the 50:50 campaign for the Scottish Parliament, that there were not enough capable women candidates. She said that:

I said to myself some of the men here you only assisted on a whelk stall you know, so come on

A number of women and men had experienced some antipathy towards women in the movement. Respondent LM2 recounted her experiences when starting out:

There were a couple of people who are now retired through the STUC on the general council from other unions who made comments about you know, no place for a woman, you're only allowed to talk about issues that affect women, don't think you can sit here and be one of us and I just thankfully I think we're well past that now.

However, Respondent LM16 pointed out that there can still be some antipathy over the gender balancing of delegations:

> *you would have a delegation going to meet the First Minister or something so you must have eight people there and the policy would be and four of them must be women. And it's a case of the four men are almost self-identified, so the women we need to make up the numbers and many of them are very good people [that] I mean one would ever second guess…but others are there to make up numbers and that's not the way it should be and I think what we need to do is develop women far more in the movement*

5.3.4 Sex Discrimination

When asked about sex discrimination a number of Respondents referred to a case in Scotland in 2003, when the former Equality Officer of GMB Scotland took the union to an Employment Tribunal (ET) claiming bullying, harassment and victimization by the then Regional Secretary of GMB as a result of her support for his Personal Assistant who had brought a sexual harassment case against him, which too was also subsequently heard by an ET. The Regional Secretary resigned immediately prior to the judgement of the first case and after a settlement had been reached between the former Equality Officer and her union. The union eventually settled the second case. These were not isolated cases within the GMB and it has been suggested that the union spent around £4million defending and/or settling around 61 ET cases involving former employees who had claimed they had been sexually harassed and/or bullied by officials of the union (Independent, 2003). In terms of the effects of this on the Labour Movement in Scotland, Respondent LM7 said:

> *Awareness has risen…the fact it's cost them money and that women are more likely to challenge it now they have to make sure that the people who work for them and in fact represent them, are aware of the consequences of not following the rules or the regulations. The GMB was a contributory factor definitely because you know, the trade union movement itself should have hung its head in shame over that…I just*

feel it's a bit like and the campaigns for domestic violence or male violence against women and children, at some point the men in our society need to take responsibility for this.

Another Respondent (LM8) pointed out that in some unions those who rose up from workplace representatives were not supported as they might be particularly in terms of developing management skills, which might be a contributory factor:

I think…sometimes you do get an issue that you promote somebody who has maybe worked in a manual job and doesn't necessarily have or they would need the support to go into a managerial role and trade unions don't always give that support. So I would say there can be this idea that operating how you would operate in a more manual job to bringing that to an office.

The second major issue that was raised was that of Equal Pay in local government and the role in this played by the Labour Movement. Respondent LM16 recounted that when she had been a councillor in the 1980s she had discovered that in terms of equal pay:

the manual workers were all over the place and I discovered that for example women who cleaned precious objects in the chambers, like very expensive paintings and so on, I mean kept them clean and dusted, I don't mean specialist jobs but they were paid less than the guy in [named] *Park that hosed down the Highland cows. That's all they bloody did, hosed the cows and he's paid more than people who were having to take care of very expensive objects in the City Chambers and I thought that's ridiculous. So I got them to agree to join with their unions in a work study…and we worked through this with the unions and came to agreements about the rates of pay for different jobs and they were equalised at that time and I had thought it would remain like that but no…What happened in the meantime was that some of the unions representing male workers got the council to agree to bonuses which were not for anything extra done, just a bonus, just*

for being a man in a job. So that system which had worked well for, I don't know how long it worked but it just got picked apart and the women were left behind once again. So to me that's just a reminder of eternal vigilance, don't imagine that once it's done, it's done.

At the time the interviews were carried out issues of equal pay in local government had hit the headlines as a result of the introduction of single status agreements that highlighted the types of anomalies referred to by Respondent LM16 and resulted in 86,668 equal pay claims at Employment Tribunals (Department of Business, Innovation and Skills, 2009). The role played by trade unions was explained by Respondent LM5:

Most of our branch secretaries are men. Somebody once said to me you need to be careful that you always negotiate for the people who are outside the room, I'm not sure that we do. There would be a lot of people who would be very, very upset and hurt at the suggestion that they colluded to discriminate against women. Did they do it? Of course they did. Is it still happening? Probably, so.

This situation will be examined further in Chapter 6 due to its links with local government.

5.3.5 Mentoring

Despite their comments about some aspects of the behaviour of some male colleagues, many Respondents also pointed out that some male colleagues had mentored them at various stages in their careers. For example Respondent LM2 stated "*[I] had a couple of really good mentors along the way who were male".* Others had been mentored by women, one (Respondent LM7) of whom described one woman as:

a fabulous mentor and role model, never sought office at all but just was solid as a rock, so in those terms I've been very lucky with the women in the trade union movement…and some men as well.

In terms of supporting other women at more junior levels, a number of women indicated that they acted as mentors, usually informally. This was summarised by Respondent LM9:

> *I probably mentor most and part of that mentoring is I mean it's probably my nature as well. I actually quite like to share experiences, you know if they'll come to me with a problem I'll say "Well this is what I did" you know although there are some times that you have to leave people to experience something to then learn from it because that's how I did a lot of my learning I was dropped in it quite a lot. There was a lot of hard jobs I was given, you know you watch how you've been given all the shit to be honest during the years, it wasn't glamorous*

5.3.6. Career support and networks

When asked about their career support mechanisms most Respondents referred to the support of their partners, although this was often qualified which will be examined in Section 5.4.2, and also to their female friends. Respondent LM4 said:

> *There were two or three key people in the…Movement who I worked with and who just remained solid friends for about twenty odd years who were always there, do you know what I mean, and we supported each other and we're still in touch with each other*

Respondent LM 9 explained that *"there is a Sister's Support…and we try and help each other.* Respondent LM8 added that in her organization there was:

> *a women's committee who are very supportive to each other and to me, so that's helpful. And I suppose we do keep in touch with each other…We've got a sort of over very informal network of women who are say in a range of [organizations], just people who are a group of friends who get on well, but we I suppose we network more socially to*

> *sustain ourselves at a social level rather than networking as an aggressive business. Women maybe tend to do that as well.*

She added that this type of networking was important to her as one of only a few women at her level within an organization which she said meant "*it can be quite isolating".* There were however, networks from which some of the women were excluded. Respondent LM5 pointed out that:

> *it's less than it was but it is still fairly macho, it's still very football based, there are still a group of people that go to the pub on a Friday afternoon, some of those people these days will be women. It took twelve years for me to even be asked to go*.

Respondent LM3 referred to the influence of networks on the election of union officials:

> *the general secretary is elected and they are totally paranoid about re-election and what they then want, all of them, is to get union officials in place who would deliver the vote for them… we call them noddies*

She also pointed out that there was often a perception that:

> *a woman couldn't be relied on to* [deliver the vote] *that because they had their own ideas about where the union should be*

In addition, there are longstanding historical links between the trade unions and the Labour Party, including formal party/union structures. The current such structure is the Trade Union and Labour Party Liaison Organization (TULO) which "serves the dual purposes of not only co-ordinating trade union support for the Labour Party at elections, but also of acting as a channel of communication between the Party and its union partners on an ongoing basis" (TULO, 2008). Its National Executive Committee is comprised of the Labour Party political and organizational leadership, together with the General Secretaries of the fifteen trade unions that are affiliated to the Labour Party. These trade unions include 6 out of the largest 13 unions,

including the top three in terms of membership, Unite, UNISON and the GMB. There are TULO Regional Committees, one for each of the nine English regions and one for Wales. There is also one for Scotland but it has a different name, the Scottish Trade Union Labour Party (STULP). Its Chair is the Regional Secretary for Unite and its Secretary is a Senior Organiser for UNISON. On a biannual basis at the Scottish Labour Party Conference, there are elections for 10 seats in the trade union section of the Scottish Executive Committee of the Scottish Labour Party. Out of those currently elected, 50% are male and 50% are female. These formal structures can also influence the movement's networks as stated by Respondent LM2:

> *Yes I think there are a number of networks you know, amongst the union movement in Scotland. I think one of the things that, one of the things about [Union] is that we are not politically affiliated and we're not, as a union, a union that has political, small "p", factions, so there aren't caucuses that you would either want to be part of or not want to be part of, in a way that I know a lot of other unions do have, so.*

In a report for The Fawcett Society, Shepherd-Robinson and Lovenduski (2002) detail the reasons why many women experience difficulties in being selected for winnable seats. They list the barriers to selection as: overt discrimination; cost of campaigning; competition from candidates employed by trade unions or the party with greater time and financial campaigning resources; lack of an equal opportunities culture; sexual harassment; the 'favourite son' mentality (Shepherd-Robinson and Lovenduski, 2002). This was echoed in some of the interviews.

Respondent LM15 said that the system was "*generally speaking is more helpful to men than to women.* This was echoed by Respondent LM14 who said that "*within the Labour Party, there is a great tradition of favoured sons, and I've seen that myself. You know of people who are picked, and mentored.* In addition, in recalling her time at selection panels, competing unsuccessfully against two particular candidates, she stated:

> *One was leader of the council and X* [a party employee] *had just been given time off, and they were able to spend all day during the day making visits to members, holding hands, running round people, whatever. And I literally arrived at the meeting made the presentation ran back home, ran into work the next morning.*

Reference was also made to more general Scottish networks, for the 'great and the good'. Respondent LM16 described this as follows:

> *Because of the nature of the job, I get involved in all sorts of organisations in Scotland and you meet the same people three times a week in different contexts. I can be at a luncheon and a dinner on the same day for entirely different organisations and I'm sitting next to the same people. And that's just the nature of Scotland.*

Only very senior members of the Labour Movement would be involved in these informal networks. In addition there are other formal networks of the 'great and the good' to which access is very restricted and to which only very senior politicians and trade union officials would be invited.

5.4 The Family

Each woman manager was asked about her family, both in terms of her early family life and her present family life.

5.4.1 Growing up

Many, though not all, of the women had been introduced to politics by their parents, often their father. Respondent LM14 recounted that her father *"had been this kind of stalwart of the Labour Party for many years".* Respondent LM4 stated that her father *"was was very strongly anti-racist and we were brought up to respect other cultures"*. Respondent LM8 pointed out that she helped her father deliver "*leaflets from the age of about 5"*. Respondent LM6 said that she *"came from a trade union labour background. I understood the class divide"*. Respondent LM15 recounted that her

father "was a T & G rep in his depot" and took up issues for women conductors who had to *"wear skirts in the winter and not wear trousers and he took up the case and won it for them".*

The mothers of many of the Respondents worked, some because they were widows, others had professional careers, such as teaching or nursing and others worked because the family required two incomes. Most women did not refer to their mothers as role models in terms of work or in other ways. However Respondent LM1 recounted that her mother had influenced her as she *"was quite a strong woman and she had to be you know…she was a survivor you know, she'd had quite a hard life"*.

Many of the women perceived their father as a role model in terms of the career they chose and their beliefs.

5.4.2 Adult families

All the women were asked about their adult family lives. In terms of marital status, five out of the fifteen women who were interviewed were married (33.33%), four had partners (26.67%), one was a widow (6.67%), three were divorced (20%) and two were single (13.33%) Seven women had children (46.67%) and eight did not (53.33%). Respondent LM5 commented that it *"wouldn't have been impossible"* to do her job *"but it's certainly been much, much easier"* not having children. Respondent LM8 said *it was "hard for a woman to have children in the trade union movement"* and only two out of the seven women with children built their careers when their children were young, with the majority waiting until their children were older. In terms of childcare one of the women with young children (Respondent LM4) said she *"had a childminder".*

The interviews also explored the domestic workload of these women and their partners, which was mixed. Respondent LM9 stated:

> *I think you've got the added pressure of you've basically got two lives, you've got your working life and you've got your home life and it's*

making both work, you know it's being sort of Susie housewife, it's being I don't know the sex kitten…

In terms of domestic responsibilities she continued:

I am still [my child's] primary carer. I'm the one that makes sure the uniform's there, he would just think you open the wardrobe door and it's there.

Another Respondent (LM7) stated that at home her husband sometimes slipped back into a traditional role stating:

Sometimes X [her husband] will go what's for my dinner? I go do you think I'm your fucking mother or something you know! They keep forgetting you know…

On the other hand another Respondent (LM4) stated:

My husband I mean he was very good and in terms of both looking after the kids, I mean I had a child minder as well and, you know, so that side of it because the other side is that my kids weren't going to suffer in that sense so it wasn't just, you know, they were going to be looked after so that was done and similarly we shared those responsibilities

5.5 Religion

Each participant was asked about her religion, both as a child and as an adult. Five (50%) of the women were raised as Roman Catholics, four (40%) as Protestants and one (10%) had no religious upbringing. One result of being raised as a Catholic was that these women attended Catholic state schools. However despite the fact that 90% of participants experienced religion as part of their upbringing, only two (20%) remained active practitioners of their religion and they were both Roman Catholic.

Respondent LM9 related that when she "*got a job with the Labour Party my oldest brother said to me "Do they know you're not a Catholic".* The existence of a relationship between the Party and the Catholic community was, and to some extent still is, a commonly held view in Scotland, particularly in the West and there is evidence to support this, with Labour traditionally capturing the Catholic vote (McCrone, 2001). An older voting relationship was outlined by Respondent LM3 who described growing up in the West of Scotland:

> *I never knew what canvassing was. Never happened, you didn't want to disturb the people. The priest would have told you, would remind you of your duty, would tell you the name.*

However, she indicated that the Catholic vote is no longer *"anything like as solid as it was".* There was however an indication (Respondent LM4) that:

> *some of the institutions still have legacies of that* [relationship with religion]*, however, covert those might be and covert I don't mean that there's necessarily anything sinister about it.*

Respondent LM8 added:

> *It does and I suppose it's quite interesting coming in from England, because it is quite a shock to see this and it was quite a while before I realised the West of Scotland Labour Party is very Catholic. A lot of people who work for Unison are Celtic supporters, the Boilermakers* [GMB] *predominantly Protestant, Rangers supporters.*

This religious divide is not surprising given that historically Catholics were not normally employed in the skilled occupations of the West of Scotland's heavy industry, though they were employed in the City Corporation (Maver, 1996).

Since devolution there as been criticism of Scottish Labour by senior Catholic clergymen. Respondent LM10 explained that:

> *I think sometimes it's quite hard, issues like gay adoption and things like that come up and there's quite a bit of pressure put on by the church.*

When asked about pressure from the Church as a practising Catholic she said this didn't happen:

> *I don't stand up in parliament and say as a Catholic myself or anything like that. No my local people know what I do but I don't make a big deal of it. I mean I'm sure the cardinal sort of knows but again it's not something, I mean they wouldn't target me, for example, probably because they think I'm beyond the pale because I've just not listened to them anyway*

However this was not the view taken by all Catholic Labour politicians as indicated by Respondent LM12 who stated that:

> *there's a confidence around government for engaging with faith communities and for people being a bit more overt about their faiths, their faith background than I would say even ten years ago you know*

One area of that still has the support the Labour Party, and the other mainstream political parties in Scotland, is that of separate Catholic schools within the state system and it is argued by its opponents that this reinforces sectarianism within Scotland.

5.6 Education

Each Respondent was asked about her education and the influence of the education system. The majority had gone to university, some as mature students. They were generally encouraged by their parents and in turn encouraged their own children.

Although Respondent LM12 indicated that there was pressure on her parents from their working class community to *"leave school at fifteen, earn a few bob before we got married"*, but she stated that because her father was *"pro-education*", he encouraged her and her sisters to go on to university, which she did. Education was not the only area of parental influence and the roles of the women's parents were also explored and will be detailed in the next section.

Education is also a subject of importance to the Labour Movement in Scotland. In addition to their policies on education generally, the trade unions and STUC also have developed an education and learning role and in 2000 the Scottish Union Learning Fund, now Scottish Union Learning was established. It is also important to note that the EIS is the fourth largest union by membership in Scotland (Table 5.2) and also has considerable power and influence within Scotland's Labour Movement and within the country itself (Menter et al, 2004; Ozga, 2005). This influence is in part a result of education and Scottish national identity being "inextricably linked" (McCrone, 2001:100). Firstly Scotland has retained its distinctive education system, although as Corr (1990) points out, it is only distinctive in relation to England, not to the rest of Europe. Secondly as McCrone (2001:95) argues the egalitarianism of Scottish education remains a "cultural construct" due, in part to its "institutional carriers", including "its administrative elite", which includes the EIS. These current and historical attitudes about the value of education are epitomised by the 'lad o'pairts'. Historically Scottish universities offered bursaries which enabled the 'lad o'pairts' to go on to higher education, at the age of thirteen or fourteen (Smout, 1997 For example at the University of Glasgow 19% of students were from working-class backgrounds in 1860, rising to 24% by 1910. At the University of Aberdeen the percentages were 16% and 20% respectively, though their students tended to come from rural backgrounds (McCrone, 2001). These boys (never girls) were often the children of the skilled craftsmen, who would go on to become professionals (McCrone, 1992a). Finally, it could be argued that this attitude is reflected in the pressure from the Scottish public and the decision of the current Scottish government not to introduce fees for higher education.

5.7 Summary and conclusion

This chapter has set out the research findings on the Labour Movement. It began by describing the three main groups that make up Scotland's Labour Movement system, the trade unions, the STUC and the Scottish Labour Party. In terms of the trade unions it demonstrated that the top thirteen unions in Scotland in terms of membership are broadly similar to those in the United Kingdom, apart from the education unions. Scotland has its own education unions in the top thirteen, which is not surprising given that Scotland's education system is distinctive and separate from the rest of the United Kingdom.

In examining the shape and degree of inequality, this chapter demonstrated the existence of occupational segregation within the Labour Movement. Trade union membership was shown generally to be segregated in line with overall horizontal occupational segregation in the workplace. For example Unite, whose membership is drawn from traditionally male areas of employment such as engineering, manufacturing, shipbuilding and construction, has 22.31% female membership in the UK[59], while UNISON whose membership is drawn from local government and health care has a female membership of 71%. Evidence of vertical occupational segregation was also evident, in that Scottish regional unions are almost all headed by men, with the senior women being found at the next level working as Regional/National Officers or Regional Organisers. However even at this level men predominate, though to a lesser degree in UNISON. Similar patterns were found in Scotland's education union, the EIS. A similar pattern was also found within the STUC. In addition, the majority of administrative and support staff in trade unions are women, which is also in line with horizontal occupational segregation in the workplace. This is also the case in the STUC and the Scottish Labour Party. However at the time the research was carried out there was a much better gender balance within the Scottish Labour Party itself, with 45.45% of non-administrative posts being held by women.

[59] At the time of writing there were no figures available for membership in Scotland.

The chapter showed that in addition to its employment structure, each of the three main organizations in the Labour Movement has a lay structure, although staff can also sit on these lay structures. The research has shown that positive discrimination is evident in the constitution of the membership of these lay structures, which have places reserved for women, in addition to black, LGBT, disabled and young members. As a result, for example, women comprise 47.22% of the STUC's General Council. In addition the President, the most senior post in the lay structures of many of the unions, the STUC and the Labour Party usually rotates between men and women. However, only UNISON's rules provide for women to be in the majority on its lay structures in line with its membership. The Labour Party has also used positive action and positive discrimination in terms of some of its elected members, notably in the Scottish Parliament and through the use of all women shortlists for the selection of potential MPs. However, despite this, at present women constitute only 26.83% of Scottish MPs and 17.5% of its Councillors, though one out of its two MEPs is female, as are 45.94% of its MSPs. Given the evidence of occupational segregation, there will inevitably be a pay gap in all three sections of the Labour Movement. However, no statistics were available, nor is there evidence that any are gathered.

The chapter then moved on to examine the organizational sub-structure of the Labour Movement, beginning with its organizing processes. Firstly it explored the elements that constitute and influence women's organizational careers. It began by exploring career pathways themselves and demonstrated that there are two pathways within trade unions, the activist and the employee. In terms of the former, the chapter found that the woman will normally begin by becoming active in the workplace as a workplace representative, before moving through the union lay structures at branch, regional and national committee levels, in addition to representing her union on other bodies such as the STUC and at conferences. In climbing up these union structures the woman activist is likely to have been aided by the system of reserved places and other gender balancing measures. However, the trade unions normally operate a system of election to all committees, and many will have a length of service qualification and it is here that networking can play an important role in securing election.

The chapter also demonstrated that in many unions it is the activist pathway that opens up the opportunity to become a union employee, as either a full-time official or in a policy job and, for both, many unions have a length of service qualification, the exception again being UNISON. In addition there are further two ways to become an employee, firstly through competing successfully in an open recruitment process, or by being promoted from the administrative or support staff, where again there may be a length of service qualification. In order to gain employment and subsequent promotions, as with progressing through the lay structure, the activist will have to have built a successful profile within the union movement. The chapter also showed that both the STUC and the Scottish Labour Party are small organizations, entry into which is normally through internal promotion or through trade union or political experience.

The chapter moved on to explore other organizing processes and the ways in which they, too, can influence women's careers. In terms of the organization of the work in the Labour Movement, it found the existence of a long hours' culture with evening and weekend working. It also found there to be a stereotypical "*macho"* culture, with a dominance of "*aggressive"* management styles. There was evidence of the stereotyping of male and female jobs reinforced through occupational segregation. There was also evidence of all these factors resulting in women being 'filtered out' (Bartol, 1978) of activist and employee roles. The chapter showed that in terms of performance standards, the respondents were divided on whether women's performance had to be better than men's to succeed. There was evidence of the importance of, and types of, mentoring and also of formal support mechanisms such as women's committees as well as informal mechanisms, such as "*Sister's Support".* These mechanisms also provided networks for women. The chapter showed that women could be excluded from male networks, which in turn could be football and pub based, or built around political caucuses or "*delivering the vote"* for regional secretaries. It also found that there was a tradition of "*favoured sons"*. In addition, it demonstrated the importance of networking in becoming elected and re-elected to lay and employee posts. There was evidence of issues surrounding role congruity (Eagly and Karau, 2002) and agentic behaviour (Rudman and Glick, 2001), with women being described as *"aggressive"* and not someone to go to with *"a broken pay-packet"*.

The chapter showed that the Labour Movement has an awareness of gender inequality and recognises the legitimacy of gender equality, based on a social justice case. This is evidenced through its systems of reserved seats for women, women's committees and women-only shortlists. However, as set out in Chapter 3, Section 3.8.2.3 there was clear evidence of historical opposition to gender equality and this chapter demonstrated that residual opposition remains as evidenced, for example, by sexual harassment, the problem of equal pay in local government and resistance to gender balancing.

The chapter also explored the emotions of human relations in the workplace, focusing on workplace interactions, which included negative issues such as sexual harassment and positive issues such as women being mentored by men, and women, and in turn mentoring younger women. It also included examples of the emotions of gender transition in terms of men's resistance to equality and their antipathy to gender balancing. Evidence was also presented in terms of women's emotions, for example the initial reluctance of some women to put themselves forward for selection as a potential MSP in the Scottish Parliament. There was also evidence of women having to be seen to be *"hard"* which was described as *"putting an act on".*

The chapter included a number of references to organizational culture, including the Movement's description as a *"macho culture".* However it is clear that some of the artefacts of culture have changed, particularly in terms of the numbers of female MSPs and the embedded nature of women's representation in the lay bodies of the Labour Movement. However what is also evident is that not all the values of people, particularly men, within the Movement have also changed.

In turning to the influence of background institutions, the chapter detailed the shape and degree of occupational segregation in the home and family of the research participants, which was explored for each participant on an historical and current basis. It found that for many women, growing up, it was their father who was their role model and mentor in terms of careers and political affiliation. It was notable that most women did not refer to their mothers as role models in terms of work or in other

ways. In their adult families there were mixed views on domestic occupational segregation. While some women took the primary responsibility for childcare and domestic work, for others the responsibilities were shared. Marital status and motherhood are also elements in the shape and degree of inequality and in terms of this research the majority of women were or had been married or had partners (33.33% married, 26.67% had partners, 6.67% widows, 20% divorced) with only 13.33% being single. In terms of motherhood, 46.67% had children and 53.33% did not. However the research found that 71.43% of those women with children had not built their careers until their children were older.

The chapter showed the historical importance of Catholic religious institutions for the Labour Party. This is perhaps unsurprising as Catholics traditionally supported the Labour Party and also the Labour Movement, particularly in the West of Scotland. The Labour Party, as well as other mainstream political parties in Scotland, has, in turn, supported separate Catholic schools within the education system. The chapter showed that 50% of the participants were raised in the Catholic faith, which is greater than for the population as a whole. However, only 20% remained active practitioners of their religion. The chapter also showed there had been some occupational segregation on religious grounds. For example, historically in Glasgow, Catholics were able to get council jobs, but not those in shipbuilding and this was still reflected in the football affiliations of Unison to Celtic, the Catholic football team, and of the GMB to Rangers, the Protestant football team.

This chapter explored the education of the research participants, the majority of whom had a university degree. Some had gained this as a mature student, which again is perhaps unsurprising given the nature of career paths within the Labour Movement. Some had been encouraged in their education by their parents. The chapter also demonstrated the importance of education to Scotland's Labour Movement, the policies and practices of which support education generally, while the STUC and the trade unions have adopted an education role in respect of their members. In addition the chapter set out the historical importance of education in Scotland and its consequent link with Scottish national identity (McCrone, 2001; Smout, 1997) and the influence of the EIS (Menter et al, 2004; Ozga, 2005).

The implications of these findings as they relate to the conceptual framework, particularly with respect to gender inequality regimes, the influence of background and proximate institutions, isomorphism, pillars, the historical dimension and co-constitution are discussed further in Chapter 8.

Chapter 6: Case Study – Local Government

6.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the research findings on local government in Scotland. It begins by describing the structure of Scotland's local government system, its general gender composition and that of its senior management. It then goes on to describe the structure of the two case study councils, Tartan and Thistle, together with their gender composition and that of their senior management. It then goes on to illustrate the career paths in local government and within the two case studies. It also explores the gender composition within the two councils and within their senior management and goes on to illustrate the career pathways within each group. It then examines: workload and working hours; management styles, performance standards and culture; sex discrimination; mentoring; career support and networks; the family; religion; and education.

6.2 Scotland's local government

There are 32 unitary local authorities or councils in Scotland. They vary in size from Glasgow, the largest with a population of 592,820 to Orkney, the smallest with a population of 20,110 (*GROS*, 2011). Regardless of size each is responsible for a range of local services, such as education, social work, housing, culture, leisure, regeneration, planning, environmental health and roads. The present system of local government, with 32 unitary authorities came into being in 1996, partly in preparation for the establishment of a Scottish Parliament. Prior to 1996 there had been a two-tier system of 9 Regional Councils, 53 District Councils and 3 Island Councils which was established in 1975 (Scottish Government, 2011b) and prior to this there was "a complex system of 430 councils of 5 types" established in 1929 (Fairley, 1998:62). Before 1929 there were around 1400 organizations (Fairley, 1998) comprising "Royal Burghs, small towns and villages that organised basic services within communities" (Scottish Government, 2011b).

Historically the system in place before 1929 had evolved from medieval times. For example, Royal burghs were “privileged communities granted rights by the king to enable them to develop internal and external trade” (Smout, 1998:147) and many towns still retain this title today. As they expanded, local administration structures developed and grew into town councils (McConnell, 2004). These town councils were formed from the burgesses, who stood at the top of the hierarchical social order. With each new council being elected by the previous one, the merchant burgesses were able to retain power, although in other areas, the laird exercised a considerable amount of influence (Smout, 1998). Although some women were merchant burgesses, it is unlikely that any were members of their local council. McConnell (2004:66) argues that “the best way to understand the structure of local government in Scotland from feudal times to the present day is by recognising its link to dominant interests”, which in medieval times was the king, while since the 1990s, he argues, it has been “business interests”. At the time of writing the present Scottish government has signalled that there is likely to be further local government reform, particularly in terms of how services are delivered and funded (Scottish Government, 2010c).

There are 253,600 people employed in local government in Scotland, of whom 181,200 are women (71.5%) and 72,400 (28.5%) are men (Scottish Government, 2012a). Employment in local government stood at 293,900 in 1999 and had risen to 325,200 by 2006, since when it has fallen steadily to its current level (Scottish Government, 2012a). There has been concern expressed that the current round of cuts to local government employment will inevitably affect women more than men (Financial Times, 2011), as will cuts to local government services, which it is argued are used more extensively by women than men (Fawcett Society, 2012b). Since 2007, the Gender Equality Duty has obliged public bodies to promote gender equality and since 2011 this has been replaced by the Equality Duty, which requires public bodies to “have 'due regard' to the need to eliminate unlawful discrimination, advance equality of opportunity and foster good relations” (Scottish Government, 2012b) and in Scotland the definition of a public body has been widened by the Scottish Government to increase the number of organizations covered by the legislation. The effects of both equality duties will be discussed further in Section 6.3.4.

6.3 Senior management in local government

Regardless of the size of each council its structure is broadly similar, with each being headed by a Chief Executive, supported by a number of Executive Directors or Directors, each responsible for one or more of the council's services, such as education, social work, housing, culture, leisure, regeneration, planning, environmental health and roads. In the language of local government, these are known as *'first tier'* posts. Reporting to each Executive Director/Director there are a number of Directors or Heads of Service, responsible for discrete parts of each service. These are known as *'second tier'* posts. In addition there is also, usually, a central corporate department, containing first and second tier posts, responsible for internal services such as finance, human resource management, legal and communications, whose Directors report either directly to the Chief Executive or to an Executive Director/Director.

Since 1993, local government has been required to publish information about how they are performing against key indicators in a range of areas, one of which refers to the numbers and percentages of women employees in the top 2% and 5% of earners. Unfortunately comparable figures are only available from 2003/4. Table 6.1 shows the mean for Scotland from 2003/4 to 2010/11 and indicates that the percentage of women in the Top 2% has increased from 28.3% in 2003/4 to 39.5% in 2010/11[60]. The figure for women in the top 5% has also risen from 35.8% to 46.3%.

[60] The latest year for which statistics are available.

Table 6.1 Women as a percentage of top 2% and top 5% of earners in Scottish local government 2003/4 to 2010/11[61]

Year	Top 2%	Top 5%
2003/4	28.3	35.8
2004/5	29.6	36.6
2005/6	31.7	38.0
2006/7	33.9	40.4
2007/8	35.9	44.0
2008/9	37.1	45.2
2009/10	37.4	45.4
2010/11	39.5	46.3

Table 6.2 shows the range of data for women as a percentage of the top 2% of earners in Scottish local government and Table 6.3 shows the range of data for women as a percentage of the top 5% of earners. It can be seen that for both groups the figures have risen. An examination of the median upper quartile, median and median lower quartile figures shows that for both groups there has been an increase of around ten percentage points. Over this period, some councils are consistently at the top of the list, while others such as the Island Councils are consistently at the bottom of the list.

Table 6.2 Women as a percentage of the top 2% of earners in Scottish local government[62]

Year	Highest	Upper Quartile Median	Median	Lower Quartile Median	Lowest
2003/4	39.6	32.5	27.4	23.5	7.0
2004/5	51.4	31.9	28.8	24.1	12.5
2005/6	42.1	33.5	31.3	27.3	10.4
2006/7	47.1	37.9	32.6	28.1	11.5
2007/8	49.3	41.0	34.3	29.2	12.3
2008/9	45.8	39.0	35.9	30.7	12.7
2009/10	50.0	41.0	37.3	32.0	13.0
2010/11	54.8	42.0	38.8	34.3	12.1

[61] Compiled and calculated from Audit Scotland (2012) published data. Excludes teachers.
[62] Compiled and calculated from Audit Scotland (2012) published data. Excludes teachers.

Table 6.3 Women as a percentage of the top 5% of earners in Scottish local government[63]

Year	Highest	Upper Quartile Median	Median	Lower Quartile Median	Lowest
2003/4	49.0	37.9	35.2	29.3	15.3
2004/5	43.2	39.1	34.5	30.7	18.3
2005/6	46.8	40.5	36.7	32.0	10.8
2006/7	50.5	43.2	39.3	35.8	14.0
2007/8	57.9	46.5	43.3	37.2	20.9
2008/9	56.3	47.4	43.3	38.1	21.2
2009/10	56.8	47.4	44.5	39.1	20.3
2010/11	57.7	48.5	46.0	40.7	23.8

Only two councils have reached at least 50% of the top 2% of earners, one in 2009/10 and another in 2010/11 (Audit Scotland, 2012). The first council to reach at least 50% of women in the top 5% of earners did so in 2006/7 and since then a total of seven councils have done so (Audit Scotland, 2012), but not all have maintained this level.

6.3.1 Tartan Council

Tartan Council has a workforce of 19,432 of whom 6121 (31.5%) are men and 13,331 (68.5%) are women. The percentages of part-time employees are 5.36% of men and 36.04% of women. In 2006/7 Tartan Council introduced a new pay and grading structure, for non-teaching staff, with fifteen grades. This was described by Respondent LG12 as consisting of:

> *job families… thirteen or fourteen job families including a leadership job family and what we termed role profiles to replace thousands and thousands of job descriptions and we've now got something like a*

[63] Compiled and calculated from Audit Scotland (2012) published data. Excludes teachers.

hundred and fifty…role profiles within families and for the first time we've introduced competencies attached to each of those role profiles.

She went on to set out the grade hierarchy within the leadership job family:

we have grades one to fifteen and we call nine and above, nine to fifteen is our leadership family. Our chief executive is at grade fifteen. Grade fourteen below that is now all our executive directors and then thirteen is the kind of heads of [HR]…heads of shared service and…our service directors of which we've only got two which is education and social work. And then grade twelve is all of our kind of assistant directors… then when you get to eleven and ten it's more of the sort of heads of…

Grades 7 and 8 she described as:

middle management…some of our senior HR officers are at grade eight. You've got office managers, that type of thing probably in that area, going to social work we've got what we call practice team leaders and senior social workers…you'll have senior environmental health officers, senior planners at that, grade eight tends to be the sort of top end of our professionally qualified people.

Statistics showing the proportion of men and women in each grade are produced annually by the council and are set out in Table 6.4. It shows that women dominate in the lower grades and that in the middle management and senior professional Grade 8 there are more women (59.54%) than men (40.46%). Men are in the majority in the leadership grade, though the figure for women is fairly high at 42.74%.

Table 6.4 Tartan Council's gender breakdown by grade of non-teaching staff at 31 March 2012

Grades	Male	Female	Total
Grade 1-4	2614 (39.19%)	4056 (60.81%)	6670
Grade 5-7	1785 (28.56%)	4465 (71.44%)	6250
Grade 8	244 (40.46%)	359 (59.54%)	603
Grade 9-15	134 (57.26%)	100 (42.74%)	234
Total	**4777**	**8980**	**13757**

The council provides a general breakdown of its statistics by department on an annual basis. These have been collated and are set out in Table 6.5. They show a more varied picture of the gender profile of the council, both in the overall percentage of women in each department and in that department's *leadership family.* Women are in the majority in six out of eight departments. In only one department, Social Work, do women occupy the majority of leadership posts (64%), though they occupy half of the Central Corporate posts (50%). Development and Regeneration Services deals with functions such as planning, transport, housing and business and the economy and Land and Environmental Services deals with parks, roads, environmental health, cleansing and trading standards. In these two departments women occupy few of the leadership posts, though in the latter they have more leadership posts than overall posts.

Table 6.5 Percentage of women employed in each department of Tartan Council and in the department's leadership family at June 2012

Department	Grade 9 and above	Overall
Direct and Care	N/A[64]	84%
Education Services	48%	84%
Social Work Services	64%	74%
Financial Services	35%	69%
Chief Executive's Office and Corporate Services	50%	67%
Culture and Sport	N/A[65]	54%
Development and Regeneration Services	16%	44%
Land and Environmental Services	14%	10%

6.3.2 Thistle Council

Thistle Council has a workforce of 15,300, of whom 5,500 (35.95%) are men and 9,800 (64.05%) are women. It does not publish figures for the numbers of staff who work part-time. Until recently it classified its senior *tier one* and *tier two* managers as Chief Officers and Senior Officers and the percentage of men and women in each category is shown in Table 6.6. It does not publish the overall percentage of men and women in each department.

Table 6.6 Percentage of men and women employed in senior management in Thistle Council at 31 March 2010

Grade	Male	Female
Chief Officer (Tier 1)	61.10%	38.90%
Senior Officer (Tier 2)	62.10%	37.90%

[64] Limited liability partnership from 2009.
[65] Charity and community interest company from 2007.

Thistle Council does publish the percentages of its senior men and women in each department and, as can be seen from Table 6.7, this varies.

Table 6.7 Percentage of men and women employed in Tier 1 and Tier 2 roles in Thistle Council at 31 March 2010

Department	Male Chief Officers	Female Chief Officers	Male Senior Officers	Female Senior Officers
Children and Families (*Education*)	60%	40%	42.31%	57.69%
Health and Social Care	50%	50%	50%	50%
Corporate Services	60%	40%	54.76%	45.24%
CEC	61.11%	38.89%	62.13%	37.87%
City Development	100%	0%	73.33%	26.67%
Services for Communities (*Land and Environmental Services*)	40%	60%	76%	24%
Finance	60%	40%	79.17%	20.83%

6.4 Working at a senior level in local government

The following sections examine the working lives of senior women in local government. It explores elements that have enabled them to move up the career ladder as well as those elements that they have found to be barriers to progression.

6.4.1 Career pathways in local government

Section 6.1 set out the types of service departments operated by each council. The traditional career path in local government has been to climb the ranks within a specialist division, such as social work, education, planning, or environmental health.

Reporting to the Chief Executive of the Council, Divisions are headed by an Executive Director or Director, who will have at least one or more Depute Directors. Reporting to the Executive Director/Director will be Heads of Divisions each responsible for a service area or activity area or geographical area. These areas will in turn be broken down into sub-areas headed by Group Managers, with their own senior teams comprising a number of Principal Officers, responsible for a part of the sub-area and heading up their own teams which will include Assistant Principal Officers and administrative and clerical staff.

This career pathway was demonstrated by Respondent LG2 as she outlined her career which had been wholly in housing in Thistle Council where she currently heads the Housing and Regeneration Service Division reporting to the Director of Services for Communities. After graduating in Social Sciences, she began in housing management, at entry level, as *"an officer, then became a senior"*, then after obtaining *"a professional qualification with the Institute of Housing"* she moved to lead a section, after which she:

> *moved to housing benefits to be the chief housing benefit officer. And that was a major step, I'd moved from managing really small self-motivated, self-driving teams into a huge section with over two hundred staff*.

After that she moved into different areas of housing *"to lead in housing advice"* then was promoted again to *"housing support"*, then to *"care housing"* as Head of Service and finally to her present position. As can be seen from this description Respondent LG2 climbed the professional and then management ladder within the housing function and department.

In some departments, such as culture, staff may have begun their career, or spent some of their career, outwith local government, for example working in the Arts world. However, this is unusual and even in central functions, such as finance and HR, senior managers tend to have focused their career in the public sector generally and/or in local government in particular. This approach was typified by Respondent LG9 in Tartan Council who explained that after graduation she:

went for jobs where they said any discipline considered and I got two job offers, I got one with the National Audit Office and I got one [in the private sector] in Retail Management so I chose the National Audit Office because it gave me a professional qualification…as a public finance accountant. I joined [Thistle] Council the day after I qualified in fact as an accountant… I went through coming in as an accountant to being the Depute Director…then I moved to [Tartan] Council as Director of Finance.

Respondent LG9 also explained that just as staff come into local government they do also leave, although often they:

stay within the public sector probably so they might move from local authorities to other public sector bodies be it Health, Audit, the FE/HE[66] *side of things that's higher education so they tend to move maybe to public sectors some of them end up out of a sector, they move into agencies for example you know Scottish Enterprise that side.*

In local government senior managers are required to work not only with other employees, but also with the elected representatives, the councillors and this will be explored in the next section.

6.4.2 Working with councillors

Thistle Council sets out how council business is carried out, namely that the "Council usually meets once a month and is responsible for taking decisions, but it can delegate decisions to Committees, Sub-Committees or officers. Decisions at meetings of the Council or at a committee or sub-committee are usually taken after Councillors have had the opportunity to consider written advice by the Council's professional officers". In addition the Council delegates a large range of key functions to its officials in order to ensure the day-to-day running of the council.

[66] Further Education/Higher Education

However Tartan Council points out that where a "matter may be politically controversial even although it has been specifically delegated to him/her", then it must be referred to the appropriate elected member. Senior management in councils therefore have a great deal of contact with councillors. This was explained by Respondent LG2 in terms of her present job at Thistle Council:

> *At the moment I have quite a lot of contact with the lead councillor, health social care and housing committee. So with him and with his deputy I have a regularly, a fortnightly meeting with them where we sort of look at issues, progress chasing, things he's given me that sort of thing, but look at wider issues like campaign for affordable housing, what about sustainability in housing, how can we make things greener and also regular interaction with councillors who phone maybe with specific queries…you just try and establish relationships with them.*

She also explained that in lower level jobs she would also have had contact with councillors and due to her length of service many councillors *"would know me quite well".* When councils change after each election, new councillors receive *"presentations"* (Respondent LG11) and *"briefing sessions"* (Respondent LG2) on current issues from the relevant senior officials.

In all councils, councillors are involved in all senior appointments as described by Respondent LG3, who explained that after an interview with external consultants, a further interview with those consultants and the Executive Director of her department and a series of psychometric tests, she was then interviewed by *"a panel of twelve"*, a mix of councillors, senior officials and consultants. At a recent appointment in Tartan Council applications were shortlisted by seven councillors, who comprised the "Appointment of Senior Officers Committee", with the Chief Executive in attendance and the interviews were carried out by the same councillors, with two Executive Directors in attendance[67].

[67] Minutes of Tartan City Council meetings.

When Respondent LG11 joined Tartan Council, she was one of only two women Directors, the other being the Head of HR. She recalled being advised by the, then, Chief Executive to use the Members Dining Room *"because that's where a lot of the male directors would meet the councillors"*, where a lot of business was, and still is done. She was told that *"I really would help myself if I actually came and took part in more of those".* However, she also recalled that:

> *I made a conscious decision when I came not to go into the members dining room because…it just didn't feel right and it just wasn't the way I normally operated. I also felt that chief officers shouldnae get free lunches bluntly as well*

6.4.3 Workload and working hours

The Respondents indicated that they had heavy workloads and this resulted in long hours. For example Respondent LG12 stated:

> *I couldn't have done what we've done over the last few years if I'd worked nine to five, five days a week*

In general most staff did between ten and twelve hours a day. Respondent LG10, for example, stated:

> *I do probably about an eleven hour day. I'm in about eight and I'll be leaving between half six and seven.*

Some staff commute by train each day and use this time to *"work"* (Respondent LG4) or *"catch up on reading"* (Respondent LG9). Other staff take work home with them as explained by Respondent LG1:

> *I'm here early so half seven, leave at six and start work again at half eight, nine until [laughs] eleven, half eleven. It varies but I try to do that just in the week. Not weekends, not Fridays.*

Others choose to do work at home at weekends. As Respondent LG10 pointed out:

> *Almost consistently I will do some work on a Sunday at some point. If I'm lucky I'll get away with a couple of hours.*

Some jobs require staff to attend evening and weekend functions, as part of the remit of the job. Respondent LG11 explained:

> *We do a lot of evening and weekend work and I'm working all day Saturday for instance and I've been out two, two nights this week at events and I worked all of last Saturday as well being at events and looking after people but I probably, for me I joke sometimes about I would love to retire and do a nine to five job.*

The ways in which the Respondents reconcile their personal and family lives with these working hours will be explored further in Section 6.5.1.2.

6.4.4 Management styles, culture and performance standards

The Respondents were asked to describe their management style and whether or not it differed from that of their male colleagues. Some of the senior women referred to assessments of their style, that had resulted from management courses, in terms such as *"democratic"* (Respondent LG4), *"consultative"* (Respondent LG2). However, the most common adjective used was *"supportive"* in terms of managing their own teams. One example was given by Respondent LG15:

> *in my own section I'm supportive…[though]…I'm not, certainly not submissive in relation to the rest of the managers, no way… I'm not a walkover.*

In terms of having to fit one's style to the prevailing style, there were mixed views. For example while Respondent LG7 believed that "*you do have to fit in"*, and adapt accordingly Respondent LG2 stated:

> *I don't think* [mine] *does fit with the organisation but I think to some extent I've got away with that because it's been a different area* [housing]*, an area where female expertise is recognised.*

Some women believed there were differences between the styles of men and women. Respondent LG9 said:

> *what men are really good at is not getting personal, you know, they just are not worrying about things, you know, they just make a decision and get on with it*

While Respondent LG7 stated:

> *I think women are much more open than men…they think that they have to be honest and they're not afraid to demonstrate emotion either to say, you know, "I'm angry about this" or "I'm unhappy about this" or all of those things whereas the poker faces, you know, men are prepared to…negotiate their way round things much more*

Many respondents also believed that the culture of the organization played a part and was related to management style. Respondent LG11 explained that when she joined Tartan council under the previous Chief Executive she found the behaviour of many of her senior colleagues was "*very macho and aggressive and abusive almost".* It was also pointed out that at her senior management level this had *"changed"* and *"toned down"* (Respondent LG10) under the present Chief Executive, but it *"varied by service"* (Respondent LG12). An example of this was given by Respondent LG13, who found that the culture amongst Secondary Head Teachers was *"very traditional male dominated and they would say that themselves".*

Thistle Council was also described as "*macho", "old-fashioned"* and *"male-dominated"* (Respondent LG6) and *"a male environment"* (Respondent LG2), particularly at Director Level. Here, too, there was a view that the culture varied by service, depending on that service's gender composition. In Thistle Council there

was also a view that the culture had been changed by the numbers of women moving into promoted posts in the organization and this will be discussed further in Section 6.4.6.

In terms of performance standards in Tartan Council there was a perception, particularly in the services that were male-dominated that *"to be successful as a woman you had to be twice as good as the next man"* (Respondent LG13). Respondent LG15 added that:

> *there's a condescending, patronising attitude towards women in many parts of the council… women are not treated as equals essentially by many people…it's just the old cliché you have to work twice as hard to be recognised as doing your job well and that is quite open amongst many men that they do not.*

This view was much less prevalent in Thistle Council.

6.4.5 Sex discrimination

Many of the women managers, in both councils, had experienced sex discrimination at some point in their careers. However, others did not. For many this revolved around being a mother as outlined by Respondent LG11 who said she remembered early on in her career

> *being formally asked at the interview what arrangements would I make for childminding, could I guarantee I would never be off because of children being sick*

She added that later on when one of her children was sick she had to *"take all my annual leave to be with him".* Respondent LG13 also recalled that when she applied unsuccessfully for promotion as an Assistant Head Teacher she was told that

> *the parents had gone against me in the interview because they felt that I'd just had a baby and that I'd be too busy*

For others it revolved around not being shortlisted for a promotion, or not being selected. However, Respondent LG5, who thought she perceived there to be a *"glass ceiling"* at Thistle Council that she felt she had *"bumped into"*, when applying for one promotion, believed this to be down to *"an individual decision, not a culture".* Respondent LG11 recalled that early on in her career she was told that some women who were interviewed alongside her for promotion had not been *"considered seriously because they wore a trouser suit to the interview"*. As a result, she said that she almost always now wore trousers to work *"as a point of principle"*.

Most Respondents raised the issue of equal pay in local government, also referred to in Section 5.3.4 and this will be discussed further in the next section.

6.4.6 Organizational approaches to equal opportunities

In the 1980s there were Regional and District Councils in Scotland and so there were four bodies operating different approaches to equal opportunities within the same council areas.

In Tartan Council area Labour had lost control of the District Council in 1977 and regained power in 1980, when Respondent LM15 stated the Council *"had a long way to go in terms of equality issues".* She cited the fact that what became the Personnel Committee was at that point called the Manpower Committee. When she took over as Chair of the, now renamed, Personnel Committee in 1983, she said that she:

> *got them to agree to having an equality sub-committee. They weren't going to have a women's committee. No way were they going to have a women's committee but I did talk them into having an equality committee which was a sub of the Personnel Committee.*

However, as the Chair of the Committee she was instrumental in appointing a Women's Officer. When asked how she had managed to do this she recalled:

> *Because if you're chair of a committee you can get away with it [laughs]. You can just say well you know, if we're taking up equality issues then we need somebody to work on this. I mean, if I remember rightly there was just* [the Women's Officer] *on her own, it wasn't as if it was anything as substantial as the kind of thing that they got done in other places, no way, but still it was something you know.*

In 1989, the Regional Council set up a Women's Advisory Committee and established the post of Women's Officer, with the support of Regional women councillors. Its remit as recalled by Respondent LG16, the post incumbent:

> *was to look at where women were within the council in terms of employment and also to look at service delivery issues, policy issues for women. So it was a kind of fairly broad job.*

The initiatives carried out over the next seven years included the establishment of: a women's technology centre; a centre for women's health; women's business start-up courses; equal pay campaigns; child care information sessions; women-only training programmes; and departmental women's forums (Respondent LG16).

The District Council in the Thistle Council area established an Equalities Unit in 1987, again with the support of elected members, with many of the female councillors perceived as having a strong feminist agenda, as explained by Respondent LG6, who stated:

> *it is feminism that makes the difference, it's not just about having women politicians, it is about whether they come with a feminist ideology*

Thistle District Council's Equalities Unit took a different approach to that of Tartan Region. According to its incumbent (Respondent LG6), instead of focusing on similar initiatives it concentrated on a:

> *culture of accountability…and…succeeded in putting in place equal opportunities policies and structures to, for example, audit the number of women in the organization, together with initiatives to improve on that number, using 'organizational development techniques*

As set out in Section 6.2, local government in Scotland was re-organised in 1996. Respondent LG6 transferred to the new Thistle Council to continue heading up its Equalities Unit. She recalled that in the old Thistle District Council there had been *"about six thousand staff"* while in the new Thistle Council there were *"almost twenty-five thousand staff"* and explained:

> *The set up I found myself in was essentially a big macho organisation completely male dominated. There were no and still are no women directors and there were very few women assistant directors, way less than ten percent of the total and the boys routinely behaved as boys do in any male dominated organisation I've ever come into I had experience of, they excluded women systematically and without thought. They didn't concern themselves about how jobs were designed, they weren't bothered about flexible working, it was a real struggle to hang on to flexible working but we did but my God it was a struggle.*

She said that it took four years of the new council to put in place systems, such as equality monitoring that had existed in the previous District Council. She added that while her approach still had the support of many women councillors, they themselves *"were much more embattled"* in what she saw as a much more *"old right wing Labour"* group that had previously dominated the Regional Council. She described it as *"the boys came in and said gie us our sweeties back".*

Respondent LG16 also transferred to the new Tartan Council as its Women's Officer, heading a new Equality Policy Unit. However she recalled that many of the old projects and training programmes did not continue, *"they just sort of disappeared"*. Responsibility for workforce related equality issues became the responsibility of the HR department. There was a perception that in Tartan, too, reorganization had a

negative effect on equal opportunities, with the added problem caused by this splitting of responsibility for equality issues. By 2006 Tartan's equality strategy was criticised in its Best Value Audit, which resulted in a more comprehensive monitoring approach, similar to that of Thistle's. In addition, the introduction of the gender equality duty prompted both councils to review their approaches to equality.

From the interviews, there is also a perception that within Thistle there are networks, such as the Women's Forum, that do not exist in Tartan and which act as a force for change in terms of services and employment. In addition these networks are perceived as having a *"more feminist agenda"* and a *"more middle-class approach"* in what is a perceived as a *"more prosperous"* council area. However, despite this and as set out in Section 6.4.4, the culture of Thistle council is often referred to as *"macho"* and *"old-fashioned"*, although Tartan is also described in a similar way. The failure of women in Thistle, until 2008, to break through into the most senior jobs has been attributed to this culture. In the interviews it was pointed out that at this level there is an interface between elected members and officials, with the elected members ultimately appointing these senior officials and it was suggested that the absence of women was due to the *"last vestiges of the old male-dominated culture"*, looking for *"the safe pair of hands"* (Respondent LG6).

6.4.6.1 Equal pay

It is impossible to examine equal opportunities in local government without exploring the issue of equal pay. At the time the research was carried out many councils in the UK were facing equal pay claims from members of their female workforce. Some, such as Tartan, had settled these claims, while others were still negotiating. As set out in Section 5.3.4, one of the female politicians (Respondent LM16) interviewed had championed the issue of equal pay in Tartan Council in the 1980s. She recalled that a national work study was carried out that resulted in agreements about equal pay. However she also recounted that in subsequent years:

> *some of the unions representing male workers got the council to agree to bonuses which were not for anything extra done, just a bonus, just*

for being a man in a job. So that system which had worked well for, I don't know how long it worked but it just got picked apart and the women were left behind once again.

Respondent LG6 gave an example of this:

You look at the job description for a community care assistant and you look at the job description for a road guy, the same in any authority. Now you will find that the care assistant's got a far more complex job description, how come the road guy's take home pay is twice as much? Because the road guy gets a bonus, the care assistant doesn't, that's really what it boils down to.

Both Respondents, like most of the women interviewed perceived the current problem to be a result of male politicians and trade union officials *"conniving"* during the 1980s and 1990s to restore gender differentials in favour of male employees. Respondent LG6 also pointed out that while the male workers in these grades usually worked full-time, the women often worked part-time, resulting in the perception amongst management, councillors and unions that the men required *"family wages"* while the women did not as *"after all the women were only doing it for pin money weren't they?"*. She also stated when she raised the issue of equal pay for these grades of workers she was told *"don't touch bonuses, I was well warned off".* In addition, there was also a perception that successive male council leaders had been aware of the problem as had council chief officers and both groups had ignored it.

6.4.7 Mentoring

The use of mentors by the women and organizations varied. Most women had mentors at various points during their careers although a small minority chose not to. Some women found mentors in their line managers early on in their careers as typified by Respondent LG5 who described her boss as:

a really great mentor, I mean I put a huge amount of credit her way for you know, just setting an example you know, being such a kind of encouraging manager

Others were allocated mentors at specific times in their careers, from both inside and outside their organization, either when starting a new more senior job or for a specific project. Others had to seek out mentors as described by Respondent LG14:

I would say there's a couple of more senior female colleagues that I could go to…and say 'I'm not very sure about this, I'm not very sure how to deal with this'

Many women acknowledged that mentors are *"absolutely crucial for women getting ahead"* (Respondent LG9). Tartan Council indicated that they were putting a formal mentoring system in place for both male and female staff with leadership potential (Respondent LG12), while Thistle Council have increased their use of coaching (Respondent LG3).

A minority of Respondents acted as mentors to other women in their organizations and one was involved in working with another senior woman in the private sector to set up an informal mentoring programme for women in Scotland.

6.4.8 Career support and networks

Women in local government tended to have a range of formal and informal networks. Formal networks were often linked to their work role, for example the Association of Director of Education Services or the Society of Local Authority Chief Executives and Senior Managers (SOLACE). Thistle Council also has a Women's Equality Forum, which Respondent LG6 stated

was originally set up by the city council and is now supported by the health service, the police and the city council and brings together loads of feminist and women's organisations in the city. It was brought together specifically to act as a policy sounding board and does.

Informal work-related networks were often the result of relationships they had built up over the years. At Thistle Council a number of new senior women had started around the same time and as a result one of them, Respondent LG4, described how she had:

> *decided* [to] *organise a lunch with the female chief officers. So we all went out for lunch and they said what a great idea, we've never done that before, so we had quite a good turnout but what amazed me was that some of them who had worked here for a while, hadn't met one another. So we've actually had a couple of events since then and that, that is really important to me I feel because I don't see these people a lot on a day to day basis, so I don't suddenly want to be having to meet with someone when there's a problem you know, I would much prefer that we've actually got a relationship, even if it's just a social relationship in advance of that.*

Women in both councils acknowledged that they had informal networks with women councillors.

Many but not all women also indicated that there were a number of male networks from which they were excluded. These included: "*the old boys network"* (Respondent LG5) which was seen to be stronger in some services than in others (Respondent, LG14); and sports networks such as golf and football (Respondent LG14). Respondent LG15 pointed out that at Tartan Council:

> *At officer level it's probably about football rather than about anything else you know, an odd member of the Orange Lodge or something like that but nothing very intrusive and of course we no longer have you know, anything with colours on it and we don't have any sexist calendars and all the rest of it, so that sort of stuff helps.*

One Respondent (LG16) indicated that she had a sports network of her own, *"the women's jogging network"*, although this was outwith the Council.

Outwith work most women had a social network, often of women friends. Respondent LG11 described hers as follows:

> *I have a group of women, of four women who I see actually not that often but they are a group that I do spend time with and if I didn't have them.....So for me having women friends is really crucial, so much so we sometimes you know, we hear sort of people have said oh they're just a bunch of lesbians because you always see them together and so on and yes, I think people can be quite threatened by that but for me I take a real strength in women...I'd say again, ninety-nine percent of my friends are women.*

Respondent LG8 also outlined the support she received from her social network:

> *I've got a whole group of female friends honestly that and I can phone them on my way home at night and they know they'll get a phone call between you know, seven, eight o'clock at night on my way home in the car or they'll contact me and we'll meet Saturdays and go out for lunch and stuff. Yes there's a whole group of women.*

A few women indicated that their social network was made up of both men and women, but they were in a minority.

In addition to formal and informal networks, women also indicated that they received career support from their partners and families. This varied and will be examined further in Section 6.5.1.

6.5 Institutions: Family, religion and education

Women come into the workforce having experienced at least three institutions in depth, the family, religious organizations and the education system. Therefore each of the senior women managers was asked about their relationships with these key

institutions, including the ways in which any of these acted as barriers or enablers in terms of navigating their career.

6.5.1 Family Life

Each woman manager was asked about her family, both in terms of her early family life and her present family life.

6.5.1.1 Growing up

All the participants were asked about their family background, including the occupation(s) of their parents. The majority of first tier (five out of seven), and of second tier (three out of five) women managers had fathers who worked in management, the professions, or running their own business. However, only one third of women had mothers who worked when they were young children. The occupations of their mothers were quite different to that of their fathers. Only one mother had a professional occupation (accountant), while another worked in the family business. The occupations of the remainder included cook, cleaner, dressmaker and secretary.

The roles of each parent within the family were explored and these fell broadly into two groups, regardless of age or geographical location of upbringing. On the one hand some roles were traditional as described by Respondent LG1:

> *My dad would come in at six and expect his tea on the table and you know, traditional values*.

Other Respondents reported gender differences between siblings. Respondent LG5 stated that she:

> *had two brothers, they never did anything…Lazy sods! You know it was very much very traditional, very old-fashioned.*

This was echoed by Respondent LG14, whose parents divorced when she was at school:

> *I had a younger brother and I think the only gender thing that I still cast up is the fact that she always expected me to do more round the house than she did him, you know, which I don't think is uncommon at that age and…you were expected to just come in from school and start and get the tea ready and stuff like that, you know, it would be me rather than him that would do that.*

Within the second group, different, less traditional experiences were recounted. Respondent LG16 said:

> *My father worked full time and my mother did nightshift and then did weekend shifts, so quite often my father was the one that made the dinners and he did the hoovering and all of that kind of stuff and looked after us so I suppose it was at that point it was you know kind of non-standard. I mean that didn't happen to any of my pals…*

This sharing of roles, predicated on parental working patterns, was also experienced by other Respondents.

6.5.1.2 Adult family life

In local government fourteen out of sixteen interviewees (82.35%) were married or in a civil partnership, one was divorced and one was single. Of those who were married or in a civil partnership ten (85.71%) had a partner who worked full-time, with the remaining two interviewees having partners who had retired. A total of 56.25% had children and 43.75% did not. Whether or not to have children was an important decision for many of these women. Some indicated that this was not a choice, as either they or their partner were unable to have children. One career response to not having children was outlined by Respondent LG10:

Well I think what it has meant for me is that I've always been able to be very focussed on my work because I haven't had children to think about and certainly when I was younger, when I was kind of going through a phase of considering whether to have children or not it was a worry the extent to which I personally would be able to balance the responsibilities I would feel towards children and looking after them as well as I possibly could and my work and doing that as well I mean I think that would have been a real cause of you know, friction for me.

Another Respondent (LG3) who was unable to have children considered adoption, but rejected this as in her previous organization she felt that she could not maintain her career as:

What I felt uncomfortable with and it's probably, this is probably about me more than them, is the world at [Organization X] changed too quickly, so you could take six months out to have a baby and the whole world would be different when you got back and I found that very disconcerting you know, having to deal with that.

Another Respondent (LG4) who also did not have children outlined her perception of the likely effect of this on her career:

I am in absolutely no doubt whatsoever if I had had children I would not be where I am…because I couldn't, I couldn't give what I give to the job, I really, I really couldn't and I just think it's about choices you know, it really is about choices.

While she acknowledged that many of her female colleagues did *juggle* career and family, her own perception was that with a family:

You can't expect to take on these senior positions, I think it's unrealistic.

The participants with children had different approaches to 'juggling' career and family and this depended on the career levels of both partners. Around a third of those with children had careers at an equal level to that of their husband, or where both careers were given equal status within the marriage. Childcare was therefore an important consideration for these women.

A consequence of this was outlined by Respondent LG1:

> *I think good quality, full time flexible childcare has been essential. I mean they're older now so it's not such an issue but sort of early days it was…the children happily go on to after school club and they go to the summer club, there's a breakfast club, so all of those things are just a natural part of what the school offers…I mean they do realise that we're both you know working full time and that you know that brings the demands it brings.*

However these facilities were not always available in the past and one Respondent (LG11), now with adult children, described her early experience:

> *There was no, you know, access to childcare, my mother helped. Fortunately after a battle with the authority I got my son into [a] social work nursery but that was only for about a year and then I'd a big row with the local authority when they started to introduce school nursery places and I can remember saying to them but starting the nursery at half past nine really doesn't help and being told snottily well that's too bad, it's an education set up it's not a childminding service and so again made a big fuss. I mean I felt I spent a lot of my early years just fighting and I made a big fuss and I even went as far as taking my child to the nursery at five to nine and saying well I'm leaving him and you can get the police and do what you like…and they did start to change the rules to allow that to happen.*

Another Respondent (LG5) described a much more recent experience as her child was moving to secondary school within the state system:

I went to the parents' evening and I said to the headmaster, just checking when the after school facilities are going to be completed and he kind of looked at me and he went after school facilities, he said that's a convenience for you, not for me and I went oh, well I don't know about anybody else in the room but it's a really important you know, part of being able to manage my work and he went it's not, you know he said oh working mothers you know and he was really and I walked out on that meeting feeling sick. [This woman subsequently sent her child to private school as a result]

The remaining two-thirds of those with children had the more senior career within the marriage, with the other partner taking on more of the childcare responsibilities. One Respondent (LG9) whose husband works shifts described their approach:

This couple of days [my husband's] on nightshift and he's off Thursday and Friday so when you've got children it helps, if they get ill etc. etc. [He] works say three in five weekends and I tend to make a lot of friends with other women who are on their own and we've built up a real support system, so I think you can only do what I do with having good support at home…we just work round it. For example next Friday, Thursday, Tuesday I need to be [away from home], so [my husband] will take annual leave so he's not on nightshift he'll be at home, so that's the way it worked, but we just work it all out…It has to be completely planned, completely planned.

Another (Respondent LG13) whose husband has retired said:

Previously I would do my…job…and as I stepped into the car to drive home your head switches over to being a mum and it's "What's for tea" and homework and all that kind of thing and I would pick the kids up from the child minder and then it would be the tea and the homework and all the rest of it…and having him there means that…you're not jamming children into a car at quarter to eight in the morning when they

don't want to go and you've to pretend on the outside that you're a very calm nice person…

Another marriage childcare combination (Respondent LG5) involved the husband alternating between working away and then spending time at home, which allowed each partner to spend periods of time concentrating on their career. It was described thus:

He's away a good deal of the time, so I rely upon a network you know of friends and I've got a very, I've got a neighbour next door who's a retired teacher and he helps me out, very good childcare you know, top to bottom kind of thing….When my husband comes homes he does all the childcare and I concentrate on coming into work earlier…for example I've been in at six thirty in the morning now since you know, mid November [it was then late January] I think and I go home earlier at night and I don't take work home at night because the deal is that when Y's at home it's entirely family time. He does the drop offs at school, does all that, picks them up, I don't even really think about the kids you know, when Y's at home which is fantastic.

An examination of motherhood and childcare shows that each senior woman has had to find a form of family life that suits both herself and, where applicable, her husband and children. This combination varies from woman to woman and family to family and ranges from remaining single, with no children; being married in a two career family with no children; a two career family with children and split responsibility; and a family where the male partner takes on more of the childcare. Childcare is clearly an important element and part of that childcare is contained within the education system, another background institution and one which provides one of the building blocks of the career system.

6.5.2 Education

In addition to family life, one of the key areas of early life is education. All of the participants described ways in which their families had supported and encouraged

their education. For some this was rooted in their parents' own experiences at a time when higher education was not available to all. Respondent LG9 described her grandmother's experience:

> *…when her children were growing up there wasn't free education so she could only see two of them who became teachers and I think felt in later life, felt really upset that she'd almost had to choose two that she could support…but therefore her grandchildren, there was twenty-one of them and a fair number of girls all I can ever remember you know, staying with her was you know, not just stick in at school you know just education is the root to having a happy life for you and your family.*

Respondent LG8 stated:

> *My dad was a big influence because he was very smart and he was one of eleven and he had to go to work at fourteen so he never got any academic qualifications…so he always thought we could do well, you know, and you were at school to learn you weren't there to mess about, so if you ever came back and said "I don't think I did very well" he said "Well why not" but there was never any other pressure. My sisters and I talk about it…three of us ended up at university…we can never remember being under any pressure but there was this expectation, you know, where you did your best, why couldn't you do your best, you know, the world was your oyster without saying you've got to do this and you've got to do that, so that was a big influence.*

Their parents' belief in the value and importance of education was echoed by all. Some examples being:

> *Well one of the key messages they gave me was about education and they encouraged me to do everything I could to educate myself as well as I could. Now that was on the basis that they didn't have a lot of money and…that could have been quite hard for them.* (Respondent LG10)

I was always encouraged to have a good education and have a career, whatever route that ended up taking… the importance of education was drummed into me and my mum and dad were not highly educated, they're just working class you know so they saw the importance… (Respondent LG4)

Also talking about careers one Respondent (LG1) stated:

My dad was, had a very kind of enlightened, I think, view of the place of women and you know, was absolutely sure that he would treat boys and girls in the family equally and that they would have equal access to education and that career aspirations would be you know, equal and the only reason I'm highlighting that is that I think that was for a non-middle class family, a little bit ahead of its time.

In addition to verbal support, there was also practical support. Respondent LG3 reported:

My dad taught me to read all the books for school before…he bought them for me…so he was very supportive.

Respondent LG6 recalling her upbringing on a council estate, said:

Dad always had a lively mind, self-taught…everybody got the Sunday Post in those days, we got the Sunday Post, the Sunday Mail and he got the Sunday People and when I was about twelve I was in my first year of secondary school…he realised I was reading the Sunday People from something that I said and he said I don't want you to read that paper, it's a rubbish paper and I looked at him and he said but I'll do a deal with you, I'll buy you the Sunday Times every week if you stop reading the People…so that was the deal that we had, of course I still read the People but didn't let on, but he bought the Sunday Times for me from then until I left school, every single week…that was 1962,

unheard of, the neighbours thought dad was bonkers, completely mad, what are you doing that for you know, get her to wash the kitchen floor sort of thing.

Interestingly the majority of participants discussed their father's support for their education. Only a few spoke of both parents and only two discussed the support and advice of female members of their families.

One result of all this support was that all of the participants experienced post-school education. All actively considered going to university immediately upon leaving school and nine did so (56.25%). For them going to university was a matter of course as summed up by Respondent LG4:

Most people would go [to university] after fifth year because generally you have the entrance requirements. If you've done well in your Highers, unless you have to re-sit, but generally if you do well in your Highers you are ready to go straight into university.

A further three women (18.75%) went to teacher training college, two choosing teaching positively and one stating:

I'd gone into it thinking aye well it's OK and I suppose my parents at the time saying aye teaching's a good job for a woman, you know that kind of thing and some of my other friends were going so you just went with the flow (Respondent LG12)

The remaining four women (25%) went into the workplace. For two this was a positive choice. For the rest the decision was greatly influenced by not obtaining the grades of 'Highers' necessary for their chosen university course. One of the former subsequently chose to go on to university a few years later. The remaining three women joined their local councils. Two took up jobs that provided professional training. For one this meant going first to college and then studying for professional qualifications on a part-time basis, while the other studied for a university degree on

a part-time basis. The remaining woman joined the council in a junior role but within a few years also went to college to study for a professional qualification.

All of the senior women managers therefore have either a degree or a professional qualification. In addition, 62.5% have more than one educational qualification. After graduating, 12.5% studied for a professional qualification, 12.5% for a Masters qualification, 18.75% for a post-graduate qualification and 18.75% for another undergraduate degree.

6.5.3 Religion

Each participant was asked about her religion, both as a child and as an adult. Eight (50%) of the women were raised as Roman Catholics, six (37.5%) as Protestants and two (12.5%) had no religious upbringing. One result of being raised as a Catholic was that these women attended Catholic state schools. However despite the fact that 87.5% of participants experienced religion as part of their upbringing, few remained active practitioners of their religion, only 31.25%, of whom 18.75% were Church of Scotland and 12.5% were Roman Catholic.

Out of the eight participants raised as Catholics, only two still classified themselves as such, although both had reservations. Respondent LG3 said:

> *I'm a Catholic, I don't practise often. I still believe in my religion, I just don't practise, it's one of the, actually I have to say it's one of the religions that's just not come into 2008 yet. It's still living in the 1400s I think.*

The other Respondent (LG10) said:

> *I have the usual Catholic guilt that goes around with anybody that was ever educated and brought up in that way but I'm not particularly religious now… I'm actually on my second marriage and to be honest that's probably affected where I am with my religion as well because it was when I divorced and remarried that I stopped going to church*

because I wasn't able to participate fully because of the rules around the Catholic Church, wasn't able to participate fully in the sacraments and my view was that that was, my view is still that that is the important part of practising religion is being in a position to be able to participate in those sacraments, I wasn't able to do that, I felt well there really isn't any point in me doing that. I mean if anybody had to ask me what religion I was I would probably tell them I was a Catholic so I wouldn't say I'm just an atheist or agnostic or anything like that.

The remaining Respondents rejected their Catholic religion at different ages and gave different reasons for doing so. Respondent LG2 rebelled as a teenager:

I suppose like everybody who's brought up Catholic I was fairly compliant I suppose until my early teens, about thirteen, fourteen and then I'd find ways to avoid going to church and begin to rebel against it a bit. Does it play any part [now]? I suppose at times like funerals is when it gets to me, I do go and what I now feel about religion is I wouldn't, I would respect the person's feelings about it, so if it was a wedding or a funeral or something that somebody else had asked me to go to church I would do it out of respect for them but I'm still quite wary about the whole, the whole thing.

Respondent LG4 took longer to move away from her religion, but did so nevertheless, as did all her family:

My mother and father are Catholics but my dad was never practising and my mum was never particularly holy you know I mean she was, she was keen for me and my brother to be you know, brought up and go to chapel and go to Catholic school and of course there's the Glasgow Catholic/Protestant thing as well you know which my mother and father's generation were very you know, we're Catholics you know, you don't mix marriage to them was a Catholic/Protestant marriage you know, but they weren't particularly holy at all and actually my brother I think when he was sixteen he just decided it wasn't for him and that

was fine you know, that was up to him and at that time I was going to mass with my pals you know so my mum stopped going, but for me it became more a social thing you know, going to mass on Sunday with friends and the church I went to actually, they always seemed to have quite young priests and quite forward thinking, so it was probably just more a sort of social thing actually and then as I got older, I think probably about the time I was about thirty just gradually thought less and less of it and questioned it more and more and then just finally turned away from it all.

In terms of those participants raised as Protestants, only three remained connected to their religion. Respondent LG12 said:

I was brought up in the Church of Scotland, I probably don't go as often as I should but I do go.

Respondent LG 15 could see the effect of religion on her beliefs:

I'm very Presbyterian in lots of ways but I don't actively practise religion. I have very black and white views of what's right and wrong and I think that you know, if all the shops were to shut on a Sunday it would be quite a good thing, give people a rest you know. And you know if the Western Isles don't want ferries on a Sunday, good on them, just sort of stop them. I just feel that there's nothing wrong with some of the ways that people lived before and I just, I've got very firm views on some things but as they affect myself, I don't impose them on other people.

Describing how she had left the Church of Scotland at an early age, Respondent LG5 said:

I gave up going to church after I got caught putting spiral papers down the back of the pews [laughs] so that was the end of Sunday School.

For this participant religion was no longer part of her life.

Finally, Respondent LG13 did not practice in the Church of Scotland, but in another church. She said she was:

> *Brought up Church of Scotland but interestingly I've married a Catholic and…I attend the Catholic Church with my children.*

Although not a Catholic herself, this had consequences for her membership of the Church of Scotland which she outlined:

> *Where I stay [I] have been rejected by the Church of Scotland. I asked if I could join and they said "No" I asked if I could transfer my Banns from my previous Church of Scotland to the local one and they said "No" because I attend the Catholic Church…unbelievable isn't it I just laughed at them. [The Minister] told me that it was the Kirk Session had decided that until I was prepared to demonstrate my commitment…So I just laughed and my husband made some desperate quip to him one day…because I did some work for him editing prayers and various bits of the bible and he said "Oh wonderful work, wonderful work [she] did" and my [husband said] "Ha you had your chance but you blew it" and he did come back to me the minister he did come back and say, you know, "What did he mean?".*

This was an interesting experience as it showed that inter-Christian religious differences are still capable of causing problems for people.

6.5.3.1 Experiences of Religion in the Workplace

Respondent LM12 pointed out that in local government in Tartan Council there was a religious element

> *I think what you see now is you know it's interesting if you look at [Tartan] and if you look at the background, if not the practising religion*

of the majority of the councillors, they happen to be Catholic and that's very different from the way it was thirty years ago where in fact it would have been the opposite you know

Respondent LG4 said of the same council

Well [Tartan] was always considered to be quite a Catholic employer because it was, it was the immigrant Irish population you know, we all worked for the old [Tartan] Corporation and then I suppose you know, years later they sort of came up through the ranks, so it was always considered [Tartan] was quite a Catholic run organisation.

No similar comments were made about Thistle council. However, another Respondent (LG1) who termed herself *"a lapsed Catholic"* had moved to Thistle from England said

I perceive there to be more of an influence of religion here, certainly into the school closure issues there was a very specific issue over the Catholic Church involvement which hadn't really, hadn't really been an issue for me ever before

When asked if she thought it was only related to education she said

I think there certainly was an element of Catholic schools but I think it's wider than that, more than that…I would say that Scotland or Thistle, religion of any kind seems to play a more prominent role in people's life

Respondent LG4 had considered how her religion might affect her career

Well my, having the name [obvious Irish name] *is pretty obvious and my dad you know, I think he's very aware of it, he was a Glasgow taxi driver so…he was always making me feel that you know, oh it might, it might hold you back*

She also pointed out that

> *whenever I worked in [Another] District Council it was quite funny because well I was, like when I was an accountant and the chief accountant and a few sort of senior finance people we were all Catholics and somebody made a comment one day about och, the Vatican City in there*

Respondent LG5 said

> *OK my perception, personally speaking, religion has never really entered into, unlike which was a bit of a shock for me I suppose when I went to Paisley was you know, one of the first things I got asked by a guy who phoned me up was whether I was a Tim or not and I said what's that you know*

Finally Respondent LG11 noted that when she joined Tartan Council she could:

> *remember one councillor saying to me you know, you're from the right school. I said no I'm not a Catholic, I have not been a Catholic since the day I left home. He says oh no but you never escape, you are still one of us and deeply you know, I was deeply offended by those assumptions.*

6.7 Summary and conclusion

This chapter has set out the research findings on Local Government. It began by describing the structure of Scotland's historical system of Local Government, as well as its current system of 32 unitary local authorities or councils. It showed that each council has a broadly similar structure with a central corporate department, responsible for support services such as legal and finance, and service departments, each responsible for a local service or a range of local services such as education, housing and environmental health. It outlined the senior management structure comprising *'first tier'* and *'second tier'* posts. It also explained that all local councils

are required by Audit Scotland to publish details of the numbers and percentages of women in the top 2% and 5% of earners. A comparison of these figures between 2003/4 and 2011/12 showed that each had risen by 11.2 and 10.5 percentages points respectively over this period.

In examining the shape and degree of inequality, this chapter demonstrated the existence of occupational segregation in Scottish Local Government generally and also within the two case study councils, Tartan and Thistle. It showed that Scotland's councils employ 253,000 people of whom 71.5% are women, with women in Tartan council comprising 68.5% and those in Thistle, 64.05%, both less than for Scotland as a whole. It presented evidence of vertical occupational segregation with women occupying 39.5% of the top 2% and 46.3% of the top 5% of jobs in Scottish councils in 2010/11. Evidence of vertical occupational segregation was also presented for Tartan and Thistle councils, although a direct comparison was not possible as each council has a slightly different grading scheme and in addition Thistle Council publishes less comprehensive data than Tartan Council. In Tartan Council women occupy: 42.74% of its *"leadership family"*; 59.54% of its middle management and senior professionals; and 65.28%[68] of the remainder of its staff. In Thistle Council women comprise 37.9% of Tier 2, Senior Officer, jobs and 38.9% of Tier 1, Chief Officer, jobs. Evidence of horizontal occupational segregation at a senior level was also presented for both councils. In Tartan Council's *"leadership family"* women comprised 48% of posts in Education Services, 64% in Social Services, but only 16% in Development and Regeneration Services and 14% in Land and Environmental Services. In Thistle Council women comprised 40% of Tier 1 and 57.59% of Tier 2 jobs in Education, 50% of both tiers in Health and Social Care, but 0% of Tier 1 and 26.67% of Tier 2 jobs in Land and Environmental Services. Evidence was also presented showing overall horizontal occupational segregation at Tartan Council, with women comprising 84% of non-leadership roles in Education Services, 74% in Social Work Services, 44% in Development and Regeneration Services and only 10% in Land and Environmental Services. Unfortunately, Thistle council does not publish the overall percentages of men and women in each department. Given the evidence of occupational segregation, there will inevitably be

[6868] Calculated from Table 6.4.

an overall pay gap in Scottish Local Government and in Tartan and Thistle councils. However no statistics were available, nor is there any evidence that these are routinely gathered by councils.

The chapter moved on to examine the organizational sub-structure of Scottish Local Government and Tartan and Thistle councils, beginning with their organizing processes and practices. Firstly it explored the elements that constitute and influence women's Local Government organizational careers. It began by demonstrating that Local Government careers are normally built within a specialist service division such as education or environmental health, and for many people, including women, this begins at an entry level professional position. As men and women develop their careers and climb through the ranks, they may remain with one council throughout or they may move between one council and another or between public sector organizations. There is little movement between the public and private sectors.

The chapter moved on to explore other organizing processes and the ways in which they, too, can influence women's careers. This included the organization of the work in Local Government, which is carried out by council employees on behalf of the elected Council and its committees and sub-committees. Working with the relevant councillors is therefore an important element of the job of a Local Government manager. The chapter demonstrated that it is important for managers to establish good relationships with councillors, not only for work issues, but also for building a career at a senior level as councillors are involved in the selection of senior managers. This chapter also demonstrated the existence of a long hours' culture at a senior level, of between ten and twelve hours each day, in both councils. Women managers adopted an individual approach to dealing with this long hours' culture, with some women spending all of their working hours at the office, while others worked at home at evenings and/or weekends or during their train commute. In addition it was established that some jobs require staff to attend evening and weekend work functions.

This chapter found some differences in approaches to management style amongst the women managers. The most common adjective used by the women to describe

their styles was *"supportive".* Some believed there were differences between the styles of men and women and while some believed they had adapted their style to fit the prevailing culture, others stated they had not done so. This chapter also found a belief that the management culture was related to management style, with the former being described as *"macho", "old-fashioned", "male dominated", "aggressive and abusive almost"*. It was suggested that both varied by service division. There was evidence of the stereotyping of male and female jobs reinforced through occupational segregation. However, in terms of performance standards, there was a difference between Tartan and Thistle councils. In the former there was a perception, particularly in the services that were male dominated, that women had to perform to a higher standard than men. However this view was much less prevalent in the latter. This chapter also found evidence of the importance of, and types of, mentoring, with most women having had mentors at various points during their careers. Some of these were informal, while others were more formal with the mentor being the woman's own line manager or from outside the organization. A minority of women acted as mentors to women at more junior levels in their organization and one was involved in setting up an informal mentoring programme for women in Scotland. A key feature of mentoring in Thistle Council was the use of external coaches.

There was also evidence of formal and informal networks. The formal networks were often linked to work roles and were service linked or status linked. Thistle Council also had a Women's Equality Forum. Many informal work-related networks had been built up over the years and at Thistle Council there was a female Chief Officer's informal lunch network that had recently begun. There were also informal networks with councillors. Some, though not all, women indicated that there were male networks from which they were excluded. These included *"the old boys network"* and sports networks through golf or football. One woman indicated that she was part of a women's sport network. Outwith work most women referred to a social network of women friends who were supportive and a minority indicated that their social network was made up of both men and women. Women also indicated that career support was also provided by family and friends. There was little specific evidence or recognition of issues surrounding role congruity (Eagly and Karau, 2002) and agentic behaviour (Rudman and Glick, 2001).

The chapter showed that there is an awareness of gender inequality in Local Government by some, though not all, councillors and senior managers. The legitimacy of gender equality is also recognised in terms of both employment and service delivery. This is supported by the requirement to report annually to Audit Scotland on the numbers of women in the top 2% and 5% of jobs and by the Gender Equality Duty, 2007, and the subsequent Equality Duty, 2011. As a result councils now tend to have institutional support for equality, though the approaches and methods used by each council can vary. However despite the legislative requirements and infrastructure, Sections 6.4.6 and 6.4.6.1 demonstrated opposition to equality, particularly in terms of equal pay. Respondent LG6 reported being *"well warned off"* when she raised the issue of the disparities in equal pay in the 1980s and 1990s, despite a national agreement. There was a perception amongst most women interviewed that the disparities arose as a result of *"conniving"* between trade union officials and male councillors, with Council Chief Officers also being aware of the problem, but ignoring it.

The long-standing attitudes to equal pay are also related to the emotions of human relations in the workplace which was also explored in this chapter. Other aspects include sexual harassment and although there were no instances of sexual harassment found in Local Government, most women had experienced sex discrimination at some point in their careers.

In turning to the influence of background institutions, the chapter detailed the shape and degree of occupational segregation in the home and family of the Local Government research participants, which was explored for each on an historical and current basis. In terms of growing up, the research found that parental roles fell into two categories, traditional and not-traditional. In the latter, fathers could be found undertaking traditional female roles such as housework. In their adult families each woman manager had to find her own form of family life that fitted with her career. Marital status and motherhood are also elements in the shape and degree of inequality and in terms of this research the majority of women were or had been married or had partners (82.35% were married or in a civil partnership, one was divorced and one was single). Of those who were married or in a civil partnership

ten (85.71%) had a partner who worked full-time, with the remaining two interviewees having partners who had retired. A total of 56.25% had children and 43.75% did not. Of those with children, each had to find a form of childcare acceptable to her and her family and in some instances this resulted in the male partner taking on more of the childcare.

The chapter explored the importance of religion in Local Government and found that overall 50% of the women were raised as Roman Catholics, greater than for the population as a whole, 37.5% as Protestants and 12.5% had no religious upbringing. One result of being raised as a Catholic was that these women attended Catholic state schools. However the research also found that in adulthood few remained active practitioners of their religion. The research did find that historically Tartan Council was an employer of Roman Catholics when other organizations discriminated against them. It also found that some of those women who were, or had been, Roman Catholic were concerned that they might be discriminated against on religious grounds. However it also found that in Tartan Council being Roman Catholic was seen by some as an advantage.

The chapter explored the participants' education experiences and for most their father's support for their education was important. Only a few spoke of both parents and only two discussed the support and advice of female members of their families. All of the senior women managers have either a degree or a professional qualification and 62.5% have more than one educational qualification.

The implications of these findings as they relate to the conceptual framework, particularly with respect to gender inequality regimes, the influence of background and proximate institutions, isomorphism, pillars, the historical dimension and co-constitution are discussed further in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7: Case Study - Financial Services

7.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the research findings in Financial Services. It begins by describing the structure of the sector, including its four key sub-sectors, banking, life and pensions, asset management and asset servicing, and the gender composition of senior management within each sub-sector. It then goes on to illustrate the career paths within each sub-sector, before examining: workload and working hours; management styles, performance standards and culture; sex discrimination; mentoring; career support and networks; the family; religion; and education.

7.2 Scotland's Financial Services

Scotland's financial services sector employed 96,400 in 2009[69], a decline of 10% since 2008 (Scottish Government, 2011). This decline was not unexpected given the, still ongoing, problems in the financial system. Financial services employment in Scotland is 8.9% of the overall British financial sector (Scottish Government, 2011) and Scotland is recognised as the second most important UK financial sector outside London (Scottish Government, 2010a). Around 4% of the Scottish workforce are employed in financial services, of which around 50% are employed in banking, 15% in life and pensions, 14% in asset management[70] (Scottish Government, 2010b) and 4% in the relatively new and growing sector of asset servicing (Scottish Financial Enterprise, 2011). Each of these sub-sectors will be examined in the following sections.

7.2.1 Banking

Scotland has over 300 years of banking history, though it can be argued that following the 'nationalisation' of the Royal Bank of Scotland in 2008 there is no remaining Scottish owned and headquartered bank. The household names of Scottish banking began with its first bank, the Bank of Scotland established in

[69] Latest year for which statistics are available.
[70] Also known as fund management and also as investment management.

Edinburgh in 1695 by the then Scottish Parliament, one year after the founding of the Bank of England (Munn, 1994). It was followed in 1727 by the Royal Bank of Scotland and the British Linen Company in 1746 (Munn, 1994). The early 19th century saw the founding of the Clydesdale Bank in 1838 and in this period savings banks were also established in Scotland. These banks were the major players in the system and Munn (1994) contends that by the 1840s Scotland had "a homogeneous banking system comprising large-scale organisations with growing branch networks". However, apart from offices in London these networks did not extend into England in the 19th century, and by agreement the English banks did not move into Scotland. By 1880, Edinburgh had emerged as the dominant centre in Scotland with over 70% of the total liabilities of Scottish banking, although most of the lending was made to firms in the west of Scotland.

By the beginning of the 20th century bank ownership began to change. The British Linen bank was bought by Barclays in 1916 and though it was subsequently acquired by the Bank of Scotland in 1969, by then it only operated as an investment bank and by 2000, it no longer existed. In 1919, the Clydesdale Bank was taken over by the Midland Bank, and then by the National Australia Bank Group in 1987, though it continues to trade under its original name. In 2001 the Bank of Scotland merged with the Halifax Building Society to form Halifax Bank of Scotland (HBOS). It subsequently was taken over by Lloyds Banking Group as a result of the financial crisis, during which the Royal Bank of Scotland was effectively nationalised by the UK government. However as indicated banking remains a major employer in Scotland, with around 48,000 employees, of whom 32,500 are employed in its Public Sector Financial Institutions, namely RBS, HBOS, and still included in the statistics, Northern Rock (ONS, 2012)

Banking can be divided into four different sectors. Firstly retail banking or personal banking is concerned with *"the branch network"* that is a familiar feature in the UK. However, within retail banking services are graded according to income as described by Respondent FS4 who explained that there were *"specialist customer advisers"*, then *"relationship managers"* who looked after customers with particular levels of wealth, though above a certain level these customers would move into *"private banking".* More women than men are to be found working in retail banking

Secondly, there is corporate and commercial banking which Respondent FS4 explained is for "*business customers"* and is again differentiated by wealth in the form of turnover. Customers tend to begin in commercial and on reaching a particular level of turnover move into corporate banking. One corporate banking Respondent (FS7) explained the structure of her organization

> *[we have] business heads that then look after different businesses, so he [her boss] has four business heads that look after different parts of the business and they will then own people who will then look after the customers, so it goes from customers to a relationship manager and then that relationship manager will report into one of four business heads is how we've segmented our business.*

More men than women are to be found working in corporate and commercial banking (Metcalf and Rolfe, 2009). Thirdly there is the so called 'casino banking' sector of investment banking, where men predominate. Fourthly Scotland only has one private merchant bank, Noble Grossart. Finally most large UK banks have insurance divisions, where the gender division is fairly equally spread overall (Metcalf and Rolfe, 2009).

7.2.1.1 Senior management in Scotland's banking sector

Banking was traditionally a male occupation. For example, as Saville (1996:377) points out, in the late nineteenth century as banking expanded, "the young men of the middle classes began to be attracted to employment in banks in increasing numbers". They began by training as clerks on three-year apprenticeships and by 1880 they numbered 80% of Scotland's banking workforce of 6,000 (Saville, 1996).
It was not until the First World War that women began to be employed as 'lady clerks', to replace the men who had gone into the military. However, this was done reluctantly, and it was 1916 until the first woman was employed by the Bank of Scotland who preferred initially to recruit new apprentices (Saville, 1996). Most women tended to be single and they were employed on a rate of pay comparable to the apprentices. (Saville, 1996).

In the 1920s, as banking expanded, more opportunities opened up for women, though "female candidates…had to be between the ages of 17 and 30, and unmarried" (RBS, 2012) and had to resign on marriage. This expansion coincided with the mechanisation of banking that changed banking jobs and reduced costs as more expensive male labour was replaced by cheaper female labour and machines (Bátiz-Lazo and Wardley, 2005; RBS, 2012). There was also a belief that "women were better suited to the repetitive tasks that now came to the fore [and it] was even thought that women's smaller fingers could more easily work the machines" (RBS, 2012).

In the Second World War, as in the First, women were recruited to replace men in the Forces and many were retained after the war due to staff shortages, though it was not until the 1950s and 1960s that banks began to offer women "'careers, as well as 'jobs'" (RBS, 2012). In this period too, computer technology began to replace the more mundane, routine tasks normally carried out by women (Bátiz-Lazo and Wardley, 2005), and this, combined with staff shortages and a lifting of the marriage bar, gave women access to more demanding work. However, despite this, "there was still a perception that women could not achieve significant advancement in branch banking, and so many women preferred to build their careers in head office areas, including income tax departments, trustee services, accounts departments and credit clearing" (RBS, 2012). Yet, in 1964, the first woman branch manager was appointed in Portsmouth, by Westminster Bank, part of the RBS group (RBS, 2012) and in the same year the National Commercial Bank of Scotland opened a 'Ladies Branch' in Edinburgh's Princes Street, managed and staffed by women and into which men were not allowed to enter (Glasgow Herald, 1964).

In 1975 the UK equality legislation again influenced women's employment in banking by removing the legal barriers to equality. In 2003 women constituted 53% of those employed in banking, and men the remaining 47% (Metcalf and Rolfe, 2009). Research by Ogden (2005) on one Scottish clearing bank with 2153 employees, found that 26% were male and 74% female, with women holding 42% of middle management roles, but only 11% of senior management roles. Respondent FS4 who is "*at exec level…so I'm one of the top two-fifty in* [a large clearing] *Bank*, explained that in her bank's retail banking sector her boss was male, as were those

at the same level as her. In terms of the gender composition of her team she pointed out that:

> *I look after three hundred and seven branches and there's about three and a half thousand staff but I have nine…direct reportees. So I have regional managers…I've got a regional manager who looks after the North of Scotland, one who looks after Aberdeen and Tayside, Edinburgh, Glasgow, so we split Scotland up and then they report in to me and they have area managers below them and then branch managers…I've got my office manager who's female and my PA's female. I've got a head of personal sales who's male and a head of regional operations who's female and then I've got three male and three female, so I am equally split*.

While retail banking may employ many women, Ogden (2005) found that men dominated in corporate/wholesale banking. This was reflected by Respondent FS7 who detailed the gender mix in her organization's commercial and corporate banking division in Scotland saying:

> *I would say at the support level there's you know, a good lot of women. At the relationship manager level there's not as many women and you know sitting on* [her manager's] *board I'm the only woman*…[apart from]*…our HR person.*

She also pointed out that in this type of work:

> *there's a lot of socialising and contacts that they need to do in the evening…you know I mean some of these guys are out three, four nights a week either at events or out having to do something with the customers so I think, I'm guessing because I don't know because the opportunities certainly in terms of our internal job market is very open and I think it's not that we're getting lots of women applying and they're not passing the quality line, we don't actually get a lot of women applying.*

At the most senior level in banking management is predominantly male. As Respondent FS4 states *"business and corporate, they think is sexier… a male thinks oh, let's go and work with the big numbers"*. In RBS the Executive Committee consists of nine members, of whom eight are male and one is female, namely the CEO for the bank's US operation. The Management Committee consists of twenty-three members, of whom two are women. In addition to the female Executive Committee member the other is the Head of Human Resources. Lloyds Banking Group senior team consists of eleven members, two of whom are women; the Group Director for Retail Banking and the Head of Human Resources. Barclays has a seven member Executive Committee, of whom two are women, the Group Human Resources Director and the CEO of the company's South African operations.

7.2.2 Life Assurance, Pensions and Insurance

This sector has a long history in Scotland, dating back to the early 18th century (Scottish Financial Enterprise, 2011a) and employment in Scotland accounts for 27% of that in the industry in Great Britain (Scottish Government, 2011). Most of the organizations in this sector are now part of larger UK or foreign owned organizations. For example Scottish Widows is part of Lloyds, Scottish Friendly is owned by Citi and Scottish Life is part of the Royal London Group, although Standard Life remains a Scottish organization. Nevertheless around 20,000 are employed in this sector (Scottish Enterprise, 2012) and at least 50% are female (EHRC, 2009).

7.2.2.1 Senior management in Scotland's life assurance, pensions and insurance sector

Senior management in this sector is predominantly male. For example Scottish Widows has ten members of its senior team, two of whom are women. Respondent FS9 outlined the gender composition of her senior team, all of whom were male:

there's five on the exec so actuary, head of IT, head of customer services which is all our administration function, sales and marketing and… finance.

She went on to describe the next tier down:

Sales and marketing the next one down is a guy, IT and then below, the level below that it's all women funnily enough. IT it's all men. Actuarial it's currently all men although we've had senior women in the past and customer services once you go one level down it's a pretty even mix…the finance director's a man and then after that it's all women.

7.2.3 Investment management

Scotland's investment management services "include investment trusts, OEICs (Open-Ended Investment Companies), unit trusts, global equity and fixed income, money market funds, private equity, venture capital, property funds, hedge funds and specialist equity and bond funds" employing over 3,300 people in Scotland and over 13,000 worldwide (Scottish Enterprise, 2012). Some like Alliance Trust have a long history, established in Dundee in 1888 to invest the funds of wealthy jute owners in areas including US railway bonds. Still based in Dundee it "is one of the largest generalist UK investment trusts by market value listed on the London Stock Exchange" (Alliance Trust, 2012). Others such as Aberdeen Asset Management are more recent, established in 1983 (Aberdeen Asset Management, 2012). Edinburgh is ranked 11th in the world in terms of fund management (Marketing Edinburgh, 2012).

7.2.3.1 Senior management in investment management

In this area of financial services, Scotland has a number of home-grown organizations, headquartered and run from within Scotland. The senior management teams are predominantly male. For example Aberdeen Asset Management has a senior team of five, one of whom is female. Alliance Trust has a

senior management team of ten, of whom three are women. Martin Currie has a senior management team of six, all of whom are men. Baillie Gifford is an organization owned and run by its partners, the vast majority of whom are men.

Respondent FS5 stated that:

> *the population of females in fund management is about five percent and I don't get the impression it's grown very much.*

The Herald newspaper publishes a monthly list of top Scottish fund managers, the majority of whom are men. A list is also published for the UK and Respondent FS2 noted:

> *if you look down the whole list there's very few women on it*

She also pointed out that:

> *if you go into some of the fund managers you'll see women in senior roles but they're often what they call operations, they're more the back office roles.*

7.2.4 Asset servicing

Asset servicing has been a relatively new and growing area in Scotland, which is "the UK's main centre" for this function (Scottish Government, 2011a). It includes "custody, securities servicing, investment accounting, performance measurement, trustee and depositary services, treasury services, shareholder services and compliance" (Scottish Enterprise, 2012), all traditionally *"back office functions"* (Respondent FS11), that financial organizations began to outsource in the 1990s. These are some of "*back office roles*" referred to by Respondent FS2 in the previous section.

Respondent FS3 explained that her employing organization grew out of this:

basically the outsourcing market sprang up and so the fund managers focus on the fund management and outsource their actual administration and accounting to an organisation like ourselves, so typically…our client contact would be the fund management company

Asset servicing operations can be found in both Edinburgh with Citi and JP Morgan, and Glasgow with BNP Paribas and Morgan Stanley and employ around 4000 in Scotland (Scottish Enterprise, 2012).

7.2.4.1 Senior management in Scotland's asset servicing sector

Although there are more women in this area, men still hold the senior posts in the organisation as explained by Respondent FS3 when asked about the gender mix:

Well if I use the senior management team as an example which is basically the chief operating officer, all of his direct reports and all of my boss's direct reports which is, how many of them are there, let me just think, there are, just to put that into context, there are, so I reckon there's nine, ten of us altogether, I'm the only female.

Her view was that this was not unusual in the sector although she also said:

I think the interesting thing is the next level down. So my directs and their directs I would say are predominantly female. So I currently have one, two, three, five direct reports of which two are male and then the next level down is probably fifty-fifty.

7.3 Career pathways in financial services

The career pathways in this sector vary. For example, in banking careers are often built within one organization as described by Respondent FS4 who climbed the career ladder within retail banking:

I started at sixteen, started straight from school, did all the teller bit…Then I did a little bit of work on what we called relief staff, so I went round and did a bit of troubleshooting. Then I went into HR, did a little bit of recruitment…[she then returned to branch work]…*as assistant manager…senior assistant manager…a resource manager and a resource manager was an area manager so I suppose I got promoted within that and I looked after headcount, looked after staff…[then] regional manager…[then] regional managing director. I'm at exec level at the minute so I'm one of the top two-fifty in* [the] *Bank*

She also pointed out that the bank also ran a graduate trainee scheme from which people were *"fast-tracked to wherever they fit".* In addition she pointed out that staff could move from retail to corporate banking.

Careers in insurance were often also built within one organisation as described by Respondent FS8:

…my career has always been with [Insurance Co]*. I've been with them for now twenty years. I came directly from university and initially worked on the sales side in London for a couple of years then moved back to Scotland and did a stint in marketing before joining the investment company back in, I think it was 1994 and have been with [*the investment company] *ever since then and I've progressed through the ranks I suppose during that period.*

However in both insurance and banking, at the very senior level many staff move from one organization to another: Stephen Hester, Chief Executive of RBS, also worked at Abbey plc and Credit-Suisse; Clare Frances, Managing Director of Lloyds Corporate was employed by NatWest and HSBC; and Toby Strauss of Scottish Widows was formerly with Aviva.

This staff movement is also a feature of investment and fund management where Respondent FS10 explained that the first step on the career ladder is usually as a graduate trainee who was:

> *assigned to a particular* [geographic] *team and they go through six months or a year with a team before they move on to another team. That team would have someone allocated to them who would give them real work to do, so the minute they come in they're analysing companies, they're having to do spreadsheets et cetera. They also sit their IMC which is the Investment Management Certificate…but we also ask them to start studying for the CFA* [Chartered Financial Analyst]

Graduates would often specialise in a particular region, for example Japan, or a specific sector, for example telecommunications. They would also begin to learn how to *'manage the money'*. From there, they would build their career within the organisation. Respondent FS5 explained that she began her career after graduating as *"a sort of investment analyst sort of training role and started doing my exams".* She developed an expertise in a particular geographic area and worked as part of a that area's investment team, then was headhunted to carry out that role on a solo basis for a much smaller organization, moving back to a larger organization to eventually head up their desk, build a team and grow the funds. She then took her team *"en masse*" to another organization and continued to build it before being promoted to that organization's board, from where she moved to carry out a similar role in a larger organization. She put this down to something she had been told early on in her career that in order to be a *"leader"* in investment management you need to be able to:

> *manage money, manage people and market it…those are the three skills that I think you really need and if you have them in equal measure you're on to a winner.*

In 2011, for the first time since the start of the financial crisis, investment banking attracted more job applications from final year students at the top 30 UK universities, a position it maintained in 2012 (High Fliers Research, 2011, 2012). In recent years there have been initiatives by a number of organizations to increase the numbers and levels of women in investment banking. For example, a group of some of the

largest international investment banks have set up 'Fresh Look' an initiative aimed at first year female university students, its purpose being to "introduce them to "the wide range of careers in investment banking" (Fresh Look, 2012). Banks also offer internships and other work placement programmes. At the Opportunity Now 2012 awards Many of these indicate that potential recruits can come from a variety of degree disciplines. In 2012, financial services organizations such as Barclays, Credit Suisse, Deutsche Bank, Goldman Sachs, Lloyds, Morgan Stanley and RBS feature in the Times Top 50 Employers for Women (Times, 2012). However, in 2001, the UK government commissioned an inquiry into the UK's supply of science and engineering skills and the subsequent Roberts Report (HM Treasury, 2002) found that there was an increasing demand from the financial services sector for these disciplines. There has been continuing criticism that this is adversely affecting UK manufacturing (Telegraph, 2010). This also has gender implications for recruitment into financial services as women make up only 42.39% of graduates in physical sciences, 43.00% of those in mathematical sciences, 17.72% of those in computer science and 16.31% of those in engineering and technology (HESA, 2012)[71].

7.4 Working at a senior level in financial services

In addition to their career pathways, the interviewees were all asked about their experiences of working at a senior level in their respective organizations and business sector.

7.4.1 Workload and working hours

The most senior women in this sector all worked *"extraordinary hours…and* [did] *a huge amount of travel"* (Respondent FS6). The example of a working week given by Respondent FS5 was not untypical:

[71] Calculated from Table 7: Qualifications obtained by students on HE courses at HEIs in the UK by gender, subject area and level of qualification obtained 2006/07 to 2010/11(1)

I left home at five thirty on Monday morning to go to London for the day, got back at eleven. Tuesday morning I left home at half past six, got home at nine having spent a day in Edinburgh. Wednesday, Thursday I was actually off site with my team so that was all day, all night. Yesterday having finished the all day session with my team I then went to have dinner with another group of my team so I got home at eleven. And today I left home at quarter to seven and I'll probably be back about quarter to seven.

Weekends she said were *"sacrosanct [and] for my family"*. Although she acknowledged that she did take work home at weekends *"but I try to do it when the children have gone to bed".*

Other senior women also worked long hours and travelled. Respondent FS3's hours were typical and stated:

Our standard hours are thirty-five hours a week, nine to five [but] *typically I would be doing eight till half six, seven.*

She said that she would *"on occasion"* work at the weekend

usually catching up with e-mails or you know or perhaps reading or something I just know that I've got you know, I just need an hour to blank everything out and get it done.

Respondent FS1 pointed out that as women in her organization climb the ladder

"you need to be cleverer about how you manage your work…I always say that I make work life balance decisions every day. I give a lot to [Organization] *and* [it] *gives a lot to me but I look at it from the point of view my career is important to me but it's not the only thing that's important to me, my family is as well, so I make decisions. So one of the key decisions I made coming up here was I was going to live not far from the office. And then I'm pretty ruthless, not ruthless, efficient*

about my meetings during the day, I make sure there's no waffling. So I make a decision every day as to when I'm going to go home. So I know I have work to do, I will always have work to do, that's always going to be there and sometimes I'll just say at six thirty well do I want to see my daughter or do I want to finish this presentation? If the presentation's on tomorrow yes I'm probably going to have to finish the presentation [laughs].

However she added that:

I would say looking back on my career, if I just focussed on my career I probably could have got promoted quicker but I didn't, that's not what I wanted to do. So those decisions that I make every day to say well I won't do that, means that I'm not impressing someone or I'm not doing you know, consistently. So but that's fine, that's my decision right.

7.4.2 Performance standards, management styles and culture

Most of the Respondents generally did not believe that men and women were judged differently and that their performance standard had to be better than that of men. In fact most indicated that a very high performance standard was required in their sector and organization and that they, and men, were judged on the same criteria. Respondent FS3 was typical of this group and stated:

I think quality will come to the top in whatever shape or form that is

However a minority did take see differences in performance standards as indicated by Respondent FS9

I generally think we have to do better than the guys that we start off as peers and it's a very sexist statement but I think when you look around the boardroom if there's one woman and ten men generally she'll have something extra about her to get in there.

The interviewees responses to their management style and culture varied. In terms of the former, many spoke about the importance of developing and maintaining their *"individual style"* (Respondent FS9). Respondent FS2 felt her style was *"more nurturing than I have seen from male colleagues",* while Respondent FS5 felt she her style was *"about just being sensitive to other people's feelings, about being very honest with them*

In terms of culture, several respondents who worked in larger organizations did refer to the *"macho culture"* (Respondent FS1) of the trading floor. Respondent FS3 outlined her response:

> *you will always find the sort of alpha males you know, in this world that's financial services, you will find them as you will in a lot of other organisations so I think what you do need to do is stand up for yourself. Put your view forward you know, don't be intimidated by that sort of behaviour because it's not always, you know it is recognised that it's not always the best behaviour, you will get the people that are thumping tables and you know, being more aggressive.*

7.4.3 Sex discrimination

Interestingly no women in this sector believed they had experienced sex discrimination during their careers.

7.4.4 Mentoring

Some women had experienced being mentored and this was both formally set up by their organization and also informal as explained by Respondent FS5:

> *although I've said people mentored me in my job I've never had what you would call a kind of an outwith overall mentor but I've had people to whom I've gone when I've been having crisis moments who have given me support and I would continue to use them and they generally*

are people of my parents' generation who come from the financial services sector who have been amazing, but it's not formalised.

A further aspect of mentoring fairly frequently employed in this sector was the use of a "*business coach"* (Respondent FS1), paid for by, but from outwith the organization.

Many of the women also mentored other women in the sector. This could be through a formal programme for more junior women in their own organization, or informally arranged by the women themselves for reasons such as those set out by Respondent FS6:

there were very few female role models when I entered the city and mostly the ones that were around weren't interested in talking to people like me, so I have made a conscious effort when people have approached me, I mentor about three young ladies at the moment because I want to give something back and I make a point if someone says they want to meet me or see me, unless I really, really don't have the time or whatever, I really try to do that and help them because I remember what it was like for me and I remember just hitting a brick wall and it was immensely frustrating and I think if I can do nothing else other than encourage more people into our industry.

7.4.5 Career support and networks

There are a number of formal women's networks in Financial Services, such as Women in Banking and Finance, Worldwide Women in Banking and Finance, the Women's Insurance Net-work and the City Women's Network. Within Scotland there is Scottish Financial Enterprise. Other local networks were mentioned (Respondent FS3) including those:

facilitated by Scottish Enterprise both in Glasgow and Dundee where you get the opportunity to meet other people from financial, typically from financial services, so that's you know, that works quite well and then from a professional qualification point of view and although I don't

tend to attend them but you do get things like I mean the Chartered Accountancy Institute does networking things as does the Securities Institute in Scotland.

In fund management Respondent FS5 indicated that *"generally most places I've worked have some sort of formal or informal women's network"*

However only a few of the women interviewed were involved in these networks, other than as guest speakers. However, in addition to the mentors detailed in Section 7.4.3, most women had their own support networks consisting of husbands, other family members and friends for reasons similar to those set out by Respondent FS9:

that old cliché about, it sounds maybe silly but it's lonely at the top but I mean it is, it does compromise quite significantly who I can talk to throughout the day

In addition, the most senior women in the Scottish Financial Services sector will also become part of Scotland's network of the 'great and the good'. Respondent FS16 indicated that she was invited to a variety of functions as part of this network, where there were only one or two women. She also stated that due to the size of Scotland:

Often you know two, three nights in a row you're doing very different things and you kind of say oh hello this is the third time this week I've visited the same people.

Access to these networks she said was "about level" and as a result of her level she was:

invited to masses of things I can't do…and I always go back and say can I ask one of my people, you know one of my directors, one of my next level down to go and represent the [organization] *and represent me and sometimes they say no we just wanted you but very often they'll say, if you ask, they won't offer it but if you ask they'll say yes*

and so then I see that as my role to give exposure to some of my people and then they'll get on the list the next time in their own right.

However not all senior managers will take this action.

7.5 Institutions: Family, religion and education

Each of the senior women managers was asked about their relationships with key institutions including the family, religious organizations and the education system. The interviews also probed the ways in which any of these acted as barriers or enablers in terms of navigating their career.

7.5.1 Family life

A number of women in this group were reluctant to discuss their parents and early family lives, other than to give details of their parents' occupations. Around 80% had parents who were managers, with half of those running their own business. While some had mothers who also held management roles, around 80% had roles that were fairly stereotypical either supporting the father in the family business or having an administrative job.

However, all were happy to discuss their own adult family lives. Eight (72.77% of the Respondents were married and five (45.45%) had children. Those with children used the following childcare and family support systems: non-working partner or part-time working partner; nanny; au pair; and housekeeper. The last three solutions were only found in the Financial Services Sector. It is worth noting that these women were at a senior level in a high paying sector. Only one women manager worked part-time.

In terms of their household chores, almost all women who worked full-time contracted out part of these. For example Respondent FS2 employed a housekeeper and stated:

I couldn't do this [job] without really competent people taking care of those things. At home I don't clean house, I mean I do a little bit at the weekend and do a bit of my own laundry but two things, I've taught my children when they were quite young to do their own laundry and to iron their blouses for school or their shirts and you know people look at me askance but I think that's right.

Respondent FS3, who has no children, indicated that early in her marriage she and her husband used to share the workload with him *"doing most of it"*. However later on she said:

we got to a sufficient level to say actually you know, it's better for us both if we're actually paying someone else to do this. We've got a cleaner that comes in once a week and we've got an ironing service that we drop off once a week. We do the shopping.

Respondent FS8 who is single stated:

I have a cleaner and in saying that you know well I put my ironing out so you get your ironing done, so everything else I do myself. I don't really buy much food. You know I buy as I need it you know rather than no major big shopping and things like that.

7.5.2 Education

This group of women managers received positive messages from their families about education. Respondent FS7 stated:

probably my mum actually more than my dad would be very hands on in terms of making sure I was doing that and you know thought I should go to university rather than just go straight on to do a job but in terms of career choice I wasn't, they didn't really give me very much advice at all, just get your education because that'll then open up to whatever you would like to do.

Of all the women managers interviewed for this research 70% had a university education, while 80% of all those interviewed in this sector had a university education. Many went on to take professional qualifications and indicated that their organizations were "supportive" (Respondent FS3)

Asset servicing is a growing sector in Scotland and Respondent FS1 pointed out that one of the attractions of locating in Scotland was *"its educated workforce"* She added that:

> *Financial services is generally well known so people are attracted to it. It's well established, three hundred year history does make a difference and…although it's still not a very deep pool, there's a pool of managers which is very important to us.*

7.5.3 Religion

As mentioned in Section 7.2, work in financial services was predominantly a Protestant occupation in Scotland until the late 1970s. As people's religious affiliation was readily identifiable through the school they attended, religious discrimination was fairly easily carried out. Out of those women interviewed 60% had been brought up as Protestants, 30% as Catholic, and 10% in no religion. Only one of the women (10%), a Roman Catholic, remained an active practitioner of her religion, though two others, one Roman Catholic and one Church of Scotland attended church occasionally, *"Christmas and Easter"* (Respondent FS7) *"I do go to church sometimes, I just take the notion" (*Respondent FS10)*.*

Two managers had experienced the effects of religion in business. Respondent FS9 described a takeover she was involved in:

> *both* [companies*] had been going since the 1860s so they were major competitors within west of Scotland and one of them was Catholic and one of them was Protestant…Well they had the Celtic box and we had*

the Rangers box, we don't have any of that any more. So I knew that that was in the past and you think well that's part of Glasgow's past you know none of us is proud of it but in the bidding for that there were twenty-one companies that bid for [company name] *and I was told we wouldn't get it because we didn't support the right football team. So fortunately that attitude didn't prevail but the point is that some people thought it still might.*

Respondent FS1 also recounted an experience:

I know there are real, you know, sectarian issues there, I just don't see it but I know they're there and this whole thing around which school did you go to, people are still very, very sensitive you know, even a conversation I had a few weeks, it's not explicit but someone was saying well that person did ask me that and I'm just wondering are they fishing and some people clearly are and it's like why you know, and so that would have been something I would never have encountered in London

Both Respondents were located in the West of Scotland, which may be a factor in these experiences.

7.6 Summary and conclusion

This chapter has set out the research findings on Financial Services. It began by describing the structure of the sector, which employs 96,400 people constituting 4% of the Scottish workforce (Scottish Government 2010b). It showed that the sector has four key sub-sectors, banking, life and pensions, asset management and asset servicing. Banking, established in the 17th century in Scotland, is the largest sector employing half of the financial services workforce. Life and pensions, though much smaller, also has a long history being established in the 17th century. Asset management is around the same size as life and pensions and while some firms are relatively old and were established in the 19th century, others have a much more recent history. Asset servicing is a relatively new sector which arose from the

outsourcing of *"back office functions"* by financial organizations. It is small but growing. In all sectors there are now few wholly Scottish organizations with most being part of larger UK or foreign owned organizations,

The chapter examined the shape and degree of inequality in all four sub-sectors and demonstrated the existence of occupation segregation in each, though the extent of this varied by sub-sector. In banking the chapter showed that there were four different sectors, retail, corporate and commercial, investment banking and merchant banking and each exhibited both horizontal and vertical occupational segregation. The chapter outlined the history of occupational segregation in banking in Scotland and demonstrated that it was traditionally a male occupation until the early 20th century when the first woman was employed. It also showed that the growth in women's employment was initially related to exogenous change in the form of the two world wars and the mechanisation of retail banking. However it was not until the second half of the 20th century that women as well as men could make careers in the sector and this was further enabled by the equality legislation of the 1970s, so that by the early 21st century women comprised a majority of the banking workforce. However this chapter also showed that horizontal occupational segregation remains a feature of the banking sector, with women occupying the majority of jobs in retail banking and asset servicing and men the majority in corporate and commercial and investment banking. This chapter also demonstrated the existence of vertical occupational segregation in all sectors and that despite this occupational segregation a number of the major financial services organizations feature in the Times Top 50 Employers for Women.

The chapter went on to explore the shape and degree of occupational segregation in the life assurance, pensions and insurance industry, where women comprise at least half the workforce and where there is evidence of vertical occupational segregation. The chapter also demonstrated evidence of vertical occupational segregation in investment management and in asset servicing.

In terms of the pay gap there was a great reluctance to discuss remuneration on an organizational basis. However as demonstrated in Section 3.8.2.4 in 2009, the *EHRC* published its report into Sex Discrimination in the sector and found that: the

gender pay gap for annual earnings of 55% was almost double that of the economy as a whole at 28%; the gender pay gap was 80% for performance related pay; and vertical occupational segregation was evident. The *EHRC* investigation was initiated under Section 16 of the Equality Act, 2006 and as such was a formal investigation. The *EHRC's* predecessor threatened a similar investigation of Barclays Bank in 1983 and as a result the bank reformed its recruitment and selection practices.

The chapter moved on to examine the organizational sub-structure of Financial Services, beginning with its organizing processes. Firstly it explored the elements that constitute and influence women's organizational careers and found that career pathways varied. It showed that in banking, many careers were often built in one organization and could be from first point entry level in the retail branch system and also from entry into graduate training schemes. Staff could also subsequently transfer from the retail sector into the commercial and corporate sectors, though it was found that it was primarily men who did this. The chapter also found that careers in insurance were often within one organization and were built by moving through various departments. Careers within asset servicing were found to be more mobile. The chapter also demonstrated that in building careers there was much more movement between organizations at the very senior levels in banking and insurance and also at all levels in investment and fund management.

Secondly the chapter moved on to examine the organization of the work and other factors that influenced women's careers. It demonstrated that there is an *"extraordinary hours"* culture, involving long-day, evening and some week-end working, plus a large amount of travel and that staff adopted an individual approach to dealing with this.

This chapter found some differences in descriptions of management style, though adjectives such as *"individual", "nurturing"* and *"sensitive"* were used which seemed to indicate a gendered perspective. The chapter also found a belief that the organizational culture was *"macho",* with behaviour from many "*alpha males"* described as *"aggressive"*. There was some evidence of the stereotyping of male and female jobs reinforced through occupational segregation. In terms of

performance standards, most respondents did not believe that men and women were judged differently, the reason given being that, as a sector, financial services required an above average performance from all employees. However a minority believed that women had to perform better than men.

This chapter also found evidence of the formal and informal mentoring of most women at various points during their careers. A feature within this sector was the use of *"business coaches"* from external organizations. Many women also mentored more junior women in the sector, both formal and informally. The chapter demonstrated the existence of formal and informal networks, in both Scotland and the UK. However the senior women tended to be involved in these as a guest speaker. In addition, it is worth noting that the senior women in this sector were also part of Scotland's 'the great and the good', where access was based on "level" and as a result there were very few women at the events of this network. In addition, due to the size of Scotland, the same people tended to attend different events at this level. Some women used their access to networks to allow their immediate female subordinates to represent their organizations, but not all did and not all networks allowed this.

The chapter showed that the Financial Services sector has an awareness of gender inequality. For example there have been recent initiatives to increase the numbers of women in investment banking. However, in addition to the pay gap, there are a certain aspects that could indicate that gender inequality may still be viewed as legitimate: the evidence from tribunal cases involving banking in general and investment banking in particular; and from books such as *Cityboy* and *Citygirl*. These aspects also highlight the negative issues of the emotions of human relations in the workplace. However the research also found positive aspects such as mentoring of women by men.

In turning to the influence of background institutions, the chapter detailed the shape and degree of occupational segregation in the home and family of the research participants. In this sector around 80% of women had parents who were managers, and while many of these were their fathers, some were their mothers, although 80% of mothers tended to have stereotypical roles. In terms of their own families,

72.77% were married and 45.45% had children, with all but one manager working full-time. In this high paying sector there were three additional childcare solutions, nanny, au pair and housekeeper. Other solutions included a non-working or part-time working partner. In terms of the division of domestic labour, almost all the women contracted out some of their household chores, such as cleaning and ironing and this again is a difference from other two case studies.

All of the women were encouraged in their education by their families and 80% had a university education compared to 70% of all the participants in the three case studies. Many also had professional qualifications. In terms of religion, only one woman was an active practitioner, although 90% had been brought up in a religious faith, of whom 66.67% were Protestant and 33.33% were Catholic. In terms of religion in the workplace, one woman had a negative experience, which was partly related to the fact that work in financial services was predominantly a Protestant occupation in Scotland until the late 1970s, as mentioned in Section 7.2.

The implications of these findings as they relate to the conceptual framework, particularly with respect to gender inequality regimes, the influence of background and proximate institutions, isomorphism, pillars, the historical dimension and co-constitution are discussed further in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8: Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has examined women's under-representation in management, with particular focus on three business sectors in Scotland, namely the Labour Movement, Local Government and Financial Services.

The three research questions were:

1. How do women managers experience the gender inequality regime at the level of:

    a. the business system
    b. the organization?

2. Which elements within the gender inequality regime enable and constrain women's progress in management at the level of:

    a. the business system
    b. the organization?

3. How do senior women managers successfully navigate the gender inequality regimes of the business system and organization in which they work?

This chapter will review these research questions in light of the findings set out in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 and the literature review in Chapters 2 and 3.

8.2 How do women managers experience the gender inequality regime at the level of the business system and the organization?

This thesis posits that each business system, organizational field, and institution, like each organization has its own gender inequality regime(s) and this led to the first research question. The key features of the gender inequality regime were set out in

Figure 1 in Section 2.9 of Chapter 2 and in the conceptual framework in Figure 3. These features are the shape and degree of inequality and the organizational sub-structure, which consists of three main elements, the organizing processes and practices, the emotions of human relations and organizational culture. The three case studies explored the gendered nature of the experiences of women managers entering and building careers in organizations in the Labour Movement, Local Government and Financial Services business systems in Scotland. They began by examining key features of the gender inequality regimes of these three business systems and of organizations in these systems in which the women managers work.

8.2.1 The shape and degree of gender inequality

The conceptual framework in Figure 3 and Figure 1 in Section 2.9 of Chapter 2 list the key elements that constitute the shape and degree of equality: occupational segregation in organizations, home and family; the pay gap; marital status; motherhood; and an historical dimension. These will be discussed in the following sections.

8.2.1.1 Occupational segregation

Occupational segregation, both vertical and horizontal, an indicator of inequality (Acker, 2006; Connell, 2002), is present in all three business systems. In the Labour Movement, this manifests itself in all three of its constituent parts, the trade unions, the STUC and the Labour Party. As demonstrated in Table 6.2, while the number of women trade union members varies, from 90.98% in the nursing union, the RCN, to 2.57% in UCATT, the construction industry union, there are more men than women employed in senior roles in the trade union movement, even in unions with a majority of female members. Examples of the latter include: UNISON, with 71% female membership, but a senior management team that is 60% male, 40% female, and a team of Organisers that is between 66%-75% male; and the EIS, with a membership that is 75.40% female, but a gender balance amongst its 14 officials of 10 men (71.43%) and 4 women (28.57%), out of which it has a senior management team of 4 that is all male. The STUC comprises eight in its senior group, a Head of Administration, who is female and a group of seven officials, of whom 28.57% are

women. Included in the officials are its senior management team of two, a General Secretary and Deputy General Secretary, both of whom are men. Until 2004, the role of Head of Administration was combined with that of a second Deputy General Secretary who was female. In the Scottish Labour Party the gender mix amongst non-administrative employees is five men (55.56%) and four women (44.44%) and, at the time of writing, the last general secretary, who had recently resigned, was male. However, there have been two women General Secretaries since 1977, Helen Liddell (1977-1988) and Lesley Quinn (1999-2008). In all three sectors of the Labour Movement, women predominate in administrative posts. In addition to this vertical occupational segregation, the trade union movement is also horizontally segregated, to some extent in line with horizontal occupational segregation in the general workplace. For example only 2.58% of women are members of UCATT, an industry that is 99.35% male and only 5.17% of women are members of the FBU, an industry where 91.55% of employees are male (*ONS*, 2011b). Vertical and horizontal occupational segregation is also reinforced by union rules requiring existing membership for union employment.

Occupational segregation is also evident in Scottish local government, as set out in Chapter 6. Scottish local government employs 253,600, of whom 181,200 are women (71.5%) and 72,400 (28.5%) are men (Scottish Government, 2012a). The number of men and women varies from council to council, as does the size of the workforce. In terms of vertical segregation, Table 6.1 shows the average percentages of women in the top 2% and top 5% of senior earners in local government from 2003/4 to 2010/11. This demonstrates an increase in the number of women in these categories, of 11.2 percentages points in the top 2%, from 28.3% to 39.5%, and 10.5 percentage points in the top 5% from 35.8% to 46.3% from 2003/4 to 2010/11. Tables 6.2 and 6.3 show how the range of women in the top 2% and top 5% of local government earners has increased over this period, though only two councils have reached at least 50% of the top 2% of earners, one in 2009/10 and another in 2010/11, while a total of seven councils have breached the 50% barrier for the top 5% of earners since 2006/7 (Audit Scotland, 2012), but not all have maintained these levels. In the two local government case study organizations, women constitute 68.5% of Tartan Council's employees and 64.05% of Thistle's, slightly lower than for Scotland as a whole. These organizations exhibit patterns of

both vertical and horizontal occupational segregation. For example, horizontal segregation is evident in Tartan Council where women are in the minority overall in Development and Regeneration Services division and Land and Environmental Services division, but in the majority within all the other divisions. Those other divisions such as Social Care, Social Work and Education, fall into the category of women's traditional culturally prescribed roles (Novarra, 1980, cited by Alvesson and Due Billing, 1997). In terms of vertical segregation, this is evident in both councils although it is smaller than for women managers generally. Whereas women occupy 32.05% of managerial jobs in the United Kingdom in 2011 (*ONS,* 2011a), they constitute 42.74% of Tartan Council's leadership family and 38.90% of Thistle Council's Tier 1 jobs. The possible reasons for this will be explored in Section 8.3. In addition, in both Councils the numbers of women managers in different departments varies and this will also be explored further in Section 8.3.

As set out in Chapter 7, Financial Services employs 96,400 in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2011), of whom around half are likely to be women, based on figures for the UK as a whole (EHRC, 2009). The numbers of women vary between the different parts that constitute the financial services sector and there is evidence of both horizontal and vertical segregation. In terms of horizontal segregation within banking more women than men are employed in retail banking, while more men than women are to be found in investment and corporate banking (Ogden, 2006). In professional fund management only 5% of jobs are held by women (Respondent FS5). In terms of vertical segregation in retail banking, research by Ogden (2005) on one Scottish clearing bank with 2153 employees, found that 26% were male and 74% female, with women holding 42% of middle management roles, but only 11% of senior management roles. As set out in Section 7.2.4.1, in one of the larger asset servicing organizations in Scotland, Respondent FS3 indicated that in terms of her direct reports she had "*five direct reports of which two are male and then the next level down is probably fifty-fifty*". This more or less even split was also echoed by Respondent FS1. It is perhaps not surprising to find these numbers of women in asset servicing organizations as women could also be found in these 'back office' roles before they were contracted out. However, at senior management level as Respondent FS3 explained she was the only woman out of a team of ten. In

addition Respondent FS3 commented on "*how few senior women there are"* in financial services in Scotland, which she attributed to the size of the country.

Occupational segregation was also evident in all three case studies in the early and adult families of the senior women managers. For many, growing up, it was their father who was their role model, although a minority also acknowledged the influence of their mother. In their adult families there were mixed views on domestic occupational segregation. While some women took the primary responsibility for childcare and domestic work, for others the responsibilities were shared. Marital status and motherhood are also elements in the shape and degree of inequality and in terms of this research the majority of women were or had been married or had partners (33.33% married, 26.67% had partners, 6.67% widows, 20% divorced) with only 13.33% being single. In terms of motherhood, 46.67% had children and 53.33% did not. However the research found that 71.43% of those women with children had not built their careers until their children were older.

There was an awareness amongst the Respondents of the occupational segregation within their business systems and organizations and this will be discussed further in Section 8.2.2.1.

8.2.1.2 Gender pay gaps

In addition to occupational segregation, gender pay gaps, another indicator of inequality, exist in each of the case study sectors, but to varying degrees. The pay gap between men and women generally in the UK was 14.9% in 2011 (ONS, 2011a), using average hourly earnings. However, various measures are used to calculate the pay gap, so when median weekly earnings are used, it was 17.5% (ONS, 2011a). When average annual earnings are used, it was 28.5% (Metcalf and Rolfe, 2009). In addition, the pay gap for women in management working full-time is larger than for women generally. Using median hourly earnings the pay gap was 19.9% in 2011 (ONS, 2011a), while using median full-time gross weekly earnings it was 22.2% in 2011 (ONS, 2011a). As demonstrated in Table 2.4, the pay gap for senior officials in local government, at only 7.6% is smaller than that for women in management and for women generally. However, for Financial Managers and

Corporate Secretaries it is 33.3%, while for Corporate Managers and Senior Officials it is 33.76%.

There was much less willingness to discuss, or awareness of, the pay gap among the Respondents, apart from those in the Labour Movement or those involved in equality in Local Government.

8.2.1.3 Marital status and motherhood

Marital status and motherhood also constitute part of the shape and degree of inequality. The statistics for the women managers in each sector are detailed below in Tables 8.1 and 8.2.

Table 8.1 Percentage of women managers by marital status and business system

Business System	Single	Married or Civil Partnership	Divorced or Widowed
Labour Movement	13.33%	70.00%	26.67%
Local Government	6.25%	87.50%	6.25%
Financial Services	13.61%	72.78%	13.61%

This table shows that the majority of women in each sector are married or in a civil partnership, with local government being the highest at 87.5% and the Labour Movement the lowest at 70%.

Table 8.2 Percentage of women managers in each sector with children

Business System	Children	No Children
Labour Movement	46.67%	53.33%
Local Government	56.25%	43.75%
Financial Services	45.45%	54.55%

The figures for women managers with children in The Labour Movement and Financial Services were broadly comparable, while the number of women in Local Government with children was the highest.

8.2.1.4 Historical dimension to the shape and degree of gender inequality

Each woman manager enters a business system and organization that has a history and this history *"matters"* (Pierson, 2000). Chapter 2 set out the history of women in management and each of the case study chapters sets out the history of each of the sectors, in terms of its employment of women. There is therefore a path dependent element to women's experiences of the gender inequality regimes of each business system and organization, as is acknowledged in the conceptual framework. For example, women have been part of the Labour Movement since its inception, although conventions of the time on the role of women restricted their participation, while in Financial Services women did not work in banks until their participation was necessitated by WW1.

8.2.2 Organisational sub-structure

There are three key elements of the organizational sub-structure, organizing processes and practices, the emotions of human relations and organizational culture and each will be discussed in the following sections.

8.2.2.1 Organizing processes and practices

There are five elements that constitute organizing processes and practices: the organization of the work; the elements that constitute and influence women's organizational careers; stereotyping; the degree of awareness of gender inequality; and the legitimacy of gender inequality and these will be discussed in the following sections.

8.2.2.1.1 Awareness of inequality

Acker (2006:452) refers to as the visibility of inequality, which she defines as "the degree of awareness of inequalities". This varies between the three business systems. The greatest level of awareness was found in the Labour Movement and amongst its women. In Chapter 5, there are examples of the agency of individual women and women's groups. For example, amongst many women, there was clearly an awareness of the lack of women in the Westminster Parliament and a determination that this should not be the case in a Scottish Parliament. This resulted in a the successful 50:50 campaign, initiated, orchestrated and carried out by women trade unionists and STUC women, labour activists and elected women members, as described in Section 5.2.3. It also gained the support of men within the movement although as Respondent LM15 pointed out "*they managed to embarrass a lot of the men into thinking they had to agree with this".* Another example was given by Respondent LM6 who described her strategy to equalise pay in Tartan Council, when a councillor in the 1980s. There are further examples of women's agency within the Labour Movement business system, in order to change its structures and those in local government.

The influence and support of women councillors, particularly those with a *"feminist agenda"*, was also recognised by Respondent LG6, who ran the Equalities Unit in Thistle Council for many years and by Respondent LG16 who ran the Women's Unit at Tartan Council. As set out in Section 6.4.6, Respondent LM15 also referred to the support she gave to officials in respect of the equalities agenda at Tartan Council in the early 1980s. However this awareness of inequality was not shared by all local politicians or senior council employees, as recounted by Respondents LG6 and

LG16, who also pointed out the negative effect of local government re-organization on the equality agenda after 1996.

It could be argued that a further factor that has contributed towards the increasing numbers of women in management in local government in Scotland is the Equal Opportunities Performance Indicator (EOPI), one of a series of performance indictors by which councils are measured and compared annually. The EOPI requires each council to report annually the numbers of women in the top 2% and top 5% of earners in their submission to the Audit Commission, Scotland. The rationale for, and purpose of, the EOPI are defined as "the delivery of quality services is dependent on a trained and motivated workforce and it is, therefore essential that councils' employment policy reflect their commitment to equal opportunities. The indicator provides a picture of the current gender balance in more senior posts. This will help councils to identify areas of potentially unfair or discriminatory practices as well as providing a baseline for measuring improvement over time" (Audit Scotland, 2005). This, combined with the Gender Equality Duty and the Equality Duty, has also had an impact of councils.

There is an awareness of inequality in the Financial Services sector on the part of the EHRC, and its predecessor the EOC. The EHRC set up a formal inquiry into the sector because it had the largest overall pay gap in the UK economy and the inquiry found that the gap between the earnings of women working full-time and men working full-time was 55% (EHRC (2009). It also found that one of the reasons for this gap was the lack of willingness amongst "some senior leaders…to acknowledge that there is a problem, or to do anything about it" (EHRC,2009:6). However this is in contrast to the perception of banks, particularly in retail banking, as "'leading edge' employers in the equal opportunities field" (Crompton and Le Feuvre, 2000:341), with a range of the types of equal opportunities initiatives outlined in Section 2.6.3. A recent example is of HSBC (2012) who announced that they had become "the first large corporate in the UK to guarantee part-time work when it is requested", following maternity or paternity leave, though it is worth noting that the case studies offered by their press office were of women employees. The EHRC (2009) found that factors contributing to the pay gap in Financial Services included occupational segregation and discrimination in recruitment. In addition, the recent financial crisis has shone a

spotlight on banking, particularly investment banking, and in doing so has highlighted its gender inequality.

As set out in Section 8.2.1.2, only the Respondents in the Labour Movement or involved in equality in Local Government were aware of and willing to discuss the gender pay gap. However most of the Respondents in all three sectors were generally aware of other equality indicators such as occupational segregation, sex discrimination and gendered performance standards, even if some felt they had no personal experience of these elements. Almost all Respondents were aware of the importance of networks as typified by Respondent FS5 who said *"generally most places I've worked have some sort of formal or informal women's network"*. In addition some senior women recognised the importance of raising awareness of inequality, though they often worked quietly to do this, particularly in the Financial Services sector and in Local Government. Even women who described themselves as feminists explained that they did not wish *"to be labelled"*. In the Labour Movement it was pointed out that to *"bang the equalities drum"* resulted in being perceived as *"an unsafe pair of hands"* and therefore unsuitable for promotion (Respondent LM6).

8.2.2.1.2 Legitimacy of inequality

Acker (2006) points out that the legitimacy of gender inequality was challenged by the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s and, of course, it had also been challenged much earlier as outlined in the historical perspective in Chapter 2, Section 2.7. Within the Labour Movement system it is clear that numbers of women, and men, within the trade unions, STUC and Labour Party viewed gender inequality as illegitimate and took action, particularly from the late 1970s onwards, individually and collectively, that resulted in, for example, the 50:50 campaign and support for equality units in local councils. However, it is also clear that some parts of the Labour Movement did not share this perspective. One example is the equal pay issue in local government detailed in Chapters 5 and 6. Respondent LM12 indicated that previous labour politicians, council leaders and in-house and full-time union officials had been aware of the issue of unequal pay amongst manual staff and *"didn't want to touch it"*. Respondent LM5 also indicated that in her view there had been collusion

between trade unionists to discriminate against women and Respondent LM16 had stated that "*eternal vigilance"* was required in order to reduce inequality, because women shouldn't "*imagine that once it's done, it's done".* The research also presented other examples of inequality being viewed as legitimate: in terms of vertical occupational segregation in all sections of the Labour Movement system and particularly in trade unions with high levels of female membership; and in the STUC, where the majority of temporary contracts are held by women.

In Local Government the legitimacy of inequality has certainly been challenged by some women, particularly those running the equalities units, supported by women councillors. As has been set out in Chapter 6, the first woman director to head up a service (other than HR), in Tartan Council, was appointed in 1998 and was still the only woman when a new Chief Executive was appointed in 2003. She recounted that the new Chief Executive *"was very concerned that…I was still the only woman in the management team"* (Respondent LG11) and after that a series of women were appointed to first tier management roles, though there was resentment from male senior managers, even though these men were still in the majority on the senior team. She also recounted that these women were referred to dismissively as *"George's girls".* In Thistle Council, the first woman was appointed to a first tier role in 2008 and Respondent LG6 believed it took so long due to the *"the last vestiges of the old male dominated culture".*

In the Financial Services system, the legitimacy of inequality seems entrenched, particularly in the high earning areas such as investment banking and fund management. As set out in Chapter 7, in recent years there have been initiatives such as Fresh Look and JP Morgan's "Winning Women" to encourage more women into investment banking, as well as initiatives within banks themselves such Morgan Stanley's "Women First Network" or networking organizations set up by women such as the "City Women's Network". However despite these initiatives the numbers of women in fund management remain low.

In commercial and corporate banking, where relationship management is a key feature of the work, men hold the vast majority of posts. As Respondent FS4 states *"business and corporate, they think is sexier… a male thinks oh, let's go and work*

with the big numbers". There is also a perception that men are more suited to this type of work, with its emphasis on socialising with the business community, which itself is predominantly male. For example, in FTSE100 companies, women comprise only 17.2% of senior executives and 5.5% of Executive Directors (Vinnicombe et al, 2010). Women are the leaders[72] of only 14% of SMEs (*Department of Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS),* 2011), of which 84% are micro-businesses with less than nine employees, 13% are small business with between 10 to 49 employees and only 2% were medium businesses with 100 to 249 employees. The average annual turnover of SMEs led by women is just below £500,000 compared £1,170,000 for SMEs generally (Women's Enterprise Policy Group, 2011). Given that organizations require a turnover of *"over one million"* pounds to be dealt with by commercial banking and its relationship managers (Respondent FS4), these predominantly male relationship managers and their team leaders and managers will be dealing mainly with mainly male-led businesses. This will be examined further in the discussion on networking.

The other elements of the organizing processes are the organization of the work, the elements that constitute and influence women's organizational careers and stereotyping and these, together with the emotions of human relations and organizational culture, are perceived as barriers to women's progress. They also include many of the variables that account for women's lack of representation in management outlined in Section 2.6 of Chapter 2. They will therefore be discussed in the next section which examines the elements within the gender inequality regime that enable and constrain women's progress.

8.3 Which elements within the gender inequality regime enable and constrain women's progress in management at the level of the business system and the organization?

There are a range of elements that impact on women progress in management, a journey that can be described as complex and challenging (Eagly and Carli (2009).

[72] Defined as being led by a woman or a management team with more than half of its members being Women (BIS, 2011:1).

8.3.1 Career paths

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 outlined the career paths in each business system. These are hierarchical in nature and become more vertically occupationally segregated as women progress. In the Labour Movement, organizations in Scotland are small, with few opportunities for promotion, whereas there are more opportunities in Local Government and Financial Services.

The Respondents were able to identify the key skills and experience required to progress in each system. For example, negotiating skills in the Trade Union Movement, the ability to "*manage money, manage people and market it" (*Respondent FS5) in Fund Management. However Elman and O'Rand (2004) have shown that the decisions taken early on in a woman's career have a path dependent effect on future progress and evidence of this was found. For example in the Trade Union Movement, it is difficult to progress to senior jobs from policy jobs, and membership requirements in unions also make it more difficult to move from one union to another if a woman's career stalls. Women are also unlikely to reach the very top jobs within the banking system without investment or corporate banking experience, areas in which there are presently few women. It could also be argued that these career paths form part of the "organizing processes" (Acker, 2005:447) employed by organizations to meet their goals.

8.3.2 Organizing processes

According to Acker (2006:447) organizations use a number of "organizing processes" such as the organization of work and hierarchical structures, in order to meet their goals. These organizing processes, she argues (Acker, 2012:215), are part of the "gendered sub-structure of organizations" which in turn enables inequality, such as organizational segregation and the pay gap, to persist. Other elements of the gendered substructure include organizational culture, interactions on the job between colleagues and gendered identities formed both within and outwith the workplace (Acker, 2012). There are parallels between these and Connell's (2006:839) categories of "gender relations of power; emotion and human relations; and gender culture and symbolism". Chapters 5, 6 and 7 explored these elements

through a number of key factors identified through the 'gender-centered' or 'person-centered' approach (Horner, 1972; Riger and Galligan, 1980; Terborg, 1977) and the situational or organizational structure approach (Kanter, 1977; Riger and Galligan, 1980) and set out in Chapter 2. These will be discussed in the following sections.

8.3.2.1 The organization of work

Acker (2006:448) contends that work is organized, normally based on "the image of a white man who is totally dedicated to the work and has no responsibilities for children or family demands other than earning a living…and who is able to work long hours if requested". There was evidence of this in all three case studies.

Long hours were a feature of women's experiences in each of the three sectors as evidenced by "*sixty hours a week"* (Respondent LM7), *"an eleven hour day"* (Respondent LG10) and *"extraordinary hours"* (Respondent FS56), including examples of sixteen hour days (Respondent FS5) and this was perceived as being a requirement of the job.

Many women also had children. The numbers varied with 46.67% in the Labour Movement, 56.25% in Local Government and 45.45% in Financial Services. While those without children often commented that they would have found it difficult to do their job with children, those with children had quite different views as typified by Respondent LG1 who was *"kind of determined that I wasn't seeing it as a barrier"*. All women took between four and six months of maternity leave regardless of how senior their position was at the time. However what was also evident was that women with family responsibilities had to find a suitable way to meet these demands in terms of childcare and domestic responsibilities and this will be discussed further in Section 8.4.

8.3.2.2 Management styles, performance standards and culture

Research by Ragins et al (1998) found that two barriers to women's progression were the importance of women performing to a higher standard than men and developing management styles which are acceptable to men. In the Labour

Movement and in Tartan Council the majority of women believed that *"to be successful as a woman you had to be twice as good as the next man"* (Respondent LG13). However in Thistle Council and Financial Services this view was in the minority. In the latter most women took the view that a very high performance standard was required by all in their industry and that "*quality will come to the top"* (Respondent FS3), although a minority view was that successful women had *"something extra"* (Respondent FS9). The Financial Services industry does of course pay high salaries to its senior employees and this may have influenced the views of the majority of Respondents.

Despite this most women in Financial Services, like those in Local Government saw their management style as different to that of their male counterparts using adjectives such as *"nurturing"* and *"sensitive"*. In the Labour Movement there was a view that it was necessary to be able to become *"angry"* and *"bang the table"* (Respondent LM2) and in order to do this one woman said that for her this meant *"in the morning when I do my hair and I put my make-up on and my suit goes on I'm a different person"* (Respondent LM9).

In all three sectors reference was made to the "macho" culture that was part of the business systems and organization. All women had to find a way to navigate through this culture and this will be discussed further in Section 8.4.

8.3.2.3 Career support, mentors and networking

The importance to women's progression of having a mentor was identified by Ragins et al (1998). This was something that almost all women had experienced during their careers and they acknowledged its enabling effect. In the Labour Movement, mentoring tended to be carried out on an informal basis and though informal mentoring was evident in Local Government and Financial Services, there were also formal organizational systems in place. In the Financial Services and in Thistle Council the use of external coaches as mentors was fairly widespread. In all three sectors some Respondents also were mentors to more junior women, indicating that they recognised its importance within their sectors for women's progression.

Networking has also been recognised as an important enabler in women's progression (Ragins et al, 1998), while the difficulty in accessing such social capital has been identified as a barrier (Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2010; Timberlake, 2005). The research showed that each business system has its own networks. In the Labour Movement there are informal networks that are: factionally based, from which some women will be excluded but normally on the grounds of ideology and not gender; football based, from which women can be excluded; and gender based, such as "*Sister's Support"* (Respondent LM9), from which men are excluded. There are also formal networks such as the STUC, TUC and union women's committees, organizations such as TULO and STULP, the unions' Scottish and UK General Councils and the STUC and TUC, the Constituency Labour Groups and the Labour Party's Scottish and National Executives. In Local Government there are informal senior women's networks in Thistle Council, and in both councils there is "*the old boys network"* (Respondent LG5) which is seen to be stronger in some services than in others (Respondent, LG14); and sports networks such as golf and football (Respondent LG14). There are also formal networks such as SOLACE. In Financial Services there are informal and formal women's networks in many organizations and formal sector networks such as Scottish Financial Enterprise, Women in Banking and Finance, Worldwide Women in Banking and Finance, the Women's Insurance Net-work and the City Women's Network. In addition there are networks established through relationship management jobs in commercial, corporate and investment banking. In one key informant interview in this sector, one such manager produced his extensive contact book of business cards, to look for potential interviewees that he could refer me to. His wife told me that he *"always knows someone that can do something"*. In addition to these industry based networks there are also Scottish networks of the 'great and the good'. Some are by invitation only (Respondent FS6) and are dependent on seniority. Interestingly Respondents were reluctant to name these networks, though they did indicate that once at a certain level of seniority, one was guaranteed to move into these networks, which function within a very small circle.

Clearly women are often excluded from many of these formal networks due to occupational segregation in organizations and business systems. Whereas access can act as an enabler, exclusion is a barrier, particularly in the Financial Services

industry and Labour Movement where recruitment is often by word of mouth. Even in Local Government where all jobs are advertised, selection at a senior level is often based on reputation, particularly in Tartan Council. However it is also evident that women's networks within the Labour Movement were crucial in securing the success of the 50:50 campaign for the Scottish Parliament.

It is also interesting that an important part of women's career support comes from their families and social networks, particularly their female friends.

8.3.3 Stereotyping

A key element arising from the person-centered approach is stereotyping (Dipboye (1987; Schein, 1973, 1989, 1994, 2006; Terborg, 1977). Stereotyping in the form of occupational segregation is evident in each of the three case studies as set out in Section 8.2.1.1. and also has an historical element. For example, women were effectively excluded from employment in banking until the First World War, when they were recruited to replace male clerks called up into the military. The expansion of banking in the 1920s and its mechanization meant that these women were able to remain in the sector, though they tended to be limited to lower level branch banking and some head office functions. It was not until the equality legislation of the 1970s that more opportunities in banking opened up for women, so that nowadays many of the senior positions in retail banking are held by women. However, women still have made few inroads into corporate or investment banking, which are still seen as 'male' jobs or it could be argued, 'unsuitable jobs for [most] women'.

Stereotyping is also evident in attitudes towards pay. In all three business systems there is a gender pay gap. Although no figures are available for the Labour Movement, vertical segregation makes such a gap inevitable. In Local Government management there is a much smaller gender pay gap at senior levels, but in Financial Services the gap is much greater, partly as a result of women being excluded from corporate or investment jobs that command high salaries and bonuses.

The stereotyping of the ideal manager as the "totally dedicated…unencumbered worker", always available to work long hours (Acker, 2006:448) is evident in all three business systems and organizations as discussed in Section 8.3.2.1.

Stereotyping is also evident within background institutions such as the family, religion and education. These can act as both enablers and barriers and will be discussed further in Section 8.4.

8.3.4 Sex discrimination and equality approaches

Sex discrimination is part of the gendered sub-structure of organizations (Acker, 2006). It is also linked to what Connell (2006) describes as the gender relations of power. Although the Financial Services Sector has a reputation for sex discrimination, gained particularly through Employment Tribunal cases and books such as '*City Girl'*, the women interviewed for this research maintained that they had not experienced it. However, they did acknowledge its existence in terms of the work hard/play hard culture which marginalises women in corporate and investment banking and the 'macho' bullying culture of the trading floor.

Sex discrimination was perceived to have been fairly prevalent in the Labour Movement, particularly in certain unions, while discrimination in Local Government tended to be either linked to specific individuals or to issues around maternity leave and working motherhood.

In terms of equality approaches in each of the sectors, the Labour Movement adopts a social justice case, whereas Local Government and the Financial Services sector tend towards the business case, which is more prevalent today (CIPD, 2011; Kirton and Greene, 2010). However given the incidences of sex discrimination in each sector, it could be argued that the rhetoric of these approaches exceeds the reality. Women in the Labour Movement also indicated an awareness of a "*backlash"* (Respondent LM6) to issues such as positive action in selection of candidates and proportionality, yet this was not uniform throughout the sector, but could be linked to "emotional connections and antagonisms" which Connell (2006:843) argues "are unquestionably a significant dimension of gender regimes".

A further key element in achieving women's equality is, of course, the number of women in senior positions. This has already been discussed in Section 8.2.1.1. However in terms of equality policies it is interesting that the areas with the highest numbers of women in senior positions are the elected Labour MSPs as a result of the 50:50 campaign and Local Government, where there is an equality element in their Annual Audit, together with requirements placed upon councils by of the Equality Duty.

8.3.5 Background institutions: the family, education and religion

Each woman's early family had an influence on her. As discussed in Chapter 7, women in the Financial Services sector were reluctant to discuss their early lives. However women in the other two sectors outlined the effects that their parents had on their lives and career choices. For many, it was their father who was their career role model and while many were willing to talk at length about their father's influence, few spoke in as great detail about their mother. The women's adult families will be explored further in Section 8.4.

The vast majority of the women had gone to university and had been encouraged in their education, by their parents and other members of their family. This is perhaps not surprising given the status of education in Scotland when many of these women were growing up, which was outlined in Chapter 3.

Religion in Scotland was described in Chapter 3. In each sector women who practised their religion were in the minority, though many had been brought up in a faith, but rejected it during their teens or twenties years or no longer practised. However it was clear that the Catholic religion had had an influence on the Labour Movement and to a lesser extent on Local Government, though in both cases this had decreased, though it still provided a network even to those who had *"lapsed"* (Respondent LG11). It was also clear that some women had experienced religious discrimination, though usually at an early stage of their careers.

There was also evidence of the legacy of religion in the Labour Movement and in Local Government. In addition, using the 2001 Census, there were a higher proportion of women whose religion of upbringing was Roman Catholic compared to the population as a whole and this was particularly true of the Labour Movement and Local Government. This is set out in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3 Comparison of Religion by upbringing

Religion	2001 Census	Labour Movement	Local Government	Financial Services
No Religion	**17.59%**	**10%**	**12.5%**	**10%**
Protestant[73]	**55.71%**	**40%**	**37.5%**	**60%**
Roman Catholic	**17.03%**	**50%**	**50%**	**30%**

8.3.6 History, isomorphism, path dependency, pillars and change

Chapter 2 presented an historical perspective on women in management and in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, historical perspectives on women's working lives in each of the business systems were developed. It can be argued that for women in the workplace "history matters" (Pierson, 2000). As explored in Chapter 2, for centuries men's and women's work has been culturally prescribed (Novarra, 1980, cited by Alvesson and Due Billing, 1997) and, it could be argued, is path dependent. However over time, change has inevitably occurred, as indicated by the example of women in banking given in Section 8.3.3. Indeed path dependency has been criticised by Djelic and Quack (2007:162) for focusing solely "on the past", rather than the future and so they pose the concept of 'path generation' which they argue can help explain "the conditions under which the redirection of an existing path becomes likely" and which they argue is likely to be through "a series of incremental steps and junctures". Examples of such redirection in women's work can be found in the equality legislation of the 1970s and the more recent changes in Local

[73] Includes Church of Scotland and other Christian excluding Roman Catholic.

Government as a result of the current recession and the UK government's deficit reduction plan, which has resulted in a reduction in women's employment in the sector. However, it could be argued that these changes are discontinuous rather than incremental.

Change can be triggered by factors within as well as outwith organizations. External factors include political policy changes in for example employment law, economic crises, social movements, such as the women's liberation and civil rights movements, and shifts in cultural beliefs and values (Scott, 2001). Factors inside an organization that can trigger change include internal tensions (Scott, 2001) and the decline in power of key stakeholders and technological innovation. Institutions such as the three business systems researched in this thesis also change, as do the background and proximate institutions that shape business systems. Change is not always gradual and can also be the result of "exogenous shock" (Streek and Thelen, 2005:1). One of the key issues within institutional change is the tension between structure and agency and this will be explored in Section 8.4.

Responses to change can also be constrained by the isomorphic nature of the structure and culture of organizations and business systems (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). However the results of change, such as the increases in women in senior positions in local government as a result of legislation and Audit Scotland's EOPI, can become part of the Scott's (2001) regulative pillars and so aid women's progress.

8.4 How do senior women managers successfully navigate the gender inequality regimes of the business systems and organizations in which they work?

The women who took part in this research have had to navigate the gender equality regimes of the organizations and business systems whose career ladders they climbed and this research examined the ways in which they have done so.

Beginning chronologically, most women indicated that in their early lives they were supported by their parents and, in some cases their extended families, particularly in

terms of their education. The messages they received included "*education is the root to having a happy life for you and your family"* (Respondent LG9). Often these messages were the result of the experiences of their own parents, some of whom were denied a free education as their schooling took place before 1944, or had to go out to work because of family pressures. Some women also received negative messages about women and education from their communities and relied on the support of their fathers in particular in order to continue in education. Women in the Labour Movement also received their political beliefs from their parents, particularly their fathers. In addition, many women were brought up within a formal religion, though many also left that religion at or just before adulthood. However, in their early lives, through their families, education and organised religion they were also experiencing and internalising stereotypes about the roles of, and opportunities for women in work and society.

Once in the workplace the Respondents built careers, in organizations and business systems that exhibited the key features of gender inequality regimes. Many, in the Labour Movement and Local Government had an awareness of inequality, primarily as a result of the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and the equality structures within these sectors. However, generally the younger the Respondent, particularly in the Financial Services sector, the less likely she was to have an inequality awareness, or to view inequality as something that had impacted on her own career. The Respondents recognised they had to be good at their jobs, and some believed that they had to be better than their male counterparts. Some consciously built a career, while others seemed to be less structured, but climbed the ladder nevertheless. Most, though not all, had challenges and setbacks at some point in their careers, but indicated that they had worked these through. All were aware of the career paths in their organizations and business systems, though not all wished to continue to climb the ladder. Most had had a number of mentors throughout their careers and some also mentored more junior women in their sectors. Most were also aware of the importance of networks and social capital, even if they did not always make use of these networks. Women in Financial Services had greater access to coaches and were more adept at networking.

One key feature of the lives of these women is their long working hours and, particularly in Financial Services, extensive travel. Around half of the women in all three sectors had children and so childcare was a major issue for most. They used a variety of childcare solutions including: childminders; nurseries; grandparents; family friends; and non-working partner or part-time working partner. Women in Financial Services also used: nanny; au pair; and housekeeper and it is worth noting that these women tended to work the longest hours, in a sector with high levels of remuneration. Whether or not to have children was also an important decision for these women. While some actively chose not to have children, others indicated that this was not a choice, as either they or their partner were unable to have children. A large percentage of this group with no children described how this allowed them to focus on their careers and a number believed that they would not have had careers if they'd had children. This long hours culture indicates that work in these organizations and systems is to paraphrase Acker (2006) built on the image of a white man or woman who, even with responsibilities for children or family demands, is totally dedicated to work and who is able to work long hours if requested.

All women have had to construct a personal life that is compatible with their career. For those with children, the education system has been a factor in how this had been achieved. For example, Respondent LG1 indicated that her "*children happily go on to after school club and they go to the summer club, there's a breakfast club, so all of those things are just a natural part of what the school offers"*. However others, as typified by Respondent LG2, found it more difficult to access this level of childcare within the state education system, where after school care was not perceived as essential for *"working mothers"* and so had taken the decision to send her children to private school, where it was available. Women at the top of the career ladder, with high levels of remuneration, have access to this option of private, expensive education and childcare. However, it is not necessarily available to, or affordable for, women early in their careers (Sealy, 2012) or to women at the top of less well-paid organizations.

There is evidence that there are gender differences in terms of work carried out within the family and the home, as well as evidence of historically traditional roles.

For example, in 2005 women spent on average 180 minutes a day on housework excluding childcare, while men spent 101 minutes (ONS, 2005). Attitudes towards their partners and the amount of work they did varied. Respondent FS7's felt she and her partner split the housework *"sixty-forty"* mainly because her partner did not clean as thorough as she liked, adding *he does his best, bless him"*. It was not unusual to find women doing more because of their partners 'failings', such as Respondent LG5 who said *"I still go and do the shopping because he's a bit handless at that".* However, others had contracted out household duties as Respondent FS4 indicated *"I've got a cleaner who comes in, she does me ironing, I don't have to worry about the house".* Even so there was an expectation within the family that she would take the responsibility for running the home, even if she was the main breadwinner, and this was the case for many of the women.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the findings in relation to the three research questions and reviewed these research questions in light of the findings set out in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 and the literature review in Chapters 2 and 3.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the under-representation of women in management in three sectoral business systems in Scotland and, in doing so, to explore the influence of the institutional and organizational factors that constitute gender inequality regimes at the levels of the system and organization. This thesis, posits that by applying Whitley's (1992a) theoretical framework to women in management and combining it with a gender inequality regime framework, based on Acker (2000, 2006a, 2006b, 2009) and Connell (2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007) a greater understanding of women's under-representation in management may emerge.

9.2 Research objectives

This research had four objectives and each will be explored in turn.

9.2.1 Objective 1: Examine the context of women in management in three sectoral business systems in Scotland

The research has presented evidence indicating that key features of gender inequality regimes are present in all three business systems. However there are similarities and differences between each of the systems. Women have entered management positions, and those of power, in all three systems over the course of just over a century. While women now constitute the majority of total employees in Local Government and around half in Financial Services, their numbers vary between the service sectors of these systems. For example, in terms of occupational segregation, in Local Government women are found in greater numbers in the traditional 'caring' services, such as education, social work and social care, while men are in the majority in traditional male occupational areas, such as roads, parks and building services. This segregation also translates into women in management in Local Government, though the presence of women has increased over the last decade, so that now women constitute 46.3% of the top 5% of earners

and 39.5% of the top 2% in 2012. In Financial Services, from a standing start around 1916, women have reached the top of some organizations in Retail Banking, yet men dominate in Corporate Banking, and in Fund Management women hold only around 5% of professional posts. From its inception, women have always taken part in the Labour Movement and fulfilled roles in its structures. Yet even in unions with a majority of female members, men hold the majority of senior employee posts, as is also the case in the STUC. Women have been successful in obtaining 50:50 representation in terms of Labour MSPs, although there is no mechanism to ensure its permanence. In addition, women comprise only 24.39% of MPs and 26.14% of Local Councillors, yet since 1977, two women have held the post of General Secretary of the Scottish Labour Party, from 1977-1988 and 1999-2008.

In addition to occupational segregation, gender pay gaps exist in each of the case study sectors, but again to different degrees. While the gender pay gap using median weekly earnings for women in management generally was 22.2% in 2011, it was only 7.6% in Local Government, but 33.3% for Financial Managers and Corporate Secretaries. No information was available on the pay gap in the Labour Movement, yet given the levels of occupational segregation it is certainly likely to be present.

There are a range of reasons for women's present under-representation in management positions in the three business systems. Firstly although there is an awareness of gender inequality in all three systems, there is a much greater awareness, particularly amongst women in the Labour Movement and also within Local Government. Part of this is as a result of feminism and also of women's agency, not only in terms of the 50:50 campaign, but in terms of changes to some of the structures within the system, such as the formation of Women's Committees in the Movement, the reserved seats for women in union, STUC and TUC General Councils and the establishment of Equality Units and Equality Committees in Local Government. The profile of Equality in Local Government has also been raised by the Gender Equality Duty and its replacement, the Equality Duty and also by the Audit Commission's EOPI Indicators.

Secondly, the historical legitimacy of gender inequality was challenged by first wave and second wave feminism and also by earlier advocates of equality. However it still exists, in all three business systems, as evidenced by the recent issue of equal pay in Local Government where collusion between councillors, management and trade unions ensured that women were paid less than men regardless of the law, and in Financial Services where regardless of recruitment initiatives, men continue to dominate in the highest paying sectors.

Thirdly, women's position in management is also affected by external factors, such as technological advances, employment law, changes in societal values, economic factors and government policy. Historical examples were presented and these factors will continue to influence women in the workplace, and in some ways that cannot yet be determined. Their effects will undoubtedly also be influenced by the awareness of inequality and the perception of its legitimacy.

Fourthly, the research also examined the gendered sub-structure (Acker, 2006) of organizations and business systems and presented evidence of this. In all three systems the stereotype of a white man who is able to prioritise work at the expense of other responsibilities exists. At a senior level this stereotype appears to have been internalised by most women managers, including those with children, as a fact of management life. Around half of the women interviewed from each system had children and therefore each had developed a childcare system that suited her family circumstances. With a societal absence of universal childcare, this included nurseries, school based care, grandparents, family friends, non-working partner or part-time working partner and in the case of the women from the Financial Services sector, nanny, au pair and housekeeper. In terms of household responsibilities, women again made individual decisions based on their circumstances, but there often appeared to be an expectation within the family and/or from the woman herself that she would take the responsibility for running the home, even if she was the main breadwinner. It was also noticeable that in the Financial Services sector, the high levels of remuneration allowed women to contract out a greater proportion of household requirements.

Other key elements of the gendered sub-structure (Acker, 2000) of organizations and business systems were present, some of which reflected the research by Ragins et al (1998) from the organizational structure approach set out in Chapter 2. These included the perception that: there was a requirement, in the Labour Movement and Local Government, but not in Financial Services for performance standards that were higher for men than for women; there was a difference in management styles between men and women (though this may be because such styles are deemed acceptable); being mentored and in some cases mentoring others, was important, as was networking. Other aspects of the gendered sub-structure included the perception that the business system and organizational cultures were 'macho' and the ways in which career paths could 'filter out' women in management (Bartol, 1978). In the Labour Movement and Local Government there was evidence of sex discrimination, with some women having experienced this. Although sex discrimination was also seen to be present in Financial Services, none of the women managers had personal experiences of it.

9.2.2 Objective 2: Explore the ways in which institutional factors influence the under-representation of women in management within these three sectoral business systems and within their organizations.

The research used Whitley's (1992a) framework of background and proximate institutions. In terms of background institutions it documented the ways in which the family, education and religion affect women's representation in management. However, these three institutions in some ways acted as 'enablers' in the Respondents lives rather than 'barriers': for example, the importance of the women's early family life and the role of fathers in providing a role model and in supporting education; and the influence of Scotland's educational system and its religious institutions. Of course it can also be argued that the absence of these elements may act as a barrier to other women. In terms of religion, it was shown that the number of women with a Roman Catholic religious upbringing exceeded the average for Scotland in all three sectors.

Each woman had to construct an adult family life that sustained her career. As indicated, the levels of remuneration in the Financial Services sector allowed women to access childcare and domestic options that did not appear to be as available to women in other sectors. However, there was evidence in all three sectors that there were gender differences in terms of the division of those responsibilities in the women's adult families and that in many cases these were in line with the historically traditional roles of men and women.

An exploration of proximate institutions include the legal and political systems, the financial system and trade unions and one reason for the selection of the three cases was their being proximate institutions. The research has shown that each has its own gender inequality regime at the level of both the business system and its organization and it can be argued that this is likely to influence their role in both reinforcing and opposing gender inequality generally in society. The awareness of inequality and attitudes towards the legitimacy of equality are also likely to be key factors.

9.2.3 Objective 3: Explore the ways in which gender inequality regimes contribute to the under-representation of women in management within these three sectoral business systems and within their organizations.

The research found that gender inequality regimes contribute to the under-representation of women in a variety of ways. The most visible manifestations of the regimes are occupational segregation and the gender pay gap. In addition, the research has shown that awareness of inequality and action by women, and men, to challenge the legitimacy of inequality also has an effect. Historical evidence can also help to illuminate the development of these inequality regimes.

It can also be argued that these inequality regimes are path dependent and isomorphic. Although there is a degree of variability within each sector, most have adopted similar within-sector approaches to women in management.

Scott (2001:83-84) contends that "shared cultural-cognitive or normative frameworks or a common regulatory system" will also influence the development of

organizational fields. It can be argued that this is evident to some extent from the research. For example the legal requirements of the Audit Commission and the Gender Equality Duty appear to have contributed to the increase in representation of women in management in Local Government.

9.2.4 Objective 4: Make a contribution to the debates on gender inequality with particular reference to women in management.

This thesis contributes to the debates on gender inequality in management in a number of ways. Firstly it synthesised key elements of the gender regime (Connell, (2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007) and the inequality regime (Acker, 2000, 2006b) and developed these in order to create a new conceptual framework termed the *gender inequality regime* as set out in Figure 1. In doing so it created a broader framework for researching organizations and the lives of their women managers. Secondly, it recognised the importance of, not only systemic elements, acknowledged too by both Acker and Connell, but also the social and institutional system identified by Fagenson (1990, 1993) in her GOS approach. Having identified a gap in the literature of a lack of a framework within the women in management literature with which to research systemic factors, it then synthesised the *gender inequality framework* and business systems framework (Whitley, 1992) in order to analyse the systemic elements that contribute to the under-representation of women in management. Furthermore, this new conceptual framework, set out in Figure 3, also allowed an exploration, analysis and understanding of gender inequality regimes within business systems themselves. In addition, it synthesised into this framework three further key institutional elements: isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983); the regulative, the normative and the cultural-cognitive pillars (Scott, 2001); and path dependency as part of a broader historical dimension.

Thirdly, by recognizing the co-constitutive (Morgan, 2007) interactionist relationship between actors, organizations and institutions this framework set out in Figure 3, enables this process of co-constitution to be analysed, particularly in relation to incremental and discontinuous, exogenous and endogenous change and women's agency. It can also assist in analysing resistance to change.

Finally the use of a critical realist morphogenetic approach also assists in analysing the complex interchanges that result in systemic changes (Archer, 1982, 2010) and this and the agency/structure dimension can assist in understanding how women and other equality actors are constrained by structures such as background and proximate institutions and how actors, including women, individually or as part of social movements can act to change these institutions, or can fail to change these institutions.

9.3 Limitations and suggestions for future research

All research is to some extent limited. This cross-sectional research took place over a specific period of time in three business systems within Scotland. In addition the respondents were limited to women in core senior positions. However, despite this it is argued that a synthesis of the gender inequality and business systems frameworks represents an additional approach with which to analyse the under-representation of women in management.

Areas of future research might include research into women's experiences at more junior and middle management levels in these or other case study organizations, as well as women in management in sectors that are not in themselves institutions.

APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

Career

Current Job and Organization

Tell me about your current job?

What do you do?
How did you get this job?
What are your responsibilities?
What level are you at, in the organization?
How many women are there at your level?
Is your job one usually done by a man or a woman?
What qualities do you need to do your job well?
How would you describe your management style?
Is it different from your colleagues? Male colleagues? Female colleagues?
Does your organization have equal opportunities/managing diversity policies? Do these policies affect you? Have they helped you? What do you think of them?
How does someone get to the top of your organization? Do you think you could? If so, why? If not, why not?
Do you think you are judged in the same way as your male colleagues?
How is business done?
Can you describe a working week?

Career History

Tell me about your career?

How did it start?
What were your career ambitions?
Did you get any career advice? Who from?
How have you managed your career?
How did your career opportunities happen?
Have you always worked in Scotland? If not, where else? If not, have you noticed any differences between Scotland and elsewhere?
Is there anything particularly Scottish about the shape and form of your career?
Have you ever experienced sex discrimination? If so, please describe it?
Has anyone you know in your industry/organization experienced sex discrimination?
Did you have any career heroes/heroines? Do you have any now?

Career Aspirations

Tell me about your current career goals?

Do you have a career plan? If so, what is it?
How do you plan to achieve your career goals?
How confident are you about achieving your goals?
Do you want to go 'higher'?
What support will you need to achieve your career goals?
Are there any barriers to your career goals? If so, what are they?

Career Support

Tell me about your career support mechanisms?

What part does your family play in supporting your career?
What part do your friends play?
What part do your colleagues play?
What part do your senior managers play?
Do you have a mentor? Have you ever had a mentor? What do/did they do for you?
Are you a member of any professional association?
How do you network? How would you describe your network? Is it predominately male/female/or about equal?
Do you have more than one network?

Family Background

Tell me about your early life?

Where were you born? What did/does your father do? What did/does your mother do? How many brothers and sisters? What do they do?

Did any member of your family influence your career choices? If so how?

Where did you go to school? What was your experience of school?
What career messages did you get at school?

Did you go to university? What was your experience of university?
What career messages did you get at university?

What is your religion? Did your religion affect your family life? Did/does it affect your career choices? How does it impact on your life now?

Current Domestic Arrangements

Describe your work/life balance?

How do you split your time between work and the rest of your life? How do you feel about that split?
Is presenteeism an issue in your organization? What hours do you work? Can you describe a typical working week/days/hours worked?
If you have a partner:
What does your partner do for a living? Are you a 2-career family? If so, how do you deal with that? Does anyone's career come first?
How do you split the domestic workload? How do you feel about that split?
If you have children and a partner:

What are your childcare arrangements? How do you split the childrearing? How do you feel about that split?

How would you describe your social life?
Have you changed your career aspirations because of your partner/family?

Stereotypes

Beliefs concerning sex differences between men and women?

Beliefs concerning appropriate male and female behaviour?

Anything particularly Scottish? Related to your industry? Organization?

Additional Topics

Networks: Scottish networks, industry networks, organizational network?
Are networks linked to sport, i.e. golf, football, rugby

Sport: Influence of football (religion), golf

Way business is done formally and informally

Pay gap

Demographics

Age	Children	Ethnicity	Nationality
Marital Status	Parents	Religion	Mobility
Qualifications			

References

Aberdeen Asset Management (2012) *Our history* [online] (cited 23 June 2012). Available from http://www.aberdeen-asset.com/aam.nsf/AboutUs/expertisehistory

Acheson, G. G., Hickson, C. R. and Turner, J. D. (2011) 'Organisational flexibility and governance in a civil-law regime: Scottish partnership banks during the Industrial Revolution' *Business History* 53:4, pp. 505-529.

Achur, J. (2011) *Trade union membership 2010* [online] (cited 3 February 2012). Available from http://www.bis.gov.uk/assets/biscore/employment-matters/docs/t/11-p77-trade-union-membership-2010.pdf

Acker, J. (2000) 'Revisiting class: thinking from gender, race and organizations, *Social Politics,* Summer*,* pps. 192-214.

Acker, J. (2006a) 'The gender regime of Swedish banks', *Scandinavian Journal of Management,* Vol. 22, pps. 195-209.

Acker, J. (2006b) 'Inequality regimes: gender, class and race in organizations, *Gender and Society,* Vol. 20, No. 4, pps. 441-464.

Acker, J. (2009) 'From glass ceiling to inequality regimes' *Sociologie du travail,* Vol. 51, pps. 199-217.

Acker, J. (2012) 'Gendered organizations and intersectionality: problems and possibilities', *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, Vol. 31, No. 3 pps. 214 – 224.

Ackrill, M. and Hannah, L. (2001) *Barclays: the business of banking 1690-1996,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Adler, N. J. and Izraeli, D. (1988) 'Women in Management Worldwide', in Adler, N. J. and Izraeli, D. (eds) *Women in Management Worldwide,* Armonk, NY, M E Sharpe.

Alliance Trust (2012) *Alliance Trust: investing for generations,* [online] (cited 23 June 2012). Available from http://www.alliancetrust.co.uk/

Alpern, S. (1993) 'In the beginning: a history of women in management' in Fagenson, E. A. (ed) *Women in management: trends, issues, and challenges in managerial diversity,* Newbury Park, Sage.

Alvesson, M. and Due Billing, Y. (1997) *Understanding Gender and Organizations*, London, Sage.

Anderson, V. (2009) *Research methods in human resource management* (2nd edn), London, CIPD.

Archer, M. S. (1982) 'Morphogenesis versus structuration: on combining structure and action' *The British Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 32, No. 4, pp. 455-483.

Archer, M. S. (1995) *Realist social theory: the morphogenetic approach,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M. S. (2003) *Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Archer, M. S. (2010) 'Morphogenesis versus structuration: on combining structure and action' *The British Journal of Sociology,* London School of Economics, Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Arnot, M. (1986) 'State education policy and girls' educational experiences' in Beechey, V. and Whitelegg, E. (eds) *Women in Britain today,* Milton Keynes, Open University Press, pp132-172.

ATL (2008) *ATL Scotland: Spring 2008* [online] (cited 14 February 2009). Available from http://www.atl.org.uk/Images/ATL%20Scotland%20spring%202008.pdf

Audit Scotland (2005) *Council-wide indicators* [online] (cited 27 June 2012). Available from http://www.audit-scotland.gov.uk/performance/docs/2005/service/compCorpM05.pdf

Audit Scotland (2012) *Performance Indicators: Services – Corporate Management* [online] (cited 27 June 2012). Available from http://www.audit-scotland.gov.uk/performance/service/

Barbour, R. S. and Members of WoReN (2000) 'Acquiring qualitative skills for primary care research. Review and reflections on a three-stage workshop. Part 2: analysing interview data' *Family Practice,* Vol.17, No.1, pp.83-89.

Bartol, K. M. (1978) 'The sex structuring of organisations: a search for possible causes', *Academy of Management Review,* 3:805-815.

Bátiz-Lazo, B. and Wardley, P. (2005) 'Banking on change: information systems and technologies in UK High Street banking, 1919-1979' in Degos, J. G. and Trébucq, S. (eds.) *L'entreprise, le chiffre et le droit*, Bordeaux, pp. 29-51.

Baur, C. (1978) *The Scotsman,* 18 September.

BBC (nd) *Women's hour: women's history timeline* [online] (cited 15 May 2012). Available from http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/womanshour/timeline/1920.shtml
BBC (2003) 'Working mums 'harm child's progress'', *BBC News* [online] (cited 25 March 2011. Available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/3267561.stm

BBC (2008a) *Labour foot soldiers fall away* [online] (cited 5 July 2008). Available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/7320255.stm

BBC (2008b) *Labour unveils new top official* [online] (cited 5 July 2008). Available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/7227017.stm

BBC (2009) 'Working mothers' children unfit', *BBC News* [online] (cited 4 January 2012). Available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/health/8278742.stm

Beechey, V. (1986) 'Women's employment in contemporary Britain' in Beechey, V. and Whitelegg, E. (eds) *Women in Britain today,* Milton Keynes, Open University Press, pp77-131.

Berg, M. (1998) 'What difference did women's work make to the Industrial Revolution' in Sharpe, P. (ed) *Women's work: the English experience 1650-1914,* London, Arnold, pp 149-172.

Bhaskar, R. (2010) *Reclaiming reality: a critical introduction to contemporary philosophy,* London, Routledge.

BIS (2010) *BIS Small Business Survey 2010: Women-led businesses boost* [online] (cited 4 September 2012). Available from http://www.bis.gov.uk/assets/biscore/enterprise/docs/b/11-1078-bis-small-business-survey-2010-women-led-businesses-boost.pdf

Bollinger, L. and O'Neill, C. (2008) *Women in media careers: success despite the odds,* Lanham, Maryland, University Press of America, Inc.

Brenner, O., Tomkiewicz, J. and Schein, V. E. (1989) 'The relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics revisited', *Academy of Management Journal,* Vol, 32, no. 3, pp 662-669.

Brown, C. G. (2006) 'Religion' in Abrams, L., Gordon, E., Simonton, D. and Yeo, E. J. (eds) *Gender in Scottish history since 1700,* pp. 84-110.

Bruggeman, D. (2002) 'NASA: a path dependent organization' Technology in Society, Vol. 24, pp. 415-431.

Bryman, A. (2004) *Social research methods,* (2nd edn), Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. and Bell, E. (2007) *Business research methods* (2nd edn), Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Burness, C. (2010) *In search of 50/50*, Active Learning Centre, University of Glasgsow.

Calas, M.B. and Smircich, L. (1996) 'From the women's point of view: feminist approaches to organization studies' in Clegg, S. R., Hardy, C. and Nord, W. R. (eds) *Handbook of Organization Studies,* London, Sage.

Carrell, *S*. (2012) 'A little less male, pale and stale as Scots elect more women councillors' *Guardian,* 7 May 2012 [online] (cited 17 June 2012). Available from http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/scotland-blog/2012/may/07/more-scottish-women-councillors

Castle, B. (1993) *Fighting all the way,* London, Macmillan.

Cawood, A. (2006) *Report of TUC Women's Committee (TUCWC) held on Tuesday 9th May 2006,* [online] (cited 11 December 2006). Available from http://www.aslef.org.uk/Shared_ASP_Files/UploadedFiles/aslef/B83425B2-6311-44F8-B839-95626768BC33_TUCWCReport.pdf

Certification Officer (2011a) *Annual Report of the Certification Officer 2010-2011,* [online] (cited 30 April 2012). Available from http://www.certoffice.org/Publications/Annual-Reports.aspx

Certification Officer (2011c) *Independent Federation of Nursing in Scotland* [online] (accessed 30 April 2012). Available from http://www.certoffice.org/Nav/Trade-Unions/Independent-Federation-of-Nursing-in-Scotland.aspx

Certification Officer (2011d) *Scottish Artists Union* [online] (cited 30 April 2012). Available from http://www.certoffice.org/Nav/Trade-Unions/Scottish-Artist-Union.aspx

Certification Officer (2012a) *Association of Headteachers and Deputes in Scotland Annual Return 2012,* [online] (cited 30 April 2012). Available from http://www.certoffice.org/Nav/Trade-Unions/Association-of-Headteachers-and-Deputes-in-Scotlan.aspx

Chandler, A. D. and Daems, H. (1980) 'Introduction' in Chandler, A. D. and Daems H. (eds) *Managing Hierarchies,* Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing grounded theory: a practical guide through qualitative analysis*, London, Sage Publications Ltd.

Chelell, K. (2008) 'Female partners defy glass ceiling in record numbers' *The Lawyer,* 10 October 2012

Church of England (2012) *Women bishops* [online] (cited 25 February 2012). Available from http://www.churchofengland.org/our-views/women-bishops.aspx

Church of Scotland (2012) 'How we are organised' [online] (cited 16 June 2012). Available from http://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/about_us/how_we_are_organised

CIPD (2011) 'Sex discrimination, sexual orientation, gender reassignment and employment', CIPD Factsheet [online] (cited 14 February 2012). Available from http://www.cipd.co.uk/hr-resources/factsheets/sex-discrimination-sexual-orientation-gender-reassignment-employment.aspx

Clark, A. (1992) *Working life of women in the seventeenth century,* (3rd edn), London, Routledge.

Cohen, L. E., Broschak, J. P. and Haveman, H. A. (1998) 'And then there were more? The effect of organizational sex composition on the hiring and promotion of managers', *American Sociological Review,* 63:711-727.

Connell, R. W. (1987) *Gender and power,* Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Connell, R. W. (1991) 'Live fast and die young: the construction of masculinity among young working-class men on the fringes of the labour market' *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 27(2), 141-171.

Connell, R. W. (2002) *Gender: short introductions,* Cambridge, Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. (2005) 'Advancing gender reform in large-scale: a new approach for practitioners and researcher *Policy and Society*, Vol. 24, No.4, pps. 5-24.

Connell, R. W. (2006a) 'Glass ceilings or gendered institutions? Mapping the gender regimes of public sector worksites' *Public Administration Review,* November/December, pps. 837-849.

Connell, R. W. (2006b) 'The experience of gender change in public sector organizations' *Gender, Work and Organization,* Vol. 13, No. 5, pps. 435-452.

Connell, R. W. (2007): News from the coalface: experiences of gender reform by the staff of public sector agencies, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 9:2, pps. 137-153.

Corr, H. (1990) 'An exploration into Scottish education' in Fraser, W. H. and Morris, R. J. (eds) *People and Society in Scotland 1930-1914, Vol.2,* Edinburgh, Birlinn Ltd., pp.290-309.

Craigen, J. (1989) 'The Scottish TUC: Scotland's Assembly of Labour' in Donnachie, I., Harvie, C. and Wood, I. S. (eds) *Forward! Labour politics in Scotland 1888-1988*, Edinburgh, Polygon, pps. 130-155.

Crompton, R. and Le Feuvre, N. (2000) 'Gender, family and employment in comparative perspective: the realities and representations of equal opportunities in Britain and France' *Journal of European Social Policy,* Vol 10, No.4, pps. 334–348.

Cubie, A. (2002) 'The legal profession' in Hassan, G. and Warhurst, C. (eds) *Anatomy of the new Scotland: power, influence and change,* Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing Ltd.

Cunliffe, A. L. (2008) 'Social constructionism' in Thorpe, R. and Holt, R. (eds) *The Sage dictionary of qualitative research,* London, Sage Publications Ltd, pp. 200-202.

Davidoff, L. and Hall, C. (1998) ‘‘The hidden investment’: women and the enterprise’ in Sharpe, P. (ed) *Women’s work: the English experience 1650-1914,* London, Arnold, pp 239-393.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2005) ‘Introduction’ in N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds) *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd edn), Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, pp. 1-32.

Devine, T. M. (1999) *The Scottish nation: 1700-2000,* London, Penguin Books.

DiMaggio, P. J. and Powell, W. W. (1983) ‘The iron cage revisited: institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields’ American Sociological Review, Vol. 48, pp.147-60.

Dipboye, R. L. (1987) 'Problems and progress of women in management' in Koziara, K. S. et al (eds) *Working women: past, present, future,* Washington D.C., Bureau of National Affairs.

Djelic, M. L. and Quack, S. (2007) ‘Overcoming path dependency: path generation in open systems’ *Theory and Society,* Vol. 36, No. 2, pp.161-186.

Dobbin, S. and Sutton, R. (1998) ‘The strength of a weak state: the rights revolution and the rise of human resource management divisions’ *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 104, No. 2, pp. 441-476.

Dodge, K. A., Gilroy, F. D., & Fenzel, L. M. (1995) ‘Requisite management characteristics revisited: two decades later’ *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, *10*, 253–264.

Donnell, S. M. and Hall, J. (1980) 'Men and women as managers: a significant case of not significant differences' *Organizational Dynamics,* Vol. 8, no. 1, pp 60-77.

Dowsett, G. W. (1994). 'Working-class homosexuality, gay community, and the masculine sexual (dis)order'. *Sexological Review (Revue Sexologique)*, 2(2): 75-105.

Dyehouse, C. (2007) *Going to university: funding, costs, benefits,* [online] (cited 23 December 2011). Available from http://www.historyandpolicy.org/papers/policy-paper-61.html.

Eagly, A. H. and Carli, L. L. (2007) ‘Women and the labyrinth of leadership’ *Harvard Business Review,* September.

Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002) ‘Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders’ *Psychological Revie*w, 109, 573 – 598.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R. and Lowe, A. (1991) *Management researc*h, London, Sage.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R. and Lowe, A. (2002) *Management research: an introduction*, (2nd edn), London, Sage Publications.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R. and Lowe, A. (2008) *Management research: an introduction*, (3rd edn), London, Sage Publications.

Edelman, L. B., Uggen, C. and Erlander, H. S. (1999) 'The endogeneity of legal regulation: grievance procedures as rational myth' *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 105, No. 2, pp. 406-454.

EHRC (2009) *Financial services inquiry: sex discrimination and gender pay gap report of the Equality and Human Rights Commission*, Manchester, EHRC.

EHRC (2010) *How fair is Britain? Equality, human rights and good relations in 2010,* Manchester, EHRC.

EIS (2007) *EIS: our history* [online] (cited 3 February 2007). No longer available.

Elman, C. and O'Rand, A. M. (2004) 'The race is to the swift: socio-economic origins, adult education and wage attainment' *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 110, No. 1, pp. 123-160.

EOC (1983) *EOC Eighth Annual Report,* Manchester, EOC.

EOC (1997a) *Briefings on women and men in Britain: the labour market,* Manchester, EOC.

EOC (1997b) *Briefings on women and men in Britain: management and the professions,* Manchester, EOC.

EOC (1997c) *Briefings on women and men in Britain: pay,* Manchester, EOC.

EOC (2000) *Women and men in Britain: at the millennium,* Manchester, EOC.

EOC (2001a) *Facts about women and men in Great Britain 2001,* Manchester, EOC.

EOC (2001b) *The Gender pay gap: a research review,* Manchester, EOC.

EOC (2001c) *Facts about women and men in Scotland 2001,* Glasgow, EOC.

EOC (2002) *Women and men in Britain: management,* Manchester, EOC.

EOC (2003) *Facts about women and men in Great Britain 2003,* Manchester, EOC.

EOC (2006) *Facts about women and men in Great Britain 2006,* Manchester, EOC.

Erickson, A. L. (1992) 'Introduction' to Clark, A. *Working life of women in the seventeenth century* (3rd edn), London, Routledge.

EUROSTAT (1993) *Labour Force Survey: Results 1991,* Luxembourg, EUROSTAT.

Fagenson, E.A. (1990) 'At the heart of women in management research: theoretical and methodological approaches and their biases', *Journal of Business Ethics,* 9:2, 267-274.

Fagenson, E.A. (1993) *Women in management: trends, issues and challenges in managerial diversity,* Newbury Park, Sage.

Fagenson, E.A. and Jackson, J.L. (1994) 'The status of women managers in the United States' in Adler, N.J. and Izraeli, D. N. (eds) *Competitive frontiers: women managers in a global economy*, Cambridge Massachussets, Blackwell, pp. 389-404.

Fairley, J. (1998) 'Local authority education in a democratic Scotland', *Scottish Educational Review,* Vol.30, No.1, pps.61-72.

Falk, E. and Grizard, E. (2005) 'The glass ceiling persists: women leaders in communication companies', *Journal of Media Business Studies,* Vol. 2, No. 2, pps. 23-49 [online] (cited 26 January 2012). Available from http://www.jombs.com/articles/2005212.pdf

Fawcett Society (2012a) *If we're not at the table, we're on the menu: Fawcett's Facts and Stats on women and power* [online] (cited 16 September 2012). Available from http://fawcettsociety.org.uk/index.asp?PageID=1229

Fawcett Society (2012b) *Benefits and service cuts hitting women hardest* [online] (cited 14 June 2012). Available from http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/index.asp?PageID=1237

Financial Times (2011) *Government cuts hit women hardest*, 14 September 2011 [online] (cited 23 April 2012). Available from http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/baa24088-d57c-11e0-9133-00144feab49a.html#axzz20ubqfT2M

Fleetwood, S. (2007) *A note on critical realism in organisation and management studie*s [online] (cited 10 December 2011). Available from http://www.workandsociety.com/downloads/theo2.pdf

Fleetwood, S. and Ackroyd, S. (2004) 'Editors' introduction: critical realist applications in organisation and management studies' in Ackroyd, S. and Fleetwood, S. (eds) *Critical realist applications in organization and management research,* London, Routledge, pp.1-5.

Frenkiel, N. (1984) 'The Up and Comers: Bryant Takes Aim at the Settlers-In' *Adweek*, 26 March.

Fresh Look (2012) *Fresh look inside investment banking* [online] (cited 23 June 2012). Available from http://www.freshlookbanking.com/

Friedan, B. (1963) *The feminine mystique,* London, Penguin.

Friedland, R. and Alford, R. R. (1991) 'Bringing society back in: symbols, practices and institutional contradictions' in Powell, W. W. and DiMaggio, P. J. (eds) *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. 232-263.

Giddens, A. (2006) *Sociology* (5th edn), Cambridge, Polity Press.

Gladstone, D. (2002) 'Tripartite system' in Alcock, P., Erskine, A. and May, M. (eds) *The Blackwell dictionary of social policy,* Oxford, Blackwell Publishers Limited, p. 260.

Glasgow Herald (1964) *Bank for women only: carpets, music, coffee, and, of course, money,* 2 December 1964.

GMB (2007) *Annual Congress 2007: General Secretary's Report* [online] (cited 30 June 2008). Available from http://www.gmb.org.uk/Templates/Internal.asp?NodeID=95137&int1stParentNodeID=89673&int2ndParentNodeID=89738

GMB (2008a) *GMB structure: Central Executive Council* [online] (cited 30 June 2008). Available from http://www.gmb.org.uk/Templates/Internal.asp?NodeID=90359&int1stParentNodeID=89645&int2ndParentNodeID=89655

GMB (2008b) *GMB Rulebook* [online] (cited 30 June 2008). Available from http://www.gmbyorkshire.org.uk/downloads/pdfs/Rule_Book_2008.pdf

Gordon, E. and Breitenbach, E. (1990) *The world is ill divided: women's work in Scotland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

GROS (2011) *Scotland's population 2010 – The Registrar General's annual review of demographic trends* [online] (cited 28 April 2012). Available from http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/statistics/at-a-glance/annrev/2010/index.html

Guardian (2011) 'Working mothers do no harm to their children, research finds' [online] (cited 6 April 2012). Available from http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2011/jul/22/working-mothers-no-harm-children

Hakim, C. (1979) *Occupational segregation: a comparative study of the degree and pattern of the differentiation between men and women's work in Britain, the United States and other countries,* Research Paper No. 9, Department of Employment, November, 1979.

Hakim, C. (1996) *Key issues in women's work: female heterogeneity and the polarisation of women's employment,* London, The Athlone Press Ltd.

Hakim, C. (2000) *Research design: successful designs for social and economic research,* (2nd edn), London, Routledge.

Hakim, C. (2004) *Key issues in women's work: female diversity and the polarisation of women's employment,* (2nd edn) London, The Glass House Press.

Hall, C. (1982) 'The home turned upside down? The working class family in cotton textiles 1780-1850' in Whitelegg, E. et al (eds) *The changing experience of women',* Oxford, Martin Robertson and Company Ltd in association with The Open University, 17-29.

Hammersley M. (2004) 'Reflexivity' in Lewis-Beck, M.S. , Bryman, A. and Futing Liao, T. (eds) *The Sage encyclopaedia of social science research methods,* pp.933-935.

Hammond, V. and Holton, V. (1994) 'The Scenario for Women Managers in Britain in the 1990s', in Adler, N.J. and Izraeli, D.A. (eds) *Competitive Frontiers: Women Managers in a Global Economy,* Oxford, Blackwell, pp.224-242.

Haralambos, M. and Holborn, M. (2008) *Sociology: themes and perspectives,* (7th edn) London, HarperCollins.

Hassan, G. (2002) 'The paradoxes of Scottish Labour: devolution, change and conservatism' in Hassan, G. and Warhurst, C. (eds) *Tomorrow's Scotland*, London, Lawrence and Wishart.

Harvey, E. (1999) 'Short-term and long-terms effects of early parental employment on children of the national longitudinal survey of youth' *Developmental psychology,* Vol. 32, No. 2, pps. 445-459.

Hegelson, S. (1990) *The female advantage: women's ways of leadership,* New York, Doubleday Currency.

Henning, N. and Jardim, A. (1977). *The managerial woman*. London, Pan Books.

HESA (2012) Statistics – students and qualifiers at UK HE institutions [online] (Cited 28 June 2012). Available from http://www.hesa.ac.uk/content/view/1897/239/

High Fliers Research (2011) *New survey of final year university students reveals unprecedented demand for graduate jobs* [online] (cited 23 June 2012). Available from http://www.highfliers.co.uk/download/Release2011.pdf

High Fliers Research (2012) *New survey of final year university students reveals unprecedented demand for graduate jobs* [online] (cited 23 June 2012). Available from http://www.highfliers.co.uk/download/UKGCSRelease12.pdf

Hill, B. (1998) ' Women's history: a study in change, continuity or standing still?' in Sharpe, P. (ed) *Women's work: the English experience 1650-1914,* London, Arnold, pp 42-58.

HM Treasury (2002) SET for success: The supply of people with science, technology, engineering and mathematics skills [online] (cited 24 April 2012). Available from http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http:/www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/documents/enterprise_and_productivity/research_and_enterprise/ent_res_roberts.cfm

Hofstede, G. (1984) *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values,* Newbury Park, Sage.

Holdsworth, A. (1988) *Out of the doll's house: the story of women in the twentieth century,* London, BBC Books.

Holloway, I. (1997) *Basic concepts for qualitative research,* Oxford, Blackwell Science Ltd.

Hoque, K. and Noon, M. (2004) 'Equal opportunities policy and practice in Britain: evaluating the 'empty shell' hypothesis' *Work, employment and society*, Vol. 18(3): 481–506

Horner, M. (1972) 'Toward an understanding of achievement related conflicts in women', *Journal of Social Issues,* 28. 157-176.

Horrell, S. and Humphries, J. (1998) 'Women's labour force participation and the transition to the male-breadwinner family, 1790-1865, in Sharpe, P. (ed) *Women's work: the English experience 1650-1914,* London, Arnold, pp 172-204.

House of Commons Information Office (2010) *List of women MPs by election* [online] (cited 26 June 2012). Available from http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons-information-office/m04b.pdf

HSBC (2012) *HSBC guarantees staff a part-time role following maternity or paternity leave* [online] (cited 25 May 2012). Available from http://www.newsroom.hsbc.co.uk/press/release/hsbc_guarantees_staff_a_part_t

Hughes, V. (2001) 'How the famous five in Canada won personhood for women' London Canadian Journal, Vol. 17, pp.60-72.

Hutchins, E.L. (1915) *Women in modern industry,* London.

Independent (2011) *Church could have first women bishops by 2014* [online] (cited 16 April 2011). Available from http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/church-could-have-first-women-bishops-by-2014-6261932.html

Izraeli, D. N. and Adler, N. J. (1994) 'Competitive Frontiers: women managers in a global economy' in Adler, N. J. and Izraeli, D.N. (eds) *Competitive Frontiers: women managers in a global economy,* Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 3-21.

Jones, G. R. (1983) 'Life history methodology' in G. Morgan (ed) *Beyond method: strategies for social research,* Beverly Hills, Sage Publications, pp. 147-159.

Kanter, R. M. (1977) *Men and women of the corporation,* New York, Basic Books.

Keep, E. (1995) 'Vocational education and training for the young' in Sisson, K. (ed) *Personnel Management: a comprehensive guide to theory and practice in Britain,* Oxford, Blackwell, pp 299-333.

Kenny, M. and Mackay, F. (2012a) 'Male, pale and stale: Have women benefited in the council elections?', *Holyrood Magazine*, Issue 276, pp. 32-33.

Kenny, M. and Mackay, F. (2012b) More of the Same? Women and the Scottish Local Government Elections 2012 [online] (cited 15 June 2012), Available from: http://genderpoliticsatedinburgh.wordpress.com/2012/04/18/more-of-the-same-women-and-thescottish-local-government-elections-2012-5-2/

King, A. (1999) 'Against structure: a critique of morphogenetic social theory' *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 47, No. 2, pp.199-227.

King, N. (2004) 'Using interviews in qualitative research' in C. Cassell and G. Symon (eds) *Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research,* London, Sage Publicatons, 11-22)

Kirton, G. (2006) *The making of women trade unionists,* Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Kirton, G. and Greene, A. M. (2010) *The dynamics of managing diversity* (3rd edn)*,* Oxford, Butterworth Heinemann.

Kluckhohn, C. (1951) 'The Study of Culture', in Lerner, D. and Lasswell, H.D., eds) *The Policy Sciences,* Stanford CA, Stanford University Press.

Knox, W. W. (1999) *Industrial nation: work, culture and society in Scotland, 1800 – present,* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

Krug, B. (1997) 'Discrimination against women: a neo-institutionalist perspective' in Dijkstra, A. G. and Plantenga, J. (eds) *Gender in economics,* Abingden, Routledge.

Kumra, S. and Vinnicombe, S. (2010) 'Impressing for success: a gendered analysis of a key social capital accumulation strategy' *Gender, Work and Organization*. Vol. 17 No. 5, pps. 521-546.

Kvale, S. (1983) 'The qualitative research interview: a phenomenological and a hermeneutical mode of understanding' *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology,* 14: 171-96.

Kwolek-Folland, A. (1998) *Incorporating women: a history of women and business in the United States,* New York, Twayne Publishers.

Lane, C. (1992) 'European business systems: Britain and Germany compared' in Whitley, R. (ed) *European business systems: firms and markets in their national contexts,* London, Sage, pp 64-97.

Law Society (2011) *Diversity profile of the profession,* London, Law Society.

Lazonick, W. H. (1976) 'Historical origins of the sex based division of labour under capitalism: a study of the British textile industry during the Industrial Revolution' *Harvard Institute of Economic Research Discussion Paper,* No. 497.

Legge, K. (1978) *Power, innovation and problem-solving in personnel management,* London, McGraw Hill.

Legge, K. (1995) *Human resource management: rhetorics and realities*, London, Macmillan.

Lenman, B. (1977) *An economic history of modern Scotland 1660-1976),* London, B. T. Batsford Ltd..

Leonard, D. and Speakman, M. A. (1986) 'Women in the family: companions or caretakers' in Beechey, V. and Whitelegg, E. (eds.) *Women in Britain today*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Lunneborg, P. W. (1990) *Women's changing work,* New York, Greenwood Press.

Lupu, I. (2012) 'Approved routes and alternative paths: the construction of women's careers in large accounting firms. Evidence from the French Big Four' *Critical perspectives on accounting,* Vol. 23, pp.351-369.

Lynch, M. (1992) *Scotland: a new history,* London, Pimlico.

Lynch, P. and Birrell, S. (2004) 'The autonomy and organisation of Scottish Labour' in Hassan, G. (ed) *The Scottish Labour Party: history, institutions and ideas,* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, pp. 176-190.

Macdonald, L. O. (1999) *Women and the Ministry,* Glasgow, Wild Goose Publications.

Mackay, F. and Meier, P. (2003) 'Institutions, Change and Gender – Relations: Towards a Feminist New Institutionalism?' *European consortium of political research conference.*

Marketing Edinburgh (2012) *Strength in numbers – finance in Edinburgh* [online} (cited 22 June 2012). Available from http://www.edinburgh-inspiringcapital.com/invest/key_business_sectors/financial_services/strengths.aspx

Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. B. (1995) *Designing qualitative research,* Thousand Oaks, Sage.

Martin, P. Y., Harrison, D. and De Nitto, D. (1983) 'Advancement for women in hierarchical organizations: a multi-level analysis of problems and prospects' *Journal of applied behavioural science,* Vol. 19, pps. 19-33.

Mason, J. (2002) *Qualitative researching,* (2nd edn), London, Sage Publications.

Maver, I (1996) 'The Catholic Community' in Devine, T. M. and Findlay, R. J. (eds) *Scotland in the twentieth century,* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

McConnell, A. (2004) *Scottish local government,* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

McCrone, D. (1992) *Understanding Scotland: the sociology of a stateless natio*n, London, Routledge.

McCrone, D. (2001) *Understanding Scotland: the sociology of a nation* (2nd edn), London, Routledge.

McDonald, I. (2004) 'Women in management: an historical perspective', *Employee Relation*s, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp.307 - 319

McMunn, A. M., Nazroo, J. Y., Marmot, M. G. Boreham, R. and Goodman, R. (2001) 'Children's emotional and behavioural well-being and the family environment: findings from the Health Survey for England' *Social Science & Medicine*, Vol. 53, pps. 423–440.

Menter, I., Mahony, P. and Hextall, I. (2004) 'Ne'er the twain shall meet? : modernizing the teaching profession in Scotland and England', *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol.19, No.2, pps.195-214.

Metcalf, H. and Rolfe, H. (2009) *Employment and earnings in the finance sector: a gender analysis*, Manchester, EHRC.

Meyer, J. W. and Rowan, B. (1977) 'Institutionalized organizations: formal structure as myth and ceremony' *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 83, No. 2, pp.340-363.
Meyer, J. W. and Scott, R. W. (1983) *Organizational environments: ritual and rationality,* Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications Ltd.

Miles, R. (1988) *The Women's History of the World*, London, HarperCollins.

Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. (1994) *Qualitative data analysis,* Thousand Oaks, Sage.

Mills A. J. (1992) 'Organization, gender and culture' in Mills A. J. and Tancred, P. (eds) *Gendering Organizational Analysis,* pp 93-111.

Mitchell, B. R. (1962) *Abstract of British historical statistics,* London, Cambridge University Press.

Moore, C. and Booth, S. (1989) *Managing competition: meso-corporatism, pluralism and the negotiated order in Scotland,* Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Morgan (2007) 'National business systems research: progress and prospects' *Scandinavian Journal of Management,* Vol. 23, pp.127-145.

Morrison, A. M. and Von Glinow, M. A. (1990) 'Women and minorities in management' *American Psychologist,* 45:2, 200-208.

Munn, C. W. (1994) 'The emergence of Edinburgh as a financial centre in Cummings, A. J. G. and Devine, T. M. (eds) *Industry, business and society in Scotland since 1700,* Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd.

Munn, C. W. (2004) *The Committee of Scottish Bankers: Scottish banking history* [online] (cited 26 January 2012). Available from http://www.scotbanks.org.uk/banking_history.php

Murray, J. (2011) *20th century Britain: the woman's hour* [online] (cited 23 December 2011). Available from http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/jmurray_01.shtml#three.

Murray, J. H. (1984) *Strong-minded women and other lost voices from 19th century England,* London, Penguin Books Ltd..

Musson, G. (2004) 'Life histories' in C. Cassell and G. Symon (eds) *Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research,* London, Sage Publicatons, pp. 34-44).

Nee, V. and Cao, Y. (1999) 'Path dependent societal transformations: stratification in hybrid mixed economies' *Theory and Society,* Vol. 28, pp. 799-834.

Nieva, V. F. and Gutek, B. A. (1981) *Women and work: a psychological perspective,* New York, Praeger.

Noon, M. (2007) 'The Fatal Flaws of Diversity and the Business Case for Ethnic Minorities', *Work, Employment and Society,* 21 (4) 773-784.

North, D. C. (1990) *Institutions, institutional change and economic performance,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Novarra, V. (1980) *Women's work, men's work: the ambivalence of equality,* London, Marion Boyars.

NUT (2012) *National union of teachers: rules 2012-2013* [online] (cited 6 June 2012). Available from http://www.teachers.org.uk/files/active/0/national-rules-2012-13.pdf

Office of National Statistics (2001) *Labour market trends,* Vol.109, No.7.

Office of National Statistics (2005) *Time use survey* [online] (cited 23 April 2012]. Available from http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/search/index.html?newquery=time+use+survey+2005

Office of National Statistics (2009) *Labour force survey,* Table P [online] (cited 16 December 2011). Available from www.**ons**.gov.uk/**ons**/rel/lmac/working-and-workless.../table-p.xls

Office of National Statistics (2011a) *Annual survey of hours and earnings, 2010 revised results,* Table 14.1a [online] (cited 4 January 2012). Available from http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-238620

Office of National Statistics (2011b) *Labour Market Statistics,* September 2011, Table EMP16 [online] (cited 2 December 2011). Available from http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?newquery=*&newoffset=25&pageSize=25&content-type=Reference+table&edition=tcm%3A77-222431

Office of National Statistics (2012) *Labour Market Statistics*, January 2012, Table 12 [online] (cited 24 January 2012). Available from http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-metadata.html?edition=tcm%3A77-222467&next=tcm%3A77-222476

Ogbonna, E. and Wilkinson, B. (1990) 'Corporate strategy and corporate culture: the view from the checkout', *Personnel Review*, 19:4, 9-15.

Ogden, S. M. (2005) *Gender Balance in Management: the Finance Industry in Scotland, ESF Report*, Glasgow Caledonian University, pp 1-25

Oldenziel, R. (2000) ' Gender and scientific management: women and the history of the International Institute for Industrial Relations, 1922-1946', *Journal of Management History,* Vol. 6, No. 7, pp323-342.

Oleson, V. L. (2000) 'Feminisms and qualitative research at and into the millennium' in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds) *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd edn), Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, pp. 215-255.

Oliver, C. (1991) 'Strategic responses to institutional processes' *The Academy of Management Review,* Vol. 16, No. 1, pp.145-179.

O'Reilly, J. (1992) 'The societal construction of labour flexibility: employment strategies in retail banking in Britain and France' in Whitley, R. (ed) *European business systems: firms and markets in their national contexts,* London, Sage, pp 219-240.

Ozga, J. (2005) 'Modernizing the education workforce: a perspective from Scotland', *Educational Review*, 57:2, pps.207-219.

Parker, B. and Fagenson, E.A. (1994), ''An Introductory Overview of Women in Corporate Management' in Davidson, M J and Burke, R J (eds) *Women in Management: Current Research Issues,* London, Paul Chapman Publishing, pp. 1-28.

Perfect, D. (2011) *Equality and Human Rights Commission, briefing paper 2: gender pay gaps,* Manchester, EHRC.

Peters, B. G. (2005) *Institutional theory in political science* (2nd edn) London, Continuum International Publishing

Pierson, P. (2000) 'Increasing returns, path dependency and the study of politics' *The American Political Science Review,* Vol. 94, No. 2, pp.251-267.

Pinchbeck, I. (1969) *Women workers and the industrial revolution 1750-1850,* New York.

Pinchbeck, I. (1981) *Women workers and the industrial revolution 1750-1850* (3rd edn)*,* London, Virago.

Plummer, K. (1995) 'Life story research' in J.A. Smith, R. Harré and L. Van Langenhove (eds) *Rethinking methods in psychology*, London, Sage Publications, pp 50-63.

Powell, G. N. (1988) *Women and men in management,* Newbury Park, Sage.

Powell, G. N. (1993) *Women and men in management,* 2nd edn, Newbury Park, Sage.

Powell, G. N. (1999) 'Reflections on the glass ceiling' in Powell, G. N. (ed) *Handbook of gender and work,* Thousand Oaks, Sage.

Powell, G. N. (2000) 'The glass ceiling: good and bad news' in Davidson, M.J. and Burke, R.J. (eds), *Women in management: current research issues volume II,* London, Sage, pp.236-249.

Powell, G. N. and Butterfield, D. A. (1994) ' Investigating the "glass ceiling" phenomenon: an empirical study of actual promotions to top management', *Academy of Management Journal,* 37:68-86.

Powell, W. W. (2007) 'The New Institutionalism' [online] (cited 27 April 2012). Available from http://www.stanford.edu/group/song/papers/NewInstitutionalism.pdf

Pozzebon, M. (2007) 'The influence of a structurationist view on strategic management research' *Journal of management studies,* Vol. 41, No. 2, pp. 247-272.

Purcell, J. (1989) 'The impact of corporate strategy on human resource management' in Storey, J. (ed) *New perspectives on human resource management,* London, Routledge, pp. 67-91.

Ragins, B. R. (1991) 'Gender effects in subordinate evaluations of leaders: real or artifact?' *Journal of Organizational Behavior,* 12:259-268.

Ragins, B. R. and Winkel, D. (2011) 'Gender, emotion and power in work relationships' *Human Resource Management Review*, 21(4), 377-393.

Ragins, B. R., Townsend, B. and Mattis, M. (1998) 'Gender gap in the executive suite: CEOs and female executives report on breaking the glass ceiling' *Academy of Management Executive,* Vol 12, no.1;28-42.

Räsänen, K. and Whipp, R. (1992) 'National Business Recipes: A Sector Perspective' in Whitley, R (ed) *European Business Systems: Firms and Markets in their National Contexts,* London, Sage, pp. 46-60.

RBS (2012) Our female bank staff [online] (cited 23 June 2012). Available from http://heritagearchives.rbs.com/wiki/Our_female_bank_staff

Reed, M. I. (2003) 'The agency/structure dilemma in organization theory: open doors and brick walls' in Tsoukas, H. and Knudsen, C. (eds) *The Oxford handbook of organization theory: meta-theoretical perspectives,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 289-309.

Rendall, J. (1990) *Women in an industrializing society: England 1750-1880,* Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Riger, S. and Galligan, P. (1980) 'Women in management: an exploration of competing paradigms', *American Psychologist,* 35:10, 902-910.

Robson, C. (1993) *Real world research: a resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers,* Oxford, Blackwell Publishers.

Robson, C. (2011) *Real world research* (3rd edn), Chichester, John Wiley and Sons Ltd.

Roper, M. (1994) *Masculinity and the British organization man since 1945,* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Rudman, L. A. and Glick, P. (2001) 'Prescriptive gender stereotypes and backlash toward agentic women' *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 732–762.

Ryan, M. K. and S. A. Haslam (2005). 'The glass cliff: evidence that women are over-represented in precarious leadership positions', *British Journal of Management*, 16, pp. 81–90.

Sauboorah, J. (2011) *Bar Barometer: trends in the profile of the Bar* [online] (cited 16 March 2012). Available from http://www.barcouncil.org.uk/media/18142/barbjs.pdf

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (1997) *Research Methods for Business Students,* London, Pearson Professional Limited.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2003) *Research Methods for Business Students* (3rd edn) Harlow, Pearson Education Limited.

Saville, R. (1996) *Bank of Scotland: a history, 1695-1995,* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Sayer, A. (2000) *Realism and social science,* London, Sage Publications Ltd.

Sayer, A. (2004) 'Foreword: why critical realism?' in Fleetwood, S. and Ackroyd, S. (eds) *Critical realist applications in organisation and management research,* London, Routledge, pp. 6-19.

Schein, E. H. (1984) 'Coming to a new awareness of organizational culture' *Sloan Management Review,* Winter: 3-16.

Schein, E. H. (1985) *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, San Francisco, Jossey Bass.

Schein, V. E. (1973) 'The relationship between sex-role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics' *Journal of applied psychology,* Vol. 57, pps. 95-100.

Schein, V.E. (1994) 'Managerial sex typing: a persistent and pervasive barrier to women's opportunities' in Davidson, M. J. and Burke, R. J. (eds), *Women in management: current research issues,* London, Paul Chapman Publishing, pp. 41-52.

Schein, V. E. (2007) 'Women in management: reflections and projections' *Women in Management Review*, Vol. 22 No. 1, pp. 6-18.

Schein, V. E., and Davidson, M. J. (1993). '"Think manager–think male"—managerial sex typing among U.K. business students' *Management Development Review*, *6*, 24–28.

Schein, V. E. and Mueller, R. (1992) 'Sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics: a cross cultural look', *Journal of Organizational Behavior,* Vol 13, no. 5, pp 439-447.

Schein, V. E., Mueller, R., and Jacobson, C. (1989) 'The relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics among college students', *Sex Roles*, *20*, 103–110.

Schein, V. E., Mueller, R., Lituchy, T., and Liu, J. (1996). 'Think manager–think male: a global phenomenon?' *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *17*, 33–41.

Scott, W. R. (2001) *Institutions and organizations* (2nd edn), Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications Ltd.

Scott, J. and Tilly, L. (1982) 'Women's work and family in nineteenth-century Europe' in Whitelegg, E. et al (eds), *The changing experience of women,* Oxford, Open University, pp. 45-70.

Scottish Enterprise (2012) *Asset servicing* [online] (cited 20 June 2012). Available from http://www.scottish-enterprise.com/your-sector/financial-services/overview/asset-servicing.aspx

Scottish Executive (2004) *National Planning Framework for Scotland,*[online] (cited 21 June 2005) Available from http://www.scotland.gov.uk/library5/planning/npf04-00.asp

Scottish Executive (2005) A joint industry-government strategy for the Scottish financial services industry, [online] (cited 3 October 2007). Available from http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/03/20865/54747

Scottish Executive (2006a) *Public sector employment in Scotland: statistics for 2nd quarter 2006,* [online] (cited 11 January 2007). Available from http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2006/09/12102423/0

Scottish Financial Enterprise (2011) *Financial services in Scotland* [online] (cited 31 January 2011). Available from http://www.sfe.org.uk/financial-services-in-scotland.aspx

Scottish Government (2010a) The framework for the spending of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) for the Regional Competitiveness and Employment Programme for Scotland for 2007-2013, [online] (cited 24 March 2012). Available from http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2010/05/25142835/15

Scottish Government (2010b) Financial and Business Services Key Sector Report [online] (cited 16 April 2012). Available from http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2010/02/15090915/7

Scottish Government (2010c) *Public sector reform,* [online] (cited 19 February 2011). Available from http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Government/PublicServiceReform

Scottish Government (2011a) *The strategy for the financial services industry in Scotland, Sixth Annual Report April 2010-March 2011,* [online] (cited 24 January 2012). Available from http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2011/03/17093117/0

Scottish Government (2011b) *History of local government in Scotland,* [online] (cited 10 February 2011). Available from http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Government/local-government/localg/history

Scottish Government (2012a) *Local government employment,* [online] (cited 22 June 2012). Available from http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Labour-Market/PublicSectorEmployment/LAPSE#top

Scottish Government (2012b) *Public sector equality duties*, [online] (cited 22 June 2012). Available from http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/People/Equality/PublicEqualityDuties

Scottish Labour (2006) *How the party works* [online] (cited 10 December 2006). Available from http://www.scottishlabour.org.uk/howthepartyworks/

Scottish Labour (2011) *Scottish Labour People* [online] (cited 6 June 2011). Available from http://www.scottishlabour.org.uk/home

Sealy, R. (2012) *Childcare cost is biggest barrier to women reaching board level*, The Telegraph, 20 March 2012.

Sealy, R., Singh, V. and Vinnicombe, S. (2007) *The female FTSE report 2007: a year of encouraging progress,* Cranfield, Cranfield University School of Management.

Sealy, R. and Vinnicombe, S. (2012) *The female FTSE board report 2012: milestone or millstone,* Cranfield, Cranfield University School of Management.

Sechrest, L. J. (1993) *Free banking: theory, history and a laissez-faire model,* Westport, CT, Quorum Books.

Sharpe, P. (1998) 'Introduction' in Sharpe, P. (ed), *Women's work: the English experience 1650-1914,* London, Arnold, pp. 1-17.

Shepherd-Robinson, L. and Lovenduski, J. (2002) *Women and candidate selection in British politics* [online] (cited 4 June 2008). Available from http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/index.asp?PageID=883

Silverman, D. (2000) *Doing qualitative research: a practical handbook,* London, Sage.

Slaven, A. (1975) *The development of the west of Scotland: 1750-1960,* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Smircich, L. (1983) 'Concepts of culture and organizational analysis' *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 28:3, 339-358.

Smith, J.A. (1995) 'Semi-structured interviewing and qualitative analysis' in J.A. Smith, R. Harré and L. Van Langenhove (eds) *Rethinking methods in psychology*, London, Sage Publications, pp. 9-26.

Smout, T. C. (1997) *A century of the Scottish people: 1830-1950,* London, Fontana Press.

Smout, T. C. (1998) *A history of the Scottish people: 1560-1830,* London, Fontana Press.

Snell, K. D. M. (1998) ' Agricultural seasonal unemployment, the standard of living, and women's work, 1690-1860 in Sharpe, P. (ed), *Women's work: the English experience 1650-1914,* London, Arnold, pp 73-121.

Spence (2011) *Social Trends 41: the labour market,* London, HMSO.

SSTA (2012a) *Welcome to the SSTA website* [online] (cited 6 June 2012). Available from http://www.ssta.org.uk/page.php?10

SSTA (2012b) *Join the SSTA* [online] (cited 6 June 2012). Available from http://www.ssta.org.uk/page.php?16

Stace, D. and Dunphy, D. (1988) 'Beyond Traditional Paternalistic and Developmental approaches to Organizational Change and Human Resource Strategies', *International Journal of Human Resource Management,* 2:4.

Storey, J. (1992) *Developments in the management of human resources,* Oxford, Blackwell.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990) Basics of qualitative research: grounded theory procedures and techniques, Newbury Park, CA, Sage Publications Inc.

Streek, W. and Thelen, K. (2005) 'Introduction: institutional change in advanced economies' in Streek, W. and Thelen, K. (eds) *Beyond continuity: institutional change in advanced political economies,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp.1-39.

STUC (2006) *The STUC is Scotland's trade union centre* [online] (cited 10 December 2006). Available from http://www.stuc.org.uk/the-stuc/welcome

STUC (2008) *Report of General Council to Annual Congress 2008,* Glasgow, STUC.

STUC (2012) *People at the STUC* [online] (cited 6 September 2012). Available from http://www.stuc.org.uk/about/people

Telegraph (2011a) 'Working mothers spend 81 minutes a day looking after their children' [online] (cited 4 April 2012). Available from http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/8408503/Working-mothers-spend-81-minutes-a-day-looking-after-their-children.html

Telegraph (2011b) 'New mothers told it's better to go back to work' [online] (cited 4 April 2012). Available from http://www.telegraph.co.uk/family/8652948/New-mothers-told-its-better-to-go-back-to-work.html

Terborg, J. (1977) 'Women in management: a research review' *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 62:6, 647-664.

Terborg, J. R. (1981) 'Interactional psychology and research on human behavior in organizations', *Academy of Management Review*, 6, 569-576.

Thelen, K. (2002) 'How institutions evolve: insights from comparative-historical analysis' in Mahoney, J. and Rueschemeyer, D. (eds) *Comparative historical analysis in the social sciences,* New York, Cambridge University Press, pp. 208-240.

Thompson, P. and McHugh, D. (1995) *Work Organisations: a critical introduction,* (2nd edn), London, Macmillan.

Thursfield, D. and Hamblett, J. (2004) 'Human resource management and realism: a morphogenic approach' in Fleetwood, S. and Ackroyd, S. (eds) *Critical realist applications in organization and management studies,* London, Routledge, pps.105-120.

Tilly, L. and Scott, J. (1978) *Women, work and family,* New York, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston (2nd edn) 1987, New York, Methuen.

Timberlake, S. (2005) 'Social capital and gender in the workplace' *Journal of Management Development,* Vol. 24 No. 1, pp. 34-44.

Times (2012) *Top 50 Employers for Women*, 19 April 2012 [online] (cited 26 June 2012). Available from http://www.bitcdiversity.org.uk/awards/on_awards_2012/the_times_top_50.html

Torrington, D. (1989) ' Human resource management and the personnel function' in Storey, J. (ed) *New perspectives on human resource management,* London, Routledge, pp 56-66.

Torrington, D. and Hall, L. (1991) *Personnel management: a new approach,* (2nd edn) London, Prentice Hall International (UK) Ltd.

Tsebelis, G. (2002) *Veto players: how political institutions work,* Princeton, Princeton University Press.

TUC (2007) *General Council Annual Report to Congress 2007* [online] (cited 4 August 2008). Available from http://www.tuc.org.uk/the_tuc/tuc-15379-f0.cfm

TUC (2012a) *Scotland contacts* [online] (cited 18 September 2012). Available from http://www.tuc.org.uk/tuc/regions_contacts_scot.cfm?regional=0

TUC (2012b) *TUC education in Scotland* [online] (cited 18 September 2012). Available from http://www.tuc.org.uk/tuc/regions_info_scot.cfm

TUC (2012c) *About the TUC* [online] (cited 18 September 2012). Available from http://www.tuc.org.uk/the_tuc/about_makingpolicy.cfm

TULO (2008) *TULO* [online] (cited 6 July 2008). Available from http://www.unionstogether.org.uk/NationalTULO.html

Twomey, B. (2002) 'Women in the labour market: results from the Spring 2001 LFS' *Labour market trends,* pp. 109-127.

UCU (2008) *UCU Scotland* [online] (cited 16 May 2008). No longer available.

UK Parliament (nd) *Women in British politics* [online] (cited 26 June 2012). Available from http://www.parliament.uk/education/online-resources/parliament-explained/women-in-politics/

UNISON (2012) *Scottish Government sets up "Women's Employment Summit" as Congress highlights impact of occupational segregation* [online] (cited 3 May 2012). Available from http://www.unison-scotland.org.uk/stuc2012/11.html

UNISON (2012b) *UNISON Rule Book* [online] (cited 21 September 2012). Available from http://www.unison.org.uk/acrobat/20975.pdf

Van Der Heijden, J. (2011) 'Institutional layering: a review of the use of the concept' *Politics,* Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 9-18.

Vatican (1994) Apostolic Letter *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* of John Paul II to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on reserving priestly ordination to men alone [online] (cited 16 March 2012). Available from http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_letters/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_22051994_ordinatio-sacerdotalis_en.html

Vatican (1995) *Letter to women of John Paul II* [online] (cited 16 March 2012). Available from http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/letters/documents/hf_jp-ii_let_29061995_women_en.html

Vinnicombe, S., Sealy, R., Graham, J. and Doldor, E. (2010) *The Female FTSE Board Report 2010,* Cranfield University School of Management [online] Accessed 2 December 2011. Available from http://www.som.cranfield.ac.uk/som/ftse

Walby, S. (1997) *Gender transformations,* London, Routledge.

Wass, V. and McNabb, R. (2006) 'Pay, promotion and parenthood amongst women solicitors' *Work, Employment and Society,* Vol. 20, pp. 289-308.

Watson, I. (1993) 'Life history meets economic theory: the experiences of three working-class women in a local labour market' *Work, Employment and Society,* vol.7, No. 3, pp. 411-435.

White, L. (1992) 'Free banking in Scotland before 1844' in Dowd, K. (ed) *The experience of free banking,* London, Routledge, pps. 157-186.

Whitley, R. (1992a) 'Societies, firms and markets: the social structuring of business systems' in Whitley, R. (ed) *European business systems: firms and markets in their national contexts,* London, Sage, pp 5-45.

Whitley, R. (1992b) 'The social construction of organizations and markets: the comparative analysis of business recipes' in Reed, M. and Hughes, M. (eds) *Rethinking organization: new directions in organization theory and analysis,* London, Sage, pp120-143.

Whitley, R. (1999) *Divergent capitalisms: the social structuring and change of business systems,* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Williams, C. L. (1992) 'The glass escalator: hidden advantages for men in the "female" professions *Social Problems,* Vol. 39, No. 3, pp 253-267.

Wilsford, D. (1994) 'Path dependency, or why history makes it difficult but not impossible to reform health care systems in a big way' Journal of Public Policy, Vol. 14, No. 3, pp.251-283.

Woollacott, A. (1994) 'Maternalism, professionalism and industrial welfare supervisors in World War 1 Britain' *Women's History Review,* Vol, 3, No. 1, pp 29-56.

Women's Enterprise Policy Group (2011) *A Multi Billion £ Opportunity: The Untapped Growth Potential of UK Women Entrepreneurs* [online] (cited 5 September 2012). Available from http://www.enterprising-women.org/images/pages/9337/ew_women_s_enterprise_briefing_wepg_september_2011_1_copy.pdf

Wood, F. (1989) 'Scottish Labour in government and opposition, 1964-1979, in Donnachie, I., Harvie, C. and Wood, I. S. (eds) *Forward! Labour politics in Scotland 1888-1988*, Edinburgh, Polygon, pp. 99-129.

Yin, R. (1994), *Case study research: design and methods*, Thousand Oaks, Sage.

Zucker, L. G. (1977) 'The role of institutionalization in cultural persistence' *The American Sociological Review,* Vol. 42, No. 5, pp.726-743.