

EUROPEAN WOMEN IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

THEIR PERCEPTION OF DISCRIMINATION AT WORK

C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
I. DATA RELATING TO FACTUAL INFORMATION	3
A. Personal characteristics of women in paid employment	3
B. The employer and the job	8
II. DATA RELATING TO OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES	17
A. The advantages and disadvantages for women	17
B. Actual experience of discrimination	33
C. Initiatives taken to ensure equality between men and women at work	38
CONCLUSIONS	40



THIS TEXT IS A SUMMARY OF A STUDY CARRIED OUT IN THE NINE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AT THE REQUEST OF THE COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT FOR WOMENS RIGHTS.

AN IDENTICAL QUESTIONNAIRE OF SOME THIRTY QUESTIONS WAS USED, IN JUNE AND JULY 1980, TO INTERVIEW REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLES OF WOMEN IN PAID EMPLOYMENT, AGED 15 AND OVER, (3 392 IN TOTAL), WHO WERE PERSONALLY INTERVIEWED IN THEIR HOMES BY PROFESSIONAL INTERVIEWERS. THE CRITERION USED FOR SELECTING THE SAMPLE WAS THAT THE WOMEN RECEIVED A WAGE, REGARDLESS OF THE TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT. CONSEQUENTLY, THE SAMPLE DOES NOT INCLUDE UNEMPLOYED WOMEN NOR THOSE WHO WERE CURRENTLY SEEKING WORK, NOR THE SELF-EMPLOYED.

THE STUDY WAS CONDUCTED BY NINE SPECIALIST INSTITUTES ; THE PRACTITIONERS OF THE "EUROPEAN OMNIBUS SURVEY", UNDER THE GENERAL CO-ORDINATION OF HELENE RIFFAULT, DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF "FAITS ET OPINIONS" IN PARIS.

THIS REPORT, WHICH WAS WRITTEN BY HELENE RIFFAULT, IN NO WAY BINDS THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY.

EUROPEAN WOMEN IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

Their perception of discrimination at work

SUMMARY

DECEMBER 1980

Copies of the study may be obtained upon request to :
Commission of the European Communities - Directorate-General Information
200, rue de la Loi - 1049 Brussels.

PART 1. DATA RELATING TO FACTUAL INFORMATION

In the nine countries of the Community, women in paid employment account for a population of around thirty million.

Before approaching the women to ask for their opinions, which was the primary objective of the study, it was necessary to collect a certain amount of descriptive material which would provide a better understanding of the personal and professional characteristics of these workers to be reached.

A. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

1. Age, level of education and entry into employment

Without doubt, age is the most familiar characteristic of this population. It is known that half of Europe's employed women are under 35 years old; it is also known that this figure varies considerably according to country, but until now figures on other important aspects of women's working lives were unavailable. For example, levels of education or professional training, or even the age at which they entered employment were unknown.

For many women in paid employment, formal education finishes early and they enter employment at an early age.

Question : *At what age did you leave school or college - that is, when did you finish your full-time education,?*

<u>Replies</u>	<u>EEC</u>		
14 or under	23))	
15	18)	58%)	
16	17))	86%
17	11))	
18	12))	
19	5))	
20	4		
21	3		
22 or over	7		
Total women in paid employment	100%		

Question : *At what age did you start in paid employment?*

Replies

16 or under	40	} 70%
17 - 19 years	30	
20 - 24 years	17	
25 - 29 years	4	
30 or over	9	
Total women in paid employment	<hr/> 100%	

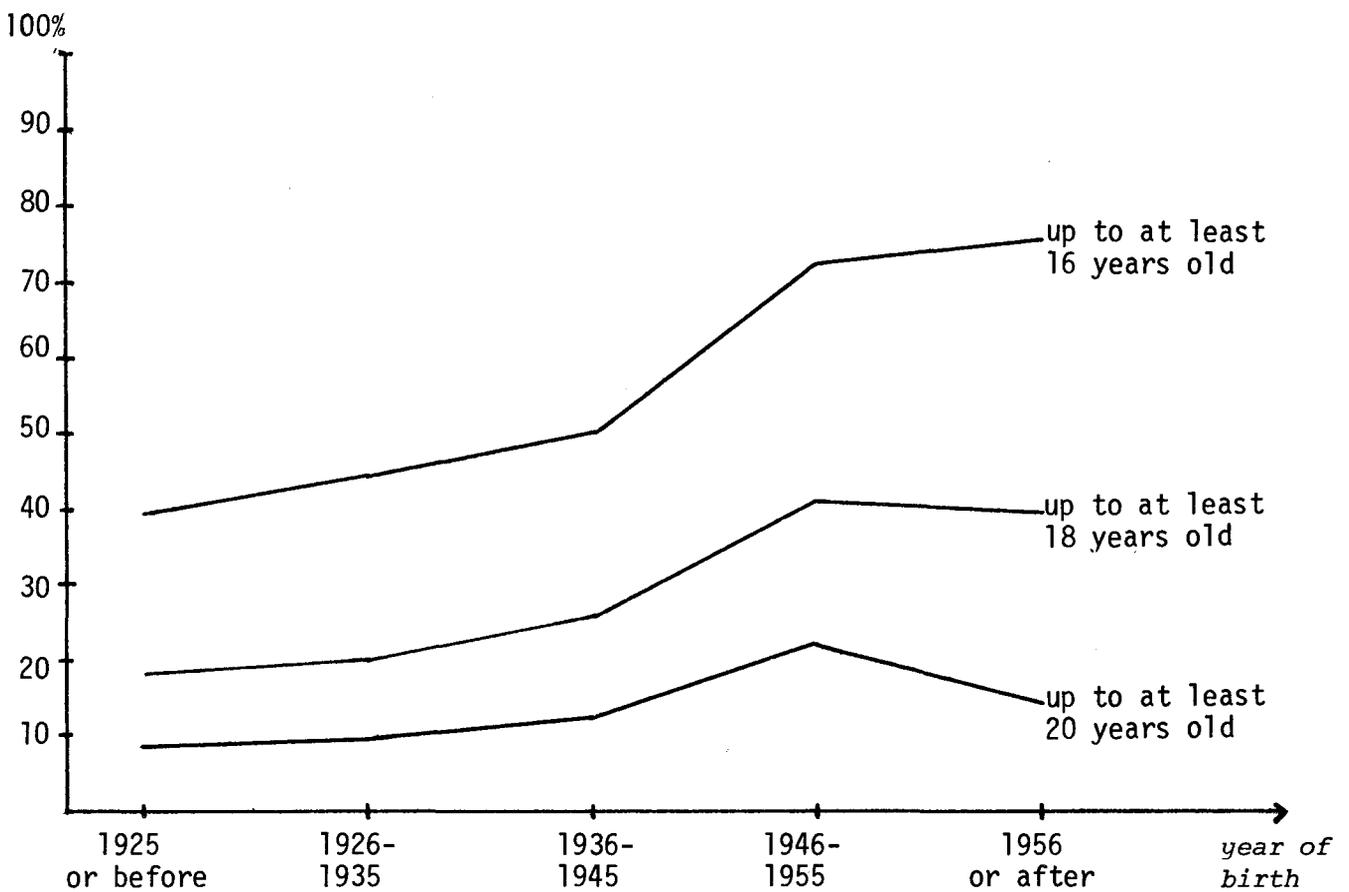
These two factors, terminal education age and age of entry into paid employment have developed over the generations. On the whole, young women in paid employment have studied for a longer period than their elders, as will be clearly seen from graph number 1. However, it is true that among the very young women in paid employment, those who are currently under 25 years old and who account for about six million (a fifth of the total, only 75% continued studying until they had reached 16, only 38% continued until they had reached 18 and only 12% continued until they were at least 20.

More precisely :

		<u>Average terminated age</u>
Hold no certificate or diploma	29%	14.9 years
Hold only a professional or technical qualification	9%	16.2 years
Hold a certificate of general education	25%	17.1 years
Hold both a certificate of general education and a professional or technical qualification	37%	17.6 years
Total of women in paid employment	<hr/> 100%	16.5 years

Graph number 1

LENGTH OF STUDIES, ACCORDING TO AGE
OF WOMEN CURRENTLY IN PAID EMPLOYMENT



NB. The reader should not be surprised by the bunching of the curves for the last age group. The survey was of all women in paid employment aged 15 and over, and it is clear that the youngest, because they are already working, have had less opportunity than the others to follow extended further education programmes.

The age at which women in paid employment begin their working lives is even more striking than their lack of qualifications. In particular, two thirds of women who have no qualifications were in paid employment from the age of 16.

The view that women have of the training they received is, overall, positive.

Question :

"Would you say that the training that you have had before starting work was useful or not for your employment so far?"

Replies :

Useful	52%
Not useful	20%
Have had no special training	25%
Don't know	3%
	<hr/> 100%

The longer the period of studies, the more likely were the women to find it useful.

2. In-service training

Studies which have been conducted on women in paid employment often stress the need for the development of in-service training. To date only a small minority of women in paid employment have undergone such training.

Questions :

- *"Have you, yourself, done a course of training paid for by your employer?"*
- *"Have you, yourself, done a course of training or re-training, paid for by the government or a professional body?"*

Replies :

	Have followed a course of training...	
	<u>Paid for by employer</u>	<u>Paid for by the government or a professional body</u>
Yes	20	11
No	80	89
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total of women in paid employment	100%	100%

In-service training is unevenly distributed across employment groups, but above all it must be stressed that it is clearly more available to those women who are already in possession of a qualification than to those who have no qualifications.

3. Interruption of work, voluntary or otherwise

Excluding legal maternity leave, the majority, 62%, of women in paid employment have never voluntarily stopped work.

However, one woman in five has been affected by unemployment. Since the proportion of women in paid employment who have voluntarily stopped work increases with age, it follows that the proportion of those who have been affected by unemployment is more pronounced among the younger women

Question : *Since you first started working have you ever voluntarily left your employment for a certain period? If yes, how much time in total have you stopped for, leaving out any leave of absence you had to take for maternity reasons?*

Never	62		
Less than 12 months	9)	
One or 2 years	6)	
2 - 5 years	7)	38%
More than 5 years	16)	
	<hr/>		
	100%		

Question : *Leaving out those times when you have voluntarily stopped work, have you ever experienced any periods of unemployment? If yes; about how long have you been unemployed in total?*

Never	79		
Less than 3 months	7)	
3 - 6 months	6)	
7 - 12 months	3)	21%
one to 2 years	3)	
more than 2 years	2)	
	<hr/>		
	100%		

(1) The adverb "voluntarily" as used here is taken to include the range of circumstances which may stop a woman working for a short period of time.

4. The family situation

Among women in paid employment, two out of three (65%) are married or living as married, the others are single being either spinsters (22%), widows (5%), or divorced or separated (7%).

In slightly less than one out of every two households there are one or more children under the age of fifteen.

Where the woman in paid employment is not the head of the household (as happens in about 75% of cases), for the most part the head of household is also in paid employment.

Given that the vast majority of women in paid employment are part of a household where there is another wage earner, the level of their household income is higher than their country's national average.

In contrast, the situation of those women in paid employment who are heads of household (as happens in 25% of cases), is very different. More exactly, leaving aside spinsters, who are for the most part young and still living with their parents, the remaining 12%, that is the widows and those divorced or separated, are found in the lowest quarter of their country's distribution of incomes.

B. THE EMPLOYER AND THE JOB

1. The employer

Publications from the Office of Statistics (Eurostat) show that the vast majority of all women in paid employment work in service industries, and the sample of women in paid employment interviewed in the current study substantiates this.

<u>Type of work</u>	<u>Eurostat</u>	<u>Sample</u>
Agriculture	1.3	1.2
Manufacturing Industry	29.5	25.2
Service Industries	69.1	73.6
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100	100

In the current study the women interviewed were asked to explain, as clearly as possible, the main activity of the firm where they worked; they may, however, have different criteria for defining this than do the statistical specialists. This is how they answered :

Question : *Do you work for the government, public administration a business, an individual.....?*

What kind of work is your present employed involved in?

To make it easier to understand the replies to these two questions have been combined; the results are shown in the table below :

Employment Sector	TYPE OF EMPLOYER				TOTAL
	PUBLIC ADMIN.	COMPANY	INDIVIDUAL	OTHER/ NO ANSWER	
AGRICULTURE		0.6	0.6	-	1.2
HEAVY OR LIGHT INDUSTRY		20.7	4.1	0.4	25.2
COMMERCE		12.7	6.8	1.0	20.5
SERVICES	7.5	6.8	6.6	1.0	21.9
EDUCATION	10.1	0.6	-	-	10.7
PUBLIC ADMIN.	14.3	-	-	-	14.3
OTHER/NO ANSWER	<u>1.6</u>	<u>1.6</u>	<u>2.3</u>	<u>0.7</u>	<u>6.2</u>
TOTAL	33.5	43.0	20.4	3.1	100

In this table all percentages are calculated on the base of all women in paid employment; 1% = approximately 300,000 women in paid employment.

The preceding table shows the great diversity in the type of employer. However, this table does not go far enough to give a distinct picture of the position of women in paid employment.

For example : Taking the largest segment of the female working population shown in the previous table, 20.7% or, alternatively, about 6,250,000 women in paid employment work in either a factory or workshop. The size of these workplaces varies as do the tasks that women perform. To simplify this, bearing in mind the sample size of the current study, the following categories can be distinguished :

HEAVY OR LIGHT INDUSTRY	PLACE OF WORK			TOTAL
	<u>FACTORY</u>	<u>OFFICE</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	
No. of employees....				
50 or under	2.1	2.3	0.7	5.1
50-499	5.8	3.3	0.4	9.5
500 and over	<u>3.3</u>	<u>2.3</u>	<u>0.4</u>	<u>6.1</u>
TOTAL	11.3	7.9	1.5	20.7

Admittedly, as far as small businesses are concerned (those with fewer than 50 employees) numerous differences arise when looking at the working lives of those employed in a factory or workshop as opposed to those who work in an office. Similarly, those women office workers in heavy or light industries may experience different working conditions, depending on whether they work for a firm employing less than 50 people or a firm employing over 500 people.

2. The job

Types of work are as diversified as the places of employment discussed above.

Type of appointment and length of service

Nine out of every ten women in paid employment (90%) work on a permanent basis; the others are equally divided into those who work under a short-term contract (5%) or as temporary staff (5%).

There are two important factors which distinguish the short-term or temporary appointments :

Age : 18% of short-term or temporary work is carried out by women under 25 years of age.

Type of employer : Out of about three million women who hold short-term or temporary appointments, 24% are government employed or work in public administration and 38% are employed by an individual; the remaining 38% are spread more or less evenly across the industrial, commercial and service sectors.

Length of service with her current employer will obviously vary according to the age of the woman. It can be seen that, contrary to popular opinion, the female workforce is quite stable. In total, one-quarter of women in paid employment have been with their present employer for at least ten years.

Question : *How long have you been working for your present employer?*

	<u>Total</u>	<u>45+ only</u>
Less than 1 year	18	9
One-4 years	35	22
5-9 years	22	29
10-14 years	12	16
15 years and over	<u>13</u>	<u>24</u>
	100%	100%

Of the different employers, the Government and public administration offer the greatest job security.

Full- or part-time

According to figures from a study of the workforce conducted in 1977 throughout the community, by the Office of Statistics, more than one-quarter of the active female workforce average less than 30 hours work a week. The current study has found similar results and can, moreover, offer additional information.

Apart from national differences, the principal factors influencing variation are :

Age : The proportion of women working less than 30 hours a week increases with age.

Marital status : 11% among spinsters and 40% among married women work part-time.

above all Type of job : 15-18% of women who work in a factory or office, 54% who work in teaching establishments and 64% of those who work alone work part-time.

All female or mixed working environment

Given that the main objective of the current survey is to examine discrimination experienced at work, it must be known whether the women who are being asked to express opinions work in an environment which included both men and women, or if it is exclusively female.

Two questions were asked :

Question : *Is your immediate superior at work a man or a woman?*

A man	68
A woman	28
No immediate superior	<u>4</u>
	100%

Question : *Are the people that you consider as colleagues at work both men and women, only women, only men or do you have no colleagues as such?*

Men and women	65
Only women	24
Only men	4
No colleagues as such	<u>7</u>
	100%

It appears that one-quarter of women in paid employment work in an all female environment and this would explain the relatively large number of women who, as will be seen later, think that they have a number of advantages compared with men at their place of work; the most notable of these is getting employment.

In Great Britain there is a higher incidence of women working in an all female environment than in any other country; Germany is, on the other hand, the country where this phenomenon is least widespread.

The exclusively female environment is associated with low levels of education and with small workforces (especially shops and establishments concerned with health or beauty care).

Considering the importance of this factor : the all-female environment, it is interesting to extend the analysis by means of combining the replies to the two questions concerning the sex of these women's immediate superiors and the sex of their colleagues :

SEX OF COLLEAGUES	SEX OF IMMEDIATE SUPERIOR			TOTAL
	Male	Female	No Superior	
Men and women	50	14	1	65
Only women	11	12	1	24
Only men	4	-	-	4
No colleagues	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>
	68%	28%	4%	100%

According to this table, half of the women in the sample work with both men and women, and work for a male boss; only 4% of women find themselves isolated in an all male environment with male colleagues and a male boss. Fourteen per cent of the sample work with both men and women but have a female boss. In all, 23% work with exclusively female colleagues, half of them working for a male boss and half for a woman. The size of this group (those who work in a female environment) varies from country to country.

FEMALE colleagues
only with:

	<u>MALE Superior</u>	<u>FEMALE Superior</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Belgium	14	12	26
Denmark	5	17	22
France	13	12	25
Germany	10	5	15
Great Britain	11	19	30
Ireland	10	15	25
Italy	11	9	20
Luxembourg	16	11	27
Netherlands	9	9	18
THE WHOLE COMMUNITY	11	12	23

The two extremes are illustrated by :

Germany : Only 15% of women work in an all female environment and only one in three work for a woman boss.

Great Britain : 30% of women work in an all female environment and two out of three work for a woman boss.

As will be seen later, it is in Germany that feelings of discrimination are most widespread while the opposite is true of Great Britain.

Responsibilities at work and suitability of job to abilities

In order to complete the section on work carried out by women in paid employment, two questions were asked referring to what they think of their level of responsibility at work and the utilization of their abilities.

Question : *Thinking about your present employment, would you say that :*

Yours is an ordinary job without much responsibility	26
Yours is an ordinary job with responsibilities	57
You belong to the staff or the administration	13)
You are part of the management	3) 16
No reply	<u>1</u>
	100

This question reveals clearly, if somewhat unexpectedly, the high level of involvement with their work, shown by women in paid employment: only one in four sees herself as having an ordinary job without much responsibility. This question also reveals the very small proportion of women in administration or management - only 16% of the total.

The replies have very little to do with age, but they are, however, tightly linked with the level of education received and with the level of family income.

Lack of responsibility is most strongly felt by those women working in small factories and, to a slightly lesser extent, by those who work in shops or on their own.

A greater proportion of women is to be found in administration or management in Great Britain than in any other country, remembering here that, as seen earlier, more women work in an all-female environment in Great Britain than elsewhere.

Question : *Would you say that in the work you are doing your abilities are being adequately used?*

Very adequately used	26
Adequately used	51
Not very well used	16)
Badly used	5) 21
No answer	<u>2</u>
	100%

Again it can be seen that the dominant view is one of satisfaction or relative satisfaction. However, the younger the worker the more likely she is to feel frustrated; these feelings are stronger among those in workshops or those who work alone and strongest of all in the most modest surroundings.

The levels of responsibility claimed by the respondents is correlated with feelings of whether or not they feel that their abilities are well employed. The replies, with regard to these two points, for all women in paid employment are distributed as follows :

	<u>Very adequately</u>	<u>Adequately</u>	<u>Not very adequately</u>	<u>Badly used</u>	<u>Don't know no answer</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Ordinary job & NO responsibilities	4	11	7	3	1	26
Ordinary job AND responsibilities	16	32	7	2	0	57
Staff or adminis- tration	4	7	1	0	1	13
Management	2	1	0	0	0	3
No answer/DK	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
TOTAL	26	51	16	5	2	100

It is clear that it is those with ordinary jobs who feel that their abilities are badly or not very well utilized; they account for around one in three of those in ordinary jobs who say that they have no responsibility (10 out of 26) and one in seven of those who claim to be in ordinary jobs with some responsibility (9 out of 57).

II DATA RELATING TO OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES

This second part of the report presents the opinions and the experiences of European women in paid employment, with regard to those aspects of their working life which they feel are affected by their being women.

A : THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES FOR WOMEN

The compilers of the questionnaire used in this study took pains to produce a method of interviewing which would reveal the true experiences of women in paid employment rather than any vague and stereotyped views.

The first part of the interview enabled each person being interviewed to describe, precisely, the fundamental characteristics of her working life and her own job. It was decided to continue using this personal context as a vehicle for questions about discrimination. It is from this standpoint that the questions acquired their relevance.

Four particularly important areas were to be studied : getting employment, training, promotion and salary levels. In order to find a way of avoiding a potential halo effect (that is, a tendency on the part of respondents to reply consistently in the same way to all question areas), the question was refined by the introduction of less important aspects, or at least those which provided little or no discriminatory information.

Consequently, we have a sound measurement of the women's opinions, based on their personal experiences.

1. Eight points where differences may arise

Question : Do you have the feeling that where you work at the moment it's an advantage or a disadvantage to be a woman rather than a man?

<u>Concerning:</u>	<u>Advantage</u>	<u>Dis advantage</u>	<u>difference</u>	<u>D/K</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
In getting a job in the first place	27	13	55	5	100
For being considered for promotion	9	25	37	9	100
For getting extra professional training and education	6	15	66	13	100
In terms of salary levels	4	24	62	10	100
As far as bonuses, benefits and other extras are concerned	3	11	73	13	100
In terms of holidays	4	3	87	6	100
As far as the age of retirement in concerned	21	7	58	14	100
As far as income tax is concerned	4	8	71	17	100

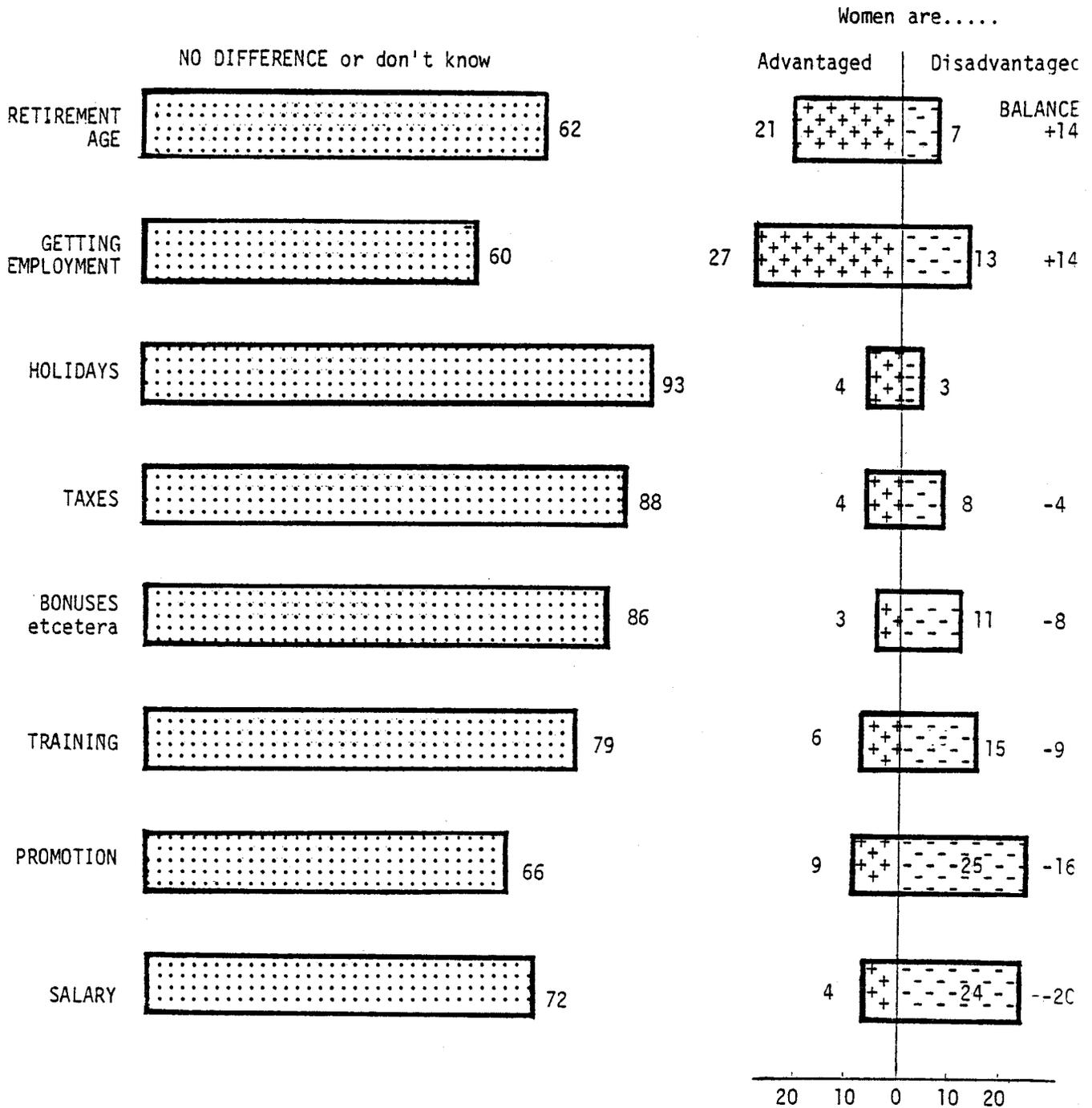
(See table on following page)

Thus, on each of these eight factors a large majority of women think that, where they work, there is no discrimination. Among the others opinions are divided, but the overriding tendency is that women are at a disadvantage regarding :

- Salary levels
- Promotion
- Training opportunities
- Bonuses, benefits and other extras

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES PERCEIVED BY WOMEN ACCORDING TO EACH FACTOR

TOTAL SAMPLE OF WOMEN



And that they are at an advantage concerning :

Retirement age

Getting employment

This last result concerning getting employment will undoubtedly surprise many, but this must be looked at in the light of an important minority of women in paid employment who work in an exclusively female environment, and for whom the idea of a man being hired would be absurd.

The analysis comparing the replies of each segment of the population is shown in the table on page 21.

In this table it was deemed useful to be able to make comparisons vertically (for example, to look at the replies about getting employment by each of the 43 segments of the population) and also horizontally (replies by a single segment of the population on each of the eight factors). In order to present the information in the most concise way, the algebraic sums were calculated in the following way :

% claiming that women are at an advantage

less - % claiming that women are at a disadvantage

When the advantages dominate, the sum is positive. When the disadvantages dominate the sum is negative.

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE BALANCE OF REPLIES

	<u>Retire- ment age</u>	<u>Getting a job</u>	<u>Holidays</u>	<u>Tax</u>	<u>Bonuses & benefits</u>	<u>In service training</u>	<u>Promotion</u>	<u>Salary</u>
TOTAL	14	14	£	-4	-8	-9	-16	-20
Age :								
15-24	9	14	1	-4	-4	-7	-15	-21
25-34	14	11	2	-5	-9	-8	-18	-19
35-44	16	9	-1	-1	-11	-13	-15	-23
45-54	16	22	1	-4	-6	-8	-12	-20
55+	13	15	-2	-6	-11	-11	-18	-24
Marital status:								
Single	11	10	0	-3	-6	-8	-16	-20
Married	15	18	0	-4	-8	-9	-14	-20
Widowed/divorced	14	1	0	-7	-11	-15	-24	-26
Terminal education age :								
14 or 15	16	23	-	-4	-9	-9	-11	-23
16-19	13	9	1	-4	-7	-10	-18	-21
20+	11	1	1	-8	-6	-6	-22	-14
Qualifications :								
None	16	24	2	-2	-8	-6	-8	-20
Professional	18	19	-2	-3	-8	-2	-12	-18
General	13	10	0	-3	-8	-10	-17	-19
Both	11	5	0	-7	-8	-13	-21	-24
Household income :								
R--	5	11	1	-4	-13	-13	-20	-28
R-	5	6	2	-6	-8	-12	-18	-23
R+	14	16	1	-3	-7	-8	-15	-21
R++	21	10	1	-4	-6	-8	-17	-18
Hours worked :								
Less than 30	9	24	-	-3	-8	-6	-9	-21
30+	16	9	1	-5	-8	-11	-19	-21
Employed by :								
Public admin.	17	13	2	-3	-4	-1	-8	-9
Industry	14	8	-1	-6	-10	-14	-25	-30
Individual	9	27	-	-3	-11	-9	-6	-23
Number of employees :								
Less than 10	13	30	2	-2	-6	-5	-3	-19
10-49	10	14	-1	-5	-11	-11	-16	-23
50-499	15	4	-1	-8	-11	-14	-25	-26
500+	18	5	5	-4	-6	-9	-20	-18
Place of work :								
Shop	7	27	1	-1	-5	-6	-12	-25
Factory	10	4	-2	-11	-16	-20	-29	-34
Office	19	-	1	-5	-8	-15	-26	-24
School	13	18	-	-3	-6	1	-13	-10
Health & beauty	18	26	4	-5	-3	2	4	-8
Alone	8	24	-	-3	-9	-3	-5	-15
Country :								
Belgium	20	4	1	-8	-5	-7	-15	-14
Denmark	5	14	0	-8	-6	-5	-11	-11
France	3	-4	2	0	-9	-7	-23	-23
Germany	7	2	-5	-10	-15	-22	-26	-38
Great Britain	26	39	3	0	-3	-1	0	-12
Ireland	-2	40	5	-19	-6	-6	-7	-23
Italy	21	12	0	-1	-7	-7	-20	-9
Luxembourg	7	11	5	-18	-4	-7	-18	-17
Netherlands	9	11	2	-22	-2	-6	-10	-12

Let us take an example, getting employed. In which segments is the balance most positive? For those women who work in a shop or store, those who work for an individual rather than a firm, those who have no qualifications whatsoever and who left school at fourteen or fifteen years and who work part-time.

In which segment is the balance close to zero (that is, where all opinions are equally divided between advantages and disadvantages)? This balance is to be found among those women who work in an office or factory, those who have pursued their studies until the age of 20 years or more, who have qualifications and those who work in a large organisation.

Each row and each column of this table merits close attention

Firstly each¹ segment replied positively for retirement age and for getting employment, and all the segments replied negatively for salary levels and for bonuses, benefits and other extras. Finally, apart from one or two exceptions, each segment replied negatively for opportunities of promotion and opportunity of in-service training.

Let us now take as an example, promotion prospects. The feeling of being at a disadvantage dominates all others for women who have undertaken higher education. They feel discrimination here, even more than that of salary levels.

The problem of bonuses, benefits and other extras is felt above all by those women working in factories; however, it must be added that this segment of the population sees itself as being discriminated against more than any other segment, irrespective of the factor examined.

¹With the exception of Ireland (-2) for age of retirement and France (-4) for getting employment

The preceding table is also remarkable because it sheds light on some very important national differences which may be summed up in the following way :

- British women in paid employment feel, by far, the least disadvantaged because of their sex. Indeed, many of them are convinced that, where they work, they are at an advantage in terms of getting employment and their age of retirement.

- In complete contrast, German women in paid employment show a much more marked feeling of being at a disadvantage as women, where they work. This feeling is to be found irrespective of factors.

For the most part the other countries fall somewhere between the two extremes. The salient points which are worthy of note are the following :

- France is the only country where the balance of opinion is negative concerning getting employment (for this, women at an advantage - 16%, women at a disadvantage - 19%). For retirement age the balance is largely positive, but less so than in the majority of other countries. On all other factors, France is close to the average.

- Italy expresses a strongly positive opinion regarding retirement age and a less negative reaction than other countries regarding salary levels. On all other factors, Italy borders on the average.

- The Netherlands are not far from the average with the exception of taxes, a factor where Dutch women feel most strongly discriminated against.

- Ireland, as in Britain, many women in paid employment find that women are at an advantage with regard to getting employment, but, on all other factors, their opinions are much more negative, particularly concerning retirement age and taxes.

2. Effect of the working environment

Having discussed the basic analysis, let us turn again to an examination of the differences in the assessment of discrimination which are produced by the womens' working environment. The groups outlined on page 12 - women in an all-female environment whose boss is a man or a woman etc... Let us see how these different groups of women replied to the question on discrimination "at their place of work". (There are five groups accounting for 91% of the sample and excluding the small sub-samples of women who work alone or have no bosses).

The table on page 26 shows the replies of these five groups for four areas of discrimination; getting employment, promotion, training and salary levels.

It is clear that what we have defined as the working environment does, in fact, produce more considerable variations in the replies given than have any of the preceding variables discussed.

Just as was suggested earlier, women who work in an all-female environment feel less discriminated against than any other group. And if, in addition, their immediate superior is a women they feel distinctly at an advantage, except in the question of salary levels.

For women who work in a mixed environment, that is where their colleagues are both male and female, a group comprising two-thirds of all women in paid employment, their perception of discrimination varies considerably according to whether their boss is a man or a woman. Those who are managed by a woman - but they are a tiny minority - are only half as likely as other women to feel disadvantaged in the areas of promotion and opportunities for training.

Finally, women who find themselves in the midst of male colleagues (4% of the total sample) single out more than any other group the disadvantages of being female when being recruited; but on other factors their replies are the same as those women who have colleagues of both sexes and who have a male boss.

This analysis sheds light on the important differences of opinion which occur according to whether the boss is male or female. But, above all, it proffers a completely new understanding by which to interpret questions asked about discrimination at work. To recap, we can say :

- On one hand are women working in an all-female environment and whose superior is either male or female or those working in a mixed environment but whose boss is a woman. In total $12\% + 11\% + 14\% = 37\%$. These women often feel at an advantage when getting employment. For promotion and training they feel equal or even advantaged when their colleagues and boss are female and equal or at an advantage for the other factors. On salary levels important minorities feel themselves to be at a disadvantage irrespective of the sub-group to which they belong.

On the other hand are women working in competitive situations : male and female colleagues and a male boss or male colleagues and a female boss. ($50\% + 4\% = 54\%$). This is by far the largest group. Amongst these women the overriding opinion is that there is no discrimination, except for important minorities who feel that women are at a disadvantage and the factor where this discrimination is most acutely felt is in regard to promotion

PERCEPTION OF DISCRIMINATIONS
ACCORDING TO THE TYPE OF WORKING ENVIRONMENT

	Colleagues	Women Only		Women and Men		Men Only
	Boss	Woman (12%)	Man (11%)	Woman (14%)	Man (50%)	Man (4%)
<hr/>						
Regarding getting employment :						
Women are advantaged		52	41	28	16	20
Women are disadvantaged		5	10	8	17	24
No difference		<u>43</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>56</u>
		100	100	100	100	100
(Balance)		(+47)	(+31)	(+20)	(-1)	(-4)
Regarding promotion :						
Women are advantaged		22	10	12	5	2
Women are disadvantaged		7	22	16	33	35
No difference		<u>71</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>63</u>
		100	100	100	100	100
(Balance)		(+15)	(-12)	(-4)	(-28)	(-33)
Regarding in-service training :						
Women are advantaged		16	8	8	4	3
Women are disadvantaged		6	15	11	19	18
No difference		<u>78</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>79</u>
		100	100	100	100	100
(Balance)		(+10)	(-7)	(-3)	(-15)	(-15)
Regarding salary levels :						
Women are advantaged		8	4	3	3	2
Women are disadvantaged		15	26	22	28	27
No difference		<u>77</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>71</u>
		100	100	100	100	100
(Balance)		(-7)	(-22)	(-19)	(-25)	(-25)

3. Overall impressions of the eight factors studied

The eight areas of discrimination have, until this point, been dealt with one at a time. Now, these women's replies will be considered overall, taking the eight points together.

The total sample interviewed breaks down in the following manner, according to a hierarchy which starts with the strongest feelings of negative discrimination (--) through to the strongest feelings of positive discrimination (++).

	<u>Symbol</u>	
See <u>no advantages</u> for women <u>and at least</u> three areas of disadvantage	11% --)	} 45%
one or two areas of disadvantage	15% -	
See both advantages and disadvantages	19% +-)	
See no difference	31% =)	} 55%
See <u>no disadvantage</u> and at least one or two areas of advantage	19% +	
three more areas of advantage	5% ++)	
	<hr/>	
	100%	

Among the hard core who see nothing but disadvantages, and there are many of them (group --), the most sensitive areas, in order, are salary levels and promotion, then getting employment and training, followed by bonuses, benefits and other extras. For the next group who also see nothing but disadvantages, although less of them (group -) the sensitive areas are, in order - training, salary levels and then, getting employment.

Among those who feel that women are in a very favourable position (group ++), most points are mentioned. Those who form the + group see privileges for women in two principal areas, getting employment and retirement age.

But what are the factors or criteria, determining the fact that these women belong to one or other of the groups of opinion that have been outlined above?

The classic variables (age, level of education, type of employer etc.) do not appear to segment well in this case. The fact of doing an ordinary job, with or without responsibility, or being part of the administration or management has no discernible effects either. In comparison, the working environment plays a considerable part. The feeling that discrimination does not exist, or that where it does exist it is in womens' favour, is the view, predominantly, of those who work in an all-female environment. The feeling that women are all more or less disadvantaged is felt, predominantly, by those women who work in a competitive atmosphere.

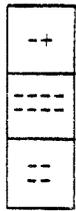
Finally, the overall view of women varies significantly between countries. In four countries, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands and Luxembourg, feelings of discrimination against women are above the European average. The three countries where discrimination is less obviously felt are Denmark, Great Britain and Belgium. These results are shown in the graph on page 28.

Some of the differences between countries may be explained by the fact that work in an all-female environment varies according to countries; this is to be found least often in Germany and most often in Great Britain. However, this factor in no way gives a complete explanation. Amongst the available explanations it is possible, for example, that the British have a long history of segregation both at work and in their socio-cultural lives, whilst the Germans probably have a more highly developed tradition of group activity. It is up to the enlightened reader to apply these hypotheses or to suggest others.

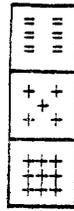
OVERALL IMPRESSION OF THE EIGHT FACTORS STUDIED

WOMEN ARE AT AN ADVANTAGE

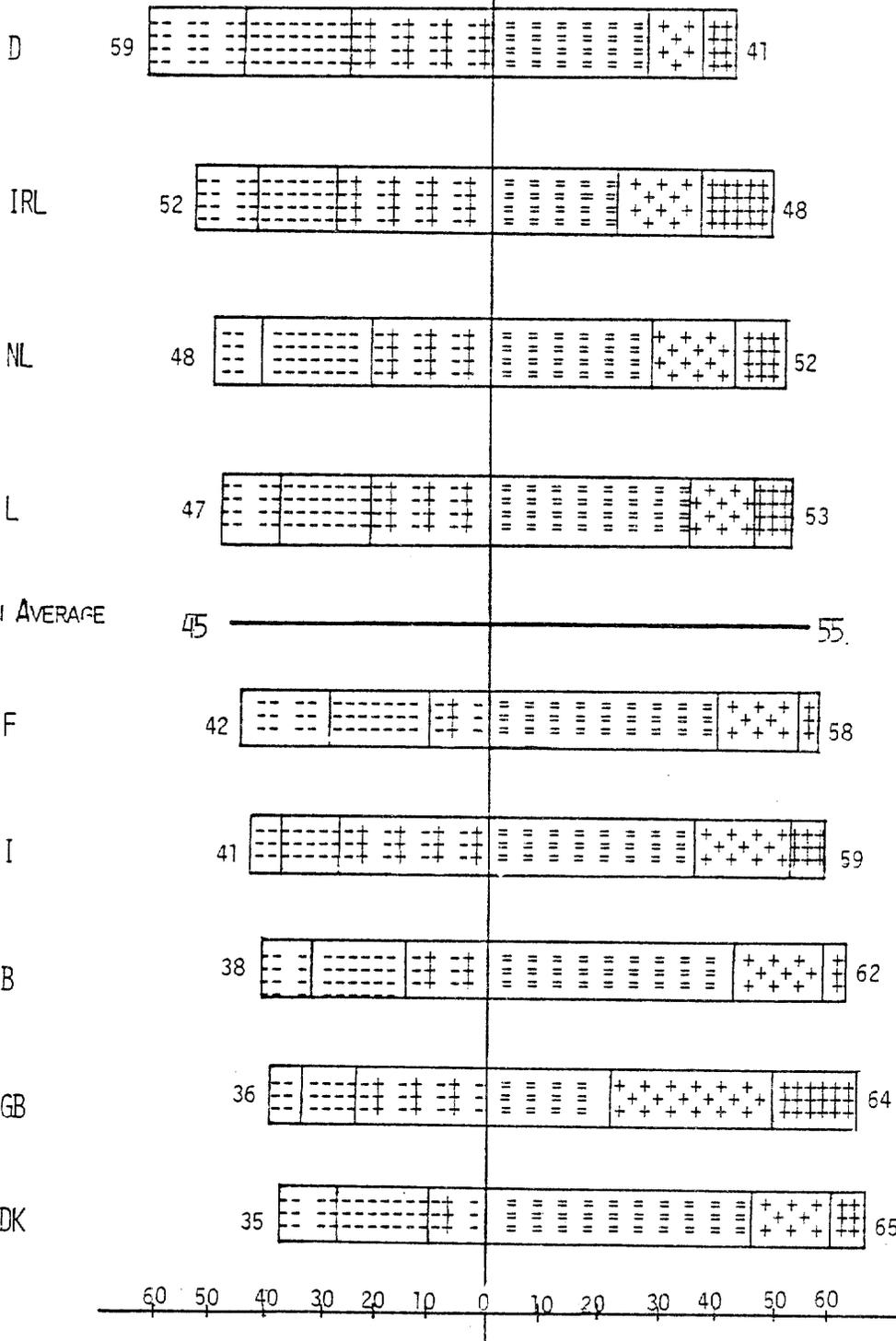
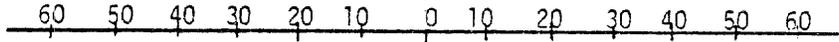
WOMEN ARE AT A DISADVANTAGE



Group +- advantages and disadvantages
 Group - disadvantaged on 1 or 2 points
 Group -- disadvantaged on 3 or more points



Group = no difference
 Group + advantaged on 1 or 2 points
 Group ++ advantaged on 3 or more points



4. Those areas in which the most urgent action is needed

The areas in which women in paid employment perceive discrimination at their place of work, whether advantageous or disadvantageous, have been explored. The areas in which the balance of opinion is most negative are salary, promotion and training. But which are the areas which the women think are most in need of urgent action? The first area is definitely salary; but the second is getting employment, despite the fact that most respondents said that, where they worked, women were at an advantage on this point. This reflects a general anxiety on the part of the general public about the difficult employment situation.

Question : *In these different areas I have mentioned, which is the one where, in your opinion, it is most urgent to do something to correct the disadvantages that women are suffering? And what next?*

	<u>1st mention</u>	<u>1st & 2nd mention</u>
Salary	20	37
Job opportunities	20	30
Promotion	14	29
Training	9	20
Retirement age	8	15
Taxes	4	8
Holidays	2	6
Bonuses etc.	1	4
Don't know	<u>22</u>	—
	100	(1)

A complementary analysis shows that the order of problems which merit urgent action is not very different irrespective of whether they feel that women are discriminated against at work. For example, those who say that women are discriminated against in the area of getting employment cite as their order of urgency, getting employment 31%, salary levels 23%, promotion 18% and training 10%. Those who feel that women are at an advantage in the area of getting employment or who see no differences cite as their order of urgency salary levels 20%, getting employment 18%, promotion 13% and training 9%.

(1) The total comes to more than 100%, many women giving a second answer.

Analysis of responses by the 43 population segments shows the main preoccupation of each group. It can be seen, for example, that "salary levels" is the most urgent area for the majority of groups; surpassed, nevertheless, by "getting employment" among the young, those who have spent longer in full-time education, state and public administration employees and those who work for large organisations.

In general, however, the nationality variable elicits the greatest differences in response. Looking at the deviations from the European mean, the following points of interest emerge :

- Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Ireland : the problem of taxes seems more important here than elsewhere.
- Germany and Ireland : promotion.
- Italy : getting employment provides, by far, the biggest problem.
- France : retirement age is seen as being a more urgent problem here than in any of the other countries.

AREAS OF DISCRIMINATION IN WHICH ACTION IS MOST URGENTLY NEEDED

	<u>Salaries</u>	<u>Getting a job</u>	<u>Promotion</u>	<u>In service training</u>	<u>Retire- ment age</u>	<u>Tax</u>	<u>Holidays</u>	<u>Bonuses benefits etc.</u>
TOTAL	20	20	14	9	8	4	2	1
Age :								
15-24	21	25	15	9	6	4	2	1
25-34	23	23	16	9	5	4	4	1
35-44	21	17	11	11	8	4	2	2
45-54	19	17	15	7	9	4	2	1
55+	18	17	12	7	11	5	2	2
Marital status :								
Single	17	29	15	10	5	2	2	-
Married	22	17	13	9	8	5	3	2
Widowed/divorced	20	18	14	8	10	6	2	2
Terminal education age :								
14 or 15	21	18	10	8	9	5	2	2
16-19	21	20	16	9	7	4	2	1
20+	18	26	19	12	5	3	4	1
Qualifications :								
None	17	22	10	5	11	5	4	2
Professional	19	22	11	9	6	5	2	1
General	20	23	14	10	8	4	2	1
Both	24	16	18	10	5	4	2	1
Household income :								
R--	24	24	11	9	7	3	2	-
R-	21	20	12	10	10	5	2	1
R+	22	19	12	8	8	4	3	2
R++	20	18	18	10	6	4	3	1
Hours worked :								
Less than 30	21	19	13	8	7	5	1	2
30+	20	10	15	9	8	4	3	1
Employed by :								
Public admin.	17	21	13	8	8	5	3	1
Industry	22	18	16	9	8	4	2	1
Individual	25	21	10	9	7	4	1	1
Number of employees :								
Less than 10	24	24	10	8	8	3	1	1
10-49	23	20	12	9	6	4	2	3
50-499	21	18	15	9	10	4	2	1
500+	17	19	18	9	7	5	3	1
Place of work :								
Shop	24	21	15	8	7	3	1	1
Factory	19	17	14	7	10	5	3	1
Office	22	18	19	11	6	3	2	1
School	15	26	14	6	8	4	2	1
Health & beauty	20	16	7	9	8	7	3	2
Alone	17	26	11	10	9	4	3	2
Country :								
Belgium	19	17	9	9	11	12	4	1
Denmark	29	26	6	15	-	3	-	2
France	29	28	10	8	16	1	6	-
Germany	26	10	19	12	5	3	2	2
Great Britain	15	16	15	6	3	6	1	2
Ireland	22	14	21	6	2	20	-	1
Italy	10	38	11	10	11	2	1	1
Luxembourg	18	14	6	7	6	28	4	2
Netherlands	9	15	16	4	10	14	1	1

B. Actual experience of discrimination

During the course of the interview, negative experiences, which women in paid employment might have had were explored by means of three questions. The first question related to offers of employment, the second, comprising a battery of four items, illustrated cases of negative attitudes on the part of employers and the third dealt with the question of sexual blackmail. For each of these questions the number of women who say they have experienced such difficulties accounts for between 6% and 10%.

Question : *Has it ever happened to you that in seeking work you have found a job which interested you, only to discover that it was really a man and not a woman that they wanted to employ?*

No	91%	91%
Yes, it's happened once	4%	4%
Yes, it's happened several times		4%
No answer		<u>1%</u>
		100%

This type of experience is mostly mentioned by women who had gone on to higher education (14%), the young (11%), those who work in an office (11%), the French (13%) and the Italians (10%).

Question : *Here are some situations that people sometimes talk about. Can you tell me in each case if you personally have found yourself in one or other of these situations?*

- An unmarried mother, a widow or divorced woman, with or without children, who has experienced more difficulty than other women in finding work and is forced to accept a lower salary than her qualifications would lead her to expect	12%
- As a pregnant woman being refused employment or forced to accept a change of her job assignment	12%
- A mother of a family whose immediate superior complains about absences from work which come about through having a baby or the children being unwell	15%
- A woman who is asked by her employer before he hires her if she has any intention to have children	16%

Thirty per cent of widows or divorcees mentioned that they had been forced by their status to accept a salary which was not comensurate with their qualifications.

Approximately the same number of women had found themselves in a position where they had been refused either a job or had been transferred because of pregnancy, and this irrespective of their sub-group. Rebukes due to absences caused by children particularly affect women working in factories, and widows and divorcees.

The question from an employer, during an interview, as to whether or not the candidate intended having children had been asked of one in five young women (under 30 years old). The frequency of this occurrence increases with the level of education of the candidate and among women who work in offices.

On these four points, many more German women than any other nationality have had these experiences. It should be remembered that many more German women denounced discrimination against women in the earlier part of this survey.

The last question of the series was :

Question : I would like to ask you, as I am asking everybody, a slightly delicate question. From the moment of being taken on or at other times in working life it can happen that women find themselves the object of sexual advances or propositions which are more or less a kind of blackmail. Have you personally experienced this kind of pressure?

Yes	6
No	91
No answer	<u>3</u>
	100%

The table on page gives details of the answers to the above series of quesitons, broken down by each of the 43 segments of the population of women in paid employment.

ACTUAL EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION

	A	B	C	D	E	F
TOTAL	8	12	12	15	16	6
Age :						
15-24	11	11	13	12	21	5
25-34	11	10	10	14	19	8
35-44	8	13	14	18	17	5
45-54	3	12	10	13	10	6
55+	5	16	16	17	12	5
Marital status :						
Single	11	9	10	9	14	6
Married	7	9	12	15	17	5
Widowed/div.	9	30	14	21	16	8
Terminal education age :						
14 or 15	6	14	12	14	13	5
16-19	9	12	12	15	18	6
20+	14	8	10	16	18	10
Qualifications :						
None	5	8	6	10	8	4
Professional	9	9	10	13	19	11
General	9	10	10	14	13	6
Both	10	17	17	20	24	6
Household income :						
R--	8	22	19	20	14	9
R-	9	14	13	17	16	5
R+	8	14	13	15	17	6
R++	8	7	7	14	19	6
Hours worked :						
Less than 30	6	14	13	15	15	7
30+	9	11	11	15	16	5
Employed by :						
Public admin.	7	10	9	12	13	5
Industry	9	13	13	17	18	6
Individual	9	14	14	15	18	6
Number of employees :						
Less than 10	7	14	12	13	15	7
10-49	10	13	14	18	20	7
50-499	9	13	14	16	17	3
500+	7	9	7	12	15	7
Place of work :						
Shop	7	14	13	14	16	7
Factory	7	11	15	20	15	2
Office	11	13	13	16	22	6
School	6	7	9	11	8	7
Health & beauty	5	14	12	14	18	6
Alone	9	12	10	11	12	8
Country :						
Belgium	4	5	7	8	6	3
Denmark	3	8	5	7	10	6
France	13	8	5	13	9	8
Germany	6	28	32	30	28	4
Great Britain	7	5	3	6	13	7
Ireland	5	3	1	3	5	4
Italy	10	6	6	13	12	6
Luxembourg	5	1	2	3	7	5
Netherlands	6	10	8	7	20	4

KEY :

- A : Interesting job intended for a man only
 B : Obligated to accept a lower salary
 C : Pregnant woman refused a job or transferred
 D : Rebuked for absence due to children
 E : Employer asked if woman was pregnant at a job interview
 F : Sexual blackmail

Evaluation of actual experiences of discrimination

We have just looked at six situations that women in paid employment might have confronted in their working lives because of their sex. There is good reason to believe that their replies were genuine; however, it would be interesting to know whether some women replied in the affirmative consistently to all six questions asked about their experience of discrimination and, equally, to know whether some of them have never experienced any of these six situations.

Let us first of all say that, of the 3,392 women interviewed, only seven claimed that they had experienced all six situations; fifteen others stated that they had experienced five of these six situations. These figures are extremely small and, therefore, greatly contribute to the credibility of the results.

In total, among the women in paid employment who were asked :

Have never personally experienced any of the six areas of discrimination	64%
Have personal experience of :	
one area	18%
two area	9%
three areas	5%
four areas	4%
five or six areas	<hr/>
	100%

Women who mention only one of the six personal experiences claim in one case in three that when being interviewed they were asked whether they intended having children. Those who have had three or more personal experiences of discrimination mention, above all, that they have been rebuked for their absences due to pregnancy or their children's illnesses and that they have been refused a job or have been transferred because they are pregnant.

A detailed examination of the replies has not clarified the relationship between the response categories and the personal or professional characteristics of the contacts, in fact, it appears that widows or divorcees, who, as we have seen, are the most disadvantaged group on a number of points, particularly finance, are those who complain most frequently of discrimination. It is also true that women who are government or public administration employees are those who are least affected by the areas of discrimination covered.

These personal experiences can be correlated with the assessment made by the women of the advantages or disadvantages, for women in the areas of getting employment, salary levels, training, promotion etc. This combined analysis gives a generalised picture of the womens' awareness of discrimination. It is apparent that :

40% of women in paid employment have no personal experience of discrimination AND think that, generally, where they themselves work there is no difference between men and women or even that women are at an advantage.

13% have no personal experience of discrimination, but think that women are at a disadvantage at work generally.

11% have no personal experience of discrimination and think that women are sometimes at an advantage and sometimes at a disadvantage in their working lives.

13% have had personal experience of discrimination and think _____ that women are at a disadvantage in most aspects of work.

100%

The hard core of women who have an acute awareness of discrimination is, therefore, approximately 13% of all women in paid employment.

C Initiatives taken to ensure equality between men and women at work

Women in paid employment seem badly informed about initiatives taken, both at the national level and at the level of the Community, to ensure equality between men and women at work. It can also be said that those who claim to be aware have reservations as to the effectiveness of what has been done.

Question : *Do you know if there are, in Britain, laws which allow women to demand equality of treatment with men at work? If yes : Would you say they are applied in practice or not?*

Replies :

The laws exist and they are applied in practice	24%
The laws exist but they are not applied in practice	34%
There aren't any laws	10%
Don't know	<u>32%</u>
	100%

Question : *Do you know whether or not any departments in the European Community (The Common Market) are concerned about the problems of equality between men and women going to work? If yes : Do you think that these departments are doing anything effective or not?*

Replies :

Are concerned and effective	12%
Are concerned but not effective	22%
Not concerned	12%
Don't know	<u>54%</u>
	100%

Question : *Do you know if, in Britain, the trade unions are concerned about the problems of equality between men and women at work? If yes : Do you think that they are doing anything effective or not?*

Replies :

Are concerned and effective	32%
Are concerned but not effective	30%
Not concerned	11%
Don't know	<u>27%</u>
	100%

Action on the part of the Community is the least well known of all, irrespective of the segment of the population being looked at. Only about one-tenth of all women in paid employment know about these initiatives and think that they are effective.

National legislation is slightly better known. About one-quarter of women in paid employment are aware of these laws and have faith in them; one-third express doubts. The situation varies from country to country. In Belgium, the Netherlands and Great Britain, the greatest confidence is expressed. The doubt is considerable in France.

The efforts of the trade union movement are the best known of all, and are the only area where confidence and doubts are roughly equal.

CONCLUSIONS

The task of those who devote their efforts to the struggle for equality at work between men and women is not an easy one.

If the 30 million European women in paid employment are, in theory, concerned about the problem, it is not yet evident that the consciousness of them all has been awakened.

We can estimate that there is a hard core of women in paid employment, representing about 13%, who have personal experience of discrimination and who think that women are at a disadvantage at their place of work compared with men on most factors : salary, getting employment, promotion, training etc. ⁽¹⁾ It is important to remember that this 13% represents almost four million people; thus, this is far from an insignificant minority.

An equally significant number of women who have not personally experienced discrimination think that women are at a disadvantage on most counts at work.

The rest, the largest group, state that they are not aware of any differences between men and women at work.

(1) In an earlier European survey (see "European Men and Women 1978") a related question was asked both of working men and women : "Do you think that being (a man) (a woman) has been more of an advantage or disadvantage in your working life?"

	<u>Men's replies</u>	<u>Women's replies</u>
More of an advantage	63	38
More of a disadvantage	3	13
No difference	<u>34</u>	<u>49</u>
	100%	100%

We cannot fail to notice the striking similarity of the results of the current study with those of the survey which was conducted two years ago.

Why are the majority of women in paid employment not more militant? Undoubtedly, there is an important background of tradition; this is a viable explanation, but it cannot be substantiated in a scientific way. However, two important findings which emerge from the results of the current study should be mentioned here.

On one hand, a large proportion (one-third) of jobs for women are in Government or public administration; these jobs, particularly in those connected with education, generate less discrimination than other fields; this is confirmed by all the findings in this report (see particularly page 21). On the other hand, there are many women who work in an all-female environment and, because of this, have no experience of, and perhaps even lack of understanding of, what it is like to be in competition with men in a working environment. It is clear that when this competitive atmosphere exists - and it does for more than half of all women in paid employment (see table on page 26) - awareness of discrimination is much more common.

In what areas do women feel most strongly at a disadvantage? In rank order : first, in salary levels, next in opportunities for promotion, then in the opportunity for in-service training. It is only to be expected that the idea of salaries would come to mind first; the disparity between men and women's salaries has long been the subject of numerous articles and features in the press; equally women are aware of this disparity through their family circumstances; finally, in periods of economic strife the topic of salaries is always the most frequently mentioned area of dissatisfaction, irrespective of context.

But the study also reveals a heightened level of awareness of discrimination in the sphere of promotion and its corollary, in-service training. Furthermore, it shows, for the first time, and show quite clearly that in the eyes of those women actually faced with a situation of competition with men, inequality in the sphere of promotion is a more sensitive point than the disparity between salaries; it is fair to add that, in many cases, promotion is a necessary step on the path towards reaching a higher salary level.

Should it be emphasised again here that today - in 1980 - sixty-eight out of every hundred women in paid employment have a man as their immediate superior at work? Leaving aside the all-female working environments, it is in about 80 per cent of cases that the immediate superior is a man.

The often complacently held stereotype of what are called difficult relationships between women at work is of little substance; the study shows conclusively that women in paid employment, whose immediate superior is a woman, are often less discriminated against than are other women at work, irrespective of the sex of their colleagues: women alone or both women and men and also irrespective of the area of discrimination under observation.

Is it possible from the data of this study to identify in sociological terms an under-privileged group, suffering from most of the handicaps - poor education, lack of training, job without responsibility, low wages and who are, at the same time, aware of discrimination at work? No, for the situation is not as simple as that.

The vast majority of women in paid employment seem to be strongly involved in their work; even among those doing ordinary jobs, the majority think that their job carries some responsibility and this is so among the less educated and even among those at the lowest income levels. Moreover, the sense of being under-employed with regard to their abilities - not a widespread feeling - seems strongly linked to the sociological factors measured in the study; at most, it is possible to identify a slightly lower level of satisfaction among the youngest of the women in paid employment.

Previous surveys have shown that the level of satisfaction of women at work is almost as high as that of men; more precisely, to the question "If you had enough money to live comfortably without working, would you still work?" a clear majority responded in the affirmative⁽¹⁾. In fact, it is clear from a great number of studies that, in respect of opinions and value systems, women who work hold attitudes which are mid-way between those of women who do not work and those of men. From a sociological point of view, it seems that work intrinsically reduces the distance between men and women.

(1) European Men and Women in 1978, page 86

In contrast, the analysis of the data suggests the importance of psychological variables in the attitudes of women towards discrimination. There are only a few available indicators, but they are convincing. On one hand, the women who, more than any others, feel themselves to be the victims of discrimination are widows and divorcees, that is, those women who also have problems in areas other than work (see tables page 21 and page 35). On the other hand, it seems that attitudes towards discrimination are linked to the actual level of professional ambition women have. For example, among those women who have a limited level of education, those who are the most bitter are not those who are completely lacking in qualifications, but the women who have obtained some form of qualification as a result of their studies (see page 36); the qualifications created raised expectations which have not been realised. Let us again remember that discrimination in the area of promotion is a sensitive point for many women and the most sensitive for those with considerable further education; here again, it is the gap between the desired level and the daily reality that creates the bitterness.

It would be rash to try to conclude that this research is in any way definitive, given that from the first lines of this report it was qualified as being exploratory. It is to be hoped that every reader, male or female, can find in it some food for thought.