

**GENDER EQUALITY AND SOCIAL POLICY IN THE
EUROPEAN UNION: A CASE STUDY OF BRITAIN**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
for award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SANGYA PANDEY



Centre for European Studies

SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi- 110067

INDIA

2017



Date: 10th July 2017

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled “Gender Equality and Social Policy in the European Union: A Case Study of Britain” submitted by me for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University, is my own work. This thesis has not been previously submitted for the award of any degree of this University or any other university.

Sangya Pandey
SANGYA PANDEY

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Bhaswati Sarkar
Prof. Bhaswati Sarkar
(Chairperson, CES)

 Prof Bhaswati Sarkar
Chairperson
Centre for European Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067, India

Sheetal Shrama
Dr. Sheetal Shrama
(Supervisor)

 Assistant Professor
Centre for European Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 067

Dedicated to
My parents
and
Pratosh

Acknowledgment

I express my sincere gratitude to my Supervisor, Dr. Sheetal Sharma for the guidance she gave me during the writing of this thesis. She has ever been willing to provide me with many invaluable suggestions and comments; she is a great motivator and mentor, guide and guardian, a visionary and 'vidushi' (scholar). She is the key architect who has shaped my career by bringing in many substantial and positive changes in my approach and outlook.

I am thankful to the faculty members of Centre for European studies especially Prof. Bhaswati Sarkar and Prof. Gulshan Sachdeva for their advice during my thesis writing.

My sincere thanks are also due to Prof. Binda Paranjape and Prof. Ghanshyam, Department of History, Banaras Hindu University, for their valuable support and suggestions.

The staffs of Rembrandt Room Library of the Centre for European Studies, Nehru Memorial Library, New Delhi and the JNU Central Library also deserve thanks from me for their cooperation.

My thanks are particularly due Brig. Dr. Sudarshan Sukumar for his continuous support and encouragement. I would also like to thank my friend late Dr. Swasti Pandey for always being there with me in my academic carrier till April 2016. My other friends Dr. Nirmal Pandey, Pratibha Singh, Divya, and Sadan deserve thanks from me for their help and support.

I am highly indebted to my family, particularly my mother, Smt Geeta Pandey for her being a source of constant inspiration and support, and my father, Shri Trilok Nath Pandey for his valuable guidance and encouragement in my research and studies without which I would not have achieved this goal in my life. My younger brother, Anutosh, who has ever been available with sincere assistance and innovative ideas, deserves many thanks from me. Very special thanks to my nephew Pratosh Pandey who has always been the stress buster in this journey. His smile has given me strength to accomplish my goals.

Sangya Pandey

CONTENTS

<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	i-ii
Chapter One	1-32
Introduction	
Chapter Two	33-65
Nature and Evolution of Social Policy in Europe and Britain	
Chapter Three	66-96
Childcare Policy and its impact on Women's Employment	
Chapter Four	97-139
Female Friendly Labour Market Policy	
Chapter Five	140-153
Conclusion	
References	154-172
Annexure I	173-177
Figures	
Annexure II	178- 196
New Clippings	

List of Abbreviations

APL	Additional Paternity Leave
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporations
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sports
DCSF	Department for Children, School and Families
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
EC	European Commission
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EOU	Equal Opportunities Unit
EP	European Parliament
EqPA	Equal Pay Act
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
EWC	Expected week of childbirth
EYDCP	Early Years Development and Child Care Partnerships
GB	Great Britain
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GES	Gender Equality Scheme
GOQ	Genuine Occupational Qualification

HM	Her Majesty
IIA	Industrial Injuries Act
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
LEA	Local Education Authorities
LETS	Local Exchange Trading Systems
MPL	Maternity and Paternity Leave
NHA	National Health Act
NHS	National Health Service
NIA	National Insurance Act
NOW	National Organisation for Women
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
ONS	Office of National Statistic
OPL	Ordinary Paternity Leave
SDA	Sexual Discrimination Act
SEA	Single European Act
SPC	Social Protection Committee
UNIFEM	The United Nations Development Fund for Women
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
VAT	Value Added Tax
WHO	World Health Organisation

List of Abbreviations

APL	Additional Paternity Leave
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporations
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sports
DCSF	Department for Children, School and Families
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
EC	European Commission
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EOU	Equal Opportunities Unit
EP	European Parliament
EqPA	Equal Pay Act
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
EWC	Expected week of childbirth
EYDCP	Early Years Development and Child Care Partnerships
GB	Great Britain
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GES	Gender Equality Scheme
GOQ	Genuine Occupational Qualification

HM	Her Majesty
IIA	Industrial Injuries Act
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
LEA	Local Education Authorities
LETS	Local Exchange Trading Systems
MPL	Maternity and Paternity Leave
NHA	National Health Act
NHS	National Health Service
NIA	National Insurance Act
NOW	National Organisation for Women
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
ONS	Office of National Statistic
OPL	Ordinary Paternity Leave
SDA	Sexual Discrimination Act
SEA	Single European Act
SPC	Social Protection Committee
UNIFEM	The United Nations Development Fund for Women
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
VAT	Value Added Tax
WHO	World Health Organisation

List of Abbreviations

APL	Additional Paternity Leave
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporations
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sports
DCSF	Department for Children, School and Families
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
EC	European Commission
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EOU	Equal Opportunities Unit
EP	European Parliament
EqPA	Equal Pay Act
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
EWC	Expected week of childbirth
EYDCP	Early Years Development and Child Care Partnerships
GB	Great Britain
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GES	Gender Equality Scheme
GOQ	Genuine Occupational Qualification

HM	Her Majesty
IIA	Industrial Injuries Act
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
LEA	Local Education Authorities
LETS	Local Exchange Trading Systems
MPL	Maternity and Paternity Leave
NHA	National Health Act
NHS	National Health Service
NIA	National Insurance Act
NOW	National Organisation for Women
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
ONS	Office of National Statistic
OPL	Ordinary Paternity Leave
SDA	Sexual Discrimination Act
SEA	Single European Act
SPC	Social Protection Committee
UNIFEM	The United Nations Development Fund for Women
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
VAT	Value Added Tax
WHO	World Health Organisation

List of Abbreviations

APL	Additional Paternity Leave
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporations
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sports
DCSF	Department for Children, School and Families
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
EC	European Commission
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EOU	Equal Opportunities Unit
EP	European Parliament
EqPA	Equal Pay Act
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
EWC	Expected week of childbirth
EYDCP	Early Years Development and Child Care Partnerships
GB	Great Britain
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GES	Gender Equality Scheme
GOQ	Genuine Occupational Qualification

HM	Her Majesty
IIA	Industrial Injuries Act
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
LEA	Local Education Authorities
LETS	Local Exchange Trading Systems
MPL	Maternity and Paternity Leave
NHA	National Health Act
NHS	National Health Service
NIA	National Insurance Act
NOW	National Organisation for Women
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
ONS	Office of National Statistic
OPL	Ordinary Paternity Leave
SDA	Sexual Discrimination Act
SEA	Single European Act
SPC	Social Protection Committee
UNIFEM	The United Nations Development Fund for Women
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
VAT	Value Added Tax
WHO	World Health Organisation

Chapter One
Introduction

Background

The increasing number of women in the labour market has brought to light the importance of introducing social policies, reconciling work and family life. Modern welfare states are now much more concerned about gender equality in the workplace as well as in the household. Many developed countries have actively linked welfare policies to work, especially since the later part of the 1990s. Feminist theorists (along with other approaches) are trying to analyse the correlation between gender equality and state's social policies. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, feminists mainly campaigned for women's inclusion in the developing system of national insurance, economic assistance to mothers through maternity benefits, family allowances and, most importantly, maternal and paediatric health. As British society has experienced different societal changes in the last century, feminists have different demands from the state with respect to its social policy.

One of the feminist approaches in this area comes from analysts of liberalism, democracy and citizenship, their work mainly focuses on the diverse ways in which states influence gender relations. Liberal feminists basically argue that state policies which create gender discrimination should be revised. According to them women should be aware and organize everywhere to pressure local governments for the institutionalisation of policies that favor equality.

In contrast to liberal feminism, radical feminists believe that to overcome gender discrimination women should be liberated from demands of biological needs. According to them, traditional structure of the family based on biological relationship should be changed because it gives rise to male dominance in the society. Radical feminists have their own demands from the state. They mainly demand welfare services for women, which are non-sexist. Feminists are also asked to give women as much knowledge as possible so that they could fulfil their needs.

For Marxist feminists, the welfare state is an arena of class conflict which is indecisive in its nature. It partially supports the owner of the means of production and partially supports working class. So, according to them, the sexual division of labor is the base for oppression of women. Because of this sexual division of labour men plot to accumulate wealth and women are oppressed by biological reproduction and repetitive daily labour in the private domain. According to Marxist feminists' welfare

state's policies, especially family policies should provide support for full participation of women in the labour market.

Socialist feminism reformulates orthodox Marxist theory which they believe has two main weaknesses. First, it refuses to examine the specific position of women, and second, it presents no analysis of the family. According to them patriarchy and capitalism together give rise to the sexual division of labor, both in the public as well as private (home) sphere of daily life. So they demand that the welfare state should stop reinforcing the division of roles by gender, which promotes the dependence of women and see the duty of caring as women's natural role. Feminists from socialist orientation argue that the states contributed to the reproduction of patriarchy as well as capitalism. Welfare has been the key area of their research on the state's role in reproducing the gender order. Since 1989, they are trying to figure it out that how gendered state social provisions shape social policy in the transition to market economy and democracy.

Despite these conceptual differences, feminists commonly believe that construction of the welfare state, which is based on sexual division of labour, needs to be revised. The nature of states welfare policies is very contradictory. On the one hand, welfare states have provided women with material and social improvements such as family allowances and child benefits, access to safer childbirth facilities, more reliable forms of contraception, and employment opportunities. On the other hand, welfare state policies have often overlooked or marginalized women's needs.

Conceptualising Equality

In order to understand gender equality and social policy in Britain, it is important to discuss some of the basic concepts like equality, gender equality, feminism, three waves of feminism and how they advocate and represent equality.

Equality is an ideal concept, according to which in a given situation or circumstances everyone can flourish. Equality can be defined differently; it is a relative concept, which can't be absolute. Two persons can be equal in one term, but they may become unequal in other terms. For example, they may have equal educational qualification but for one person, it can be satisfactory and for other it can't be enough. According to Brayan S. Turner equality can be conceived, as a value and as a principle, as an

essentially modern and progressive idea. It is a fundamentally modern principle associated with the development of the nation-state.¹ The modern idea of equality came from the French Revolution's famous slogan 'liberty, equality and fraternity'. The American Revolution which began in 1765 added some more realistic values to the modern idea of equality.

The modern notion of equality can also be understood in the perspective of evolution of citizenship. Citizenship rights insure an equal treatment of individuals, irrespective of their particular attribute. Turner explained four types of equality in his work titled *Equality* (1986). The first is Ontological equality or the fundamental equality of persons. In a simpler way it can be defined as religious equality. That means all human beings are equal before the God. But this concept of equality is not much relevant in the contemporary world with the emergence of the secularism as one of the basic characteristics of the modern nation state. The second type of equality is equality of opportunity and equality of condition. It basically means that all human beings should have equal access to available options for excellence. This type of equality is an important legacy of French and American Revolutions, which emphasizes that a person should get opportunity completely on the basis his/her talent regardless of social and family background. The third type equality is equality of condition, which is to some extent related to equality of opportunity. Equality of opportunity can only be achieved if there would be equality of condition. Equality of condition means that all the competitors should get an equal starting point in a competition. Among all types of equalities the most contradictory type is equality of result or outcome. Where all other equalities trying to bring egalitarianism, equality of result to some extent provide inequality because through legislation and other political process it attempts to establish equality of result regardless of starting point and natural ability. Equality of result or outcome basically provides social equality.

Despite all the presence of different types of equality, it is still difficult for any society to achieve an egalitarian status because it can demolish other values, such as personal liberty.

Gender or Sexual equality is one of the most common and relevant phenomena in modern times. Modern welfare states are trying to provide equal opportunities for men

¹Brayan S. Turner, *Equality*, 1986

and women in private and public sphere. Gender equality doesn't mean that both the sexes are same, but it actually stands for the equal right and dignity for both men and women.

According to Gender Equality Strategy (2014-2017) by the council of Europe, "Gender equality means equal visibility, empowerment, responsibility and participation for both women and men in all spheres of public and private life. It also means an equal access to and distribution of resources between women and men."

Gender and Sex which often misunderstood are actually two different phenomena. Sex is a biological identity which all human being carries from their birth, but Gender is a socially constructed idea. According to World Health Organization (WHO):

'Sex' refers to the biological and physiological characteristics that define men and women.

'Gender' refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women.

Simone de Beauvoir in her famous work *The Second Sex* stated that '[o]ne is not born, but rather becomes a woman'. Gender is not constructed by nature, but it is the society and culture which imbed gendered classification among human beings.²

Gender equality does not mean that both the sex should be same and women get equal rights as men, but it actually means that there should not be any discrimination between both the groups depending upon whether they are born male or female. Gender equality should not be considered only as a women's issue, but it must be seen as an issue related to human rights. It is a precondition for sustainable development in any developing or developed modern society.

Gender equality means accepting and valuing equally the differences between women and men and the diverse roles they play in society. Gender equality includes the right to be different. This means taking into account the existing differences among women and men, which are related to class, political opinion, religion, ethnicity, race or sexual orientation. Gender equality means discussing how it is possible to go further, to change the structures in society which contribute to maintaining the unequal power

²Beauvoir, Simone de, *The Second Sex*, 1949

relationships between women and men, and to reach a better balance in the various female and male values and priorities. Looking back at the two aspects of the gender concept discussed above, this implies calling into question the domination of ways of life, thinking and interests associated with men and the way in which our societal structures reproduce this norm. The problem is gender hierarchy, not women. The quintessence is to assure that the social construction of gender leaves room for difference and does not contain a notion of hierarchy placing men higher than women. It implies a real partnership between women and men and their shared responsibility in removing imbalances in public and private life. It is a question of using the competencies, skills and talents of each and every citizen, of involving both women and men in building society, solving problems and preparing the future. Society, in order to develop, is dependent on the utilization of all human resources, and both women and men must participate fully to meet the different needs of society (UNIFEM, 1995:7).

Gender normally gets marginalized in the process of overall development. For ensuring gender equality or gender mainstreaming, it is important to measure and document gender equality because if the goal is set, it's more convenient in achieving.

In order to measure gender equality, there are three different types of methodology which can be used, Quantitative, Qualitative and Participatory method. Data, numbers and statistics used in the quantitative method can bring the accurate measurement, but the facts and figures can get affected through personal biases and also depends on the interpretation of these data's.

For measuring or analyzing a social issue, qualitative method would always be a better option because it gives an in-depth examination of the issue and it can measure the quality also. A combined method of both of the methodologies can be best method to measure gender equality, which uses gender-sensitive participatory techniques. This technique is based on the principal that men and women should be the agent of their own development and they must contribute in the decision that what should be measured and what indicators should be used.³

³Moser, Annalise, Gender and Indicators, 2007

There are some important indicators through which gender equality can be measured. Gender equality can only be insured in any society when both the genders get equal participation in every sphere of day to day life. According to the Gender Gap Report 2013⁴, there are four fundamental pillars for evaluating level of gender equality in any society: Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival and Political Empowerment.

Economic Participation and Opportunity can be measured through three concepts: the participation gap, the remuneration gap and the advancement gap. The participation gap can be measured by calculating the difference in labour force participation rates. The estimated ratio of female-male earned income and equal wages for equal work calculation can identify the remuneration gap. Gender gap can also be identified in the area of female legislation, senior officials, management, female professional and technical worker.

Educational equality among women and men is one of the important sub-indexes for identifying gender gaps in any society. It can be captured through ratios of women to men in primary, secondary and tertiary-level education. Literacy rate among women and men is also an important component through which education equality can be measured.

One of the important aspect women's empowerment and gender equality is health and survival which can be measured through two indicators. First is the sex ratio at birth, which aims specifically to capture the phenomenon of "missing women" prevalent in many countries with a strong son preference. Second is the gap between women's and men's life expectancy, calculated by the World Health Organization. This measure provides an estimate of the number of years that women and men can expect to live in good health by taking into account the years lost to violence, disease, malnutrition or other relevant factors.

Political Participation of women is one of the elementary preconditions for gender equality. Women should get equal participation in political/government bodies. They should also get equal chances to take part in the decision making process. It will ensure better accountability to women. Political empowerment can be measure be

⁴The Global Gender Gap Report 2013, World Economic Forum, URL: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2013.pdf

calculating ratio of female and male parliamentarians, females at ministerial levels and number of years of female head of state. A report published in the UK's leading newspaper The Independent on 11th March 2014 shows that the number of women parliamentarians across the world is at a record 21.8 percent following over the last year⁵ (Item-1, Annexure-II). The report is released by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and UN Women. It stated that if the current rate of progress is sustained, women could achieve equality in the future. The Americas, Europe and Africa are outperforming the Arab, Asia and Pacific regions for women reaching executive governmental and executive governmental parliamentary positions⁶.

Rise of Feminism:

As an organized movement modern feminism started in the 19th century in Europe, America and Japan in response with the great inequalities between the legal status of women and men. (Lorber, 2010: 1) It's not easy to define the word feminism. It has different definitions given by different thinkers of the women's movement. According to Barrow and Millburn (1990), feminism is "a label for a commitment or movement to achieve equality for women". J.A. Cuddon (1991), says that it is an attempt to describe and interpret (or reinterpret) women's experiences as depicted in various kinds of literature. Maggie Humm (1992) gives a sociological definition of feminism, and says "the word feminism can stand for a belief in sexual equality combined with a commitment to transform society." The meaning of feminism actually depends on individual's political or sociological observations and goals, understanding or interpretation of the word 'woman' and other factors as well. As Ruth Sheila (1980) stated, feminism can be 'a perspective, a world-view, a political theory, or a kind of activism' (Ebunoluwa, 2009:228).

The literal meaning of the word feminism actually means issues related to woman, which has originated from the Latin word 'femina'. Despite different interpretation and definition of feminism, it has been accepted universally that feminism mainly revolves around the female experience. Feminism not only talks about female as a biological being, but as a social being also (ibid).

⁵The Independent, March 11th 2014

⁶Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and UN Women, Women in Politics, January 2014

The term feminism is relatively modern. It was first used in 1871 in a French medical text to describe a cessation in the development of the sexual organs and characteristics in male patients, who were thus perceived as suffering from ‘feminization’ of their bodies. It was again used in 1872 by Alexandre Dumas Fils who was a writer, politician and anti-feminist. He used it in a pamphlet titled *l’homme-femme* on the topic of adultery in which the term feminism was used to describe women behaving in a masculine way. In political terms feminism was mainly used to define virtualization of women (Freedman, 2001: 2).

First wave of feminism influenced women of both western and eastern societies throughout the 20th century. The first wave of feminism talks about the women’s liberation. It mainly advocates for equality of women and removal of discriminatory laws and gender-based exclusionary social norms. In the beginning the first wave of feminism was interlinked with other social reforms movement and has mainly involved women of the working class. The first wave of feminism has introduced the idea of “equal-opportunities feminism” or equity feminism, according to which women should not only get equal rights as men but they must be recognized for their contribution and capabilities. Despite the fact that the biological differences are major factors in deciding the social role of both the genders; it should not affect the ideal of equality (Krolokke, 2005:6).

In the beginning, feminist mainly fought for the very basic rights, like right to vote, to own property and capital, to borrow money, to inherit, to keep the money earned, to initiate divorce, to restrain custody of children, to go to college, to become a professionally certified physician, to argue cases in court and to serve on a jury (Lorber, 2010: 2).

The first wave of feminism had two major feminist ideologies, liberal feminism and socialist/Marxist feminism. Mary Wollstonecraft’s (1792) work titled *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* was the basic manifesto of liberal feminism, in which she introduced the idea of female bisexuality and unique woman’s voice and writings.

Socialist/Marxist feminism was developed in workers’ union in the United States, in reformist social-democratic parties in Europe, and during the rise of communism in the former Soviet Union. Rosa Luxemburg (1870-1919) in Germany, Alexandra Kollontai (1873-1952) in Russia and Emma Goldman (1869–1940) in the United

States were main initiators of socialist/Marxist feminism. Like a liberal feminist, socialist/Marxist feminist were also advocating equal opportunity for women and men, but they were mainly focused on working class women. They fought for women's right both in bourgeois society and within the socialist movements (ibid).

There was another branch of feminism in the 19th century which didn't fight for equal rights of women, but their struggle was for women's right to "own" her body and to plan their pregnancies. The first wave of feminism also provides economic independence to women. This has helped women in raising their status in the household (Lorber, 2010: 2).

Though the first wave of feminism has fought for some of the very basic rights for women's liberation, but the question of differences between women and men still remains. Another question, which remains unsolved, is whether the feminist politics should put most efforts in the public sphere (work, government) or on the private sphere (family and sexuality) (ibid, 2010: 3).

The second wave of feminism started in 1949 in France. The famous work of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* started this movement by arguing that women's subordination is more a social construct rather than biological. It is closely linked with radical voices of feminism and the issues of equal rights. In 1980s and 90s another branch of second wave of feminism has started, which was initiated by women of color and women of third world feminists such as Betty Friedan (1965).

The second wave of feminism was much affected by the other contemporary movements like post-war leftist/socialist movement, anti-Vietnam movement and lesbian and gay movements. It is theoretically based on neo-Marxism and psychoanalysis. The second-wave feminists like Juliet Mitchell (1970) and Shulaamith Firestone (1970) argued that the bourgeois society is patriarchal in its nature. Women normally engaged with household work and mainly play a very traditional role of household worker and childcare. The second wave of feminism has also introduced the idea of lesbian and homosexuality. Lesbian author Adrienne Rich (1979) and the African American lesbian author Audre Lorde (1984) argued that heterosexuality is one of the main sources of women's suppression.

During this time women activists started taking strict in order to achieve more equality in every sphere of life. In the year 1966, National Organization for Women (NOW) was formed. The organization was very inclusive in its nature. It not only fought for the equal rights of white, urban, college going to educate women, but it had also raised its voice for the middle class working women and minority groups. In comparison with the first wave which was mainly influenced by the political factor, the second wave feminism was shaped by cultural or individual values.

The second wave feminists had adopted legal and legislative action, coalition building with established political groups, single-issue campaigns, service delivery and influencing public opinion as part of their strategy (Lovenduski, 1986). This strategy has helped improve women's position, especially in the UK. In the year 1975, the legitimization of the Act of Sex Discrimination was an example of improving women's situation in the society.

Though this phase of feminist movement had made remarkable changes, it had received some very negative responses also. It saw a decline in the grassroots mobilization, an increase in the anti-feminist discourse and negative comments from the media (Aronson, 2003).

The word third wave of feminism has created by Rebecca Walker, which can be used in three ways: to refer to as an age group, a cohort and a theoretical perspective. In terms of age, third wave of feminism can be defined as an organization which supports young women aged 15 to 30. In respect with a cohort, feminism can be defined as a group of feminist who are born in 1970s. Theoretical explanation of the third wave feminism mainly talks about the crucial influence of post-modernism and multi-racial feminist theory on the development of the third wave of feminism (Harnois, 2008:121).

According to the encyclopedia of the third wave feminism, its emphasis on multiculturalism and diversity, an assumption that the category of "women" is no longer the only identity worth examining an insistence that the war for women's social, political and economic equality is far from over; a playful attitude toward sexuality; a critical engagement with popular culture; and an embrace of contradiction. Often distinguished by rhetorical and theoretical shifts and generational differences in activist style and affiliation, "third wave" is perhaps best described as a

mark of chronological affiliation that denotes a set of shared historical circumstances (Heywood, 2007:138).

The third wave of feminism is responding as well as criticism of the second wave feminism. It tries to change the radical attitude of the second wave. The movement includes women of different class, culture, nation and ethnic groups. It also involves problems of all aspects of women's life which makes it different from other social movements (ibid, 2006: 367).

Till the mid of the 20th century feminists mainly focused only on the public sphere of woman's life, but it failed to acknowledge that the public sphere gains its meaning and significance only in contrast with, and in opposition to, the private world of particularity, natural subjection, inequality, emotion, love, partiality and women and femininity (Donvan, 2012: 186).

Unlike the previous two waves of feminism, the third wave has affected women's life in every aspect. This is because of much influence of globalization. Globalization diverted public's attention to the more diverse women's interests and perspectives, which contributed to the alliances between women with different color, religious and classes (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2005: 21).

The third wave of feminism can be discussed with two forms of feminism, one is Integrative feminism and other is Cultural or Post-feminism. Integrative feminism talks about combining feminine care with masculine economy. According to Julie Matthaei, Integrative feminism started redefining individuals. It 'feminize' entrepreneurship by transforming it into 'socially responsible business', in which the masculine profit motive coexists with or occasionally is even replaced by the new feminine goals of service to others: consumers, workers, and the larger community.

The post-feminism is a backlash of the second wave of feminism. According to Susan Faludi (1992), post-feminists are trying to change the image of unfeminine women and anti-men sentiments. They talk about work-family life balance and equality between women and men. Post-feminists believe in sexual liberty, and accept gay and lesbian forms of relationships. Post-feminism is a result of reality TV, glossy magazines and contemporary cinema.

Third wave of feminism is criticized for its consumer culture and increasingly neo-liberal social policies which mainly talks about freedom and individual choices (Gray, 2010).

Feminism and Equality:

Since feminists are of the view that male domination is found in virtually all important aspects of life, this male domination is seen as the source of social inequalities and injustice which affect the life of women. Feminists, therefore, seek to remove all the barriers to equal social, political and economic opportunities for women and object to the notion that a woman's worth is determined principally by her gender and that women are inherently inferior, subservient or less intelligent than men. Thus, feminist scholarship is aimed at 'deconstructing' the established predominant male paradigms and 'constructing' a female perspective which foregrounds the female experience (Ebunoluwa, 2009:228).

According to Judith Lorber, who consider herself a social-constructive feminist, for feminism, gender equality or inequality is not only related to individual, but it is embedded with the societal structure. Some of the major institutions/organizations like family, marriage, work and economy, politics, religion and language of the society actually create discrimination between men and women.

Feminist demands for equal rights have usually started from the claims that women are 'as well as men', that they are entitled to full human rights and that they should be free to explore their full potential in equal competition with men. These are liberal arguments and, as we have seen, they were used by earlier feminists to demand legal and political equality.

During the inter-war years, feminism based on equal rights arguments had been in abeyance, as 'mainstream' feminist activities concentrated on supporting women in their traditional roles rather than on challenging their remaining legal inequalities. After the Second World War, it has been observed that women are actually not getting what they deserve. In response to this a liberal protest started in the United States to provide women promises of independence and self-expression (Bryson, 1992:139).

After this protest in the United States, a series of changes started taking place across the world. Policy makers and national leaders had accepted this fact that women need

equality to men. In 1954, Margaret Thatcher wrote that with efficient organization ‘as well as being a housewife it is possible to put in eight hours work a day besides’, she said that women must ‘see housework for what it is – not a career, but something that must be done as quickly and efficiently as possible’. Her goal, therefore, was to allow women to live for themselves as well as for others by being educated to their full potential and enabled to follow a career outside the home; she believed that this would also create new possibilities for love with men, which could now be based on shared work and values rather than inequality.

By 1970s, works like *The Feminist Mystique* by Betty Friedan (1963) have influenced many women. Friedan argued that since the Second World War, feminist goal of education and independence were displaced by an all-pervasive ‘feminine mystique’, through which women had been manipulated and persuaded into the belief that their only fulfillment lay in domesticity. This meant that a woman’s life was actually centered only on the husband. Such life could not lead to happiness, for no multiplicity of consumer goods could compensate for the inner emptiness involved; at best it could lead to passivity, at worst to bleak despair. Friedan argues that in favour of the wellness of society and demand of women, women should be free from the feminine mystique and enabled to ‘say “No” to the housewife image’. She considers education as a key through which women can make themselves free from the burden. She also believes that with the help of maternity leave and workplace nurseries women could combine long-term career plans with their family responsibilities.

In the contemporary time, the term feminism is associated with ‘anything goes’ approach, which means that any woman who wants social equality with men, regardless of her ideological identity, the woman would be seen as a feminist. Feminism is a movement to end sexist oppression. It does not advocate giving privilege to women over men. (Hooks, 1987) According to Anne Phillips (1987), a hundred years before feminism could be defined as a movement to achieve gender equality. In the present scenario things are quite different. It maybe because along with time feminist movement helped women to live with pride and to some extent it also provided an equal position with men in different areas. When feminists talk about equality and equal rights, it is mostly close to the liberal ideas of feminism. Juliet Mitchell (1976), in her essay, *women and equality* says that equality is a basic idea of feminist thought. According to her, ‘a new society that is built on an old society that,

within its limit, has reached a certain level of equality clearly is a better starting point than one that must build on a society predicated on privilege and unchallenged oppression’.

Gender Equality in Europe:

The European Union (EU) is a polity growing in importance as it deepens its powers over a wider range of policy domains, enlarges the number of member countries and has an increasingly coherent and powerful presence on the world stage (European Commission 2003c).

According to a report on gender mainstreaming (May, 1998) published by the council of Europe, Gender equality means an equal visibility, empowerment and participation of both sexes in all spheres of public and private life. Gender equality is the opposite of gender inequality, not of gender difference, and aims to promote the full participation of women and men in society.

For a long period of time gender equality in Europe was defined as giving equal rights, equal opportunity, and equal condition to boys and girls, men and women. An equality, which law has provided, doesn’t give real equality. Men and women are basically different, especially because of the childbearing function of women. These differences should not affect women’s life negatively, should also not discriminate against them, and should contribute to an equal sharing of power in the economy, society and policy-making processes. Gender equality is not synonymous with sameness, with establishing men, their lifestyle and conditions as the norm.

In Europe, the level of education of women is rising. They participate more than before in the formal labour market and they are taking a more active part in public and political life and in decision-making. However, there has been little progress in this field in many European countries for many years - rather the contrary - even if women should, in theory, have every opportunity to enter decision-making.

Despite the fact that women in Europe have achieved equal rights in legal terms, they are still discriminated against in many areas of life. Moreover, new forms of inequality have developed and there is increasing acknowledgement of the diversity among women.

The concept of gender equality in the European Union was firstly introduced in the Treaty of Rome (1957), but it only includes equal pay between women and men. The reason behind it was not directly related to equality between women and men; it was mainly to ensure the proper functioning of the Common Market. Despite the limited scope of this Article, its inclusion in the Treaty allowed the Commission and the European Court of Justice (ECJ) to play a more active role during the 1970s in the promotion of equality between men and women in the field of employment and other matters related to the labour market, such as social security and social benefits linked to unemployment (Arribas and Carrasco 2003).

After Equal Pay Directive, Council has adopted Equal Treatment Directive. According to the Council Directive 79/7/EEC of 19 December 1976, it broadens the principle of equal pay for equal treatment between women and men in the field of access to employment, professional training and promotion, and conditions of employment. In the year 1978 and 1986, respectively, the council has adopted legislation on equal treatment in the field of social security, and the self-employed and the role of their spouses.

Along with all these legislations, the Councils have also introduced some internal reforms which reflected the growing interest and political commitment towards gender equality. In the year 1981 Equal Opportunities Unit of DGV (EOU) was created. After three years, in July 1984 the European Parliament (EP) created a Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities, which has since dealt with all matters relating to the area.

The Maastricht Treaty (1992) introduced Social Protocol, according to the Community would support and complement national action in several fields, including the promotion of equal opportunities between women and men in the labour market. During this time the EU has also passed some legislative related to gender equality. The Directives on pregnancy and maternity leave, the Directives on parental leave and part-time work, and the Directive on the burden of proof in cases of discrimination on the grounds of sex complemented the Community legislative body on equality between women and men in the field of employment and social security.

The Amsterdam Treaty constitutes an important breakthrough in the concept of gender issues at Community level. So far, gender matters had been limited to the area

of employment, and were basically considered a question of social policy. This limited concept changed with the Amsterdam Treaty. In Amsterdam, gender equality was expressly included in the Treaties as one of the tasks (Article 2 TEC) and one of the activities (Article 3 TEC) of the Community.

Article 3 (2) is of particular importance, since it introduces for the first time in the Treaties the concept of gender mainstreaming, which calls for the integration of a gender perspective in all policy areas, at every level. (Arribas and Carrasco, 2003)

Treaty of Lisbon (2007), talks about the elimination of all inequalities and promoting equalities. Article 8 of the Treaty on the functioning of the EU declares that in all its activities, the Union shall aim to eliminate inequalities, and to promote equality, between men and women.

The new Article, like the older versions, stipulates that each Member State shall ensure the application of the principle that men and women should receive equal pay for equal work. This principle means: (a) that pay for the same work at piece rates shall be calculated on the basis of the same unit of measurement; and (b) that pay for work at time rates shall be the same for the same job. The European Parliament and the Council, acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure, and after consulting the Economic and Social Committee, shall adopt measures to ensure the application of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation, including the principle of equal pay for equal work or work of equal value. With a view to ensuring full equality in practice between men and women in working life, the principle of equal treatment should not prevent any Member State from maintaining or adopting measures providing for specific advantages in order to make it easier for the underrepresented sex to pursue a vocational activity or to prevent or compensate for disadvantages in professional careers.

In March 2010, the EU Commission presented a 'Women's Charter' in the form of a policy declaration. In taking this step, the Commission expressed its increased commitment to gender equality over the next five years. The Charter reinforces the Commission's obligation to gender mainstreaming; namely, consideration and targeted support for equality between women and men in all policy areas. In particular, the 'Europe 2020' strategy aims to give full consideration to aspects of

equality. Overall, the Charter is the Commission's response to calls by the European Parliament for increased action to combat violence against women.

The Charter enumerates five key areas for action over the next five years:

- The promotion of equal economic independence through more equality in the labor market,
- Equal pay for equal work and work of equal value,
- The promotion of equality in decision-making,
- A comprehensive policy to protect human dignity and eradicate violence against women, and
- The promotion of gender equality beyond the EU to other countries and international organizations.

In substantiating the Charter and as an update to the Roadmap for equality between women and men, in September 2010 the Commission presented a new equality strategy (Strategy for equality between women and men 2010–2015) aimed at providing a coordinated framework for action throughout all EU policy areas.

The EU has made some impact on the project on gender equality because of its binding legal Directives on equal treatment in employment, but there are significant limitations on its potential for further reductions in gender inequality (Walby 2003).

Actions taken by the EU is limited by its primary concern with standard employment, while women are often employed in non-standard forms, such as part-time and temporary employment, and thus many women do not benefit from its regulations. However, recent EU Directives have required the equal treatment of some of the more important forms of non-standard work, including part-time employment and temporary work (Rossilli 1997).

Laws adopted by the EU for equal treatment do not tackle the deep-rooted cause of inequality. The EU adopts a 'male standard of worker and citizen' (Guerrina 2002: 63); while the sex equality jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice is considered to reproduce the dominant ideology of motherhood (McGlynn 2000). The European Union does not taking up the burden of care from women, mainly because

of some reasons, including: a narrow focus on the needs of workers; the principle of subsidiarity makes subsidies for care the remit of member states; the project of the EU is essentially a neoliberal project, as entrenched in the founding documents of the European Central Bank, so that fiscal conservatism is built into the foundations of the EU, limiting its capacity to ever provide, or allow its member states to provide, the welfare policies needed by mothers if they are to gain equality (Rossilli 2000; Young 2000).

Measures taken up by the EU to handle the issue of gender equality are not much successful because equality directives and other policies are uneven, as a result of national differences in a variety of institutions (Ostner and Lewis 1995;), including legal machinery (European Commission 1994), political will (Liebert 2002; Lombardo 2003), and differences in the transposition of EU law (Dimitrakopoulos 2001).

There are key areas of gender inequality in which the EU does not intervene to promote gender equality, including: sexual preference (Elman 1996); abortion (Smyth 1996); and violence against women (Hanmer 1996). However, the EU has extended its economically-based legal pre-eminence into a wide range of non-economic issues, including legislating against discrimination in employment on the grounds of sexual preference, extending the notion of a free market in services to the provision of abortion as a service, and facilitating policy development to reduce violence against women (Walby 2003).

Gender mainstreaming plays major role in order to achieving a gender equal status. The European Union has adopted 'soft' laws instead of 'hard' directives, which are only advisory and not judicially enforceable. This, together with the loss of focus implied by 'mainstreaming', limits the effectiveness of the interventions (Beveridge and Nott 2002).

According to the European Convention 2003a, gender equality was merely an 'objective' and not the higher order 'value'. This may be because so few women are involved in the Convention to establish a Constitution for the EU (Shaw 2002).

Because of all these loopholes in the European Union's gender equality policy, Council of Europe has adopted a dual-track approach in the gender equality strategy (2012-2017). This approach includes:

- Specific policies and actions, including positive action when appropriate, in critical areas for the advancement of women and for gender equality, and
- The promotion, monitoring, co-ordination and evaluation of the process of gender mainstreaming in all policies and programs.

Social policy forms part of shared competences between European Union and its member states. The EU's Maastricht treaty (1992) attached the Protocol on Social policy. This gave the EU the mandate to legislate on a broad range of social and employment issues. Gender equality has been identified as a key policy area, since the establishment of the European Community.

Traditionally, the gender policy has evolved as an element of the Community's social policy. It has been described explicitly in the Treaty of Rome in 1957 as one of the fundamental issues of the Union. Article 119 of the treaty defines gender equality as the right of "equal pay for equal work". In the year 1975, the council has adopted the Equal Pay Directive which broadly includes the principle of equal pay for equal treatment between women and men in the field of access to employment, professional training and promotion, and conditions of employment.

The Maastricht treaty (1992) introduced The Social Protocol, according to which the community would support and complement national action in several fields, including the promotion of equal opportunities between women and men in the labour market.

Between Maastricht and Amsterdam treaties the EU passed several directives on pregnancy and maternity leave, parental leave and part time work. The Amsterdam treaty (1997) has enforced gender mainstreaming, which calls for integration of gender perspective in all policy areas at every level. The concept of gender mainstreaming involves decision making in all areas of society by an active concern of gender equality.

In December 2000, in Nice, European Parliament proclaimed an EU Charter of Fundamental Rights which clearly defines the principles of non-discrimination and

equality between men and women. The Treaty of Lisbon (2009) has introduced some new elements to enforce gender equality compared to what was contained in the previous treaties. The Treaty of Lisbon gives the Union a direct involvement in combating inequalities between man and woman and fighting different types of discrimination or violence against women; in particular, it contains an explicit reference to domestic violence against women. It is stipulated that the Union will act to support the victims of domestic violence and to punish whoever commits such a terrible crime (Declaration 19). It is stated that the Union shall prevent and combat all kinds of trafficking and sexual abuse of women.

Britain and Gender Equality

Britain joined the EU (it was then European Commission) in 1973. Europe has become a new force for equality in Britain. Before the mid of the 20th century the concept of social welfare in Britain was voluntary and informal, based on its medieval concept. It was mainly based on the Elizabethan Poor Law Act of 1601. The concept basically works on collecting money from houses to support the underprivileged.

In 1906, the Liberal government of Henry-Campbell and Herbert Asquith introduced a series of reforms which can be characterised as welfare, but it was only to give benefits for a new generation of men to receive social benefits. Forty years later, Attlee's Labour government first attempted to make these social reforms broader by introducing it for both men and women. But it was not completely gender neutral or women friendly because many of the benefits extended to the female population continued to depend on their relationship with a male partner.

In the inter-war period, a key issue for the policy-makers was unemployment of men, because of which the male breadwinner concept became the center point of British welfare policy. Welfare concerned itself centrally with male unemployment, and women's needs were not specifically addressed. It was assumed that if men were able to access welfare women would be taken care of. Voluntary groups continued to provide welfare in parallel, especially for women and children.

During the Second World War "The circumstances of the Second World War generated the political determination to provide better welfare. Issues such as class conflict became less prominent as war conditions obscured class inequalities. Priority

was given to vulnerable groups like mothers and children. This social solidarity sets the stage for welfare change” (O’Brien, 2010: 24).

After Second World War, Beveridge report was published for conceptualizing and addressing the issues related to welfare in Britain. But the report was again based on the concept of the male breadwinner system, and it didn’t recognize women as an independent citizen. All welfare schemes benefit women only if they were married and associated with a male. Beveridge’s concept of family is reflected in social, welfare and family policies even in the current welfare state. “The dependency of women on men was insured under the system which assumed that the man in the family earns sufficient to cover the needs of his wife and family and as a result, women as a social group had few economic resources” (O’Brien, 2010:24).

Since state policies are necessary expressions of the dominant culture, it is not surprising that a society in which gender inequality is pervasive produces social policies which replicate or reinforce that inequality. For much of the 20th century British social policy did tend to reinforce the domestic roles of women. Yet critics of the British welfare state from another perspective argued in the 1980s and 1990s that it enabled too many women to be independent of men, bringing up children as lone mothers, funded by income support and housing benefits. Another equally plausible argument is that such benefits have enabled even very poor women to live independently of unsatisfactory men, though often in miserable conditions.

Gender equality as one of the main directives of British government’s social policy has emerged only after 1997 when the post-Amsterdam EU Directives have necessitated new legislation to combat discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, religion and belief, and age. There were serious and successful efforts by the Labour Party to increase the very low representation of women in the Labour Party with the use of All Women shortlists in 1993. Since 2003, workplace discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation became illegal. In 2006 Labour government also introduced a Public Sector Duty for Gender Equality. It is a legal requirement on all public authorities, when carrying out all their functions, to have due regard to the need: 1) to eliminate unlawful discrimination and harassment on the grounds of sex; and 2) to promote equality of opportunity between women and men.

In 2010, the coalition government has introduced The Equality Act 2010, which mainly aims at building a stronger, fairer and more cohesive society where equality is for everyone and is everyone's responsibility. This Act bans unfair treatment and helps to achieve equal opportunities in the workplace and in the wider society. The Act prohibits unfair treatment in access to employment and private and public services regardless of age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, race, religion or belief, sex, and sexual orientation.

British Prime Minister David Cameron had pledged during his election campaign that women would fill one-third of the places in his government, but he has failed to achieve this goal. The World Economic Forum's annual "global gender gap" report places Britain at 18th, below than countries like Cuba, Latvia and Nicaragua. This report indicates that the British government should actually restructure its social policy in terms of gender equality.

The Gender Equality Strategy has five main objectives. This includes (i) Combating gender stereotypes and sexism, (ii) Preventing and combating violence against women, (iii) Guaranteeing Equal Access of Women to Justice, (iv) Achieving balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making, and (v) Achieving Gender Mainstreaming in all policies and measures.

The European Union is still suffering from the problem of gender inequality in different domains. According to the Gender Equality Index (2013), the percentage of gender inequality in the EU is 54 percent. This shows that the European Union still has to go to a long way to achieve the goal of hundred percent equality in every sphere of life.

Section II

Literature Review

For the purpose of the research, a singular corpus of literature is insufficient. There are works that deal exclusively either with family policy or with gender aspect in Britain. There is a paucity of work that seems to examine the social policy of welfare state in the western world. However, a great deal of work has been done on various aspects which are related to this research topic.

Andersen(2009) in his work titled, *Incomplete Revolution: Adapting Welfare States to Women's New Roles* tries to examine that how different societies have responded to major challenges which increase inequality in contemporary times. They mainly focus on the question of gender equality, family as a major source of inequality in today's world. The society is constitutionally moving from one type of equilibrium to another, which results an unequal situation. Rather than identifying and classifying the equilibria, this book tries to explain their dynamics and identify their consequences.

Nickie Charles (2000) in her work *Feminism, The State and Social Policy* talks about feminist movement and its impact on social policy in western society. The work provides a theorisation of the state and social movement in order to develop a conceptual framework to analyses specific policy developments. She argues that state and social movement influence each other through their forms of organisation and representation and the policies they pursue. The later part of her work explores how feminist theory and practice have changed the practical politics of social policy formation. One of the chapters of the book titled *The Family* starts with what feminists are demanding for women in the family. It also discusses childcare (one of the important element of welfare state's family policy) as a feminist issue.

An edited work by Alan Carling, Rosalind Edwards, Simon Duncan (2002) titled *Analysing Families* mainly focuses on the issues which are directly responsible for the major shifts in policy making related to family in western world. It discusses that how government policy interacts with what families actually do. For which this book covers several topics such as the relationship between morality and rationality in family processes, the variety of contemporary family forms, the purposes and assumptions of government intervention in family life, divorce and post-divorce arrangements, lone parenthood and step-parenting, the decision to have children and the economic approach to understanding family decision-making. The introductory chapter of the book "Family Policy, social theory and the state" by Alan Carling starts with two major questions. First, how do those interested in family life understand the action going on under that heading, whether as academics, policy makers or family members themselves? Second, to what extent can and should the state intervene to shape family life and intimate relationships, either as goals of policy in their own right or in pursuit of other goals, such as fiscal saving, moral development, social cohesion or economic growth? For answering these questions the author starts the discussion

with the varieties of family life. In the process of explaining this he tries to give examples from different chapters of the book.

Family in Converging Europe a book by *Eriikka Oinonen* (2008), is divided into four parts, one is the analysis of developments within Europe as a whole, exploring points of differences as well as convergences. It looks upon the demographic and socio-economic trends along with the analysis of different welfare regimes and cultural experiences. The other two parts of the book compare with two European countries, Spain and Finland more systemically. Through this comparison, author tries to uncover the differences between north and south according to their welfare regimes. The book again brings the discussion to the European level by deliberating on the convergence of European societies and the family.

Lisa Polland and *Lynne Allison* (2003) in their work titled *Families of a New World: Gender, Politics and State Development in a Global Context* give an important collection of original works to examine our understanding of family around the world and how that understanding is shaped by state policy. Using examples from both historical and modern countries around the world, essays demonstrate not only how state policies shape and what the family should look like, but also how governments have appropriated and regulated an approved “ideal” of the family to further their own agendas.

Family Policy Matters: Responding to family change in Europe by *Linda Hantrais* (2004), reflects the ambiguity of the relationship between family change and policy responses and the ways in which policy measures can have both intended and unintended impacts on families. This book explores the ways in which family life is socially and culturally constructed in the early 21st century in the member states of the European Union (EU) and looks at how families interact with the political, economic and civil society actors contributing to the policy process.

Sophie Watson and *Lesley Doyal* (1999), in their book titled *Engendering Social policy*, talk about different aspects of social policy in western countries in general and Britain in particular. They give a feminist point of view that how social policy has produced and reinforced traditional gendered patterns on work, domestic labour and caring.

Gender and Well-being edited by *Elisabetta Addis* and others (2011) gives an overview of the interplay between three institutions, the family household, the commercial enterprise selling goods, and services and the welfare state that provides basic needs to its citizen particularly in European countries. With specific case studies this book talks about different theoretical aspects related to welfare state and its policy of care giving both paid and unpaid. The second chapter of the book written by Bernard Harris titled *Gender and Social Citizenship in Historical Perspective: The Development of Welfare Policy in England and Wales from the Poor Law to Beveridge* provides a historical outline that how welfare state has emerged in England and Wales. It also tries to understand the relationship between gender and the history of British social policy since the introduction of New Poor Law in 1834. The law was first of its own kind to provide relief through civil and political rights but this law was not sufficient enough. It is only in the beginning of 20th century Liberal government introduced some basic reforms related to old age pensions and system of national insurance. But the remarkable changes in social and public policy related to women were mainly introduced only after the Second World War.

Monaghan Such and *Moira Ackers* (2003) in their paper titled *Hands-On Family Policy in the United Kingdom*, report on the situation of families and family policies in the United Kingdom and illustrate the UK's move towards greater acceptance of state intervention in family life and the development of partnerships between policy actors. United Kingdom has witnessed policy implications which initiate women's participation in work-place, but even after state's direct intervention into family matters it only increases responsibilities of the families towards their members, especially female members. So the intention of government and aspiration of families do not match exactly.

Reactivating the Extended Family: From Biblical Norms Public Policy in Britain is an edited volume by *Michael Schluter* and *Roy Clements* (1986) which tries to demonstrate the importance and feasibility of applying the Old Testament teaching on socio-economic issues to contemporary western societies. The paper is divided into three parts. The first part looks at Israel's social structure that discusses the structure and role of the family. The second section examines whether and how to apply Israel's institutions and values to society in the twentieth century. The third part illustrates the way in which it can be done for several areas of British economic and social policy in

the 1980s. The second half of the work examines the application of the Old Testament teaching to four areas of British social and economic policy in the 1980s. The aim of these chapters is not to provide definitive solutions to the problems being faced in these areas, but to illustrate how teaching from the Old Testament social model can be used to provide goals for policy today. The procedure is first to identify the key characteristics of the biblical model, and then analyses ways in which the presuppositions or values underlying contemporary policy differ from biblical norms. On this basis, it is then possible to identify goals, or limited objectives, for a programme of reform. The final step is to identify policies to move society in the direction of the goals that have been identified. Specific 'limited objectives' are identified. For family policy, greater financial incentives are required for the family to take care of its own. Universal home ownership and creating identifiable neighbourhood communities should be two of the major goals of housing policy. To encourage a viable neighbourhood government system on the biblical model will require more decentralization of decision-making in government and less residential mobility. A greater emphasis on small and family business in economic policy would further these goals of the social policy.

In order to look upon the gender aspect of family policy in general, *Christin Hilgeman* and *Carter T. Butts* (2004) edited work *Family Policy, Women's Employment and Below-Replacement Fertility in Developed Countries: A Hierarchical Bayesian Approach* examines the relationship between individual attributes, aggregate female labour force participation, and family policies, (e.g., childcare and family leave) on fertility in developed countries, using a hierarchical Bayesian model. The work indicates that women's full-time employment and country-level employment rates decreases expected fertility. However, childcare services mitigate the decline in fertility, possibly by reducing labour force exit among women with young children. These effects persist when controlling for individual-level predictors, including marital status, educational attainment and individual labour, force participation.

An edited volume by *Francine D. Blau, and Ronald G. Ehrenberg* (1997) titled *Gender and Family issues in the workplace* is an attempt to understand factors which have impeded women's progress in the labour market and to suggest what can be done to promote gender equality. With the rapid increase of women's participation in the labour market, the role of women in the family has changed rapidly and it affects

the role of women within the family. For attaining the greater gender equity in the labour market, issues related to women's position within the family should be addressed more effectively. This book talks about some of the major policies which affect women's position in the family as well as in the labour market. It also discusses about the work norms and professional labour market.

In *Gender Equality*, social scientists *Janet C. Gornick and Marcia K. Meyers* (2004) in their article titled *Welfare Regimes in Relation to Paid Work and Care*, propose a set of policies such as paid family leave provisions, working time regulations, and early childhood education and care--designed to foster more egalitarian family divisions of labour by strengthening men's ties at home and women's attachment to paid work. Their policy proposal is followed by a series of commentaries--both critical and supportive--from a group of distinguished scholars, and a concluding essay in which Gornick and Meyers respond to a debate that is a timely and valuable contribution to egalitarian politics.

Nancy R. Hryman and Judith Gonyea (1995) in their book titled *Feminist perspectives on family care: policies for gender justice*, try to examine care giving as a central feminist issue, looking at its impact on women socially, personally, and economically. They have criticised existing public and private policies, demonstrating a need for fundamental structural changes in social institutions and attitudes to improve the lives of women. Finally, they propose a social model of care that is oriented toward gender justice--recognition of the work of caring and its impact on women socially, personally, and economically.

Women, Work and the Family in Europe, edited by *Eileen P. Drew et al* (1998) outlines the similarities and differences between countries in terms of reconciling work and family. In doing so it questions the division of labour not just in the labour market but also in the home. Leading experts covered topics such as family policies, gender roles, demographic trends and care of the elderly.

Emil Thomson's (2002) work titled *Do Ends Justify Means? Feminist Economics Perspectives on the Business Case for Gender Equality in the UK Labour Market* starts with the concept of Feminist Economics. Feminist Economics actually means that even in markets, many activities (saving, speculation and corporate finance for example) make little contribution to economic 'provisioning'. Feminist Economics

draws attention to gender inequality and how it is related to other social inequalities like class and race. Further this paper explains the gender inequality in UK labour market.

Women's role in the family as a caregiver was there since the beginning of the institution of family. Because of the rapid change in the society the role of women has expanded and it has gone beyond the circle of the family. While the role of women as caregivers has been documented and analysed in the above mentioned studies but the actual impact on the lives of women has remained largely unaddressed.

The overall literature available on the subject points to a substantial room for refinement of research undertaken in the regard. The proposed study shall strive to negate certain platitudes that have gained currency on account of repetitive references in the majority of the works on the subject. The proposed study shall seek to collate the relevant data and information on the subject and present critical assessment of British government's social policy and how it is affecting women's participation in the labour market.

Definition, Rationale and Scope of the Study

The policy is one of the key factors that can affect the structure and atmosphere of a family and Government can bring some major changes in it through policies, specifically through legislation, services, tax and benefits and through the balance of work between men and women.

The social policy's main aim is to remove inequalities among different classes and mainstreaming of marginalized groups. Proposed research work mainly focuses on the gender dimension of the British (England and Wales) social policy. The research aims at the employment and family life of British women (white English women). In doing so, it will analyse the nature of 1) Childcare Policy and 2) Female Friendly Labour Market Policy of British government.

In Britain, the childcare policy has been mainly developed over the past fifteen years. It is a matter of fact that more women are economically inactive than men due to their family responsibilities. So the main aim of British government's childcare policy is to make them more able to balance their competing responsibilities, and also to ensure that those women who want to work, and who have invested so much in education, do

not lose their human capital because of the pressures and necessities in the job market. Research shows that there is a gap around 18 percentage in the employment probability of women, aged 31 to 35, who are similar in terms of education, ethnicity and location, depending on whether they have children. The British government is attempting to encourage the participation of both the parents in the childcare. The coalition government introduced The Children and Families Bill in 2013 which aims at building a new system of shared parental leave, increase the availability of flexible working, and improve childcare provision for working parents. Part 7 of this bill is mainly focusing on the gendered aspect of childcare policy. It tries to reduce the gender penalty suffered by women who take long periods away from the workplace. It also plans to make the working hours more flexible for all the employees so that the British labour market will become more flexible, efficient, fair and family and female friendly but it still remains confused and incoherent in a number of ways. Critics say that government's childcare policy is based on outdated models, which may not be encouraging enough for parents (especially women) to send their children in these childcare services.

While studying the gender and social policy it is important to look into the impact of the state's social policy on women's employment. The state can affect women's participation in the labour market in number of ways. It attributes a series of factors, especially the role of the state as a legislator, as a provider of social service and as an employer. Britain is characterized by passive labor market policies and only moderate support for those in needs. Because of the increasing numbers of working families and working women British government has introduced a policy to balance family and work. The government recognized that mothers' disproportionately bear the burden of care, even when both parents are in full time employment, and so to increase mother's employment men need to undertake a share of the unpaid domestic work. Since 1970s British government has passed several new legislations which have impacted women's participation in the labor market. 1970 Equal Pay Act, 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, 1975 Employment Protection Act, 2008 Lone parent income support changes, 2010 increase in State Pension Age for Women. According to the Labour Force Survey (Office for National Statistics, London) the employment rate of British women has gone up from 53 percent to 67 percent in the last 40 years. The rise in women's employment is partly due to an increase in the percentage of mothers in

the work. In 1996 (when comparable records began), 67 percent of married or cohabiting mothers with dependent children were at work and by 2013 this had increased to 72 percent. There has also been an increase in the lone mother's employment rate from 43 percent to 60 percent over the same period. As more women have entered employment there has been a fall in those inactive, which are those who are either not looking for work or not available to work, for example, looking after the family. The percentage of women who were inactive gradually fell over the past 40 years to a low of 28 percent of women aged 16 to 64 in 2013. In the light of the above background, the proposed work is an attempt to look upon the nature of social policy in British society and its impact on work family balance among women. It will assess the strengths and weaknesses of two social policies, namely 1) childcare policy and 2) female friendly labour market policy. How far these policies have been able to bridge the gap between genders? Is this rise in the number or percentage of women in employment a consequence of social policies adopted, so far? And are these policies gender- friendly.

Research Questions

1. What is the nature of social policy in Britain?
2. How far it is shaped by the social policy of the EU?
3. Is the social policy in Britain gender-friendly or gender-neutral?
4. What has been the impact of childcare policy on work-family balance among women?
5. What has been the influence of female-friendly labour market policy on the participation of women in the labor market?
6. How far these policies have been effective in bringing about gender equality in the British labour market?

Hypotheses

1. The social policy in Britain has been shaped in accordance with the social policy guidelines laid by the EU to promote gender equality.

2. The childcare policy in Britain has enabled women to achieve a better balance between work and family life.

3. The strong legal provisions laid down in female-friendly labour market policy have prohibited discrimination on the ground of gender and paved way for equal treatment for men and women in the labour market.

Research Methodology

The present research is an attempt to study the gendered nature of the British social policy. It will analyse strengths and weaknesses of 1) childcare policy and 2) female-friendly labour market policy of British government, and how far these policies have been useful in bringing gender equality in Britain, especially in the labour market.

To establish background of the study quantitative method has been used to collect data related to women's participation in the workplace, education, income, wages, and the fertility rate subsequently. In order to analyse the nature of British government's social policy and its approach towards women qualitative approach has been adopted. Data to analyse this research collected mainly from secondary sources that include policy papers published by the British government, reports published by the Office of National Statistics, Britain and Statistical bulletins -www.statistics.gov.uk, www.officialdocuments.gov.uk. Secondary sources, such as published works in the form of books, academic journals, articles, and internet sources will also be used.

A Structural Outline of The Research

The research is divided into the following chapters:

1. Introduction: Conceptualising Gender Equality

The introductory chapter provides a background for the present study and tries to examine various concepts relating to gender equality. It discusses the gender equality in Europe and as well as in Britain with the broader framework of theories of feminism.

2. Nature and Evolution of Social Policy in Europe and Britain

The chapter starts with discussing social policy of Europe. It attempts to relate social policy with the concept of the welfare state. It also describes the nature of demography, gender and family structure, labour market functioning, social protection

and services in Europe. Further it examines the emergence of British social policy since 1990. It discusses the major factors that have shaped the particular nature of British social policy, and how it has evolved in phases and has been influenced by social and political factors.

3. Childcare Policy and its Impact on Women's Employment

The chapter starts by discussing the nature of childcare policy of British government. It studies how the changes in society in general have influenced the childcare policy. It assesses the impact of childcare policy on women's employment. It also examines that to what extent the policy has been successful in helping women to balance their work and family life.

4. Female Friendly Labour Market Policy and Gender Equality

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section of the chapter discusses the concept of "female friendly labour market policy" and how the policy defines the concept of female friendly and what it means by this. In the next section, it examines some of the major legislations which have strengthened women's position and have bridged the gender gap in the labour market, especially legislations or Acts pertaining to equal pay, sex discrimination, employment protection.

5. Conclusion

Drawing from theoretical insights as well as empirical data, this chapter assesses the nature of social policy in Britain, its gendered character, and how far the British government's initiative in order to make it more women friendly have yielded desirable outcomes.

Chapter Two

Nature and Evolution of Social Policy in Europe and Britain

In the chapter titled 'Nature and Evolution of Social Policy in Europe and Britain' some major concepts relating to welfare models are proposed to be discussed. The first section of this chapter is earmarked to define the welfare states and its development across the world. The next section is about analyzing social policy. It gives a critical perspective of social policy. It explains social policy with regard to different theories like Marxism, feminism, anti-racism and environmentalism. Further, it proposes to develop in areas of social policy and its models. Having the conceptual framework elaborated, the next section of this chapter will specifically deal with the different European welfare model. It further describes the development of European social policy. The last section of the chapter will exclusively talk about the British social policy and its changing character in the 21st century.

The "Welfare state" typically is conceptualized as a state committed to modifying the play of social or market forces in order to achieve greater equality (Ruggie 1984: 11). Welfare states mainly provide services related to social insurance, ill-health, industrial accident, retirement, disability, death or desertion of a family breadwinner. Feminist scholars have argued for the broader definition of welfare state which includes provision of daycare, education, housing, medical services, and other services dedicated to the care of dependent citizens.

According to Ann Shola Orloff¹, the welfare state can be defined as interventions by the state in civil society to alter social forces, including male dominance, but it cannot be judged a priori that all state social interventions are aimed at, or actually produce, greater equality among citizens.

The modern welfare state is a relatively new concept, developed in the last hundred years. It emerges in a society where capitalism and nation state both were well-established. The major initiatives to social insurance development were taken in the 1880s in Imperial Germany by Otto von Bismarck, Chancellor of the Reich. Less than two decades thereafter, social insurance laws had appeared in most countries of Western Europe, and before the First World War also in Australia, Canada, the United States and Japan. In Western countries, these early laws became precursors for the

¹Ann Shola Orloff, Gender and the Welfare State, March 1996

20th century transformation of citizens' life conditions through expansion of welfare states and the development of social citizenship (Korpi, 2008: 3).

According to Esping-Andersen (1990), there are variations in welfare state regimes. The first is liberal welfare state in which means-tested assistance, modest universal transfers or modest social-insurance plans predominate. This system mainly benefits people of income group, usually working-class, state dependents. In this model the social reform policies mainly determined by traditional, liberal work-ethic norms. Countries like, U.S, Canada and Australia are the best example of liberal welfare state.

The second type of the welfare state is 'corporatist' or Christian-democratic welfare states. This type of welfare state is mainly shaped by the church and strongly committed to preserve the traditional family structure. It believes that the state should only interfere in when the family's capacity to service its members is exhausted. In the 'corporatist' type of welfare state the preservation of status differentials rights are predominated. It is mainly attached with class and status. Austria, Germany, France and Italy represent this type of welfare state regime.

The social-democratic welfare state promotes equality. This regime is typified by universal benefits and services covering the entire population, a weakening of the influence of the market in distribution, and a strong commitment to full employment (Sainsbury, 12:1996). The social democratic policies include both the market and the traditional family. This model of welfare state embraces of parliamentary reformism as its dominant strategy for equality and socialism was premised on two arguments. The first was that workers require social resources, health, and education to participate effectively as socialist citizens. The second argument was that social policy is not only emancipatory, but is also a precondition for economic efficiency (Myrdal, 1936). The social democratic model, then, is father to one of the leading hypotheses of contemporary welfare-state debate: parliamentary class-mobilization is a means for the realization of the socialist ideals of equality, justice, freedom, and solidarity (Andersen, 12:1990).

Development of the welfare state

Abraham D Swan has argued that the development of a public system of social insurance has been an administrative and political innovation of the first order, comparable in significance to the introduction of representative democracy (D Swan, 149:1988). The development of welfare state was an innovation that was both gradual and rather mundane, and there are considerable difficulties in defining with any precision the dates at which national welfare states became established. The implementation of some measure of public control over welfare is hardly a sufficient criterion for such a definition, and few would want to characterise even the most developed of these nineteenth century capitalist states as welfare states. A substantial difficulty is that those traditional accounts through which 'the welfare state' moved into common usage have tended to describe it in terms of that state's intentions, that is, as a state principally concerned to realize the welfare aspirations of its subjects. One obvious objection to this approach is that such an aspiration cannot be taken to define the intention or purpose of the welfare state. A still more fundamental objection is that attributing a global intentionality to the state and seeking to define it in terms of this intention is itself unsustainable (Weber, 55:1968).

There are three sets of criteria through which the origin of the welfare state can be analyzed:

- Introduction of social insurance: This is a widely used indicator of welfare state development. Although very modest by contemporary standards, in both breadth and depth of coverage, these are the programmes which have developed into the major institutional element of welfare state. They entail the recognition that the incapacity to earn a living through contingencies such as old age, sickness or unemployment is a normal condition in industrialized market societies and that it is legitimately the business of the state to organize for collective provision against the loss of income arising from these contingencies (Flora and Heidenheimer, 1981).
- The extension of citizenship and the de-pauperisation of public welfare: the legitimization of social insurance means also a change in the relationship of the state to the citizen and of both to the provision of public welfare. First, the interest of the state in public welfare is extended beyond the traditional concerns with the relief of destitution and maintenance of public order. Secondly, the provision of social

insurance is increasingly seen as a part of the assemblage of rights and duties which binds the state and the citizenry. Thirdly, the receipt of public welfare becomes not a barrier to political participation but a benefit of full citizenship. Simple indices of this extension of citizenship are the dates of the inauguration of male and universal suffrage and the date at which the receipt of public welfare ceases to be a bar to full citizenship (Pierson, 1998: 103).

- Growth of social expenditure: One of the most important aspects of the developed welfare state is the sheer quantity of public spending that it commands. Throughout the twentieth century, the welfare state has commanded a sometimes rapidly growing proportion of a much enhanced national product (ibid).

According to Hugh Heclo (1978), development of welfare state can be described with three stages: 'Era of experimentation, era of consolidation and era of expansion'. The first stage was started nearly around 1870s, when there was an increase in national legislation related to social betterment of the citizen. The concept of social insurance emerged in this era only. Issues of public education, health care and unemployment relief were also getting involved in this period. There were some basic values also which were involved with welfare state in this stage: values of liberty, equality and security. This era was persisting till the time of First World War.

If the era of experimentation was about the existence of welfare state then the era of consolidation has debated about the nature of welfare state. In some countries like Britain and Sweden, the emphasis was mainly on provision of common services, social solidarity and income maintenance programmes. But in the USA, situation was different; these issues of national security and foreign policy mainly dominated in the welfare agenda. In this period the great depression was the major concern for most of the western countries, because of which governments were forced to intervene in the economic management in pursuit of social goals. This era was a combination of different ideas and interests: liberalism, human progress, individualism, conservatism and collective responsibilities.

After the end of the era of consolidation in 1950, the next and third phase in the development process of the welfare state was the 'era of expansion'. In most of the western societies, public expenditures on social policy grew manifold. The trend of increased public transfers was common to most of the developed democracies,

including USA, known as welfare state laggard. Sustained economic growth made it possible (Gupta, 1994: 25).

Social policy is a major component of a modern welfare state, which provides shape to a modern state's development. The next section is going to discuss about the nature, areas, theory and models of social policy.

Social Policy

Social policy is an instrument applied by governments to regulate and supplement market institutions and social structures. Social policy is often defined as social services such as education, health, employment, and social security. However, social policy is also about redistribution, protection and social justice. Social policy is about bringing people into the center of policy-making, not by providing residual welfare, but by mainstreaming their needs and voice across sectors, generating stability and social cohesion. Social policy is also instrumental in that governments use it pragmatically to secure the political support of citizens, and to promote positive economic outcomes by enhancing human capital and productive employment. Social policies can also create a virtuous circle linking human and economic development that, in the long run, will benefit everybody by boosting domestic demand and creating stable cohesive societies (Ortiz, 2007: 6).

The English social scientist, Richard Titmuss defined social services as “a series of collective interventions that contribute to the general welfare by assigning claims from one set of people who are said to produce or earn the national income to another set of people who may merit compassion and charity.”²

Michael Hill (1997) has defined Social Policy as policy activities which influence welfare. Whilst non-state bodies may be described as having ‘policies’ a generic expression like ‘social policy’ is primarily used to define the role of the state in relation to the welfare of its citizens. Policies proclaimed to be ‘social’ may advance welfare; but they may also be instruments for securing other objectives, which may be detrimental to people's wellbeing.

²Richard Titmuss, *Essays on the Welfare State* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), p. 16.

According to F.F Piven and R.A. Cloward (1972), instead of humanitarian concerns social policies are responses to social unrest. For Marxists, social policy is an infrastructure of welfare policies for advanced capitalist societies, through which they can maintain order, buy off working class protest and secure a work-force with acceptable standards of health and education. For radical analysts, social policy perpetuates patriarchy and racial inequality as well as class-based patterns (Hill, 1997:3).

The analysis of social policies which promote welfare policy, as social control like police and penal policies, but there may be some circumstances under which social control motives mingle with humanitarian motives in creating what we describe as 'social policies' (ibid).

In the modern welfare states, nature of social policies is determined by a set of social and personal values that reflect the preferences of those in decision-making capacities. According to David Gil (1981), "Choices in social policy are heavily influenced by the dominant beliefs, values, ideologies, customs, and traditions of the cultural and political elites recruited mainly from among the more powerful and privileged strata".

According to Prigmore and Atherton (1979), there are some values which influence social policy. These are: achievement and success, activity and work, public morality, humanitarian concerns, efficiency, freedom, external conformity, science and secular rationality, nationalism and patriotism, democracy and self-determination, individualism, racism and group superiority and belief in progress.

Critical Perspectives on Social Policy: Theoretical aspects

There are some significant perspectives and theories like Marxism, Feminism, Anti-racism, Environmentalism, which give analytical view about the concept of social policy and its correlation with modern nation state. This section will discuss their impact on social policy and its design.

Marxism

According to The Encyclopedia of Marxism, Marxism is both a current within the revolutionary movement against capitalism and a current of social theory which engages a wide spectrum of people. It originates from the political and scientific work

of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the 1840s, but the words are of later origin.³ Marxist ideology have different viewpoints on different issues such as Economic Production and Social Class, Commodification and the products of Human Labour, The State, Poverty and Social policy. Before discussing Marxist point of view on social policy, it is important to know Marxists, take on above mentioned issues. According to Marxist ideology, every discussion about the society starts with economic reproduction, how it is organised, how it is distributed among people of the society in order to meet their needs. Marxism believes that the economic reproduction gives basis for all other establishments in the society. So Marxism can be identified as a theory of economic determinism (Lister, 2010: 58).

Marxism criticise capitalism mainly on the ground of exploitation of the working-class by the bourgeoisie. On the basis of this criticism, Marxism can be recognised as a theory based on social class, the theory formed the revolutionary face of Marxism which not only demands for economic, political and social revolution but a radical change. Marx talked about this ideology in 19th century times has changed along with it the theory of Marxism should also consider some changes. Contemporary Marxist acknowledged other sources of division.

Marxists doesn't believe in the concept of Welfare State. They consider state as 'a set of institutions and practices intimately connected with, but subordinate to' the dominant mode of production (Lavalette, 1997:63). One of the leading Marxists of 20th century argued that: 'the intervention of the state is always and necessarily partisan, as a class state, it always intervenes for the purpose of maintaining today's modern world, in the respect of social policy Marxism is not very relevant. Its influence on western social polices has been described as 'marginal' (Fitzpatrick, 2001:133).Ferguson et al argue about the Marxist view of social policy 'against the grain of current critical welfare thinking' that the oppressions associated with such social divisions 'have their origins in the social and economic relations of capitalism'; and as Marxists, they reassert 'the central role of the working class in bringing about social change' to end oppression (2002, pp98, 107).George and Page (1995), argue that despite its failing, Marxism provides a better explanation of the development and function of the welfare state than most of the other ideologies. In contemporary times,

³Encyclopedia of Marxism, URL: <https://www.marxists.org/glossary/frame.htm>

it has contributed to a social policy interest in political economy, which combines a focus on politics and economic (Lister, 2010: 62).

Feminism

Feminism is a modern concept which talks about the equality of women and women's right and freedom in every sphere of day-to-day life. Feminist social policy provides a critical gendered lens for understanding the family, state and labour market and for re-thinking a number of important concepts in social policy (ibid, 91).

The feminist critique of social policy emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, which was mainly based on two points. The first is the importance of welfare issues to women's lives and women's importance for the welfare state. According to a prominent feminist Elizabeth Wilson (1977), only an analysis of the welfare state that bases itself on a correct understanding of the position of women in modern society can reveal the full meaning of modern welfarism. The second point is women were completely marginalized during the post-war social policy formation because of which the importance of gendered understanding of welfare failed.

The feminist analysts have developed a gendered outlook of the institution, relations and discourse which constitute social policy. This has led to a more normative attempts to 're-gender' those institutions, relations and discourses so that they better reflect the varied perspectives and needs of women. It is acknowledged that this critique has 'enormously enriched the study of social policy' (George and Wilding, 1994:157).

There are some important concepts related to social policy which have been analysed by feminist scholars through a gendered perspective:

- Work: Instead of equating work with paid work, as often still happens, feminist analysis has broadened our understanding of work to include caring, housework and also voluntary work (Irving, 2008: 160-88).
- Care: Feminist scholars have analysed the term care as a form of work both in paid and unpaid terms. It has explored the gendered processes of care and the relations involved in caring and being cared for, together with the values associated with caring (Leira and Saraceno, 2002: 55-83).

- Dependence: Feminists have explored women's dependence upon men for their financial needs and how welfare policies are providing them shelter. They have also analysed women fulfill men's need for care and servicing (Lister, 2010: 71).
- Citizenship: Feminist scholarship has exposed women's traditional exclusion from full citizenship to be not accidental but a product of the gendered assumptions upon which mainstream notions of have been constructed (Hobson and Lister, 2002: 23-54).
- Nation and community: Feminist thinkers have also analysed women's and men's relationship and role in respect of nation and community. Women have always been judged through the lenses of nation and community for their behavior, language, dressing and other things, they have also been considered as a cultural symbol of the nation (Lister, 2010: 72).
- Time: Feminist analysis treats time as a gendered 'scarce resource alongside and interacting with status, money and power (Bryson, 2007: 173). It is a resource essential for undertaking different forms of work and for active citizenship. Moreover, as Valerie Bryson (2008) shows, the ways in which time is used, valued and understood in contemporary capitalist societies are central to the maintenance of gender inequalities in public and private lives.

Anti-racism

Anti-racism is a concept which talks about equality in the society. It tries to promote a society where every individual enjoys equal rights and status irrespective of race, class, caste, nationally. On the basis of 'race' people face discrimination mainly on the ground of physical markers (which include skin pigmentation, hair texture and facial features and placing people into different categories) (Pilkington, 2003:2).Ratcliffe (2004) explains the idea of 'race' in the contemporary world:

Despite being void of scientific validity, the concept of 'race' retains a central position in the contemporary mind. It is still assumed by large swathes of the world's population to represent real, empirically identifiable differences between groups of its people...it is a way of ordering groups hierarchically and deterministically, that is the inferiorisation of certain groups is deemed to apply in all places and for all time (Ratcliffe, 2004: 27).

According to Anti-Racial theorists it is difficult to analyse the concept of welfare state from racial point of view. In the modern welfare state, people do get affected because of their 'race'. Gray Craig (2007) explains flaws in the welfare system regarding racism:

Despite the range of liberal 'community relations' initiatives and a series of race relations legislative interventions, it is clear from the range of research reported above and much besides that racism persists in all welfare sectors. The position of minorities within the health services remains that they are in general trapped in the lowest levels of the employment structure despite their large numbers; they are more likely to be criminalized by a criminal justice system which they view, with good reason, as hostile to them; they have with some exceptions-poor outcomes in housing, education, in the mental health system and the labour market, not because of some inherent genetic inability, but because of structural barriers to their improvement and a plethora of individual acts of racism (Craig, 2007b: 620).

The correlation between racism and social policy has developed only in the late 1980s. Because of the increasing number of migration from one country to another (especially from developing to the developed country) it has become important for the modern welfare state to include the other racial community in their social policy. Gray Craig (2007) explains that the social policy discipline is concerned centrally with issue of citizenship rights, welfare, equality, poverty alleviation and social engineering. In Craig's word:

It is important to acknowledge that neglect of the issue of 'race' is not confined to social policy as *political practice*; it is shared by the *academic discipline* of social policy. It is still not uncommon for mainstream social policy texts to treat debates on 'race' and racism as marginal. This is striking considering that the social policy discipline is concerned centrally with issues of citizenship rights, welfare, equality, poverty alleviation and social engineering. This lacuna extends to practice of social research... [And] to social policy teaching and to the high-profile social policy teaching and to the high-profile social policy journals (2007b, 610-11).

Lucinda Platt, a social policy analyst explains the growing diversity between minority ethnic groups, which 'can be as great as differences between

minorities in aggregate and the majority (2008: 376). She also emphasises on all the disadvantages experienced by the minority groups. Ian Law sums-up the issue by saying that ‘the racialization of migration and welfare has led to poor welfare outcomes for migrants and minority ethnic groups in the UK’ (2009: 87).

Environmentalism

Environmentalism is quite a new concept among the intellectuals’ arena which developed in 1970s and 80s. It talks mainly about the growing concerns related to environmental issues which affect human beings and their growth mainly economic growth. Environmentalism can be linked to other concepts like Marxism and feminism. Eco-Marxists/Socialists include issues of environmentalism in their fight against capitalism. John Bellamy Foster (2000) in his book titled *Marx’s Ecology: Materialism and Nature* analysed the main idea of the metabolism between man (or society) and nature. According to Foster, this concept actually gives a proper understanding of the environmental crisis from within Marxist ideology. Eco-feminists try to understand correlation between the patriarchal subordination of women and ‘man’s exploitation of nature. Some argue that ‘women have a stronger physical, emotional, and spiritual connection to nature’ (McHugh, 2007:33). The term Ecofeminism was first used by French feminist Françoise d’Eaubonne in 1974.

To understand the correlation between social policy and environmentalism it is important to discuss about the Green thinking and its viewpoint about the state, especially welfare state. Green thinking is primarily normative or value driven. It offers an ideal world different from the present one. It comes in many different guises, often dubbed weak vs. strong, light vs. dark or shallow vs. deep (Lister, 2010: 84). Paterson et al (2006) explain the green critiques of the state:

- The ‘spatial disjuncture’ between the jurisdiction of state and the global scale of ecological problems (p: 136).
- Its bureaucratic and instrumental nature, in which means becomes ends and state institutions ‘evolve to become their own ends’ (p: 140);

- The ways in which ‘historically existing states have engendered environmental degradation as part of their normal operations and internal logic’ so that the state represents an instrument of ‘domination, violence and accumulation’ (p: 140);
- The ‘thin’ and disempowering model of citizenship offered by the democratic state, which reduces the citizen to the ‘bearer of formal legal rights’ (p: 143).

There are some other points on which green theory criticizes welfare state. According to green thinking, welfare state only considers symptoms not the cause of any social problem originated by the industrial society. The national welfare state represents a national rather than global response to the problem of reconciling social welfare with economic growth, thereby displacing problems onto poorer countries the globe (Lister, 2010: 87).

From a social policy perspective, environmentalism potentially represents a direct challenge to the post-war welfare state and to dominant approaches to social policy, which has been explicitly premised on economic growth as the main means of meeting the cost of improvements in welfare state (Lister, 2010: 84). Michael Cahill and Tony Fitzpatrick (2001) talked about the environmental perspective in the study of social policy. According to them, ‘sustainability issues are now being seriously addressed’. But Fitzpatrick’s view that; ‘ecologism has not achieved the kind of systematic and comprehensive influence upon the academic study of social policy which has been accomplished by feminism’ is still relevant. Fitzpatrick argues that the welfare state, constituted by ‘principles and institutions of welfare’ which signify a ‘productivity model’, centered on three interrelated elements:

- Economic growth;
- An employment ethic which values wage labour over all other forms of human activity;
- An ‘accumulative impulse’ which measures welfare in narrow materialist terms (1998: 11).

Green Theory recommended an ‘ecological model’ of welfare which is based on sustainable development, indicators of development and welfare which are oriented ecologically. These indicators strengthen understanding of economic progress to embrace quality of life, which is more concerned about the relationship between the

individual, society and the environment' (Cahil, 1999: 99). Green Thinkers promote a 'social economy' through alternative forms of welfare such as: LETS (local exchange trading systems), which are 'a non-profit making form of systemic barter, where goods and services are traded without the need for money'(Fitzpatrick, 1999: 158).

Areas of Social Policy:

According to Golinowska and Żukowski (2009), there are four broader areas which social policy covers (in special context with the European Union):

- The free movement of workers: Free movement of labour arose from a clear economic motivation— it has been an “efficiency-enhancing” social policy. This area has basic importance for any welfare state for the functioning of labour market and thus for economic mobility.
- Coordination of social security: For the free movement of workers smoothly, it is important for any welfare state to provide social security to the citizens and to coordinate with other states also.
- Working conditions, including occupational health and safety and industrial relations: Better working conditions, health and safety are few most important factors for producing better results in industries. The European Union has adopted this as core components of its social policy.
- Gender equality, equal treatment: for the overall development of a state it is important to provide equal opportunity in every field to every citizen, irrespective of gender, race, etc. As gender equality has gone beyond the labour market, other priorities concern different areas, like women's participation in politics and in science and technology, eradication of gender-based violence, and elimination of gender stereotypes. However, as in other spheres, the EU has competencies to act through law almost only in the areas related to the labour market (Golinowska and Żukowski, 2009: 306).

Apart from these four major areas of social policy, there are some small and relatively new areas like employment strategy, social inclusion, pensions, health, education and youth which concern state's social policy.

Models of Social Policy

Every welfare state adopts a particular set of model of social policy in order to analyse the ways in which the state incorporate its policy for social development. According to Titmus (1974), there are mainly four models of social policy: (i) Institutional redistributive model, (ii) residual welfare model, (iii) marginal model of and (iv) institutional model.

The institutional redistributive model of social policy provides services and benefits for citizens on the basis of their needs. In this particular model social policy is an important part of public policies.

The residual welfare model of social policy acts passively, because the model works on the concept that family and market are natural channels through which citizens should get welfare help first. State should involve this model only when these two does not work properly but only on temporary basis.

The other two models of social policy are marginal model and institutional model of social policy. According to Esping-Andersen (1990), these two models can be seen as 'ideal types', but they do not provide a ground for a basic analysis of social policies which could be useful also in the context of development policies and perhaps more useful in a development context than later comparative welfare state models contextualised mostly in the developed countries. Since its introduction and more so in contemporary times instead of adopting any particular model of social policy, modern welfare states are adopting mixed models of social policy.

Welfare Models in Europe

The modern welfare state has first come into existence in European continent. The term *Wohlfahrtsstaat* first appeared in Germany in the late 1920s and Welfare State in Britain in the early 1940s. In Britain, modern social policy can be dated from the New Poor Law Act of 1834 and the 1842 Chadwick Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain. State intervention in education and social security came much later. The Prussian state introduced compulsory education earlier on, and in 1883 Bismarck introduced the world's first health insurance programme, followed by old age pensions in 1889. The period before World War I

witnessed, in Britain, the introduction of old ages pensions, school meals and the first social insurance scheme. By then to a dense network of local and municipal services in health, housing and social care had covered much of Europe (Gough, 2005:2).

There are different models of welfare state popular in Europe, each European country has adopted different models of welfare state. The main type of welfare models in Europe are: Anglo-Saxon Model, Bismarckian Model, Scandinavian Model, Mediterranean Model.

Anglo-Saxon Model of Welfare State: The English speaking countries follow a certain set of welfare state in which they conceived welfare state as a work-enforcing mechanism. The USA, Australia, New Zealand and also the UK best exemplify the type of 'residual welfare state'. 'Entry' into the labour market was facilitated more by pure force than by subsidization or by training and qualification policy. The Anglo-Saxon or liberal welfare state prefers to provide financial support to the people- rather than giving them a service. The liberal welfare state is characterised with limited state provision. It is associated with features of laissez-faire, including residual welfare, punitive attitudes to the poor, and a sense that welfare is a public burden. According to Esping-Anderson (1990), liberal regimes may lean, without inconsistency, to universalism: universal provisions can help to offer a 'level-playing field' for the operation of market provisions (ibid, p.44).

There are some states which primarily refer to Anglo-Saxon or liberal model of welfare state, the USA, Australia and UK fit into it. In all these three countries, the UK is difficult to characterise in one particular model. The elements of marketization and DE commodification in the UK are consistent with some of the features of the liberal model. There have also been substantial moves in recent years towards measures depending on individual rather than collective rights, including, for example, the individualization of pensions, significant reforms in access to litigation and the growth of litigation on human rights. (Spicker, 2013: 2000) Taylor-Goody and Larsen (2004) call the UK a 'centralised liberal welfare state'. (p55) According to the former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, welfare system has grown up unchanged years away from the social setting in which it was originally thought of. So the nature of the welfare system is not dependent on the ideology of left vs right but it is rather influenced by the change in the society (Blair, 2011: xxix). The distance of the Anglo-

Saxon model from a 'compensatory regime' or from a Scandinavian 'work society regime' is equally great. Thus 'social citizenship' has remained more of an academic issue in the countries (Leibfried, 2002: 192).

Scandinavian Model of Welfare State: At the end of 1990s Denmark together with Netherlands presented a very successful model of welfare state called Scandinavian model which was an alternative for Anglo-Saxon model. In the twenty-first century in contrast with other countries, especially European, Scandinavian experienced substantial growth in every field placed themselves in the list of the fastest growing countries.

There are some distinctive features of Scandinavian welfare model. First, a very active welfare state which provides job opportunities to masses with social security. Second, this welfare model has respectively low rate of inequality and poverty. Thirdly, it has also created a balance between economic and social objectives.

An important lesson from the Scandinavian experience is that this model is financeable when it is tied to a highly productive market sector. Scandinavia shows that extensive public sector employment, a generous welfare state, workers' rights, high employment protection, and wage increase tied to productivity are consistent with competitiveness (Becker, 2007: 53).

Mediterranean Model of welfare state: Esping-Anderson has identified the Mediterranean model of welfare state in 1990s with a cluster of four countries which have similar trends in terms of welfare and social policy: Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal. According to Ponzini and Pugliese (2008), Mediterranean model can be considered as a 'weak welfare model' in terms of performance. The Mediterranean model can be considered weak in the capacity of answering social needs (demandsocial) and also as the expression of a system capable of producing redistributive equity and solidarity.

There are some peculiar features of Mediterranean model:

- It has an imbalanced labour market where women and young people's participation percentage in the work force is very low.
- It has an unorganized public expenditure system in which more expenses are increased on pensions and less on social assistance.

- The model is not very effective in fighting with poverty.
- In terms of the role of the family this system represents the fundamental social security cushion.

Because of the 2008 economic crisis, which has affected Mediterranean countries most, weakness of the Mediterranean model has been very prominent. These countries are unsuccessful in reducing the poverty and it is increasing continuously. Spending cuts in social and welfare policies are being carried out in the four Mediterranean countries. This will certainly have a considerable impact on the living conditions of people (Lucchin, 2012: 286).

Bismarckian Model of welfare state: Bismarckian or continental welfare regime includes countries namely Germany, France, Netherlands, Austria, Luxemburg, and Belgium. This continental welfare regime is mainly based on Christian democracy. Some of the continental countries like Germany and Belgium's welfare systems are influenced by Calvinism⁴. According to which work is an almost absolute duty of men. It emphasizes on individual responsibility and finally Calvinism holds a fairly strong anti-statist tradition in important areas of social policy and education (Hemerijckeds, 2013: 21).

Bismarckian system has mainly developed with industrial capitalism, which is a system of collective social insurance which primarily focused on providing job and income security for male industrial workers. This welfare system is not basically aimed to change the income distribution but to more on securing people's position in the labour market (Palier, 2010: 24).

As stated by Susanne Fuchs and Claus Offe (2008: 6):

An essential feature of Bismarckian social security policies is that they are designed to prevent the outbreak of non-institutional distributive class conflict. They do so by installing three institutional features into social policy: (a) the selective provision of benefits to those segments of the population (i.e. the core working class) whose economic opposition would be most destructive to the orderly process of economic development, (b) the forging of interclass alliances (e.g. in the form of social security funding being shared by employers and employees), and (c) the creation of institutional arrangements that sub-divide the clientele of social security into a number of administrative categories

⁴Men are sinful by nature. Founded by John Calvin. Predestined by God to be saved

(defined by region, gender, and type of benefits, as well as by such divisions as the employed vs. the unemployed, blue collar vs. white collar workers, ordinary pensioners vs. early retirees, workers in core or 'heavy' industries vs. workers engaged in the production of consumer goods and agriculture, etc.), thus shifting the focus of distributive conflict from a conflict between encompassing class coalitions to a conflict between status groups.

European Union's Social Policy

Despite the different models of welfare in European countries the European Union has adopted a cohesive social policy since the treaty of Maastricht (1992). The term European social policy cannot be defined in absolute terms; it's a vague concept which includes different policies related to social issues at the EU level as well as policies of the member state. In the beginning the European Union's social policy was established as a secondary element of some of its primary policies related to economic integration and common market. Most of the member state governments were against the social policy formation. Employer groups were also not in the favour mainly because of the increasing cost (Geyer, 1999: 2).

It was only by the end of the nineties, when the need of a comprehensive social policy for the economic growth was realised. Social policy has become even more important in the recent times mainly because of three reasons. The first reason is the legislative activism. European Union has become more active in terms of directives and other actions taken by the commission and council and also because of the active role of European Court of Justice. Secondly, because in the 1980s there was a political need for key political actors to pay more attention on social aspects of economic and business dimension of the European integration project in order to retain support from workers and citizens. Thirdly, because the social field has in some cases become one of the reasons of contradiction between national and supranational interests. In the special context of women's welfare social policies are playing even more important role. It is directed at reducing the costs of raising children by increasing the availability, quality and affordability of childcare may affect fertility and participation rates (Ahn and Mira 2001, Englehardt and Prskawetz 2001).

Beginning of the European Social Policy (1957-1985)

The history of social policy in the European Union has been described as one of good intentions, high principles and little action (Lange, 1993:7). The treaty of Rome's orientation was mainly economic and political. It dealt with the very little aspects of social policy. For example: Article 118 which talks about close co-operation in the social field, article 119: equal pay between men and women, article 120: the right to paid holidays, and the establishment of a European Social Fund (ESF) for better employment opportunities and occupational mobility. Even before the Treaty of Rome, Treaty of Paris (1951) which established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was much concerned with the social impacts of economic changes than the treaty of Rome.

The Treaty of Rome established the principle of a social role for the European Economic Community (EEC), but a role that was both clearly limited and clearly secondary to the economic aims of integration. Member states were interested in a social dimension to the EEC, but 'the compromise that resulted from failure to agree about objectives, and to set up mechanisms for achieving them, led it to what could be described as a modest, cautious and narrowly focused social policy (Hantrais, 2000:3).

In the beginning years of the EEC establishment, some important steps were taken by the community in the field of social policy. The European Social Fund (ESF) was established in 1960 and the European Regional Development Fund contained 'social' as well as regional elements. But in comparison with other expenses, very little amount of EEC budget was spent in this area.

In 1974, the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on a Social Action Programme, designed to achieve the three goals of full and better employment; an improvement in living and working conditions; and greater involvement of management and labour. The Social Action Programme itself comprised a 'spate of action' in the areas of education and training, health and safety at work, workers and women's rights and poverty, leading to the establishment of a number of European networks and observatories to stimulate action and monitor progress in the social field (Hantrais, 2000:5).

In the early years of 1980s the EU's social policy has experienced a mixed kind of development. There were few developments in the field of health and equal treatment issues, but other areas such as part-time work, temporary work, parental leave remained untouched. This lack of development was mainly because there were shift in the member state's governments.

From the Single European Act to Maastricht (1985-92)

From 1985 to 1992, there were some major changes occurring in the European Union as well as in the Member States also. Some of the major treaties, which have affected the EU and Member States, were signed in this period of time. In this era the European Social Policy was more focused on employment issues. In 1986, 12 EEC members signed The Single European Act (SEA). However it did not have any important point on social policy. It talks little about the health and safety of workers. The Act 'left the issue of the social space largely unresolved' (Hantrais, 2000).

In the second half of 1987 when EC had Belgian presidency, there was a need of renewal in the social policy of the commission. In response to these 11 out of 12 Member States had signed the community charters of the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers, known as Social Charter in December 1989. The Maastricht Treaty (December 1991), which created the European Union, emphasized the principle of subsidiary: the Agreement on Social Policy empowered the Council to take social policy action 'by means of directives, minimum requirements for gradual implementation, having regard to the conditions and technical rules obtaining in each of the Member States (Kleinman, 2002:91).

The Maastricht treaty has created a more diverse European community with 15 Member States, which was more focused on economic and monetary union and the introduction of the single currency. These Member States also agreed on prioritising of employment, but their understanding of the nature of the problem and its solution were strongly different. There was again change in the power in most of the Member States. Thirteen out of fifteen Members States now having left or Centre-left ideology government. Because of this shift in the power, Member States were now having similar voices on several issues especially related to social policy. Like on the issue of employment most of the Member States supported British opinion.

Meanwhile the European Union published a White Paper on European social policy in 1994, entitled *European Social Policy: A Way Forward to the Union* (European Commission 1994). The white paper mainly emphasised on the pre-eminent role of the Member States. The paper talked about 'preserving and developing the European social model'. It discussed EU's social policies under five broad titles: jobs, skills and working conditions; labour mobility; equal opportunities; social protection and social inclusion; and public health.

After Maastricht, Council signed Amsterdam Treaty (1997), which introduced some adequate changes, mainly related to equal pay for equal work, public health and consumer protection. In the beginning of the 21st century European social policy was shaped by the economic and political changes mainly because of the launch of euro in January 1999, which was adopted by majority of the Member States (11 out of 15 members). On the political front, left and Centre-left ideology governments also accepted this economic and institutional legacy.

The Treaty of Nice, which was signed in February 2001, was mainly focused on preparing the European Union for future enlargement process. In the field of social policy the treaty has made some minor efforts and furthered social policy to a limited extent. For example establishment of The Social Protection Committee (SPC). Committee was permitted to take co-decision into areas concerning rights for workers.

The Lisbon Treaty (2009) is the most recent development in the area of social policy of the European Union. Though the treaty was not up to the expectations but there were some fundamental issues about which Lisbon Treaty had talked:

- **Charter of Fundamental Right:** The treaty established that the fundamental rights set out in the Charter⁵ have exactly the same legal status as other rights enshrined in the Treaties in particular economic freedom (Bercusson, 2009:92). It has enforced the charter strictly in all the 25 Member States including UK and Poland.
- **Compliance of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR):** Lisbon treaty granted the

⁵The Charter of Fundamental Rights was adopted and promulgated by the president of the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union on 7 December 2000 and again on 12 December 2007.

European Union status of a legal personality. This accession of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms has made fundamental change because, unlike the European Court of Justice (ECJ), the European Court of Human Rights takes fundamental social rights as the baseline when determining the proportionality of any limitation imposed on them, particularly by the implementation of economic freedoms. This would therefore lead to the status of fundamental social rights and of economic freedoms being reversed (Schomann, 2010:3).

- **Integration of new social objectives into all European policies:** The Treaty ensured that all European policies should involve new social objectives such as social market economy which provide full employment and social progress, to fight with social exclusion and discrimination, fighting against all kind of social exclusion and discrimination, solidarity of all Member States and advancement of economic, social and environmental concerns.
- **Qualified majority voting on social matters:** The Treaty of Amsterdam (1999) and Treaty of Nice (2001) introduced qualified majority voting in social matters. The Lisbon Treaty did not add anything new to make it smoother. The only change it made was introducing the qualified majority on the issues of social benefits of minority workers and their family.
- **Role of the social partners:** The treaty recognizes the autonomy of the social partners. This establishes an important institutional link between the social partners, the social dialogue to contribute to the European Strategy, without, however, increasing the resources available to the social partners, a number of scholars agree that the new article 152 TEU recognises the practical support to be provided by the institutions (Bercusson: 2009, 100).
- **Public services:** the Lisbon Treaty provided a legal basis to the public services or services of general economic interest, which was a much awaited task.
- **The open method of coordination (OMC):** OMC, which was introduced at the council in 2000, remains an indisputable part of the Lisbon Treaty. It gives an instrument for coordinating between Member States on issues of social interest particularly in employment since 1997, social inclusion since 2000,

pensions since 2001, the modernization of social protection as well as education and training since 2002, and long-term healthcare since 2004.

The much-awaited Lisbon Treaty did not make remarkable changes in social Europe. It has only forwarded decision taken by the previous treaties. Social issues still remain secondary for Member States. But there is room for hope, especially in view of the fact that the charter of Fundamental Rights is now formally recognized as legally binding on the European Union and the Member States, and with regards to the ECHR. In conclusion, it is clear that a social Europe will only be brought about by a state of permanent mobilization and deep commitment on the part of the institutional players and social partners (Schomann, 2010:5).

Social Policy across the European Continent

Despite the evolvement of single European Social Policy since the establishment of European Community, every region has their own specific social policies and its characteristics. It affects different components of a country's development procedure, for example: the changes in education levels and wages, the compatibility between labour market participation and fertility can be outcome of several factors, the changes in labour market regulations and in the service sector. In regards to women, Northern European countries (Denmark and Sweden) governments are more focusing on policies, which are encouraging women to participate in the labour market. These policies are aiming to support the dual earner families and trying to shift the burden of childrearing towards the state. They give options of Public Childcare, generous optional maternity leave as well as part-time opportunities to make women able to remain in the labour market even after the childbirth. In these countries, there are very limited options of maternity leave (although higher paid) but they provide wide availability of childcare, as well as part-time opportunities. Both the participation and continuation in the labour market is high for women even after the childbirth.

In contrast with northern countries, Anglo-Saxon countries (the U.K) are pro-poor and family-friendly in their social policy. They do not provide long parental leave to support mothers; in fact they allow market to produce services to support

families. Because of the lesser options for women after childbirth they either prefer to be at home or choose an inferior part-time job with private childcare.

The southern European countries (particularly Italy and Greece) are completely different from the above two regions. Their social policies are mainly in the favour of women and the programmes are targeted towards working mothers (employment protection, public childcare). In these countries childrearing is considered to be a family issue. Job sectors where, childcare services, are already available, there women can combine their work with these services but in the other sectors women have to continue working with the support of the family in the childbearing years. As a result of this, in southern European countries the participation of women in the labour market is comparatively low but with high continuity in the labour market attachment.

Social Policy of Britain

The development of social policy in any country is directly related to the process of industrialization and urbanization of the country. In Britain the very first attempt of welfare and social policy, Poor Law gradually became insufficient in order to coping with the problem of the common people. In order to understand nature and development of British social policy it is important to discuss first the British or Anglo-Saxon model of welfare state. Origin of the welfare state in the Great Britain can be traced in 1601 with the question of poverty when the Poor Law Act was passed which created a National Poor Law System for England and Wales. It was the very first attempt to provide relief to the poor in a systematic way at the National level. But this Act was not fit for the agrarian economy in which people did not move about much. So there was a huge public demand for abolishing this Act, after which a new Poor Law was passed in 1834. These Poor Laws were not very successful and were also cruel sometimes as described in the contemporary literature like *Oliver Twist*. After the Poor Law Acts there was an era of liberal reforms in Britain. The first attempt in the era was the Pension Bills of 1908 by the liberal government headed by Prime Minister Asquith. It was mainly a tax-funded old-age pension for those over the age of 70 who had no criminal record and were in full possession of their civil rights, provided their income did not exceed a modest threshold (Kaufmann, 2013:102). The liberal

government had further launched programmes for sickness and unemployment insurance.

In 1911, the liberal government has passed an Act on National Insurance which comprised two parts: first was concerned with workers sickness insurance and the second part deals with the obligatory unemployment concerns. Between the two world wars Britain had seen some really serious economic instability with persistent mass unemployment, and it led to serious labor struggles. After the end of the world wars Labour government led by Clement Attlee had introduced the Beveridge plan⁶. Beveridge's concept of economic and social policy had three components:

- (1) The introduction of a state-guaranteed minimum standard of living for everyone;
- (2) The introduction of a National Health Service (NHS); and
- (3) A national policy of full employment (Bremme 1961, pp. 43–67).

Before the First World War two important events happened in the process of development of the social policy. First, in 1902 the conservatives passed an important Act related to education. According to the Act, the responsibility for state education form devised a formula for the financial support of church schools that preserved a measure of voluntary control. (Hill, 1997:18) Second, important but not very pleasant and glorified event for Britain, was the Bore War⁷. The war had made Britain think that why it was unable to fight against its enemy, especially when it's imperial success was on peak. The Conservatives had also set up a Royal Commission on the Poor Laws in 1905. The commission discussed about the British Social Policy at that time. In the year 1908, when the liberal government led by H.H.Asquith came in to power, two important legislations were passed by the British parliament which had affected British social policy positively. These legislations were related to social security: the Old Age Pension Act of 1908 and the National Insurance Act of 1911. These attempts had made

⁶The plan for comprehensive social insurance, proposed by Sir William Beveridge in Great Britain in 1941.

⁷The Boer Wars was the name given to the South African Wars of 1880-01 and 1899-1902, that were fought between the British and the descendants of the Dutch settlers (Boers) in Africa.

little but significant efforts to change the status quo for the British social policy. In the inter-war period, because of the financial, employment and rationing crisis government made some efforts which had limited impact upon the social policy. One of the most significant but rare example of social policy innovation during this period was the imposition of controls upon private rents in 1915 (Hill, 1997: 22).

In the beginning of the year 1940, Churchill became the Prime Minister and was heading a coalition government in collaboration with the Labour party. One of the important conditions of Labour party's involvement in the coalition government was attention to social policies. During the time one of the major source of social policy and welfare in Britain was the Beveridge Report of a committee, chaired by one of the architects of the 1911 National Insurance Act, published in 1942. This report had introduced a contributory social security system which included family allowances, maternity benefits and provision for widows along with the existing system of protection of all citizens against sickness, unemployment and old age.

In the year 1945, Britain had experienced some major changes in its politics, economy and also in the social and welfare context. Labour party leader Clement Attlee, formed a Labour government in the UK. The government very firmly started working on its election pledge. Establishment of welfare state was the most significant part of it. In the process of establishing welfare state British parliament passed a legislature, including the National Insurance Act (NIA), the Industrial Injuries Act (IIA) and the National Health Act (NHA). Along with health issues, Attlee's government had also worked on other welfare issues like housing and education. This was how a strong base of the welfare state in the UK was created on which future governments had planned their welfare and social policies.

In order to make social policy more effective the British government had passed some important Acts like The Education Act 1944, National Insurance Act of 1946 and the National Assistance Act of 1948. Another major breakthrough in the British social policy was the creation of The National Health Services in 1946 which provided free hospital services for everyone. The Children Act of 1948 consolidated the existing childcare legislations, and created departments in which professional social work practice would develop in childcare, and in due course in

work with families (Hill, 1997:28).The 1940s were the most crucial years of British social policy, Measures adopted during this time influence the British social policy even in the contemporary times.

In the last 50 years of 20th century British social policy experienced ups and downs in different political parties' regimes. From 1951 to 1964 it was in a state of inactiveness which included very less innovation. In the next decade the social policy had gone through strong changes. Abortion and homosexuality became legal, capital punishment was abolished and some measures were adopted to increase the status of women. In the next five years Britain was in a very unstable state with rapid inflation, rising unemployment and issues like that.

The reign of Conservative leader, the 'Iron Lady', Margaret Thatcher began in the 1980s.She was from her first tenure very much determined for rolling back the frontiers of the state. According to her first election manifesto in 1979, welfare state was not the solution to the then British economic and social problems, but the state itself was a problem. Thatcher cut the social expenditure. In her first two terms she continued the previous policies in areas such as health, social services and education. Their expenditures were cut short but it was not very vandal. But in the later years of Conservative government's rule social policy became the worst. It was the hardest and worst for the poor among the developed nations. It was not grievous only for the poor, but it had also very negatively impacted the prisoners and child poverty (which became more than double). In 1979 the post-tax income of the top 10% of the population was five times that of the bottom 10%; by 1997 it had doubled to 10 times as much.According to Paul Spicker (2013), in terms of social policy, however, Thatcherism is remembered more for what was said about welfare than what it did. Thatcherism was exactly opposite of what was seen as a welfare state ideal.

British Social Policy in the Twenty-First Century

Because of the cuts in the public spending by the Conservative government, the British poor class was on high risk. In 1997, when the Labour came in to the power, a majority of British electorate advocated for increasing public spending and of more redistribution towards poorer members of society. The then British

Prime Minister, Tony Blair in his autobiography “Tony Blair: A Journey” (2011), said:

“In social exclusion and help targeted at those at the very bottom of society, we have to be prepared to intervene radically and early. One of the greatest mistakes of social policy is to treat ‘the poor’ or ‘the disadvantaged’ as one homogenous grouping. They are not. There is all the difference in the world between a family that is poor but functioning as a family, where the child and the parents with the right education and opportunities (to which I shall come) can succeed; and the family is dysfunctional, where the parent/s has/have drug, alcohol or behavioral problems. No amount of opportunity will offer them a way out until the dysfunction is tackled head-on. Conventional social work or social policy is utterly hopeless is dealing with them.”(Xxviii-xxix)

In the respective background, Labour government planed two types of social policy goals, one is related to outcomes- what state’s social spending should be aiming to achieve, and the second is how the public sector should be run (Lupton, Hills, Stewert and Vizard, 2013:15). There were some major policy areas on which Labour government focused its aims: In the field of poverty and inequality, government decided to end child poverty forever (A quarter by 2004 and half by 2010). The government was determined for the equal stand point for all the children, also to improve health standards of all the population and education for all. Government planed that no-one in the deprived neighborhoods and spatial inequalities should be seriously disadvantaged by where they live. ⁸

In 1999 government published a white paper ‘*Modernising Government*’ under which a ten-year reform programme was set to establish modern, high quality efficient and responsive public services. Government adopted a long-term reform policy schemes. After assessing the goals of Labour government’s policy, it is also important to discuss that what the government actually did in order to improve the situation. Blair government’s first initiative was ‘New Deal’ welfare programme for the young unemployed, lone parents. Government also created an Employment Action Zones in high unemployment areas. In modern times one of the major issues among the working class is childcare, which creates gender disparity in the workplace. To overcome this problem government launched a National Childcare

⁸1997 Labour Manifesto and key speeches and policy documents 1997-2001

Strategy to improve the availability and affordability of childcare (Lupton, Hills, Stewart and Vizard, 2013: 20). For the first time British government introduced National Minimum Wage in 1998. To bring gender equality in the workplace and to promote family system, Labour government initiated ‘family friendly policies: significant changes in parental leave and pay’. In 2008, government started the Employment and Support Allowance, which introduced a ‘work capability assessment’.

Labour government adopted more pragmatic attitude for reducing poverty. It preferred employment, education, skills and health as an effective instrument rather than cash benefits in combating with poverty. It adopted a ‘progressive universality’ approach, which means many households benefited but the poorest benefited the most. (Lupton, Hills, Stewart and Vizard, 2013: 21) Among different target groups for reform policies, labour government had launched Green Paper in 1998, Income Support for Pensioners. In the first term of the Labour government, it got stuck with conservative spending commitments in its initial two years. The government taken started producing more results in its second term. The government had launched schemes for health, early education, and compulsory education. This new government was also very firmly determined to address the problems of low income neighborhoods and reducing spatial inequalities.

From the beginning of the Labour government’s first tenure in the 1997 till the end of the first decade of 21st century the situation has changed a lot in terms of access to and quality of services for people in 2010 compared with 1997:

Table: Summary of Differences in Access to and Quality of Services for People in 2010 compared with 1997

<p>A child aged under 5</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - More likely to have mother at home for longer in first year - More likely to attend formal childcare setting before age 3 - More likely to access early education from age 3 - Access to better quality childcare and early education, structured around play-based curriculum and with more chance of contact with a trained graduate professional. - Access to more local play sessions, art and singing groups
-----------------------------	---

	<p>and toy libraries, especially if in a disadvantaged area.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - More likely to have well supported mother with easier access to networks of other parents and to more formal advice and information.
A child age 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Would have attended a better funded school with higher staff to pupil ratios, better paid, staff, and more ICT - Less likely to attend a very low performing school - Experienced increased pressure to meet national attainment targets but also, by the end of the period, to enjoy a wider curriculum that incorporated mental and physical well-being, participation and enjoyment as goals, alongside educational achievement.
A school leaver aged 16-18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Would have attended a better funded school with higher staff to pupil ratios, better paid, trained and supported staff, more ICT, an area of specialism, and extended services from 8am to 6pm - More likely to have attended a newly built or refurbished school - Less likely to attend a very low performing school - Experience more pressure to meet national attainment targets but also, from the mid-2000s, had access to a wider range of curriculum options and work-based learning - More likely to have had careers' advice and support services for young people (via Connexions). - More likely to have had a learning place after 16 and to access financial support via the Educational Maintenance Allowance if needed, but no less likely to be NEET (not in education, employment or training) - Slightly more likely to go on to higher education
A working age adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If employed, entitled to a National Minimum Wage - If unemployed, more likely to be in an active labour market programme receiving help getting back to work, but also with tighter conditionality.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Entitled to longer parental leave, more maternity pay, and to childcaresubsidies, and has right to request flexible and part-time working. - If a low-paid worker, better future pension rights, and can receive moregenerous top-ups to pay through tax credits, especially if has children
An adult age over 65	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Additional concessions: Winter Fuel Payments; free TV licensesfor theoldest pensioners, and free bus travel. - Possible additional ‘Savings Credit’ payment - Free prescriptions

Source: Labour’s Social Policy Record: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 1997-2010, Ruth Lupton, with John Hills, Kitty Stewart and Polly Vizard, 2013.

For almost thirteen years, Labour government adopted a more socialist policy through which poor class got the maximum benefits to achieve this government planned for ‘modernisation’ of public services. During this period, socio-economic gaps in access to services decreased. Unlike the previous government, the Blair government increased its spending in the public and social sector by 60 times. From May 2010, the Coalition government came in to the power in UK after almost thirteen years of Labour government’s rule. When the Coalition took the charge, the situation especially financial situation was at high risk, mainly because of 2008 economic recession. UK was in the high debt and deficit at that time. Some argued that the debt and deficit were mainly because of the high-level spending of the labour movement mainly public spending. The coalition’s policy goal was mainly to tackle debts. Along with it, the government also firmly determined about building a fairer society where those who are in better condition, pay more in comparison to those who are poorer. Government also set goals for equality, reforms to welfare, taxation and education. Its core values were “freedom, fairness and responsibility”. To deliver it, Cameron’s government pledged for “radical reforming government, “a stronger society, a smaller state and power and responsibility in the hands of every citizen” (Lupton et.al, 2013:2).

As the promise, the Coalition in its first “emergency” budget started cutting the over spending (77 percent). The VAT rate increased from 17.5 to 20 percent Coalition provided protection to National Health Schemes and Schools by cutting their budget.

The government was giving preference to the pensioners. Cameron made strict decision in cutting in tax credits and working age benefits. Along with other important steps regarding the social policy, the Coalition government also adopted a reformative attitude towards the institutions of welfare state. The boundaries of welfare provision are shifting from 'progressive universalism' to greater targeting (Lupton et.al, 2013:3).The government incited strict plans for social care. On one side, eligibility criteria for receipt of social service is strict, on the other side government introduced the Care Act 2014 needs to pay for it.

The Coalition government's social policy in the last four years can be summarized in the following points:

- It implemented cuts in many services and shifted the burden on others.
- Government's tax and benefit policies have facilities for richer group more, but benefited nothing to deficit reduction.
- In the beginning, this policy has given some relief to the poor but it increased poverty more.
- Government provided protection to the pensioners, but left children unprivileged.

The modern concept of welfare state emerged in the European continent and was spread thereafter around the world. The emergence of the welfare state was a result of some the important historical events like Renaissance, Reformation, Scientific and Intellectual Revolution, which ended the autocratic rule of European rulers. But the contemporary welfare model started getting shaped only after the Second World War, when the focus of the governments shifted from war to welfare and the states started making policies for the wellbeing of its citizens. The core value of the welfare state remains the same among all modern states, but every country has adopted it with some distinct features. In the European continent itself different types of welfare models are working.

In summary Britain has adopted the Anglo-Saxon Model of the Welfare State. The Anglo-Saxon Model works on the principle of providing financial assistance to the people of the state rather than supporting them through services. In this model the state intervention in the welfare schemes is very less. The model is considered to be a

liberal model of welfare state because of its nature. The Anglo-Saxon model has its own flaws, it focuses more on the working-age group rather than the pensioners because of which a major portion of the population remain deprived from social care services. Financial funding's uneven distributions which give less to social and health care services. The British welfare system and social policy work on the Beveridge Plan, which was developed by Sir William Beveridge in the year 1941. Through this plan the government introduced a state-guaranteed minimum living standard for all, launch of National Health Service, and a national policy of employment assurance for everyone. Government after government has been making some changes, but the main characteristics of the policy remain the same. Only after the coming of the Labour government in to power in 1997, the British Social Policy has seen a paradigm shift from non-interference of state to the socialist policy, which provides full support to the people especially the poor. The next chapter will discuss about the Childcare Policy and its impact on women's employment. It will discuss Acts and regulations related to it in Britain.

Chapter Three

*Childcare Policy and
its Impact on Women's Employment*

Around the world percentage of women's employment is increasing and the major reason behind it is the support provided by the governments of developed and developing countries. The chapter will discuss childcare policy and its impact on women's employment in Britain. After discussing the concepts of welfare state and social policy, this chapter focuses on one of the most important component of the social policy which impact position of women in any society. The chapter begins with describing the historical development of childcare policy in the United Kingdom. It further discusses policies of childcare in British government's regime in detail.

The modern welfare nations are more concerned about their citizens' wellbeing. Governments are providing health benefits, care services for every age group. Children are always considered to be the centre point of welfare scheme, because children's wellbeing affects parent's behaviour (especially mother's behaviour) in the labour market. Countries are now investing a good amount of their GDP to primary and secondary schooling as well. Childcare can be explained as arrangements for the care of children which can be categorised as non-maternal or non-parental care and also care by the friends and relatives. It can be defined as service to parents, a way of enhancing children's development (Huntsman, 2008:1). Childcare can be broadly differentiated among two types, formal and informal care. Formal care provides day-care, nurseries, kindergartens. Informal care means care provided by family members, friends and relatives. Childcare services can be used for different time period also, like some children come into care service for few days or weeks only, during a temporary family crisis, some are in the care for few years and some for the whole childhood (Packman, 1968:16).

Historical development of Childcare policy in the United Kingdom

Childcare policy is an important element of the modern welfare state's policy, because more and more women are now in the labour market. To bring a balance between their family and work life, women need a support system. Developed countries like UK, where joint family rarely exists, this support system has always been in need from the state. The United Kingdom has always been a liberal welfare state where state or government rarely intervene in the family and private matters. Till 1990, English family system was mainly dominated by male-bread winner type, because of which

very little efforts were made by the state to provide care services for dual-working family's children. The care was mainly available for those who were at risk. The Children and Young Person Act of 1933 stated that only those children who have no parents or guardian, or their parents are not in a condition to provide them good care, can be served under the care service. According to the National Health Service Act 1946, local authorities and health departments should make arrangements for domestic help for families seeking help in their own home. The motive of providing these kinds of help was to making families strong in crisis time. The table below shows that after 1953 the number of children in care per 1,000 declined steadily until the early 1960s. In 1960s, some voluntary efforts were made by the parents on their own. The British government passed another Act in the year 1963 titled the Children and Young Persons Act, according to which the local authorities were responsible to look after the care services for children. (Packman, 1968: 76) The trouble of providing care for children mainly emerged for those children who were under school age. It would be difficult to provide informal care to children by the neighbours and relatives because they need full day attention. There were nurseries for these children, but those were not sufficient in numbers and even if they were available, were very much scattered. In view of this legislative boost to local authority efforts it is interesting to see that numbers have not yet been pulled any lower in consequence. On the contrary, after some years of fairly stable figures, 1966 showed a distinct rise in the proportion of children in care (Table below). This may be an indication that needs to continue to expand, or that they had not previously been exhaustively met (Packman, 1968: 18).

Table

Number of Children in Care in England and Wales, 1949-1966¹

Year	Number	Rate per 1,000 pop. Under 18 years
1949	55, 255	*
1950	58, 987	*

¹Jean Packman (1968), Childcare Needs and Numbers, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, pg.no- 18
 *No comparative figures are given for these years.

1951	62,691	*
1952	64,682	5.6
1953	65,309	6.2
1954	64,560	5.5
1955	62,948	*
1956	62,347	5.3
1957	62,033	5.2
1958	62,070	5.2
1959	61,580	5.1
1960	61,729	5.0
1961	62,199	5.0
1962	63,648	5.1
1963	64,807	5.1
1964	66,281	5.1
1965	67,099	5.1
1966	69,157	5.3

In 1972 the Thatcher Government initiated some efforts for nursery education (Three to four years old children) but was not very successful (Ruling, 2008: 6). One of the major laws related to childcare before the rule of labour government (1997) was the Children Act of 1989 which was implemented in 1991. The Act mainly focused on children's welfare and addressed directly the issues of children's needs; besides it regulated the voluntary childcare service. It also tried to encourage co-operation between local authorities and voluntary services. In 1993, the UK government established the Early Childhood Education Forum (now known as the Early Childhood Forum). The forum provided a common platform for all the agencies working in this field nationwide to speak on issues of early child-minding (Pugh, 2009:9).

Before 1990s, whatever childcare services available were mainly focusing on providing help to keep family system strong. They did not have any intention to provide help for working mothers. The only exception was nurseries giving assistance to the working mothers during the wartime but it was a temporary arrangement.

Childcare Policy: The Labour Government Regime

The social structure of Britain started changing in 1990s. The typical male-breadwinner concept of British family changed. There were new forms of families emerging in this period. Lone parent families were the most prominent of the new forms. Around 90% of lone parent families were headed by women. The policies of the 1990s Conservative Government increasingly sought to move lone mothers into the labour market so that motherhood for this group involved both paid and unpaid caring (Claire Annesley et.al, 2007: 156).The government felt that these lone mothers need some kind of support from the state to provide care service for their children. So even before the New Labour Government, there was a very little effort made by the Conservative Government to support the working women, but this support was only focused on lone mothers (Lister 1996).

The Labour Government came into power in May 1997 under the leadership of Tony Blair, who believed that childcare should not be left only to parents, because sometimes they do not provide proper care to the children. In his autobiography 'Tony Blair: A Journey', he wrote that "the point is we have to conduct the policy inquiry from first principles, not within a system that is itself at fault."The New Labour Government was a pro-women government. According to Lovenduski (2005), pro-women government means to act for women, to take on women's concerns and to make a difference to women's lives. The Blair Government implemented major reforms in spheres of life, from economy to welfare to international policy which had significant impact upon women. The Labour Government introduced different policies and policy papers for supporting childcare, like: *Supporting Families* (1998), *National Childcare Strategy* (1998), *Every Child Matters* (2003) and the *10-yearChildcare Strategy*. All these policies and papers were designed and structured by different departments and offices, Department for Welfare and Pensions, Department of Trade and Industry, Department of Education, the Treasury and other departments.The consultative paper titled '*Supporting Families*' introduced policy on state's relation with parents. It covers five major areas: services and support for parents bringing up children; financial support for families; work-home balance; support for marriage; and support for families with serious problems (Clarke, 2007:158).

The paper *Supporting Families* was based on three primary principles: first, the welfare of the child should be on the top. Second, marriage is a strong institution for raising children, so it should be on the priority in government policies and third, government should not intervene much in the family matters. It should support parents, not substitute them through its policies (Home Office, 1998:4). Though the nature of the policy was the same as it was during the Conservative Government, but what's new was the breadth of the interpretation of what constitutes 'support' in terms of the policy measures that it proposed and that had subsequently been introduced. These measures mainly apply into three areas: employment related support; advice and support on parenting; and policies in relation to adolescent misbehaviour and parents' responsibility for controlling their children (Clarke, 2007: 158).

In order to make the childcare smoother the Tony Blair Government introduced the first- ever childcare strategy, *National Childcare Strategy*, in 1998. This strategic plan had two main objectives: first, qualitative and affordable childcare and second, by making employment policy more flexible for parents (especially mothers) so that the child poverty can be reduced. The intention behind this strategy plan was to remove major obstacle of lower income group to involve them in employment (Skinner, 2006: 3). The strategy plan was composite in its nature which involves initiative for the development, expansion, implementation and sustainability of childcare services. It demonstrates plan for 0-14 year-old kids of every community at the local level which was coordinated by the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE). It established Early Years Developments and Childcare Partnerships (EYDCP); The EYDCP is a local body which has given authority to monitor childcare centres, development and coordination of the *National Childcare Strategy*.²

The Blair Government launched another significant programme for effective childcare called *Every Child Matters* in 2003. It has a wide reaching approach, which includes policies related to education, health, social services, voluntary and community organisations and other agencies. This programme was launched mainly because of the famous case of brutal murder of 8- year -old girl Victoria Climbié who was abused, threatened and beaten up by her guardians in the United Kingdom. After her death the government had set up a public inquiry headed by Lord Laming. Laming

²UK Childcare, Policy and Legislation, URL: <http://www.ukchildcare.ca/policy/strategy.shtml>

made several recommendations, as a result of which the government launched a green paper titled *Every Child Matters* and passed the Children Act 2004.

The aim of this Green Paper was to make children:

- **Healthy:** Every child should have good physical and mental health and should lead a healthy life style.
- **Safe:** Children should be safe in and out of the home. They should get security from strangers as well as from their near ones also.
- **Enjoying and Achieving:** Every child should get the pleasure of childhood and also get prepare for achieving certain goal in life.
- **Positive Contribution:** The child should get healthy and proper upbringing so that he or she should not get involved in any anti-social activity.
- **Economic Well-being:** The child should get proper financial support so that his/her development should not get affected due to lack of monetary resources.

The government adopted some measures to achieve the stated goals. It introduced *Sure Start Children's Centres* which combine nursery, education, family support, employment advice, childcare and health services. Under this scheme government had plan to open full service extended schools which were supposed to be open beyond regular school hours where children could get breakfast clubs after school clubs, childcare and social care support. The UK government also introduced *Young People's Fund*. Through the Green Paper government was trying to provide bed and breakfast for the homeless kids (HM Treasury, 2003:7). The Green Paper had some proposals for parents and carers also. The Government announced the creation of a *Parenting Fund* of £25 million for three years.

The Ten -Year Strategy for the Childcare:

In December 2004, the Labour government launched *The Ten -Year Strategy* for the childcare. In which the government provided quality childcare, nursery, education and also subsidies to childcare services for providing support to the parents.

Government's main aim behind this ten -year strategy plan was:

- To provide support to the parents in keeping balance between work and family.

- For the welfare of children in long term, especially for those who are in a more difficult situation.

One can identify two broad concepts behind the ten -year strategy plan:

Equity: As a welfare state Britain wants to provide equal educational facility to all especially for those who are from depressed class. According to P. Carnerio and J.Heckman (2003), providing help in the childhood stage to the unprivileged for the government is more cost effective than intervening later in life. .

Efficiency: According to the government, if children receive better childcare and education services from the state, the parents may be able to spend more time in the labour market and consequently it will increase their efficiency. In its ten -year strategy programme, government mainly applied two reforms programmes: *The Childcare Tax Credit* and *Expansion of Free Nursery Provision*. *The Childcare Tax Credit*: is a mode of payment given to the working families to subsidise their use of certain types of formal childcare (Brewer, Crawford and Dearden, 2005:149).

In order to provide this childcare tax government conduct three types of test with the families:

- The Work Test: All the adult members in the family should work at least for 16 hours per week.
- The Childcare Test: The family should spend money of registered childcare for children under the age of 15.
- The Income Test: The income of the couple should be sufficiently low to receive this benefit (ibid).

Government used these tests to decide who were eligible for receiving this childcare tax credit and who were not. The programme was initially started in 1997, but it actually came into action in December 2004 when the spending increased 16 times.

The Childcare Tax Credit has mainly benefited to those who can afford formal childcare, mainly families (family with two children) who earn up to £43,668 in 2004–05 (Brewer, Crawford and Dearden, 2005:149). This scheme didn't positively affect child poverty much. The childcare system improved women's participation in the work -place. It also provides choices for parents to decide on their working hours.

Despite all these positive qualities of the system there were some flaws in the system and structure of this scheme. One of the major problems of this tax credit system was cash flow, because parents first had to pay the childcare service cost and then wait for the government's tax credit system. This creates a problem mainly for low income group families, because childcare cost is the large part of their income (Brewer, Crawford and Dearden, 2005:149). This system was also not sufficiently fair, due to some transparency problems. It also did not help them improve the quality of childcare services. The main purpose of this kind of childcare policy was to provide help to the poor families and also support to the working women, but this policy was not successful in doing so. (Figure 1, Annexure 1).

There are some alternatives for the childcare tax credit system:

- To Make childcare more strict under the government's control. The demand-side subsidy of the childcare tax credit can be turned into supply-side interventions that directly increase quality (Brewer, Crawford and Dearden, 2005:159).
- The childcare tax credit can be replaced by tax credit changes that encourage all mothers to work. This boost to in-work income could benefit their children (ibid).

There were some suggestions made in the 2004 Pre-Budget to reform the childcare tax credit system: the tax credit system should be available for those families who work but use informal care and also those families who are not able to clear test but want to use formal childcare.

Expansion of Free Nursery Provision

In government's 10-year childcare strategy the next plan was free nursery provisions. Prior to 1997 this provision of free nursery was under the jurisdiction of the local education authorities'. In the last decade of twentieth century the conservative government paid more attention to the pre-school programmes and less intervention into the childcare service, thus very few mothers' especially lone mothers with toddlers were able to go out for work. Government introduced a nursery education voucher scheme which includes parents of all 4-year-olds; these vouchers were worth of £ 1,100 to purchase nursery provisions of their choice. Through this scheme

government attempted to give parents the choice to send their children to maintained private or voluntary institutions.³ In 1997, the Labour Government changed this scheme and in 1998 government launched a new scheme in which government had tried to provide accessible, affordable and high -quality childcare for children aged 0 to 14 years in every neighbourhood. Government had also provided free nursery education places, initially for all 4- year –olds (Brewer, Crawford and Dearden, 2005: 163).In the year 2004 when the Labour government launched the *10- year Childcare Strategy Programme*, since then it was compulsory for the local authorities to provide free nursery places for all 3 and 4 years olds for 12.5 hours a week and for 33 weeks of the years.

Under this programme government attempted the following:

- Extension of the entitlement from 12.5 hours for 33 weeks per year to 12.5 hours for 38 weeks per years.
- By 2010, entitlement will be extended from 12.5 hours for 38 weeks per year to 15 hours for 38 weeks per year.
- Government had also decided to increase in free nursery hours from 15 hours per week to 20 hours per week again for 38 weeks of the year (Brewer, Crawford and Dearden, 2005: 166).

Through this programme government tried to benefit both parents and children by providing more free nursery hours. A report by K. Sylva and others (2004) stated that total number of weeks benefited children more rather than number of hours per week.⁴This scheme gives more benefit to the parents in comparison with the children because it provide more time to them to spend at their workplace and provide more opportunity in the labour market, especially to the working mothers. The free nursery provision benefits families in different manners. Families who are highly deprived have access to relatively high levels of maintained provisions and relatively low levels of private provisions. The graph below shows that less deprived families have access to relatively low levels of maintained provisions and these families are more

³Audit Commission, *Counting to Five: Education of Children under Five*, London 1996.

⁴ K. Sylva, E. C. Melhuish, P. Sammons, I. Siraj-Blatchford and B. Taggart, *Final Report: Effective Pre-School Education, Effective Provision of Pre-School Education (EPPE) Project*, Technical Paper no. 12, Department for Education and Skills / Institute of Education, University of London, London, 2004.

dependent on relatively high levels of private and voluntary provisions. In contrast with this, families living in the most deprived local education authorities (LEAs) have less access to private and voluntary provisions.

In the case of 4- year -olds the situation was quite different. The variation between most deprived and less deprived families were relatively low. This was mainly because some of the 4 -year -olds would be in the full time primary education, and this primary education was mainly provided by the state. The figure 2 (Annexure 1) shows that the private nurseries were mainly focusing on the areas where they have more demand (Figure 2, Annexure 1).

The free nursery scheme provides better nursery education to the children of age between 3 and 4 years. At the same time it provides more flexible working hours for parents. It provides benefits more to those parents who work for more than 15 hours; as it reduces their cost of private Childcare services (Figure 3, Annexure 1).

Childcare Act 2006

After executing the *10 -year strategy plan* for childcare, the Labour Government took some of the important suggestions from the strategy plan and enacted the *Childcare Act 2006* in order to make childcare services more reliable for parents. Through this Act government attempted to involve the local authorities into childcare services both in England and Wales. It also made provisions for regulation and inspection for childcare services in England. The Act was one of its own kind first ever attempt exclusively focused on childcare. The Childcare Act was divided into four parts: first two parts of the Act talk about the general functions of local authorities in England and Wales. Part three deals with arrangement for childcare providers in England and fourth part is about general provisions. The Act involves local authorities in childcare for the well-being of young children. It describes the duties of local authorities as following:

- Improve the well-being of young children in their area, and
- Reduce inequalities between young children in their area in relation to the matters mentioned in sub-section (2) (Childcare Act 2006, Part-1, section-1).

The Act also defines the term ‘well-being’ of children, according to which well-being includes physical, mental and emotional well-being, education, recreation and

protection from harm (ibid). The local authority must report to the secretary of state and follow guidelines by the secretary of the state time to time. The Act also defines some phrases and terms related to childcare, like: “early childhood services”, “parents”, “childcare” “young child” and “early year’s provision”.

According to the Childcare Act 2006, “Early Childcare Services” means:

- Early years provisions;
- The social service functions of the local authority, as relating to young children, parents or prospective parents;
- Health services related to young children, parents or perspective parents;
- The provision, arrangements made under section 2 of the Employment and Training Act 1973 of assistance to parents or perspective parents;
- The services provided by the local authority under section 12 (duty to provide information and assistance), as relating to parents or prospective parents.

The Act defines the term “parent” as a parent of young child who has parental responsibility for a younger child or has care of a young child. “Prospective parent” means a pregnant mother or any other person who is likely to become, or is planning to become, a parent (Childcare Act, 2006, Part 1, section-2).

According to The Childcare Act 2006,

- “Childcare” means any form of care for a child and, subject to subsection (3), care includes-
 - education for a child, and
 - any other supervised activity for a child,
- “Childcare” does not include-
 - education (or any other supervised activity) provided by a school during school hours for a registered pupil who is not a young child, or
 - Any form of health care for a child.
- “Childcare” does not include care provided for a child by—
 - a parent or step-parent of the child;
 - a person with parental responsibility for the child;
 - a relative of the child;

- a person who is a local authority foster parent in relation to the child;
 - a person who is a foster parent with whom the child has been placed by a voluntary organisation;
 - A person who fosters the child privately.
- “Childcare” does not include care provided for a child if the care—
- is provided in any of the following establishments as part of the establishment’s activities—
 - (i) An appropriate children’s home,
 - (ii) A care home,
 - (iii) A hospital in which the child is a patient,
 - (iv) A residential family centre, and is so provided by the person carrying on the establishment or a person employed to work at the establishment.
 - (v) The reference in sub-section (5)(b) to a person who is employed includes a reference under a contract for services.
- “Childcare” does not include care provided for a child who is detained in—
- a young offender institution, or
 - A secure training centre.
- In this section—
- “appropriate children’s home”, “local authority foster parent”, “to foster a child privately” and “voluntary organisation” have the same meaning as in the Children Act 1989 (c. 41);
 - “care home”, “hospital” and “residential family centre” have the same meaning as in the Care Standards Act 2000 (c. 14);
 - “Relative”, in relation to a child, means a grandparent, aunt, uncle, brother or sister, whether of the full blood or half blood or by marriage or civil partnership (The Childcare Act, 2006, Part 1, Section 18).

The Act define the term “young child” during the period –

- beginning with his birth, and

- Ending immediately before the 1st September next following the date on which he attains the age of five (ibid).

The Act defines “early year’s provision” as the provision of childcare for a young child.

Duty of the Local Authority

The Local Authority must ensure proper access of services to the parents, prospective parents and young children. They should identify parents and children who can be beneficiary of these childcare services. They should also motivate people (parents, perspective parents and young children) to be the part of these services. The Act also mentioned about the relevant partners who can help the local authorities in providing better services for childcare. These relevant partners can be a Strategic Health Authority or Primary Care Trust for an area any part of which falls within the area of the local authority, the Secretary of State. For the better implementation of services establishment of a pooled fund⁵ is also mentioned in the Act.

Provision of Childcare

There are some strong provisions for childcare in the Act. According to the Act, “An English local authority must secure, so far as reasonably practicable, that the provision of childcare (whether or not by them) is sufficient to meet the requirements of parents in their area who require childcare in order to enable them—

- to take up, or remain in, work, or
- To undertake education or training which could reasonably be expected to assist them to obtain work.

In order to ensure whether the provision of childcare is sufficient to meet requirements of parents, perspective parents and young children, a local authority-

- must have regard to the needs of parents in their area for
 - (i) The provision of childcare in respect of which the childcare element of working tax credit is payable, and
 - (ii) The provision of childcare which is suitable for disabled children, and

⁵Pooled fund: made up of contribution by the authority and the relevant partner or partner concerned.

- May have regard to any childcare which they expect to be available outside their area.

In discharging their duty under sub-section (1), a local authority must have regard to any guidance given from time to time by the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State may by order amend subsection (2) (and sub-section (6) so far as relating to that subsection) so as to modify the matters to which a local authority must or may have regard in determining whether the provision of childcare is sufficient. Except in relation to a disabled child, this section does not apply in relation to childcare for a child on or after the 1st September next following the date on which he attains the age of 14 (The Childcare 2006, Part-I).

Duty to secure prescribed early years provision free of charge

(1) An English local authority must secure that early years provision of a prescribed description is available free of charge for such periods as may be prescribed for each young child in their area who—

- (a) Has attained such age as may be prescribed, but
- (b) Is under compulsory school age.

(2) In discharging their duty under sub-section (1), a local authority must have regard to any guidance given from time to time by the Secretary of State (ibid).

Power of local authority in relation to the provision of Childcare:

According to the Act, a local authority should help make arrangements with any person who provide childcare. This help includes financial assistance. Before providing childcare services to any child the local authority must ensure that there is no other source of care available for the child.

Arrangements between local authority and Childcare providers:

(1) This section applies where an English local authority makes arrangements with a person (other than the governing body of a maintained school) for the provision by that person of childcare in consideration of financial assistance provided by the authority under the arrangements.

(2) The local authority must exercise their functions with a view to securing that the provider of the childcare meets any requirements imposed on him by the arrangements.

(3) The requirements imposed by the arrangements may, in particular, if any specified conditions are not satisfied, require the repayment of the whole or any part of any financial assistance provided by the local authority under the arrangements (The Childcare Act 2006, Part-I).

Chargers where local authority provide Childcare:

The English local authority can enter in any financial arrangement which is made by any person or authority that provide childcare services.

Duty to assess Childcare provision

The Act also has provisions for assessment of childcare services by the local authorities. According to which,

- An English local authority must prepare assessments of the sufficiency of the provision of childcare (whether or not by them) in their area (“childcare assessments”).
- The first childcare assessment must be prepared before the end of the period of one year beginning with the commencement of this section.
- Subsequent childcare assessments must be prepared at intervals not exceeding three years.
- The authority must keep a childcare assessment prepared by them under review until the childcare assessment is superseded by a further childcare assessment.
- Regulations may make provision requiring a childcare assessment -
 - (a) To deal with prescribed matters or be prepared according to prescribed criteria;
 - (b) To be in the prescribed form;
 - (c) To be published in the prescribed manner.
- In preparing a childcare assessment and keeping it under review, an English local authority must -

(a) Consult such persons, or persons of such a description, as may be prescribed, and

(b) Have regard to any guidance given from time to time by the Secretary of State.

- Sub-section (5) of section 6 applies for the purposes of this section as it applies for the purposes of that section (The Childcare Act 2006, Part-I).

Duty to provide information, advice and assistance:

According to the Childcare Act 2006, an English local authority must provide information, advice and assistance for childcare services to the young children. In this section, the need of disabled children has also been mentioned. Secretary of the State must recognise need of the parents of disabled children and should ensure proper facilities to them.

Duty to provide information, advice and training to childcare providers:

Information, advice and training related to childcare should be made available by the English local authority to the childcare provider. Apart from all the childcare service providers (mentioned in the Act), English local authority should also provide information, advice and training to those who are employed to assist in the provision of childcare in their area or who intend to obtain such employment.

Part 3 of the Childcare Act 2006

The third part of the Act is about regulation of provision of childcare in England. It includes general functions of chief inspector, regulations related to registration (requirements to register, process of registration), regulation of later year's provision for children under 8, voluntary registration, common provisions (cancellation of registration, offences and criminal proceedings).

General Functions of Chief Inspector

The first chapter of part 3 talks about the general functions of Chief Inspector. According to the Childcare Act 2006: "The Chief Inspector has the general duty of keeping the Secretary of State informed about—

- (a) The contribution of regulated early year’s provision in England to the well-being of children for whom it is provided;
- (b) The quality and standards of regulated early year’s provision in England;
- (c) How far regulated early year’s provision in England meets the needs of the range of children for whom it is provided;
- (d) The quality of leadership and management in connection with regulated early year’s provision in England.”

Other than this, whenever it is asked by the Secretary of State, the Chief Inspector should give advice on matters related to early year’s provision or later year’s provision in England. He should also perform other functions related to early years and later year’s provisions assigned by the Secretary of State. The second register “the general childcare register” is divided into two sections: The first section is for those child-minders who required compulsory registration and the second section is for those child-minders whose registration is voluntary.

Chapter Two of the Childcare Act 2006

Second chapter of part 3 of the Childcare Act 2006 mentioned about the regulation of early years provisions. According to the Act, a person should get registered for providing early years child-minding in England. The child-minders should provide any prescribed information about prescribed matters, any information which the Chief Inspector reasonably requires the applicant to give, be accompanied by a prescribed fee.

The Act also prescribed requirements to be met by early year providers.

- The Early Years Foundation Stage: The learning and development requirements and the welfare requirements are together to be known as “the Early Years Foundation Stage”.
- Duty to implement Early Years Foundation Stage:
 - (1) This section applies to—
 - (a) Early years providers providing early years provision in respect of which they are registered under this Chapter, and

(b) early years providers providing early years provision in respect of which, but for section 34(2) (exemption for provision for children aged 3 or over at certain schools), they would be required to be registered under this Chapter.

(2) An early years provider to whom this section applies—

(a) Must secure that the early years provision meets the learning and development requirements, and

(b) Must comply with the welfare requirements.

➤ The learning and development requirements:

The Childcare Act also specified the learning and development requirements. It covers following areas:

- personal, social and emotional development,
- communication, language and literacy,
- problem solving, reasoning and numeracy,
- knowledge and understanding of the world,
- physical development, and
- creative development

➤ Further provisions about assessment arrangements:

A learning and development order can made assessment arrangements for any person who are an early year's provider, the governing body or head teacher of a maintained school in England, and an English local authority.

➤ Welfare Requirements

According to the Childcare Act (2006), there are certain matters which can be specifically dealt with welfare regulations:

- the welfare of the children concerned;
- the arrangements for safeguarding the children concerned;
- suitability of persons to care for, or be in regular contact with, the children concerned;
- qualifications and training;
- the suitability of premises and equipment;
- the manner in which the early years provision is organised;
- procedures for dealing with complaints;

- the keeping of records;
- The provision of information.

The welfare regulations on all these matters should be made by the Secretary of State, and he/she should consult Chief Inspector and any other person he considers appropriate. Chapter two also contains instruments specifying learning and development or welfare requirements, procedure for making certain orders, power to enable exemptions to be conferred.

Chapter 3 of the part 3 of this Act deals with the regulation of later year provision for children under the age of 8. It includes requirement to register, process of registration, regulation, inspection. Chapter 4 talks about voluntary registration. Chapter 5 provides for procedure for cancellation of registration, voluntary removal from registration, cancellation in emergency, disqualification from registration, offence and criminal proceedings.

The Act has affected four broader areas of the childcare in England and Wales, which include choices, flexibility, availability, quality and affordability. The Childcare Act 2006 provided the choice of work-life balance to the parents. Through this Act the childcare centres have become more accessible to the parents. In Britain, parents were facing the problem of quality childcare services, which have been solved by the Childcare Act 2006. There were few state sponsored childcare services available in the UK before this Act. The Childcare Act 2006 ensured affordable quality childcare services to all sections of society especially single parent women.

The Children's Plan 2007

After the Childcare Act 2006, British government took next major step in order to make England more comfortable place for children by announcing the Children Plan in 2007. The plan was proposed and executed by the Department for Children, School and Families (DSCF) along with other departments such as the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). The plan provides government's strategy for next 10 years related to children, young people and their families.

The plan was based on five basic principles:

- Government does not bring up children – parents do – so government needs to do more to back parents and families.
- All children have the potential to succeed and should go as far as their talents can take them.
- Children and young people need to enjoy their childhood as well as grow up prepared for adult life.
- Services need to be shaped by and responsive to children, young people and families, not designed around professional boundaries.
- It is always better to prevent failure than tackle a crisis later (The Children's Plan, Department for School, Children and Families, 2007).

The Children's plan is divided into seven chapters. First chapter is about the happy and healthy children and young people. The aim is to secure wellbeing and health of the children, for which government allotted £34 million to appoint two expert parenting advisers in each locality. Creating new parents panel to advice government on parents policing. Government also extend the family fund for families with disabled children. Playing outside will help children in being happy and healthy, government decided to spend £225 million to build 3,500 playgrounds. For good health of the young children government published a Child Health Strategy in 2008 in joint collaboration of Department for Children, Schools and Families and the Department of Health. Government also focused on the mental health of the children for which they had reviewed Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service. Poverty affects children's health and happiness the most. Through this plan government was determined to reduce child poverty by 2010 and eliminate it by the end of 2020 (ibid).

The second chapter of the children's plan focuses on the safeguard of the young and vulnerable. In order to ensure safety government introduced a new home safety equipment schemetitled the *Staying Safe Action Plan* in early 2008. Through this plan government had also tried to ensure school and local authorities take a proportionate approach to health and safety to allow children to take risks while staying safe (DCSF, 2007). The Children's Plan also talks about the excellence and bridging the gap between the advantaged and disadvantaged children. For ensuring better education government has set out new relationship between parents and schools. To help parents and carers in developing their skills government decided to spend £30

million for three years. For disadvantaged groups, government increased free early education and childcare from 12.5 to 15 hours a week for children between the age group of 3 to 4. Government also planned to spend £18 million over the next three years to improve the quality of teaching for children with special educational needs (ibid).

The fourth chapter of the plan is about the leadership and collaboration. Government planned to invest £117 million for the next three years in order to provide quality childcare services, also to increase quality of teachers and head teachers. They had planned to invest £44 million for three years. Government also spend £265 million to build small schools, studio schools and for providing quality vocational education. The UK government was determined to ensure young people's (18 and above) participation and staying on in education or training. To achieve this goal government plan to

- legislate in the parliamentary session to raise the participation age to 17 from 2013 and 18 from 2015;
- develop 3 new diplomas in science, humanities and languages to increase the options for young people;
- create a new independent regulator of qualifications, with the consultation launched before the end of 2007;
- transfer funding for 16-19 learning from the Learning and Skills Council to local authorities, with a consultation on how best to achieve this in early 2008; and
- Allocate £31.5 million over the next three years on a new programme to re-engage 16 year-olds who are not currently engaged in learning, building on the extra measures we have announced on NEETs, including better tracking and financial incentives to remain in learning (ibid).

Ensuring safety of children and young people is an important element of childcare policy. Chapter 6 of the Children's Plan talks about keeping children and young people safe and healthy so that they can be on the right track. In this plan government had announced to invest £160 million for two years to improve the quality and range of places for young people. Children and young people's development can also be affected if they involve in any anti-social activity. Government decided to spend £20

million for three years to use Acceptable Behaviour Contracts to avoid young people's involvement in any kind of antisocial activity. The government also published two plans- one, *Youth Alcohol Action Plan* and second, *The New Drugs Strategy* in 2008. The purpose of these programmes were to improve alcohol education in schools, try to control parental alcohol consumption misuse through which young people could also be influenced. The plan also talked about the effective sex and relationship education in schools. To rescue those who are easy target of crime both as victim as well as offenders, this plan allocated £66 million for the next three years and published a Green Paper in 2008 about the situation of young offenders who were in the custody and also about their education.

The last chapter of the Children's Plan presented a vision for 21st century children's services. To make the goals more accessible, government planned to combine the needs of children and families. Providing all solutions to family and children under one roof will help children for providing a safety net. The plan also monitors the differences made through the Children's trusts and examine whether Children's trust arrangements need to be strengthened to improve outcomes, including by further legislation the Government also published a *Children's Workforce Action plan* in early 2008, covering everyone who works with children and young people, which would strengthen integrated working across all services (The Children's Plan, Department for School, Children and Families, 2007). The Children's Plan set a goal for 2020 which included the wellbeing plan of the children and what should be achieved by the children in the end of 2010. This goal includes following plans:

- enhance children and young people's wellbeing, particularly at key transition points in their lives;
- every child should be ready for being successful in the school, with at least 90 percent developing well across all areas of the Early Years Foundation Stage by age 5;
- every child should be ready for the secondary school, with at least 90 percent achieving at or above the expected level in both English and mathematics by the age 11;

- every young person with the skills for adult life and further study, with at least 90 per cent achieving the equivalent of five higher level GCSEs by age 19; and at least 70 per cent achieving the equivalent of two A level by age 19;
- parents satisfied with the information and support they receive;
- all young people participating in positive activities to develop personal and social skills, promote wellbeing and reduce behaviour that puts them at risk;
- employers satisfied with young people's readiness for work;
- child health should be improved, with the proportion of obese and overweight children reduced to 2000 levels;
- child poverty halved by 2010 and eradicated by 2020; and
- Significantly reduce by 2020 the number of young offenders receiving a conviction, reprimand, or final warning for a recordable offence for the first time, with a goal to be set in the Youth Crime Action Plan (ibid).

The main idea behind the Childcare Plan 2007 was to make England the best place for the development of children and young people. Through its different programmes the plan was aiming to help the parents of the most under-privileged children. But, there are some flaws also in the plan. For example, most of its programmes are highly centralised and influenced by the traditional, educational and child-rearing ideals. Though at the first look the plan appears helping the parents who are struggling with the conflict between their work and childcare responsibilities, but in practices it is highly bureaucratic and do not help needy people properly. Despite all these flaws, the Childcare Plan 2007 has definitely impacted the Childcare services. Schemes like Sure Start Centres and free places for toddlers have positively affected both the children's development and parents' professional status.

Childcare Policy of the Coalition Government (2010-2015)

In the 2010 general election both the major parties of the UK, Conservatives and Liberal Democrats did not include any Childcare scheme in their manifestoes. After the election the young children came out with their demands. In response, the government appointed Labour MP Frank Field to review and examine the real situation of poverty and life chance for school children. In his review Field suggested that there was a need of more investment to improve young people's life in the UK.

In April 2011 the Coalition Government presented its strategy in which the Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg declared “improving social mobility [to be]...the principal goal of the Coalition government’s policy” (HM Government, 2011a, p.3).The Coalition government’s policy was mainly focused on direct support of household income and towards a stronger emphasis on services. Government’s Childcare policy (2010 to 2015) can be discussed under following four headings: parental leave; early education and Childcare; Sure Start and family support and taxation and cash transfers.

Parental leave

The Coalition government granted 26 weeks leave once a baby is 20- week- old for father from April 2011. This policy was initiated by Labour government. Both Liberal Democrat and Conservative manifestoes introduced flexible parental leave which was executed under the Children and Families Act 2014.

Early education and Childcare

The Cameron government’s most important policy for early education and childcare was providing free provision for 15 hours a week which was offered to the 20 % most disadvantaged two year olds in September 2013 and in the September 2014 it was 40% for the most disadvantaged. Apart from this free childcare the government also introduced limited action on the affordability of childcare. In April 2011, there was a cut introduced in the maximum share of costs that could be reclaimed under the childcare element of Working Tax Credit from 80% to 70%, for an estimated saving of £385 million a year by 2014-15. But two new policies were announced in 2013 (HM Government, 2013). First, if and when Universal Credit is rolled out (in principle from April 2016) recipients will be able to claim 85% of childcare costs, more than reversing the earlier cut. Second, from September 2015 a new Tax Free Childcare Scheme was introduced, with government meeting 20% of childcare costs for parents earning up to £150,000 each, up to a maximum of £2,000 per child (increased in 2014 from an original plan of £1,200 per child). The expected cost is £750 million a year (Stewart and Obolenskaya, 2015:17).

The Cameron government abolished few plans of the previous government, despite a positive evolution pointing to the fund’s role in improving the quality of provision

and outcomes for 3 to 4-year olds. In March 2012 the Coalition government had closed the Children's Workforce Development Council which was established in 2005. Its role was initially passed to the Teaching Agency (which was part of DfE). In the year 2013 it became National College for Teaching and Leadership in 2013. In response to the Nutbrown Review of the childcare workforce, the Department for Education published *More Great Childcare*. In this plan government replaced early year's professionals by early year's teachers and also recommended more strict qualifications for teachers. Increase in the child: adult ration for two-year-olds from 4:1 to 6:1 was introduced in this programme. The government announced an Early Pupil Premium, which was to be implemented from September 2015, extending the concept of the Pupil Premium down to the pre-school years, though for the moment at a considerably lower rate of funding. Settings offering the free entitlement will receive an additional £300 per year for each child from a family eligible for free school meals, compared to £1,320 for primary and £935 for secondary pupils (ibid, 18).

Sure Start and wider support for parents and children

Government introduced *Sure Start Programme* which was mainly focussed on the neediest families. The approach was mainly a shift from progressive universalism to targeting. David Cameron put it in 2010, "it can't just be a service that everyone can jump into and get advantage out of. It really is there for those who are suffering the greatest disadvantage" (11 August 2010, cited by Waldegrave, 2013). The main aim of this sure start programme was to improve outcomes for children and reduce inequalities in child development. Government also introduced some programme for children and their families' welfare other than the sure start programme. *The Family Nurse Partnership*, an intensive programme of home visits for parents under 20 in the first two years of child's life, was piloted under Labour from 2007 and expanded by the Coalition government (Department of Health, 2013a). In May 2012, National Health Information Service for Parents was launched, offering emails, texts and videos for expectant and new parents. An evaluation in 2013 estimated that 11% of new parents in England were subscribers, with coverage highest among more affluent groups and lowest in areas of high social housing and high benefit need, in part because of lower internet access (Department of Health, 2013b).

The Cameron government abolished the *Children's Workforce Development Council* in 2011 and its responsibilities were carried out by DfE. In 2013 the government commissioned Martin Narey to improve the expertise of social work training (DfE, 2014c). Isabelle Trowler was appointed as the first-ever Chief Social Worker for Children and Families in 2013. In 2015 an innovation fund was launched by the DfE to support integration amongst other things (Trowler, 2014). On the other hand, there seems to be a move towards a greater separation between education and children's services in some local authorities, alongside a merging of children's and adult's social services. Statutory guidance under Labour government told councils that they must integrate education and children's services, and warned against combining children's and adult's social services under a single director "without a very strong justification." (William Stewart, 2012).

Taxes and transfers

The Coalition government introduced some taxes, transfers and cuts in its first tenure. It abolished the *'Baby Tax Credit'*, *Health in Pregnancy Grant*, restricted the *Sure Start Maternity Grant* (£500 at birth paid to low income families to help with the costs of a pushchair, cot etc.) to the first child in the family. The government had increased the working hour's requirements for couples with children from 16 to 24 for *Working Tax Credit*. It had a freeze on Child Benefit and flat rate family element in *Child Tax Credit*. The government abolished the *Child Trust Fund* and introduced "affluence-testing" for Child Benefit (with a condition that the couple could take this child benefit only when one parent earns £50,000 a year and complete withdrawal at £60,000)(Stewart and Obolenskaya, 2015:21).

The government also introduced some reforms related to child benefit:

- A range of reforms to *Local Housing Allowance*, including caps on the total rent that can be covered, and the removal of the 'spare room subsidy' (or 'bedroom tax');
- The passing of responsibility for *Council Tax Benefit* to local authorities, alongside a reduction in resources for council tax support, which has meant cuts in support for working-age people;
- The introduction of a 'welfare cap', limiting total benefit receipts to £26,000; this particularly affects large families and those in high housing cost areas;

- From April 2013, 1% uprating in existing tax credits and benefits, below the inflation rate; this includes maternity and paternity benefits;
- The switch to uprating benefits using the CPI rather than the RPI, which is expected to have significant effects on the real value of benefits in the longer run (Agostini et al, 2014).

The per-child element of Child Tax Credit was increased above the rate of inflation between 2010-11 and 2013-14, while the ‘non-decision’ to keep uprating most other benefits with the RPI until 2012-13 protected in real terms for the first three years of the Coalition Government, even while real earnings were falling (Hills, 2015). The personal allowance threshold increased from £6,475 in 2010-11 to £10,000 in 2014-15, benefiting nearly all families with a worker earning above the threshold, although poorly targeted at lower earners and one-earner families (Browne, 2012). From the year 2015-16 a transferable tax allowance has been introduced for married couples and civil partners. According to which, if in a family one partner earn less than the personal allowance, the unused amount (£1,050) of the allowance will automatically get transferred to the other partner who earns less.

Spending of the Coalition Government

Though the Coalition Government had promised and shown some efforts to make childcare service better in the UK, the figures show, governments spending fell down in the first tenure of the Coalition Government. It also highlights that all the government expenditures on childcare services (early education, Sure Start and the childcare element of working Tax Credit) had risen in 2009-10 but after that it fell down very fast. Over, but employment childcare vouchers aimed at families with incomes above the tax credit cut-off continued to rise. Between 2009-10 and 2012-13 there are different percentages of fall in different areas. For instance, in early education, the fall in percentage was 11, for target support for childcare it was 29 percent and for Sure Start 32 percent. In the same time the population of children under five had risen by around 6 per cent, as a result of which the real spending on every child fell by around a quarter (from £2, 508 in 2009-10 to £1, 867 in 2012-13) (Stewart and Obolenskaya, 2015:22).

Though the government applied cuts in child-benefiting services, it did not propose drastic changes in the real-term spending on child-related benefits between 2009-10 and 2012-13.

The figure-4 (Annexure 1) shows spending per child on services for children under five, maternity and paternity benefits and other cash benefits. It shows that spending on cash benefits and services increased at a fairly even pace until 2008-9. But spending on cash benefits increased in Labour's last two years and flattened since, while spending on services first flattened and then fell (ibid, 25).

Achievements of Coalition Government's Childcare Policy

Because of the cuts and taxes, the childcare services were affected a lot in the UK. The Sure Start Centres have seen huge downgrading. In April 2010 there were 3, 631 Sure Start Centres which fell down to 3, 019 in June 2014. Though Government gave different reasons for the downgrading, for example merging of different centres into one, service providers said that Government's cuts have affected these centres most. Apart from this Sure Start Centre, Coalition Government launched some other programmes, for example, the evidence-based Family Nurse Partnership programme. It reached from 6,000 places in 2011 to 11,000 in 2013. Though, in some places it failed to reach the needy people. The registered childcare providers were reduced by 4 per cent between 2010 and 2014. In contrast, the Childcare Service places available for young children increased by 8 percent between 2010 and 2013 (ibid, 34). Despite this increase in the Childcare Services, the day-care provisions in the UK were reduced much. In 2010, the number of these day care centres was 1,000 but in 2014 it remained only 450.

In the time period of 2010 to 2014, the free nursery entitlement for three and four year olds increased from 91 percent to 94 percent (three year olds) and from 97 to 99 percent (four year olds). In this course of time, there was another growing trend visible in the UK, the use of private, voluntary and independent sector. Despite this fact that the number of Childcare Services decreased in the UK, the quality and educational qualifications of the Childcare Staff improved. Though the Government introduced schemes for the wellbeing of the people but some of its imitative like tax-benefit reforms affected families with young people badly and because of which poverty increased. These tax-benefit scheme affected families with children more in comparison with other family types. Coalition Government's policies like abolition of

the *Health in Pregnancy Grant* and the *Baby Tax Credit* had worst affected those families who had children under five.

In the first tenure of the Coalition Government the families with children were affected worst. The Government's Tax benefits reforms led families who had babies to lose their financial support provided by the state. In contrast to the Labour Government's strategy the Cameron Government focused more on service and less on financial support

Childcare Bill 2015:

“We have been very clear child benefit is staying. We're keeping it, not cutting it. I believe strongly in child benefit. With me child benefit stays as it is”⁶(Item 2, Annexure II).

(David Cameron, 2nd May 2015)

In his electoral campaign for 2015 general election, former British Prime Minister David Cameron promised that if the Conservatives would come in to the power they will provide 60, 0000 free Childcare places to ‘make work pay’⁷ (Item 3, Annexure II). After coming into the power in second time the Coalition government has passed the Childcare Bill 2015 in December 2015. This bill mainly provide extended free childcare of total of 30 hours per week, over 38 weeks or equivalent number of hours across more weeks per year for working parents of three-and four-year-olds. The aim of this bill is to give support to parents for working more and more by reducing the cost of childcare which is in addition to the existing 15 hours of free early education (available to all three and four-years-olds). Before launching the bill, the government conducted a review of the cost of providing childcare, also consulted with parents, employers, representatives from the childcare sector, unions. Government has created a **Childcare Implementation Taskforce** which is helping the government to deliver the best of its childcare schemes. According to the bill from September 2017 the government will provide tax free childcare and more support for families on universal credit. Government has announced that it will introduce a national funding formula for early years in 2017-18, for ensuring transparent and fair distribution of funds. In

⁶ The Telegraph, 2nd May 2015, URL: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/journalists/rosa-prince/11578781/David-Cameron-child-benefit-safe-with-me-for-five-years.html>.

⁷ The Telegraph, 22nd April 2015, URL: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/11553618/David-Cameron-pledges-600000-Childcare-to-make-work-pay.html>

order to provide better support system for working parents, the bill introduces new entitlement to 30 hours free childcare because the available 15 hours per week free childcare service is not much suitable to all the working parents/mothers and it is relatively costly. Though the childcare bill has a significant, positive impact on the choices for families to take up work or to increase their hours at work, but the bill should be more focused on providing support to working women so that they can participate more in the labour market.

After the June 2016 Brexit referendum David Cameron left the post of British PM and the new Conservative leader Theresa May became the new Prime Minister in July 2016. The overall assessment of government's childcare policy will only be possible at the end of the second term of the Coalition government under the leadership of new Prime Minister Theresa May. Despite several attempts by the earlier government, Theresa May's government has to take some immediate steps to make childcare services more useful for the children and parents. Cameron had promised some initiatives for childcare (free childcare services), which have yet not started. May has to work on these initiatives to make Britain a better place for children, young people and their parents, especially who are working.

Government's efforts impacted the women's employment in a positive way. Because of some major policy changes in childcare services female employment rate has increased almost 70% in comparison with women without children⁸ (Item 4, Annexure II). This change has mainly occurred in the last ten years, but women's participation in the market still varies depending on different factors. For example, women with second child are less likely to work because of the high cost of childcare facility. Women's participation in the labour market also depends on the type of work they do. Women with profile high educational qualification and skill get less affected by the family responsibilities because they are able to pay the high cost of childcare services. Mothers' employment and childcare services have reciprocal relation. Mothers who can earn well prefer to go for high-cost quality childcare services, but mothers with low-income-job profile choose to stay at home and take care of the child, because the cost of the childcare services are expensive and does not fit into

⁸<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2869386/Now-mothers-likely-job-childless-Employment-rate-women-young-families-reaches-70.htm>.

their budget. The government should work on it and make the service more affordable for the low income class.

To conclude it can be said that the UK government is trying to provide better childcare policies but it is still not accessible to everyone and many families still are not able to avail these essential services. The UK is still not up to the mark in comparison with other European countries especially the Nordic countries. The government is making investment in this field but the funding should be distributed in a more appropriate proportion especially at the local level. In some ways the UK is in a good place: they already have a world-class childcare system. What is needed now is that policymakers should try to take the opportunity to make the system best in the world. The next chapter will talk about the female-friendly labour market policy of the British government. It will also discuss laws and regulation on women participation in the labour market.

Chapter Four
Female-Friendly LabourMarket Policy

In order to provide equal opportunity to the half population of the society, welfare state works on the female friendly labour market policy. After discussing the childcare policy in the previous chapter, the present chapter of the research will discuss the labour market policy for women. The first section of this chapter focuses on the meaning of female friendly. It also describes theories of women's labour market participation. The next section is about the women's participation in the labour market across the European continent. After discussing the overall picture, the chapter is focused on women's participation in the British labour market. It further gives a detailed description of equality Acts passed by the British government over the years.

The longest-serving British Prime Minister Tony Blair in his autobiography "Tony Blair: A Journey" said, "In public service and welfare, the changes are much harder to make, since they touch not just entrenched interests but people's lives. Change will therefore necessarily only happen over time. But again, round the world certain lessons are obvious. Any welfare system that encourages people to be welfare recipients is constructed contrary to purpose. It is better to spend money on equipping people to retrain and find work than on benefits" (Blair, 2011: xxviii).

In today's world women are becoming more educated and trying to participate equally with men in the professional life. The current society's structure especially western society is changing according to this. Both the government and the private sectors are now making more female friendly policies to ensure women's better and positive participation in the working life. The following chapter titled "Female Friendly Labour Market Policy" is divided in two sections. First section will discuss the concept of "Female Friendly" approach; it will give examples from all over the world. Further it will analyse policies across the globe which has positively or negatively affected women's participation in the labour market. The second section will specifically deal with women in British labour market and how different legislation enable or disable women to participate in the work force.

Concept of Female Friendly:

The Modern Nation States are inherently male-dominated, which give women lesser opportunity to participate in social, political and economic sectors. Countries, which are more powerful, modern democracies, especially when heavily militarized remain resistant to women's active participation and influence in government. In contrast the states which are small, less powerful and less with militarized democracies are often more open to women's participation (Vickers, 2006).

In the last three decades of the 20th Century, there was a dramatic increase in women's participation in the labour market around the world (United Nations Development Program, 1998). Despite the fact that women started participating in the workplace, the gender discrimination has not been demolished and everywhere in the world there are terms like men's work and women's work, men's pay and women's pay. In the Republic of Korea, for example, a woman is paid 47 percent of a male wage; in Japan, 51 percent and in Canada, 70 percent. Though the gap in wage varies country wise but it is very much present almost in all the countries. Among countries of the European Union (EU), there are variations in the proportion of women employed in education and in general public activity. However, in most of the EU countries, more than 50 percent of those employed in textiles and the distributive trades are women, and so nearly 50 percent of those in banking and insurance (Statistical Office of the European Communities, 1992: 84-85).

Some feminist scholars tried to evaluate the influence of dynamics of capitalism on gender differentiation in employment. According to them there were two set of workers, one type of workers were hired for a particular period of time and discharged when the work is done, but the other type of workers were full-time workers whose employment didn't get affected by seasons or demands of particular products. The first type of workers (part-time workers) comprised mainly immigrants, ethnic minorities, or women (Barron and Norris, 1976). Because of this division, the labour market is divided into two sectors, Primary and Secondary sector. The "Primary" sector provides job with high pay scale, training, promotion opportunity and continuity of employment and in the secondary sector the payment was comparatively very low, there was very little opportunity of organisational growth and there was no job security also. Jill Vickers (2006), in the paper titled 'What Makes Some Democracies More

'Women-Friendly', argues that the term 'women-friendly', primarily means by democratising institutions through women's 'presence' or if it also involves implementing an agenda of feminist policies, as theorists' visions of 'women-friendly' polities insist. According to Vickers, 'women friendly' institutions, in which both women's shared and diverse interests are represented substantively, only become possible if women's 'presence' reaches a critical mass. Vickers views that women's 'presence' is not just a sign of transformation but it is a political tool for transforming the society (Vickers, 2006:5).

The concept of female-friendliness was coined by Norwegian political scientist *Hernes* in the late 1980s. She defines woman-friendly states as following:-

A woman-friendly state would enable women to have a natural relationship to their children, their work and public life...a woman-friendly state would not force harder choices on women than on men, or permit unjust treatment on the basis of sex. In a woman-friendly state women will continue to have children, yet there will also be other roads to self-realisation open to them. In such a state women will not have to choose futures that demand greater sacrifices from them than are expected of men (1987: 15).

Another scholar Orloff (1993) argues that access to paid work should constitute an independent dimension in any model of welfare state variation. O'Connor (1992, 1996) suggests supplementing, or even replacing, the concept of DE commodification with that of autonomy, or insulation from dependence more broadly, including depends on family members. Pateman (1988), Lister (1990), and others contend, furthermore, that freedom from economic dependency is a prerequisite for full citizenship status. Despite these ideological differences all scholars have agreed on one point that "female-friendly labour market" means workplace which provides public policies that support gender equality, and provides healthy and supportive work environment for women.

Theories of women's labour market participation

There are some important theories which explain nature of women's participation in the labour market. A well-known British sociologist who has been working on social policy, welfare and working families Sarah Jenkins (2004) has given a dual theory of

women's participation in the labourmarket. First, labourmarket segmentation theory, which explored women's labour market activity from its understanding of the ways in which labour markets operate. Second, the development of literature on gender within geography which acknowledged that women operate primarily from the home, and consequently it was in fact the home which determined labour market activity not vice versa (2004: 5). According to both these theories, men and women belong to two distinct groups. Labour market segmentation and feminist thought within geography theory agree on one point that the discrimination women face in the labour market exists because of the differences in the type of the work women involved in comparison to men. According to the labour market theory these differences coexist and affect women's work mainly because of the control on the labour market and also because the employers have the mindset that women plays dual role (both in the workplace and at home), which negatively impact women's performance in the paid labour work. Feminist geographers analysed it completely from women's perspective. According to them women's role as homemaker and caregiver is forcefully reinforced by the system of patriarchy which helps the society to make women more subordinate than men in all the sphere of life.

Labour Generation Segmentation Theory: The theory was first developed by Doeringer and Piore in 1960s. They tried to generate this theory by giving the concept of primary and secondary sectors in the labour market. Their work was mainly based in the United States. The primary sector contains jobs with high pay-scale, more future stability, mainly occupied by male professionals. The secondary sector is mainly associated with jobs of low wage, least desirable job profiles, poor working conditions, very less future opportunities. This sector is mainly filled with minority workers, women, disable and young people. According to Barron and Norris there seem to be five main attributes that make a particular social group or category a likely source of secondary workers- dispensability, clearly visible social differences, little interest in acquiring training, low economies and lack of solidarity. (1976, 53) According to them, women fit into these categories well because of their dual responsibilities, and also because some of them do agree on the point that the family and marriage are always their top responsibility over career. Craig et al (1985) also see women as secondary workers, believing that they are prepared to take low-paid and unrewarding jobs, not because of a weak attachment to work and limited income

needs, but because of the supplementary importance of their earnings to family living standards and the constraints on their choice of job.

Second Generation Segmentation Theory: The second generation segmentation theory was developed in late 1970s by radical theorists. The theory emphasised on the role of labour market segmentation as a capitalist strategy, which sought to maintain control over the production process (Jenkins, 2004: 10). According to Barron and Norris, it is in the interest of employers to maintain and expand the primary sector and to ensure that instability and low earnings are retained in the secondary sector (1976, 52). The second generation segmentation theorists argue that labour markets are social constructs, incorporating within them various forms of organisation which both condition their mode of operation and also structure to some extent the actors themselves and determine their behavior (Castro et al. 1992, 10). Even within the primary sector there are hierarchies, internal and external.

Table

Labour market segmentation: the development of internal and external labour markets¹

Primary Sector					
	Primary Internal		Primary External		
I	High wages,	e.g. oil, gas,	High wages,	e.g. Engineering	E
N	Advanced	electricity,	Good	assembly, low	X
T	working	metallurgy,	working	order banking,	T
E	conditions,	high-order	conditions,	insurance and	E
R	strong	services	Variable	services	X
N	unionization,		unionization,		T
A	advanced		Advanced		E
L	technology,		technology,		R
	Autonomous		Relatively		N
	work control,		autonomy		A
	Substantial		work		L

¹Labour market discontinuity and spatial development' Progress in Human Geography, P.Cooke (1983a), pg.no: 548.

	promotion		control, Little promotion		
	Secondary Internal		Secondary External		
	Variable wages, Poor working conditions, Low unionization, Advance technology, Supervised work control, Limited promotion	e.g. engineering components, retailing miscellaneous services	Low wages, Primitive working conditions, Little unionization, Simple technology, Rigid work rules, Little promotion	e.g. textiles, footwear/leather, glassware, food processing	
Secondary Sector					

Reich et al. (1973) explain that there is segmentation within the primary sector that is 'subordinate' and 'independent' jobs. Subordinate jobs are available both in factories and office jobs. This type of jobs are routinised and disciplined with more responsibilities towards authorities. The main characteristics required for independent primary jobs are completely different from subordinate jobs profile, it require creativity, problem solving, self-initiating characteristics and professional standards for work. Along with primary and secondary, and internal and external labour market segregation, Hakim (1979) presented another type of division of the labour market, horizontal (in which women and men are allocated in different positions) and vertical (where women and men are in the same field but women are placed in lower job profile) divisions. These divisions were reinforced through the system of patriarchy so that men remain the main breadwinner and hold work in the primary job sector and women always work in the secondary job sector and mainly play the homemaker role.

Third Generation Segmentation Theory: According to the third generation segmentation theory the other two generations (first and second) were based on simple patterns and processes of the labour market, but it should now be changed. They have started exploring the fundamental dynamics of the labour market. Labour market doesn't have single institutional dynamic. Rubery explains, it can best be approached via a cluster of models or theoretical approaches which always arisen out of labour market research during the 1970s and 1980s (1992, 246). Third generation theory tries to appreciate women's full participation in the labour market, but it can only happen if the two spheres (home and workplace) coexist together. According to Peck, one of the most important features of third generation segmentation theory is the specification of the role of labour supply factors in structuring the labour market. Bauder (2001) argue that labour market workers are not only labourers but they are social actors as well, and that social division is constructed outside the market and then shapes employment relationships.

Fourth Generation Segmentation Theory: According to the fourth generation segmentation theory, the working structure of the labour markets differs from place to place that's why women's working experience in the labour market is not similar across the world. As per this view, the supply of labour is not governed simply by market forces, but also by demographic factors and social norms concerning the participation of different groups in wage-labour, which is mediated through the institution of the family (Peck 1996a, 75). With development of different stages of segmentation theory, the theorists began to believe that women's decision of participating in the labour market has mainly influenced by the family. Fourth generation segmentation theory highlights the fact that labour market segmentation is, at least, partly influenced by local factors. There are some factors which influence the local constitution of the secondary workforce; mainly childcare, social moves regarding gender distribution of waged work, the local labour market processes and workforce politics, welfare entitlements, male and female participation rates and levels of single parenting (Jenkins, 2004:20). According to Bauder (2001), fourth generation segmentation theorists should mainly focus their research on local level in order to understand the complex and interlocking relationships between the labour demand and supply-side process. He further says that, the crux of spatial segmentation theory is

that local labour markets are 'conjunctural structures' that operate in different ways, at different times, in different places (Peck 1996a, 94).

The Feminist Geographic Theory: from the mid to late 1970s, there was another theory presented by feminist geographers. Feminist geographers primarily considered the 'home role' to be the main influence on a woman's decision to enter in to the labour market, and the consideration of the 'rules' of the labour market are a secondary influencing factor for them (Jenkins, 2004:7). The theory evolved into different phases. In the first phase, the theorists analysed that women as an individual or class, face much more constraints and difficulties than men.

Massey (1994), Barron and Norris (1976) argued that women and 'home-place' always considered interconnected with each other. It is a general assumption in the society that women spend major time of their life in the household work. According to Cockburn (1988) because of women's family responsibilities, they always prefer to work part-time or job with flexible working hours. Many employers assume that women in general have lower income needs and lesser attachment to their job than men, even where in individual cases this assumption may not be applicable (Craig et al. 1985, 60).

The second phase of Feminist Geographic theory emerged in the early 80s and was popular till the end of the decade. This phase was mainly dominated by socialist-feminist ideology. Bowlby et al. (1989) described this phase into three inter-related categories. First, gender decisions were seen as empirically important as changes in the gender composition of dynamic local and regional labourmarkets, and as a major outcome of the processes of economic restructuring being studied. Secondly, Bowlby et al. argued that it was now increasingly recognized that gender divisions played a major role in influencing the types of changes which had taken place in the geography of industry and employment over the post-war period; that gender divisions in the labour market were a major determinant of production and locational change. Finally, the changing gender composition of employment and unemployment was examined in terms of its impact on the composition of local class relations (Jenkins, 2004: 12). During the socialist-feminist geographic phase there were two parallel processes which describe women's subjection and suppression. One group of scholars concentrated on women's home and domestic lives and others were

focused on women's experiences within the workplace. Mackenzie (1989b) whose work is mainly concentrated on women's home, domestic lives, says that it was women's daily activities, carried out in opposition to the contemporary urban form, and women's political actions in calling for day care, new designs for neighborhoods, and better transit systems, which were instrumental in getting academics to notice that space was divided into men's public and productive spheres and women's private and reproductive spheres (Jenkins, 2004:13). Bowlby et al. believed that during the 1970s and early 1980s work on women and gender was treated as a specialised topic within geography, and it was felt that it could be ignored by those studying other areas of the subject rather than being integrated into all areas of the discipline. As Davis described, "in reality there are two labour markets; one for men and one for women, with a very small overlap between them" (1975, 98).

The second phase of feminist geography identified separation between home and work along with social separation. In this phase the dual role of women got recognised mainly because of the identification of separation of public and private spheres. Freeman (1982) gives a new term for women's dual role, stating that many women work in 'dual shift' because they play important role both inside and outside home. Socialist feminist scholars like Walby (1986) see patriarchal nuclear family as an important source of women's oppression; women's labour is exploited within the home and their domestic responsibilities dictate the terms of women's position in the labour market (Pratt 1993, 53). Oakley (1981) considered that women are the backbone of the economy because they provide domestic labour which support assistance to the main labour force (men).

There are some flaws in the socialist feminist geographers' theory. The Women and Geography Study Group noted that at this stage, geographers, in general, paid only cursory attention to the impact of the division. Geographers neglected to analyse both the impact of these changes on social relations between men and women, and the relationship between the organisation of domestic work and the urban spatial structure (1984, 43). Hanson and Pratt argue that more individuals are trying to combine paid employment and home in a single daily activity pattern, rather than in two separate ones, meaning that the interdependencies between home and work need to be reassessed (1988, 303). In fact Greenveer and Tilly (1988) argue that understanding personal networks is central to understanding labour market inequalities, and if urban

geographers were able to understand patterns of housing consumption, the meaning of work, home and neighbourhood, in fact the geography of cities, then the home-work links need to be re-examined and reconceptualization (1991, 303).

Max Weber identified an inherent trend towards rationalisation in industrial society. In Weberian terms law is rational where ‘the legally relevant facts are determined in a process of logical interpretation of meaning and as fixed legal concepts.....in the form of strictly abstract rules (Weber, 1954: xiii). Administration of law in a rational manner requires bureaucratisation, where purely technical considerations determine ‘without regard to persons in accordance with calculable rules (ibid, 350). A fully developed bureaucracy operates without bias or favour. It is gender-blind. Its peculiar character and with it its appropriateness for capitalism is the more fully actualized the more bureaucracy “depersonalise” itself (ibid, 351). Thus the exclusion of preferences for the male sex as employees, creditors, clients, etc. is rational in the Weberian sense. Unjustified prejudices in favour of one sex are irrational. According to Weber’s thesis, a market is perfect if it has competition and where exceptions can only be made for justified preferences.

Preference Theory: In order to analyse women’s behavior in the labour market, Hakim has given a theory named Preference Theory, according to which women are not a homogenous group (one which naturally seeks to combine employment and family work), but a heterogeneous group in which some women gives priority to combine both childcare and paid work. Hakim further argues that women’s disadvantaged position in the labour market is not influenced by the institutional and structured disadvantages, but it is mainly because of the varying choice of women (Crompton and Harris, 1998: 118).Hakim (1995) presented five feminist myths about women’s employment:-

1. The myth of rising female employment.
2. The myth that women’s work commitment is the same as men’s is often adduced to resist labour market discrimination.
3. The myth of childcare problems being the main barrier to women’s employment.
4. The myth of poor quality part-time work is used to blame employers for the characteristics behavior of part-time workers, including a high labour turnover.

5. The myth of exploited part-time workers (Jenkins, 2004: 24).

According to Hakim, this is a kind of stereotype that these myths prevent women to participate in the workplace; rather it is always women's own choice to be at home and become a full-time caretaker, or to combine both home and paid work. She comes on a conclusion that most women (60%) made a choice to live with a dual role. This argument was also supported by Ginn et al. who argue that it is possible to be highly conscious of the needs of one's family and at the same time to care deeply about maintaining employment (1996, 168). In her preference theory, Hakim suggested different categories of women's choice regarding their work and family life balance:

- Choice to be at home: According to Hakim some women give full-time to their family and children, they are the women who accept sexual division of labour (2000, 159). Their first priority is always home-making and care-giving, sometimes though they do participate in the labour market but only if the home responsibilities are lesser and if the job profile fits with their family needs.
- Choice to work: Some women make a choice of work after the maternity break, but they often face discrimination not only from the work place but also from the friends, family and relatives and in most of the cases they don't get back the same position which they left before. The discrimination for women comes not only from the men but women also. As Walby (1997) and Holloway (1997) argue that older generation women sometimes do not support the younger generation may be because of the feeling of jealousy and also because of the traditional thinking. In some case if the women don't face opposition within the family and get support from them especially from the husband who accept the role of care giver and homemaker, face high criticism and questions from the society.
- Balance: In today's world more women are likely to keep balance between work and family. Daily Telegraph Journalist Anne McElvoy coined a new term for a new kind of the woman; 'Hyper woman has a family, a high-powered job and a house to run. A woman with everything, but time' (Benn 1999, 104). For Hakim (1995b, 1995c, 1996) the balance between home, care giving and paid work is not possible because a woman can never be equally presented in the both the spheres. She either is a career-oriented woman and pays less attention

to family or can be a family oriented woman who places work on secondary position. Pahl (1985) tries to give an alternative option for balancing between work and family, according to which if both members of the household accept equal responsibility and agree to adopt 'distinctive practices' in order to complete household work (Jenkins, 2004: 26).

In her Preference theory, Hakim also discussed about the childcare provision, which is an important issue in the labour market research. Hakim describes that home-centered women do not need and work-centered women do not hesitate to pay the cost of childcare services. Women, who desire to balance between work and family life, are most likely to demand affordable high quality childcare services provided by the state, in order to improve their flexibility of choice and cease their guilt (2000, 176). In contemporary world women who want to be present both in professional and personal spheres prefer to work part-time. But according to Hakim, this solution to women's balance problem is not always women's own choice and mostly forced by the society and family. She further disagrees with this argument that women who work part-time have more work satisfaction.

Though Hakim presented a very analytical explanation of women's participation in the labour market and their choices of balancing between work and family life, but the theory has some drawbacks also. According to Sarah Jenkins (2004), Hakim's assertion that many women have made a positive choice to be in their current situation, be it either to be at home full-time, to not have children at all or to combine their working careers with bringing up children, Hakim's theory does not explore the geographies of preference. In order to provide a better understanding of women's labour market participation, spatial aspects need to be explored and added to the Preference theory. (2004, 27) Peck (1996a) argued that labour markets operate in different places in different ways and as such needs to be integrated into the theory.

Women's Participation in the Labour Market in Europe

Women's participation in the labour market differs country-wise (based on countries' welfare system types). Esping-Andersen presents a hierarchical model of women's participation in labour force. According to him, the high number of women employees is in social democratic countries (Norway is an exception), liberal welfare states come in the second position in order to provide friendly work environment to women so that

they can participate more in the working sector. The third type of welfare states is conservative states, which have a very poor number of women representations in the work place.

In different countries gender gaps are affected by multiple factors, like in Netherlands and Canada women earn 68 percent of what their counterparts earn in the labour market. If these two countries compared in this regard, Canada will be in much better situation because Dutch women hold the lowest position among other liberal countries. The average earning of Dutch women is 18 percent of what their male counterparts earn. In contrast with this, Canadian women are in more positive stage in their home labour market their average earning is 27 percent of the male earnings at the same place.

In countries like Germany and Luxembourg and to some extent the U.K, which partly falls under conservative category, policy measures are more oriented towards rising of women's pay should be most effective for narrowing the gender gap. Gender-specific policy approaches include: (1) anti-discrimination and positive action policies aimed at breaking down entrenched patterns of female-exclusion in many higher-paid occupations; (Reskin and Padavic 1994) (2) state-supported training programmes, both pre-employment and on-the-job, aimed at reducing vertical labour market segregation; (OECD 1994a) (3) equal pay strategies focused on reducing earnings differentials between men and women for both equal and/or comparable work (Gunderson 1989); and (4) state actions aimed at alleviating employment-family conflicts (OECD 1994a) in order to lessen the downward pressure that rearing children exert on mothers' wages (Korenman and Neumark 1991).

Across the globe, women's employment pattern shows differences in three main types of welfare state models. Social democratic welfare state has the highest female work participation rates and ratios, liberal countries comes on the second position in women's labour market participation, and in the conservative countries the women employment rates are very low. Both in the full-time and part-time employment sectors women's participation rate and ratio differ within the different types of welfare states. In social democratic type of welfare state (Denmark, Norway and Sweden) part-time work is popular among women though Finland is an exception in this trend. Among the liberal countries, the U.K. has the highest number of part-time women

workers more than double of what was reported in the U.S. among the conservative countries. Part-time job is very uncommon in Italy and Spain, but Netherlands has shown different part-time women employment trends where women are more involved in part-time jobs. Share of women in total labour market earning and rate of part-time employment and earnings when compounded with cross national variation, presents a scenario of both inter and intra cluster variation.

In terms of women's share in the nations earned income, social democratic countries like Finland, Denmark and Sweden are on the top, where they contribute 40 percent of the total earned income on national level. On the second level, there are countries where women contribute 31 to 35 percent of their earning to the national income (Gornick, 1999:31). One of the most important factors which influence women's presence at the work place is married women's caregiving responsibilities which are common among all the countries across the world but with considerable differences. These married women with young children at home mostly depend on their husbands for financial support. Despite giving a higher level of gender equality in countries like Denmark, Finland and Sweden and other liberal countries, women cannot claim more than one-third of earnings of their parents. In other countries like Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Spain and the U.K., women can only claim even less than one fifth of all parents' earnings

Women's work-life balance also strongly depends on the occupational, structure and working arrangements. The growing trends of part-time work culture, expanded employment opportunities for women (O' Reilly and Fagan, 1998). This shift in work-type is not growing equally in all countries. In North-European countries women are more into the service sector and work primarily part-time but in South-European countries women prefer to work full-time and less interested in tertiary sector. Empirical analyses of several countries show that being a mother (compared with being childless) decreases the probability of choosing full-time work and increases the probability both of not working or working part-time. The availability of part-time jobs increases the probability that women are employed in all European countries (Bardasi and Gornick 2000, Tanda 2001). Greater opportunities for part-time employment also reduce the opportunity costs of having children with a positive impact on fertility rates.

The part-time job opportunity has both positive and negative effect on women's participation in the labour market. For instance, in Italy the availability of part-time opportunities impacted both women's jobs outside home and probability of having children (Del Boca 2002). But in countries like U.K. and U.S. women of part-time work are less paid in comparison to women without children. Similarly in Germany and Sweden, women get lower hourly wages (Ermisch and Wright 1993, Gustafsson et al. 2002).

Feminist welfare state scholars like Hobson (1990), Orloff (1993), O'Connor (1996), and others have argued that the ways in which states enhance women's access to paid work and ultimately reduce their economic dependence — including dependence on family members — need to be accounted for more fully in models of welfare state variation (Gornick, 1999: 32). The policy measures attempted by the welfare state in regards with women's labour market participation shape overall gender equality as well as the women's economic dependency on the men in their life. These public policies are more affective for women who in the early stage of motherhood. In countries like Belgium, France and Italy where state's policy are as strong as in the social democratic countries like Denmark, Sweden and Finland to support women's participation in the labour force. In these countries mother of young children command a handsome share of labour market earnings than in the other conservative countries and also among the most liberal countries.

At the end of the analysis, two questions still remain unanswered. First is in the post-industrial era, the combination of ongoing labour market restructuring, high male unemployment rate and welfare state retrenchment will affect the policy supports for women's labour market integration? Will this process face more strict scrutiny? The second question is focused on the possibility of policy expansion in the direction of measures taken for bridging the gap of sexual division of labour in unpaid work. Fraser (1994) suggests that an ideal outcome, in the long-term, is one of convergence of women's and men's work patterns. She envisions an arrangement in which both women and men work for pay and care for their families. Yet the progress toward gender equality in the labour market may level off, limited by the intransigence of gendered patterns in caregiving. If so, policy formation aimed directly at altering gender inequalities in unpaid work may constitute the next wave of 'woman-friendly' welfare state development.

Women's Participation in the Labour Market in Britain

Rozen (1979) said that the most drastic change of the twentieth century was not atomic energy neither the conquest of space nor the depletion of resources, but it was actually the women's major role play outside the home. Thus the women have started participating in the labour market but it is still only in restricted jobs which have low-paid, low-prestige, and lower-power positions (Fox and Hesse-Biber, 1984:1).

The idea of equality for the British women especially in employment came with the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and the Equal Pay Act 1970. This was further preceded with British government's white paper, Equality for Women. In political terms the idea of equality under the law is a major justification for the rule of law itself. It is evident that where formal barriers prevent certain citizens from entering the educational institutions or the professions, from voting, or being public representatives, these citizens are not equal under the law. Furthermore, where these barriers are *de jure*—that is, upheld the law, then inequality is sanctioned by law. This, in turn, undermines the rule of law which fails to deliver its promise of equality (O'Donovan and Szyszczak, 1988:1).

In order to take first step towards women's equality, British government abolished *de jure*, this provided full participation of women in every sphere of day-to-day life. To incorporate it more properly government had firstly removed the Sex Disqualification Act of 1919. In the United Kingdom, women's equality issues were mainly raised in the 19th century, firstly on the issue of custody of children and divorce. Through the suffrage movement, women's participation in the public life had increased, but the actual struggle for women's equal position in the society has begun in 1960s with 'second wave' of feminism. During this period, the main focus was on anti-discrimination legislation, through which the British government were trying to focus more on the marketplace in jobs, education, goods and services. Roger Cotterell (1981) explains anti-discrimination laws

Anti-discrimination law embodies the ostensible interests of the State in going beyond and behind the equal and universal legal subject of private law to confront the sociological realities of inequalities between

individuals and groups. It 'lifts the veil' off equality before the law to disclose real inequalities considered harmful to the social fabric.²

Gender equality in Britain became more important and relevant after its joining to the European Economic Community. Equality between two sexes especially in the labour market got more importance. The Commissioner for Social Affairs in the community explained in 1980:

The Fathers of the Treaty [of Rome] were certainly not very strong supporter of women's emancipation. This Article [119 on equal pay] was adopted purely and simply out of the fear that if women workers were underpaid, national industries would suffer a negative effect as regards their competitive position.³

Legislations for Gender Equality in Britain:

Britain joined the European Union (then the European Community) in 1973. Along with all other terms and conditions, Britain accepted commission's main treaty (Treaty of Rome). Article 119 of the *Treaty of Rome* states that the European Union member states should "ensure and subsequently maintain the application of the principle that men and women should receive equal pay for equal work". According to Article 119, "Pay" is:

- Non-contractual benefits (e.g. travel facilities granted to employees after retirement);
- Contractual or statutory redundancy payments;
- Statutory sick pay.

In the *Barber v. Guardian Royal Exchange Assurance Group, Case 262/ 88, [1990] IRLR 240* the ECJ decided that the above-mentioned definition of pay was wide enough to cover any benefit which a worker is entitled to receive from the employer. The ECJ have also decided that payments under a statutory social security scheme are excluded from a claim under Article 119 as they could not be regarded as "pay" which the worker receives from the employer. It is uncertain whether statutory sick pay and statutory maternity pay paid by British employers would be regarded as Social

²Cotterrell, R. 'The impact of sex discrimination legislation', *Public Law* 469 (1981) p.473

³Verdling, H., Speech at the EEC/EOC Conference on Equality for Women, Manchester, 28-30 may 1980.

Security benefits or as pay within Article 119 (Hemming, Mason and Fisher, 1997: 141).

Equal Pay Act(EqPA) 1970:

The United Kingdom has passed the Equal Pay Act in 1970 which came into force on 29th December 1975, which was an attempt by the British government to ensure ‘equal pay for equal work’.

An Act to prevent discrimination, as regards terms and conditions of employment, between men and women.
[29th May 1970]⁴

The Equal Pay Act has been amended several times according to the European Community Law. The background for this Act was created in 1888 when the Trades Union Congress first passed the motion that: ‘in opinion of this Congress it is desirable, in the interests of both men and women, that in trade where women do the same work as men, they shall receive the same payment’ and the same was repeated several times by the trade union in seventy-five years. The Government, Royal Commissions and Parliament have also supported this Act. The British Labour party also included it in its election manifesto in 1964, but the Act came in power only when the UK was preparing to join the European Economic Community (O’Donovan and Szyszczak, 1988:30).

The main aim of this Bill was to provide equal treatment for both men and women in some well-defined areas of the economy and in education. The White Paper *Equality for Women* defines the objectives of the law. According to that: the deterrence of prejudice and behavior which manifests that prejudice; the provision of protection from prejudice and remedies for the victims thereof; the adjustment of grievances and the release of tension; support for those who do not wish to discriminate. The Government’s ultimate aim is to harmonize the powers and procedure for dealing with sex and race discrimination so as to secure genuine equality of opportunity in both fields.

⁴The Equal Pay Act 1970, URL:<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1970/41/enacted>

There are three main areas covered by this legislation mentioned in Parliament, by the then Secretary of State, Barbara Castle. In the introductory speech of the Equal Pay Act in Parliament, Mrs. Castle described three different situations:

The first situation is where men and many women are doing the same or 'broadly similar' work, not only in the same establishment, but in different establishments of the same employer where these are covered by common terms and conditions. The second is where they are doing jobs which are different but which have been found to be equivalent under a scheme of job evaluation. The third is where their terms and conditions of employment are laid down in collective agreements, statutory wages orders or employers' pay structures.⁵

The Equal Pay Act has become the main source of women's equality in professional field in the United Kingdom. It covers all persons who are employed⁶ in Great Britain. The EqPA also covers people who are self-employed. But the Act doesn't apply on those who are in the British army or work outside Great Britain. According to the EqPA, in order to make the work environment more equal a woman is entitled to ask an industrial tribunal to compare each separate term in her employment contract with the corresponding term in her male comparator's contract. If the employment contract is not equal for both man and women, then the tribunal will operate the equality clause and will order that the woman's contract should be amended so that it is the same as that of her male comparator (*Heywood v Cammell Laird Ship Builders Ltd* [1988] IRLR 257), (Hemming, Mason and Fisher, 1997:143). According to the Equal Pay Act, a woman can brought the issue related to her employment problem in front of the tribunal any time before the end of a period of 6 months starting from the date of which she left the job. Under this Act woman can also choose her comparator (but he should be in the same employment), the comparator should be a real man not be a hypothetical person, she can choose more than one comparator. After deciding the comparator, a woman have to show that she and her comparator is employed on either (a) like work, or (b) on work rated as equivalent or (c) on work of equal value. The EqPA has defined all of these as following:

⁵Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, vol.795, col.917 (1970).

⁶Here "employed" word refers "employed under a contract of services or of apprenticeship or a contract personally to execute any work or labour" (s 1(1) (b) EqPA).

- (a) **Like work**- “A women is to be regarded on like work with men, but only if, her work and theirs is of the same or a broadly similarnature, and the differences (if any) between the things she does and the things they do are not of practical importance in relation to terms and conditions of employment; and accordingly in comparing her work with theirs regard shall be had to the frequency or otherwise with which any such differences occur in practice as well as to the nature and extent of the differences.”⁷
- (b) **Work rated as equivalent**- According to the Section 1(5) of the Equal Pay Act, “A woman is to be regarded as employed on work rated as equivalent with men if, but only if, her job and their job have been given an equal value, in terms of the demand made on a worker under various headings (for instance efforts, skill, decision), on a study undertaken with a view to evaluating in those terms jobs to be done by all or any of the employees in an undertaking or group of undertakings, or would have been given an equal value but for the evaluation being made on a system setting different values for men and women on the same demand under any heading.”
- (c) **Work of equal value**- Prior to 1984, EqPA provided equal pay only in these two situations: “like work and “work rated as equivalent’. From January 1984, EqPA was amended by the Equal Pay (Amendment) Regulations 1983 (hereafter referred to as the 1983 Regulations), which give women and men the right to claim equal pay for equal work of equal value under section 1(2)(c) EqPA. If there is a dispute regarding the work of two people (male and female) whether the work is of equal value or not, then the employer or employee can go to the industrial tribunal and the tribunal will decided the value of work.

The Equal Pay Act had some clauses in the favor of the employer also. Section 1 (3) provides that an equality clause shall not operate in relation to a variation between a woman’s contract and a man’s contract if the employer proves that the variation is genuinely due to a material factor which is not the difference of sex and that factor:

⁷Section 1(4), The Equal Pay Act, 1970

- In the case of an equality clause falling within section 1(2)(a) (like work) or 1(2)(b) (work rated as equivalent) above, *must* be a material difference between the woman's case and the man's;
- In the case of an equality clause falling within section 1(2) (c) (work of equal value) above, *may* be such a material difference (Hemming, Mason and Fisher, 1997: 151).

There are some other factors also mentioned in the EqPA, for example, differences in geographical locations, protected pay, full-or part-time work, experience, qualifications and skill, length of service, collective bargaining and permissible discrimination which affect equal pay for equal work. The Equal Pay Act permits employers to give maternity benefits to female employees, but it is not necessary to give the similar benefit to the male employees. The EqPA also have clauses for giving remedies. The Act has the simple aim to provide similar pay for similar work on the similar rate for both men and women. Because of the limited scope of the Equality Act, British Parliament passed another Act to deal with the problem of sex discrimination at workplace.

Sex Discrimination Act, 1975

An Act to render unlawful certain kinds of sex discrimination and discrimination on the ground of marriage, and establish a Commission with the function of working towards the elimination of such discrimination and promoting equality of opportunity between men and women generally; and for related purposes.

[12th November 1975]⁸

The Sex Discrimination Act was passed in a time when there was a general perception in Britain that common law preferred the value of freedom of contract over freedom from discrimination (O'Donovan and Szzyszczak, 1988: 26). The Sex Discrimination Act talks about five types of discrimination: - direct sex discrimination, indirect sex discrimination, direct discrimination against the

⁸Sex Discrimination Act, 1975, URL:
http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1975/65/pdfs/ukpga_19750065_en.pdf

married, indirect discrimination against the married and victimization (ibid, 1988: 53).

The basic ground of the Sex Discrimination Act was to identify and stop choices which were made on the ground of sexual or racial discrimination. To explain this Act, Max Weber used conceptual abstract approach. According to him, for law based administration, bureaucratisation is very important and for a proper bureaucratic process the system should not have any biases. 'Its peculiar character and with it its appropriateness for capitalism is the more fully actualised the more bureaucracy "depersonalizes" itself (Weber, 1954: 351).

1. Direct Sex Discrimination: Section 1(1)(a) of the Sex Discrimination Act deals with the direct discrimination, which means that if a woman faces any kind of discrimination at any place or she is being treated less favorably than men, then it would be considered illegal and unlawful. To prove direct discrimination a woman does not need a real man, she can compare it with a hypothetical man. But this direct discrimination can be considered only if the conditions would be equal for both men and women (section 5(3) SDA). Even if the employer has other reasons for the difference in treatment, there will still be direct sex discrimination if sex is the substantial factor in the employer's decision (Owen & Briggs v James [1982] IRLR 502) (Hemming, Mason & Fisher, 1997:26).
2. Indirect Sex Discrimination: Section 1 (1)(b) of the Sex Discrimination Act describes indirect discrimination with following conditions:
 - A requirement or condition is applied to a woman which is or would be applied equally to a man;
 - The proportion of women who can comply with the requirement or condition is considerably smaller than the proportion of men who can comply;
 - The requirement or condition is not justifiable on non-sex grounds; and
 - The woman suffers a detriment because she cannot comply with the requirement or condition.

The indirect discrimination covers more wide range of discrimination because it identifies importance of differences between sexes. Laws related to indirect discrimination are also more important, employers often use indirect discrimination because direct discrimination is easy to identify.

3. Direct Marital Discrimination: Section 3(1) (a) mentions about the direct marital discrimination. According to that any person (male or female) should not face any kind of discrimination on the ground of their marital status. This Act is silent about the less favorable treatment to any married person on the ground of his/her marital status. This clause of SDA is applicable only to those who are married. If a person tries to apply it on the ground of intention of marriage, he or she will not get benefits from this Act. In case a married woman faces less favorable treatment in comparison with an unmarried man, the situation will not fall under this section, but it will be treated under section 1(1)(a) of SDA (direct discrimination).
4. Indirect Marital Discrimination: Section 3(1) (b) of the Sex Discrimination Act deals with the cases related to indirect marital discrimination. It applies in the following conditions:
 - A requirement or condition is applied to a married person which is or would be applied equally to an unmarried person;
 - The proportion of married people who can comply with the requirement or condition is considerably smaller than the proportion of unmarried people of the same sex who can comply;
 - The requirement or condition is not justifiable;
 - The married person suffers a detriment because he or she cannot comply with the requirement or condition ((Hemming, Mason & Fisher, 1997: 29).
5. Victimization: The Sex Discrimination Act provides protection against discrimination to the victims also. Section 4(1) of SDA explains conditions under which a victim can claim that he/she is suffering from discrimination:

- The discriminator treats the victim less favourably than he treats or would treat another person in like circumstances; and
- The reason for the difference in treatment is that the victim has done, or the discriminator knows or suspects that the victim is about to do, one of the following:
 - a) Bring proceedings under the SDA or the Equal Pay Act 1970 against the discriminator or any other person
 - b) Give evidence in proceedings under the SDA or EqPA against the discriminator or any other person
 - c) Help someone else to bring proceedings under the SDA or EqPA against the discriminator or any other person
 - d) Allege that the discriminator or any other person has committed an Act which contravened the SDA or EqPA((Hemming, Mason & Fisher, 1997: 29).

According to the Sex Discrimination Act, employers including companies, sole traders, partnerships, associations, employment agencies and trade unions and also the Crown (with few exceptions) can be regulated from this law for sexual discrimination. Employers will be vicariously liable for any discriminatory Act done by their employees (and by independent contractors who work under a contract personally to execute any work or labour) in the course of the employee's employment, whether or not the employer knew or approved of the offending employee's Acts (Section 41(1) SDA). The Sex Discrimination Act was firstly amended in 1986, through this amendment, "partnership" clause was added in the Act, under which it was mentioned that the SDA does apply to partnerships with less than six partners. This clause is applicable in the same way as it was applied in any other employer for discriminatory Act against their employees. The Act also mentioned about partner's rights against discrimination.

The Sex Discrimination Act also applies on trade unions and employers' associations. Section 12 of the Act states different conditions in case of discrimination against a non-member:

- in terms on which it is prepared to admit her to membership; or
- By refusing or deliberately omitting to accept her application for membership.

Less favorable behavior or discrimination with the member of trade unions and organisations are also against the law:

- in the way in which it affords her access to any benefits, facilities or services, or by refusing or deliberately omitting to afford her access to them;
- by depriving her of membership or varying the terms on which she is a member; or
- By subjecting her to any other detriment (Section 12 of the Sex Discrimination Act).

Section 48 and 49(1) of the SDA provide few rights to trade unions and organisations for positive discrimination in regards to training of the members, encouraging them to take advantage of opportunities for holding a particular post, encouraging non-members to join, and by reserving seats on their elected bodies where this is necessary to secure a reasonable minimum number of that sex to serve on the body in question (Hemming, Mason & Fisher, 1997: 33). Section 13 of the Sex Discrimination Act has special mention for the particular qualifying bodies like The Institute of Chartered Accounts and the Law Society who provide authorisation or qualification to professionals. The section states that these qualifying bodies should not discriminate in case of giving authorisation. Another clause was added by the 1986 amendment to SDA. The clause states that if these qualifying bodies will make any rule which is discriminative in nature on the basis of sex or marital status that will be considered void and unenforceable. Vocational training bodies are also part of the SDA. If any person, organisation, institute of training boards shows any kind of sexual or marital discrimination in providing job opportunity that would be considered as the violation of section 14th of the Act.

According to the section 82 (1) of the Sexual Discrimination Act, it is illegal for an employment agency⁹ to discriminate:

- in the terms on which it offers to provide any of its services;
- by refusing or deliberately omitting to provide any of its services;
- In the way it provides its services.

It is not unlawful for an employment agency to discriminate if the discrimination only concerns employment which the employer could lawfully refuse to offer (s 15(4) SDA).

The Sex Discrimination Act gives right to any person who suffer with any kind of discrimination mentioned in the Act can file a complaint in the Industrial tribunal. The Act also provides protection to the contract workers against any kind of sexual or marital discrimination (section 9 SDA). The Act is influential for self-employed people also. The SDA covers employment “under a contract personally to execute any work or labour” (s 82(1) SDA), the main purpose of that contract is the carrying out of the work by the self-employed individual personally, then that individual will be protected against any discriminatory acts of the person for whom the work is being done (Hemming, Mason & Fisher, 1997: 36). In the special case of the defence services, before 1991 the Ministry of Defence operated discriminatory policy of dismissing service women who became pregnant and the armed services were at fault under the discriminative laws. Since February 1995 the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 (Application to Armed Forces, etc.) Regulations 1994 have given members of the armed forces protection under the SDA against sex discrimination, except where discrimination is necessary to ensure (Hemming, Mason & Fisher, 1997: 37). Unlike armed forces, police officer, cadet or special constable or a person applying to join the police forces can claim against any kind of sexual or marital discrimination (section 17 SDA).

⁹As a person or organisation who, whether for profit or not, provides services for the purpose of finding employment for workers or who supplies employers with workers.

There are some posts and office-holders which do not come under SDA, e.g. Justices of the Peace or ministers of the Crown (s 85(2) and s 85(10) SDA). There are also some occupational qualifications (GOQ) (section 7 SDA). But there are some conditions in GOQ, where the employer can discriminate:

- in the arrangements made for recruiting for the job;
- by refusing or deliberately omitting to offer the job;
- In the way in which the worker is afforded access to opportunities for promotion, for transfer to or for training for the job, or by requiring or deliberately omitting to offer such opportunities.

This GOQ can only be applied to sex discrimination, but not on marital discrimination. With the amendment in 1986, there is another section 7 (2) added in the SDA, which sets an exhaustive list of GOQs which may be relied upon in defence to a claim of discrimination. The list of GOQs is as follows:

- For reasons of physiology or authenticity;
- To preserve decency or privacy;
- Where only single-sex accommodation is available;
- Due to the nature of the establishment;
- Where personal welfare and educational services are provided;
- Due to the laws or customs of a country outside the United Kingdom;
- Where a married couple is required (Hemming, Mason & Fisher, 1997: 39).

There are other grounds like physiology and authenticity on which discrimination is lawful, for example, if there is a job where only one sex is physically capable of doing a particular job or only one sex is appropriate (section 7 (2)(a) SDA). Section 7(2)(b) of the Sex Discrimination Act has a clause of decency or privacy. According to which if a job needs to be done by one particular sex to preserve decency or privacy because:

- the job is likely to involve physical contact with men or women in circumstances where they might reasonably object to the job being carried out by someone of the opposite sex; or

- the holder of the job is likely to work in circumstances where members of one sex are in a state of undress or are using sanitary facilities and therefore might reasonably object to the presence of the opposite sex; or
- the job holder is likely, as part of the job, to have or live in a private home and objection might reasonably be taken to allowing a man or woman either:
 - The degree of physical or social contact with a person living in the home; or
 - The knowledge of intimate details of such a person's life which the job is likely to entail (Hemming, Mason & Fisher, 1997: 40).

Some other sections also cover “Genuine Occupational Qualification”. Section 7(2) (g) of SDA mentions cases related to employment outside the UK, for example, countries like Iraq and Saudi Arabia where women are not allowed to work outside very freely. Section 7 (2)(h) of SDA talks about the type of jobs which can be done by the married couple and in that case if the employer rejects applications from two men or two women and one woman or one man not married, then he will not be liable under the SDA. Enactments or instruments of charitable trusts which confer benefits on member of one sex only, are also not against the law (section 43 SDA).

There are some other exceptions of the Sex Discrimination Act. Section 44 of the SDA mentions that “it is lawful to discriminate against male or female competitors by not allowing them to participate in sports, games or other activities of a competitive nature, where the physical strength, stamina or physique of the average women puts her at disadvantage to the average man” (Hemming, Mason & Fisher, 1997: 43). Though, sports like chess don't come into the same category. Another exception is “communal accommodation” which means residential accommodation and dormitories or other shared sleeping accommodation which, for reason of privacy or decency should be used by members of one sex only (Section 46, SDA).

Regulations related to Maternity and Paternity Leave, Pay and Flexible Working Hours:

In Britain, regulations and laws related to Maternity, Parental Leave, Pay and Flexible Working Hours have been passed from time to time. There are some Acts and regulations which contain Maternity and Parental benefits e.g. the Employment Relations Act 1999, the Maternity and Paternal Leave Regulations 1999 and the Part-time Workers (Prevention of less Favorable Treatment) Regulations 2000, Employment Act 2002, Paternity and Adoption Leave (amendment) Regulations 2006, Maternity and Parental leave (amendment) Regulations 2006 and Flexible Working (amendment) Regulations 2006.

Maternity Policy: British Government's maternity policy is mainly divided into following sections: Antenatal care, statutory maternity leave, Employees' benefits during maternity leave, Return to job after Maternity leave, Maternity pay.

Antenatal Care: It includes day-off or relaxation in working hours for appointments to see doctors and midwives, antenatal relaxation classes and parent-craft classes. Sometimes, it also includes an appointment made by a pregnant woman to see whether she is pregnant in the first place ((Hemming, Mason & Fisher, 1997: 190). A woman is only entitled for antenatal care if:

- she is pregnant;
- she has been advised to receive antenatal care by either a registered doctor or registered midwife or registered health visitor;
- If she needs benefit of antenatal care for the second time, she needs to produce a certificate by a registered doctor or registered midwife that she is pregnant.

Under the provision of Antenatal Care, an employee (pregnant woman) has right: a) not to be unreasonably refused time off work to attend antenatal care appointment (s 55 (1) ERA); and b) paid for such absence at the appropriate hourly rate (s56 (1) ERA). If the employee does not receive any of the entitlement (given her under the Antenatal Care), she

can complain to an industrial tribunal within 3 months beginning on the date of the relevant appointment.

Statutory Maternity Leave: Prior to 1994, women who were in service continuously from 2 years (at the beginning of the eleventh week before the expected week of childbirth) were eligible for maternity leave. There was a new directive introduced to comply with the EC Pregnant Workers' Directive (No. 92/85), according to which British government gives following types of Maternity leaves to its women employees.

Basic maternity leave: All pregnant employees, regardless of length of services or hours worked per week, are entitled to statutory maternity leave of 14 weeks (s 73(1) ERA¹⁰). For availing the basic maternity leave, an employee should:

- a) Inform her employer in writing at least 21 days before her maternity leave begins (or as soon as it is reasonably possible to do) of the fact that she is pregnant and the expected week of childbirth (EWC) or, if childbirth has already occurred, the date of birth (s 75(1) ERA).
- b) Give her employer at least 21 days' notice (or as much notice as it is reasonably possible to do) of the date on which she wants her maternity leave to begin (s 74(1) ERA). This notice must be in writing if the employer requests so
- c) If requested to do so by her employer, produce a certificate from a registered medical practitioner or a registered midwife stating the EWC (s 75(2) ERA).

Extended Maternity Leave: Employees who are working continuously for the last two years at the beginning of the eleventh week before the EWC can claim for extended maternity leave of up to 40 weeks. Another section was added in extended maternity leave clause by the Work and Families Act 2006 which states that any employee who's expected week of childbirth (EWC) has fallen on after 1 April 2007 has also qualified for 26 weeks of extended maternity leave.

¹⁰Employment Rights Act, 1996, URL:<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1996/18/contents>.

The choice of starting of the maternity leave is up to the employee, or in these cases it will start: **1)** the earliest it can begin is the start of the eleventh week before the EWC (s74 (2) ERA); **2)** the latest it can begin is the actual date of birth (s72 (2) ERA). The Employment Rights Act 1996 has given some exceptions also for starting of maternity leave, if:

a) Childbirth occurs before the maternity leave was due to commence (s 72(2) ERA). childbirth is defined as the birth of a living child or the birth of a child whether living or dead after 24 weeks' pregnancy (s 235(1) ERA).

b) The employee is absent from work wholly or partly because of pregnancy or childbirth after the start of the sixth week before the EWC(s 72(1) (b) ERA).

Employees' Benefits during Maternity Leave: According to section 71 of the Employment Rights Act 1996, all contractual terms and conditions, except those relating to remuneration, are expressly preserved during the basic maternity leave.

Remuneration: According to the Maternity and Parental Leave etc. Regulations (1999)¹¹, remuneration means “only sums payable to an employee by way of wages or salary”. During the maternity leave employee can enjoy all the facilities (mobile phones, company cars provided to the employee for non-business use, medical, dental and travel insurance, non-cash non-transferable vouchers and the accrual of annual leave) except the monetary benefits.

Return to job after Maternity leave: An employee who takes basic maternity leave can join “job in which she was employed before her absence” and the terms of her employment must not be “less favorable than those which would have been applied if she had not been absent (Regs, 18-18A MPL Regulations¹²). An employee who takes extended maternity leave with basic maternity leave has fewer rights on job after returning from the maternity leave. But if the employer is not able to give

¹¹The Maternity and Parental Leave etc, Regulations 1999, URL:
<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1999/3312/contents/made>

¹²Ibid.

the same nature of job to the employee then he/she (employer) should provide alternative job options to the employee. However, the terms and conditions of employment should not be less favorable than those which would have been applied if she had not been absent (Reg. 18-18A MPL Regulations¹³).

Maternity Pay: According to Statutory Maternity Pay Regulations 1986, a woman gives notice to her employer that she intends to stop work and does in fact stop work because of her pregnancy in a week which is later than the 12th week before the expected week of confinement, then the first week in the maternity pay period shall be the week following the week in which she stopped work, or the 6th week before the expected week of confinement, whichever is the earlier.

The maternity pay period shall end not later than the end of the 11th week immediately following the expected week of confinement and subject there shall be for a period of 18 consecutive weeks. In case a woman is confined-

- 1) before the 11th week or before the expected week of confinement; or
- 2) after the 12th week, before the expected week of confinement and the confinement occurs on a day which precedes that mentioned in a notice given to her employer as being the day on which she expects his liability to pay her statutory maternity pay to begin,

In a case where a woman is absent from work wholly or partly because of pregnancy or confinement on any day-

- 1) which falls on or after the beginning of the 4th week before the expected week of confinement; but
- 2) not later than the day immediately following the day on which she is confined,

The first day of the maternity pay period shall be the day following the day on which she is so absent.

In a case where a woman leaves her employment-

¹³Ibid.

- 1) at any time falling after the beginning of the 11th week or before the expected week of confinement and before the start of the maternity pay period, but
- 2) not later than the day on which she is confined,

The first day of the maternity pay period shall be the day following the day on which she leaves her employment.¹⁴

Paternity Leave and Pay: Paternity leave and pay are quite a recent phenomenon in UK's employment laws. To make society more gender-equal British Parliament introduced some regulations including the Paternity and Adoption Leave Regulations 2002 and the Statutory Paternity Pay (General) Regulations 2002. According to these regulations, there are following types of paternity leave and pay.

- 1) Ordinary Paternity Leave (OPL): An employee who is continuously employed by the same employer since last 26 weeks, he should take the time off to take care of the new born. For availing these leave employee should be the father, husband or partner of the mother or an adoptive parent and earn at least £111 a week.
- 2) Additional Paternity Leave (APL): According to Additional Paternity Leave Regulations and Additional Statutory Paternity Pay (General) Regulations 2010, fathers of children born on or after 3 April 2011, the opportunity to take up to 26 weeks of paternity leave, in addition to the two weeks already provided, for each child. Men are entitled to this Additional Paternity Leave (APL) if they have been employed for at least 26 weeks by the 15th week prior to the expected due date and the child's mother was entitled to SMP or SML and the child's mother has already returned to work (Long, 2012: 55). Apart from Maternity and Paternal leave, the UK Government also gives unpaid Parental leave of 13 weeks which can be availed anytime until the child is five-year-old and this leave is non-transferable between both the

¹⁴The Statutory Maternity Pay (General) Regulations 1986, URL: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1986/1960/pdfs/uksi_19861960_en.pdf

parents and can only be taken if the parent is working with the employer since last one year¹⁵

Flexible Working Hours:For encouraging more women to participate in the labour market and maintain a balance between work and family life, it is necessary to provide them flexible working hours. In Britain it was first introduced in 2002. Initially when this regulation was introduced, it was only for employees with parental or caring responsibility. With the Work and Families Act 2006 and Flexible Working (Eligibility, Complaints and Remedies) (Amendment) Regulations 2006, the criteria of flexible working hour has been extended and it could be made for the purpose of caring for a person aged 18 or over who fell within a description set by the regulations.¹⁶In 2009 a report titled *Working Better* was published by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC). This report gave some recommendations for some changes in flexible working hours and parental leave.According to this report, parents in the UK are not much aware about their flexible working hours right. The report also highlights that the UK legislation was limited because it does not provide for a reversion to the previous full-time hours after a period of flexible working hours.¹⁷The report has made some recommendations:

- Introduce a formal right to request a return to full-time work after a previous change in working hours, to be negotiated subject to business needs
- Remove the 26 weeks eligibility criteria for right to request
- Extend the right to request to all employees alongside consideration of our proposals for improvements, including greater flexibility, to parental leave.¹⁸

¹⁵The Maternity and Parental Leave etc, Regulations, 1999, No. 3312, section 7, URL: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1999/3312/contents/made>.

¹⁶ The Flexible Working (Eligibility, Complaints and Remedies)(Amendment) Regulations 2006, URL: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/2006/3314/contents/made>

¹⁷Flexible working, Briefing Paper, Number 01086, 9 March 2015,

URL:<http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN01086>.

¹⁸ Equality and Human Rights Commission, *Working Better*, 30 March 2009, p.63, URL:

http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/documents/research/41_wb_fathers_family_and_work.pdf

These policies mainly facilitate a more gender-equal sharing of care and related housework, it also support the return of mothers in to the labour market after the childbirth break. Maternity policy has two direct impacts on women's participation in the labour market and to create equal opportunity for both men and women in the professional life. First it provides job protection so that mothers can return to their previous job after maternity leave. Second it also gives monetary compensation during the maternity leave which empowers women and helps them in returning to the job market again. Though the government has made some mile-stone achievements by formulating maternity, paternity policy and flexible working hours, but it has not been properly implemented by the employers. The statutory pay given by the government during maternity/ paternity leave is not enough, which further creates trouble for parents, especially mothers-to-be. These leave policies are important because it helps in enhancing gender equality both in family and professional life, it also effect child development very positively. Across the European continent nature of parental leave differ, these differences exists mainly because of the various policy objectives in all European countries. The average length of the parental leave in all member states of the European Union is 87 weeks, with some variation for example 18 weeks in Cyprus to two years per parent in Greece. Along with it most of the EU member states (only 6 are not in the category) offers compensation during parental leave.

Apart from length and compensation, 'entitlement rules' is another point on which parental leave differs across the European continent: in 14 European countries parental leave is part of the family entitlement the total parental leave duration for a family is eight months, four months for each parent (Belle, 2016: 8). For example, in France each family is entitled for 8 months of parental leave (4-4 months leave for both parents). In 12 European countries parental leave can be enjoyed individually. In two countries (Portugal and Sweden) the leave consists of a shared and a non-shared part (European Parliament 2015b; Eurofound 2015c).

Through maternity and paternity leave the modern welfare state governments are trying to provide a more gender-equal sharing of care and related housework, supporting the mother's return to the labour market, and to equalize the

circumstances in which women and men enter the labour market (European Parliament 2014). The maternity and paternity leave's impact can be analyzed under following sections:

- Economic impact: one of the most important economic impacts of ML/PL is reducing labour market inequality. It has become a norm in almost all societies that because of the so-called 'motherhood penalty' more women than men leave employment after the birth of a child: women with children under the age of 12 work 11 percent less than women without children, whereas men with children under the age of 12 work 7 percent more than men without children (Miani&Hoorens 2014). Through different care, pay, leave and flexible working hour policies governments are aiming to reduce gender employment gap. For more equal society it is important to fill the gender pay gap (GPG¹⁹). In 2014 the GPG in the EU-28 was 16.1 per-cents, which means that for every euro men got paid in the EU, women got paid only 83.9 cents (Eurostat 2016).
- Social impact: over the years it has been a set social norm that the mother will take care of the child and it will be her sole responsibility. By introducing maternity and paternity leave and other childcare benefits modern welfare state is trying changing this set norm. There is evidence that men undertake more domestic work in the policy context that supports female employment (childcare services) and the father's engagement in care (father's quota) (Hook 2006;Kotsadam&Finseraas 2011). Increased uptake of leave by fathers thus positively affects equality at home, leading to an improved work-life balance (COWI 2008; ILO 2014). These policy initiatives helped in child development also. There is evidence that this positive effect is mediated by the mother's education level, suggesting that it is tied to care by a highly-educated father displacing care by a less educated mother (Cools et al. 2015). In terms of child wellbeing, research suggests that a father's involvement has a positive effect on father-child bonding (Nepomnyaschy&Waldfoegel 2007; Haas & Hwang 2009).

¹⁹GPG, average gross hourly earnings of men and women expressed as a percentage of the average gross hourly earnings of men.

- Demographic impact: negative population growth is another major concern of European governments. Very few young people are now interested in having kids, it's mainly because young generation especially women are more career oriented. They consider child birth and care as a hurdle in their professional growth. With the recent development in maternity and paternity policy area, fertility rate is increasing.

These policies aimed at increasing uptake can lead to different outcomes in different EU member states. A lack of comprehensive and comparable basic statistics stands in the way of an evaluation and understanding of the use and impact of the many different types of leave policy that exist (Moss & Deven 2015).

Even after all these policy initiatives, there is still a large scope of improvement in parental care policy area. State should adopt and implement inclusive laws and policies for effective protection. Government should eradicate discrimination between women and men in especial regards to family responsibilities. To achieve the higher standards of gender equality government should design maternity protection and work family policies. Equal responsibility of family and care should be encouraged. A more family friendly work culture should be designed for parents especially mothers. Health of the mother and child should be the prime concern while making a care friendly work place.

The Equality Acts 2006:

An Act to make provision for the establishment of the Commission for Equality and Human Rights; to dissolve the Equal Opportunities Commission, the Commission for Racial Equality and the Disability Rights Commission; to make provision about discrimination on grounds of religion or belief; to enable provision to be made about discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation; to impose duties relating to sex discrimination on persons performing public

functions; to amend the Disability Discrimination Act 1995; and for connected purposes.²⁰

[16th February 2006]

The Act was mainly focused on the connections between different forms of discrimination, the intersection and interaction of ethnic differences, gender differences and disability, age. These have become the subject of a new Equality and Human Rights Commission, replacing the Equal Opportunities Commission.

The Act specifies the duties of all public authorities to maintain equal standards and opportunities, eradicate any kind of illegal discrimination and harassment in regards to all the groups (here group means a group of people of different age, class, gender, propose, commenced or completed reassignment of gender) [within the meaning by Section 82 (1) of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975²¹], and sexual discrimination. The Act has also introduced a Gender Equality Scheme (GES, the deadline for preparing and publishing this scheme was April 30th 2007). Under this scheme, organisations were trend to fulfil their general and specific duties, appropriate and protective involvement of employees as well as service users (male, female and transgender). The scheme should be re-validated in every 3 years. The Gender Equality Scheme was also designed to eliminate the gender pay gap among the employees.

The Equality Act 2010

An Act to make provision to require Ministers of the Crown and others when making strategic decisions about the exercise of their functions to have regard to the desirability of reducing socio-economic inequalities; to reform and harmonise equality law and restate the greater part of the enactments relating to discrimination and harassment related to certain personal characteristics; to

²⁰The Equality Act 2006, URL:

http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2006/3/pdfs/ukpga_20060003_en.pdf.

²¹The Equality Act 2006, Section 10, Sub-section 2, URL:

http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2006/3/pdfs/ukpga_20060003_en.pdf

enable certain employers to be required to publish information about the differences in pay between male and female employees; to prohibit victimisation in certain circumstances; to require the exercise of certain functions to be with regard to the need to eliminate discrimination and other prohibited conduct; to enable duties to be imposed in relation to the exercise of public procurement functions; to increase equality of opportunity; to amend the law relating to rights and responsibilities in family relationships; and for connected purposes.²²

[8th April 2010]

The Act merged major parts of all the previous Acts of the United Kingdom, related to equality and elimination of any kind of equality for all and elimination of any kind of discrimination. The overriding aim of the Equality Act 2010 is to achieve harmonisation, simplification, and modernisation of equality law. This in effect expresses several principles in the Declaration, in particular the right to equality of all human beings (principle 1), equal protection from discrimination regardless of the grounds concerned (principle 6), and the obligation on states to give “full effect” to the right to equality in all activities of the state (principle 11)²³The Act also aimed to provide equal opportunity to all workers and even to those who may not fall exactly in the category of an employer (contract workers, special cases, volunteers also). The Act also covers Marriage and Civil Partnership (Pregnancy and maternity: pregnancy, the period of maternity leave or the 26 weeks after giving birth, and breastfeeding). This Act has issued guidance for recruiters for not discriminating on the basis of age, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, race, religion and belief, sexual orientation.

The Equality Act has some draw backs also, like a person cannot combine two of the grounds of discrimination (direct and indirect) in one complain. For example if a disabled woman is denied flexible working and she alleges indirect discrimination on grounds of sex and direct discrimination because of disability, she will not be able to combine these in a single claim where it is unclear which

²²The Equality Act 2010, URL: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/introduction>.

²³Declaration of Principles on Equality, published by The Equal Rights Trust, London, October 2008.

of them caused the unfavourable treatment. Again the reason given for this was that it would be “unduly burdensome” to business (Hepple, 2011: 16).

The Children and Family Act 2014

An Act to make provision about children, families, and people with special educational needs or disabilities; to make provision about the right to request flexible working; and for connected purposes.

[13th March 2014]

Part 7 of the Children and Family Act tries to make a new employment right to shared parental leave and statutory shared parental pay for eligible working parents. The Act says that all the women employees have right to claim maternity pay or allowance and in the same way as previously. If the woman wants to come back to work before ending the leave, both the parents can share the leave and pay (50 weeks of leave and 37 weeks of pay). The same system will apply in the case of parents who adopt kids, and intended parents in a surrogacy arrangement are also eligible. Part 8 of the Act talks about antenatal care. Employees and workers (pregnant women) can claim for antenatal appointments with a pregnant woman. The provision is also valid for pregnant women’s husband, civil partner or partner, intended parents in a surrogacy case. This provision is for both paid and unpaid time off work for the procedure of adopting kids. Providing flexible working hour to the employees (especially women) is very important step in order to make working environment more gender-friendly. With this Act the law on flexible working has been amended and it is to extend the right to all employees with 26 weeks’ continuous employment. Through this Act Government has changed flexible working as part of the Modern Workplaces Consultation.

The Government’s document has recommended following steps to ensure flexible working arrangements:

- Extend to all employees the statutory right to request flexible working.

- Reduce the administrative burden of considering such requests by replacing the statutory process for considering requests with a requirement that employers give “reasonable” consideration to requests;
- Introduce a statutory Code of Practice to provide guidance on what consideration is likely to meet the requirement of reasonableness;
- Leave unchanged the grounds on which a request can lawfully be refused;
- Retain the 26- week qualifying period for the statutory right;
- Consider the possibility of allowing for more than one flexible working request in any 12-month period, provided the employee states in their original request that they expect the change to last less than a year; and
- Encourage more recruitment agencies to provide services in relation to part-time or varied-hours working.²⁴

These recommendations were received very positively. In a Written Ministerial Statement on 13 November 2012, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills, Jo Swinson, indicated the Government’s intention to implement the reforms by 2015:

“We believe that flexible working will benefit employers as well. Employers report that employees who work flexibly are more productive, less likely to take sick leave and more likely to stay with their employers. Additionally we have set out the intention to remove the existing statutory procedure for considering flexible working requests, which can be bureaucratic and costly, replacing it with a duty on employers to consider requests in a ‘reasonable manner’. We will set out in a code of practice guidance for employers on how to consider requests and what we mean by ‘reasonable’.

The Government intends to introduce legislation as soon as parliamentary time allows, in order implementing the reforms by 2015”.

The new Act has made the work-life balance easier for the parents. It has also broadened the definition of parents, which now include the mother or father of the child or the mother’s husband/partner (including same sex/civil partner) or intended parents in a surrogacy arrangement ,prospective adoptive parents.

²⁴BIS, Consultation on Modern Workplaces, 16 May 2011, pp36-44.

In its new term, after winning the general election, Coalition Government is determined for making labour market more female friendly and to tackle with the problem of high gender pay gap. In July 2015, former British Prime Minister David Cameron said that in the first 6 months of 2016, the government will make rules according to which all companies who have more than 250 employees should disclose their employees pay details²⁵ (Item 5, Annexure II). According to Cameron “That will cast sunlight on the discrepancies and create the pressure we need for change, driving women’s wages up.” The United Kingdom was on the 6th position among the European Union member countries in the list on gender pay gap. Denise Wilson, chief executive of the Davies review, said: “By 2020, the next generation of women won’t need to worry, providing we keep the same business focus and momentum up over the next five years”.²⁶ Kate Andrews, head of communications, The Adam Smith Institute, the free market right-leaning think-tank said that “men and women often choose to make different career decisions – usually based on flexibility and rigour – so they can embrace other, equally meaningful parts of their life; this, naturally, can be reflected in their pay.”²⁷

The participation rate of women in the labour market has increased considerably in last two decades. The graph below shows that percentage of women’s participation in the job market age group of 25-40, who are actually struggling to balance their work and family life, has increased since 1994. The main reason for the increase in the women’s participation rate is the policies of the labour government, which have been pro- women. In the last twenty years, government’s efforts, namely, Statutory Maternity Leave, Extended Maternity Leave, Employees’ Benefits during Maternity Leave, Flexible Working Hours and The Equality Acts of 2006, 2010 has made women’s ventures more comfortable outside home and encouraged more and more women to work (Figure 5, Annexure I).

To conclude it can be said that though the overall picture of women’s participation in job market has brightened in the past two decades, Britain is still far behind the ideal

²⁵David Cameron to force companies to disclose gender pay gaps, The Guardian, 14th July 2015, URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/jul/14/david-cameron-to-force-companies-to-disclose-gender-pay-gaps>.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

situation of gender equality in the labour market. According to a report published by World Bank on labour force participation rate (2014), countries like Central African Republic, Chad, Cambodia, Nepal and Rwanda is in better position than to the UK. But the report clearly shows that the participation rate of the women participation has increased, which is a positive sign. The future governments have to work hard to meet the goal of 100 percent equality ratio in the UK.

Chapter Five
Conclusion

The present research titled as “Gender Equality and Social Policy in the European Union: A case study of Britain” is an attempt to understand the dynamic relation between social policy and its impact on gender equality in the modern welfare state. It is an attempt to discover the balance between work and family life of white English women and how British welfare state and government’s social policy is supporting them to achieve a balanced life in which they can participate in both personal and professional areas. In order to analyse the modern British women’s work-life balance, the research has focused on two main policies of the UK government.

First is the childcare policy meant to examine the childcare support system provided by the government and how the system is beneficial for the working parents especially single working mothers? Second is the Female Friendly Labour Market. By analyzing this policy the research has tried to examine that how government’s policies enable or support women’s participation in the job market. Through a detailed analysis and discussion the research has tried to address following aspects: nature of the British Social Policy, EU’s social policy’s influence on it, Is it gender-friendly or gender-neutral?, Impact of childcare policy on women’s work-life balance, Female-Friendly Labour Market policy’s influence on women’s participation in the labour market, These policies impact on gender equality in the labour market.

Right at the onset of the research few hypotheses were proposed. The first hypothesis was the childcare policy in Britain has enabled women to achieve a better balance between work and family life. Second, the strong legal provisions laid down in female-friendly labour market policy have prohibited discrimination on the ground of gender and paved way for equal treatment for men and women in the labour market.

The present research begins by discussing social policy of European Union and its impact upon the participation of women in the labour market and further the research narrows down its focus on Britain. A number of research questions were raised in order to test the proposed hypothesis such as what is the nature of social policy in Britain? How far it is shaped by the social policy of the EU? Is the social policy in Britain gender-friendly or gender-neutral? What has been the impact of childcare

policy on work-family balance among women? What has been the influence of female-friendly labour market policy on the participation of women in the labor market? How far these policies have been effective in bringing about gender equality in the British labour market?

To begin with, the research started with the definition of major concepts.

Social Policy: it is a vague concept which came into existence only after the emergence of welfare state. It includes several aspects of state's policy towards its citizen for their wellbeing. Social policy compresses various aspects of society including issues, problems, groups and services. Social policy is essential for the wellbeing of the citizens of welfare state for which it focuses on public policies, market operations, personal consumption and interpersonal relationships. According to Moroney (1976),

Social policy is concerned with a search for and articulation of social objectives and the means to achieve these [and that the] 'non-ideological' activities involved include analysis of the issue, its dimensions and its implications,....a consensus of the body politic that the situation presents a current or future problem that should be addressed, [and] choosing among alternative strategies and developing structures to carry out specific interventions¹

Sometimes the idea of social policy is misunderstood with economic policy but it's not the same. Boulding (1967), in his writing, defines that how social policy is different from economic policy. According to him the one common thread that unites all aspects of social policy and distinguishes them from merely economic policy, it is the thread of what has elsewhere been called the 'integrative system'. This included those aspects of social life that are characterised not so much by exchange in which a quid is got for a quo as by unilateral transfers that are justified by some kind of appeal to a status of legitimacy, identity, or community.....by and large it is an objective of social policy to build the identity of a person around some community with he is associated (1967: 3).

The development of social policy can be traced from the end of the nineteenth century and it has a closed link with the formation and development of *Fabian Society*.²

¹, Family and the State Considerations for Social Policy, Moroney, 1976:2.

²The aim of Fabian Society was to press for the introduction of social

Another major reason for the development of social policy is the establishment of Labour Party in Britain (which is seen as a political vehicle for policy innovation and reform). The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress 1905–09 was a body set up by the British Parliament in order to investigate how the Poor Law system should be changed. The next step in the process of social policy development was the creation of the ‘welfare state’ after the Second World War. In this period the British Government took following measures to make its social policy more strong:

- Free education up to age 15, to combat ignorance;
- A national health service (NHS) free at the point of use, to combat disease;
- State commitment to securing full employment, to combat idleness;
- Public housing for all citizens to rent, to combat squalor;
- National insurance benefits for all in need, to combat want (Alcock et.al, 1998: 10).

Since 1960s the concept of social policy started changing, it began to move from social administration (associated with analysing the operation of existing welfare services) to social policy (associated with questioning the policy base of welfare provision). From now onwards the Fabian idea was no longer considered to be the central point of British social policy, which moved towards some new theoretical dimension (ibid: 10). The first new dimension of this social policy was the leftist approach, according to which the social policy adopted by the British government was focused on helping poor people but it had also facilitated future capitalist progress through some secure base for the market economy to operate. This ideology argued that for the well-being of every class it is important to change the economic structure of the capital and labour market. They considered welfare state as a double-edged sword which could not alone provide adequate welfare for all (ibid: 10). In the 1970s, because of the economic recession, flaws in the welfare state became more visible. In this time, the rightist ideology came with the argument that the development of extensive state welfare services is incompatible with the maintenance of a successful market economy, but the problem of social need getting worst day by day.

Protection through the state to combat the social problems which, it argued had developed in Britain’s capitalist economic structure.

According to the right wing thinkers, therefore, the social needs must be fulfilled with some other measures and welfare state should either be withdrawn or removed (ibid: 11). In the last few years of twentieth century, the failure of British welfare state was quite visible and the left/right ideologies were not able to give a proper solution for it. Apart from other problems related to welfare state, some more serious problems were raised by the feminist thinkers. Feminist ideology talked about the unequal treatment of men and women in the development and delivery of welfare services. Along with feminist thinkers some other ideologies also started questioning the outmoded nature of the welfare state. It has been suggested that more radical and different questions should be asked about social policy. The new radical ideology not only criticised the welfare state but also condemned the new left and new right ideologies. Despite minor differences in their thoughts, all these three ideologies challenged the Fabian concept of social policy and argued for a better social policy.

In order to understand the impact of social policy on status of women in society it is important to understand the concept of gender equality as well. A detailed discussion was presented that attempted to understand meaning of gender equality.

Gender Equality: the term talks about the equal opportunity for both men and women. The United Nations Human Development Report (1995) explains gender equality as capabilities (education, health, and nutrition) and opportunities (economic and decision-making). World Bank states that gender equality means equality under the law, equality of opportunity (including equality of rewards for work and equality in access to human capital and other productive resources that enable opportunity); and equality of voice (the ability to influence and contribute to the development process).³ Equality between people and respect for human dignity are central concepts to the European model of society, a model which combines democracy and systems of highly developed social protection and free market⁴ (Fornara, 2009:21). In 2006, the European Union issued a roadmap for equality between women and men, which states: 'Gender equality is a fundamental right, a common value of the EU, and a necessary condition for the achievement of the EU objectives of growth, employment

³World Bank, 2001.*Engendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice, Policy Research.*Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁴Matteo Fornara, Permanent Representation of the European Commission in Milan.

and social cohesion'. According to Marina Calloni⁵, European women are free, but not yet equal. Liberty is not identical to equality. Freedom means development of capabilities and preferences, but equality is a question of fairness, equal opportunities and fair distribution of common resources. Therefore, it's necessary to insert as a priority on an EU common political agenda the issue of social justice from a gender perspective.

The European Union has taken several measures to make the continent more equal and favourable for women, like: equal treatment legislation, social action programmes and social dialogue. The concept of gender equality came into existence in the European Union (the then European Commission) in 1950s. The Treaty of Rome firstly mentioned about the equal pay provisions for men and women. Further the union established the European Court of Justice to ensure equal opportunity for both men and women, and for the elimination of discrimination based on gender. The Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) specified that gender equality is one of the EU's fundamental tasks. The treaty also mentioned about the elimination of discrimination on the basis of gender and promotion of equality among both the sexes in all aspects of life. The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (2007), mentions that the Union's aim is to eradicate discrimination and encourage gender equality (Article 8)⁶. The treaty further specifies that the EU will focus on contending discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation (Article 10)⁷. In the year 2009 the European Union issued a Charter of Fundamental Rights, according to which equality between men and women must be ensured in all areas, including employment, work and pay (Article 23) and reaffirms the ban on discrimination on a wide number of grounds, including sex (Article 21). In 2009 The European Union member states signed a treaty according to which all member states made a commitment towards non-discrimination and gender equality (Article 2 and 3).

The European Union also ensure that the member states should incorporate EU directives on gender equality into their national legislation. According to the

⁵Professor of social & political philosophy at State University (2006).

⁶The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, URL: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12012E/TXT&from=EN>.

⁷ibid.

directives the member states should also establish *national equality bodies* to monitor the application of gender equality laws.⁸ The European Union follows dual approach to maintain equal status among genders in its member states. Through this approach, the EU's aim is to make gender equality a reality and to improve policy-making by bringing it close to citizens' needs.⁹ Along with gender mainstreaming approach, the EU has also used some specific measures, for example legislation awareness-raising campaigns or financial programmes. Unlike the previous approach, this approach is being used for some more explicit problems such as gender pay gap or less representation of women.

Women's Charter: on the occasion of 15th anniversary of the adoption of a Declaration and Platform for Action at the Beijing, UN World Conference on Women and of the 30th anniversary of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the European Commission launched a Women's Charter. There are five major principal mentioned in the Charter to make European Countries more equal for men and women¹⁰:

- Equal Economic Independence: charter's basic principal is equal economic independence for both men and women. It will promote gender equality in the Europe 2020 strategy, consider quantified targets, and encourage real opportunities for both the gender to experience a better professional-personal life balance.
- Equal Pay for Equal Work and Work of Equal Value: gender pay gap is one of the obstacles in gender equality. This charter assures that the EU member states, will work to extensively decrease the gender pay gap in the union.
- Equality in Decision-Making: the charter also focused on the equal representation of both the sexes in positions of power in public life and the economy.

⁸Gender equality in the European Union, European Commission Justice (2011), URL: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/brochure_equality_en.pdf.

⁹ibid

¹⁰ COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION A Strengthened Commitment to Equality between Women and Men , A Women's Charter, European Commission, Brussels XXX, 2010, URL: <https://ravnopravnost.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/dokumenti/Europska%20unija/A%20Womens%20Charter.pdf>.

- Dignity, Integrity and an End to Gender--Based Violence: respect for fundamental rights of human being is the basic principal of all European Commission activities. This charter ensures that the Union will undertake efforts to eradicate gender discrimination in healthcare. The charter also determined to eliminate all forms of violence and to provide help for victims.
- Gender Equality Beyond the Union: the EU is not only committed for the European Countries but works in the third world countries for women's right and also support cooperation with international and regional organisations on advancing gender equality.

As the aim of the research is to study gender equality and social policy in Britain, let us briefly look at the status of women and nature and degree of gender equality in Britain.

Gender Equality in Britain: the British society's structure is based on the Victorian concept. For more than a century the role of women in British society was governed by the Victorian idea of womanhood and is still continues (to some extent). In the Victorian time the 'whole law of woman's life' was 'a law of love' (this was the idiom which helped to define the image of Victorian womanhood). In that women were considered inferior to men even if they have more talent, with higher attainments, but it had not affected their position in the society (Attallah, 1987: 67). Sir William Blackstone in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765-1769¹¹) said that, 'the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated or consolidated into that of her husband, under whose wing, protection, and cover, she performs everything.'

Twentieth century played a significant role in empowering British women. The revolutionary decision of giving voting rights to all women above the age of 21 in 1928 started a process of equalisation in the British society. In the second half of the twentieth century women gained more power in the field of politics and economy through different acts and policies. The percentage of women employed grew

¹¹The Commentaries on the Laws of England[1] are an influential 18th-century treatise on the common law of England by Sir William Blackstone, originally published by the Clarendon Press at Oxford, 1765–1769. The work is divided into four volumes, on the rights of persons, the rights of things, of private wrongs and of public wrongs.

gradually and by 1998, 75 per cent of women between the age group of 25-44 were employed in comparison of their male (93 per cent) counterpart. Even after all these efforts women still facing a lot of problems in the United Kingdom. Even though the number of women employment has increased but most of the increase was in part-time work. The pay gap also persists between both the genders. The average British woman earns around 80p for every £1 earned by a man¹² (Item 6, Annexure II). There are several reasons behind this unequal treatment towards women. Women prefer to work in a low-paid and part time job profile mainly because of the personal responsibilities (childcare). There are also two basic barriers in making British labour market equal for women. First is small but powerful recruitment group who are against gender equality. Second, most of the people believe that a man being on the top positions is the natural characteristic of the labour market. They are still fighting for the equal status in each area. In 2016 women only have 29% of representation in the parliament. Only 23% of them are in among the board members. Women still face violence both inside and outside the home. 2 women die at the hands of a partner or ex-partner each week. They are not able to achieve the equal pay status. In comparison to other European countries use of shared parental leave is very less (only 8% in the UK. 80% in Sweden).¹³ Women still doesn't get the proper health right. They still need the approval of 2 doctors for getting an abortion. Half of them are still unaware of their choices of getting pregnant and only 67% are taught about contraception.¹⁴ There are still a very large number of women who leave their jobs due to pregnancy (almost 54,000 women per year¹⁵).

In today's British society women outnumbered men and its increasing day by day. The employment rate of women has increased in the last 40 years in Britain. There are some major efforts made by the government which has impacted women's employment in the labour market. *1970 Equal Pay Act* which encouraged equal pay

¹²The gender pay gap won't just go away, but new regulations are a start, URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/society/womens-blog/2016/jun/24/the-gender-pay-gap-wont-just-go-away-but-new-regulations-are-a-start>.

¹³ MODERN WORKPLACES: Shared parental leave and pay administration consultation – impact assessment, URL: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/110692/13-651-modern-workplaces-shared-parental-leave-and-pay-impact-assessment2.pdf.

¹⁴Girls' Attitudes Survey 2015, URL: http://www.girlguiding.org.uk/pdf/GAS_15_website.pdf

¹⁵EHRC, URL: https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/sites/default/files/publication_pdf/BIS-15-447-pregnancy-and-maternity-related-discrimination-and-disadvantage.pdf

for equal work for both men and women. *1975 Sex Discrimination Act* prohibited all type of discrimination based on gender. *1975 Employment Protection Act* gave legal right to the women to continue job after pregnancy and also right of statutory maternity provision. *The Health and Safety at Work Act 1974* provided safe and healthy environment for workers especially for women workers. *2008 Lone parent income support changes* provided support for lone parents (especially lone mothers). *2010 increase in State Pension Age for women*, now women can work for even more years. But percentage of the working age group of women is less than the men. 79.3% of men (age group of 16 to 64) and 71.6% of women (age group 16 to 59) are engaged in work.¹⁶ Men with children are more employed than women with children. Despite several attempts of childcare services by the government women are still not in a position to achieve equal status as men in the labour market. Women with young child prefer to work part-time. Along with all these differences, there is traditional gender spilt in sectorial pattern of employment. More women prefer to work in the service sector, and men prefer to work in manufacturing and production. They are in the highest paid and most senior jobs. 80% of women work in the low income care and leisure sector but only 10% of those are in the better paid skilled trades.¹⁷ There is a new regulation related to pay gap reporting that's due in October 2016. According to which every employer with 250 or more staff should have to publish their gender pay gap figures for both basic salary and bonus payments. This regulation will help the employers to make it more systematic.

There is a considerable change in the attitude towards women in the labour market and it's not only from the government but corporate companies are also paying more attention towards their women employees. A leading British company Coexist has large number of women employees is planning to launch an official policy for women during their menstrual cycle. According to which women employees of the company will be entitled for leave and time off during their periods¹⁸. The other sectors are now also paying more attention to their female employees in order to make labour market

¹⁶ Statistical bulletin: UK Labour Market: June 2016, URL:

<http://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/datasets/employmentunemploymentandeconomicinactivityformenagedfrom16to64andwomenagedfrom16to59notseasonallyadjusted>03nsa.

¹⁷The Gender Pay Gap, URL: <http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/policy-research/the-gender-pay-gap/>

¹⁸Period Leave In The UK?, URL: <http://www.ibtimes.com/period-leave-uk-british-company-offers-women-time-during-menstrual-cycle-2330834>.

more women friendly. BBC has recently agreed on paying more to its female employees. Some universities are also started paying more to women academicians. The common attitude (especially men's view) towards women has also changed.

Though British government has made and still making a lot of efforts to make Britain a more comfortable place for women in order to make their work and family life balance better. But there are still loopholes in government's policies. For future government should be more focus on reducing poverty in general and for women in particular. Government should change its maternity and paternal policy especially in the first month after the child birth or adaptation. In order to give more chance to the women employees in the higher level government should introduce a law according to which 40% of the board members in a company should be female. To increase more mothers to participate in workforce government should entitle them to the care of a single midwife and child caretaker during their maternity experience and after that. Government should also focus on building free childcare so that women employees can get benefit of affordable, flexible and high quality care for the children. To make access to justice easier for women, the employment tribunal fees should be reduced so that women can ask for the equal rights in the tribunal. The job advertisements should be on the basis of flexible working hours and conditions.

The EU has played a significant role in regulating and protecting equal opportunities for women in the UK. Though the UK already had certain laws regarding equal status of women even before joining the EU (the then EEC) but after becoming the member of the council the UK become legally bound for providing more equal status to the women. After the 2016 UK-EU referendum the United Kingdom will no longer be the member of the European Union in the near future. That means the UK is now not forced to follow the union's gender equality policies. Some of the women activists are now afraid that the Brexist may derail the fight of women's right in the UK. Conservative MP Theresa May (the former Home Secretary) is now the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. She is the second woman Prime Minister of the country. She has a lot of challenges in order to unite the country and to make Brexist less complicated procedure. Theresa May has always been a strong supporter of more women participation in the politics. She set up the campaign to elect more female

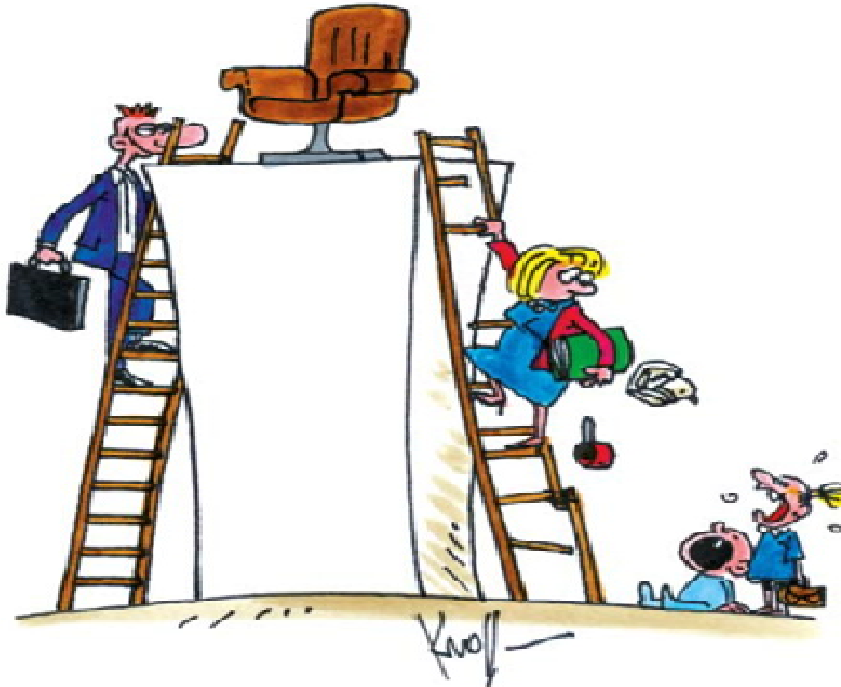
MPs to parliament¹⁹ (Item 7, Annexure II). It is also expected that the new PM will promote more women in day to day life.

Major findings:

After analysing different aspects of social policy and gender equality in Europe and especially in Britain, the research can be summarised with some of the major findings, which includes EU's social policy influence on British social policy, childcare policy of British government and its impact on women's employment, female friendly labour market policy and how far it has been successful in promoting gender equality in the professional life. In order to analyse these major findings of the research, the very first question which comes up whether the British social policy is influenced by the European Union's social policy or not. Though this question is no longer relevant after the June 2016 Brexit, the research covers a long time span to examine the correlation of gender equality and social policy in Britain so it is important to assess the EU's social policy impact on British social policy. Since the time of its establishment European Union's basic nature was economic and political thus EU's policy makers paid less attention to the other aspects like social policy because of which all the Member States of the Union made interdependent social and welfare policy. In the beginning (1970-80s) EU's social policy had not affected Britain legally or financially. Since 1990s EU's social policy started gaining stronghold mainly because of the Maastricht Treaty. The other reason for Union's social policy impact on Britain was the regime change in the UK. In 1997 Labour came to the power which was conducive to social changes, and determined to work for it. In the 21st century the EU has affected some areas of the British social policy, like: free movement of workers, equal pay and equal treatment, social security, parental leave, part- time work, working hours and welfare at work. In the above backdrop and analysis, the both the hypothesis raised at the beginning of the research stand

¹⁹Theresa May set to appoint female allies to key cabinet positions, URL:
<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/12/theresa-may-set-to-fill-key-cabinet-positions-with-female-allies>.

confirmed.

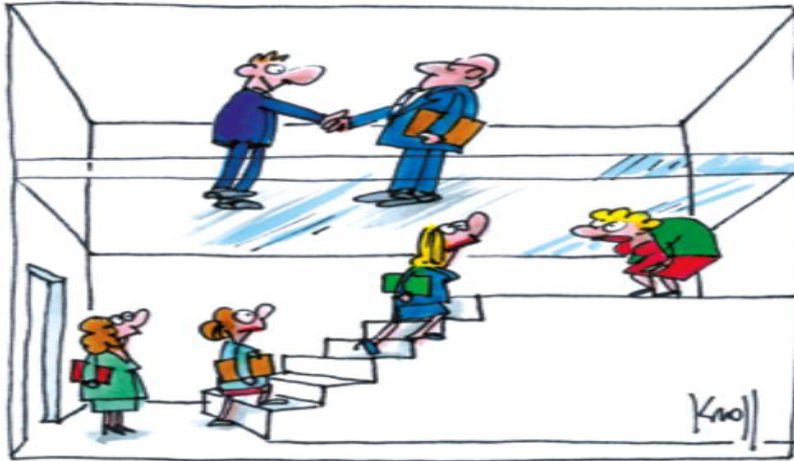


Gender equality in the European Union, URL: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/brochure_equality_en.pdf

In the childcare services there was very nominal state intervention till 1997 because of which fewer mothers especially lone mothers with toddlers were able to go out for work. During the Labour party regime the UK jumped from the lowest spender on childcare services to the highest among the OECD countries from 1997 to 2010. The British childcare policy has been successful in providing support to the working mothers but the universal childcare is still very expensive and is not very helpful for women who have low skill and low educational qualification.

Women's participation in the labour market has increased in the United Kingdom. Now nearly two-third of women among the age group of 16-64 is working. This participation rate is relatively higher among the white English women in comparison with the migrated women. Government's policy initiatives like one-year-long maternity leave, flexible working hours, increased pension age have changed the status of women in the labour market in a very positive way. It has not only encouraged women to participate at the lower level but women are now getting

representation at the higher level also The UK has reached the better gender parity through setting voluntary targets. Though the overall women participation rate in the job market is lower in the UK in comparison with other European countries, women's representation at the managerial and senior level is higher from the EU standard. One-third (35%) of managers and senior officials are women.²⁰ Though the UK's overall women employment rate is higher than the OECD average, considerable numbers of working women are still struggling to return to work after child birth or career breaks. The number of working mothers in the UK is lower in comparison with other European countries like Sweden is slightly behind the OECD average (66.6% in the UK, 66.8% OECD average).

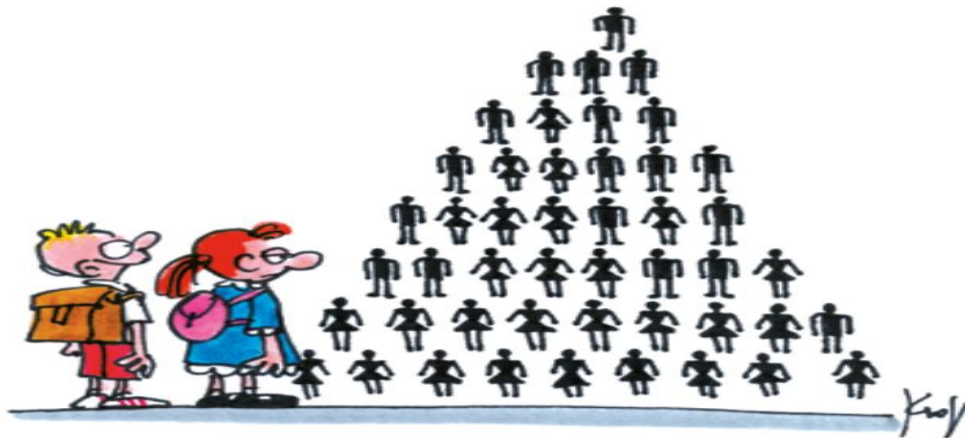


Gender equality in the European Union, URL: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/brochure_equality_en.pdf

Gender equality has become one of the important components of a modern developed or developing society. In recent times welfare state introduce number of policies to insure equal opportunity for both men and women. Gender equality is not only important for a better and balanced society but it is also essential for economic growth of a nation. In the western world women have entered into the job market and contributed in the economic wellbeing of the nation. Problem of gender equality can be identity in different areas like Inequalities in political power (access to decision-making, representation, etc.), Inequalities within households, Differences in legal status and entitlements, Gender division of labour within the economy, Inequalities

²⁰ The World Economic Forum, The Global Gender Gap Report, 2015, URL: <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2015/economics/#economy=GBR>.

in the domestic/unpaid sector, Violence against women and Discriminatory attitudes. Organisations like UNDP is firmly determine to make the world a better place to work for both men and women, for which they have initiated different policies and programs. Some of the major steps need to be taken in order to make the world a fair place for people: The need for a broad strategy that targets major institutions and focuses on gender relations, Measures to support gender equality can contribute to other socio-economic goals, Focus on people is a prerequisite,



Gender equality in the European Union, URL: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/brochure_equality_en.pdf

In conclusion, it can be stated that over the year British welfare state has undergone several changes through which women have got better options for work-life balance. Through different legal provisions and policies British government is trying to make Britain a fairer place for women (especially working women). But Britain is still not up to the mark in order to become a gender equal society in comparison to other European countries. In the future, Britain needs more strong and committed policies for childcare and female participation in the labour market so that women can achieve equal status with men in every field.

References

References

(* indicates a primary source)

Ackers, Moira et al. (2003), "Hands-On Family Policy in the United Kingdom", Cross-National Research Papers 6 (6), [Online: web], Accessed: 3 Nov 2013, URL: [http://www.xnat.org.uk/CrossNatResearchPapers/XNAT6\(6\).PDF](http://www.xnat.org.uk/CrossNatResearchPapers/XNAT6(6).PDF).

Addis, Elisabetta et al. (2011), *Gender and Well-being*, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Allison, Lynne and Lisa Pollard (2003), *Families of a New World: Gender, Politics and State Development in a Global Context*, New York: Routledge.

Andersen, Gosta. Esping (1990), *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 20th November 2014, URL: <http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic1134169.files/Readings%20on%20Social%20Democracy/Esping%20Anderson%20-%20The%20Three%20Worlds%20of%20Welfare%20Capitalism.pdf>

_____ (2009), *Incomplete Revolution: Adapting Welfare States to Women's New Roles*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Azmat, Ghazala (2015), *Gender Gaps in the UK Labour Market: jobs, pay and family-friendly policies*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 26th August 2015, URL: cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/ea027.pdf.

Back, Maren et al. (1989), *Changing Patterns of European Family Life: A Comparative Analysis of 14 European Countries*, London: Routledge.

Beatty, Christina (2010), *Participation of Women in the Labour Market in Leicester*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 19th October 2015, URL: https://www.shu.ac.uk/_assets/pdf/women-in-the-labour-market.pdf.

Becker, Uwe (2007), *The Scandinavian Model: Still an Example for Europe?*, Online [web], Accessed on: 23rd Feb 2015, URL: http://www.fes.de/ipg/2007_4/05_Becker_US.pdf

Belle, Janna van (2016), *Paternity and parental leave policies across the European Union*, Online [web], Accessed on: 16th November 2016, URL: http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR1600/RR1666/RAND_RR1666.pdf.

Bell, Norman W. and Ezra F. Ezra (1960), *A Modern Introduction to the Family*, New York: The Free Press.

Belletti, Francesco (2011), *The Family in Europe Today. Challenges and Perspective*, [Online: web] Accessed: 29 Jan 2013 URL:
<http://www.canamovement.org/testing/conf/110128>.

Benson, Harry (2006), *The conflation of marriage and cohabitation in government statistics – a denial of difference rendered untenable by an analysis of outcomes*, [Online: web] Accessed: 19 Sep 2013 URL:
<http://www.bcft.co.uk/Family%20breakdown%20in%20the%20UK.pdf>.

Bermini, Stefania (2007), *Family and Individual Welfare in Post-War Europe: Britain and Italy Compared*, Oxford: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bernardes, Jon (1997), *Family Studies: An Introduction*, New York: Routledge.

Berthoud, Richard (1995), *Family Formation in Multi- Cultural Britain: Three Patterns of Diversity*, [Online: web] Accessed: 12 Oct 2011 URL:
<http://www.sociology.org.uk/as4fm1>.

Blau, Francine. D and Ronald G. Ehrenbeg (1997), *Gender and Family issues in the workplace*, New York: Russell Sage Publication.

Blau, Judith. R (2004), *The Blackwell Companion to the Sociology*, Victoria: John Wiley & Sons.

Boca, Daniela Del et.al (2015), *Labour Market Participation of Women and Fertility: the Effect of Social Policies*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 19th October 2015, URL:
www.frd.org/be/file/_scheda/files/copy_0_paper_delboca.pdf.

Borchorst, Anette and BirteSiim (2008), *Women-friendly policies and state Feminism: Theorizing Scandinavian gender equality*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 26th August 2015, URL: vbn.aau.dk/files/16519664/AB.Sino-Nordic.pdf.

Booth, Alan and Sean. Glynn (1996), *Modern Britain: An Economic and Social History*, London: Routledge.

Bradshaw, Jonathan and Jane Millar (1991), *Lone Parent Families in the UK*, [Online: web] Accessed – 14 April 2013 URL:
<http://statistics.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd5/rrep006.pdf>.

Bray, James H. (1995), “Family Assessment: Current Issues in Evaluating Families”, *Family Relations*, 44(4), [Online: web] Accessed- 13 Aug 2013 URL:
<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/585001>.

Brewer, Nicola (2009), *Meeting the changing needs of families, workers and employers in the 21st century*, [Online: web] Accessed- 13 April 2012 URL:
http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/uploaded_files/working_better_final_pdf_250309.

- Bryceson, Deborah and Vuorela, Ulla (2002), *The Transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks*, New York: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd.
- Buchler, Ira.R and Henry A.Selby (1968), *Kinship and Social Organisation*, New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Belletti, Francesco (2011), *The Family in Europe Today. Challenges and Perspective*, [Online: web] Accessed: 29 Jan 2013 URL:
<http://www.canamovement.org/testing/conf/110128>.
- Benson, Harry (2006), *The conflation of marriage and cohabitation in government statistics – a denial of difference rendered untenable by an analysis of outcomes*, [Online: web] Accessed: 19 Sep 2013 URL:
<http://www.bcf.t.co.uk/Family%20breakdown%20in%20the%20UK.pdf>.
- Bermini, Stefania (2007), *Family and Individual Welfare in Post-War Europe: Britain and Italy Compared*, Oxford: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bernardes, Jon (1997), *Family Studies: An Introduction*, New York: Routledge.
- Berthoud, Richard (1995), *Family Formation in Multi- Cultural Britain: Three Patterns of Diversity*, [Online: web] Accessed: 12 Oct 2011 URL:
<http://www.sociology.org.uk/as4fm1>.
- B. Kamerman, Sheila (2006), *A global history of early childhood education and care*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 17th May 2015, URL:
unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001474/147470e.pdf
- Blair, Tony (2011), *A Journey*, UK: Hutchinson.
- Blau, Francine. D and Ronald G. Ehrenberg (1997), *Gender and Family issues in the workplace*, New York: Russell Sage Publication.
- Blau, Judith. R (2004), *The Blackwell Companion to the Sociology*, Victoria: John Wiley & Sons.
- Booth, Alan and Sean. Glynn (1996), *Modern Britain: An Economic and Social History*, London: Routledge.
- Bradshaw, Jonathan and Jane Millar (1991), *Lone Parent Families in the UK*, [Online: web] Accessed – 14 April 2013 URL:
<http://statistics.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd5/rrep006.pdf>.
- Bray, James H. (1995), “Family Assessment: Current Issues in Evaluating Families”, *Family Relations*, 44(4), [Online: web] Accessed- 13 Aug 2013 URL:
<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/585001>.

Brewer, Mike et.al (2005), *Helping Families, Childcare, early education and work life balance*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 7th July 2015, URL: <http://www.ifs.org.uk/bns/05ebn7.pdf>.

_____ Reforms to childcare policy, [Online: web], Accessed on: 27th April 2015, URL: <http://www.ifs.org.uk/budgets/gb2005/05chap9.pdf>.

Brewer, Nicola (2009), *Meeting the changing needs of families, workers and employers in the 21st century*, [Online: web] Accessed- 13 April 2012 URL: http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/uploaded_files/working_better_final_pdf_250309.

Bryson, V. (2008) *Gender and the Politics of Time*, Bristol: The Policy Press.

Bryceson, Deborah and Vuorela, Ulla (2002), *The Transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks*, New York: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd.

Buchler, Ira.R and Henry A.Selby (1968), *Kinship and Social Organisation*, New York: The Macmillan Company.

Campbell-Burr, Verity and Alison Garnham (2010), *Childcare: A review of what parents want*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 27th April 2015, URL: http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/uploaded_files/research/childcare_what_parents_want.pdf.

Carling, Alan. et al. (2002), *Analysing Families: Morality and rationality in policy and practice*, London: Routledge.

Chamberlain, Houston Stewart (1995), *England*, *The North American Review*, 202(716): 35-52.

Charles Nickie (2000), *Feminism, The State and Social policy*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Charles Nickie Davies. et al. (2008), *Family in Transition: Social Change, Family Formation and Kin Relationship*, Great Britain: The Policy Press.

Cheal, David (2008), *Families in Today's World: a comparative approach*, New York: Routledge.

Ciccia, Rossella and IngeBleijenbergh (2014), *After the Male Breadwinner Model? Childcare Services and the Division of Labour in European Countries*, *Social Politics*, Vol.21, Number 1, pp: 50-79.

Clapp, Rodney (1993), *Families at the Crossroads: Beyond Traditional and Modern Options*, Westmont, Illinois: Inter –Varsity Press.

Clements, Roy and Michael Schluter (1986), *Reactivating the Extended Family: From Biblical Norms to Public Policy in Britain*, [Online: web], Accessed: 23 Sep 2013 URL: <http://www.jubilee-centre.org/uploaded/files/Reactivating%20the%20Extended%20Family.pdf>.

Cliquet, Robert (2003), *Major Trends Affecting Families in the New Millennium – Western Europe and North America*, [Online: web] Accessed: 29 Jan 2012 URL: <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/family/Publications/mtcliquet.pdf>.

Cole, Jennifer and Deborah, Lym Durham (2007), *Generations and Globalization; Youth, Age and Family in the New World Economy*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Collier, Richard (1995), *Masculinity, Law and the Family*, New York: Routledge.

Cools, S., J.H.Fiva & L.J. Kirkebøen (2015), 'Causal Effects of Paternity Leave on Children and Parents', *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 117 (3): 801–828.

Coonz, Stephaine (2000), *Historical Perspectives on Family Studies*, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(2): 283-297.

*Council of Europe (1997), *International Seminar Promoting Equality: A Common Issue for Men and Women*, 17-18 June 1997, Proceedings, Strasbourg (France).

*Council of Europe (2006), *Human Rights and Economic Challenges in Europe: Gender Equality*, 6th European Ministerial Conference on Equality between Women and Men 2006, Stockholm: Council of Europe Publishing.

COWI 2008, 'Study on the costs and benefits of options to improve provisions for the reconciliation of work, private and family life.' European Commission, Online[web], Accessed on: 12 October 2016, URL: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/dg-empl_reconciliation_main-report_final_en.pdf

Crow, Graham (2005), *Family sociology's paradoxes*, Paper presented at the annual conference of the British Sociological Association, University of York, 21-23 March 2005 [Online: web] Accessed: 26 Sep 2013 URL: http://www.britisoc.co.uk/user_doc/05BSAConfCrowGraham.pdf.

Daly, Kerry (2000), "It Keeps Getting Faster: Changing Patterns of Time in Families", *Contemporary Family Trends*, [Online: web] Accessed: 9 Oct 2013 URL: 30645.vws.magma.ca.

Daniel, Brigid et.al (2005), *Why Gender Matters for "Every Child Matters"*, *The British Journal of Social Work*, Vol.35, No.8, pp. 1343-1355.

Day, Randal D. (2010), *Introduction to Family Processes*, New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.

*Department for Children, Schools and Families (2007), Government of United Kingdom, The Children's Plan, Building brighter future, [Online: web], Accessed on: 28th July 2015, URL:
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130401151715/http://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/Childrens_Plan_Summary.pdf.

*Department for children, schools and families (2009), Government of United Kingdom, The Protection of Children in England: action plan, [Online: web] Accessed: 6 Sep 2013 URL: <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm75/7589/7589.pdf>

*Department for Education and Skills (2007), Government of United Kingdom, Care Matters: Time for Change, [Online: web] Accessed: 4 Oct 2013 URL:
<http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm71/7137/7137.pdf>

*Department for Education (2013), More great childcare, Raising quality and giving parents more choice, [Online: web], Accessed on: 27th April 2015, URL:
https://www.gov.uk/.../system/.../More_20Great_20Childcare_20v2.pdf.

*Department for Education (2015), Child Care Bill: policy statement, [Online: web], Accessed on: 11th May 2016, URL:
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/482517/Childcare_Bill_Policy_Statement_12.03.2015.pdf

*Department of Health, Social Services and Public Safety (2012), Government of United Kingdom, Child-minding And Day Care, [Online: web], Accessed on: 27th April 2015, URL: <https://www.nspcc.org.uk/globalassets/documents/information-service/factsheet-assessing-children-families.pdf>.

*_____ (2013), Government of United Kingdom, More great childcare: Raising quality and giving parents more choice, [Online: web] Accessed: 5 Dec 2013 URL:
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/219660/More_20Great_20Childcare_20v2.pdf

Dickens, Sarah et.al (2013), Childcare Sufficiency and Sustainability in Disadvantage Areas, [Online: web], Accessed on: 27th April 2015, URL:
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/219620/DFE-RR246.pdf.

Doyal, Lesley and S. Watson (1999), Engendering Social policy, University of California: Open University Press.

Drew, Eileen P. et al. (1998), Women, Work and the Family in Europe, New York: Routledge.

Duncan, Simon et.al (2003), Mothers and Child Care: Policies, Values and Theories, [Online: web], Accessed on: 27th April 2015, URL:
https://is.muni.cz/el/1423/jaro2011/VPL457/um/23631908/Duncan_Edwards_Reynolds.pdf.

Duranton, Gilles.et al. (2007), Family Types and the Persistence of Regional Disparities in Europe, [Online: web] Accessed: 19 Sep 2013 URL:
<http://www.coleurop.be/content/studyprogrammes/eco/publications/beer/beer10.pdf>.

Edwards, Rosalind. et al (2008), Researching Families and Communities, London: Routledge Publication.

Edwards, Rosalind.et al. (2003), Families and Social Capital: Exploring the Issues, [Online: web] Accessed: 19 Sep 2013 URL:
<http://www.lsbu.ac.uk/ahs/downloads/families/familieswp1.pdf>.

*Employment Protection Act (1975), Government of United Kingdom, [Online: web] Accessed: 2 Sep 2013 URL:
http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1975/71/pdfs/ukpga_19750071_en.pdf

Encyclopedia of Marxism, [Online: web], Accessed on: 19 January 2015, URL: <https://www.marxists.org/glossary/frame.htm>.

Elliot, Faith Robertson (1986), The Family Change or Continuity, Hong Kong: Macmillan Education.

Elshtain, Bethke Jean (1982), The Family in Political Thought, U.S.A.: University of Massachusetts Press.

*Equal Pay Act (1970), Government of United Kingdom, [Online: web] Accessed on: 10 Oct 2013 URL:
http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1970/41/pdfs/ukpga_19700041_en.pdf.

*Eurofound. (2015c), Promoting uptake of parental and paternity leave among fathers in the European Union, Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, Online [web], Accessed on: 11th November 2016, URL:
<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/customised-report/2015/working-conditions-industrial-relations/promoting-uptake-of-parental-and-paternity-leave-among-fathers-in-the-european-union>.

*European Commission (1996), Incorporating Equal Opportunities for Women and Men into all Community Policies and Activities, (COM (96)67final), European Commission, Brussels, [Online: web] URL:
http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/equ_opp/gms_en.html.

*European Commission (2005), Gender — sensitive and women friendly public Policies: a comparative analysis of their progress and impact, [Online: web]

Accessed: 6 Nov 2013 URL:

<http://cordis.europa.eu/documents/documentlibrary/90619051EN6.pdf>.

* European Commission (2006), Mid-Term Progress Report on the Roadmap for Equality between Women and Men (2006-2010), Employment, Social Welfare and Inclusion, [Online: web] URL:

<http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=422&langId=en>.

*European Commission (2009), EU looks Ahead to Future Gender Equality Challenges, (IP/09/372),

URL:<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/09/372&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>.

*European Commission (2010), Gender Equality Law Review, Employment, Social Welfare and Inclusion (2010), URL:

<http://ec.europa.eu/social/search.jsp?langId=en&menuType=basic>.

*European Commission (2014), EU Gender Equality Law, [Online: web], Accessed: 3 March 2014 URL: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/your_rights/eu_gender_equality_law_update2013_en.pdf.

*European Parliament. 2014. 'A new strategy for gender equality post 2015.'

European Parliament., Online[web], Accessed on: 12 October 2016, URL:

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2014/509984/IPOL_STU\(2014\)509984_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2014/509984/IPOL_STU(2014)509984_EN.pdf)

*European Parliament. 2015b. 'Maternity, paternity and parental leave: Data related to duration and compensation rates in the European Union.', Online [web], Accessed on 12 November 2016, URL:

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/509999/IPOL_STU\(2015\)509999_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/509999/IPOL_STU(2015)509999_EN.pdf).

*Eurostat. 2016, 'Gender pay gap statistics', European Commission, Online[web],

Accessed on: 12 October 2016, URL: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Gender_pay_gap_statistics

Families in Britain: an evident paper (2008), [Online: web] Accessed: 13 Oct 2013 URL:

<https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/Families%20Evidence%20Paper%20v0%2032%20181202.pdf>

Finch, Janet (1997), "Individuality and adaptability in English Kinship", Family and kinship in Europe, London: Pinter.

Finch, Naomi. (2003), "Family policy in the UK: Third report for the project 'Welfare Policy and Employment in the Context of Family Change'." Social policy Research Unit, University of York

- Fitzpatrick, Tony (2001), *Welfare Theory: An Introduction*, Nottingham University: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Flandrin, Jean-Louis (1979), *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Households and Sexuality*, Translated by Richard Southern, London: Cambridge University Press.
- Fletcher, R. (1966), *The Family and Marriage in Britain*, Harmonds worth: Penguin.
- Flora, Peter and Arnold Joseph Heidenheimer (1981), *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America*, London: Transaction Publishers
- Folbre, Nancy and Michael Bittman (2004), *Family Time: The social organization of care*, London: Routledge.
- Garrett, Eilidh et al. (2001), *Changing Family Size in England and Wales*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Georgas, James (2006), *Families Across Cultures*, [Online: Web] Accessed: 20 Sep 2013 URL: www.pubmedcentral.nih.gov/articlerender.fcgi?artid=2247450.
- George, Victor and Paul Wilding (1994), *Welfare and Ideology*, University of Michigan: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Geyer, Robert (1999), *The State of European Union Social Policy*, [Online web], Accessed on: 25th February 2015, URL: http://aei.pitt.edu/2274/1/002631_1.PDF.
- Gillies, Val (2003), *Family and Intimate Relationships: A Review of the Sociological Research*, [Online: web] Accessed: 19 Sep 2013 URL: <http://www.payonline.lsbu.ac.uk/ahs/downloads/families/familieswp2.pdf>.
- G. McGowan, Brenda (2012), *Historical Evolution of Child Welfare Services*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 15th August 2015, URL: http://www.nrcpfc.org/ifcpc/module_1/pre%20training%20reading.pdf.
- Goldthorpe, J. E. (1987), *Family Life in Western Societies, Great Britain*: Cambridge University Press.
- Golinowska et.al (2009), *Diversity and Commonality in European Social Policy*, [Online; web], Accessed on: 31 January 2015, URL: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/warschau/06223.pdf>.
- Goody, Jack (1983), *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*, Melborn: Cambridge University Press.
- Gornick, Janet C and Marcia K. Meyers (2004), *Welfare Regimes in Relation to Paid Work and Care*, [Online: web] Accessed: 2 Sep 2013, URL: http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/Gornick_Meyers_Giele_final_chapter1.pdf.

Gottlieb, Beatrice (1993), *The Family in the Western World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gough, Ian (2005), *European Welfare States: explanations and lessons for developing countries*, [Online; web], Accessed on: 18th February 2015, URL: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRANETSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/Gough.rev.pdf>.

*Government Equality Office (2012), Government of United Kingdom, Ministry for Women and Equalities, *The Equality Strategy Building a Fairer Britain: Progress Report*, [Online: web] Accessed on: 2 Dec 2013 URL: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/85307/progress-report.pdf.

*_____ (2008), Government of United Kingdom, Ministry for Women and Equalities, *Women's Changing Lives Priorities for the Ministers for Women*, [Online: web] Accessed on: 2 Dec 2013 URL: <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm74/7455/7455.pdf>.

*Government of United Kingdom (2006), *Childcare Act*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 27th April 2015, URL: www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2006/21/pdfs/ukpga_20060021_en.pdf.

Hakim, Catherine (2003), *Models of the Family in Modern Societies: Ideals and Realities*, London: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Hansen, Kirstine et.al (2006), *Childcare and Mother's Employment: Approaching the Millennium*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 18th May 2015, URL: <http://ner.sagepub.com/content/195/1/84.full.pdf+html>.

Hantrais, Linda and Jo Campling (2000), *Gendered Policies in Europe: Reconciling Employment and Family Life*, UK: St. Martin's Press.

_____ (2004), *Family Policy Matters: Responding to Family Change in Europe*, Bristol: The Policy Press.

Harper, Sarah (2004), *Families in Ageing Societies: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Harris, Bernard (2004), *The Origins of the British Welfare State: Society, State and Social Welfare in England and Wales 1800-1945*, Southampton: Palgrave Macmillan.

Harris, C.C. (1983), *The Family and Industrial Society*, London: G.Allen and Unwin.

Haas, L. & C.P. Hwang. 2009. 'Is Fatherhood Becoming More Visible at Work? Trends in Corporate Support for Fathers Taking Parental Leave in Sweden,' *Fathering* 7 (3): 303–321.

- Hemerijck, Anton (2002), The self-transformation of the European social model(s), [Online web], Accessed on: 18th February 2015, URL: http://www.fes.de/ipg/ONLINE4_2002/ARTHEMERIJCK.PDF.
- Hicks, Joe and Grahame Allen (1999), A Century of Change: Trends in UK statistics since 1900, [Online: web] Accessed: 14 Aug 2013 URL: <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons/lib/research/rp99/rp99-111.pdf>.
- Hill, Michael and Glenn Bramley (1986), *Analysing Social Policy*, Oxford: Blackwell Publication.
- Hilgeman, Christin. et al. (2004), Family Policy, Women's Employment, and Below-Replacement Fertility in Developed Countries: A Hierarchical Bayesian Approach, [Online: web] Accessed: 5 Nov 2013 URL: http://www.imbs.uci.edu/files/imbs/docs/technical/2004/mbs04_11.pdf.
- Hobson, B. and Lister, R. (2002) 'Citizenship' in B. Hobson, J.Lewis and B.Siim (eds) *Contested Concepts in Gender and Social Politics*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Hodson, David (2009), Every Family Matters-An in-depth review of family law in Britain, [Online: web] Accessed: 29 Sep 2013 URL: http://www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk/client/downloads/WEB%20CSJ%20Every%20Family%20Matters_smallres.pdf.
- Hook, J.L (2006), 'Care in Context: Men's Unpaid Work in 20 Countries, 1965–2003, *American Sociological Review*71: 639–660.
- *House of Commons, Business, Innovation and Skills Committee, Government of United Kingdom, First Report of Session 2013-14: Women in the Workplace,[Online: web] Accessed: 22 Oct 2013 URL: <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/business-innovation-and-skills/publications/>.
- *House of Commons, Children, School and Families Committee, Government of United Kingdom, Second Report of Session 2007-08, The Department for Children, Schools and Families and the Children's Plan, [Online: web], Accessed on: 28th July 2015, URL: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200708/cmselect/cmchilch/213/213.pdf>
- *House of Lords, Select Committee on Affordable Childcare, Government of United Kingdom, Report of Session 2014-15, Affordable Childcare [Online: web], Accessed on: 27th April 2015, URL: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201415/ldselect/ldaffchild/117/117.pdf>.
- Hryman, Nancy R and Judith Gonyea (1995), *Feminist perspectives on family care: policies for gender justice*, London: Sage Publications.

- Irwin, Sarah (2000), Patterns of Change in Family and Household Structure and Resourcing: An Overview, [Online: web] Accessed: 14 Aug 2013 URL: <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/cava/papers/wsp7b.pdf>.
- Jacques, Jeffrey. M. (1998), Changing Marital and Family Patterns: A Test of the Post-Modern Perspective. *Sociological Perspective*, 41(2): 381-413.
- Janssens, Angelique (1993), *Family and Social Change: The Households as a Process in an Industrialised Community*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jefferies, Julie (2005), The UK population: past, present and future, [Online: web] Accessed: 14 Aug 2013 URL: <http://www.mendeley.com/research/uk-population-past-present-future-1>.
- Jenkins, Sarah and Nataile Evans (2009), Families in Britain: The impact of changing family structure and what public think, [Online: web] Accessed: 13 Aug 2013 URL: <http://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/publications/1215/Families-in-Britain.aspx>.
- Jones Chris and Tony Novak (1999), *Poverty, Welfare and the Disciplinary State*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Johnson-Hanks, Jennifer. A et al. (2011), *Understanding Family Change and Variation: Toward a Theory of Conjectural Action*, London: Springer Science Business Media.
- Kaufmann, Franz-Xaver (2012), *European Foundations of The Welfare State*, New York: Bregbab Books.
- Korpi, Walter (2008), *Origins of Welfare States: Changing Class Structures, Social Democracy, and Christian Democracy*, [Online web] Accessed: 21 January 2015, URL: http://www2.sofi.su.se/RC19/pdfpapers/Korpi_RC19_2008.pdf.
- Kotsadam, A. & H. Finseraas (2011), 'The state intervenes in the battle of the sexes: Causal effects of paternity leave', *Social Science Research* 40 (6): 1611–1622.
- Kujjsten, C. Anton (1996), Changing Family Patterns in Europe: A Case of Divergence?, *European Journal of Population*, 12: 115-143.
- Laslett, Peter (1997), *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Laslett, Peter and Wall, Richard (1972), *Household and Family in Past Time*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lasok, Dominik (1967), Family Law Reform in England, [Online: web] Accessed: 26 April 2013 URL: <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/wmlr/vol18/iss4/6>.

- Lavalette, Michale and Alan Pratt (1997), *Social policy: a conceptual and theoretical introduction*, Liverpool: Sage Publication.
- Leibfried, Stephan (2002), 'Towards a European Welfare State?' in C. Pierson and Francis G. Castles, (2002), *The Welfare State Reader*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Legros, Bernadette Bawin (2001), "Families in Europe: A Private and Political Stake – Intimacy and Solidarity", *Current Sociology*, [Online: web] Accessed- 12 Oct 2013 URL: www.csi.sagepub.com/content/49/5.49.
- Leslie, Gerald. R. (1976), *Family in Social Context*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Letablier, Marie-Therese and Sophie Penneec (2003), "Changing Family Structure in Europe: New Challenges for Public Policy", *Cross-National Research Papers*, London: European Research Center.
- Levin, Irene and Jan Trost (1992), "Understanding the Concept of Family", *Family Relations*, 41(3).
- Lewis, Jane (2003), *Developing Early Years Childcare in England, 1997-2002: The Choices for (working) Mothers*, *Social Policy & Administration*, Vol.37, June 2003, pp 219-238.
- Lister, Ruth (2010), *Understanding Theories and Concepts in Social Policy*, U.S.A: The Policy Press
- Lloyd, Sally. A et al. (2007), "Feminist Theory, Methods, and Praxis in Family Studies", *Journal of Family Issues*, [Online: web] Accessed: 23 Jan 2013 URL: <http://jfi.sagepub.com>.
- Lovell, Stephen (2007), *Generations in Twentieth Century Europe*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lupton, Ruth et.al (2015), *The Coalition's Social Policy Record: Policy, Spending and outcomes*, [Online:web], Accessed on: 14th April 2015, URL: http://www.nuffieldfoundation.org/sites/default/files/files/RR04_SUMMARY.pdf.
- Lutz, Wilfgang. et al. (2006), *The New Generations of Europe: Demography and Families in the Enlarged European Union*, London: Earthscan Publication.
- Mandel, Hadas and Moshe Semyonov (2006), *A Welfare State Paradox: State Interventions and Women's employment opportunity*, [Online web], Accessed on: 4th September 2013, URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/499912> . .
- Mckie, Linda (2005), *Families, violence and social change*, New York: Open University Press.

- McIntyre, J. (1966). "The Structural-Functional Approach to Family Study." *In Emerging Conceptual Frameworks in Family Analysis*, ed. F. I. Nye, New York: Macmillan.
- McRae, Susan (1999), *Changing Britain: Families and Households in the 1990s*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miani, C. & S. Hoorens (2014), 'Single parents and employment in Europe' European Commission, Online[web], Accessed on: 12 October 2016, URL: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/documents/140502_gender_equality_workforce_ssr3_en.pdf
- Morgan, D.H. J. 1975: *Social Theory and The Family*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 1985: *The Family, Politics and Social Theory*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 1996: *Family Connections: An Introduction to Family Studies*. Oxford: Polity.
- Moss, P. & F. Deven, 2015, 'Leave policies in challenging times: Reviewing the decade 2004–2014.' *Community, Work & Family* 18 (2): 137–144, Online[web], Accessed on: 12 October 2016, URL: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13668803.2015.1021094>
- Murdock, G. P. (1949) *Social Structure*. New York: Macmillan.
- Murphy, Michael (2000), *The Evolution of Cohabitation in Britain, 1960-95*, *Population Studies*, 54(1): 43-56.
- Murphy, Michael (2006), *Measuring and Analysing Household and Families in Contemporary Societies*, [Online: web] Accessed: 19 Sep 2013 URL: http://www.cas.uio.no/Publications/Seminar/Complexity_Murphy.pdf.
- Nepomnyaschy, L. & J. Waldfogel (2007), 'Paternity Leave and Fathers' Involvement With Their Young Children', *Community, Work & Family* 10 (4): 427–453.
- Oakley, A. (1974a), *Housewife*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- (1974b), *The Sociology of Housework*. Oxford: Martin Robertson.
- (1979), *Becoming a Mother*. Oxford: Martin Robertson.
- (1982), *Subject Women*. London: Fontana.
- Oakley, R. (1982), *Cypriot Families* in R.N. Rapoport, M. Fogarty, and Rapoport (eds) *Families in Britain*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

O'Brien, Marese (2010), *The Beveridge Report: its impact on women and migrants*, [Online: web] Accessed: 19 Sep 2013 URL: <http://www3.ul.ie/sociology/socheolas/vol2/2/Marese%20O%20Brien.pdf>.

O'Connor, Julia S. et al. (1999), *States, Markets, Families Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

*Office for the National Statistics (2005), Government of United Kingdom, *Focus on Families*, [Online: web] Accessed 18 Aug 2013 URL: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/family-demography/focus-onfamilies/2007/index.html>.

*_____ (2011), Government of United Kingdom, *Families and Households in the UK, 2001 to 2010*, [Online: web] Accessed 9 Aug 2013 URL: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/family-demography/families-and-households/2001-to-2010/index.html>.

*_____ (2013), Government of United Kingdom, *Household Satellite Accounts, Valuing Informal Childcare in the UK*, [Online: web] Accessed 23 Sep 2013 URL: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171766_300224.pdf.

*_____ (2013), Government of United Kingdom, *Labour Market Statistics*, [Online: web] Accessed 2 Jan 2014 URL: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171778_338181.pdf.

*_____ (2013), Government of United Kingdom, *Women in the labour market*, [Online: web] Accessed 23 Nov 2013 URL: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_328352.pdf.

Oinonen, Erikka (2008), *Families in Converging Europe: A Comparison of Forms Structures and Ideals*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Orloff, Ann Shola (1996), *Gender in the liberal welfare states: Australia, Canada, The United Kingdom and The United States*, [Online: web] Accessed: 13th Oct 2013 URL: http://www.march.es/ceacs/publicaciones/working/archivos/1996_80.pdf.

Ortiz, Isabel (2007), *Social Policy*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 23rd January 2015, URL: http://esa.un.org/techcoop/documents/pn_socialpolicynote.pdf.

Owen, Sue (2007), *Child-minding in Britain, Young Children*, v62 n6 p28-30 Nov 2007.

Parsons, T. and Bales, R. (1956), *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Pascal, Chris et al (2013), *A Comparison of International Childcare Systems*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 27th April 2015, URL: <http://www.crec.co.uk/DFE-RR269.pdf>.

- Paull, Gillian (2014), Can Government Intervention in Childcare be Justified? [Online: web], Accessed on: 27th April 2015, URL: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/ecaf.12062/pdf>.
- Penn, Helen and Vicky Randall (2005), Childcare Policy and Local Partnerships under Labour, [Online: web], Accessed on: 26th May 2015, URL: journals.cambridge.org/article_S004727940400827X.
- Penn, Roger (2000), British Population and Society in 2025: Some Conjectures, *Sociology*, 34(1): 5-18.
- Plantenga, Janneke and Chantal Remery (2009), The provision of childcare services, [Online: web], Accessed on: 17th May 2015, URL: ec.europa.eu/justice/gender.../130910_egge_out_of_school_en.pdf.
- Powell, Jason L (2004), Aging, Family Policy, and Narrative: A British Perspective, *Journal of Societal and Social policy*, 3/3: 1-15.
- Prynn, Barbara (2002), The World of the Child Care Officer, [Online: web], Accessed on: 17th May 2015, URL: <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/.../Prynn-The-World-of-a-Child-Care-Officer.pdf>.
- Pugh, Gillian (2009), The Policy Agenda for Early Childhood Services, [Online: web], Accessed on: 26th May 2015, URL: http://www.sagepub.in/upm-data/29049_02_Pugh_&_Duffy_Ch_01.pdf.
- Radulova, Elissaveta (2009), The construction of EU's childcare policy through the open method of coordination, *European Integration online Papers (EIoP)*, Special Issue 1, Vol. 13, Art. 13.
- Ratcliffe, Peter (2004), *Race Ethnicity And Difference: Imagining The Inclusive Society*, England: Open University Press.
- Reher, Seven David (1998), Family Ties in Western Europe: Persistent Contrasts, [Online: web] Accessed 22 Feb.2011 URL: www.jstor.org/stable/2807972.
- Richards, Martin et al. (2004), *The Blackwell Companion to the Sociology of Families*, New York: Blackwell Publications Ltd.
- Richard, Titmuss (1963), *Essays on the Welfare State*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Ruggles, Steven (2009), "Reconsidering the Northwest European Family System", *Population and Development Review*, 35(2): 249-274.
- Sainsbury, Diane (1996), *Gender, Equality and Welfare States*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Schlesinger, Benjamin (1977), *One Parent Families in Great Britain*, *The Family Coordinator*, 26(2), [Online: web] Accessed 14 Aug 2013 URL: www.jstor.org/stable/583361.
- Schomann, Isabelle (2010), *The Lisbon Treaty: a more social Europe at last?*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 7th March 2015, URL: <http://www.etui.org/Publications2/Policy-Briefs/European-Economic-Employment-and-Social-Policy/The-Lisbon-Treaty-a-more-social-Europe-at-last>.
- Scott, Jacqueline (2006), *Family and Gender Roles: How Attitudes Are Changing*, [Online: web] Accessed: 19 Sep 2013 URL: <http://www.genet.ac.uk/workpapers/GeNet2006p21.pdf>.
- *Sex Discrimination Act (1975), Government of United Kingdom, [Online: web] Accessed: 3 Oct 2013 URL: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1975/65/pdfs/ukpga_19750065_en.pdf.
- Shorter, E. (1975), *The Making of Modern Family*, New York: Basic Books.
- Skinner, Christine (2006), *How can childcare help to end child poverty*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 26th May 2015, URL: <https://www.jrf.org.uk/file/37130/download?token=336zgCvH>.
- Social Policy Justice Group (2006), *"Fractured Families"*, *The State of the Nation Report*, [Online Web] Accessed 10 June 2013 URL: http://www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk/client/downloads/WEB%20CSJ%20Every%20Family%20Matters_smallres.pdf.
- Spicker, Paul (2013), *Reclaiming individualism*, UK: The Policy Press.
- Stacey, J. (1990), *Brave New Families: Stories of Domestic Upheaval in Late Twentieth Century America*, New York: Basic Books.
- 1993: 'Good riddance to "the family": a response to David Popenoe', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 55, 3, 545–7.
- Stevenson, Betsey and Justin Wolfers (2007), *Marriage and Divorce: Changes and their Driving Forces*, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 21(2): 27-52.
- Stewart, Kitty (2013), *Labour's Record on the Under Fives: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 1997-2010*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 7th July 2015, URL: sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/spcc/wp04.pdf.
- and Polina Obolenskaya (2015), *The Coalition's Record on the Under Fives: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 2010-2015*, [Online: web], Accessed on: 5th August 2015, URL: sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/spcc/WP12.pdf.

- Stibbs, M. Alan (1970), *Family life: In Britain Today*, [Online: web] Accessed- 23 Sep 2013 URL: http://www.churchsociety.org/churchman/documents/Cman_084_4_StibbsFamLife.pdf.
- Stone, M.Olive (1967), "Recent Development in Family Law in British Common Law Jurisdictions", *Columbia Law Review*, 67(7), [Online: web] Accessed- 01 Oct 2013 URL: www.jstor.org/stable/1121069.
- Summerfield, Penelope (1983), *Women, Work and Welfare: A study of Child Care and Shopping in Britain in the Second World War*, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 17, No.2, pp.249-269.
- Taylor and Goody (2004), *New Risks and Social Changes*, [Online: web] Accessed- 9 April 2013 URL: <http://fds.oup.com/www.oup.co.uk/pdf/0-19-926727-8.pdf>.
- Taylor, Bryan.C (2004), *Postmodern Theory*, [Online: web] Accessed- 24 Jan 2013 URL: <http://comm.colorado.edu/~taylorbc/Postmodern%20Theory.pdf>.
- Thane, Pat (2000), *Histories of the Welfare State*, [Online: web] Accessed- 26 Sep 2013 URL: <https://www.google.co.in/#q=histories+of+the+welfare+state+pat+thane+university+of+london>.
- The Changing Face of the Family (2006), [Online: web] Accessed- 9 April 2013 URL: http://ec.europa.eu/research/rtdinfo/pdf/rtd49_en.pdf.
- Therborn, Goran (2004), *Between Sex and Power: Family in the World, 1900-2000*, London: Routledge.
- Thompson, L. and Walker, A.J. (1995): 'The place of feminism in Family Studies'. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 57, 4, 847-65.
- Thomson, Emil (2002), *Do Ends Justify Means? Feminist Economics Perspectives on the Business Case for Gender Equality in the UK Labour Market*, [Online: web] Accessed: 5 Oct 2013 URL: http://www.ces.uc.pt/ecadernos/media/ecadernos5/6%20-%20E_%20Thomson%2002_12.pdf.
- Trask, Bahira Sherif (2010), *Globalization and Families: Accelerated Systemic Social Change*, New York: Springer Science Business Media, LLC.
- Uhlendorff, Uwe.et al. (2011), "Wellbeing of Families in Future Europe- Challenges for Research and Policy", *Families in Europe Volume 1*, [Online: web] Accessed: 6 Feb 2012 URL: <http://www.familyplatform.eu/en/home/publications/families-in-europe-vol-1-wellbeing-of-families-in-future-europe>.

Viazzo, Pier.Paolo (2010), Family, Kinship and Welfare Provision in Europe, Past and Present: Commonalities and Divergences, Continuity and Change, 25(1): 137-159.

Waldegrave, Harriet (2013), Quality Childcare: Improving early years childcare, [Online: web], Accessed on: 27th April 2015, URL:
www.policyexchange.org.uk/images/.../quality%20childcare.pdf.

Waldfoegel, Jane and Alison Garnham (2008), Eradicating child poverty: the role of key policy areas, [Online: web], Accessed on: 17th May 2015, URL:
https://www2.learningandwork.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/JRF_can_work_eradicate_child_poverty.pdf.

Wall, Richard (1998), Characteristics of European Family and Household System, Historical Social Research, 23(1/2): 44-66.

Weber .C and Peter, Abrahamson (2004), Individualisation of Family Life and Family Discourses, [Online: web] Accessed- 7 April 2013 URL:
<http://www.spsw.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/static/Espanet/espanetconference/papers/ppr.10C.PA.pdf>

Weber, Max (1968), Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology, California: University of California Press.

*Welfare Reform Act (2009), Government of United Kingdom, [Online: web] Accessed: 15 Aug 2013 URL:
http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2009/24/pdfs/ukpga_20090024_en.pdf.

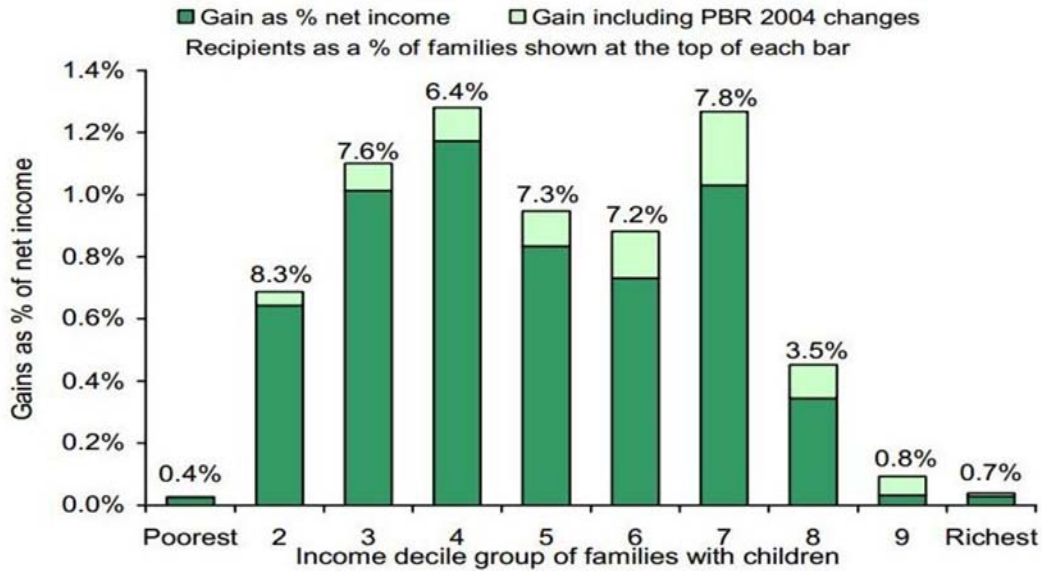
Williams, Fiona (2004), Rethinking Families, London: CalousteGulbenkian Foundation.

Wilson, Adrian (1985), Family, London: Tavistok Publications Ltd.

Annexure I
Figures

Figure 1

The distributional Impact of the Childcare Tax Credit

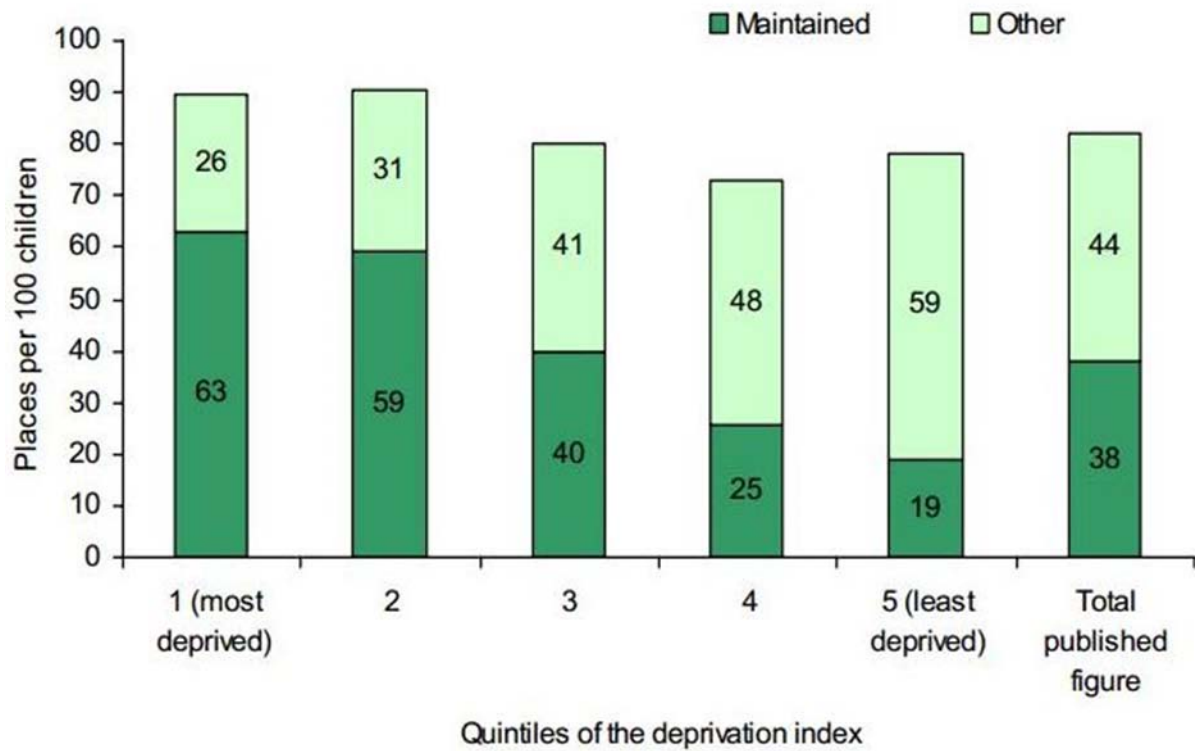


Notes: Deciles are of families with children only; there are around 700,000 families with children in each decile. Results assume full take-up of tax credits, but have been calibrated so that the estimated number of recipients and total spending match administrative data shown in Figure 9.1 (see Box 9.4). The graph does not show impact of childcare disregards in means-tested benefits, which will disproportionately benefit low-income families. Source: Authors' calculations using the IFS tax and benefit microsimulation model, TAXBEN, run on data from the Family Resources Survey 2002–03 updated to current prices.

Source: Mike Brewer et.al (January 2005), Reforms to childcare policy, Green Budget, URL: <http://www.ifs.org.uk/budgets/gb2005/05chap9.pdf>

Figure 2

Take-up of free nursery places by 3-year-olds

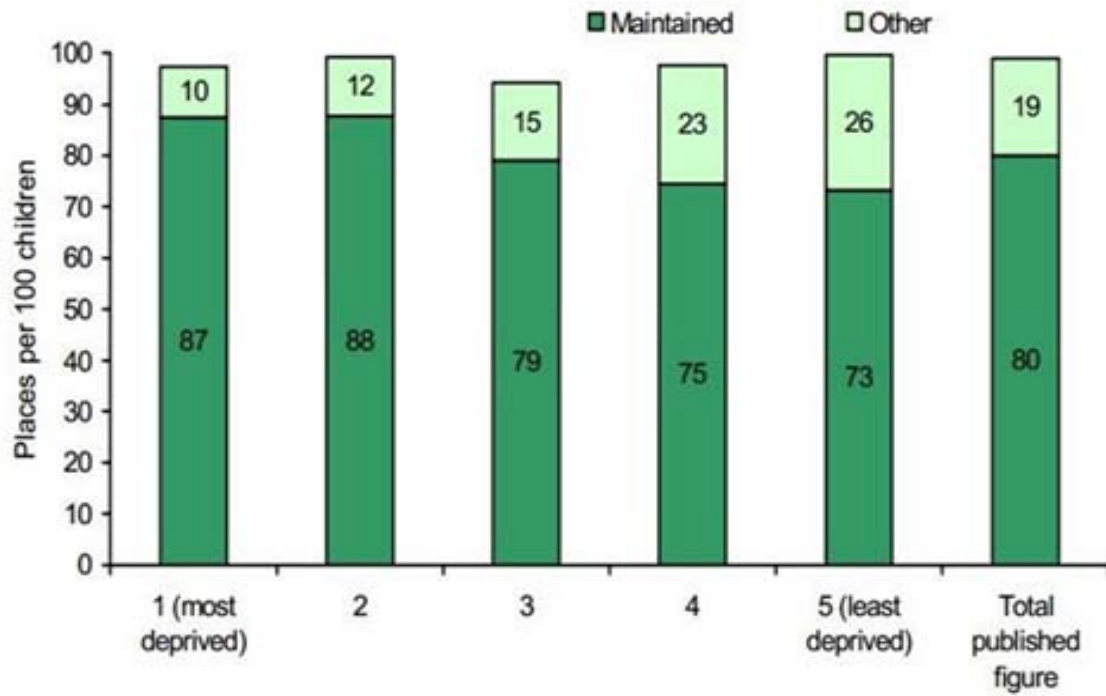


Note: Data are for January 2004.

Source: Mike Brewer et.al (January 2005), Reforms to childcare policy, Green Budget, URL: <http://www.ifs.org.uk/budgets/gb2005/05chap9.pdf>.

Figure 3

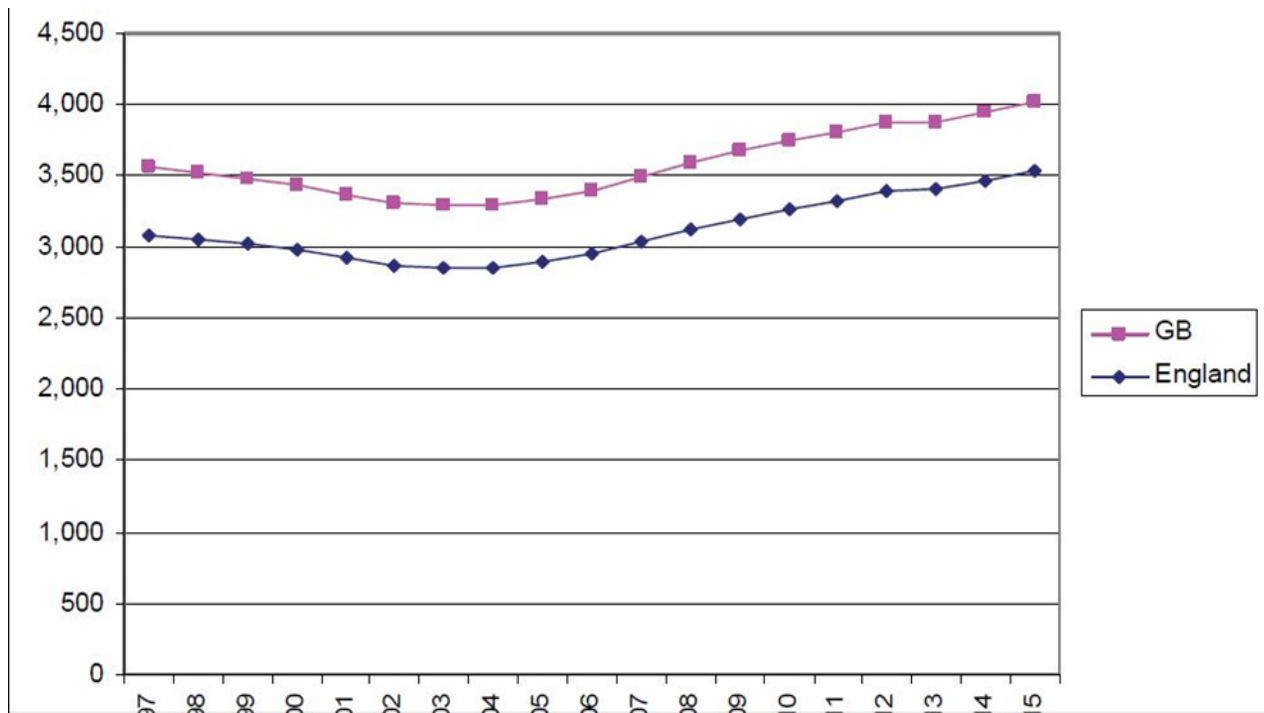
Take-up of free nursery places by 4-year-olds



Source: Mike Brewer et.al (January 2005), Reforms to childcare policy, Green Budget, URL: <http://www.ifs.org.uk/budgets/gb2005/05chap9.pdf>.

Figure 4

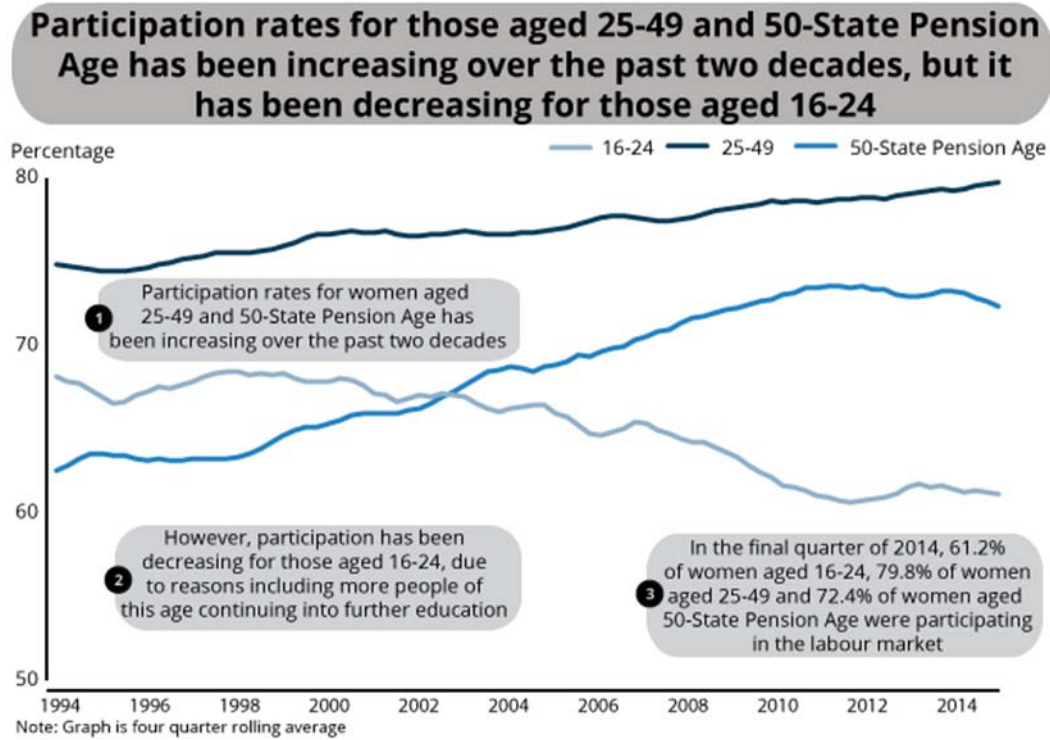
The Population aged 0-4 in England and Great Britain (thousands)



Source: the Coalition's Record on the Under Fives: Policy Spending and Outcomes 2010-2015, Kittly Stewart and PolinaObolenskaya, 2015: 25.

Figure 5

Participation rates in the UK – 2014,



Source: Participation rates in the UK – 2014, Office of the National Statistic, URL: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/compendium/participationratesintheuklabourmarket/2015-03-19/participationratesintheuk20142women>.

Annexure II
News Clippings

Item 1



German Chancellor Angela Merkel, one of the few female heads of state *Getty Images*

Women could achieve equal representation in parliaments across the world in less than 20 years, a new study has predicted.

The Women in Politics Maps 2014 released by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and UN Women shows that women could achieve equality if the current rate of progress is maintained.

However, the prospect of reaching the target is hindered as women have hit a glass ceiling in becoming president or prime minister.

The map shows that the number of women parliamentarians across the world is at a record 21.8 per cent, following a 1.5 per cent increase over the last year.

The Americas, Europe and Africa are outperform the Arab, Asia

Continued on next page

IPU Secretary-General Anders Johnsson said 10 years ago he was predicting that even his children would never see gender parity in parliaments because progress was so slow.

But if the 1.5 percent rate can be sustained “we would reach gender equality, gender parity, in parliaments globally less than 20 years from now,” he said.



Argentine President Cristina Fernandez addresses the UN General Assembly.

At the beginning of 2014 year there were 36 countries with 30 per cent or more women ministers, a jump from 26 in 2012.

With 14 women in government posts, Nicaragua heads the global table of women in executive government, followed by Sweden, Finland, France, Cabo Verde and Norway.

The percentage of women MPs is also at a global record high of 21.8 per cent, with numbers growing every year.

However, in contrast to positive figures is the slight decline in women Heads of State or Heads of Government and women

Continue on next page

Current female heads of state include, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Prime Minister Erna Solberg of Norway, and President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of Liberia.

UN Women Deputy Executive Director John Hendra, said:
“Every election is a critical opportunity to make progress towards the increased participation of women as voters and as candidates.”

“This map shows the value of having data, of being able to measure and track women’s political participation over time. It’s a great tool for benchmarking progress and for ensuring accountability,” he said.

The findings come after International Women’s Day on 8 March, the annual UN-recognised day which aims to promote and celebrate gender equality across the world.

Source: The Independent, march 11th 2014, URL:

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/women-in-politics-map-2014-shows-gender-equality-in-parliaments-could-be-achieved-in-less-than-20-9185399.html>.

Item 2

David Cameron: child benefit safe with me for five years

Election 2015: Prime Minister urges voters to stick with him



David Cameron on BBC Breakfast on Saturday morning Photo: BBC

By Rosa Prince, Online Political Editor

9:17AM BST 02 May 2015

David Cameron has said that child benefit would be safe from cuts for the full five years of the next Parliament if he is elected Prime Minister again on Thursday.

Following last week's claim by the Liberal Democrats that the Conservatives, their former Coalition partners, had put forward secret proposals to slash child benefit, Mr Cameron insisted the payments would "stay as it is" until 2020.

"We have been very clear child benefit is staying," he said. "We're keeping it, not cutting it. I believe strongly in child benefit. With me child benefit stays as it is."

Asked if his promise applied to the whole of the Parliament, he said it did. "I have been very clear on child benefit. I couldn't be clearer," he insisted.

Continued on next page

His words leave open the prospect that child benefit will continue to be frozen for some years to come.

Speaking on *BBC Breakfast*, Mr Cameron told voters considering supporting the Liberal Democrats or Ukip on polling day that they should opt instead for the Conservatives if they wanted to keep Ed Miliband out of Number 10.

“Only one of two people can walk back in through that door of Number 10 and be the Prime Minister on Friday.

“If you want me to carry on leading the country .. make sure you vote for me.”

Mr Cameron also insisted that reference during a speech in Leeds to a “career-defining election,” widely mocked by his rivals as a self-serving statement, had been deliberate.



He said he was addressing the young people in the audience of the Asda supermarket where he was speaking, and meant to imply that the election would have a direct impact on the course of their careers.

Mr Cameron will stay in the North of England, where he will deliver a speech in which he will suggest that the state pension is on course to rise to £7,000 a year under the Conservatives.

Continue on next page

He will say: "I have a simple view that if you have done the right thing – worked, saved and paid your taxes - you should be rewarded, not punished.

"That is why I am determined to make Britain the best country in which to grow old – security and freedom when it comes to your pensions; guaranteed, personal access to your GP; and the ability to pass on the family home to your children."



Responding to Mr Cameron's child benefit promise, Rachel Reeves, the shadow work and pensions secretary, said: "David Cameron cannot say the words 'I won't

cut tax credits and child benefit again' because that is exactly what he is planning. The Tories cannot achieve their £12 billion of cuts to social security without doing so and hitting family budgets hard.

"Child benefit and tax credits are now on the ballot paper next week. Labour will protect them and families across the country now know the Tories will cut them again."

Source: The Telegraph, 2nd May 2015, URL: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/journalists/rosa-prince/11578781/David-Cameron-child-benefit-safe-with-me-for-five-years.html>.

Item 3

David Cameron pledges 600,000 childcare to 'make work pay'

David Cameron says that Tory plans to double the number of hours of free childcare for working families will 'give people a chance'



The Tory manifesto has promised to save working families £5,000 a year Photo: ALAMY Photo: ALAMY

By Steven Swinford, Deputy Political Editor

12:01AM BST 22 Apr 2015

More than 600,000 free childcare places will be created under a future Conservative government to ensure that "work pays", David Cameron will say .

The Conservatives have committed to doubling the number of hours of free childcare for working families with three to four year-olds from 15 hours to 30 hours a week. The policy will also apply to poorer families for two-year-olds.

In a speech in Bedfordshire on Wednesday, Mr Cameron will highlight the "shocking situation" that the Coalition inherited from Labour where "work didn't pay".

- With a smart promise of free childcare, the Tories have finally stopped kowtowing to the stay-at-home mothers brigade

- **David Cameron: Working parents to save £5,000 a year under Tory childcare pledge**

He will say that couples were spending as much on childcare as they earned, making that it was easier to remain on benefits.

Continue on next page

He will say: "True compassion isn't giving people a benefits cheque - it's giving them a chance.

"I want to set out the shocking situation we inherited - where, in Labour's Britain, some of the poorest people faced some of the highest marginal rates of taxation. Where couples were spending as much on childcare as one of them took home in earnings.

"Where, quite simply, work didn't pay. And I want to set out how we, the Conservative Party, have been using all the tools at our disposal - the tax and benefit system; childcare and the Minimum Wage, to turn that around.

"This goes to the heart of the country we are trying to build: One based on the principle of something for something, not something for nothing - where those who put in, get out, where hard work is rewarded - where we make work pay."



He will say that he did not come into politics to become a "high powered accountant", and he does not only want the "lines to go in the right direction".

Continue on next page

"I want lives to go in the right direction," he will say. "I believe passionately in reducing poverty. And the best route out of poverty is this: work.

"We've proved that. Since we came to power - since we've got more people working than in our history - there are 600,000 fewer people and 300,000 fewer children in relative poverty.

"Because Conservatives stand for a simple truth: that true compassion isn't giving people a benefits cheque - it's giving them a chance."



Party policies

Extension of the right to buy scheme for housing association tenants in England

No income tax for people who work 30 hours per week on minimum wage

Double free childcare allowance for three and four-year-olds to 30 hours per week

An extra £8 billion per year for the NHS by 2020

Increase inheritance tax threshold on family homes to £1 million by 2017

The Conservatives put a pledge to help working families at the heart of their manifesto, saying that the move will save parents £5,000 a year.

It trumps Labour's pledge to give working parents 25 hours of free childcare a week.

The Conservatives' new childcare offer will start in 2017. It will be available to all families where all parents work - even those who work part time.

It will be in addition to existing entitlements, including tax free childcare and universal credit. The Conservative manifesto also contained an appeal to working-class voters as he announced plans to revive Margaret Thatcher's right to buy policy to enable 1.3 million families in housing association properties to own their own home.

The Conservatives also unveiled plans to ensure that no worker on minimum wage is ever subject to income tax. Under a Tory government, annual increases in the income tax free personal allowance, which the Conservatives will increase to £12,500, will be permanently linked to increases in the minimum wage instead of inflation.

It means that if the minimum wage increases faster than expected, workers will always be exempt from paying income tax.

Source: The Telegraph, 22nd April 2015, URL: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/11553618/David-Cameron-pledges-600000-Child-Care-to-make-work-pay.html>

- Employment rate for women without children stands at 67.5 per cent
- First time mothers have been more likely to work than childless women
- Comes amid debate over how much mothers should be urged to work
- Critics say tax system weighted against those who want to be full-time mothers

By STEVE DOUGHTY SOCIAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT FOR THE DAILY MAIL
PUBLISHED: 01:16 BST, 11 December 2014 | UPDATED: 09:54 BST, 11 December 2014

16
shares

1
View comment

Mothers raising children are more likely to have jobs than women without young families, according to a report.

It found that employment rates among women with childcare responsibilities now stand at 69.6 per cent – compared to 67.5 per cent for women without.

The watershed moment marks the first time that mothers are more likely to be working than women who aren't parents or whose families have grown up.



For the first time, mothers raising children are more likely to have jobs than women without young families, according to a report

Employment rates among mothers have shot up particularly fast over the past two years, and especially among mothers with children under seven.

It comes amid continuing political tension over how much mothers should be encouraged back to work – as critics say the tax system is weighted against women who wish to be full-time parents.

Prominent Tories – including former Chancellor Lord Lawson – have previously called for fully transferable tax allowances for married people, to assist couples where one partner works while the other raises their children.

Item 4

Continue on next page

education or otherwise removed from the labour market.'

Women with young children tend to be in the 'prime working age' band of 25 to 49, the ONS says

The research also revealed that the proportion of mothers who work rises greatly as their children get older.

One in three women say they have a job when their baby is born, the report said, but this falls to one in five when the child is a year old.

It suggested that this is likely to be a result of mothers quitting their jobs after taking maternity leave.

However rates of employment among working mothers then go up to 60 per cent by the time the child is three, and 74 per cent by the time children reach the age of seven.

Family researcher Patricia Morgan said the findings reflect the financial pressure faced by parents. 'There is a lack of support for families and as a result they cannot rely on one earner,' she said.

'There is a prejudice in the tax and benefit system against mutual support and mutual reliance. For most two-parent families, both parents have to work to pay the mortgage.'

She added that many working mothers will come from middle-class couples, 'who get very little sympathy from the state'.

The Office for National Statistics produced the latest report by analysing figures from the UK Labour Force Survey, and found that employment among mothers first matched that of women without children in 2005.

Rates for both working mothers and those with no young children then stayed roughly the same, at 68 per cent, for several years.

However since 2010 the proportion of working mothers has begun to overtake that of women without childcare responsibilities.

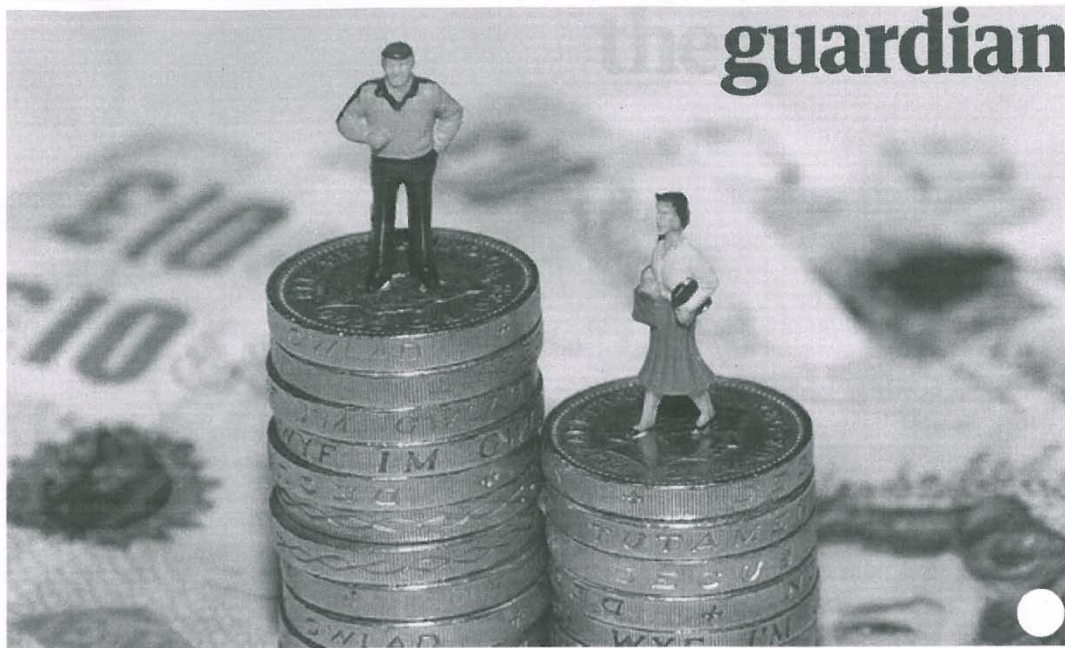
One explanation put forward by the ONS is that women with young children also tend to be in the 'prime working age' band of 25 to 49. 'In contrast', they said, 'women without dependent children were more likely to be aged either 50 to 64 or 16 to 24.'

They added that being outside the prime working age raised the likelihood of women 'being retired, in full-time



file:///C:/Users/Sangya%20Laptop/Desktop/Phd%20final%20draft/Employment%20rate%20for%20women%20w

Item 5



David Cameron to force companies to disclose gender pay gaps

Prime minister to bring forward rules to make firms with more than 250 workers reveal whether they pay men more than women

Rowena Mason and Jill Treanor

Tuesday 14 July 2015 00.01 BST

Large companies will finally be forced to disclose whether they are paying men more than women from next year, David Cameron will say on Tuesday.

In a move that has long been resisted by businesses and parts of the Conservative party, the prime minister will bring forward rules by the first half of next year to make companies with more than 250 workers disclose the pay gap in their workplaces.

Cameron will announce an ambition to end the gender pay gap within a generation. It currently stands at 19.1% for full- and part-time workers in the UK, meaning a woman on average earns around 80p for every £1 earned by a man.

The difference represents the sixth-highest pay gap in the EU, behind countries including Italy and Poland. A consultation will be launched on exactly what information should be published, as well as where and how often.

Continue on next page

Cameron will say: "Today I'm announcing a really big move: we will make every single company with 250 employees or more publish the gap between average female earnings and average male earnings.

"That will cast sunlight on the discrepancies and create the pressure we need for change, driving women's wages up."

The prime minister's decision to act on the gender pay gap appears to be another example of the Conservatives taking one of Labour's policy ideas, seizing more of the centre ground after promising a "national living wage" and cracking down on the non-dom tax status.

It was acting Labour leader Harriet Harman who first included powers for the government to force companies to reveal their gender pay gap in the Equalities Act of 2010 but the coalition failed to enact the provisions in that law, favouring a voluntary approach.

After only five companies published the gender pay gap of their own accord – Tesco, Friends Life, PwC, AstraZeneca and Genesis – the Liberal Democrats argued for the introduction of mandatory reporting, with former deputy prime minister Nick Clegg securing an amendment in March that would force ministers to make regulations on the subject within the next 12 months. The Conservatives included a promise in their manifesto to stick with the policy in relation to companies with more than 250 workers.

The CBI, the industry group representing major businesses, said it would rather continue with the voluntary approach and argued the data "could be misleading". However, it pledged to work with the government to try to ensure flexibility in how the new rules are applied to each company. Among the Tory critics of the plan, seven male Conservative MPs voted against the coalition's enabling legislation in March, including John Whittingdale, who is now Cameron's culture secretary.

It is understood that the government is keen to tackle some of the root causes of the gender pay gap because any company that pays a woman less for equal work would already be acting illegally.

Nicky Morgan, the education secretary and equalities minister, spoke earlier this month about one of the most substantial causes behind the pay gap being the fact that women are still far less likely to work in higher paid industries.

She said on Monday: "We are committing to eliminating the gender pay gap in a generation. This is not just the right thing to do, it makes good business sense: supporting women to fulfil their potential could increase the size of our economy by 35%. To achieve gender equality, we need to continue to inspire young women and girls so that they can compete with the best in the world for the top jobs – and see that their hard work will pay off."

The prime minister claimed the new "national living wage" would benefit more women than men, but Labour critics argue the cuts to tax credits will hurt women more.

An analysis by the House of Commons library for Labour leadership candidate Yvette Cooper suggested that 70% of the money being taken from households – £24bn out of £34bn over five years – will come from women.

Overall, Labour welcomed the arrival of mandatory pay gap reporting but it called for a new annual pay audit to examine the data produced by the companies.

Gloria De Piero, the shadow equalities minister, said it was "good news that the government have finally embraced pay transparency after shelving the Labour legislation for five years".

Continue on next page

But she added: “For pay transparency to make a real difference, we need to have an annual equal pay check which measures progress and recommends what action needs to be taken – a move the government voted against earlier this month.”

Cameron confirmed the change at the same time as new figures show the FTSE 100 has met the target of ensuring a quarter of all board members across the index are women.

The government has now asked the target’s original architect, Lord Mervyn Davies, to continue advising how more improvement can be made.

Davies said hitting the target was a “a milestone event in the history of corporate Britain, one which, frankly, many found difficult to imagine only four short years ago”.

He said: “We have truly seen a revolution taking place in the boardrooms of Britain’s biggest companies, with a groundswell of support from all quarters, as more and more talented women take their rightful seat at the top table.”

The target has been reached for the FTSE 100 by taking the total number of boardroom positions across the biggest companies on the stock market as some companies have fewer than 25% women directors on their boards.

Denise Wilson, chief executive of the Davies review, said: “By 2020, the next generation of women won’t need to worry, providing we keep the same business focus and momentum up over the next five years”.

There are no longer any all-male boards in the FTSE 100. But in the next rung down, the FTSE 250, there are still 16 where only men sit around the boardroom table, she said.

The Adam Smith Institute, the free market right-leaning thinktank, opposed the move, saying it was a “sad state of affairs when even the prime minister is promoting the gender pay gap myth”.

Kate Andrews, its head of communications, said: “According to the ONS, women between the ages of 22–39 working more than 30 hours a week earn, on average, more than their male counterparts.

“Forcing businesses with more than 250 employees to publish their ‘pay gaps’ will only promote more myths and confusion. There is no such thing as an ‘average salary’; education, previous experiences, negotiating tactics, and unique abilities all contribute to one’s salary, none of which can be known by comparing John and Jane’s annual take-home pay on a spreadsheet.

“Furthermore, men and women often choose to make different career decisions – usually based on flexibility and rigour – so they can embrace other, equally meaningful parts of their life; this, naturally, can be reflected in their pay.”

Source :The Guardian, 14th July 2015, URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/jul/14/david-cameron-to-force-companies-to-disclose-gender-pay-gaps>.

Item 6



The gender pay gap won't just go away, but new regulations are a start

Lack of pay transparency and expensive tribunal claims perpetuate the imbalance in male and female salaries; we need a step change in employers' assumptions

Sam Smethers

Friday 24 June 2016 09.00 BST

Some issues are totemic and symbolise the challenges that remain in terms of achieving gender equality. The gender pay gap is one of them.

The average British woman earns around 80p for every £1 earned by a man. This discrepancy exists for several reasons: because women are concentrated in low-paid jobs and take on the lion's share of unpaid work – particularly the care of children. But it is also because of pay discrimination, women being paid less than their male counterparts for the same work or work of equal value.

We don't always hear this part of the story, but some recent cases have been reminders that it still exists. First, the BBC agreed to pay some of its female staff more, under threat of an equal-pay challenge. Essex University also decided to pay its female academics more to redress the balance in pay. Brainlabs gave every woman in the organisation a pay rise – the "pay gap tax". There is a pattern here. Once employers compared their male and female salaries, they found an imbalance that they couldn't explain away.

Continue of next page

05/05/2017

The gender pay gap won't just go away, but new regulations are a start | Society | The Guardian

Research shows that this also happens at graduate entry level. Male graduates continue to earn more (£24–£27k) than female graduates (£21–£24k), even when compared with women who did the same subject, went to a similar university and went into the same industry.

The fact that some organisations have addressed this discrimination is a step in the right direction. But how many equal-pay claims do we really see? Very few. The lack of pay transparency in the workplace means it's almost impossible to make pay comparisons with co-workers. Without that, you have no case. Employment tribunal fees are prohibitively expensive, the process can be extremely stressful and can take years to resolve. Moreover, claims that are brought are almost always settled before they get to tribunal, meaning the general public is less likely to hear about them.

New gender pay gap reporting regulations, due in October, will mean that employers with 250 staff or more (there are around 8,000 of them in the UK) will have to publish their gender pay gap figures for both basic salary and bonus payments. They will also be required to identify the number of male and female employees according to quartile pay bands throughout their organisations. This won't give individuals the transparency they need to bring a claim, but it will force employers to think systematically about the gender pay gap and the inequities that may lie within their own organisations.

We at the Fawcett Society welcome the regulations, but we want to go further. We need a step change in assumptions, to start in a different place and break the male model of work. Every job should be advertised on a flexible working basis, unless there is a good business case not to. We need to end the motherhood penalty and move to a presumption of equality for leave entitlements, including paying enhanced rates for dads so that they can afford to take them. We need to extend the new requirements to smaller organisations, too (Fawcett recommends those with 50 employees or more).

With these changes, the gender pay gap may finally become something that motivates employers to act, because they want to be seen as an employer of choice for women in an increasingly competitive labour market. And that might just drive change.

Sam Smethers will be taking part in a discussion entitled Who earns more? The pay gap at home and abroad on Sunday 26 June at the Royal Festival Hall, as part of the Southbank Centre's Power of Power festival.

Source: The gender pay gap won't just go away, but new regulations are a start, URL:

<http://www.theguardian.com/society/womens-blog/2016/jun/24/the-gender-pay-gap-wont-just-go-away-but-new-regulations-are-a-start>.

Item 7

The rise of Theresa May

theguardian

Theresa May set to appoint female allies to key cabinet positions

Amber Rudd and Justine Greening expected to receive promotions as next prime minister moves to create a more gender-balanced cabinet

Anushka Asthana and Jessica Elgot

Wednesday 13 July 2016 07.26 BST

Theresa May is preparing to promote a string of female Conservative colleagues, including into key cabinet positions, after she is invited by the Queen to form a new government on Wednesday.

Allies including Amber Rudd, currently the energy secretary, and Justine Greening, the international development secretary, are among those expected to be in line for prominent positions as the second female prime minister shakes up the team running the government.

The incoming prime minister will announce the reshuffle on Wednesday after she moves into Downing Street with her husband, Philip. May will take up residence at No 10 after an audience at Buckingham Palace where the Queen will confirm her new role.

Cameron will face the Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn, in the House of Commons for one final prime minister's questions before making his outgoing remarks on Downing Street. Sometime thereafter he will head to the palace to formally resign. May will make the opposite journey, meeting the Queen for the tradition of "kissing hands", which usually involves a handshake. She will make her first speech as Britain's 54th prime minister as she makes her way into Downing Street [see footnote].

The appointments are intended to create a more gender-balanced cabinet, which has been called for by campaigners as a way to improve policymaking. Some of the most senior roles in the cabinet will be occupied by women. "It was Theresa who set up the campaign to elect more female MPs to parliament, and she has always believed that there should be more women in prominent government positions," said a spokeswoman for May.

Continue on next page



Amber Rudd, the current energy secretary, who is expected to be promoted to a top cabinet position. Photograph: Carl Court/Getty Images

Speculation in Westminster suggested that a woman could be under consideration for the role of chancellor for the first time, although the frontrunners so far include the foreign secretary, Philip Hammond, and Chris Grayling, leader of the House of Commons.

Cameron had made some progress with the gender balance during previous reshuffles, with his final senior team having seven women serving as full members, almost a third of the total. But May intends to go further: other women tipped for ministerial promotions include Harriett Baldwin, Margot James and Karen Bradley, who worked with May at the Home Office as head of the modern slavery bill.

On Monday, May delivered a speech about social justice that included an attack on the government's industrial strategy, widely interpreted as a swipe at George Osborne. Some were suggesting that he could be moved from the Treasury to the Foreign Office.

Officials within the Home Office suggested Grayling could become home secretary, although Rudd is considered a contender to succeed May in taking responsibility for immigration policy.

It was unclear whether May would keep Michael Gove in his job as justice secretary following a number of clashes under Cameron's premiership. However, she is likely to try to unify a party divided by the EU referendum campaign and appoint some senior Brexit campaigners such as Boris Johnson, Liam Fox, Andrea Leadsom and Priti Patel alongside Grayling.

Cameron will bow out and make a speech in which he will hope to cement a legacy beyond the EU referendum, and will urge May not to drop the commitment to spending 0.7% of GDP on international aid.

May's spokeswoman said work was already under way to set up a new department dedicated to negotiating Britain's exit from the EU. "Civil servants have already been charged with finding a building to house the Brexit department – an indication of Theresa's commitment to get on with delivering the verdict of the EU referendum. Brexit means Brexit and we're going to make a success of it," she has said.

The prime minister in waiting spent her final day as home secretary planning her entry into Downing Street and also addressing staff at the Home Office. She highlighted areas of policy reform including measures against terrorism and the investigatory powers bill, also known as the snooper's charter.

Continue on next page



Justine Greening, the international development secretary.
Photograph: Carl Court/Getty Images

May then told civil servants she believed the “social justice agenda” had been at the heart of her tenure, naming inquiries into the Hillsborough tragedy, undercover policing and child sex abuse as proud achievements. Telling officials that “there will always be a little bit of the Home Office inside me”, May said her department had focused on the most vulnerable in society.

May is expected to make the life chances strategy – a cross-government policy that Cameron hoped would be his flagship reform had he carried on as prime minister – a priority for the new government. The strategy is being led by the Department for Work and Pensions and includes reforms that affect a child’s earliest years, including access to high-quality childcare, a focus on schooling, university, rehabilitation for offenders and work opportunities.

Lauding the policy in cabinet, May then told Cameron that he had the “warmth and respect” of colleagues, and that he had led the country through a difficult time, with particularly tough economic circumstances.

Later, the incoming prime minister went to Conservative headquarters and told staff that it was “an honour and a privilege to be the new leader of this great party”. She thanked staff for their work and set out her priorities. “Now, more than ever, we need to work together, to deliver on Brexit, to build a country that works for everyone, and to truly unite our party and our country,” she said, attacking Labour as a party that had brought the country to bankruptcy.

In combative language, May claimed it did not matter whether Tony Blair, Gordon Brown or Jeremy Corbyn led the Labour party, because “when Labour prospers the country suffers”.

During her time as home secretary and as part of the coalition, May clashed with the then deputy prime minister and Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg, particularly over the controversial snoopers’ charter and other anti-terrorism legislation.

Alex Dzedzan, who worked for Clegg as an adviser, said: “There were lots of disagreements between Theresa May and the Liberal Democrats on asylum, immigration and issues involving human rights.

“But she is the toughest negotiator I have ever seen and she was the most formidable person we ever came across in government without a shadow of a doubt. I expect her to be much more forceful in delivering her policies than Cameron ever has been.”

James Cleverly, the Tory MP for Braintree, said he suspected it would be a “balanced cabinet”, arguing there were able people who satisfied a number of demographics. “Then you can stop thinking about tick-box exercises,” he said.

Source: Theresa May set to appoint female allies to key cabinet positions, URL:
<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/12/theresa-may-set-to-fill-key-cabinet-positions-with-female-allies>.