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The role of women in the current labour market

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V první části práce bude vymezena genderová problematika v historické perspektivě s ohledem na její kulturní a etnické aspekty jak v České republice, tak v zahraničí s důrazem na Velkou Británii, autorka zde vymezí základní teoretická východiska svojí práce s ohledem na její zaměření.

Ve druhé části práce bude provedena komparativní a kontrastivní studie současné situace postavení žen na trhu práce v České republice a Velké Británie.

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the role of women in the current labour market. Its aim is to demonstrate their unequal position in the both Czech and English workplace and to show the main reasons causing such situations. It provides the reader with the historical development of women's positions in European society mainly focusing on past events which were the most important for women to become economically active. Next, the author explains the job segregation according to gender and points out that the division in the workplace is highly influenced by the separation of roles women and men had in society. It also gives insight into the theory which explains the underrepresentation of females in the labour market from the economic point of view and which also stands for the uneven remuneration of both genders. After this the types of discrimination in the workplace are discussed more deeply. The last part of this paper is dedicated to the analysis of the current labour market. There the author compares and contrasts the data from the Czech Republic and the United Kingdom and confirms that the different historical development and welfare systems in both countries play a significant role in the recent representation of the female workforce. The three main reasons for lower economic activity of women are provided and a bigger impact is given to the analysis of employment rates of both mothers having dependent children and manageresses. Finally, to support that the female workforce is still considered as inferior in the Czech Republic, an interview with an expert on Global Executive Search is represented.

Key words of this paper:

- > Gender
- > Labour market
- > The Czech Republic
- ➤ The United Kingdom

ANOTACE

Tato práce se zaměřuje na současné postavení žen na pracovním trhu. Jejím hlavním cílem je poukázat na nerovnoměrné zastoupení žen jak v České republice, tak ve Velké Británii a ukázat hlavní příčiny, které tuto situaci způsobují. Čtenáři je zde poskytnut náhled do historického vývoje utváření pozice ženy ve společnosti. Pozornost je věnována především těm historickým událostem, jenž představovaly nejvýznamnější mezníky pro vstup žen na pracovní trh. Poté se autorka zaměřuje na segregaci pracovních pozic podle rodové příslušnosti a zdůrazňuje, že toto rozdělení vysoce odráží postavení žen a mužů ve společnosti. Tato práce se dále zabývá vysvětlením teorie, osvětlující nižší zaměstnanost žen z ekonomické perspektivy zaměstnavatele, a která také obhajuje odlišné platové podmínky pro obě pohlaví. Typy diskriminace jsou zde také detailněji rozebrány. Poslední část této studie se věnuje analýze současné situace na trhu práce. Autorka zde porovnává statistické informace z České republiky a Velké Británie, které potvrzují, že historický vývoj i sociální systém dotyčných států zde hrají významnou roli. Čtenář je obeznámen se třemi základními důvody, které vysvětlují nižší míru ekonomické aktivity žen. Větší důraz je pak kladen jak na rozdílnou zaměstnanost matek starajících se o své potomky, tak na nevyvážené zastoupení žen ve vyšším managementu. Závěrem expertní interview dokazuje, že ženská pracovní síla v České republice je stále považována za druhořadou.

Klíčová slova:

- Gender
- Pracovní trh
- Česká republika
- Velká Británie

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CONTENTS

	Introduction	1
1.	Female integration in the historical perspective	3
	1.1. Work as a means for independence	4
	1.2.Gender stereotypes	5
	1.3. The rise of women's consciousness – historical review	5
	1.4.Napoleon wars	6
	1.5.The year 1848	6
	1.6.World Wars	7
	1.7.The 1960's	7
	1.8.The communist regime	8
2.	Job segregation	8
	2.1. The ideology of domesticity	9
	2.2. The symbols of economical active women in the 19th century	10
	2.3. The roots of job segregation	11
	2.4.The division of job segregation	12
3.	The reactions of society	12
	3.1.Protective legislation	13
	3.2.Economic factor	15
	3.3.Human Capital Theory	15
	3.4.Gender Pay Gap	16
4.	Disrimination	17
	4.1.Anti-discrimination legislation	17
	4.2.Types of discrimination	18
5.	The research on the current labour market	19

5.1.Research methodology	19
5.1.1.Content analysis	20
5.1.2.Expert interview	20
5.2.Employmet rates of the CZ and the UK	21
5.3.Employment rates are higher for men in both countries	22
5.3.1.Retirement	243
5.3.2.Education	244
5.3.2.1.The educational rate is higher for women	24
5.3.2.2.Higher education influences unemployment rate	24
5.3.3.Family responsibilities	26
5.3.3.1.Lower unemployment of mothers	26
5.3.3.2.British mothers work more	27
5.4.Division of market according to gender	28
5.4.1.Girls tend to study different subjects	29
5.4.2.The UK has more female managers	24
5.5.Unequal conditions	24
5.5.1.GPG is lower in the Czech Republic	24
5.5.2.Sexual harrassment	32
Conclusion	33
Resumé	37
Bibliography	42
List of Apendices	46

INTRODUCTION

This paper generally deals with the position of women in the labour market. After reviewing the development of women's position in the European society from the historical point of view, it focuses on the different positions of men and women in the labour markets particularly in two countries - Great Britain and the Czech Republic. The main aim of this paper is to show that women were considered as inferior labour forces which was and still is reflected in the division of the labour market according to the gender and also in their remuneration. Further, it shows that the position of men and women in the labour market differs in the Czech Republic and Great Britain.

In the first part, the author examines the development of the position of women in the European society from the historical perspective. After the basic terms are explained, the reader becomes familiar with both the possible reasons of how and why women started to participate in the labour market and with the jobs that were available for them. It provides the reader with an overview about the main historical steps of women's penetration into the labour market and tries to prove that women's position in society highly mirrored their position in family.

In the second part, the reader is informed about the job segregation that went hand in hand with the growing female participation in the labour market. It describes how the ideology of domesticity was affected by the industrial revolution and then it provides the reader with the division of the job segregation that is apparent in the current labour market.

The third part focuses on the way how women were treated concerning the labour force. Firstly, the reactions of society as well as co-workers are represented. Secondly, the author describes the protective legislation of the first half of 20th century and subsequently shows the current intervention of the state. The "Male Breadwinner model" is examined more deeply. Finally, the paper provides information about the economic impact on the employers' choice and more space is given to one of the most popular economic theory: the Human Capital Theory that also gives the evidence for the Gender Pay Gap.

The fourth part of this paper introduces the directions of the European Union against gender discrimination. It generally describes types of these disadvantages women are facing in their employments and divides them as unlawful and invisible.

Finally, in the fifth part the author analyses the current position of the labour market in the Czech Republic and Great Britain. It compares and contrasts the statistics of these two states and proves that the today's position of women highly reflects their position in the family in terms of the jobs that are performed by women as well as their remuneration. Next, to demonstrate the situation in the Czech Republic, the interview with a head of global Executive Search Company is used. It reveals and represents that the gender prejudices still exist in the Czech Republic.

1. Female integration from the historical perspective

The integration of women into the waged labour market over the past decades has represented one of the most profound social and economic changes within the European economy and society. Female employment is the crucial key for increasing European employment rate. Yet the inequality between men and women in the labour market is still apparent. Women are confined to low – status jobs, their jobs are restricted mainly to so-called feminized sectors and what's more, their remuneration is usually not adequate to men's (The Bulletin on Women and Employment in the EU, 1996, p. 11).

Thus, the gender topic became a hot issue of the last century and the equality of genders has been set as an eminent goal of European societies. To get more educated people who are able to deal with this problem gender, studies started to be taught at universities. According to Jiřina Šiklová (1999, p. 90) *gender studies* is a scientific discipline monitoring various social and cultural differences of men and women in the society, in the present as well as in the past. It works with two main terms: sex and gender. Šiklová (1999, p. 10) and Val Balding (2000, p.15) agreed on the following definitions of these two concepts:

Sex refers to anatomical and physiological differences between men and women whereas gender means the socially constructed differences in behaviour, values and believes. Masculine gender is known as masculinity and a female gender is known as femininity.

Disappointments and dissatisfactions of women in the last centuries lead to the origin of feminist movements all around Europe. These movements and organizations associated people who were interested in the conditions of women. Between the years 1892-1918 European feministic movements were associated and they formulated three fundamental questions. Gisela Bock (2007, p.160) describes that the first one dealt with education, the next question focused on the working environment, the expansion of vacancies for women and increasing of their wages. Finally, feminist movements were concerned with civil liberties with regard to the relationship between husband and wife, including the right for personal income and property. The sense of *feminism* can be therefore summarized as the way of women to their rights for determination of their place in society and developing their personalities.

1.1. Work as a means for independence

As it is evident, women movements were not only interested in political issues. The second question they were considered with implies that they realized that if a woman wanted to gain adequate equality she had to make herself free from a man's dependence. Marie Čermáková (1999, p. 51) explains the definition of the labour market as it is an institution that, among others, secures that the labour force has the possibility to get sources (financial as well as social) to its reproduction. From this claim it is obvious that participation in the labour market is crucial to become independent. Linda Abrams (2005, p. 196) supports that work brought women an alternative identity, the feeling of self-confidence, success and supported the development of collective women's subconscious.

To be able to describe the situation in the labour market, the following concepts are used in this paper (ČSÚ website and Eurfound website):

The labour force or in other words economically active population includes all people who are aged 15+ and are employed or unemployed.

The employment rate is calculated by dividing the number of persons aged 15 to 64 in employment by the total population of the same age group.

The participation rate is defined as the share of total labour force in the total number of people aged 15+.

In addition, even more and more companies are aware of the fact that the female work contributes to society and is useful. Dayle M. Smith (2002, p. 7) confirms that improving a competitive position in the labour market and enhancing productivity is one of the motives of companies to make use of men's and women's labour skills, energy and creativity. He adds:

"By creating awareness, identifying specific strategies and changing the culture of the organizations in which women work, we can inaugurate a new kind of leadership for the future – leadership in which talent and skill rather than gender, ethnicity, age, or other traditional factors determine success" (Smith, 2002, p. 7).

1.2. Gender stereotypes

However, women are still considered as an inferior force and are often judged by gender stereotypes that attribute them characteristics that are not suitable for performing jobs in the top managements. *The gender stereotypes* are explained as subjective prejudices concerning characteristics, opinions and social roles of men and women in society, family as well as in employment (Ženy a muži v datech, 2008, p. 86). Hartmunt Karsten (2006, p. 24-25) points out that women are more emotive, sympathetic and amiable. On the contrary, he names authoritativeness, strength and cool-headedness as the main male stereotypes. Thus, a deep-rooted division of family roles between men and women are based on gender stereotypes and are reflected in the position of women in the labour market (The Bulletin on Women and Employment in the EU, 1996, p. 3). Although, the unequal position of women is not caused only by outdated prejudices, these prejudices are ingrained in most of the factors influencing the current position of women in the labour market such as different approaches of the state, economic conditions and social systems.

1.3. The rise of women's consciousness – historical review

It is not possible to analyze today's position of women without taking the historical development into account. Societies all around Europe have been undergoing enormous changes since the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and these changes are logically reflected also in the position of women. Female desires for liberation started to be seen at the end of 19th century. At that time when almost all nations started to fight for their rights and independence against governments even women started to realize their inferiority and tried to put their needs across. Women participated and somehow contributed to every historical event, however, when it was over, their rewards were not equal to men's. Napoleon's wars, the Revolutionary year of 1848 and subsequently World Wars I and II were events where women showed their abilities and devotions. Abrams (2005, p. 211) states that during all these disturbances, women stood next to their husbands "on barricades" and help them in fighting for a better tomorrow but when the battles finished, women were sent back to their homes. As a consequence, at that time of many economic and social changes, women started to realize their

inequality to men. This led to the creation of new organizations that supported women's rights concerning not only political rights but also equal opportunities in everyday life.

1.4. Napoleon wars

Gisela Bock (2007, p. 50) conveys that during the Napoleon wars women made the first significant steps on their way for their rights. She further implies that the French revolution launched women's consciousness all around Europe. The first requirements women had were mainly connected to securing their families in that time of poverty. An example to mention would be the popular women's march to Versailles in 1789 to claim there for bread. Later on, as the revolution continued, they started to claim the same demands concerning civil rights and citizenships as men did. Bock (2007, p. 57-63) further suggests that in spite of essential involvements of women in the revolution, they did not gain the same privileges as men. Women were at that time considered as unequal owing to their dependency and sorrow over their families and therefore their requests for citizenship and suffrage were not heard at that time.

1.5. The year 1848

The next important historical point for women is the Revolutionary year of 1848. During these revolutions and national movements in many European countries such as France, Austria and Habsburk's monarchy women were symbolized as mothers, housekeepers and governesses who should teach their descendants the national languages and traditions. According to Abrams (2005, p. 229) women were considered as important guards of history in men's work from which new future should arise. As Bock (2007, p. 154) supports women were credited for improving the social, political, cultural and economic situation. And very similar like in Napoleon's time, this revolution did not bring women any changes in attitudes. Nevertheless, according to Abrams (2005, p. 221) this year helped women to realize that only they themselves were able to express the changes in society in an understandable way and this was the "foundation stone" for many feminist movements in Europe.

1.6. World Wars

The necessity of economically active women was underpinned during the World War I and World War II. As Balding (2000, p. 17-18) points out that when the WWI broke out, 27 million of men from Great Britain, France and Germany (that was almost 60% of the working population) entered the armed forces. Women stayed at homes and participated in civilian services. Nevertheless, even if women's main function should have been motherhood, they had to participate in the labour market. Bock (2007, p.230) states that women were massively brought from agriculture and households to industry to replace men. She further argues that women had to face double burdens. Firstly, they had to participate in demanding jobs and secondly, after all day of heavy working they had to find enough food for their children (Bock, 2007, p. 231). Abrams (2005, p. 291) supports this by giving an example from Great Britain where there was a lack of food due to submarine warfare and the prices of basic food grew by 800 percent. Also the rationing system was set up and the black market flourished. It was really difficult to secure the families during these times. On the other hand, thanks to their massive participation, women realized and felt the feeling of independence again. When the demobilization after the both wars came and women had to leave their jobs and return to their homes they became highly disappointed. This brought the origin of a widely branched net of feminist movements that fought for peace, disarmament of weapons and the equality of gender (Balding, 2000, p.20).

1.7. The 1960's

The most significant period of women's changes in the second half of the 20th century was the 1960's. Samuel Cohn (2000, p. 57) refers to this period as "Beatles theory". He says that women started to give up their traditional roles and therefore their increasing labour force participation was a consequence of the female liberation and the rising of consciousness. Smith (2000, p. 8) adds that the increasing number of women participating in the labour market was caused by more severe economic conditions as well as a growing popularity of birth control.

1.8. The communist regime

One of the historical periods which should not be left out is the communist era which mainly affected Eastern Europe. Even though, Zdeněk Kuhn (2007, p. 2) refers to this period as the equalitarian ideology, he highlights that this meaning was far from its today's standards. Communist regime built upon the equalitarian utopia, however the position of women in the labour market was highly restricted and the division of the workforce according to the gender stereotypes was promoted. Alena Heitlinger (1993, p. 95) defines this period as "a unity of economic, maternal and political functions." The welfare system as well as the social system supported women staying at home, raising their children, whereas men were considered as the main breadwinners devoting their entire time to work. Regarding feminist organizations, Soňa Hendrychová (1999, p. 48) says that the continuity of women movements was put on hold and slowly vanished from the consciousness of society.

This brief review of the main historical events that influenced the position of women in society and helped them to leak into the labour market shows that the female participation was always important and contributory. Nevertheless, when it comes to divide the credits (in terms of social and citizenship rights), women were not appreciated. This led to the origin of the feminist movements which were concerned with women's questions and helped them to achieve equal opportunities.

2. Job segregation

The previous chapter shows that the position of women in the labour market has been changing since their position in society started to develop. Their longing for independence and equal treatment as well as the historical circumstances led to the increase of female participation in work. This section deals with the division of occupations between men and women and outlines both the roots of job segregation and its types.

2.1 The ideology of domesticity

Until the end of the 19th century female work force was mainly connected to their homes and families. Hence, it is quite difficult to precisely say how many women had a waged job in the first half of the 19th century. As Bock (2007, p. 134) points out at that time the biggest part of working women were employed as housekeepers or part-time workers and these jobs were not registered by clerks who did the population census.

The ideology of domesticity played an important role. This ideology that gave men and women their specific and strongly divided roles and duties in society was rooted in everybody's minds. Women were expected to maintain the house and take care of children and these types of work were not considered as important. The waged work prevailed over the domestic labour and therefore the position of a woman and the value of her work were overshadowed by the work and position of a man (Abrams, 2005, p. 184-185). The ideology of domesticity lasted until the beginning of the development of the industrial market where the demand for employees and the need of women for earning their livings led to cross the idea of a woman who is first of all a mother and a housekeeper.

Balding (2000, p. 1) supports this by noting that women's work was always bound to their homes and families. He further names the major duties that were secured by women: food processing, the making of clothing and tools, carrying water, gathering wood, keeping the fire burning, caring for domestic animals, selling agricultural or handmade products in local markets, caring for others, raising children, preparing and administering remedies and medicines (Balding, 2000, p. 1-2). Therefore, when women started to participate in the labour market, the main jobs they could perform were those that corresponded to their home duties. Bock (2007, p. 137) confirms this by noting that governesses became the symbols of wage-earner women of 19th century.

2.2 The symbols of economical active women in the 19th century

Governesses reflected the predestined position of women; on the one hand they still performed work that was suitable for them and on the other hand they earn their living. However, as Bock (2007, p. 139) argues, this kind of work was poorly paid and governess were considered as "dependent creatures".

A totally unique opportunity for women at the end of 19th century which should be mentioned is the role of missionaries. During the period of British Empire, there was the effort to civilize the native inhabitants. Initially, women were sent to colonies to expand Christianity and to improve the prosperity of the aboriginals. Again, women were exploited as teachers and housekeepers, governesses and nurses. According to Abrams (2005, p. 246) women considered this work in colonies as opportunities to build their disputed carriers. This brought the flow of mainly single British women to the colonies in Africa and Canada. As a result, missionaries became the guards of the women from these colonies and fought against slavery and the poor conditions local women had in their societies. Bock adds (2007, p.162) that this active involvement into political events gave British women the belief that their position in society was also not equal and the fights against inequalities in colonies evolved into the crusade for female independence.

The ideology of domesticity was significantly disrupted when the industrial revolution broke out. With the influx of numerous of factories, many new openings occurred and the male work force became insufficient. In addition to the women's need for independence and the need for a second income to the family budget, industrialization¹ was also one of the main reason that brought women in the labour market.

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¹ Industrialization is a process of economic and social change which shifts the centres of economic activity onto the focus of work, wages and incomes. Firstly, economic and social activities were transformed from being based on agriculture and the raw production of natural resources to manufacturing and to services that were complementary to other activities. Secondly, economic and social activities shifted from rural and cottage industries to an urban core of industrial pursuits where production took place under the factory system. Therefore, industrialization brought major changes in the way society was organized and in the relations among different groups in society (William L. Marr, 2009).

According to statistical evidence, the number of working women changed when the industrial revolution started. The industrial revolution made a significant break between production and reproduction. As Balding (2000, p. 18) notes:

"One of main consequence of industrialization was the disappearance of the family as a unit of production, the separation between productive and reproductive labour and the displacement of the place of production from the home to the workshop or factory."

Bock (2005, p. 139) supports this by saying that a factory girl became a symbol of an independent women in the first half of the 20th century.

2.3The roots of job segregation

Bringing women to the factories had a great impact on the division of work according to gender. Abrams (2005, p. 191) claims that the female role was still connected to the place in their homes which had a significant influence on the division of work according to gender. Women were therefore mainly employed in textile industries and food processing industries. In the first half of the 20th century there were many new openings especially in a totally new sector – services - which has been feminized since its opening. Women could be found in insurance companies, accounting departments, retails and mainly in department stores. Abrams (2005, p.192) further conveys that even machines in factories were divided into those suitable for women and those suitable for men. Women were employed in positions which were easy and required patience and accuracy. On the contrary, male jobs were more demanding and complicated and required longer preparation (Abrams, 2005, p. 192-193). Furthermore, Čermáková (2000, p.54) adds that a fully feminized job invokes an impression of an easy and non-important occupation. Examples of such jobs are clerks and teachers in elementary schools.

Prioritizing of women in positions that were according to gender stereotypes suitable for them and vice-versa expelling them from the jobs that were dominated by men resulted in job segregation. The mobilization of women in the workforce is one of the aspects of feminization of work. Other aspects include the decline of traditionally

male employment enclaves in agriculture and manufacturing, and the growth of service sector employment – traditionally the mainstay of female employment (Women at work: Path to equality, 2008, p. 3).

2.4 The division of job segregation

Even though, women participated in waged work, they still tended to be employed in jobs that somehow mirrored their role of a mother and a wife and reflected their general skills – caring for others, accuracy, social and communication skills, etc. The changes in the labour market are seen as favourable to women since many new kinds of jobs have been opened, mainly in the tertiary sector. Yet, the division of work between men and women still prevails. Furthermore, segregation affects the labour market in ways that often influence women's employment conditions and career development possibilities (Women at work: Paths to the equality adds, 2008, p. 3). Ženy a muži v datech (2008, p. 88) and Fialová, Spoustová and Havelková (2007, p. 45) agreed on the following division of job segregation:

Horizontal segregation is a division of work between men and women in terms of sector and occupation. It means that women and men are concentrated in different occupations and industries.

Vertical segregation represents the differences in the treatment of men and women in the same or similar job position. These are the burdens and obstacles women have to face when trying to develop their carriers within one firm. Thanks to the vertical segregation women tend to hold a lower status and lower rewarded occupations. The question of gender discrimination is more deeply analyzed later in this paper.

3. The reaction of society

When analyzing women's work and employment in Europe, several levels, i.e. social, economic and political, must be taken into account. The social factors have been discussed in the previous parts. This part focuses on political and economic factors where the most significant role is played by each state and its intervention into the labour market.

3.1 Protective legislation

The state has performed a significant role in women's employment since they started to participate in the labour market. Abrams (2005, p. 203) conveys that as the working population of women grew, their co-workers and trade unions² started to treat women as competitors and therefore women were expelled to the edge of the labour market. As a result, the protective legislation was set up. Around the year 1900 each European country introduced the "affirmative action" that restricted work performance in many ways. As far as women were concerned, according to new laws, they were not allowed to work in jobs that were considered as dangerous (Bock, 2007, p.147). The result of these actions was that women were stopped from being hired to the male jobs and the simplification of work in jobs labelled as women's. Abrams (2005, p. 195) further states that arguments for this protective legislation were mainly held more or less in terms of morality in the workplace than of health and well-being of working women. As an example she points out that when the British Government Committee investigated the situation of women working in mines, their minds were not so occupied by the physical demandingness of this work then by the immoral behaviour of men and women under the ground and the inappropriate clothes of women – workers. As a consequence, the work in mines was prohibited for women (Abrams, 2005, p.196).

As a consequence for the future, protective legislations served to spread the job segregation according to the gender and supported the idea of patriarchy where a woman is naturally determined to the reproduction of the family unit and therefore needs special treatment.

3.2 Intervention of the state

Special treatment for women that was enforced by protective legislation became rooted in welfare systems very quickly. Women were treated according to their traditional position in the society and household systems. However, this old view of women is becoming outdated. The need for women to be economically active is necessary in today's society. As the European population is dying out and at the same

² trade union – an organization of workers, acting collectively, seeking to promote and protect its mutual interests through collective bargaining (Trades Union Congress, website).

time the population of women outnumbers the population of men, women are the key labour force for the future (The Bulletin on Women and Employment in the EU, 1996, p. 3). Yet progress of a new and more equal contract is slow and uneven across member states. What is more, Rubery, Smith and Fagan (1999, p. 120) say that this division is reinforced by state policies concerning the organization of social welfare, which is still to a great extent based on the "male breadwinner model". The male breadwinner model has according to Balding (2000, p. 17) and The Bulletin on Women and Employment in the EU (1996, p. 3) three modifications as follows:

A Strong male breadwinner state: is characterized by a male breadwinner and a dependent wife. Men of working age are supposed to devote themselves to their professional life whereas women are premised to devote their lives to unpaid work in their households and child bearing. The State intervenes directly to discourage the professional activity of married women and mothers. In such countries, the tax system penalizes both unmarried couples as well as dual-earner households. Family policies encourage childcare in the family through the extended but unpaid parental leave.

A Weak male breadwinner state is based on the idea that every adult of working age should be economically active or at least should be looking for a job. In this model version, domestic and family responsibilities are seen as collective. Taxation and benefit systems are focused on the individual. Economic activity is supported by a paid leave system, the possibility of part-time jobs, and by childcare provisions.

A modified breadwinner system involves contradictory elements from the two preceding versions of the male breadwinner system. Basically, it is hard to clearly state the exact model of state intervention. In the United Kingdom, for example, the almost total absence of public-funded child-care facilities contradicts the fiscal system which is based on individual rather than household income.

Rubery, Smith and Fagan (1999, p. 199) highlight that some states play a significant role in integrating women into the wage labour market through the extension of public sector employment and services and providing the child-care facilities. However, this move to meet the changing role of women is rather slow. Other European states are still retaining the strong male breadwinner welfare system underpinning the role of a woman as a wife, a mother and a housekeeper. What is more, welfare policies affect the demand for female labour and how women define themselves – as

economically active or inactive, and the costs and benefits of their outputs in the labour market (The Bulletin on Women and Employment in EU, 1996, p.4). Therefore we assume that the intervention of the state in this matter is essential. Only if the state is intervening into this issue and securing equal opportunities for both genders, the number of working people will have the possibility to grow (Balding, 2000, p. 18).

3.3 Economic factor

The unequal representation of men and women also has its explanation from the economic point of view. One of the theories that were widely discussed in the second half of the 20th century was the Human Capital Theory. Balding (2000, p. 20) and Jonung (1998, p. 53) both agree that according to this theory, the inferior professional status of women was due to their lower level of qualification. Christina Jonung (1998, p. 53) and Cohn (2000, p. 81) further explains that qualification can be measured according two types of skills:

Firm general skills are those that are useful for more than one employer. These skills are generally financed entirely by the worker. The employers are not willing to pay their employees for these skills because once the employees quit they can use the skills the previous employer paid for in every future job. Such basic skills are for example literacy and word processing. Almost every employer relies on the fact that there are a lot of workers who can read and write and therefore they do not want to pay extra money for such skills.

Firm specific skills are skills that are highly specific only for one company and therefore the employer has to share the financing since the employee has no guarantee of a return on such investments. Once the prospective worker finishes the training, it is high probability that he\she will stay at the company for a long period of time. Firstly, he\she has the knowledge of something in which the firm has paid indispensable amount of money. Secondly, the knowledge is so specific that he\she would not have to find the use at another employer.

3.4 The Human Capital Theory

Basically, the principle of *the Human Capital Theory* is based on different approaches of the employer's investment behaviour. Women are generally considered to

be more prone to quitting due to their domestic obligations and therefore the employer is not willing to fund the special training for them. Blau (1999, p. 17) and Cohn (2000, p. 123) claim that the intermittent participation of female work force which is caused by their family duties, reduces their capital in the market. Employers, being aware of the fact that women interrupt their jobs very often due to maternity leave and tking care of their children, do not want to invest in training for women that would provide them with firm-specific skills and make them special and valuable for the company. Furthermore, employers are reluctant to pay for specific training for women because they are aware of the fact that when a woman quits, the firm will have to find a new worker and finance the training again. Jonung (1998, p. 53) adds that the employer wants to maximize the return of his/her investments and if women have shorter expected job tenures than men, employers won't be willing to hire women. Cohn (2000, p. 82) confirms that if this division of skills is fully implemented women are confined to low-status jobs.

3.5 The Gender Pay Gap

Furthermore, the Human Capital Theory also stands as an explanation of why women are pay less than men. The Bulletin on Women and Employment (1996, p. 35) has drawn attention to the recent survey that showed that the continued integration of women into paid employment over the last decade has had a little affect on their pay in comparison to men. It states: "Women may have won some jobs in the higher paid professional employment categories, but women are still overrepresented among low paid workers" (The Bulletin on Women and Employment, 1996, p. 35). As female workforce is still considered as less qualified, their remuneration is therefore lower. What is more, most employers explain that women are paid less due to the fact that the female wages are the second income to the family budget (The Bulletin on Women and Employment, 1996, p. 35).

Gender Pay Gap (GPG) is defined as the ratio of the average gross hourly earnings of female and male paid employees aged 15-64 who work at least 15 hours per week which covers all sectors and firm sizes of the economy (Ženy a muži v datech, 2008, p. 45). Rubery, Smith and Fagan (1999, p. 223-224) adds that the GPG provides information on gender equality in the labour market. Blau (1999, p. 17) further informs that:

"Thus, the human capital model provides a logically consistent explanation for gender differences in economic outcomes based on the traditional division of labor in the family. Not only will women earn less, but they will tend to be located in different occupations."

On the contrary, the size of GPG in some of the categories does not necessarily mean discrimination. The differences might be explained by the influence of other factors, such as different distribution of male and female labour force in different sectors (Český Statistický Úřad, website).

4. <u>Discrimination</u>

The previous chapter explains why women are kept in lower status jobs and foreshadows the basis of the unequal remuneration. However, the rate of working women in the EU has been rising and without any doubt, there are many women who want to build their careers. The following chapter examines the obstructions that make it impossible for women to develop themselves in their employment.

4.1 Antidiscrimination legislation

The principle of equal opportunities for both sexes stems from the Declaration of Basic Rights. Declaration of Basic Rights guarantees the basic rights to everybody without any differences in sex, race, and colour of skin, language, religion and belief. It further guarantees the right to obtain the resources for everybody's needs by means of work. (Promoting Gender Equality, 2002, p. 15)

At the European level, equal opportunities policies have been developed through a series of Community Action Programmes to protect women against injustice. These have been aimed at enhancing women's rights in terms of employment and pay; promoting equality by means of affirmative action in favour of women; and promoting female employment through initiatives in education and training, new technologies, social security, the reconciliation of work and family life (Promoting gender equality, 2002, p. 16).

As the women's work is seen as a key element for increasing and restructuring employment within Europe, the European Union includes equal opportunities as the fourth pillar of employment policy, along with employability, entrepreneurship and adaptability (The Bulletin on Women and Employment, 1996, p. 1). The principle of equality and non-discrimination on grounds of sex plays a fundamental role in Community law. This has been a driving force in the development of national anti-discrimination legislation within the Member States of European Union (Promoting gender equality, 2002, p. 15). To secure the equal treatment for all therefore became a direction of European Union and all member states are obliged to incorporate this policy to their legislations. Unfortunately the way of incorporation is rather slow and differs from state to state. It is important to mention, that the Czech Republic is tha last country of the EU which has not approved the anti-discrimination legislatin yet (Alexandra Jachová Doležalová, 2009).

4.2 Types of discrimination

Firstly, this part deals with unlawful discrimination. As Ivana Spoustová (2007, p. 4) explains, discrimination is any situation in whichn one person is treated in a different way than other people only because of his/her belonging to particular group or category. As far as the working environment is concerned, this implies that discrimination against women involves any difference, exclusion or restriction on the grounds of being to a woman. Jonung (1998, p. 53) adds that discrimination affects people with equal productive capacities. Further, discrimination because of gender, marital status, pregnancy and gender reassignment is unlawful in all European countries except the Czech Republic.

According to European law discrimination at the workplace is divided into 4 types (Directgov website):

Direct discrimination happens when an employer treats an employee less favourably because of their gender or marital status.

Indirect discrimination is when a condition that disadvantages one group of people more than another is applied to a job.

Harassment means offensive or intimidating behaviour – for example sexist behaviour which aims to humiliate, undermine or injure its target.

Finally, *victimization* means treating somebody less favourably than others because they tried to make a discrimination complaint.

Secondly, besides this unlawful discrimination there are also other obstacles that affect women in performing their jobs. This invisible burden which hinders women to get promoted or to be hired to top levesl management is generally called *A Glass Ceiling*. Smith (2000, p. 11) and Ženy a muži v datech (2008, p. 88) explains it as an artificial barrier which prevents individuals from advancing within their own organization despite their qualifications. Workers hit the ceiling when it seems to them that they cannot rise any further in the organization. The ceiling is apparent to them however, it is invisible to the management of the corporation.

5. The research on the current situation in the labour market

In the previous parts of this paper, the main reasons of women's underrepresentation in the labour market are discussed. Historical events, welfare systems as well as economic conditions foreshadow that women were and are still treated as an inferior labour force mainly due to their household duties and responsibilities. We assume that men were and more or less still are considered as the main breadwinners and thus in the following part of this paper we focus on analysing the current position of women in society. We study the relevant statistics of the Czech Republic and Great Britain and discuss the real reason causing the difference in economic activities of men and women. These findings are also compared and contrasted with the results of the expert interview which analyses the situation of the Czech labour market and female role in it.

5.1 Research methodology

To find out the current representation of women's the workforce, our research is based on a grounded theory. The grounded theory indicates the research strategy and the way of data analysis. Jan Hendl (2005, p. 125) further explains that it provides the researcher with explicit procedures for qualitative data analysis which helps to create the theory that is grounded in the data collected during the study.

In our research we work with content analysis and an expert interview described below.

5.1.1 Content analysis

As the first tool, content analysis is used. Content analysis belongs to both qualitative and quantitative researches. It can work with all kinds of documents – written or otherwise recorded – and analyses them from various aspects. According to Jan Hendl (2005, p. 132) its main advantages are the possibility of using various documents and externality of data.

In our case, to find out the actual representation of women in the labour market in the Czech Republic and Great Britain we examine statistics from Český statistický úřad, Office for National Statistics, UniversitiesUK and Eurostat. Our research shows the current representation of women and men in the labour market. Subsequently, it reveals the main causes of women's economic inactivity and represents the sectors where women are underrepresented in and also to the contrary, where they are overrepresented. A bigger emphasis is given to managerial positions. Next, the overall remuneration of women and men is compared.

5.1.2 Expert interview

The other tool we use in this paper is an expert interview. According to Hendl (2005, p. 173), this tool consists of carefully compiled questions that should serve to find out the exact answers for topics that which are determined in advance. The effect of the interviewee on the quality of the research is therefore minimalized. On the other hand, he points out (2005, p. 174) that the limitation on the topics given in advance might also be a disadvantage as the interviewee's answers are restricted. The main target of this tool is to intercept and subsequently analyse the knowledge of a person who is an expert in the given field and use these findings for other purposes.

In our case, the semi-structured interview with a head of Baloun, J.C. & Rosehill, Global Executive Search Company, Ing. Václav Baloun was made to analyse the situation of women from the employer's point of view and to describe the overall environment of the Czech labour market. The interview took place in Prague 6 in the main office of Mr. Václav Baloun. It took approximately one hour. The whole interview consisted of 21 questions was recorded and subsequently transcribed (see <u>appendix 1</u>).

Baloun, J.C. & Rosehill is a company in which the main target is to find the right candidate for its clients. So called Global Executive Search focuses mainly on looking

for managers and putting them into executive departments of the companies. Baloun, J.C. & Rosehill was initially a part of Boyden which was the first firm dealing with such a bussiness.

5.2 Employment rates of the Czech Republic and Great Britain

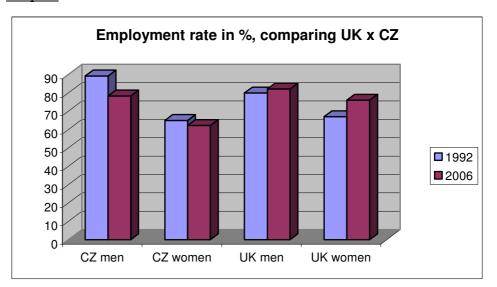
When analyzing the Czech and English labour markets, different historical as well as economical developments must be taken into account. While the communist regime ruled in the Czech Republic, democracy was evolving in the UK. This brought much distinctness to the economic systems. Mr. Baloun confirms that the end of the communist regime in the Czech Republic changed everybody's lives. He says that the transmission to the free market economy opened lots of new kinds of positions and that the competitive environment altered the approaches of both employers and employees. Additionally, according to Mr. Baloun, people today are building their carriers more often (appendix 1, questions 2 and 4). However, as we can see from the following statistics, the number of Czech employees has been going down whereas the numbers are growing in the UK. We assume that the new establishment in the Czech Republic is the main reason for the instability in the labour market in the late 1990's which, as it is further proved, is slowly becoming steady.

The resident population of the UK was 60 975 000 in 2006. From that there was 13 863,9 thousand of economically active women and 16 068,9 economically active men (Office for National Statistics website). Economic activity rates were therefore 69,2 % for women and 82,1 % for men. When looking at the previous years we found out that at the employment rate for men aged 25 increased from 80 per cent in 1992 to 83 per cent in 2006. More strikingly, employment rates for women aged 25 rose up from 67 per cent to 76 per cent over the same period (see graph 1).

On the contrary, the employment rate was slightly decreasing in the Czech Republic. In 2006 there was 10 266 646 inhabitants – 5 026 184 men and 5 261 005 women, from which there was 2 911,0 of economically active men and 2 288,4 of economically active women in the Czech Republic (ČSÚ website). The economic activity rate of women was 62,3 % and 78,3 % of men (see graph 1). As all people had to have jobs before the year 1989, after the Velvet Revolution that ended the communist

regime in the Czech Republic, the number of people employed slowly decreased. We assume that this decreasing tendency was caused by the fact that many of employed people were performing jobs involuntarily and therefore they quit as soon as they could. From graph 1 is evident that the employment rate of women went down by 2,7 % from 1992 to 2006. The employment rate of men behaved alike. It decreases by 9,1 % over the same period.

Graph 1



Source: ČSÚ, 2007

5.3 Employment rates are higher for men in both countries

When comparing the overall employment rates of respective countries we found out that the apparent dissimilarity appears especially in the uneven representation of the male and female workforce. The participation rates of women are lower than that of men in both countries.

Accurately, the employment rate of men in the Czech Republic is by 16 % higher than that of women. Regarding the UK, the male participation rate is higher by 12,9 %. The fact that women are less employed than men is further highlighted by Mr. Baloun. He usually finds jobs for 20 candidates per a year from that there are approximately only one third of women (appendix 1, question 21).

As we foreshadow in the first part of this paper, it is evident that this inequality is one of the most serious problem in the European Union and much effort has been

made to solve it. Therefore, we focus on the main reasons that are causing such situation. Eurofound and Český statistický úřad imply the three following reasons for women's lower participation in the labour market.

5.3.1 Retirement

The first reason for female lower economic activity in both countries, Eurostat and ČSÚ indicate retirement. As women retire at a younger age than men do, their participation rate at the age of 55-59 is much lower than men's. Since the Czech as well as the British population is aging, there is a bigger impact being put put on solving this situation.

The Czech government therefore changed the rules for retirement in 1996 when men retired at the age of 60 and women at the age of 53 - 57, depending on the number of children they have. From this year on men have had to add for every calendar year two extra calendar months and women have had to add for every calendar year 4 extra calendar months. This helped to increase the number of economically active women at the age of 55 - 59. As it can be seen from table 2, the participation rate grew from 32,6% in 2000 to 51,1% in 2006. The participation rate of men of the same age was 75,8% in 2000 and 83,2% in 2006. This trend seems to be positive for female employment and in addition, its tendency is to go on in increasing.

Table 2:

PARTICIPATION RATE (%) in the Czech Republic											
year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006				
women 55-59	32,6	33,3	37,7	42,1	45,5	49	51,1				
men 55-59	75,8	76,9	79,5	80	81,4	82,8	83,2				

Source: Český statistický úřad, 2007

Office for National Statistics of the UK (National Statistics website) reveals that the employment rates of men and women aged between 50 and state pension age (60 years) in Great Britain were 72 per cent and 68 per cent respectively in spring 2006. These higher numbers can be explained by the higher age limits of retirement in the UK. Men retire at the age of 65 and women at the age of 60.

These facts show that older people tend to be more often unemployed. What is more, the situation is even worse for elderly women. In the UK the number is higher for

men by 4 % and in the Czech RepublicZ by 32,1 %. These facts imply that the participation rate of older women is much higher in the UK than in the Czech Republic. We assume that it is caused mainly because of the different social policies of both countries.

Even Mr. Baloun in his answer number 12 points out that as far as equality in the workplace is concerned; the elderly people are facing the biggest problems. As he follows, people reaching retirement find it more difficult to find a new job (appendix 1).

5.3.2 Education

On the contrary, not only do older women tend to be less economically active but also the employment rate of their younger counterparts is markedly lower than men's. In the first part of the paper we show that this situation might be explained by the so called Human Capital Theory. Blau (1999, p. 17) and Cohn (2000, p. 123) supported the idea that the inferior position of women in the labour market is, from the economic point of view, influenced by their lower qualification. In other words, employers tend to employ more men because they are aware of the fact that if they employ a woman, they will have to finance her further education or training. Surprisingly, as it turns out, girls outnumber boys at universities in both countries and therefore the theory is not applicable here.

5.3.2.1. The educational rate is higher for women

In the academic year 2006/2007 there were overall 323 765 students at the Czech universities, out of which were 171 044 girls and 152 721 were boys. Concerning higher technical schools, the girl's education rate is also higher. From the total number of pupils in the academic year 2006/2007 there were 19 788 girls and only 7 862 boys (Number of students at universities in academic year 2006\07 in the CZ, appendix 2).

Looking at statistics of the UK, we find out that female students outnumber males in all of the modes and all levels as well. In 2006 there were 1 433 035 full-time students at English universities, from which there were 787 300 girls and 645 740 boys (Enrolments by level and gender in the UK, 2005/06, appendix 3).

From these evidences it is obvious that the Human Capital Theory cannot be implemented here since the number of women attending tertiary education and subsequently graduated in 2007 is much higher than men's. This means that female qualification cannot be considered to be lower than that of men.

Nevertheless, this high participation of women in education explains their lower level of labour force at the respective age. Looking at Participation rate (%) in the Czech Repubic, the representation of women aged 20-24 in the labour market has been decreasing since 2000 from 61, 8 % down to 50,1 % in 2006 as their participation in tertiary education has been increasing (see appendix 4). The participation of men in the labour market of the same age has the same descending tendency; however the number is considerably higher – from 79, 4 % in 2000 down to 63, 7 % in 2006 (see appendix 4).

5.3.2.2 The higher education, the lower is the unemployment rate

These statistics prove that the qualification of women cannot be considered as the reason for their inferior position in the labour market as the number of educated women is higher than that of men. Nevertheless, education influences the labour market in the following way.

A correlation emerges between the level of qualification and labour market participation: the higher the educational attainment, the higher the employment rate. Unemployment rate (%) by educational attainment in the Czech Republic in 2006 gives the evidence that the higher education level women have the lower the unemployment rate is (see appendix 5). The unemployment rate of Czech men with secondary education with General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) in 2006 was 3, 5 % whereas unemployment rate of Czech women with the same level of education was 6,1 %. When comparing the data of the unemployment rate of men and women with university education we find out that the men's rate was only 0,5% lower than female's -2,2 % for men, 2,7 % for women - (see appendix 5).

The situation is similar in the UK as well. The higher the educational attainment of workers is, the more equal the unemployment rate is. What is more, when analyzing Unemployment rates (%) by qualification and gender in the UK, we find out that there was even higher unemployment rate of men with secondary education with GCSE in

2006 – unemployment rate of men was 7,5 % comparing to 5,4 % of women (see appendix 6).

Eurofound (2007, p. 5) further points out that as the qualification level of women is increasing, female employment rates are also expected to rise in the near future.

5.3.3 Family responsibilities

The third cause of women's higher economical inactivity is according to ČSÚ and Eurofound is their family duties and childcare (ČSÚ website and Eurofound website). We assume that the permanent connection of women to their households is the main and the most serious problem. The survey hold in 2006 states that 3% of women in the 15-24 age group, 10,1% in the 15-54 age group and 9,7% in the 55-64 age group indicated that family responsibilities were the main reasons for them being economically inactive (Working in Europe: Gender differences, 2008, p. 4).

The fourth European Working Conditions Survey confirms the unequal division of household responsibilities by revealing that working women in the EU in 2005 still spend three hours on unpaid work in the home - on domestic work or caring responsibilities, for every one hour spent by men (Women at work: Path to equality, 2008, p.1). From this it is evident that overall men are considered as the main breadwinners and therefore they dedicate their entire time to earning money whereas women have to divide their time to both house work and employment.

This fact is also supported by Mr. Baloun. His answer to question 10 reveals that his clients mostly prefer men when looking for new employees (appendix 1). He explains it by stating that there is a general bias in society which gives women and men their specific roles. As we can see from question 8, women are generally connected with household duties and responsibilities and motherhood and therefore they are considered not to be so devoted to their jobs (appendix 1).

5.3.3.1 Lower employment rate of mothers

Furthermore, differences are apparent according to the number of children women have. The employment rate of mothers in the Czech Republic as well as in Great Britain is considerably lower than that of men. At the end of 2005, according to the

International survey - employment rates of women in CZ aged 20-49 with one child was 65,4 % to 91,4 % of men at the same age (see appendix 7). A similar situation was in the UK, where only 71,2 % of women were economically active to 89,9 % of men. In addition, the employment rate is lowering as the number of children is growing. The employment rate of women aged 20-49 with 3 or more children in Czech Republic was 31,3 % in 2005 comparing with 84,8 % of men at the same age. This prominent difference is also in the UK. Only 44,6 % of women having 3 or more children were employed in 2005 comparing to 85,9 % of men (see also appendix 7).

When contrasting the Czech Republic and Great Britain, from the International survey - employment rates of women in CZ aged 20-49 with one child it is evident that the participation of mothers with dependent children in the labour market is higher in the UK then in the Czech Republic (see also appendix 7). As it has been discussed previously, the welfare system as well as the historical background in each state plays a significant role. The historical background has been already discussed and the welfare system is examined in the following part.

5.3.3.2 British mothers are more encouraged to work

While the communist regime ruled in the Czech Republic for almost 40 years, the capitalism was developing in the UK. This conveyed that the strong breadwinner system is rooted in the Czech Republic, where the Czech government plays a significant role in supporting families with babies by means of social security benefits for mothers. Mr. Baloun also confirms this when answering question 2 (see appendix 1). This broad intervention of the state lead to the fact that a woman was supported to stay with her children at home, whereas a man was considered as the main breadwinner being encouraged to work as much as possible to secure his family. As we can see from the statistics showing the participation rates of both genders in the Czech Republic, women tend to be considerably less employed then men (ČSÚ website).

On the contrary, the UK has a modified breadwinner system that is specific to focusing more on individuals than on families and therefore British women are more forced to participate in the labour market more than Czech women.

To prove that men are more often considered as the main breadwinners in Czech Republic then in the UK, table 3 is provided. It presents the international survey of involuntary fixed-term contracts of employment comparing the years 2000 and 2005. The fixed-term contracts serve to retain workers economically active only for temporal period of time (Working in Europe: gender differences, 2008, p.5). As it can be seen from table 3, this type of contract is widely used by women. We assume that such a situation is caused by the fact that women are considered to be more quit-prone because of maternity leave and expected child duties and responsibilities. Recruiting of women on the fixed-term contract work therefore creates a certain gender bias. The number of women being involuntarily employed on a fixed-term basis is increasing from 3,7 % to 6,3 % in the Cyech Republic. Whereas the number of women in the same category in the UK is decreasing from 2,0 % to 1,2 %. Surprisingly, the number of men being employed on fixed-term basis is even higher than that of women in the UK.

Table 3

Involuntary fixed-term contracts (% of women / men employees)								
	wor	men	m	en				
country / year	2000	2005	2000	2005				
Czech Republic	3,7	6,3	2,9	5,3				
Great Britain	2,0	1,2	2,2	1,6				

Source: Eurostat, 2007

What is more, when we put questions number 5 and 8 about the situation in the Czech Republic to Mr. Baloun, he confirmed that most of his clients who are employers treat a woman as the main domestic keeper and therefore they suppose that she usually puts her husband's carrier at the first place. Apparently, these facts imply that Czech women are still mainly connected to taking care of their households and therefore they are considered as an inferior labour force. Mr. Baloun also confirms that the strong breadwinner system is still embedded in the minds of Czech employers as most of his clients usually request a man for the new position. In questions 10 and 11 we find out that the employer is willing to consider female force in their managements usually only when Mr. Baloun suggests such a posibility (see appendix 1).

5.4 Division of labour market according to gender

The gender bias is also seen when looking at the largest economic sectors that employ men and women. The ideology of domesticity and gender stereotyping which we speak about in the first part of this paper seem to be reflected in the current position of women in the labour market. Next, the following statistics prove that the horizontal as well as the vertical segregation which we also discuss in this paper is present in both countries. Mr. Baloun supports the uneven representation of men and women by giving evidences from his own experiences.

5.4.1 Women outnumber men in the tertiary sector

International survey – employment by selected branches of Women and Men shows that women are employed in jobs that mirrored their position in families (see appendix 7). In the Czech Republic, 70,2 % of economically active women are employed in services comparing with only 45,7 % of men. On the other hand, the industrial sector and agriculture are dominated by men. 49,8 % of economically active men and only 27% of women are employed in industry and 4,5 % of men and 2,8 % of women are employed in agriculture. Appendix 7 further implies that this division is almost the same in Great Britain as well. Women are overrepresented in office services while men are mainly employed in industry and agriculture. 89,9 % of women are employed in services. On the contrary, the lower representation of women is noted in agriculture – only 0,7 %.

In a more detailed analysis, Working in Europe: Gender differences (2008, p. 9) reveals that more than 60% of all women active in the labour market in the European Union in 2005 are concentrated in only 6 out of the 62 economic sectors. These are: healthcare and social services (17,2 %), retail trade (12,5 %), education (11,4 %), public administration (7,3 %), business activities (7,3 %) and hotels and restaurants (5,1 %).

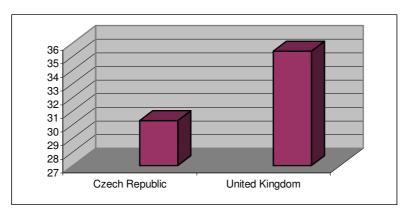
Even Mr. Baloun supports the idea of domesticity and refers to gender stereotyping. We asked him to what kind of jobs his clients usually employe women and find out that the biggest representation of manageress's is in Public Relation (PR), Human Resources (HR), Customer Services (CS) and Production Reviewing (PDR). He connects this division with the natural characteristics of women (see <u>appendix 1</u>, question 6). According to Mr. Baloun, women are preferred in jobs that require patience, social perception, sensitiveness and custody. These characteristics are mainly used in HR, PR and CS where women have to face other people's problems. Female's accuracy is mainly used in PDR (see <u>appendix 1</u>, question 8).

5.4.2 Girls tend to study different subjects then boys

The fact that the gender stereotyping is deep-rooted in the consciousness of European societies is also seen from the statistics showing the preferences which boys and girls have when choosing their field of study. Girls are generally more interested in social sciences whereas boys have a special liking for technical sciences (Women at work: Path to equality supports, 2008, p. 3). An International survey – science and technology graduates shows that the number of men graduated in science and technology in 2005 was more than twice higher than that of women in the Czech Republic as well as in Great Britain (see appendix 8). Thes evidence support the gender stereotyping that was discussed in the first part of this paper. Different preferences of boys and girls remain till their adulthood and influence their future carrier path. These evidences imply that the positions of men and women are sharply divided in the society which is also reflected in the division of the labour market.

5.4.3 The UK has more manageress

Not only horizontal segregation but also vertical segregation is demonstrable here. As it has been already explained in the first part, vertical segregation covers all obstacles that prevent women from promoting within one firm and that keeps them in lower-status jobs. Women at work: Path to equality (2008, p. 3) highlights that only 35% of working women in Europe are employed in managerial positions.



Graph 4: Proportion of female managers by country (%)

As graph 4 shows, the amount of female managers in the total number of managers in 2005 in the CZ were 30,3 % comparing to 34,5 % in the UK. These numbers supports the fact that the equal integration of women into the labour market is more spread in the UK then in the Czech Republic.

The situation in the Czech Republic is further underpinned by Mr. Baloun. In his answer to question 21 he conveys that from the total number of managers he placed per a year, which was approximately 20 people, there only one third are women. The reasons for such a situation have been already mentioned as well. The different welfare systems and historical developments play significant roles. Mr. Baloun again refers to the bread winner system which mainly connected women with lower positions due to their family responsibilities (appendix 1, questions 5 and 8).

5.5 Unequal conditions in the labour market

In the first part of this paper we outline the reasons for the integration of women to the workplace which is mainly supported by he European Union. The necessity of economically active women is also highlined by Mr. Baloun when responding to question number 9. He states that the female element is useful and essential in all kinds of jobs as well as managements (appendix 1). However, obstacles which hinder women to improve themselves still exist. In the following part we focus on the two most significant of obstacles which are: remuneration and sexual harassment.

5.5.1 GPG is lower in the CZ

As we have already mentioned, the Gender Pay Gap (GPG) stands as the main indicator of female equality in the labour market. When comparing data from Eurostat, we find out that women in the Czech Republic earned by 0.66 EUR less then men in 2005 (see appendix 9). This means that the GPG equals 21,2 %.

Surprisingly, the GPG is even higher in the UK. Even-though women are encouraged more to participate in the labour market in the UK, their remuneration is much lower than that of men. The average hourly wage of females is 15,00EUR whereas men earn 20,60 EUR per an hour (see also appendix 9). This makes the GPG 27,2 % which is by 6 % more than in the Czech Republic.

As Mr. Baloun admits, the average salary that is offered to men by his clients is usually 20 % higher than that offered to women for the same job (appendix 1, question 15).

From this evidence we assume that the female work force is still underestimated in both countries. In addition, the inequality in remuneration is more apparent in the UK.

5.5.2 Sexual harassment

Finally, when speaking of the inequality women are facing in the labour market, we also have to focus on discrimination. However this is a widely discussed issue, there are not many statistics about it. What is more, the Czech Republic is the last country of all European members who has not approved the anti-discrimination legislation yet (Janochová Doležalová, 2009). As there is deficient statistical information on this topic we only present the core information from the interview with Mr. Baloun.

When responding to questions 12 - 14, he confirms that it is virtually impossible to prove such inadequate behaviour in the workplace. What is more, he adds that when a woman is somehow discriminated she finds it very difficult or maybe even embarrassing to admit it. Next, he states that the most frequent type of discrimination he has encountered during his carrier is sexual harassment and argues that "gentle harassment" belongs to the Czech culture (appendix 1).

CONCLUSION

Gender topic is becoming a hot issue throughout Europe and the role of the modern woman has been revised to maximize the economic output of population. Therefore, this paper gives the theoretical and practical insight into this matter.

According to the inducted findings we can confirm that the role of women is still influenced by gender stereotypes that present women as housekeepers whereas men are considered as the main breadwinners. Not only are both Czech and British governments aware of the necessity of economically active women but also the managements of companies are trying to increase the representation of the female workforce. Nevertheless, the employment rate of women is still considerably lower than that of men. Furthermore, women have to face various discriminations in the workplace which is difficult to detect and subsequently get rid of it. Additionally, differences vary from state to state. When comparing the Czech and the British labour markets we found out that there are more employed women in the UK but still the number is lower than that of men. The main factors that influence the representation of women in the workplace are age, education and their family duties and responsibilities.

Both governments attempt to increase the participation rates of elderly women by altering the social systems which enable women to retire at a later age. The participation rate of women aged 55-59 increased by 18,2 % from 2000 to 2006 in the Czech Republic as the retirement age was shifted from 55 years to approximately 60 years. Older people in the UK retire at the age of 60 which is the main reason for a higher participation rate of women in the same category. The rate was 68 % in the UK comparing to 51,1% in the Czech Republic in 2006. Thus, this trend seems to be positive for female employment.

From the numbers of women attending higher or university education it is apparent that this factor is also improving. Female students outnumber their male counterparts in the both countries and therefore lower qualification of women cannot be considered as the main reason for their lower employments rates. Firstly, the Human Capital Theory suggests that the inferior position of women is caused by their lack of qualifications and employers are not willing to hire women due to the fact that they would have to finance their continued education. The evidences presented in this paper

reveal that the number of women attending university education and who subsequently graduated in 2007 is much higher than that of men's. Nonetheless, these statistics therefore explain the lower participation rate of women aged from 20 to 24. Furthermore, when we examined the topic of education more deeply we discovered that the level of qualification is the main factor for the decreasing of the female unemployment rate. The higher the education level is the lower is both the unemployment rate of workers and also the difference between men and women connected to this rate. In the Czech Republic, the respective rate is only 0,5 % higher for women with university education whereas in the UK there were even more unemployed men in 2006 – the rate was 2,1 % lower for women of the same category.

Next, the key reason of the imbalanced situation is related to family duties and these responsibilities are the biggest burden that hinder female workforce from becoming equal to males. Not only is this implied from the statistical facts showing a considerably lower employment rate of women with dependent children but also the employers' attitudes prove that the role of a woman is largely connected to taking care of children and domestic duties. We proved this by showing the statistical data related to the employment rate of mothers with dependent children. In both countries the participation rates for mothers with at least one child are much lower than that of men at the same age (65,4 % to 91,4 % in the Czech Republic and 71,2 % to 89,9 % in the UK). When looking at this data the prominent differences occur between The Czech Republic and Great Britain. We assume that the chief causes for such situations are unlike both the historical development as well as the welfare systems. The strong bread winner system is deep-rooted in the Czech Republic which was highly supported during the communist regime and which still considers men as the main earners while wives and mothers are more encouraged to stay at home with their children. On the contrary, the modified bread winner system is spread in the UK which means that the social and welfare systems are more focused on individuals than on families. Therefore women are better forced to participate in the labour market. This finding was proved by showing the number of women being involuntarily employed on the fixed-term contracts which increased from 3,7 % to 6,3 % in the Czech Republic between the years 2000 and 2005. In contrast, the number of women in the same category in the UK is decreasing from 2,0 % to 1,2 %.

Women's positions in the family and in society are also reflected in the division of jobs according to gender. The female workforce tends to be used primarily in such jobs which deal with caring for others, communication with clients or representing the firm, mainly in Human Resources, Public Relations and Customer Services. We found out that in the Czech Republic, 70,2 % of economically active women are employed in service jobs comparing with only 45,7 % of men. On the other hand, the industrial sector and agriculture are dominated by men. 49,8 % of economically active men and only 27 % of women are employed in industry and 4,5 % of men and 2,8 % of women are employed in agriculture. Even though Great Britain has higher numbers of economically active women, they tend to be employed in separated sectors than men as well. 89,9 % of English women are employed in services while the lowest representation of women is noted in agriculture – only 0,7%.

Next, the inferiority of women in the workplace is further undermined by an uneven distribution of men and women in managerial positions. The main controlling positions are still dominated by men due to the fact that only 30,3 % in the Czech Republic and 34,5 % in the UK of all managerial jobs are performed by women. Job segregation is further demonstrated by the preferences girls and boys have when choosing their higher education. Girls tend to study social sciences whereas boys are inclined to study technical sciences. In both countries the number of men graduated in science and technology in 2005 is more than twice as high as women.

Finally, we examine the problems women have to face when performing their work. Firstly, the research reveals that female jobs are generally considered as less valued. In both countries, women earn less than men. Surprisingly, the Gender Pay Gap is even higher by 6 % in the UK. Secondly, we slightly discuss the problem of discrimination on the basis of gender. We found out that sexual harassment is the most frequent type of discrimination and what is more, it is more or less considered as "natural" in the Czech setting.

In conclusion, the research proves that the role of women in the current labour markets in the Czech Republic as well as in Great Britain chiefly reflects their position in the family. Even though the participation rates of English women are higher than that of Czech women, the female workforce tends to be segregated to separate sectors and more importantly it is less valued in both countries. To overcome the prejudices that

women are less effective workforces due to their prospective family duties and responsibilities we would suggest that the necessary step for improving the situation is to enable women to consolidate their work with duties and responsibilities related to their homes in terms of establishing accessible child care facilities, offering flexible working hours or shared positions and supporting the mentoring programmes.

RESUMÉ

Tématem této bakalářské práce je role ženy na součastném pracovním trhu. Záměrem je poukázat na genderové rozdíly, které jsou v této oblasti znatelné jak v České republice, tak ve Velké Británii. Zatímco první část se zabývá vývojem žen na pracovním trhu z historické perspektivy, budováním jejich postavení ve společnosti a reakcemi, jež byly v Evropě vyvolány po masivním vstupu žen do zaměstnání, druhá část poskytuje čtenáři náhled do součastných statistických dat odhalující hlavní příčiny nižší míry zaměstnanosti žen a podrobněji je analyzuje. V neposlední řadě zde autorka zmiňuje i nejčastější překážky, jakým jsou ženy na pracovišti vystavovány.

V úvodu této studie jsou objasněny hlavní důvody ženské integrace na pracovní trh a následně vymezeny základní teoretické pojmy. Jelikož problém ženské zaměstnanosti představuje jeden z klíčových pilířů Evropské unie, je mu věnována čím dál tím větší pozornost ve všech jejích členských státech. V této práci proto nechybí i popis vzniku a vývoje feministických hnutí. Autorka zdůrazňuje, že základním kamenem rovnoprávnosti je především ekonomická soběstačnost jedinců. Ženská uvědomělost rostla s každou historickou událostí, ve které ženy participovaly, ale bohužel se jim nedostalo stejných odměn jako mužům.

V další části práce jsou z tohoto důvodu zmíněny nejdůležitější historické události přispívající k utváření ženských organizací. Při napoleonských válkách, během Revolučního roku 1848, ale i za První a Druhé světové války se ženy zapojovaly společně s muži, ale bohužel, pokaždé když boje pominuly, nezískaly stejná práva. Jedno z nejvýznamnějších období dvacátého století proto ztělesňovala léta šedesátá, kdy podle historiků docházelo k upouštění od tradičního rozdělení rolí ve společnosti. Ženská zaměstnanost proto začala výrazně růst. Minulé století však neskrývalo pouze zvraty k lepším vyhlídkám. Komunistický režim, který vládl v druhé polovině dvacátého století ve velké části východní Evropy, výrazně zpomalil vývoj ženské otázky. I přes to, že během této doby byla propagována absolutní rovnost, žena byla opět většinou spojována se staráním se o rodinu a o domácnost a na její pracovní růst nebyl brán velký zřetel.

I přes různé překážky se však ženská zaměstnanost rozrůstala, a proto je další kapitola věnována vývoji segregaci pracovního trhu podle pohlaví. Nejprve zde autorka

rozebírá ideologii rodinného krbu, která převládala ve druhé polovině devatenáctého století a upevnila též kořeny duálního pracovního trhu, pro nějž je charakteristické, že jednu skupinu zaměstnání vykonávají převážně muži a druhou téměř výhradně ženy. Podle této ideologie jsou ženy určeny k péči o domov a děti, zatímco muž by měl svou rodinu zabezpečit - především finančně. Když už žena chtěla pracovat, muselo její zaměstnání korespondovat s jejím postavením v rodině. Tudíž se v té době ženy uplatňovaly především jako guvernantky či pokojské. Co se týče Velké Británie, ženy zde nacházely svá místa jako misionářky v koloniích. Podobná představa se ve společnosti udržela až do příchodu industrialistické revoluce. Ta kromě jiného zapříčinila přesun výroby z domova do továren, ve kterých se z nedostatku pracovních sil začaly uplatňovat i ženy. I zde ale docházelo k rozdělování pozic na výhradně ženské a mužské. Ženy byly považovány za nekvalifikovanou pracovní sílu, a proto se obsazovaly především na nižší pozice a do nově vzniklého sektoru služeb. Toto zapříčinilo tzv. horizontální segregaci, díky níž dochází ke koncentraci žen a mužů v rozdílných odvětvích. S nárůstem počtu žen na pracovním trhu se začala objevovat i tzv. vertikální segregace, reprezentující rozdílné zacházení s oběma pohlavími ve stejných či podobných zaměstnáních.

Dalším neopomenutelným faktorem, jenž sehrál důležitou roli při utváření pozice žen na pracovním trhu, byl stát. Začaly se prosazovat "urovnávací opatření", která omezovala ženám vstup do určitých zaměstnání, což ještě silněji upevňovalo segregaci trhu podle pohlaví. To vše vedlo k posílení třech následujících sociálních systémů. První z nich je charakteristický svým silným důrazem na rodinu a muže jako hlavního živitele rodiny. Žena je v takovém státě považována za závislou na manželovi a tomu odpovídají i sociální dávky podporující matky na rodičovských dovolených. Druhým typem je naopak stát zaměřující se na jednotlivce a domácí povinnosti bere jako kolektivní. Předpokládá též, že každý dospělý jedinec by měl být ekonomicky aktivní. Konečně poslední modifikovaný systém je kombinací těch dvou předcházejících a konkrétní specifikace se liší podle jednotlivých států.

Zmíněné změny ve společnosti měly samozřejmě i velký vliv na dynamicky se měnící ekonomiky, a proto se dále autorka zaobírá ekonomickou teorií vysvětlující nerovné postavení žen a mužů i z dalšího úhlu pohledu. Teorie lidského kapitálu nahlíží na problematiku očima zaměstnavatelů a jejich ochoty investovat do svých

zaměstnanců. Tato teorie rozlišuje schopnosti pracovních sil na dvě základní skupiny. Jsou to pro firmu specifické a všeobecné dovednosti. Ty první jsou specifické tím, že jsou většinou financovány ze strany zaměstnavatele, protože jejich uplatnění je možné pouze v té dané společnosti. Ty druhé schopnosti se vyznačují tím, že jsou převážně hrazeny ze strany zaměstnance, jelikož jsou všeobecně využitelné. Z tohoto rozdělení vyplývá, že zaměstnavatel si na pozice, na kterých bude třeba dále pracovníky zaškolit, raději vybírá muže, protože ti jsou z pohledu pracovního trhu stálejší. Tím pádem se mužům dostává vyšší kvalifikace a ženy jsou stále na nižších pozicích, kde můžou pouze uplatnit své všeobecné schopnosti. Teorie lidského kapitálu proto stojí i jako vysvětlení platové diferenciace (GPG), jež je první z nerovností, kterým ženy musí na svých pracovištích čelit. Jelikož ženy častěji přerušují své zaměstnání kvůli rodičovským povinnostem, zaměstnavatelé je upřednostňují na méně kvalifikované pozice a tím pádem si vydělají míň. Jak ale výzkum v druhé části této práce dokazuje, nižší kvalifikace u žen nemůže být brána jako relevantní důvod k jejich nižšímu zastoupení na pracovním trhu, jelikož počet studentek vyšších a vysokých škol převyšuje počet studentů jak v České republice, tak ve Velké Británii.

Jak už bylo zmíněno, tato práce se zabývá i nerovným zacházením, se kterým se ženy na pracovištích setkávají. V další kapitole proto autorka uvádí základní typy diskriminace podle pohlaví. Nejprve je rozděluje na nezákonné a zákonné. Podle evropského práva se nezákonná diskriminace dále dělí na přímou, nepřímou, sexuální harassment a pronásledování. Vedle těchto typů se na pracovištích ještě objevuje další překážka a to tzv. skleněný strop, který jako neviditelná bariéra znemožňuje kariérní postup pracovníků z důvodu jejich pohlaví.

Druhá část této studie je věnována výzkumu součastné situace na pracovních trzích jak v České republice, tak ve Velké Británii. Pomocí obsahové analýzy zde autorka porovnává data získaná z Českého statistického ústavu a Eurofoundu a kontrastujete je s poznatky získanými z expertního interview s ředitelem společnosti zabývající se Global executive search, neboli přímého vyhledávání zaměstnanců. Hlavním jejím poznatkem je, že v obou zmíněných zemích je míra zaměstnanosti výrazně nižší u žen než u mužů, ale situace je více vyrovnaná ve Velké Británii. Zároveň byly vymezeny tři základní důvody, které tuto situaci zdůvodňují a to věk, vzdělání a rodičovské povinnosti.

Penze je uvedena jako první příčina, jelikož v obou státech je zaznamenána nižší ekonomické aktivita žen ve věku 54 až 60 let. Vlády zmíněných států se snaží tuto situaci zlepšit pozměněním sociálních systémů. V České republice tudíž v roce 1996 došlo k revizi sociálního systému, jenž posunul hranici odchodu do důchodu z 55 let na přibližně 60 a tím se více přiblížil systému Velké Británie, kde lidé odcházejí do důchodu až v 60 letech.

Další rozdíl byl zaznamenán u zaměstnanců ve věku 20 až 24 let. Zjištění, že mladé ženy se na pracovním trhu vyskytují méně, než muži vyvrátilo teorii o nižší kvalifikovanosti žen. Data prokázala, že studentky v dané věkové kategorii svým počtem převyšují studenty a co více, tento rozdíl přetrvává i v kategorii graduovaných studentů, kde jsou čísla opět pro dívky vyšší. Tento fakt tedy popírá tvrzení Teorie lidského kapitálu, podle které se ženy uplatňují méně právě z důvodu jejich nižšího vzdělání.

Třetí a tou nejzávažnější příčinou nerovné situace na českém i britském pracovním trhu jsou pro ženy povinnosti, které jsou spojeny s péčí o rodinu a o domácnost. Získaná data ukázala, že právě tyto povinnosti ovlivňují pouze kariéru žen. A co více, se stoupajícím počtem nezaopatřených dětí stoupá i míra jejich nezaměstnanosti. V tomto případě se mezi danými státy vyskytly určité rozdíly, které jsou vysvětleny odlišným historickým vývojem a sociálním systémem. Ve Velké Británii je sociální systém zaměřen více na jednotlivce než na rodiny, a proto jsou ženy více podporovány k brzkému návratu do zaměstnání než ženy v České republice, kde stále převládá kult muže jako hlavního živitele rodiny.

Zjištění, že se role ženy ve společnosti stále odráží i na jejím postavení na pracovním trhu dokazuje i to, na kterých pozicích jsou ženy a muži nejvíce zaměstnáváni. Ženy jsou dvakrát více zaměstnávány v sektoru služeb a naopak, mužská pracovní síla stále dominuje v průmyslu a v zemědělství. Toto rozdělení je stejné jak v České republice, tak ve Velké Británii.

Závěr této práce je věnován nerovnostem, s nimiž se ženy na pracovištích potýkají. Výzkum potvrdil, že platová diferenciace je problémem v obou zkoumaných zemích, ba dokonce ve Velké Británii ženy vydělávají v porovnání s muži ještě méně než v České republice. Z expertního interview bylo dále zjištěno, že nejčastější diskriminací objevující se v českém prostředí je lehký sexuální harrasment, který je

navíc brán jako přirozený. Zde je třeba podotknout, že Česká republika je poslední zemí Evropské unie, která ještě neschválila antidiskriminační zákon, a proto je zatím jakékoli nepřípustné chování k druhému pohlaví nepostihnutelné.

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LIST OF APPENDICES:

- Appendix 1 The expert interview with Mr. Baloun
- Appendix 2 Number of students at universities in academic year 2006\07 in the CZ
- Appendix 3 Enrolments by level and gender, 2006/2007
- Appendix 4 Participation rate (%) in the CZ
- <u>Appendix 5</u> Unemployment rate (%) by educational attainment in the Czech Republic in 2006
- <u>Appendix 6</u> Unemployment rates (%) by qualification and gender in the UK, 2006
- <u>Appendix 7</u> International surveys: Employment rate by number of children under 14, 2005
- <u>Appendix 8</u> International survey: Employment by selected branches of Women and Men, 2006
- Appendix 9 International surveys: Science and technology graduates
- <u>Appendix 10</u>- International surveys: average hourly wage of females and males (EUR), 2005

I. Appendix 1: An expert inteview

interviewee: Ing. Václav Baloun, Executive Partner of Baloun, J.C. a Rosehill, Executive Search

1) Jakým způsobem se vyvíjelo postavení žen na pracovním trhu v průběhu Vaší profesní činnosti v personalistice?

Myslím, že od roku 1995 je obsazovaní žen na manažerských pozicích v podstatě stejné, žádné výrazné změny jsem nezaznamenal. Jen ubyly pozice v Public Relation, což je způsobené přesyceností trhu.

2) Můžete porovnat postavení žen na pracovním trhu před rokem 89 a po něm, až do současnosti?

Revoluce změnila život všem. Za socialismu měla žena dvě hlavní role. Za prvé, jako každý jiný občan, také žena musela chodit do práce. Platila tu pracovní povinnost pro všechny a kdo nepracoval, mohl být nařčen z příživnictví. Za druhé, žena se musela zároveň starat o domácnost, mužská pomoc v domácnosti byla hodně výjimečná. Zdánlivě to vypadá, že to samé se děje dnes. Ale věřte, že nákupy v té době, byly tak náročné, jako byste měla druhé zaměstnání. Trvalo i hodiny, než jste oběhla všechny samoobsluhy a následně vystála fronty, protože v každé bylo k dostání jen něco a v podstatě vždy málo.

Jinak rovnost byla velmi prosazována. Ženy v podstatě dělaly všechno, diskriminace neexistovala... V té době se tedy ženy mohly vidět i na takových pozicích jako traktoristka, soustružnice, skladnice. V padesátých letech se režim snažil odvést ženu od rodiny a zaměstnat ji, aby na ni mohl lépe ideologicky působit. Fyzicky náročné profese byly i pro ženu považovány za vhodné a emancipaci odpovídající. Celkové podmínky byly jistě jiné než dnes, firmy byly stabilní až nehybné a zaměstnavatel byl vlastně jen jeden, tedy stát. Pokud jste tedy měla závažný politický problém u jednoho zaměstnavatele, tak už vás nikdo jiný v odpovídající profesi nezaměstnal. Také pracovní pozice byly stabilní, nevyvíjely se, neboť firmy se

nereorganizovaly. Tehdejší propaganda byla ostatně proti fluktuaci pracovních sil. Pohyb pracovníků byl navíc i technicky obtížný. Nebyly byty, nebylo tedy možné se odstěhovat za prací do jiného města, protože byste nesehnali bydlení. Pouze v několika málo exportních podnicích se pracovní posice často měnily, protože specialisté byli dlouhodobě vysíláni do zahraničí a bylo třeba je nahrazovat. Ale to byly mimořádně výjimečné situace. Stát zasahoval do všeho dění, tím pádem samozřejmě i do prac. trhu. Existovaly kvóty na počet zaměstnanců, na přístup ke studiu, byla v platnosti kádrová kriteria, očekávala se minimálně loajalita k režimu, pracovník na zajímavém místě nesměl mít příbuzné v cizině atd.

3) Byly v té době manažerky?

Byly, ale nebyly tak výrazným jevem. Bylo jich méně než dnes, kdy je možno projevit svobodnou vůli. Ženy se vyskytovaly hlavně v personalistice, jako vedoucí prodejen, nebo v účetnictví.

4) Je rozdíl v postavení tehdejší manažerky a té dnešní? Jaký a proč?

Revoluce hluboce zasáhla do společnosti a do života všech. Dnes je vše jiné, existují nové možnosti, máme fungující pracovní mobilitu, svět se otevřel s možnostmi vycestovat za prací do zahraničí, jsou široké možnosti vzdělávání atd. To vše přispívá k diferenciaci trhu, kde panuje silná konkurence. To vede zaměstnance i zaměstnavatele k vyšším výkonům. Za komunismu byly platy v podstatě nivelizované pro všechny, ať jste byla ředitel, či skladník, s výjimkou aparátu, vojska a policie. Velkou roli hraje dnes vzdělání. Kdo je v dnešní době vzdělaný, má plat řádově o 100% lepší. Kariéra tedy má smysl.

5) Jaký je Váš názor na integraci žen do vyššího managementu po 89?

Podle mého názoru by ženy měly být zastoupeny všude. Z vlastní praxe ale vím, že jejich zastoupení je ve vyšším managementu nižší. Tento jev souvisí s jejich předpokládanou diskontinuitou v zaměstnání, způsobenou mateřskou dovolenou. Pokud zvažujete, že žena na několik let práci přeruší, upřednostníte na vyšší pozici někoho jiného, tedy muže. Existuje řada výjimek. Dnes se můžeme setkat s mnoha

ženami ve vedoucích pozicích, které bravurně zvládají jak svou práci, tak péči o rodinu. Situace je velmi individuální.

6) Na jaké pozice (úrovně managementu) jste ženy již umístil?

Za těch 14 let, co působíme v ČR, se pozice obsazované ženami výrazně nemění. Nejčastěji je umisťujeme do publicity, Human Resources (HR), Public Relation (PR), Customer Services (CS) atd. Boomem konce 90. let se stalo zaměstnávání žen v kontrolách výroby (PRR). Dokonce jsme také jednou hledaly ženu na pozici generální ředitelky české ocelárny...

7) Na jakých pozicích jsou ženy preferované a na jakých opomíjené?

Na všechny pozice, které jsem právě vyjmenoval, jsou ženy upřednostňovány, až na ocelárny, to byla samozřejmě výjimka.

8) Proč? Jak byste tuto situaci ohodnotil?

Víte, na ženu je nutno pohlížet hlavně jako na udržovatelku rodu a rodinného krbu. Moderní doba ji zaměstnala mimo rodinu, ale její rodinná role by přitom neměla být popírána. Společnost by ji zároveň měla pomoci zvládnout obojí. Žena je fyziologicky a biologicky předurčena právě k mateřským a rodinným funkcím a to je určující faktor, ze kterého je třeba i při jejím pracovním uplatnění vycházet. K udržování rodinného krbu patří nejen to starání se o domácnost a obstarávání potravy, což jak už jsem zmínil, byl hlavně v minulém režimu heroický výkon, ale hlavně rození dětí. Z toho plyne, že žena není stvořena pro těžkou práci ani pro psychickou zátěž. Od ženy se očekává, že bude i v zaměstnání citlivá, mírná, intuitivní, může být i částečně náladová. Samozřejmě moderní doba vedla k přílišnému smazávání rozdílností v uplatnění mužů a žen, což vede až ke společensky nezdravému popření hlavní role ženy jako pečovatelky o zachování rodu.

Je správné, že moderní doba přinesla zrovnoprávnění a ekonomické možnosti pro vstup žen do práce mimo domov a jejich samostatné uplatnění a ekonomickou nezávislost na manželovi. Byly tak odstraněny staleté deformace vztahu mezi muži a

ženami, které vyplývaly z nižšího rozvoje naší civilizace. Moderní doba by ale neměla klást uplatnění žen do extremních poloh, které svými následky ničí nenahraditelnou ženskou roli v péči o rodinu a v působení ženského půvabu na své pracovní okolí.

Důležitým bodem v tomto vývoji je antikoncepce, která umožňuje plánování kariéry. Nicméně, přes veškerou tuto modernizaci, stále tu máme dva základní faktory, tj. žena vstupuje na pracovní trh s vědomím, že jednoho dne tuto kariéru přeruší mateřstvím a z profese vypadne na 2-3 roky. Druhým faktorem je podřízení se kariéře manžela. Manžel svoji práci většinou nepřerušuje, a proto postupuje ve své kariéře rychleji, má proto většinou lepší možnosti v profesním růstu. Žena mu připravuje klidné a láskyplné zázemí, následuje ho na nová vzdálená pracovní působiště a přitom se nutně vzdává své vlastní kariéry. Je to tak přirozené.

9) Chybí ženské zastoupení na některých pozicích? Pokud ano, na jakých? Proč?

To je těžká otázka, ale v podstatě, ženský element je nutný všude. Žena má být i v té ocelárně...To je moje zásada - v každé místnosti má být žena, kvůli její přesnosti, důslednosti a intuitivnosti v práci. Navíc žena svou pouhou přítomností kultivuje prostředí.

10) Proč si Váš klient volí do svého týmu ženu?

Při hledání kandidáta do nějaké funkce se pohlavím neřídíme. Klient má svou představu, málokdy má na mysli, že by zadávanou funkci mohla vykonávat žena. Výjimkou jsou snad pouze posice vyhledávané v oboru HR, PR a v publicistice. Tento problém jsme vyřešili standardní otázkou, kterou pokládáme vždy na konci rozhovoru s naším klientem, při kterém si upřesňujeme, jak nabízená pracovní posice vypadá a jakou má představu klient o úspěšném kandidátovi tedy vytváříme tzv. Job Description. Tato naše otázka je jednoduchá: "A nemohla by to být žena?". Pak nastane moment hlubokého zamyšlení, kdy si klient uvědomí, že by se žena mohla hodit... Což pak pro nás znamená mnohem příjemnější práci a máme větší volnost v hledání kandidátů.

11) Odmítl někdy Váš klient kandidáta z důvodu pohlaví? Mužského nebo ženského? Proč?

Myslím, že pokud byl někdo odmítnut, tak kvůli tomu to nebylo. Pokud má klient pevnou představu, že funkci bude vykonávat muž, tak prezentace ženy by byla nevhodná.

12) Kdo bývá nejčastěji ohrožen diskriminací na pracovišti?

Upřímně řečeno, více si všímám diskriminace podle věku než podle pohlaví. Myslím si, že starší obyvatelstvo má mnohem větší problémy při hledání práce či s kariérním postupem.

13) Jak by se mělo diskriminaci předcházet? Je možná prevence?

Jakékoli diskriminaci je možno předcházet osvětou, zvyšováním uvědomělosti vedení o daném problém a vzděláním. Také je nutné v tomto ohledu kontrolovat etické postupy firem. Zda ve firmě přistupují ke všem zaměstnancům stejně. V blízké době se snad dočkáme i tzv. etických auditů, které by měly všechny případné nepatřičnosti odhalit.

14) Jaké jsou hlavní motivy diskriminace podle pohlaví ve vyšším managementu?

Bohužel, diskriminace není ve všech případech jasně prokazatelná. Občas jsem se setkal s tím, že žena dala z nejasných důvodů výpověď. I když jsme měli podezření, že byla v práci diskriminovaná nebo vydíraná sexuálními nabídkami, nebyla ochotna se vyznat a zdroj svých problémů objasnit. Pokud by tak učinila, stálo by jistě tvrzení proti tvrzení, tedy její verse proti versi svůdce, kterým byl většinou její nadřízený. Jako správná firma, znající psychologii svých pappenheimských bych upřednostnil její versi. Vždy jsem totiž věděl, která z mých pracovnic byla neagresivní a bylo jí možno věřit a její versi upřednostnit, a která byla ta výjimečná potvora, kde by bylo nutno situaci dále zkoumat a čekat na konkrétní důkazy. Nazval bych tyto situace typickým českým harasmentem, který je ale přítomen snad ve všech kulturách. Je správné, že vedení v těchto případech zasáhne a to na straně ženy, pokud to její pověst jen trochu dovolí. Indicie této situace mají opakující se následující průběh: spolupracovník svou

novou kolegyni či asistentku náhle velmi chválí, snaží se o její povýšení. Pokud ale od sváděné ženy nedosáhne výsledku, přijde si na ni nečekaně stěžovat. Rozumnému šéfovi má být hned jasné o co jde. Záležitost by měla končit přeřazením svůdcevyděrače do míst, kde nemůže svou oběť dále ohrožovat. Pokud ale dívka nemá sílu čelit nějakému posouzení svého případu, tak raději odejde ona a tak nepřímo neumožní zásah proti vyděrači provést a chránit tak své nástupkyně. Takový závěr případu by byl nešťastný a nežádoucí.

Nezaměňujme, ale prosím tyto nepřijatelné případy faktického sexuálního vydírání z posice moci s americkým přísným pojetím harasmentu. Sexuální vydírání je samozřejmě závažnější než americký harasment. Harasment je nicméně ve vztazích na pracovišti opačným extrémem. V české kultuře nemá americké pojetí harasmentu místo. U nás si muž-kolega může dovolit jemnou sexuálně laděnou dvojsmyslnost nebo ironii. V naší kultuře je tradiční, že jemné narážky nebo přátelský dotyk na ramena zpestřují pracovní atmosféru a žena to hodnotí kladně jako ocenění svých půvabů. Dokonce i lehké erotické plácnutí je sice již jistě za hranicí této české praxe pracovních vztahů, nicméně pročistí atmosféru a dodá odvahy do plnění náročných pracovních úkolů.

15) Je u Vašich klientů rozdíl ve výši nabízených mezd pro kandidáty různého pohlaví? Pokud ano, jaký?

Samozřejmě, počítá se s tím, že žena přeruší práci kvůli mateřství, takže současná běžná praxe je, že platy nabízené ženám jsou o 20% nižší než platy mužské.

16) Zaregistroval jste někdy u svých kandidátek následný problém s tzv. skleněným stropem?

Myslím si, že co se týče povyšování, tak ženy mají stejné možnosti. Jde vždy o to, povýšit toho schopnějšího. V těchto situacích žádná diskriminace není...

17) Jakým způsobem se stát podílí na integraci žen do zaměstnání? Jak tuto situaci hodnotíte? Proč?

Co se týče ženy v práci, zástavám názor, že dohoda mezi zaměstnancem a

zaměstnavatelem je při vzniku pracovního poměru primární. Je to totiž obdobně svobodně vznikající vztah jako manželství. Dva partneři se vždy musí dohodnout, že si vyhovují... Čili žádný zákon nemůže zaměstnavatele nutit, aby měl například zastoupení 25-50% žen nebo že nesmí někoho odmítnout z důvodu pohlaví či věku. Všechny tyto předpisy jsou cestou do pekla, neb vztah si nelze vynucovat. Všechny tyto předpisy lze vždy ostatně obejít a jsou tedy nejen nesmyslné, ale i zbytečné. Svoboda podnikáni, zaměstnanosti, svobodné rozhodnutí obou stran by měly být na prvním místě.

18) Jaká je tedy podle Vás situace v ČR?

Nikoho nemůžete do ničeho nutit, stejně tak nemůžete nutit zaměstnavatele, aby Vás zaměstnal. Stát je tu od toho, aby vytvářel podmínky a vypracovával normy, které mají smysl. Je zapotřebí normalizovat bezpečnost práce, pracovní poměr, minimální výši platu, odstranění šikany atd. Nikdy by však stát neměl předpisovat, že v této práci má být takový počet žen či mužů. To je v podstatě nesmysl. Navíc, žádný zaměstnavatel vám neřekne, že Vás nebere, protože jste žena či muž, nebo proto, že jste moc stará... Každý Vám řekne, že našel kohosi lepšího. A to tak je, je to neprokazatelné a nemá smysl se proti tomu bránit.

EU se snaží prosadit 50% účast žen na pracovním trhu, ale myslím, že zaměstnavatelé budou tento trend obcházet. Všechny tyto zákony by se měly zaměřit na pomoc ženám na pracovním trhu, proti diskriminaci, obtěžovaní a připravovat pro ně lepší podmínky na pracovišti. Ale v jakých funkcích by ženy měly být, to by mělo být pouze věcí dané firmy. Ostatně, pan Špidla není moc v bruselském aparátu obdivován.

19) Můžete porovnat situaci v CR x UK?

Bohužel, nemám s britským pracovním trhem žádné zkušenosti. Je pravda, že občas s britskými společnostmi spolupracujeme, ale pouze tady v ČR.

20) Jak dlouho působíte v Executive Search a můžete tento pojem trochu přiblížit?

Jsme na trhu od roku 1995. Byli jsme 13 let součástí jedné z nejpřednějších firem svého typu na světě, tj. společnosti Boyden, která je historicky první v oboru a zavedla metodologii a etiku této činnosti. Boyden má více než 70 kanceláří ve více

než 40 zemích. Tato společnost nás naučila používat metodu "direct search". Tato metoda stojí na přímém vyhledávaní vedoucích pracovníků a předpokládá naše vlastní manažerské zkušeností a kontakty. Po dvanácti letech jsme se před dvěma lety oddělili, protože naše spoluvlastnictví již neodpovídalo novému selektivnímu přístupu české vlády k novým investorům. Tato země je již totiž plná zahraničních investic a vláda proto přijímá méně investorů, kteří jsou zaměřeni spíše na oblast rozvoje technologie nebo zákaznických služeb.

21) Kolik kandidátů obsadíte ročně? Kolik z nich je žen?

Ročně zpracováváme asi 20 assignmentů a umístíme tedy průměrně 20 kandidátů, z nichž jsou jedna třetina ženy.

II. Appendix 2

Number of students at universities	in academic year 2006\07 in the CZ						
	stud	ents	graduates				
	women	men	women	men			
Universities total	171 044	152 721	29 694	23 674			
Higher technical schools total	19788	7862	5389	2132			

Source: ČSÚ, 2007

III. Appendix 3

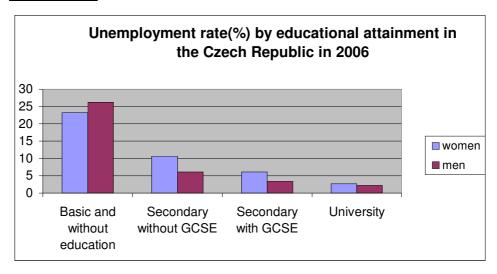
Enrolments by level	Level and mode of study	Total	Female	Male	Percentage male
and gender, 2006/07	Full-time students		600 900 500 900 900 900 900 900 900 900 9		
	Postgraduate	243,070	123,065	120,005	49.4%
	First degree	1,086,080	590,825	495,255	45.6%
	Other undergraduate	122,570	83,555	39,010	31.8%
	Total full-time	1,451,720	797,445	654,270	45.1%

Source: UniversitiesUK, 2008

IV. Appendix 4

	Participation rate (%) in the CZ										
year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006				
Women 20-24	61,8	60,7	57,7	5,4	53,2	48,5	50,1				
Men 20-24	79,4	76,9	73	70	67,6	65,5	63,7				

V. Appendix 5:



Source: ČSÚ, 2007

VI. Appendix 6: Unemployment rates (%) by qualification and gender, UK, 2006

	Above	GCE A level	
	A	or	GCSE grades A* to
	level	equivalent	C or equivalent
Males	2,5	4,5	7 , 5
Females	2,2	4,5	5 , 4

Source: UniversitiesUK, 2007

VII. Appendix 7: International surveys: emplyment rates by the number of children under 14, 2005

	Ž	eny 20-49 le	t						
	Wom	en aged 20 t	o 49	М	Men aged 20 to 49				
Země	jedno dítě	dvě děti	tři nebo více dětí	jedno dítě	dvě děti	tři nebo více dětí	Country		
	One child	Two children	Three children or more	One child	Two children	Three children or more			
Belgie	70,5	75,9	50,9	88,9	92,4	88,2	Belgium		
Česká republika	65,4	58,7	31,3	91,4	94,4	84,8	Czech Republic		
Německo	64,6	55,8	37,4	88,1	90,1	82,9	Germany		
Estonsko	69,0	60,3		88,1	92,5	1) 83,2	Estonia		
Řecko	57,8	56,4	51,8	93,1	96,4	95,0	Greece		
Španělsko	59,9	56,1	47,1	90,4	93,2	90,4	Spain		
Francie	71,5	69,3	45,0	87,5	91,7	87,8	France		
Itálie	56,7	50,8	38,6	90,0	93,2	91,1	Italy		
Кург	69,3	71,7	54,3	87,3	94,6	98,8	Cyprus		
Lotyšsko	73,0	75,0	48,3	92,2	91,2	88,1	Latvia		
Litva	77,9	78,6	63,7	82,1	88,9	87,9	Lithuania		
Lucembursko	68,8	62,2	44,6	93,0	97,0	96,0	Luxembourg		
Maďarsko	60,8	51,7	20,7	83,0	87,0	70,1	Hungary		
Malta	36,3	22,2	24,8	89,5	94,6	91,0	Malta		
Nizozemsko	75,6	74,1	62,5	93,6	94,8	92,5	Netherlands		
Rakousko	76,4	66,3	49,4	91,8	94,5	88,7	Austria		
Polsko	65,4	59,4	50,8	81,3	86,1	82,5	Poland		
Portugalsko	76,9	74,3	54,5	90,5	93,5	85,3	Portugal		
Slovinsko	81,9	85,3	74,7	91,1	95,7	91,1	Slovenia		
Slovensko	66,7	57,5	33,4	84,5	89,7	71,9	Slovakia		
Spojené království	71,2	66,3	44,6	89,9	92,3	85,9	United Kingdom		
Další země						!	Other countries		
Bulharsko	69,6	62,1		81,6	81,1	59,9	Bulgaria		
Chorvatsko	66,6	66,6	52,6	81,9	82,2	76,5	Croatia		
Rumunsko	69,3	61,6	44,1	82,8		75,2	Romania		

¹⁾ Údaje méně spolehlivé s ohledem na malou velikost vzorku.

¹⁾ Data less reliable due to a small sample size.

VIII. Appendix 8: International survey: Employment by selected branches of Women and Men, 2006

	Zemědělství			Průmysl		Služby		kem	in
Země	1	ulture	Indu	ustry	Sen	vices	Tot	al ³⁾	1
201110	Ženy	Muži	Ženy	Muži	Ženy	Muži	Ženy	Muži	Country
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	
EU 27	5,0	6,6	14,7	38,0	80,4	55,4	57,2	71,6	EU 27
EU 25	3,7	5,5	14,0	38,1	82,3	56,4	57,4	72,0	EU 25
v tom:			ļ						incl.:
Belgie	1,3	2,5	10,8	35,6	87,9	61,9	54,0	67,9	Belgium
Bulharsko	6,1	9,8	28,1	40,1	65,8	50,1	54,6	62,8	Bulgaria
Česká republika	2,8	4,5	27,0	49,8	70,2	45,7	56,8	73,7	Czech Republic
Dánsko	1,5	4,5	11,6	33,6	86,9	62,0	73,4	81,2	Denmark
Německo ⁴⁾	1,6	2,8	16,1	40,9	82,3	56,3	62,2	72,8	Germany 4)
Estonsko	3,2	6,7	21,6	45,6	75,2	47,7	65,3	71,0	Estonia
Irsko	1,3	9,0	11,3	39,4	87,4	51,6	59,3	77,7	Ireland
Řecko	13,1	11,2	9,9	29,8	77,0	59,0	47,4	74,6	Greece
Španělsko	3,3	5,8	11,6	41,8	85,1	52,4	53,2	76,1	Spain
Francie ⁴⁾	2,4	5,3	11,8	35,0	85,8	59,8	57,7	68,5	France ⁴⁾ Italy
Itálie	3,3	4,9	16,7	38,8	79,9	56,3	46,3	70,5	ltaly
Kypr	2,9	5,3	10,2	32,4	86,9	62,3	60,3	79.4	Cyprus
Lotyšsko	8,0	14,2	15,8	37,3	76,2	48,4	62,4	70,4	Latvia
Litva	10,2	14,6	19,5	39,7	70,3	45,7	61,0	66,3	Lithuania
Lucembursko	5) 1,2	2,3	5,2	25,4	93,5	72,3	54,6	72,6	Luxembourg
Maďarsko	2,7	6,5	21,0	41,9	76,4	51,5	51,1	63,8	Hungary
Malta	.	5) 2,4	15,1	34,1	84,6	63,5	34,9	74,5	Malta
Nizozemsko	2,1	4,3	8,2	30,0	89,7	65,8	67,7	80,9	Netherlands
Rakousko	5,6	5,4	13,4	40,4	80,9	54,2	63,5	76,9	Austria
Polsko	15,0	16,4	17,5	40,1	67,5	43,5	48,2	60,9	Poland
Portugalsko	12,4	11,1	18,8	40,5	68,8	48,3	62,0	73,9	Portugal
Rumunsko	31,4	29,9	25,3	35,2	43,3	34,8	53,0	64,6	Romania
Slovinsko	9,2	9,9	23,7	45,4	67,2	44,8	61,8	71,1	Slovenia
Slovensko	2,4	5,9	24;8	49,8	72,9	44,3	51,9	67,0	Slovakia
Finsko	2,8	6,4	11,9	38,5	85,3	55,1	67,3	71,4	Finland
Švédsko	1,0	3,3	9,3	33,3	89,7	63,4	70,7	75,5	Sweden
Spojené království	0,7	1,9	9,5	32,9	89,9	65,2	65,8	77,3	United Kingdom
)alší země								, .	Other countries
Chorvatsko	15,0	13,7	17,8	38,9	67,3	47,5	49,4	62,0	Croatia
Norsko	1,5	4,8	7,9	32,4	90,6	62,8	72,2	78,4	Norway
Švýcarsko	2,7	4,7	11,2	32,2	86,1	63,1	71,1	84.7	Switzerland

IX. Appendix 9:

International surveys - science and technology graduates - per 1 000 of specific (female / male) population aged 20-29 years ¹⁾

Pramen / Source: Eurostat

	200	0	200	2	200	3	200	4	200	5	
Země	ženy	muži	Country								
	Women	Men									
EU 25, v tom:											EU 25, incl.:
Belgie	4,9	14,4	5,2	15,7	5,6	16,4	5,7	16,6	6,0	15,7	Belgium
Česká republika	3,0	7,8	3,5	8,3	3,8	8,8	4,4	10,2	4,6	11,7	Czech Republic
Dánsko	6,8	16,5	7,5	15,7	7,6	17,3	9,0	18,6	10,1	19,3	Denmark
Německo	3,6	12,6	3,8	12,2	4,0	12,7	4,3	13,4	4,8	14,5	Germany
Estonsko	5,0	9,0	5,4	7,9	7,6	10,0	7,4	10,5	10,7	13,5	Estonia
Řecko							6,8	9,2	8,7	11,5	Greece
Španělsko	6,4	13,3	7,5	16,1	7,8	17,1	7,7	16,9	7,2	16,2	Spain
Francie	12,1	27,0			13,4	30,5			12,9	32,0	France
Irsko	18,5	29,8	14,6	26,4	16,8	31,5	14,5	31,6	15,0	33,8	Ireland
Itálie	4,3	7,2	5,4	9,4	6,5	11,4	7,6	12,6	7,2	12,2	Italy
Kypr	2,0	4,9	2,1	5,6	3,0	4,2	3,2	5,2	2,7	4,3	Cyprus
Lotyšsko	4,7	10,1	6,5	9,7	6,6	10,5	6,3	12,5	6,5	13,0	Latvia
Litva	9,7	17,2	10,9	18,3	11,8	20,8	12,6	22,3	13,5	24,2	Lithuania
Lucembursko											Luxembourg
Maďarsko	2,1	6,8	2,8	6,8	2,6	6,9	2,9	7,1	3,1	7,0	Hungary
Malta	1,9	4,9	1,7	4,5	2,3	4,8			2,1	4,6	Malta
Nizozemsko	2,1	9,5	2,4	10,8	2,7	11,7	3,1	12,6	3,5	13,6	Netherlands
Rakousko	2,9	11,6	3,4	12,4	3,5	12,8	4,0	13,4	4,6	14,8	Austria
Polsko	4,8	8,3	5,9	10,6	6,1	11,8	6,4	12,4	8,3	13,9	Poland
Portugalsko	5,4	7,3	6,1	8,6	6,9	9,5	9,1	12,8	9,7	14,3	Portugal
Slovinsko	4,2	13,3	4,8	13,9	4,6	12,5	4,8	13,6	5,3	14,1	Slovenia
Slovensko	3,2	7,3	5,3	10,1	5,8	10,7	6,6	11,7	7,3	12,9	Slovakia
Finsko	8,9	22,7	9,9	24,6	10,4	24,0		,	10,8	24,3	Finland
Švédsko	7,6	15,5	9,3	17,0	9,7	17,9	11,0	20,6	9,9	18,7	Sweden
Spojené království	10,7	25,2	13,3	27,2	14,5	27,5	11,3	24,8	11,4	25,3	United Kingdom
Další země											Other countries
Bulharsko	6,1	7,0	9,5	13,8	7,2	9,4	7,2	9,6	7,3	9,9	Bulgaria
Rumunsko	3,5	6,2	4,4	7,3	7,5	11,1	7,7	11,8	8,5	12,1	Romania
Island	6,5	10,3	6,2	12,1	6,9	12,0	8,3	13,2	7,6	12,5	Iceland
Norsko	4,3	11,4	4,2	11,1	5,1	13,4	4,4	13,4	4,7	13,1	Norway
Spojené státy	6,2	13,0	6,6	13,3	7,1	14,6	6,4	13,8	6,8	14,2	United States
Japonsko	3,3	21,5	3,8	21,9	3,9	22,1	4,0	22,4	4,1	23,0	Japan

¹) Tento ukazatel je počítán počtem absolventů (všech věkových kategorií) na poli vědy, matematiky a informatiky a inženýrství, výroby a stavebnictví děleným počtem obyvatel ve věku 20-29 let a poté násobeno 1 000. Zahrnuti jsou všichni absolventi stupně ISCED 5A a 5B prvního i druhého stupně a ISCED 6. Počet obyvatel je k 1. 1. příslušného roku.

The indicator is calculated by dividing the number of graduates (of all ages) in the fields of science, mathematics and computing and engineering, manufacturing and construction by the population aged 20-29 and then multiplying by 1000. All graduates in these fields at ISCED 5A and 5B, first and second degrees, and ISCED 6 are included in the numerator. The population data in the denominator refer to 1st of January.

X. Appendix 10: International surveys: average hourly wage of females and males (EUR), 2005

Země	Celkem	Muži	Ženy	000 (-10)	01	
Zenie	Total	Men	Women	GPG (v %)	Country	
Evropská unie	12,79	14,12	10,93	22,6	European Union	
Belgie	13,75	14,54	12,05	17,1	Belgium	
Česká republika	2,82	3,12	2,46	21,2	Czech Republic	
Dánsko	19,76	21,42	17,13	20,0	Denmark	
Německo	15,40	16,91	12,58	25,6	Germany	
Estonsko	2,13	2,43	1,78	26,7	Estonia	
Řecko	7,19	7,97	5,94	25,5	Greece	
Španělsko	8,60	9,30	7,42	20,2	Spain	
Francie	14,41	15,31	12,77	16,6	France	
Irsko	18,52	20,11	17,11	14,9	Ireland	
Itálie	10,38	11,06	8,97	18,9	<i>Italy</i>	
Kypr	9,67	10,80	7,76	28,1	Cyprus	
Lotyšsko	1,52	1,69	1,34	20,7	Latvia	
Litva	1,83	1,96	1,71	12,8	Lithuania	
Lucembursko	15,88	16,94	13,73	18,9	Luxembourg	
Maďarsko	2,41	2,64	2,18	17,4	Hungary	
Nizozemsko	14,93	16,29	13,23	18,8	Netherlands	
Rakousko	12,01	13,26	9,76	26,4	Austria	
Polsko	3,42	3,55	3,29	7,3	Poland	
Portugalsko	5,26	5,71	4,59	19,6	Portugal	
Slovinsko	5,61	5,74	5,45	5,1	Slovenia	
Slovensko	1,99	2,32	1,67	28,0	Slovakia	
Finsko	13,80	14,80	12,13	18,0	Finland	
Švédsko	15,00	15,82	13,40	15,3	Sweden	
Spojené království	17,83	20,60	15,00	27,2	United Kingdom	
Další země					Other countries	
Bulharsko	0,80	0,88	0,72	18,2	Bulgaria	
Rumunsko	1,05	1,13	0,95	15,9	Romania	
Island	13,30	14,83	10,78	27,3	lceland	
Norsko	21,83	23,44	18,80	19,8	Norway	