

**Pay Satisfaction in Higher
Education: A Gendered and
Social Constructionist Approach**

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June 2018

ABSTRACT

The gender pay gap is a persistent feature of the labour market however evidence indicates that women are often more satisfied with their pay than men, suggesting a 'paradox of the contented female worker'. There is a range of theories which hypothesise that women's behaviour or characteristics are the 'cause' of this paradox and which simultaneously neglect how the workplace might contribute towards pay satisfaction. This body of work has adopted a positivist, 'top down' and quantitative approach but has failed to provide convincing evidence to support the theories proposed.

Arguing that there are weaknesses in the approach previously adopted, the research presented in this thesis adopted an alternative ontological position. Utilising social constructionism to conceptualise gender, work and pay, a mixed method approach was used, comprising of a survey and follow up qualitative interviews with staff at two UK universities. Influenced by feminist research methodology, the research aimed to ensure that pay satisfaction was approached and understood from the point of view of those being researched. As well as examining previous theories, the research also investigated alternative approaches to understanding this paradox.

The findings indicated that women were often more satisfied with their pay than men. However, both male and female low paid workers were also often more satisfied than higher paid workers. Support was not found for previous theories of the paradox which had focussed upon female behaviour, but did find that beliefs about the 'value' of different occupations affected expectations of pay and influenced satisfaction levels. In addition, amongst higher paid staff, a high workload and the perception of a lack of autonomy contributed to relatively low pay satisfaction whilst lower paid staff were reassured that their own pay, although low, was reasonable given their lighter workload.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Zoe Irving for her support, advice and faith in me, for which I am infinitely grateful. Also thanks to Dr. Caz Snell for additional support.

Thank you to Ash and Arran for being fabulous.

Thank you to the 731 people who completed my survey and the twenty two people who were interviewed for this research study.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as references.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Gender, work and pay: an historical overview

Historically, a division of labour between men and women has been almost universal, although the exact nature of this division has changed and developed over time. In pre-industrial economies in Western societies, the household functioned as a unit of production and women, men and children all contributed towards the financial well being of the household. Tasks were separated on the basis of age or gender, but there was no separation between the home and workplace (Wharton, 2012). With the advent of the industrial revolution, the development of factory production brought an exodus from rural areas to the towns and cities and at the same time, waged work, rather than household production, became the locus of economic activity (Grint and Nixon, 2015). This structural change in the labour market was accompanied by a rise in an ideology which purported that there were natural differences between men and women, resulting in men being naturally suited to the role of household financial provider (Crompton, 1997), whilst women were ideally suited to domestic duties (Grant and Nixon, 2015) and too mentally fragile for activities outside of the home (Perkins Gilmore, 2017 [1892]). However, for working class women, factory jobs were a source of income and often whole families were employed, albeit with a single, all inclusive, wage paid to the father or head of household (Wharton, 2012).

After the First World War, it became even more uncommon for married women to have paid work due, in part, to the decline in job opportunities in domestic service coupled with legislation which excluded women from some forms of manufacturing work (Crompton, 1997). However, subsequent changes and developments in the labour market such as the decline in traditional manufacturing (Giddens and Sutton, 2013) and a rise in white collar employment (Lewis, 1984) challenged this ideology and altered these employment trends. In the United Kingdom, by the 1970's, over half of women aged 16-64 were in paid employment (Office for National Statistics, 2018) and the Equal Pay Act of 1970 coupled with the Sex Discrimination and Employment Protection Acts of 1975 made it illegal to treat women less favourably with regard to pay, promoted equality of outcome, made it unlawful to dismiss a

woman because of pregnancy and introduced statutory maternity provision. However, in spite of these developments, public opinion remained, at least partially committed to the male breadwinner ideology and the belief that women's maternal and domestic roles should take priority over her working life. For example, in 1984, 64% of the public believed that a mother should stay at home when there is a pre-school child (Park et al., 2013). At the same time, in spite of the Equal Pay Act, inequality in pay, driven by both horizontal and vertical gendered occupational segregation, still existed. Even by 1997, the difference between the hourly full time earnings of men and women, as a proportion of men's earnings was still 17.4% (Office for National Statistics, 2017d).

1.2 The 'paradox of the contented female worker'

It was into this wider context of social change and persisting inequality that scholarly interest into women's apparently 'paradoxical' patterns of pay satisfaction emerged in the 1980s (discussed in detail in sections 2.2-2.9). The 'paradox of the contented female worker' was noted and named by social psychologist Faye Crosby (1982) and refers to women's relatively high work and pay satisfaction in spite of the fact that, in general, they are paid less than men. Researchers from the academic disciplines of Economics, Management Studies and Psychology pursued the exploration of this idea and subsequently, working in a positivist tradition collected and/or analysed quantitative data in order to measure the extent of the paradox. The results of these studies often suggested that women have greater, or at least equal, work and pay satisfaction to that of men (for example, Phelan, 1994; Clark, 1997; Buchanan, 2005). However, there is also evidence to suggest that the paradox is more likely to occur in lower paid occupations (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009).

A number of explanations have been put forward to explain this phenomenon. It has been suggested that women have lower 'input' into work resulting in them perceiving lower pay as equitable (Major and Konar, 1984) or that women tend to compare their pay to other similarly low paid women rather than more highly paid men (Crosby, 1982; Zanna, Crosby and Lowenstein, 1987; Buchanan, 2005), a tendency which is further amplified by gendered occupational segregation (Bylsma and Major, 1992; Phelan, 1994). It has also been suggested

that women have lower expectations than men and therefore, that they are more easily satisfied (Phelan, 1994). Alternatively, it has been suggested that women do not value money as much as men (Phelan, 1994) either because they seek flexible, rather than highly paid, work (Bender et al., 2005) or because they are more likely to be secondary breadwinners (de Vaus and McAllister, 1991). However, empirical evidence for these explanations has not been convincing (Phelan, 1994; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; Buchanan, 2005). Additionally, research interest into the 'paradox of the contented female worker' has declined since the early 1990s, possibly because it is believed that steady, linear and unequivocal progress towards equal pay is being achieved (Clark, 1997; Williams et al., 2006) and thus, this 'paradox' will soon no longer exist.

However, this optimism is perhaps misplaced. Although there are less studies of the gender pay paradox in the contemporary setting than there were thirty years ago, the evidence suggests that it does still exist (Davison, 2014; Khoreva and Tenhiälä, 2016). In addition, as discussed in detail in section 2.10, although there is clearly evidence of increasing equality, there is also evidence of continuing inequality. For example, in spite of the fact that there is a long term trend of an increasing number of women in paid employment (Crompton, 1997) and a liberalisation of social attitudes (Park et al., 2013), evidence suggests that the gender earnings gap (the difference between average hourly full-time earnings of male and female employees, as a proportion of men's earnings) is persisting (Office for National Statistics, 2017d). There is also evidence that middle class women have achieved greater equality than working class women (Perfect, 2012; Lanning et al., 2013). In addition, this inequality at work is mirrored by the persistence of inequality within the home, with women still undertaking the majority of childcare (Mencarini and Sironi, 2012; Park et al., 2013). As a consequence, women are more likely to work part-time than men and to divide their time between unpaid domestic work and paid work (Sands, 2013).

As well as the continued existence of the gender pay paradox and persisting gender inequality at work and in the home, there are further reasons why a new study of this gender pay paradox might be desirable. In particular, as shown in sections 2.2-2.9, the paradox appears to have been subjected to a gendered conceptualisation, because it is perceived of as an issue that affects women, but

not men. Furthermore, women's satisfaction is considered paradoxical in comparison to men's 'normal' dissatisfaction. This would appear to be a reflection of a dominant gendered discourse that positions women as irrational, governed by their emotions and not conversant with the material world. Men, on the other hand, are considered at ease in the material and public world and also in possession of scientific rationality (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2010). Implicit within this body of research, is also the suggestion that the paradox is caused by women's own behaviour; be that their level of input, their choice of pay referent, their expectations or their 'values'. There is also the implication that if women were to change their behaviour, then the gender pay paradox would not exist. Women's perceptions or behaviour are thus, regarded as flawed whilst men's behaviour is not considered worthy of consideration or explanation. This way of conceptualising the paradox has not only neglected men but has also resulted in the potential impact of the workplace itself and wider patterns of gendered inequality being overlooked.

Furthermore, this narrow focus has been exacerbated by a top down quantitative approach which has denied research participants the opportunity to challenge the narrative that the gender pay paradox is the consequence of women's behaviour. Nor have research participants been given the opportunity to explain and describe how evaluations of pay satisfaction are actually made. Statistics have been collected and analysed but the views of the participants themselves have not been considered important to understanding the paradox. Feminist researchers have noted that such quantitative approaches tend to impose interpretations upon participants (Yeatman, 1994) and neglect the perceptions of those who are being researched (Reinharz, 1992). Furthermore within the quantitative approach, it has also been assumed that the gender pay paradox can be studied effectively with either a single concept of satisfaction (Clark 1997; Smith 2009) or with a range of questions that have been subsequently combined into an 'overall' category (Oshagbemi, 1997; Young, 1999). It has not been considered that different dimensions of pay satisfaction may not all produce evidence of the gender pay paradox and that this might be significant to understanding this phenomenon.

Thus, evidence for the contemporary existence of the gender pay paradox, persisting gender inequality at work and home, coupled with the problematic

approach of previous researchers, all suggests that a new study of the gender pay paradox is needed. Furthermore a new study, undertaken with an alternative methodology could potentially provide new insight into a paradox which has hitherto not been satisfactorily explained.

1.3 An alternative approach to the study of the gender pay paradox

The shortcomings of previous research identified above suggested little merit in replicating the same approach as previous scholars. Therefore, the research reported in this thesis, as well as examining the home lives of research participants, also considered the potential impact of the workplace upon pay satisfaction. Additionally, this research adopted a different ontological and methodological approach to that utilised by previous researchers.

First of all, it was necessary to ensure that this new study was not unnecessarily focussed on the behaviour of women. Therefore, the literature review was not confined to paradox research but also included theory and research on attitudes and orientation to work more generally. This review suggested that pay satisfaction might be formed equally in the workplace and outside of it (discussed in section 2.11). In addition, recent changes in work, and in particular the growth of insecure employment is arguably changing attitudes to work and pay (section 2.13). Additionally, by examining literature on women's orientations to work, it was clear that discussion of women's attitudes to work and pay should not be dominated by women's maternal and domestic role (section 2.12).

Secondly, the literature review suggested that a social constructionist approach could potentially provide new insights to a study of pay satisfaction. Previous gender pay paradox research has been based in objectivist ontology and positivist epistemology, whereby social phenomena are considered to be external to human beings and beyond their reach or influence. Paradox researchers have thus, tended to rely on quantitative and statistical methods because this is an approach that is useful for measuring the extent of a phenomenon and testing for evidence that either supports or disputes hypotheses (Dahlberg and McCaig, 2010). Social constructionism, as discussed in section 2.14, is an ontological position which argues that social phenomena are constructed by human action (Crotty, 1998) and thus 'reality' is continuously

under revision. From this perspective, gender (discussed in detail in section 2.15) cannot simply be viewed as a straightforward means of dividing a population into two groups who are self evidently 'different' from each other (Stacey and Thorne, 1985). Instead, gender is a social construct that defines men and women as oppositional and binary (Ridgeway, 2011). Gender is fluid, changeable and an ongoing and provisional process whereby masculinity and femininity are constructed, reproduced and acted out on a daily basis (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990). Conceptualising gender as an ongoing social construction, is a helpful approach because it enables, not only measurement of differences in levels of pay satisfaction, but also an understanding of how gender might influence pay satisfaction.

A social constructionist approach is also a helpful way of understanding pay levels for different types of work. In section 2.16, it is argued that pay levels for particular jobs are not 'neutral' facts, nor are they a reflection of the intrinsic worth or value of any particular job but instead are related to the social construction of gender. Some jobs are understood to require 'feminine' skills whilst other jobs are seen to require 'masculine' skills. Pay levels tend to reflect this and those jobs which require 'feminine' skills are generally paid less than those that are understood to need 'masculine' skills (Acker, 1990). Furthermore, beliefs about the value of different types of work may be considered a 'doxa,' which is a social construct that has become naturalised and 'self-evidently' true (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]). This 'doxa' may encourage those on low pay to feel that their own pay, although low, is appropriate to the work that they do and thus 'satisfactory'.

Adopting a social constructionist approach led to the development of a mixed method research methodology. This approach enabled the collection of 'measurable' pay satisfaction data but also aided understanding of how and why individuals make particular evaluations of pay satisfaction.

1.4 Research questions and research methods

The review and critique of paradox literature generated five research questions. In one sense, these research questions were similar to those asked by previous researchers because they sought to ascertain the extent of the gender pay paradox and whether there was support for previous explanations. However,

unlike previous research, the questions aimed to ascertain if the paradox existed when participants were asked about their pay satisfaction in different ways. Additionally, rather than merely focussing on seeking evidence for previous explanations, this research was also open to the possibility of finding new explanations. From the outset, it should be clear that, although previous paradox research has sometimes blurred the boundaries between pay and work satisfaction, this research is focussed on pay satisfaction alone.

The research questions which form the basis of this thesis are as follows;

1. Is there current evidence for the gender pay paradox?
2. Is this evidence (or lack of it) consistent for different dimensions of pay satisfaction?
3. Is this evidence (or lack of it) consistent across occupational groups, salary groups and part-time/full-time employees?
- 4: If the paradox still exists, is there evidence to support the theories that have been proposed?
- 5: Is there evidence to suggest alternative explanations for gender differences in pay satisfaction?

A mixed method approach, comprising a survey and follow up qualitative interviews, was developed. A major advantage of this approach was that it provided tools that could potentially challenge the assumption that the gender pay paradox can be understood with the use of a one dimensional measure of pay satisfaction. The inclusion of qualitative research aimed to capture the subjective and nuanced nature of pay satisfaction (Freeman, 1978) but the issue was also addressed directly within the survey itself. As explained in section 3.5, a range of pay satisfaction questions were asked and analysed separately. These questions focussed not only on personal pay satisfaction but also perceptions of the level of occupational pay and in due course, proved to be of great significance to understanding the gender pay paradox.

This approach also enabled open-minded enquiry that was not unnecessarily focussed on women. This included 'bottom up' methods that were sympathetic to feminism (Reinharz, 1992; Yeatman, 1994) and gave a voice to research participants. In addition, it was not assumed that women are the 'cause' of the paradox or that they should be the main focus of efforts to explain it. As

discussed in section 3.3, men and women were asked the same questions in both the survey and interviews. In addition (section 3.9), quantitative pay satisfaction data was routinely analysed in relation to other variables including occupational group, salary and type of employment (whether they worked part-time or full-time). All issues raised by the qualitative interviewees were included in the analysis, whether or not they specifically related to gender (as explained in section 3.11). Furthermore, this approach was underscored by referring to the 'gender pay paradox' rather than the 'paradox of the contented female worker'. The latter terminology was avoided because it neglects men and also carries implications of women's irrationality and unsuitability for the paid labour market.

Previous paradox researchers have tended to use regression techniques in order to predict the determinants of pay satisfaction, however this research did not adopt this analytical approach. Regression techniques imply a level of certainty which does not fit well with social constructionism. Therefore a range of descriptive statistics including frequencies, Chi Square, Phi/Cramer's V and Mann Whitney U/Kruskall Wallis H were used (discussed in greater detail in section 3.9). The qualitative interviews were analysed both thematically and using a 'narrative' approach, the latter of which suggests that pay satisfaction and all aspects of a person's life need to be viewed holistically (discussed in section 3.11). This approach drew upon the work of Riceour (1991) and Lawler (2002) who argued that people use narratives to interpret and understand the world. These narratives link events together in a way that make sense to individuals, provide a 'plotline' through their lives and subsequently helped the researcher to understand how individuals make pay satisfaction evaluations.

Finally, the research was undertaken with staff working at two universities in the United Kingdom. As discussed in further detail in section 3.4, universities were considered appropriate for a study of the gender pay paradox because they employ a wide range of people in a variety of occupations making it relatively easy to make comparisons between different occupational groups as well as between the genders. In total, 731 survey questionnaires were completed and 22 follow up in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with a range of staff including academic, administrative, technical, manual and research staff.

1.5 Summary of main findings

The findings suggested that women, as a whole, are often more satisfied with their pay than men. However, these 'paradoxical' patterns were also observed amongst low paid employees in general, irrespective of gender. Furthermore, paradoxical patterns of satisfaction were not consistent across different measures of pay satisfaction. They were apparent when satisfaction was conceptualised in relation to perceptions of 'appropriate' pay for an occupation but not when satisfaction was conceptualised in relation to material need. Furthermore, beliefs regarding how much different occupations *should* be paid were influential upon evaluations of pay satisfaction.

The research findings also suggested that the level of autonomy experienced at work could also help to explain low satisfaction amongst the more highly paid. In particular, a lack of control over the amount of work amongst academics was associated with pay dissatisfaction. Furthermore, the high workload of academics was observed by those in lower paid jobs and encouraged them to think that their own pay was reasonable, given their lighter workload.

There was no support found for previous explanations of the paradox. In particular, there was no evidence to suggest that women's high satisfaction was linked to their 'input', their choice of pay referents, their 'expectations' or the degree to which they valued money. Indeed, the findings of the research challenge the suggestion that there is a gender pay paradox at all. Instead, the evidence suggests that patterns of satisfaction are influenced by occupational and salary group to a greater degree than they are by gender. However, gendered occupational segregation makes 'paradoxically' high satisfaction appear to be a feature of women's employment.

The data collected in this research is presented in four empirical chapters. Chapter four presents data on the levels and patterns of pay satisfaction and chapter five discusses the relationship between the workplace and pay satisfaction. Chapter six considers the home lives of the research participants and the relationship that this has with pay satisfaction whilst chapter six examines the work orientations of participants. However, before the findings of this research are presented, chapter two provides full details of the literature

review and chapter three gives more information regarding the methodological approach.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction: What is pay satisfaction?

This literature review presents a description and critique of the gender pay paradox research (sections 2.2-2.9), arguing that there are problems with the way that this body of research has been conceptualised and conducted. It also argues that, although gender inequality has decreased, it has not been eradicated and therefore a contemporary study of the gender pay paradox is still relevant (section 2.10). The subsequent sections of this literature review consider relevant research and theory from a wider range of sources than previous gender pay paradox studies have utilised. It is argued that a study of the gender pay paradox must be contextualised into knowledge of wider attitudes and orientations to work. Thus, as well as considering the home lives of research participants, research in this area must examine the role that the workplace plays in forming pay satisfaction (sections 2.11-2.13). Finally, this chapter presents an ontological approach to the study of the gender pay paradox that has the potential to avoid the problems of previous research in this area and to simultaneously offer new insight (sections 2.14- 2.17). It is argued that a social constructionist approach provides a way of understanding gender that will aid understanding of how evaluations of pay satisfaction are made. At the same time, it will also enable understanding of why some occupations are paid more than others and how this might relate to pay satisfaction.

However, before considering the gender pay paradox literature in detail, it is of value to consider the assumption implicit within the study of 'paradoxical' patterns of satisfaction, that women, or indeed anyone who earns less money than others, *should* be less satisfied. This assumption relies upon the standard utilitarian belief that 'utility' (the degree of satisfaction or discomfort) increases commensurate with pay and decreases if hours of work increase (Jones and Sloane, 2007). In this utilitarian scenario, there is no room for variation between individuals concerning how much money is desired. However, evidence clearly suggests that there are variations because employees who receive the same level of compensation as each other will not necessarily have the same level of pay satisfaction (Shaw et al., 1999). Furthermore, higher pay does not automatically equate with higher pay satisfaction (Judge et al., 2010). Therefore

perceptions of pay, rather than just the amount of pay are important and a more nuanced consideration of pay satisfaction is required.

A useful way to think about pay satisfaction involves the idea of discrepancy. Lawler (1971, 1981) saw pay satisfaction as the discrepancy between how much a person thinks they should receive and how much they actually receive. Thus for example, if a person's perception of how much they think they should receive is greater than the amount they actually receive, then dissatisfaction will result. Lawler argued that pay satisfaction is a function of both a person's perceived job 'inputs' and the characteristics of the job. Thus, satisfaction is linked with ideas of 'fairness' and may also arise from comparing one's work and pay with other individuals. Another useful way to think of pay satisfaction is to consider whether there are differences in the amount of money that different people 'need'. Arguably, some individuals may 'need' more money than others, thus for example those with a greater number of dependents may need more than others (Jasso and Rossi, 1977; Alves and Rossi, 1978). Indeed, in the first half of the twentieth century, men were often paid a 'family' wage, an arrangement supported by both employers and trade unions (Lurie, 2016). A third way of considering pay satisfaction is by making use of the concept of relative deprivation. This approach suggests that people's dissatisfactions are not merely the outcome of absolute conditions. Instead, dissatisfaction depends upon with whom comparisons are made (Crosby, 1982).

As well as thinking about pay satisfaction in terms of perceptions of discrepancy, need or relative deprivation, scholars of satisfaction have also argued that pay satisfaction must be measured as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Thus, researchers have developed standardised questionnaires in order to specifically measure a number of aspects of pay, which can then be combined to produce an 'overall' score of pay satisfaction. For example, the Heneman and Schwab (1985) approach measures satisfaction with four different aspects of pay; pay level, benefits, pay raises and pay structure/administration at their place of work by asking participants how satisfied they are with a range of pay related issues. Thus, the financial reward itself is broken down into a number of different components. An alternative questionnaire, the Job Description Index (Bowling Green State University, 2009) gives less attention to the details of what pay actually comprises and instead grants more attention to perceptions and

understandings of what satisfaction is. For example, it asks participants to agree or disagree with a range of statements on pay including; 'fair,' 'barely live on income,' 'bad,' 'comfortable' and 'less than I deserve'.

Thus, pay satisfaction is a far more complex issue than is implied by the utilitarian suggestion that women, or indeed any group of people with low pay, *should* be more dissatisfied than others. However, in spite of this, a body of work, mainly undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s argued that women have 'paradoxical' patterns of satisfaction because they earn less than men, but have greater or equal levels of pay satisfaction. The following two sections describe the research evidence for the gender pay paradox and argue that the phenomenon has been inaccurately conceptualised as an issue indicative of women's 'paradoxical' satisfaction. Furthermore, it is also argued that the research is flawed because differences between men's and women's satisfaction levels are generally ascertained using only one measure of pay satisfaction.

2.2 Evidence for the 'paradox of the contented female worker'

The 'paradox of the contented female worker' was noted and named by social psychologist, Faye Crosby. In her study (Crosby, 1982), she conducted over 400 interviews with working women, working men and housewives living in one affluent suburb in the USA. Examining the discrepancy between the outcomes desired and received, comparison with others, past experience, future expectations and sense of entitlement, Crosby observed that women are either equally or more satisfied with their pay and jobs than men. This satisfaction amongst her sample was apparent in spite of the fact that, in general, women experience poorer pay and lower levels of authority than men.

Although Crosby coined the phrase 'the paradox of the contented female worker,' she wasn't the first scholar to actually note the difference between men's and women's job satisfaction. Conducting multivariate analysis of survey data from approximately 400 public sector employees in the USA, Sauser and York (1978) suggested that although there were differences in the work satisfaction levels of men and women, there were also links with education, age and pay grade. However, the idea that women's satisfaction levels were at odds with the realities of their employment aroused significant interest, particularly in the academic disciplines of Psychology, Economics and Management Studies.

Subsequently, a number of studies in the 1980s and 1990s followed which statistically measured the levels of work and/or pay satisfaction of both men and women. Others sought to theorise and test explanations for the paradox. This scholarly work has often argued that satisfaction is a 'useful' outcome for businesses and corporate interests (Loscocco and Spitze, 1991; Oshagbemi, 2000; Nguyen et al., 2003) that will decrease absenteeism and turnover whilst boosting production (Mueller and Kim, 2008). At other times, the research has suggested that, if gender pay inequality is to be eradicated, it is important to understand, why the pay paradox occurs. For example, Jo Phelan, referencing Karl Marx's belief that recognition of inequality is important before change can occur, argued that 'It is important to know whether women accept their inferior status in the workplace, and if so, why' (Phelan, 1994 p.95). Although the majority of studies have been conducted in the United Kingdom or the USA, evidence for the paradox has also been found in Kenya (Mulinger and Mueller, 1998), China (Loscocco and Bose, 1998) and Kuwait (Mettle, 2001).

However, evidence for the paradox is not always found (for example, Westover, 2012). Furthermore, evidence is often found amongst lower paid groups of women but not amongst others (for example, Varca et al., 1983; Welbourne et al., 1999; Smith, 2009). The confusion is not helped by a blurring of the difference between 'work' and 'pay' satisfaction. Scholars have examined both the generic subject of job satisfaction, of which pay satisfaction is a part (for example, Bender et al., 2005) and pay satisfaction by itself (for example, Young, 1999). Both areas of research refer to 'the paradox of the contented female worker'. Additionally, a significant feature of paradox research is that scholars have tended to work within a positivist tradition and have either collected their own quantitative data (for example Crosby, 1982; Phelan, 1994) or else have undertaken secondary statistical analysis of large scale national data sets (for example, Clark, 1997). With the exception of the original Crosby study (1982), the use of qualitative approaches has largely been eschewed whilst the research findings have mostly been presented in short articles or papers with little critical discussion of the wider context of inequality.

The following six research studies have all found evidence of the gender pay paradox. Firstly, Phelan's (1994) study of approximately 2000 employees from one multinational company, all working in the North East of the USA found

evidence that, although women's salaries were lower than men's, their levels of satisfaction were not. Secondly, from an analysis of British Household Panel Survey data, Clark (1997) suggested that women are more satisfied than men with most aspects of work, including pay. Similarly, analysis of data from the 1986 Social and Economic Life Initiative Household Survey in the UK, examined perceptions of whether people felt themselves to be underpaid, over paid or paid equitably. The conclusions indicated that men were more likely to feel that they were underpaid (Sloane and Williams, 2000). A fourth study of 615 'financial officers' in one public school area of the USA, suggested that whilst underpaid male employees were aware and sensitive about their low pay, the same was not true of female employees (Young, 1999). Finally, Bender et al. (2005) examined data from the National Study of the Changing Workforce in the USA and found that women expressed greater job satisfaction than men.

However, in other studies, researchers have presented inconclusive results. For example, an analysis of data from the USA International Social Survey Program, found the connection between gender and job satisfaction to be statistically insignificant (Westover, 2012). Furthermore, a meta analysis of 203 job satisfaction studies from the past 35 years concluded that the discrepancy in pay satisfaction between men and women was less significant than between whites and minority ethnic groups (Williams et al., 2006).

There is also evidence to suggest that the paradox is not uniformly distributed across all groups of women. In particular, there are variations by occupation and/or income groups. For example, research with almost 400 graduates in the USA, five years after leaving college, suggested that lower paid women were more satisfied with their pay than lower paid men, although the reverse was true amongst higher paid individuals (Varca et al., 1983). Analysis of a more recent staff satisfaction survey at a UK university found evidence of the pay paradox amongst administrative staff but not amongst academics (Smith, 2009). Finally, a study of 260 participants from two companies in the USA, before and after traditional pay scales were abolished in favour of a 'gainsharing' system, found evidence of the gender pay paradox before the change to the new system, but this was predominantly amongst women working in low paid occupations (Graham and Welbourne, 1999). Indeed, occupational grade in itself has been linked to variations in pay satisfaction, although again, the results are not

consistent. For example, analysis of the British Household Panel Survey suggested those who earned above two thirds of the median wage had lower overall job satisfaction but higher pay satisfaction than others (Leontaridi and Sloane, 2003). The British Household Panel Survey was again examined in 2007 and researchers found that that lower paid staff had higher work satisfaction but, again lower pay satisfaction (Jones and Sloane, 2007). Conversely, analysis of the European Household Panel Survey suggested lower overall job satisfaction amongst lower paid workers (Diaz-Serrano and Cabral Vieira, 2005). Finally, a meta analysis of 86 studies, examining whether pay level was associated with pay satisfaction, suggested that those with higher pay do not necessarily have higher pay satisfaction (Judge et al., 2010).

There has also been research on the influence of gendered occupational segregation on pay satisfaction although the evidence is, again, inconsistent. Analysis of data from the National Study of the Changing Workforce in the USA, suggested that those who work in female dominated industries are more likely to express greater overall work satisfaction (Bender et al., 2005). Similarly, a study of approximately 3500 factory workers in the USA suggested that women who work in female dominated environments are more satisfied with their pay than those who work in mixed gender settings (Loscocco and Spitze, 1991). However, recent research in Australia suggested that although women who worked in 'feminised' occupations reported high levels of enjoyment, they were more dissatisfied with their pay than women who worked elsewhere (Dockery and Buchler, 2015).

Finally, part-time employment is more likely to be a feature of women's employment than men's (Sands, 2013) and it has been suggested that women who work part-time have a lower commitment to work, are prioritising their home lives and thus are easily satisfied with their jobs (Hakim, 1991). However, when hours of work were analysed by researchers to see if they were connected to the paradox, evidence suggested that they were not (Phelan, 1994; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; Buchanan, 2005). In addition, there is mixed evidence regarding the impact of working part-time upon the satisfaction of both men and women. A survey of almost 500 employees working as salespeople (Wotruba, 1990) and a survey of approximately 5000 employees working in a variety of occupations in the retail sector (Martin and Sinclair, 1997) both found greater

job satisfaction amongst part-time employees. However, a study of 8500 hospital workers found that part-time workers were less satisfied with their pay than full-time workers (Steffy and Jones, 1990). Overall, it is unclear whether the paradox occurs more frequently amongst part-time staff, perhaps because part-time workers are not heterogeneous (Tilly, 1991, 1996) and include household 'supplementers', students, 'moonlighters' (those that have more than one job) and those who are the primary earner (Martin and Sinclair, 2007). Additionally, there is a fluidity and movement between full-time and part-time groups (Steffy and Jones, 1990).

Although, the evidence for the gender pay paradox is occasionally contradictory and imprecise in how pay and work satisfaction are conceptualised and defined, there are some conclusions that can be drawn. Clearly, when women are taken as a group and their pay satisfaction is compared to men, there is often evidence of them being equally or more satisfied with their pay than men. The evidence would also suggest that this is more likely to occur amongst those working in lower paid occupations. On the other hand, the evidence concerning occupational segregation and part-time working is less clear. Taken as a whole, the evidence raises an important question; given that women are more likely than men to be working in low paid jobs (Sands, 2013), why has there been so much focus on women rather than inequality within the labour market? Indeed, the evidence does not inarguably suggest that the paradox is an issue of gender alone, suggesting that there are a number of deficiencies in paradox research which need to be addressed.

2.3 Critique of the evidence: Constructing a narrative of women as the cause of the paradox

Given that the focus on women has not been driven by the evidence available, it is possible that the ontological and methodological approaches adopted by paradox researchers have hindered their ability to critically assess whether gender is central to so-called 'paradoxical' patterns of pay satisfaction. On the whole, paradox research has tended to adopt a positivist approach; data is collected, analysed, hypotheses tested and the results are presented. However, there has been little critical discussion of several key areas, such as the nature of gender, why some occupations are dominated by women or why some

occupations are paid more than others, all of which need to be critically considered to ensure that researcher assumptions do not influence research design, analysis or conclusions. To a degree, these topics are absent from paradox studies because they are not part of the everyday discourse of the academic disciplines within which this research has developed. However, this omission has had consequences for the quality of the research. In particular, it has resulted in dominant gendered discourse being uncritically reflected in the gender pay paradox research. This is clearly apparent in the way that this subject area was named as 'The paradox of the contented female worker'. This naming has, by default, defined women as paradoxical and illogical whilst the behaviour of men, which is no more or less 'paradoxical' than women's, is not questioned. Positioning men in the normative position and women as the anomaly in academic literature is not unusual (Feldberg and Glenn, 1970) and is most probably linked to 'common sense' beliefs about male and female roles in the family (Crompton, 1997) and the enlightenment belief that men possess scientific rationality whilst women are governed by their emotions (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2010). This flaw is not unique to paradox research and positivism has often been criticised for both transmitting and reinforcing gender inequality (Harding, 1986) and reproducing dominant discourses (Jayaratne, 1993; Webb et al., 2008). It is also recognised that both 'whiteness' and 'maleness' are dominant in academia and exert considerable influence over the formation of knowledge (Burton, 2015).

Secondly, scholars have argued that pay satisfaction is multi-dimensional and some have developed standardised questionnaires for measuring a range of dimensions of satisfaction. For example, the Heneman and Schwab approach uses the idea that pay satisfaction comprises of a four different components of pay (Heneman and Schwab, 1985) and the Job Descriptive Index asks participants to agree or disagree with a range of statements about pay (Bowling Green State University, 2009). These approaches have been used by some scholars of the gender pay paradox, for example Graham and Welbourne (1999) used the Heneman Schwab approach whilst Young (1999) and Oshagbemi (1997) both used the Job Description Index. However, the gender pay paradox has been measured using one 'overall' level of satisfaction which is achieved by combining these multiple variables. Alternatively, other scholars have used only

a single measure of satisfaction (Clark 1997; Smith 2009). What is missing from both these approaches is an exploration of whether the gender pay paradox is visible on different measures of satisfaction. Furthermore, it has not been considered that this could potentially provide insight into the gender pay paradox. In addition, implicit within this one dimensional conceptualisation is the belief that women are simply happier with less money than men. However, clearly pay satisfaction is complex and as explained in section 2.1, it may refer to discrepancy between what is wanted and what is achieved (Lawler 1971, 1981), how much a person 'needs' (Jasso and Rossi, 1977; Alves and Rossi, 1978) or how a sense of deprivation can be relative (Crosby, 1982). Indeed, the assumption that women's pay satisfaction should be lower than men's conveniently ignores evidence suggesting that, irrespective of gender, those with higher pay do not necessarily have higher pay satisfaction (Judge et al., 2010).

Thirdly, the lack of distinction between different aspects of pay satisfaction has been compounded by the use of quantitative 'top down' methods. This approach is unlikely to capture the nuances of satisfaction, a state of being that is, arguably, subjective (Freeman, 1978). Neither does this type of approach allow research participants the freedom to define the issues in ways that are meaningful to them (Reinharz, 1992). Instead, ideas are imposed upon the research participants from above (Yeatman, 1994). In this way, definitions of pay satisfaction and ideas of how evaluations of satisfaction are made, are those of the researchers and not the participants.

Finally, it is of note that blurring the distinction between pay and work satisfaction is not helpful, in particular because explanations for the paradox have more commonly focussed upon understanding why women are satisfied with their pay, rather than their work in general (discussed in the following sections). There is therefore a mismatch between measurement and explanation. This lack of clarity potentially conflates and confuses the issues but in addition, this blurring of boundaries also distracts attention from how pay satisfaction is potentially influenced by what happens in the workplace. As discussed in subsequent sections, the role of the workplace upon pay satisfaction has been neglected by paradox researchers, an omission which is likely to have significantly affected the 'success' of explanations for the paradox.

Overall, these ontological and methodological issues have hindered research into the gender pay paradox. In particular, the issue has been defined in such a way as to reflect dominant gendered discourse. Additionally, pay satisfaction has been considered as a one dimensional issue and there is the assumption that women *should* be more dissatisfied. Finally, the data collection techniques used have further restricted the narrow focus of the research because there has been no opportunity for the participants themselves to tell the researchers how they conceptualise and evaluate pay satisfaction.

2.4 Explanations for the paradox: Overview

It has been suggested that explaining the paradox has been less successful than showing that it exists in the first place (McDuff, 2001; Buchanan, 2005). In 1994, social psychologist, Jo Phelan examined existing evidence for pay and work satisfaction and subsequently outlined five possible explanations for the paradox. She then statistically tested for each of them in a study of approximately 2000 employees from a multinational company in the USA. These explanations put forward by Phelan (1994) are now routinely referred to and 'tested for' by paradox researchers (for example, McDuff, 1991; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; Buchanan, 2005). Four of the explanations are applicable to the study of pay satisfaction (as opposed to work satisfaction). These are the 'differential inputs', 'own gender referents', 'differential entitlements' and 'differential values' theories and they are each discussed in detail in the following sections. The fifth potential explanation discussed by Phelan (1994) suggested that work satisfaction is not caused by pay at all but by subjective values such as recognition for work undertaken. However, this explanation cannot be applied to pay satisfaction alone because, unlike the other explanations, it is trying to explain work satisfaction alone.

It should also be noted that women are more likely than men to leave the labour market in order to care for children. It has therefore been suggested that those women who remain in the workforce are more likely to be satisfied than those who have left and that this might explain the gender pay paradox. However, there has been little research on this hypothesis (Mueller and Kim, 2008), although Clark's (1997) analysis of the British Household Panel Survey found no

support for this explanation. Given the scarcity of research in this area, it is therefore not discussed.

2.5 'Differential inputs' theory

This first explanation suggests that women are happy with lower pay than men because they 'input' less into work (Major and Konar, 1984; Phelan, 1994). This lower input is the outcome of women's maternal role and domestic responsibilities which lead them to view their lower pay as equitable. For example, 'inputs' might include time worked for the company, hours of work, education whilst 'output' is the wage received. This theory, therefore, draws upon Lawler's (1971, 1981) discrepancy theory for pay satisfaction. The idea is also reminiscent of human capital theory which argues that motherhood reduces women's commitment to the workplace and shifts their priorities towards the home (Mincer and Polachek, 1974). Thus, gendered inequality in the workplace is also the outcome of women's 'input'. The idea of women's lower input is also central to Catherine Hakim's preference theory (1998, 2000, 2006), which argued that some women choose to prioritise their home lives over their careers (discussed in greater detail in section 2.12).

There is some evidence that pay satisfaction amongst women with children is higher than amongst women without children. Fleming and Kler's (2014) analysis of the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia Survey suggested that pay dissatisfaction was less pronounced amongst those women with dependent children (although not when women were 'over educated' for the job that they were doing). However, Phelan's (1994) study, mentioned above, found no support for this explanation. She quantified men and women's 'input' into their jobs including non-job related breaks, years in the workforce, educational attainment, hours worked per day, evenings worked, weekends worked, lunch hours worked and workload. Using a matched sample of men and women, she found that apart from non-job related breaks, women's and men's commitment on this range of measures were remarkably similar. Mueller and Wallace (1996), examined data on 2251 lawyers and measured input on a range of indicators such as years of experience, hours worked and work motivation, whilst controlling for family and dependents, to ascertain if women and men had dissimilar levels of 'input' into their jobs. They found that women were more

satisfied with both work and pay but that this was not related to their inputs. A similar approach adopted by Buchanan (2005) also found no support for the 'differential inputs' theory. However, it should be noted that studies which attempt to measure input in this way are problematic since commitment to work and 'input' are nuanced. 'Quantity' of hours worked, for example, does not necessarily equate to the quality of the work undertaken. Indeed, the difficulty of measuring 'input' highlights how nebulous and imprecise the concept of input actually is. Indeed, it has been suggested that rather than being based upon evidence, the argument that women have 'lower 'input' seems little more than common sense beliefs and assumptions about women and work, that women are less competent and that they are not worthy of the same level of pay as men (Major and Konar, 1984).

Additionally, the 'differential inputs' theory clearly rests upon the assumption that the gender pay gap is entirely caused by women taking time out of working due to motherhood. Undeniably, there is evidence of a pay penalty associated with motherhood (Cory and Stirling, 2016), however this is only a partial picture of the gender pay gap. Recent research has found that mothers who work full-time earn 11% less than full-time non-mothers at the age of 42. Fathers, on the other hand enjoy 22% more pay than men without children at the age of 42. Overall, full-time women earn 34% less than similar full-time men at the age of 43. However, this is not entirely caused by motherhood since childless men still earn some 12% more than childless women (Cory and Stirling, 2016). Thus, a gender pay gap exists for all women, not just those with children. In addition, the argument that women's lower pay is caused by their maternal role is circular. Equally, women may take time out of work to bring up children, precisely because they earn less than their male spouses. Similarly, there is the assumption that women have a preference for childcare over paid work (Fagan, 2001) and that any maternal pay penalty is accepted and seen as equitable.

Overall, there is no conclusive evidence that women regard time out of the workplace to bring up children as a justifiable cause for lower pay. Nor is there convincing evidence that hours of work and 'input' affect pay satisfaction. In addition, the evidence regarding the effect of dependent children upon women's satisfaction is limited. There is thus, inadequate evidence to support the 'differential inputs' theory. Although, women are more likely to take main

responsibility for childcare than men (Mencarini and Sironi, 2012; Park et al., 2013) and also significantly more likely to work part-time than men (Office for National Statistics, 2013), the connection with pay satisfaction is not proven.

2.6 'Same gender referents' theory

An alternative explanation suggests that women's high pay satisfaction is the outcome of who they choose to compare their pay to (Phelan, 1994). A pay referent is a person that an individual uses as a point of comparison when evaluating whether their own pay is satisfactory. It is suggested that women tend to choose other women as their referents who, in general, tend to be lower paid than men. Higher paid men, on the other hand choose equally highly paid men as their referents (Crosby, 1982; Zanna et al., 1987; Buchanan, 2005). Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with pay is not related to the actual amount of money received, but instead is the outcome of comparisons made (Loscocco and Spitze, 1991), satisfaction is therefore seen as relative. This tendency of individuals to identify with someone of their own gender for pay comparison is amplified by the effect of occupational segregation because the concentration of many female workers into low paid, low status occupations limits the diversity of genders and job grades available to use as referents (Bylsma and Major, 1992; Phelan, 1994).

There is limited evidence to support the theory and studies suggest no evidence that women's high satisfaction is due to the use of own gender referents (Phelan, 1994; Mueller and Wallace; 1996, McDuff, 2001). However, researchers who analysed the data from the original Crosby (1982) study, found that women who compared themselves with male co-workers were less satisfied than women who compared themselves to other women (Zanna et al., 1987). With regard to occupational segregation, a study of approximately 3500 factory workers in the state of Indiana, USA found that when women move from female dominated environments to more gender balanced ones, they become more dissatisfied with their pay (Loscocco and Spitze, 1991). However, data from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia Survey, analysed by Dockery and Buchler (2015), suggested that women working in female dominated occupations had lower pay satisfaction than those who worked in non-female dominated occupations.

On balance, the evidence that women specifically choose other women as pay referents is not compelling. Indeed, evidence suggests that gender is rarely mentioned as a reason for choosing another individual as a pay referent (Davison, 2014) and that occupation is much more influential, with people tending to compare their own pay with others at a similar level of employment (Bygren, 2004). In addition, there are believed to be five types of pay referent; social, financial, historical, organisation and market (Blau, 1994), but the 'same gender referent' theory provides no satisfactory explanation of why gender should be considered as more important than other forms of referent. Indeed, workers may use more than one referent for comparison (Rice et al., 1990) and may also use more than one single criterion when choosing a referent (Kulik and Ambrose, 1992).

Although, the 'own gender referents' theory recognises structural inequality in the labour market, it confines itself to a somewhat mechanistic description of who compares their pay with whom, rather than considering why some jobs are paid more than others or why women and men tend to concentrate in different occupations. Thus, although the idea that workplace inequality might be important in understanding the paradox is suggested, it is not fully developed. Furthermore, there is still the implicit suggestion that it is women's choice of referent that is causing the paradox. Therefore, overall, the theory does not provide an adequate explanation for the gender pay paradox.

2.7 'Differential entitlements' theory

The third theory suggests that there are 'differences' between men and women which lead them to have distinct expectations of what they should be paid. Women's expectations tend to be lower and they are thus more easily satisfied with pay (Phelan, 1994). Paradox researchers have suggested that socialisation and ongoing experiences mean that women are assigned a lower status than men, resulting in women expecting and accepting lower rewards (Mueller and Kim, 2008). These perceptions of entitlements are, it is argued, primarily the result of behaviour learnt in childhood but are also the outcome of ongoing interactions between the individual and the workplace (Mueller and Kim, 2008; Clark, 1997). This explanation, which refers to 'socialisation' and ongoing experiences, is rather vague however it does have similarities with the ideas of

West and Zimmerman (1987) and Butler (1990) who have created more substantial theories of gender. Both argue that gender is an ongoing performance or activity that can be affected by experiences and the reactions of others (discussed more fully in section 2.15). This has been recognised by some paradox researchers, for example both Major and Konar (1994) and Clark (1997) argued that there is a circularity about the impact of expectations and unequal pay, women may expect less pay and therefore receive less which subsequently ensures that their expectations remain low. It has also been suggested that women may recognise that they receive lower pay but feel powerless to change matters (Buchanan, 2005). Satisfaction with lower pay therefore becomes a compromise between what is ideally desired and what is perceived to be possible.

However, although there is some evidence to support the 'differential entitlements' theory, it is not consistent. For example, early experimental research suggested that women pay themselves less for comparable work and also work for a longer period of time for a pre-determined amount of pay (Major et al., 1984). Additionally, a study of 435 undergraduates in the USA found females students expected lower salaries than male students. There were also differences between students who were entering different sectors: those entering female dominated sectors expected to be paid less than those entering male dominated sectors (Hogue et al., 2010). Similarly, research with students in a French university suggested significant differences between the expected salaries of men and women although those students who planned to enter a female dominated occupation did not have lower expectations than others (Bonnard and Giret, 2016). However, another study of students in the United Kingdom and Australia found no gender differences although they did find that British students expected higher salaries than Australian ones. In addition, in both countries, students from more prestigious universities had higher expectations of pay than those attending less prestigious ones (Davidson et al., 2012).

Paradox researchers have tended to find no connection between entitlement and satisfaction. Phelan's study (1994) of employees in the USA, measured 'entitlement' as the gap between job satisfaction and perceptions of equity but found no difference in the levels of entitlement expressed by men and women. A

study of 2251 lawyer's, also in the USA, examined whether participants thought they were earning more or less than they deserved and found that women's and men's perceptions of 'justice' on pay were similar (Mueller and Wallace, 1996). A study of 733 clergy found that female clergy were more likely to consider their pay unjust than male clergy (McDuff, 2001). However, Clark's (1997) analysis of the British Household Panel Survey contradicted these studies. By comparing satisfaction with a range of variables that were likely to affect expectations including education level, gender mix of working environment and whether they had a working mother, Clark found that women did have a lower sense of entitlement than men although this was not visible in younger employees, those who were highly educated or those who were employed at professional level.

Taking the evidence as a whole, therefore suggests that there is a lack of consistent or compelling support for the 'differential entitlements' theory. There is also another serious problem with the explanation because differences in expectation levels cannot feasibly be the outcome of gender alone. Different occupations are paid different amounts of money and this is legitimated and standardised by pay scales which define how much money an occupation is 'worth' (discussed in detail in section 2.16). For example, as shown in Appendix Table 2.2, male senior managers earn approximately seven times more than male 'simple task providers' (the figure for females is approximately six times). Assuming that differences in expectation are caused by gender alone is clearly overlooking the inequality arising from differences in occupational pay and therefore, the 'differential entitlements' theory is not an adequate explanation for the gender pay paradox.

2.8 'Differential values' theory

The final explanation to be discussed is the 'differential values' theory which suggests that women are more satisfied with their pay than men because they do not value money as much (Phelan, 1994). The theory is complex because there are a number of interpretations of why there are gender differences in the degree to which men and women value money. Essentially, there are two models explaining this difference in values (Rowe and Snizek, 1995). The socialisation model suggests that men and women have different 'natures' or 'characteristics' that impact upon their satisfaction. Alternatively, there is the

structural model which makes reference to the influence of women's domestic lives and their (presumed) role as secondary breadwinners. There are two possible structural explanations. First, the value women attribute to money is limited because, arguably, their responsibility for childcare encourages them to choose work that is 'flexible' rather than high paying (Bender et al., 2005). Alternatively, deVaus and McAllister (1991) outlined the hypothesis that women's secondary breadwinner status leads them to require less money than men and to be more likely to work for so-called 'pin' money and a social life, although this hypothesis was not supported by their own research. Additionally, although the 'differential values' explanation sees satisfaction as relative to personal circumstances, this breadwinner model also sees pay satisfaction in terms of economic need. Women, arguably 'need' less than men because they can rely on their higher earning spouses. Indeed, two thirds of mothers in working families are not the main household breadwinner (Cory and Stirling, 2015).

Paradox research has attempted to test whether women and men do have measurably different values with regard to money. However, it has failed to consistently prove that this is the case. Some studies have suggested that women do value money less than men, for example the original Crosby study (1982), which comprised of mixed method research with 400 individuals in one USA suburb, suggested that women place less emphasis upon pay and the prospect of promotion than men. Similarly, an analysis of data from the British Household Panel Survey data suggested that women are consistently less likely than men to state that pay is the most important aspect of their work (Clark, 1997). Analysis of data from the United Kingdom Economic and Social Initiative also suggested that women place less emphasis upon pay than men (Sloane and Williams, 2000). Finally, more recent research suggested that male employees were more sensitive to pay inequality than female employees (Khoreva and Tenhiälä, 2016)

However, there is considerable evidence that women and men do not differ in the value they attach to money. Mueller and Wynn's (2000) analysis of data sets comprising nearly 18,000 individuals from the USA, Canada, Kenya and South Korea found no evidence to support the theory. The Phelan (1994) and Mueller and Wallace (1996) data analyses discussed previously, similarly found no

evidence. Analysis of a sample of approximately 7500 respondents to the General Social Survey in the USA, also found no evidence to support the theory (Rowe and Snizek, 1995). Neither did an analysis of data from 30 countries collected for the International Social Survey Programme (Mueller and Kim, 2005). A study of approximately 2500 blue collar employees from one USA state suggested that women value pay just as much as men, especially when they are responsible for family support (Loscocco and Spitze, 1991). Finally, a survey of 569 employees in a female dominated industry suggested that pay contributed to overall job satisfaction for women but not for men, a finding which entirely contradicts the 'differential job values' theory (Buchanan, 2005). Thus, there is no compelling support for the argument that men and women value money to different degrees. Indeed, there is actually evidence to suggest that both women and men go to work for financial reward (Rose, 2005).

The theory is also problematic in a number of other ways. First of all, suggesting that women behave differently from men because it is in their nature's or because of their upbringings implies that men and women are essentially 'different' from each other. However, this fails to consider the complexity, fluidity and provisional nature of the social construction of gender (discussed in section 2.15) or how (as discussed in section 2.12) beliefs about gender may vary by social class (McRae, 2003). Secondly, the argument that women choose flexible but low paid work is not entirely logical because 'flexibility' at work is itself a concept that is open to various definitions and can be implemented for either worker benefit or employer benefit. The former may involve policies or practices that allow the employee to vary when they undertake their work (Maxwell et al., 2007). However, flexibility that is undertaken for employer benefit may include non-standard working patterns that are imposed by employers and are often associated with job insecurity (Atkinson and Sandiford, 2016), such as zero hours contracts which are more common amongst female workers than male workers (Office for National Statistics, 2017d). The implication of the 'differential values' theory is that women are choosing the former type of flexible working arrangement and indeed, there is some evidence that women value flexibility offered by employers and that this is associated with high job satisfaction (Bender et al., 2005). However, this type of flexible working is actually more likely to be available in higher paid jobs, rather than lower paid

ones (Glauber, 2011) and therefore the suggestion that flexible workers are low paid because they have chosen flexible working appears to be conflating the two types of 'flexibility'. Furthermore, Wheatley's (2017) analysis of the British Household Panel Survey suggested that whilst flexible working was used by male employees to continue working full time, amongst women it was usually used as a way of reducing hours of work and moreover was associated with reduced job satisfaction. Clearly, there is no simple connection between women 'choosing' flexible working and subsequent pay satisfaction.

Finally, the suggestion that women are secondary breadwinners, need less money and thus are more easily satisfied, is also problematic. Although, women have historically been less likely to work for necessities rather than luxuries, this is becoming less common (Rose, 2005). Indeed, the idea of the male breadwinner is a relatively modern concept that arrived after the industrial revolution (Crompton, 1997) and during feudal times both men and women contributed towards the economic needs of the household (Watson, 2009). In the contemporary setting (section 2.10 discusses women and work in detail), the suggestion that women work for 'pin' money, has even less resonance because a third of mothers in working families are the household's main breadwinner (Cory and Stirling, 2015). In addition, the argument that women, because of their secondary breadwinner status are more likely to work for social reasons than men, is a simplification of the complex subject of work orientation. Working for social reasons is not, as suggested by this theory, the preserve of women, but is actually a traditionally male orientation to work and includes for example, notions of team work and camaraderie (Goldthorpe et al., 1968). Finally, considering 'need' merely in terms of breadwinner status ignores other forms of need, such as number of dependents. For example, early research on pay in the 1970's utilised vignettes of workers and their families and asked participants how much they thought each worker deserved to be paid. The findings suggested that those with dependent children are more likely to be considered underpaid (Jasso and Rossi, 1977; Alves and Rossi, 1978). Additionally, during the early twentieth century, the development of the family wage was driven, not just by patriarchy but also by the idea of 'need' (Lurie, 2016).

Thus overall, the 'differential values' theory does not provide a convincing explanation for the gender pay paradox. Empirically, the evidence does not

consistently suggest that women value money less than men and theoretically, the explanation is problematic.

2.9 Critique of the theories: Perpetuating the narrative that women are the cause of the gender pay paradox

The four explanations for the gender pay paradox clearly do not provide compelling argument or evidence. There are specific issues and problems with each theory that have been discussed in the previous sections. However, there are also some general problems with all of the theories which are presented and discussed in this section.

First of all, women are placed 'centre stage' in the explanations, whilst men are regarded as behaving normally, their behaviour and high dissatisfaction are not considered in need of explanation. It would seem to be assumed that, because it is women who have been defined as 'paradoxical', that explanation must be sought by examining women's behaviour. This has been noted by a minority of paradox researchers, for example, Clark (1997) asked why there has been so little discussion of men's dissatisfaction or why this is considered to be normal. Buchanan (2005) noted that 'by focusing the attention on the female worker, research tends to concentrate on the deviation of women from normative standards' (p. 702). This approach has not only failed to provide an adequate explanation for the gender pay paradox, it has also reflected and reproduced a dominant gendered discourse that positions women as 'different' to men and governed by their maternal and domestic lives or their 'natures'. Furthermore, the approach has directed attention away from the potential role that the workplace may have upon pay satisfaction.

Secondly, this focus upon women has tended to define women as a universal group, for example, the assumption that *all* women have lower 'inputs' into work or lower expectations than men. However, modern feminist theory no longer considers women as a universal and coherent group and instead acknowledges diversity and difference (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2010). Indeed, within feminist theory, attempting to understand the intersections between different social statuses has become crucial to conceptualising gender. This trend has largely been driven by black feminism and influential scholars such as Crenshaw (1989), who recognised the unique disadvantages experienced by black women.

However, the study of intersectionality is not necessarily confined to ethnicity and gender (Nash, 2008) and can include, for example gender and social class. Given that studies have indicated that the gender pay paradox is more common amongst lower paid women (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009), acknowledging intersectionality is potentially important. Furthermore, not only are there multiple experiences of being female but also of being male, which vary across time and place and are also subject to power relations within one location (Robinson, 2008).

Thirdly, the nature of pay satisfaction itself has not been regarded as potentially important. As explained in section 2.3, paradox research has not considered whether different aspects of pay satisfaction all produce evidence of the gender pay paradox. Instead, researchers have tended to either use a single measure of satisfaction or else have combined different dimensions of satisfaction into one 'overall' measure. In similar fashion, explanations for the paradox have also omitted to consider different dimensions of pay satisfaction. Instead, each theory has an implied interpretation of what pay satisfaction is. For example, the 'same gender referents' theory suggests that pay satisfaction results from comparison with others whilst the 'differential entitlements' theory suggest that pay is the outcome of expectations. The 'differential values' theory refers to ideas of 'need' and 'choice' whilst the 'differential inputs' theory implies that satisfaction is related to the level of 'input' into work. However, what is lacking in all of these explanations, is an exploration of different types of pay satisfaction and the relationship with the gender pay paradox. An important question has neither been asked or answered, which is 'If pay satisfaction is conceptualised in different ways, is the paradox visible amongst all the different conceptualisations?'

Last of all, with the exception of the 'differential entitlement' theory which potentially sees gendered expectations as an ongoing process, the explanations all position gender and gendered behaviour as self evident 'facts' from which theories can be extrapolated. However, gender and gender roles are, arguably, social constructs which are then interpreted and acted upon by individuals rather than a rigid characteristic which governs behaviour (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990). Furthermore, there has been no research which has attempted to understand how research participants have made their evaluations

of pay satisfaction and, if and how this ties in with gender. Instead, certain activities are understood to be 'feminine' and then argued to be the cause of the gender pay paradox. This approach defines participants' own experiences of gender, work and pay as irrelevant to understanding the gender pay paradox. This is both problematic and also unlikely to lead to understanding of the paradox.

2.10 Women and Work: The relevance of the paradox today

Gender pay paradox research emerged in the 1980s relatively recently after gender equality legislation had been passed, when the gender pay gap was greater than it is today and when social attitudes regarding gender were more conservative. As a consequence, the explanations for the paradox may appear a little old-fashioned or 'out of step' with the lives of women in modern western societies in 2018. For example, the suggestions that women invariably have a lower input to work than men, that they always seek 'flexible' work or that they are reliant on a higher earning spouse can be challenged with statistics that appear to suggest that gender inequality is disappearing. Several gender pay paradox researchers have even suggested that gender inequality will soon become a feature of the past (Clark, 1997; Williams et al., 2006), thus rendering study of the gender pay paradox increasingly irrelevant.

Indeed, there is ostensibly evidence that the lives of women, living in western societies, in 2018 are different to women's lives during that time period. For example, in the United Kingdom, the proportion of women in work aged 16-64 has risen from 52.7% in 1971 to 70.9% in 2017 (Office for National Statistics, 2018). Similarly, in the USA, where the pay paradox was first observed, women's share of the civilian labour force has risen from 28.6% in 1948 to 46.8% in 2015 (USA Department of Labor, 2017). In addition, equality legislation has been passed which attempts to prevent discrimination. In the United Kingdom, the Equal Pay Act of 1970 and the Sex Discrimination and Employment Protection Acts of 1975 made it unlawful to treat women less favourably than men in relation to pay, promoted equality of outcome, and also introduced statutory maternity provision and made it illegal to dismiss a woman because of pregnancy. In the USA, the Equal Pay Act of 1963 abolished wage disparity on the basis of gender. At the same time, the pay gap between men

and women is, on first inspection, closing. In the United Kingdom, the difference between average hourly full-time earnings of male and female employees, as a proportion of men's earnings has declined from 17.4% in 1997 to 9.1% in 2017 (Office for National Statistics, 2017d) and in the USA, the gender earnings ratio (women's earnings as a percentage of men's) for full-time workers has risen from 60.2% in 1980 to 79.6% in 2015 (USA Department of Labor, 2015). In addition, in western countries, traditionally 'masculine' jobs in manufacturing have been declining since the 1970s (Giddens and Sutton, 2013), whilst there has been an increase in white collar jobs (Lewis, 1984) which has helped to facilitate the rise in middle class female employment. Although, working class women, of course, have always had higher levels of labour market participation (Lewis, 1984).

There are also other signs that ostensibly suggest that equality between men and women has increased. The traditional family unit and women's financial dependence upon a male breadwinner would appear to be declining. In the United Kingdom, there are now 4.1 million people aged 16 to 64 who live alone and nearly 2 million lone parents with dependent children (Office for National Statistics, 2015). Furthermore, a third of mothers in working families are the household's main breadwinner (Cory and Stirling, 2015). In addition, approximately one in five women born in 1969 were childless in 2014 compared to one in nine women born in 1942 who remained childless at the end of their childbearing years (Office for National Statistics, 2015). Education and the search for highly paid professional work, is no longer the preserve of men. In the United Kingdom, 55.1% of undergraduate students are now female (Universities UK, 2015). Additionally, the contraceptive pill has given women greater control over fertility (Hakim, 2000). At the same time as these changes in women's working and home lives have occurred, public opinion about the roles of women has also adapted. In 1984, almost half of people agreed with the statement "A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family," however, only 13% believed this in 2013. Similarly, in 1984, 64% believed that a mother should stay at home when there is a pre-school child compared to 33% in 2013 (Park et al., 2013).

However, in spite of this evidence for increasing gender equality, there is still persisting inequality. Furthermore, this inequality is complex and different

elements of this inequality tend to combine and perpetuate female disadvantage. First of all, women still lag behind men in terms of their participation in the labour market. In the United Kingdom in 2017, 69.9% of women aged 16-64 years worked compared to 79.4% of men of the same age (Office for National Statistics, 2017c). Secondly, although the earnings gap between men and women has declined, it still exists and it is unlikely to be eradicated in the near future. Examination of data from the past twenty years suggests that the speed of reduction is slowing and potentially stalling (Office for National Statistics, 2017d). Thirdly, the majority of work undertaken by women is often similar to domestic unpaid work and involves caring, cleaning or supporting men in more senior roles. Conversely, men dominate work which involves a physical presence or requires technical or scientific skills (Irving, 2008). Although women have entered occupations which were previously closed to them, others remain as gender segregated as they were in 1950 (Williams et al., 2012) whilst young women are still less likely to study and pursue occupations in science, maths or technology, which all tend to offer higher financial rewards (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). Fourthly, the pay gap is not simply the result of women being paid less than men for similar tasks. The labour market is segregated horizontally and women are more likely than men to be employed in low paid, unskilled and part-time work (Sands, 2013). It is also segregated vertically, with women less likely to be in senior roles (Sealy et al., 2016). Pay gaps also exist in the public sector, even though standardised pay systems arguably mitigate against overt discrimination (Thornley, 2006; Smith, 2009). Last of all, there is also evidence to suggest that middle class women have gained more than working class women. Professional women born in 1970 are likely to earn 80% more than unskilled women, a gap that is greater than the 61% gap between professional and unskilled men (Lanning et al., 2013). Indeed, although inequalities also exist at professional level, the pay gap for professionals at only 6.2%, is smaller than for other occupational groups (Perfect, 2012). Given that the paradox is more likely to be found amongst lower grade occupations (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009), this is significant because it suggests that the level of inequality experienced is reflected in levels of pay satisfaction.

In addition, although men with children are more likely to work than those without children, the opposite is true of women (Office for National Statistics, 2013). When women do work, they are much more likely than men to work part-time. In 2013, 42% of women worked part-time compared to 12% of men (Office for National Statistics, 2013). Amongst married or co-habiting heterosexual couples, there is often a full-time male and a part-time female who combines unpaid care with paid work (Lewis, 2006). There is also evidence to suggest that fathers are less likely to believe that they have access to 'parent friendly' flexible working opportunities than mothers (Gattrell et al., 2014). Additionally, women still take primary responsibility for childcare and domestic chores (Mencarini and Sironi, 2012; Park et al., 2013) and contribute nearly twice as many hours to housework and childcare (Office for National Statistics, 2016a). Furthermore, the disparity in household chores may be even more pronounced because men tend to inflate the amount of time that they spend on household chores (Scott and Plagnol, 2012). A study of cohabiting partnerships found that, even when men were doing household tasks, women were the managers whilst men were 'helpers', (Singleton and Maher, 2004). Furthermore, research suggests that women entering hetero-normative relationships increase their share of household tasks, a trend which is amplified by the arrival of children into the family (Ridgeway, 2011). As well as childcare and domestic chores, there is also an increasing number of elderly people that require care and support from relatives, a task most usually undertaken by women (Lewis, 2006).

Overall, the reality of women's participation in the labour market is neither one of equality with men nor the relatively simple narrative of women as secondary earners, focussed on their home lives and with little interest in employment, as suggested by gender pay paradox explanations (Phelan, 1994). Women's participation in the labour market is increasing, as is their financial independence. However, inequality lingers both at work and in the domestic sphere and there is a circularity about this inequality which is proving difficult to manoeuvre around. Women's lower pay and presumed secondary earner status has justified paying women less (Williams et al., 2012) and it has also reinforced the idea that women should take the main responsibility for housework and childcare (Blair-Loy, 2003). Unfortunately, this persistent inequality still also

lends a common sense credibility to paradox explanations which emphasise the difference between women's and men's work and home lives and, de facto, use this as explanation for the gender pay paradox.

Thus overall, the evidence presented in this section regarding women and the labour market suggests that gender inequality is persisting in the contemporary setting. In addition, there is evidence for the continued existence of the gender pay paradox (Davison, 2014; Khoreva and Tenhiälä, 2016). Therefore, the suggestion that gender inequality is disappearing and the study of the gender pay paradox is becoming increasingly irrelevant (Clark, 1997; Williams et al., 2006) is flawed. Although gender inequality is not as pronounced or visible as it was during the 1980s and 1990s, it still exists and therefore study of the gender pay paradox has continued relevance. However, research in the contemporary setting needs to acknowledge the complexity of women's working and domestic lives in order to find a more timely explanation for this phenomenon than those provided by earlier researchers.

Furthermore, study of the gender pay paradox needs to have a broader view of the possible causes than previous researchers have held. As explained in sections 2.2-2.9, previous scholars have tended to concentrate upon women and their behaviour and have neglected the potential role of the workplace. Therefore, the following sections of this review turn attention towards the literature on attitudes and orientations to work and discuss the possible relevance and relationships that this may have with pay satisfaction.

2.11 Is work orientation and pay satisfaction formed at work or outside of it?

As well as the simplistic and somewhat dated vision of women and the labour market, a further problem with explanations for the gender pay paradox, is that they have focussed on the idea that women's pay satisfaction is formed outside of the workplace, implicitly suggesting that the nature of the workplace or the work itself is irrelevant to pay satisfaction. For example, explanations have suggested that satisfaction is related to 'input' which is inter-connected with women's maternal and domestic role. Alternatively, women, it is suggested have a predisposition to choose other women as referents or else women have a different orientation to work because, they value money less than men (Phelan,

1994). The 'differential entitlements' theory does suggest that the workplace can affect expectations (Clark, 1997), however, this is seen as secondary to what is learned during childhood socialisation (Mueller and Kim, 2008). However, there is a range of sociological evidence which has suggested that, on balance, the workplace often has a role to play in the formation of attitudes to work. This section, therefore, discusses evidence that suggests that attitudes to work are formed both within and outside of the workplace.

One of the earliest studies of attitudes to work was inspired by Marxian ideas of worker alienation and it particularly considered the workplace, the nature of the work undertaken and its impact upon worker attitudes. Marx argued that some types of work were unfulfilling and led to alienation, including having no control over what is produced, a loss of control over how to produce it, a sense of estrangement from our own human nature and alienation from our fellow human beings (Marx, 1970 [1870]). Using these Marxian ideas as a starting point, Blauner (1964), examined the impact of technology upon men's work satisfaction and attitudes to work. He concluded that perceptions of powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation and self-estrangement were higher in industries where there were high levels of technology. Unfortunately, Blauner's research was weakened by his belief that women were 'different' to men, and that because of their domestic responsibilities, women's attitudes to work, unlike men's, was entirely formed outside of the workplace (Feldberg and Glenn, 1970). However, other research studies analysed differences in workplace behaviour between men and women in factories, and concluded that they were, at least in part, the outcome of different wage systems (Lupton, 1963) or the conditions of men and women's work (Cunnison, 1966).

These early studies of work orientation focussed on repetitive, low skilled manual work as the source of alienation (McKinlay and Marceau, 2011). However, later scholars have argued that low-status white collar work, which is usually undertaken by women, now closely resembles factory work in that it is highly routinised and lacking in autonomy (Glenn and Feldberg, 1977; Crompton and Jones, 1984) and thus could also be a source of alienation from work. On the whole, higher paid staff (though not necessarily professional staff) tend to experience higher levels of autonomy than others (Wheatley, 2017). It has also been noted that bureaucracy at work removes autonomy and Weber (1958

[1905]) in his classic essay on the development of capitalism, saw the rationalisation of our working lives as an attack on individual freedom and the equivalent of being constrained by an iron cage. More recently, the social anthropologist David Graeber (2013a) argued that technology and bureaucracy have resulted in vast numbers of people in Europe and North America toiling at jobs that are effectively meaningless and provide no satisfaction for the workers themselves. There is also some evidence that pay satisfaction is higher amongst those who have greater freedom to organise their own work (Nguyen et al., 2003).

Thus, overall there is a range of evidence suggesting that the workplace itself and in particular, the level of autonomy experienced by workers is influential upon attitudes to work. However, in spite of this, paradox researchers, in their quest to understand pay satisfaction, have generally not considered the workplace as worthy of further investigation. This maybe because the narrative of paradox research, which defines women as essentially different to men, would not fit well with a focus on the workplace. Alternatively, it may be because the relationship between autonomy at work, pay satisfaction and gender is complex and, at times, contradictory making it appear an inauspicious route to understanding the gender pay paradox. Low paid workers are more likely to be female and to have low levels of autonomy and yet this is clearly not reflected in their pay satisfaction. In spite of this, it is possible that the levels of autonomy experienced at work might be helpful in the study of the paradox. For example, there may be relationships between increased autonomy and greater job demands or longer working hours. These, in turn, may result in work-family conflict (Grzywacz et al., 2002; Moen and Yu, 2000) or high levels of stress (Kinman and Wray, 2013) which then impact upon pay satisfaction. Clark's (1997) analysis of Household Panel data suggested that those with long working hours had lower pay satisfaction. For this reason, it is necessary to consider autonomy at work and its connections with pay satisfaction.

Work orientations literature has also suggested that attitudes to work may be formed outside of the workplace. Workers are not necessarily passive 'victims' of the workplace but are active creators of their own orientation. The seminal study in this area is Goldthorpe et al.'s (1968) research of 'affluent' car workers in Luton. This research suggested that orientations were something that (male)

workers brought with them to work and that these particular workers were 'instrumental'. For the Luton car workers, wages enabled them to obtain the material goods and services that they desired and work was a means to an end. Goldthorpe et al. (1968) also identified other forms of orientation; those with a 'solidaristic' orientation view work as valuable in itself and an important source of group membership and/or individual identity, whilst those with a 'bureaucratic' orientation hold a loyalty or commitment to a business/organisation and also have ambition to progress within that organisation. The divisions between instrumental, solidaristic and bureaucratic orientations are not absolute, and individuals may hold more than one orientation at once. Furthermore, the Luton study suggested that the instrumental attitude was particularly prominent amongst men with young families, suggesting that orientation can change throughout the life cycle (Goldthorpe et al., 1968). Thus, although the Luton car workers' orientation was instrumental, work orientation is also fluid, changeable and flexible. This contrasts with the explanations of pay satisfaction discussed by paradox researchers, whereby, satisfaction is generally formed outside of the workplace but is rigidly defined by gender with no room for change or adaptation.

Researchers have also attempted to locate the cause of intrinsic and extrinsic orientations to work and the findings, however, cast some doubt upon the conclusions of Goldthorpe et al. (1968) with regard to instrumentalism. Those who work for intrinsic rewards are likely to find employment an enriching experience, that provides challenges and allows the individual to develop, whilst those who work for extrinsic satisfactions, consider work a means to an end and seek satisfaction elsewhere (Watson, 2008). This difference has often been measured by attempting to ascertain if work is a central life interest to participants, usually by asking, if participants were to inherit a large sum of money, would they would continue to work or not (Morse and Weiss, 1955). This 'lottery' question, as it is known, has also been asked by the USA based National Opinion Research Centre (Highhouse et al., 2010) and in a national survey in the United Kingdom (Warr, 1982). It has also been used in Germany, Israel and Japan (Harpaz, 2002). Overall, the evidence suggests that professional workers tend to experience greater levels of intrinsic job satisfaction than non-professional workers (Gruenberg, 1980; Link et al., 1993; Rose, 2003; Chiaburu

et al., 2013), suggesting that intrinsic satisfaction is the outcome of the nature of the work undertaken. Indeed, working for extrinsic reasons is likely to be the outcome of any unfulfilling work (Loscocco, 1989; Rose, 1994). Therefore, the instrumentalism of the Luton car workers may not have been entirely formed outside of the workplace and was also likely to have been influenced by the nature of the work that they were doing.

In addition, Goldthorpe et al.'s (1968) concept of 'solidaristic' orientation is of significance. The 'differential values' theory has suggested that women have high pay satisfaction because they are more likely to work for social reasons than men (deVaus and McAllister, 1991). However, this is at odds with Goldthorpe et al.'s (1968) study of work orientation which notes that work can serve a valuable social role for men. Later researchers have also argued that interaction with others is an important motivation to work for all individuals (Furåker, 2012). Clearly, working for social reasons, is not something that only women do, and to suggest that this is the case, is both an oversimplification of the complex nature of work orientation but also misguidedly reduces the social aspects of work to a gendered and (it is implied) frivolous aspect of employment.

Finally, employment is also potentially linked with ideas of virtue and morality which are also 'taken to work' with the individual. Weber (1958 [1905]) noted the connection between Protestant Christianity and the development of capitalism. Although the idea of the work ethic has become secular, the association of hard work with a successful economy is still prevalent (Furåker, 2012). In liberal economies such as the United Kingdom, those who do not work and are reliant on welfare are vilified in the media as immoral scroungers who are a drain on the country's resources (Shildrick et al., 2012). Thus, people are expected to work because it is the 'right' thing to do. It has also been suggested that some people have an 'altruistic' orientation to work and wish to undertake work that has a positive outcome (Karlsson, 2012).

Thus, overall, the evidence suggests that both the workplace and what people 'take to work' with them are likely to be influential on people's motivations and attitudes to work. Indeed, studies undertaken shortly after the Luton research suggested that both work itself and factors outside of work influence people's

orientation to work (Beynon and Blackburn, 1972; Wedderburn and Crompton, 1972; Pollert, 1981). If parallels can be drawn between pay satisfaction and work orientation, this would suggest that both the workplace and forms of orientation that are 'taken to work' with individuals are of potential interest to researchers who wish to understand pay satisfaction levels. It is therefore important to include the potential impact of the workplace in a study of the gender pay paradox and to not, as previous paradox researchers have done, concentrate on the behaviour or 'nature' of women.

2.12 Women's orientation to work

The two major studies of work orientation discussed in the previous section concentrated on the work orientation of men. Goldthorpe et al. (1968) studied men only whilst Blauner (1964) included women in his research but then applied a 'female' model of explanation to explain their behaviour. Specifically, his analysis of men was informed by the nature of their work, but his analysis of women was informed by, what he considered to be, women's 'main' role in the domestic sphere. This approach was both inconsistent and devoid of evidence regarding the assumed home lives of women (Feldberg and Glenn, 1970). Given that women have increased their participation in the labour market (Office for National Statistics, 2017c), the growth in lone parent families (Office for National Statistics, 2015) and the increase in female household breadwinners (Cory and Stirling, 2015), it might be expected that more recent research would consider the orientation of women to their work in a similar way to men's. This has not been the case, however and although, in the 1990s, women became the focus of debate about work orientation, women's orientation to work was still defined by their domestic role. Furthermore, there was no development of research or theory that encompassed both men and women.

The move towards the study of women was precipitated by the work of Catherine Hakim who believed that because the sociology of labour market behaviour had concentrated on the study of men, it had not explained women's orientations. She therefore developed 'preference theory' (1998, 2000, 2006). This theory shares common ground with some explanations for the gender pay paradox since women are seen as different to men because of their home lives. However, Hakim's theory is more sophisticated in that it does not consider *all*

women to be different to men and therefore could, potentially, be useful in understanding why the paradox is more commonly found amongst lower paid occupations (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009). The theory suggests that women, unlike men, are heterogeneous in their attitudes to work and are either work centred, home centred or adaptive. Women, Hakim argued, are free to choose their level of commitment to the workplace but men are universally work centred.

Hakim's theory precipitated a robust debate and fierce criticism from feminist scholars. The debate revolved around the issues of choice and structural/cultural constraints which, it was argued, impact disproportionately on working class women. For example, working class women are more likely to hold 'traditional' views about mothering and work (McRae, 2003). At the same time, women who work full-time (the work centred women of Hakim's theory) tend to hold professional jobs (Procter and Padfield, 1999) whilst childcare is more affordable to middle class women (Gregson and Lowe, 1994). Thus, patterns of labour market participation, rather than being the result of what Hakim refers to as 'free choice' tend to coincide with social class membership. In addition, the empirical base of her study has been questioned because she presented data on what people currently do and suggested that this was indicative of what they prefer (Yee Kan, 2007). Additionally, there is also evidence to suggest that men are not, as a general rule, 'work centred' and do not prioritise work over family life (Pleck, 1985). Last of all, there is little logic to the suggestion that women can choose which pathway to take but that men are destined through their biology to be work centred. Indeed, previous research has suggested that men may have different orientations to each other (Goldthorpe et al., 1968).

Overall, there are far too many weaknesses with Hakim's theory for it to be a satisfactory explanation for women's orientation to work and neither is it useful as an aid to understanding variance in pay satisfaction between women in different occupational groups. This is because Hakim's approach is too similar to paradox researchers for it to provide new insight. First of all, Hakim's positivist approach has led her to assume that what she observes is the outcome of preference (Yee Kan, 2007). This is reminiscent of paradox theories which note women's behaviour and then use this behaviour as explanation for pay satisfaction levels. Secondly, Hakim believes that women make choices, however

'choice' is clearly affected by structural and normative constraints which impact more upon lower class women (Gregson and Lowe, 1994; Procter and Padfield, 1999; McRae, 2003). Within paradox research, this concept of women's 'choice' has also dominated, for example, the 'differential inputs' and 'differential values' theory both emphasise women's 'choice' to prioritise home lives, be that in terms of 'input' or 'flexible' working (Phelan, 1994). Last of all, both Hakim's preference theory and theories of the gender pay paradox are sensitive to women's maternal and domestic responsibilities, however unfortunately, they are dominated by it. This individualistic approach denies the possibility that either orientation to work or pay satisfaction might be influenced the workplace. Thus, overall, there is actually little difference between Hakim's approach to work orientations and the theorists of the gender pay paradox. Unfortunately, neither has provided adequate explanation for either women's work orientation or pay satisfaction.

2.13 The decline of work?

This final section on work orientations focuses on more recent debates regarding structural changes within the labour market. Academic literature has noted that work is becoming increasingly insecure and precarious (Sennett, 2006; Standing, 2011). This has been caused by structural changes within the labour market and, in particular, the growth of non standard or part-time employment which is often low paid and insecure (Sennett, 2006; Standing, 2011). 'Good jobs' are seen as being replaced with 'bad jobs' (McGovern et al., 2004; Doogan, 2009). The number of people employed on zero hours contracts is increasing, rising to 905,000 in December 2016, from 804,000 in December 2015 (Office for National Statistics, 2017a). Young people and women are amongst those more likely to have these type of contracts (Office for National Statistics, 2017e). Self-employment is also increasing, in the period 2001-2015, it grew by 25% amongst full-time workers and by 88% amongst part-time workers (Office for National Statistics, 2016b). There are real impacts on the well-being of employees: the number of people experiencing 'in work' poverty increased by 1.1 million in 2010 to reach 3.6 million in 2016 (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2016). In addition, in his classic research with employees, Sennett (1998) noted that businesses and organisations are plagued by repeated re-structurings and re-organisations, resulting in job losses and upheaval. Furthermore,

unemployment particularly affects the young, older workers, the working class and women (Edgell, 2012).

Capitalism, it is argued, now requires workers to be increasingly flexible and short term in outlook. Individuals cannot embed themselves in an occupation or with a particular company but must be flexible and adapt, moving from job to job in order to retain income (Sennett, 2006; Standing, 2011). The declining power of trade unions has also been noted (Doogan, 2009). However, the repercussions of this new insecurity are not confined to economics alone. These changes in work have arguably led to work becoming more of a peripheral, rather than central orientation point in people's lives (Bauman, 2005). There is less commitment to a place of work because individuals have to be flexible and adaptable to new opportunities (Sennett, 1998). Work is, arguably, no longer a source of identity, and has been replaced by consumerism (Bauman, 2005; Ransome, 2005). There is some evidence to support this argument and research has suggested that 'leisure' is of increasing importance to people whilst 'work' is of declining importance (Twenge et al., 2010). Additionally, in the 1950s, four out of five professional nurses defined work as being of central importance (Orzack, 1959), however almost fifty years later, albeit amongst a different employment group, work was not a central life interest to legal professionals (Genis and Wallis, 2005). Additionally, changes in the structure of work and the decline of traditional industries have also arguably changed communities who are no longer tied together by the similarity of their employment, there is a sense of fragmentation and individualisation (Strangleman, 2007). The impact of these structural changes in the labour market and the subsequent changes in the relationship between the employee and the workplace may be of relevance to a study of pay satisfaction. However, issues such as security at work or experiences of re-structuring have not been considered by previous studies of the gender pay paradox.

It is important to note, however, that concerns about changes in the labour market are not new. The inspiration for Marxism was the changes brought about by industrialisation and the decline of traditional skilled crafts workers (Strangleman, 2007). Similarly, Tönnies (2001 [1887]) described the changing nature of communities, embodied in the ideal types of *Gemeinschaft* (traditional close knit communities) and *Gesellschaft* (transient, impersonal communities)

which also betrayed a sense of loss and a concern with change. Furthermore, the decline in work centrality, is not simply linear or straightforward because work centrality, like intrinsic and extrinsic orientation, is likely to be affected by occupational group. For example, Dubin's early research (1956) suggested that three out of every four industrial workers stated that work was not a central life interest. Thus, although the study of nurses (Orzack, 1959), discussed above, might give the impression that work was a central feature of work in the past, clearly, there is evidence to suggest that this was variable by occupation. It is important to not diminish or deny the real changes that are occurring in the labour market at present. However, there is also perhaps an arguable sense of a collective nostalgia for the concept of work, which over romanticises the nature of work in the past (Strangleman, 2007). It might also overstate the degree to which work and identity were linked (Strangleman, 2012). The tale of the decline of work is, in part, also the story of the decline of traditional, industrial and masculine work and its replacement by non-manual work and a concurrent increase in the proportion of women in the labour market (Lewis, 1984; Giddens and Sutton, 2013). It is not so much the decline of work in general therefore, but a decline in traditional, unionised and masculine work, it has even been suggested that the labour market has become 'feminised' (Standing, 1999). Additionally, others argue that work does still fulfil important social and personal needs for people (Doherty, 2009). At the same time, there is some evidence to suggest that work is becoming increasingly invasive, there is an overwork culture (Bunting, 2004) and increasing reliance on technological developments that blur the boundaries between home and work (Lewis, 2003; Svendsen, 2016). Thus, there is, arguably, a decreasing amount of time available for consumerism and leisure. Overall, the evidence relating to the 'decline in work' suggests that there is certainly increasing insecurity at work, which may be of relevance to a study of pay satisfaction. However, the exact relationship between this increasing insecurity and work orientation is unclear and disputed.

It has also been suggested that increases in the standard of living in Western societies have resulted in individuals placing less emphasis on accumulating money. It is argued that many people have more money than they need to spend on securing the essentials for survival (Furåker, 2012). This idea is reminiscent of Maslow's hierarchy of needs which emphasises that physiological

and safety needs to be achieved before love, esteem and self-actualisation can be pursued (Maslow, 1943). However, the rise of precarious employment outlined above (Doogan, 2009; McGovern et al., 2004; Office for National Statistics, 2017a) would suggest that not all employees are in this enviable situation. Indeed, evidence suggests that the gap between the wealth possessed by the rich and the poor is increasing (Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2016).

This section has considered structural changes in the nature of work which have led to increasing employment insecurity and the suggestion that individuals no longer identify closely with their employment. If this is the case, then this is potentially important to this piece of research because wider attitudes to work may potentially be linked with pay satisfaction. Significantly, the debate about the decline of work also raises the suggestion that beliefs and understandings of work and employment are not necessarily based entirely on 'facts' but are coloured by ideas of what work 'should' be like, that beliefs about work are socially constructed. In particular, there is the suggestion that work in the past has been over romanticised and that 'good' work is defined in relation to the work that men have traditionally done.

Social constructionism is a major foundational stone for this study of pay satisfaction. This is because paradox research appears to reflect the dominant and socially constructed discourse that women are more likely to be irrational than men and furthermore, that women's behaviour is the 'cause' of the pay paradox. This approach has, it is argued, affected the quality of this body of work. In addition, social constructionism is a useful approach to take because perceptions and understandings of work and pay are also affected by dominant beliefs. Therefore, the following sections turn attention to social constructionism and considers how this ontological perspective can contribute to a study of pay satisfaction.

2.14 Social Constructionism

Paradox researchers have tended to work within the objectivist and positivist traditions. For objectivists, social reality consists of 'facts' which exist independently of any human action. The positivist epistemology posits that these 'facts' can be collected, analysed and used to explain the social world. Quantitative data and statistical techniques are the usual approach. However,

this approach is limited because it tends to assume that gender is merely a feature of individuals (Stacey and Thorne, 1985) and also offers little insight into how individuals understand the world around them. The positivist approach has, therefore, provided paradox researchers with data that suggests relationships between gender and pay satisfaction but no evidence to suggest why these relationships occur. As a consequence, these studies have tended to rely on observations of gendered behaviour and 'common sense' assumptions about men and women to explain the phenomenon.

However, the study of the gender pay paradox does not have to be situated within the objectivist and positivist traditions. An alternative ontological position is social constructionism which asserts that social phenomena are produced by social actors and do not exist independently of human action (Crotty, 1998). Reality is therefore always emergent and continuously being revised and amended. It is also fluid, changing and anti-essentialist (Sayer, 1997), and may vary from place to place and over time. Thus for example, masculinity and femininity are social constructs rather than self-evident 'natural' characteristics of men and women. Additionally, within any one time and place there may be multiple perceptions of reality, this is because reality is subjective rather than a simple objective truth. Therefore, constructions of reality are always situated, with different people potentially perceiving the world in different ways (Crotty, 1998). However, dominant constructions of truth may emerge resulting in our constructions of the world being 'bound up with power relations' (Burr, 2003 p.5). Dominant social constructions can be sustained by social structures and interactions but they are also a reflection of the actions of individuals (Burr, 2003).

From this perspective, gender is not merely biological differences between men and women. Instead, it is a social construct which arguably, creates and reinforces power differentials between men and women (Delphy, 1993). This social constructionist perspective is helpful to a study of the gender pay paradox because it provides a platform from which to challenge the assumptions of previous scholars of the gender pay paradox who implied that women are more likely to be irrational than men and therefore the 'cause' of the gender pay paradox. Furthermore, it also provides a way of thinking about gender that could aid understanding of gendered attitudes to pay and a theoretical approach to

understanding variations in occupational pay and how this might be linked to pay satisfaction.

The following sections of this literature review therefore consider social constructionist perspectives on gender, work and pay. The work of feminist scholars such as Butler (1990) and West and Zimmerman (1987) on the daily social construction of gender are discussed. Additionally, scholarly work analysing how work and pay have been socially constructed to disadvantage women is presented including work by Acker (1990) and Halford and Leonard (2001). In addition, some of the key concepts of Boudieu, (1995 [1972]), including 'doxa' and 'symbolic violence' are discussed and their potential use to a study of pay satisfaction is considered.

2.15 The social construction of gender

Conceptualising gender as a social construct, rather than a simple biological difference is helpful to the study of the gender pay paradox because it provides a robust platform from which to critique the assumptions, and narrow focus, of previous paradox researchers. It potentially also provides a theoretical framework that if, as paradox researchers have claimed, pay satisfaction is related to gendered behaviour such as responsibility for childcare, will enable understanding of *how* gendered behaviour impacts upon satisfaction.

Gender is a major way of categorising and organising individuals (Richardson, 2008). However, paradox researchers, like many other scholars of this era, have generally assumed that gender is a self evident 'fact' that can be used as a way of dividing a population into two distinct groups (Stacey and Thorne, 1985). This assumption has enabled common sense assumptions of gender to manifest within this body of work. For example, women are presented as more likely to be 'paradoxical' than men, whilst men are 'rationally' dissatisfied. At the same time, women's responsibilities for childcare are presented as self-evident, whilst those of men are not. Simultaneously, it is considered appropriate to seek the 'cause' of the paradox within women themselves although within each explanation for the paradox (discussed in sections 2.5-2.8), an implicit understanding of gender is apparent albeit with a lack of consistency of approach. The 'differential inputs' theory implies that biological differences drive men's and women's 'input' into work but conversely, the 'differential entitlements' theory suggests that

gendered behaviour is the outcome of socialisation and ongoing experiences. The 'differential value' theory also suggests that gendered behaviour is learned in childhood but also argues that pay satisfaction arises from the structural constraints that women with children in heterosexual relationships experience. Finally, the 'same gender referent' theory is unclear why women choose other female referents but does refer to the structural constraint of occupational segregation. Clearly, this way of considering gender is not just inconsistent, it is also an inadequate foundation for understanding gendered behaviour. Therefore, it is argued here that a study of the gender pay paradox requires a clear understanding of the term 'gender'.

Since the 1950s, scholars of gender have moved beyond the idea that gender and gendered behaviour are simply the outcome of biology or 'natural' characteristics (Richardson, 2008). Instead, gender is understood to be a social construct that defines male and female as oppositional and binary. Ann Oakley (1972) initially separated the concept of sex from gender arguing that the former is given at birth but the latter is socially ascribed. However, the suggestion that biological sex is assigned at birth is challenged by the experiences of transsexual individuals (Sevelius and Jenness, 2017). In addition, sex may be imposed upon individuals who are 'made to fit' into either male or female categories (Dreger, 2000; Wharton, 2012). Furthermore, the social construction of gender does not exist independently of power relations. Gender and sex identify those who dominate and those who are dominated and Delphy (1993) has argued that people are categorised by gender with the purpose of securing advantage for one group (Delphy, 1993). In this way, the assumptions and beliefs of paradox researchers (outlined in sections 2.3-2.9) do not exist independently of wider beliefs about gender but are a reflection of men's greater power and influence within academia (Burton, 2015). This, in itself, is indicative of wider hegemonic masculinity, and the inferior and the oppressed position of women in both the labour market and the home (Donaldson, 1993).

This categorisation of people by gender includes cultural beliefs about the characteristics of men and women. For example, masculinity is associated with technical skill, assertiveness, independence, forcefulness and dominance whilst femininity is associated with emotional expressiveness, nurturance, interpersonal sensitivity, kindness and responsiveness (Ridgeway, 2011). Weakness and

passivity in men are considered undesirable as are arrogance and bossiness amongst women (Prentice and Carranza, 2002). This categorisation pervades the tastes, behaviour and attitudes of men and women and was initially believed to be learnt during the socialisation process when children learn the rules and norms of gendered behaviour, for example research has examined gender stereotypes within children's literature (Hamilton et al., 2010).

Later theorists have argued that gender is an ongoing process, this includes the post-structural work of Judith Butler (1990) and the ethnomethodological approach of West and Zimmerman (1987). Both see gender as an ongoing and provisional process that involves the daily construction of difference between men and women, rather than the outcome of a fixed period of socialisation which affects how individuals act throughout their lives. Importantly, this changes the emphasis of how gender is conceptualised, from an individualised phenomenon to something that emerges in social action. The work of Judith Butler draws upon the work of Derrida, Foucault and French psychoanalysis (Moloney and Fenstermaker, 2002). She questions why the binary division of labour is seen as both plausible and natural and dismisses essentialist ideas of 'feminine'. She argues that gendered behaviours are not natural but created discursively. Gender, she argues does not exist outside of the performance of them, furthermore it is the performance of gender which both creates and reinforces it (Butler, 1990). She maintains that individuals are, at least, partially constituted through language which shapes and influences our performances of gender (Butler, 1999). In addition, the performance of gender is a strategy of survival that, if not adhered to, has punitive consequences (Butler, 1990). Butler's theorising with its suggestion of free will and choice in gender performance also suggests that there is potential for social change. She argues that the performance of gender is constant and therefore also provisional, opening pathways for change and transformation (Moloney and Fenstermaker, 2002).

The concept of 'doing gender' developed by West and Zimmerman (1987) shares similarities with the work of Butler (1990) in that it also sees gender as an ongoing and routine accomplishment. West and Zimmerman developed Goffman's ideas of 'display' and argued that 'doing gender' involves daily, micro and complex activities that define certain activities as masculine and others as feminine. Gender is not a fixed attribute that is learnt in childhood but is

constantly and always being 'done' everywhere so that men and women continuously and actively create gender within their social relationships and interactions. Furthermore, 'doing gender' creates and reinforces beliefs about the 'essential' nature of gender, making differences between men and women appear to be the natural state of things. Thus, gender is not merely an attribute of individuals but is an emergent feature of social situations. There is also the possibility of active resistance and individuals can 'undo' gender (Deutsch, 2007), however, this is always within the context of the possibility of assessment of behaviour and corresponding consequences. Social change is possible because individuals are influenced by both their childhood learning and current cultural expectations of what it is to be either masculine or feminine. In this way, gender and conceptions of gender can be changed over time (West and Zimmerman, 2009).

Considering gender as a social construct that is either 'performed' or 'done' everyday is useful because it allows researchers to understand male and female behaviour, decisions and choices as part of the ongoing process of being either male or female. For example, being a household breadwinner is more than simply earning money, it becomes a way of being masculine whilst being a secondary earner is a way of being feminine (Zuo, 2004). Being a mother is more than being a primary female carer of children, it involves female characteristics such as sensitivity and kindness (Arendell, 2000; Ridgeway, 2011). Undertaking housework and childcare becomes a performance or a demonstration of femininity (Fenstermaker, 2002) whilst not doing these tasks becomes a demonstration of masculinity (Coltrane, 2000). In addition, choosing an occupation may also be considered as a gendered activity. Jobs which involve feminine skills, such as sensitivity, kindness or care, are attractive to women because they are expressions of femininity, whilst jobs which involve technical skills or physical strength are attractive to men because they are an expression of masculinity. Employers' preferences for either masculine or feminine attributes in potential employees further reproduce gender occupational segregation (Ridgeway, 2011). In this way, pathways through life can be understood, not simply as the outcome of natural instincts, but as choices made within the constraints of what feels 'natural' alongside cultural expectations of gender.

Thus, understanding male and female behaviour, the choices and decisions individuals make can therefore be understood as a demonstration of an ongoing and daily social construction of gender. Furthermore, if, as has been suggested by some of the explanations for the paradox, gendered domestic roles are influential upon pay satisfaction, then it also becomes possible to understand the evaluation of pay satisfaction through the conceptual framework of the daily social construction of gender. Thus, for example, being dissatisfied with one's pay might be a way of enacting masculinity and a reflection of being a household main breadwinner. Alternatively, being satisfied with one's pay might be a way of enacting femininity and a reflection of the priority given to domestic issues.

Finally, neither women or men are universal groups and categorising them as such goes against the grain of modern feminist thought which acknowledges diversity and difference (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2010). For example, not all women work in caring roles and not all men are executives or undertake physical work that requires strength. It is therefore, imperative that the intersection of gender with other social demographics is taken into account. The review of literature suggests that considering the intersection between gender and occupational group is particularly relevant. Research has suggested that the paradox is more likely to be visible amongst lower grade workers (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009) and furthermore that the narrowing of the gender pay gap has been predominantly driven by the improved working conditions of middle class women (Lanning et al., 2013). However, although previous studies have noted that the gender pay paradox is more likely to occur amongst lower paid occupations, the approach adopted has afforded no opportunity to explore why this is the case. Conceptualising gender as a social construction, which is interpreted and acted upon by individuals may be a useful way of considering the intersection of gender and occupational grade.

2.16 The social construction of work and pay

Applying a social constructionist perspective to work and pay is helpful to the study of the gender pay paradox because critically examining the concept of 'work' and how it is associated with masculinity further suggests the need to contextualise the study of the gender pay paradox within the wider issue of

gender inequality. In addition, although paradox research has acknowledged that women generally receive lower pay than men, either because they work in low paid occupations or because they are employed in more junior posts to men (Crosby, 1982), the reasons for this occupational low pay have been presented as self-evident. However, this is problematic because the pay level of different occupations is arguably socially constructed. Furthermore, perceptions of occupational 'value' might help scholars to understand why women are more satisfied than men with their pay.

First of all, the concept of work itself is socially constructed with associations and assumptions about what counts and does not count as work along with judgements about the status or value of different types of work. Work is linked with ideas of production and economic theory and generally does not refer to unpaid labour such as housework, caring for children or caring for elderly relatives, all of which is usually undertaken by women. As such, the concept of work is not gender neutral (Irving, 2008) and the way it is defined, immediately positions women who are not in paid employment as belonging in a different sphere to individuals who are in paid work. Work becomes associated with men who possess rationality, technical skills, independence whilst not being in paid work is associated with nurturance and passivity (Ridgeway, 2011). The fact that women are labelled as paradoxical or irrational because of their patterns of satisfaction (Crosby, 1982), reflects the way that work has been socially constructed as an extension of masculinity and as an alien environment for women.

Secondly, turning attention to the question of why some occupations are paid more than others, there are a number of ways of considering this question. The neo-classical model sees pay levels as being caused by simple supply and demand mechanics, suggesting that those jobs which require skills possessed by a few are highly paid, whilst those which require skills possessed by many are lower paid. Similarly, those jobs that require complex skills are arguably paid more than those which do not (Cotter et al., 2003). Early functionalist theories of pay argued that reward was linked to its importance in society (Steinberg, 1990). Adam Smith, writing in the eighteenth century, argued that amongst manual work, some jobs are more unpleasant or harder than others and therefore should receive higher pay (Smith, 2014 [1776]). Finally, Max Weber

(1964 [1947]), writing a century later, suggested that in large bureaucratic organisations, job grades, job roles and pay are standardised into a clear hierarchical list which reflects the skills, qualifications, experience and merit needed for the many different posts within a large organisation. All of these theories suggest that the higher pay of some jobs is justified because of the nature of the work, the skills required or the level of responsibility held.

However, these theories of pay levels are problematic because they all suggest that there is an inevitability about the existence of higher and lower pay. A social constructionist perspective views different levels of pay for different jobs as anything but inevitable and instead suggests they are the result of social action. For example, although unusual, some small scale co-operative businesses offer the same salary to all employees (Corbett, 2013). In addition, perceptions of 'appropriate pay' can change, for example in the wake of the financial crash of 2007-2008 and the subsequent development of popular protest movements such as 'Occupy' (Graeber, 2013b), high wages for business executives have been questioned (Kaplan, 2013).

A social constructionist view of pay does not regard pay levels as a reflection of the intrinsic value of any particular occupation but instead sees pay scales as connected to power. Feminist scholars have critically considered how beliefs about the value of different occupations institutionally discriminate against women (Halford and Leonard, 2001). Some types of work skills are valued more than others and at the same time, men and women are deemed to have different skills (Crompton, 1997). Skills understood to be possessed by women, such as nurturing, cleaning, waiting on other people and public relations work (Steinberg, 1990) are rewarded less than those requiring other skills. Senior roles, such as management, are often seen to need masculine skills (Kanter, 1977). The pay awarded to any occupation is not a reflection of the true 'value' of that occupation, but instead is based upon a devaluation of tasks associated with femininity and a championing of tasks associated with masculinity (Acker, 1990). Work undertaken by women is held in low esteem (Cotter et al., 2003) and the abilities needed to do this work are not highly valued, nor are they believed to have anything to contribute at a higher level (Halford and Leonard, 2001). Women's jobs tend to pay less, even when they require a high level of education (Ridgeway, 2011). This perspective sees women's low pay as

connected to power and believes that the social construction of pay scales does not 'accidentally' perpetuate gender inequality, but instead, has been developed over time and sustained with the interests of men in mind, who wish to maintain their dominant position in society (Halford and Leonard, 2001).

In addition, jobs undertaken by women, irrespective of the skills required tend to be viewed as inferior because although pay evaluation is supposedly built upon ideas of skill and justifiable reward, it is also affected by 'our general valuation of the typical job incumbent' (Steinberg, 1990, p 454). For example, throughout the twentieth century, when women began working in offices, the status of the clerical worker declined, not as a result of the changing nature of the work itself but because of the 'inferior' status of the women who came to dominate the profession (Philips and Taylor, 1980). Thus, both women's skills and women themselves are believed to have little value. Furthermore, the low pay of 'feminine' work is reinforced by the lack of market value for many tasks that are undertaken by women, free of charge, in the home such as housework, caring for children or caring for elderly relatives. These tasks are not even considered worthy of the label of 'work' given that work is defined as something undertaken, under contract, for financial reward (Rose, 2003). However, the tasks undertaken for housework, are not intrinsically worthless and can be undertaken for wages. Working class women often provide cleaning and childcare services for middle class women (Gregson and Lowe, 1994). In addition, although there is no set 'value' to housework, as the 'reward' depends on the financial standing and generosity of the partner of those doing the housework, unpaid housework supports capitalism by enabling men to go to work full-time (Jackson, 2008).

Conceptualising pay in this way, is potentially an extremely useful way of examining pay satisfaction, because it acknowledges that people doing different jobs with different levels of pay might all consider their pay to be satisfactory. This is because their evaluation of satisfaction is based upon the 'value' assigned to the work they do, rather than simply the amount of money received. Furthermore, it sees the low pay of women as the outcome of a system that has been intentionally designed to sustain male power. The feminist theories of the social construction of pay scales, outlined above, are particularly helpful as they provide a theoretical framework which explains why, in the first instance, women

are low paid and secondly, potentially also explains why they are satisfied with their pay. However, the approach is still problematic because not all women are employed in low paid jobs and not all men are employed in high paid ones. Inequality is also perpetuated through the social construction of pay scales in non-gender specific terms. Thus, for example, a male porter working at the university receives low pay whilst a female principal lecturer receives a higher salary (Appendix Table 2.2 shows the average pay received by different occupational groups in UK universities).

Some of the concepts used by the Pierre Bourdieu are useful here because, they enable the inequity represented by pay scales to be considered within a social constructionist and power relations framework. Bourdieu was particularly concerned with how, even though individuals have agency over their own actions, patterns of inequality and social class are reproduced from generation to generation. Drawing upon social constructionism and Marxian perspectives, he argued that the reproduction of inequality is caused by indirect, cultural mechanisms rather than coercive forms of social control and he also emphasised the importance of social relations. To understand Bourdieu's relevance to a study of pay satisfaction, it is necessary to first consider his wider theoretical thinking, in particular, the terms 'field,' 'capital' and 'habitus' before moving on to consider the terms 'doxa' and 'symbolic violence'.

Bourdieu argued that social activity takes place within a 'field,' which is a system of social positions, occupied by both individuals and institutions and which is structured internally by power relations and governed by certain 'rules' of activity (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). In essence, a field may be considered any social arena where individuals or institutions compete for the same stakes. Within any given field, some individuals or institutions have more power than others which is dependent upon the level and type of 'capital' that each individual possesses. 'Capital,' he argued is unevenly distributed and this unevenness tends to be reproductive of existing inequalities. There are four different types of capital, first of all, economic capital refers to money and/or wealth. Secondly, social capital refers to the number and type of social contacts/social networks that an individual has and with whom individuals can have reciprocal and beneficial relationships. Thirdly, cultural capital refers to the amount and type of knowledge that an individual possesses and fourthly

symbolic capital refers to the prestige and status that accompanies and is legitimated by the other three capitals. Each form of capital and the structure and rules of the field are seen as legitimate by 'players' on the field (Jenkins, 2007). The capitals that each individual possesses contribute towards a person's 'habitus' which, in essence, is our deeply ingrained habits, attitudes and dispositions, a way of behaving or thinking that seems 'right' or 'natural'. These are not the outcome of personality differences but of social structures such as family upbringing and education (Maton, 2014). Habitus informs who we are and how we make choices but it also affects which choices are available. It is not a matter of conscious learning or of ideology being imposed but of everyday practice (Lovell, 2000). Our habitus is linked to the capitals that we possess and our subsequent likely success in any given field of social activity.

Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is particularly relevant to the study of pay satisfaction and provides a theoretical framework for understanding why some occupations are paid more than others. 'Cultural capital' refers to certain activities, knowledge or belief systems which may vary by social class, for example, the cultural tastes of social classes tend to differ. These differences are significant because the tastes of the middle classes, such as going to the theatre or opera, are elevated and defined as superior to other forms of entertainment in a way that confers social advantage (Bourdieu, 2010 [1979]). Skills and qualifications may also be viewed as a form of cultural capital because some types of qualifications or skills enable individuals to obtain higher paid and higher status employment. However, because of a process of 'symbolic violence' (discussed below), the families of middle class students have already provided their children with the same cultural language as their teachers, making it easier for middle class students to achieve these high status skills or qualifications than working class students (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). The educational system subsequently confers legitimacy, prestige and value (symbolic capital) upon the cultural capital that the middle classes have accrued enabling the reproduction of unequal economic relations (Moore, 2008). In this way, some jobs are, arguably, paid more than others, not because it reflects the intrinsic worth of those particular jobs but because it is a way of reproducing inequality.

Bourdieu's concept of 'doxa' is also a useful term to consider in relation to understanding how beliefs regarding the 'value' of different occupations are perpetuated. A 'doxa' is a social construct which, over time, has established itself as a self evident 'truth'. It is the shared and unquestioned belief that established ways of doing things are both natural and the correct order of things, but which actually relies upon a process of 'misrecognition' by those who may be disadvantaged by the 'doxa'. It therefore enables the power relations that have produced these particular beliefs to continue, it is self-reinforcing and perpetuating (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]). Thus, some occupations are paid more than others not because, as neo-classical economists suggest, this reflects their intrinsic worth, but because those who possess power are able to shape the discourse about the value of different occupations to their own benefit. Furthermore, the disadvantaged have a misplaced allegiance to the 'rules of the game' (Deer, 2014) and see it as fair and just. Within universities, this 'doxa' is represented and standardised by the single pay spine (Appendix Tables 2.1, 3.2) which both legitimates and reinforces the belief that higher paid occupations intrinsically 'deserve' that level of pay. Bourdieu's concept of 'doxa' is arguably open to interpretation because it was originally associated with relatively simple forms of social organisation and referred to a social construct that was unanimously unquestioned. Bourdieu (1995 [1972]) argued that in modern societies with social class systems, acceptance is not absolute and there will be questioning of the legitimacy of 'doxa,' at which point 'doxa' becomes 'orthodoxy'. However, in an interview with Terry Eagleton, he was less draconian about this distinction, and he illustrated the concept of 'doxa' with reference to the belief held by the working classes that those who are successful are naturally endowed with greater intellectual ability than they themselves are. He argued that this does not mean that the working classes tolerate everything about their own disadvantaged position, but that it does suggest they largely accept the legitimacy of a dominant discourse that equates success with ability (Bourdieu and Eagleton, 1992). 'Doxa' is therefore interpreted as a social construct which, whilst not completely unquestioned, is largely accepted and furthermore, causes those who are disadvantaged by it to 'misrecognise' its true nature.

The process of misrecognition by those who are disadvantaged by a 'doxa' is not achieved by force or coercion but by a subtle and indirect process of 'symbolic

violence'. Indeed, it is usually invisible because members of dominant classes do not need to exert large amounts of energy in order to maintain their own position, they may simply adhere to the rules that already exist and their position of privilege will continue to be maintained (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]). Bourdieu developed and explained his theory of 'symbolic violence' in relation to education, however, it was clearly intended to be understood as a general way of conceptualising power relationships between different groups or social classes (Jenkins, 2002) and therefore can be extended to conceptualise the impact that standardised systems of pay, which are connected to the perceived value of different forms of cultural capital, may have upon levels of pay satisfaction.

Social class inequality in educational achievement has long been recognised by sociologists. In the 1970's, Bowles and Gintis (1976) argued that 'IQ' had little to do with educational success and more recently Diane Reay (2017) reported how, in the United Kingdom in 2013/2014, only 36.5% of pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds achieved five or more GCSE's, compared to 64% of all other pupils. For Bourdieu, this inequality in educational achievement is the outcome of a process of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). He argued that the purpose of schools is to teach children, however they only teach certain things in certain ways and with particular forms of judgement. Furthermore, although education is arguably meritocratic, working class students are much less likely to succeed than middle class ones. This is because schools impose rules of behaviour and communication on students, which are familiar to middle class students but not to working class ones. Knowledge and familiarity with the culture at school thus provides middle class students with the appropriate 'cultural capital' and 'habitus' to perform well in the educational system. Conversely, working class students do not have this particular form of capital making it harder for them to succeed at school. Similarly, their 'habitus' does not fit so well into the 'field' of the educational system. However, the education system is wrongly understood to be meritocratic and therefore, failure to achieve academically is perceived, by both the schools and the students themselves, to be the result of individual failure and personal inferiority (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). This mismatch between the habitus of working class students and the educational system is therefore a form of 'symbolic violence', allowing inequality to be reproduced and which results in working class

students 'misrecognising' the power relations operating in schools. Working class students perform less well than their middle class peers, not because they are less able but because they are subjected to 'symbolic violence' that prevents them from succeeding.

In a similar way, standardised pay systems which, to a large degree, reflect the advantage accrued to middle class individuals through education can also be conceptualised as exerting 'symbolic violence' against individuals. Thus, pay scales which indicate that some occupations are naturally and intrinsically worth more than others, may encourage those in low paid work to 'misrecognise' the true nature of pay scales and believe their own pay, although low, to be satisfactory and 'appropriate' for the work they do. In this way, from a Bourdieusian perspective, the system has been designed and is sustained in order to enable the powerful to exert 'symbolic violence' against weaker social groups. Moreover, this is done with the complicity of low paid individuals. This ensures the continuation of a system that benefits those with greater wealth at the expense of those without and ensures that social inequality is reproduced. It is important to stress, however, that pay scales, particularly those in the public sector which arise through collective bargaining, are not themselves the 'cause' of pay inequity. Instead, they reflect, legitimate and reinforce the 'doxa' of occupational 'value' which categorises some occupations as worthier of high pay.

Thinking of pay in this way does not negate the importance of feminist analysis of pay scales but does provide a potentially multi-dimensional approach. The work of both feminist scholars and Bourdieu enable a way of considering pay scales as social constructs which serve to advantage one group at the expense of another. Feminist scholars see pay scales as a means of disadvantaging women whilst the concepts of 'cultural capital,' 'doxa' and 'symbolic violence' can be used to aid understanding of how social class inequality is reproduced through the medium of organisational pay scales. This approach enables a view of occupational inequality which is sensitive to gender inequality but which is not confined to it. Thus, occupational inequality is understood to be caused by both gender and social class. Furthermore, this provides a way of considering pay satisfaction that is related to occupational inequality and which also takes into account wider social structures and power relations.

2.17 The meaning of occupational group: status and social class

This final section of the literature review considers further the importance of occupational group to understanding pay satisfaction. Paradox research has noted that women's employment, generally pays less than men's (Phelan, 1994; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; Clark, 1997). In addition, some research has found that the paradox is more likely to occur in lower grade occupations (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009). However, there has been minimal discussion of what differences in job grade or pay level actually mean beyond difference in pay level. There has been reference to lower levels of authority (Phelan, 1994), or security, promotion prospects and job content (Clark, 1997), however there has been no discussion of how the concept of 'occupational group' itself is not neutral but instead, actually carries connotations of social class, status and power. Therefore, differences in satisfaction levels between occupational groups are not merely indicative of differences between two groups of individuals but are related to wider social inequalities.

First of all, occupational group is a main determiner of social class. For example, the Goldthorpe/Casmin Schema (Goldthorpe and McKnight, 2004) defines a hierarchy of occupations with high paid, white collar managerial and professional roles occupying the higher classes whilst manual and 'unskilled' low paid jobs occupy the lower classes. Defining social class by occupation is imperfect because those without employment are defined either by what they used to do, or by what their spouse/parents do whilst secondary earners are defined by the highest earner in their household. It has therefore been argued that traditional social class categorisation ignores many women (Delphy, 1984). In addition, concentrating on occupational group also ignores non-economic indicators of social class, such as where a person lives, or cultural indicators of identity such as dress or manner of speech (Weber, 1964 [1947]). It also neglects the importance of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2010 [1972]), the reciprocal and uneven opportunities provided by social capital networks (Bourdieu, 1986) and importantly the 'symbolic' capital that is legitimated by the other forms of capital and contributes towards the reproduction of inequality (Moore, 2008). However, in spite of the known drawbacks of defining social class by occupational group alone, clearly a person's job and the level of financial reward received is closely associated with social class.

Furthermore, the concept of social class extends to beliefs and assumptions about the characteristics of those who are doing particular types of jobs. Working classes have often been seen as 'different', alien and backward compared to the professional classes. For example, the activist and journalist Owen Jones (2016) wrote of middle class disdain for working class culture and there is also a general belief that the working class are somehow suffering from a type of backwardness or 'cultural lag' (Lawler, 2008). Additionally, Bourdieu (2010 [1972]) described how social class is embodied in the lifestyles and cultures of different groups of individuals, with the tastes and cultures of the higher social classes being elevated and understood to be superior to those of the lower social classes. This idea was explored by McKenzie (2015) in her ethnographic study of working class women on a social housing estate in the United Kingdom, who frequently felt that being a resident of this particular estate led to negative judgement from those who lived elsewhere. Thus, those who are employed in high and low paid jobs may be viewed as 'different' to each other in more complex ways other than simply the occupation that they have.

In addition, as well as differences in tasks undertaken, pay received and the likely social class of those employed in different occupations, when different occupational groups work together within a large organisation, there are also relationships between the occupational groups. Karl Marx emphasised that the higher classes obtain their wealth by exploiting the lower classes. In industrial societies, those who own the means of production exploit the labour of others in order to produce profit which is subsequently unfairly distributed between those who own and do not own the means of production (Marx, 1970 [1870]). Weber (1964 [1947]) saw the relationship between the social classes as more nuanced and not restricted to discussion of the means of production. In large bureaucratic organisations, he considered that the relationship between occupations is hierarchical in terms of skills and experience. Occupational differences, therefore, also carry connotations of authority. He also noted that different occupations have different levels of prestige because of the different market skills needed in order to undertake them. Similarly, the skills or qualifications needed to do a job may be defined as cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2010 [1972]) with certain types of skills being more likely to translate into higher pay, status

and prestige. Thus, occupational group is not simply a label that defines the tasks undertaken but also reflects authority and power within an organisation.

In this way, an individual's occupation means far more than simply undertaking particular tasks and receiving a certain level of financial reward. Higher paid occupations tend to enjoy greater status or prestige than lower paying ones, whilst those who undertake lower paid jobs may be categorised as being lower social class, a label that also potentially carries judgement and implications of inferiority. At the same time, 'feminine' skills are also undervalued and work often undertaken by women is low paid because the status of women is low in comparison to the status of men (Steinberg, 1990). Understanding the meanings associated with occupational group is not something that paradox researchers have previously explored. However, the 'status' of an occupation is potentially of interest to a study of pay satisfaction because it might influence perceptions of what employees think of as 'appropriate' pay and subsequently be linked to levels of pay satisfaction.

2.18 Literature review summary

This literature review has argued that there is a need for a contemporary study of the 'paradox of the contented female worker'. A review of the paradox literature suggested that evidence for the existence and distribution of the gender pay paradox is inconsistent. Furthermore, this body of work has tended to conceptualise the gender pay paradox as an issue affecting women and has subsequently sought explanation in the behaviour of women themselves. This approach neglects men, the workplace itself and wider patterns of inequality. In addition, the majority of gender pay paradox studies are at least thirty years old and the position of women in the labour market, along with social attitudes, has changed since that time. This might suggest that previous explanations, with their emphasis on the gendered division of labour and the 'differences' between men and women are no longer appropriate. However, although women's circumstances have changed, both inequality and the incidence of the gender pay paradox still persist, suggesting that the contradictions first observed between women's pay and their levels of satisfaction have not disappeared. These issues, coupled with the failure to find a convincing explanation, suggest

that there is a gap in knowledge and furthermore, that a new study of the gender pay paradox is both timely and relevant.

Additionally, the literature review suggested that this body of work is problematic methodologically. It has almost entirely been conducted from a positivist perspective and has employed top down quantitative data collection tools. This has limited the scope and effectiveness of this body of work and in particular, has denied research participants the opportunity to define how they themselves understand and evaluate their pay satisfaction.

A new study of the gender pay paradox could offer an alternative approach. First, paradox research has neglected literature on whether attitudes to work are formed in the workplace itself or outside of work. This review suggests that attitudes to work may be formed in either and that therefore, a study of the pay satisfaction should examine both the home and the working lives of research participants. In addition, structural changes in the labour market, such as increasing employment insecurity, may have impacted upon people's attitudes to work. Consequently, these wider issues also need to be included in a study of pay satisfaction.

Secondly, a social constructionist perspective is potentially of benefit to a study of the gender pay paradox. From this perspective, 'gender' cannot be viewed as a self-evident 'fact' or simply as a means of dividing the population into two distinct groups. Instead, gender must be seen as a fluid social construction, dependent upon the actions of humans to create and perpetuate it. Therefore, comparing and contrasting pay satisfaction levels of men and women must also consider the process, meanings and understandings which lead men and women to particular evaluations of pay satisfaction. At the same time, the level of pay that an individual receives cannot be viewed as a neutral 'fact,' instead it is intertwined with power relations that serve to define work undertaken by women and working class individuals as being of lower value than that which is more commonly undertaken by men and those from middle class backgrounds.

Chapter 3 follows which describes the mixed method methodology used in this study of the gender pay paradox. It is argued that this approach, influenced by feminist methodology, provides a balanced approach to the research that is not unnecessarily focussed on either women or the domestic lives of participants. At

the same time, it also gives a voice to research participants and allows the research to be led by participants' experiences, rather than pre-formed assumptions about either the nature of the pay paradox or the cause of it.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Methodological Critique of pay paradox research

This chapter describes the methodological approach of this research; a survey and follow up qualitative interviews amongst higher education staff. It is argued that this approach pragmatically enabled all the research questions to be answered and furthermore, that it was a good fit with a social constructionist approach to pay satisfaction. This chapter describes the sample, the contents of the survey questionnaire and qualitative interview guide and explains why they were designed in this way. The analytical approaches taken are also described; survey analysis emphasised the importance of descriptive, rather than predictive statistical techniques and qualitative analysis utilised both a thematic and narrative approach. The major ethical considerations for this research project are also discussed. However, before discussing the methods in detail, the problems with the methodological approach adopted by previous gender pay paradox studies are summarised below.

First of all, this body of work appears to have been conceptualised in a way that defines women as behaving 'paradoxically' in comparison to the normative male. Furthermore, explanation for the paradox has been sought within the behaviour of women themselves, whilst men's behaviour has been largely considered irrelevant. Women have, thus, been theoretically positioned as both belonging within the emotional sphere and also as a misfit within the labour market. Men, conversely, are viewed as belonging within the rational, world of work (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2010). At the same time, the conclusions of this body of work, like quantitative research more generally, have a tendency to be reproductive of dominant discourse (Jayaratne, 1993). In addition, there has been a tendency to treat gender as a self evident fact which divides the population into two distinct groups (Stacey and Thorne, 1985). However this approach has neglected to consider both the daily construction of gender (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990) and the agency and subjectivity of research participants (Gorelick, 1996). It has also encouraged circular thinking whereby gender and gender roles are simplistically observed and then used as explanation for men's and women's levels of pay satisfaction. This focus upon gender has also drawn attention away from other potential explanations. In

particular, the potential role of the workplace has been neglected even though there is consistent evidence that the paradox is more commonly found amongst lower paid occupations (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009).

This problematic approach to conceptualising the gender pay paradox has been compounded by the choice of data collection methods. Quantitative research, including survey questionnaires (for example Phelan, 1994; Graham and Welbourne, 1999) or secondary analysis of national data sets (for example, Clark 1997; Sloane and Williams, 2000), has been the favoured approach of researchers in this field. However, there are problems with relying upon this approach. Survey questions provide a standardised way of measuring experiences or attitudes, but they problematically assume all people interpret questions in a similar way (Cicourel, 1964). From a social constructionist perspective, reality does not exist independently of humans, it is always emergent and formed by people and social action. Therefore, different people's perceptions of reality will be different from each other (Crotty, 1998) and as a consequence, research participants are extremely unlikely to answer survey questions in the same way as each other.

In addition, to the difficulty that quantitative research, in general, has with understanding and recording the nature of social reality, a quantitative approach to the study of pay satisfaction brings further, specific difficulties. Pay satisfaction is subjective (Freeman, 1978), complex, nuanced and with an array of potential interpretations. At the individual level, someone with an instrumental attitude to work (as explored by Goldthorpe et al., 1968) may view pay differently to someone who rejects materialism (Furåker, 2012). At the theoretical level, pay satisfaction may be conceptualised as a matter of discrepancy between what a person thinks they should receive and the reality of what they do receive and thus encompasses ideas of fairness or 'justice' (Lawler, 1971, 1981). It may also be related to 'needs', thus those who have a greater number of dependents may have greater material need than those without dependents (Jasso and Rossi, 1977; Alves and Rossi, 1978). Pay satisfaction may also depend upon with whom comparisons are made, making it a relative rather than an absolute perception (Crosby, 1982). Alternatively, some jobs, may be perceived as 'deserving' higher pay than others (Weber, 1964 [1947]),

which may affect the pay satisfaction of individuals. It has also been argued that jobs which are undertaken by women are often perceived to be of lower value than those undertaken by men (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011), which might also influence levels of satisfaction. At the same time, the low pay of many working class occupations may be conceptualised as a social construction of occupational worth, a 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]) that perpetuates and reinforces social inequality and again, may influence pay satisfaction. As a consequence, although the statistical and 'scientific' approach of paradox researchers has had the benefit of providing repeatable standardised measures and tests (Bryman, 2008), if the data collected does not accurately reflect social reality, its value is questionable.

The quality of the research has also suffered because there has been no opportunity for participants to define and explain their own interpretations of pay satisfaction. Although quantitative researchers may argue that by following the rules and procedures of statistical methods, the impact the researcher has on findings is minimised (Jayaratne, 1993), in reality, the top down quantitative approaches have actually imposed ways of conceptualising the issues upon participants (Yeatman, 1994). It has also neglected to understand satisfaction from the point of view of those being researched (Reinharz, 1992). Furthermore, analysis has concentrated upon the issue of gender and there has been no exploratory analysis that considers if gender is unique in providing these paradoxical patterns of satisfaction or whether there are explanations that do not focus on women. Thus, positivist approaches, such as utilised by paradox researchers, enable research to become a powerful tool that transmits and reinforces social hierarchies (Harding, 1986) and simultaneously suggests a commitment to the status quo (Jayaratne, 1993).

The following section provides an overview of the ontological and methodological approach of the research presented in this thesis. Subsequently, this chapter provides in-depth information on the research sample and how the survey and follow up qualitative interviews were conducted and analysed.

3.2 Overview of PhD methodology

The complexity of pay satisfaction coupled with the problematic conceptualisation of the gender pay paradox suggested that a social constructionist approach to the study of men's and women's pay satisfaction would bring a number of advantages. First of all, social constructionism provides a theoretical framework that helps scholars understand how the gender pay paradox has been conceptualised as the outcome of women's behaviour or their 'natures'. Social constructionism emphasises the situated and subjective nature of reality and therefore all people, be they research participants or academics are believed to have partial vision. As a consequence, perceptions of reality differ between individuals. 'Maleness' is dominant in academia and influences the formation of knowledge (Burton, 2015) and at the same time the positivist approach, favoured by paradox researchers, relies on the belief that there is one central 'truth' that may be discovered (Dankowski, 2000). As a result, research is often conducted by men, within male dominated institutions and draws upon theoretical concepts that have been developed by men (Mies, 1993), meaning that 'truth' is often tied to notions of power. The outcome is therefore that positivist research is likely to reinforce gender inequality (Harding, 1986) and reproduce dominant discourses (Jayaratne, 1993; Webb et al., 2008).

Secondly, social constructionism, because it emphasises that reality is constantly emergent and dependent upon the actions of humans, provides a theoretical approach that may aid understanding of how and why particular evaluations of pay satisfaction are made. There are two main areas in which social constructionism may aid understanding; the social construction of gender and the social construction of pay. First, considering gender, a social constructionist perspective suggests that gender is an ongoing and provisional process whereby both masculinity and femininity are produced and constructed on a daily basis (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990). Gendered choices in relation to home and work can therefore be conceptualised as part of the daily and ongoing process of gender. As such, a social constructionist approach, does not merely measure levels of pay satisfaction, it also potentially provides a conceptual framework to aid understanding of how particular satisfaction levels might relate to gender. Secondly, considering the social construction of pay, pay levels are not neutral 'facts' or indicative of the intrinsic value of an occupation, but instead

are connected to power. Pay scales may be understood to be social constructs that discriminate against women by defining the work that women do as being of low value (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). The Bourdieusian term 'doxa' may also be used to describe pay scales because they represent a naturalised social construct which inflicts 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) against the low paid. Thus, the work of both feminist scholars and Bourdieu provide a social constructionist perspective on pay scales which may help to explain why those on low pay might be 'paradoxically' satisfied.

The choice of mixed methods, comprising a survey and follow up qualitative interviews, was informed by this social constructionist approach. In particular, the inclusion of a qualitative element aimed to uncover context of participant lives and their interpretations of reality in order to understand how evaluations of pay satisfaction are achieved. Indeed, qualitative methods are more commonly associated with a social constructionist approach which emphasises the subjective experiences of research participants (Dahlberg and McCaig, 2010). Conversely, quantitative methods have historically been used by those working in the positivist tradition (Dankowski, 2000). However, because of this dissonance between social constructionism and quantitative methods, a mixed quantitative/qualitative approach may seem incongruous. Using a particular data collection method may be regarded as a commitment to a particular ontological and epistemological position. There are 'paradigm wars' (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998) and supposedly irreconcilable differences between philosophical positions and the data collection techniques associated with each position. However, in spite of the traditional connections between data collection methods and philosophical standpoints, there is not always an association between particular methods and ontological positioning (Dahlberg and McCaig, 2010). Indeed there is a lack of real evidence to support claims that particular data collection methods are a perfect fit with particular philosophical stances, the 'divide' is overly rigid (Pearce, 2012) whilst the superiority of qualitative approaches for gathering data on context or attitudes may be exaggerated (Payne and Grew 2005). It should also be noted that the success of qualitative interviews rests to some extent on participants' ability to articulate, verbalise and remember events (Mason, 2002). Assuming all participants are able to do this to the same degree

is unwise. Indeed, for some participants, 'tick box' questionnaires may be a preferred method.

In addition, there were practical reasons for adopting a mixed method approach. There was a need to collect information that was able to answer the research questions (Dahlberg and McCaig, 2010). At the pragmatic level, quantitative data was needed in order to collect 'measurable' pay satisfaction data, which would enable comparisons between groups. At the same time qualitative data was needed in order to understand the nuanced and complex nature of satisfaction and how and why people make the evaluations of satisfaction that they do. The quantitative and qualitative methods were therefore complementary and together, provided adequate tools to collect data that would answer the research questions. These questions were developed after examining the gender pay paradox literature, related literature on attitudes and orientations to work and social constructionist perspectives on gender, work and pay and were as follows;

1. Is there current evidence for the gender pay paradox?
2. Is this evidence (or lack of it) consistent for different dimensions of pay satisfaction?
3. Is this evidence (or lack of it) consistent across occupational groups, salary groups and part-time/full-time employees?
- 4: If the paradox still exists, is there evidence to support the theories that have been proposed?
- 5: Is there evidence to suggest alternative explanations for gender differences in pay satisfaction?

The quantitative aspect of data collection was clearly appropriate for the first three research questions that refer to measurement of the gender pay paradox. Similarly, the qualitative element was useful for answering questions four and five that are concerned with understanding how participants make evaluations of pay satisfaction and how this might lead to 'paradoxical' patterns of satisfaction. However, there was also flexibility in how the two methods were used. The quantitative survey also included questions which aimed to understand why the pay paradox occurs, for example about work orientation, conditions at work and the home lives of participants. This is not an unusual approach, and data on

attitudes to work has previously been gathered in this way (for example Goldthorpe et al., 1968). At the same time, the qualitative interviews, as well as collecting data on the process of pay evaluation, also provided information about the complex and multi faceted nature of pay satisfaction. Thus, the two methods, whilst principally addressing different research questions are not designed to *only* do this. Additionally, unlike much mixed method research which uses qualitative data merely as supporting evidence for the quantitative data (Love et al., 2005; Silverman, 2014), this research used the two methods in a complementary manner and regarded them as being equally important.

The methodology for this study, comprised of a survey to staff at two universities in the United Kingdom, achieving 731 responses, followed by twenty two qualitative semi structured interviews. On a practical level, the focus of the research was pay satisfaction, rather than the more generic subject of work satisfaction. This provides balance with the explanations which tend to focus on explaining women's levels of pay satisfaction (Phelan, 1994). The following sections provide more detail on the sample, methods and analysis of the data.

3.3 Women and men are both the focus of the research

One of the problems with gender pay paradox research has been the tendency to emphasise difference between men and women. This has positioned women as irrational beings whose behaviour needs to be explained, whilst men's behaviour is considered 'normal'. In this research, neither women or men, as a social group, are regarded as an anomaly that must be studied and explained in contrast to the other. Instead, both genders are of equal interest to the researcher. Thus, both men and women were invited to participate in the research and furthermore all participants were asked the same questions in both the survey and qualitative interviews. Nor is it assumed in this research that either women or men are homogenous groups whose members all act in similar ways. In line with modern feminist scholarly work (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2010), diversity within the genders is recognised. Therefore, survey analysis routinely considered the intersection of gender with occupational group, salary and type of employment. In addition, the interviewees are presented as having unique personal life stories, rather than merely as representatives of their gender (Bailey and Tilley, 2002).

3.4 Choosing the sample

The research was undertaken with staff working at two universities, located in one city, in the United Kingdom. The decision to undertake the research amongst university staff was partly driven by the researcher's own experience of working within the higher education sector for approximately 25 years. In particular, the researcher had previously undertaken some preliminary research on the gender pay paradox at one university (Smith, 2009) and PhD research would clearly enable the ideas and themes discussed in this preliminary research to be developed.

However, universities also provide a good illustrative example of a workplace institution when studying the gender pay paradox, for four reasons. Firstly, they employ a wide range of people, in a variety of occupations and with varying salaries, allowing comparisons to be made between different sub groups of participants. Given that the paradox is more likely to occur in low grade occupations (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009), it was important to be able to make comparisons between occupational and salary groups, as well as just between men and women.

Secondly, universities use a standardised 51 point 'single pay spine', which all (excepting the most senior) staff are appointed to (Appendix Table 2.1). The spine is also divided into bands, with some minor variations across institutions concerning the number and exact positioning of the bands. Employees are appointed on a starting salary in a particular pay band with specified roles and responsibilities. Subsequently, their pay rises with an annual increment until they reach the top of their band. Feminist scholars have pointed out that pay scales institutionally discriminate against women because the work that women often do is regarded as having little value (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). Pay scales can also be conceptualised as a representation of a 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]) that exerts symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) against those on lower salaries, a process which legitimates inequalities between occupational groups (full details of the 'vertical' pay gap and its connection to gender is provided in Appendix 2). Therefore, using university staff

made it possible to consider the impact of standardised pay scales upon satisfaction.

Thirdly, universities are not heterogeneous and in particular, they are not equal in terms of the funding or prestige that they enjoy. Specifically, there is a difference between older, established, research led universities and newer, teaching led universities which were granted their charter during or after 1992¹ because older universities tend to experience higher income and status. The status of academic and research staff at old universities is particularly enhanced by the greater opportunity to pursue high status research activities as opposed to lower status consultancy or teaching activities (Dever and Morrison, 2009; Parker, 2008). Using universities therefore also allowed a comparison of pay satisfaction between two groups of employees, who are paid on a similar scale and yet who arguably experience different levels of status (Appendix 3 provides more details on the two universities).

Finally, higher education also provides an example of the increasing prevalence of managerialism and the declining influence of professional workers within organisations (Noordergraaf and Schinkel, 2011), which potentially provides additional insight into how pay satisfaction is evaluated. In the last twenty years, universities have moved towards a 'managerialist' style of governance alongside the adoption of business values (Schulz, 2013). University departments must now operate in a landscape of internal markets (Thomas, 2001), with increased pressure and competition to obtain both research funding and fee paying students in a work environment that is becoming increasingly stringent in terms of accountability (Houston et al., 2006; Santoro and Snead, 2012). One outcome of this has been a decline in the traditionally autonomous way of academic working and the development of a more structured working environment (Kolsaker, 2008). Academic freedom, it is argued is increasingly under threat (Davies, 2015). It has also been suggested that the changing role of academics in universities can be understood with a Bourdieusian analysis. Academia is a 'field' within which social activity takes place and the traditional way of academic working is their 'habitus'. However, because of the changes in higher education,

¹ The Further and Higher Education Act of 1992 abolished the UK binary policy and polytechnics - which had previously been funded by local authorities with the aim of provided locally orientated, vocational courses - could now become universities in their own right.

there is now a mismatch between habitus and field, resulting in frustration and disaffection amongst academics (Noordergraaf and Schinkel, 2011). Additionally, academics may also be experiencing a decline in trust by the general public, in the same way that confidence in the police, the BBC, the press and banks is declining (Park et al., 2013). Academics have been accused of residing in ivory towers (Georgalakis, 2017), whilst 'experts' were also criticised by Nigel Farage and Michael Gove, prominent political voices of the successful 'Leave' campaign, in the 2016 UK European Referendum (Breuilly, 2016).

Although, a random probability sample would have provided the best means of acquiring a representative sample which could be generalised to the wider population of university staff, a lack of access and financial restrictions meant that it was not possible to undertake a random sample from all universities within the United Kingdom. Therefore, it was necessary to make decisions about sampling that were guided by the resources available (Emmel, 2013). However, this did not necessarily compromise the quality because although a random probability sample is better suited to generalising the findings to the wider population, non-probability sampling is an entirely satisfactory approach for teasing out differences by groups such as gender (Leman, 2010).

To overcome the problems of access and resource limitation, a cluster sample, comprising of staff from two universities, located in one city was utilised. These universities were both large, metropolitan universities although one was an 'old' established research led university and the other was a 'new' teaching led university established in 1992. This choice of universities was achieved by purposeful qualitative case study sampling techniques so that the sample of universities was illustrative, if not representative of the sector more generally. Purposeful sampling emphasises the importance of excluding 'extreme' cases (Patton, 1990) and therefore, data supplied by the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA, 2017) regarding the nature and size of universities, as well as the incidence of the gender pay gap at each institution was analysed to find appropriate institutions to use in the sample.

First of all, it was important to include universities that covered a broad spectrum of disciplines and to exclude those that focussed on few subjects (for example some universities focus upon performing arts or medicine). Secondly,

there are several universities that have either an extremely large number of students or an extremely small number, therefore those with either more than 100,000 students or less than 1000 were excluded. Thirdly, of the 160 universities in the United Kingdom, the HESA data suggested that 158 of them pay men more than women. Of these 158 universities, the gender pay gap (the difference between the hourly full time earnings of men and women, as a proportion of men's earnings) ranged from 2.3% to 45.5%. Therefore, those with either extremely high or low gender pay gaps were excluded, because they were not considered illustrative of the sector more generally. A fourth factor for consideration was that almost a fifth of universities have under 500 staff, therefore, given that response rates to surveys are often low (Leman, 2010), these universities were not considered because they were unlikely to yield a large enough sample to enable valid Chi Square tests to be conducted.

The choice of universities was reflected in these considerations, making them illustrative of the sector, if not definitively representative of it. The two universities each teach a range of disciplines, are neither extremely large or small and have 'average' gender pay gaps. Full details of the two universities are provided in Appendix 3, however, in brief, they are both relatively large, metropolitan and located in one northern city in the United Kingdom. One university is an established research led institution and the other was granted university status in 1992; they are hereafter referred to as the 'old' and the 'new' universities. HESA data (2017) suggested that the new university has a gender pay gap of 12.5% and the old university has a gender pay gap of 19.8%. The 'new' university has more students but less staff than the 'old' university and furthermore, scores less highly in the 'Student Experience Survey' and the 'Research Excellence Framework'. Additionally, the new university has significantly lower income and a larger proportion of this originates from tuition fees. There are also some differences in pay, especially at the lower and higher ends of the single pay spine, with the range of pay at the new university being more 'compressed' than that at the 'old' university. This in itself was beneficial to the research, because participants were often aware of the slight differences in pay between the two universities and therefore this provided an additional insight into how evaluations of pay satisfaction are made.

Using universities, however, raises the question of whether the findings of the research are applicable to the public sector more generally or even to the private sector. Pay in universities is negotiated between representatives of university trade unions (Unite, Unison, British Trade Union and University and College Union) and higher education employers at the Joint Negotiating Committee for Higher Education Staff. The single pay spine represents the agreement between these bodies about the roles, responsibilities and levels of pay for different types of work. Within the public sector more generally, pay is negotiated in a similar way, for example local government pay is negotiated between the trade unions, Unite, Unison and GMB, and employers. Clearly, the arguments that are developed in this thesis concerning the impact that pay scales and wider beliefs about the 'value' of different of occupations have upon evaluations of pay satisfaction may be applicable to the public sector more generally.

However, union membership is much lower in the private sector at 13.4% than in the public sector at 52.7% (Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, 2016) which suggests that a study of a workplace with a collectively agreed pay spine is not of relevance to the private sector, where pay is individually agreed between employer and employee. There are further differences between public and private sector pay, specifically pay levels in the public sector are generally higher than they are in the private sector, although this is less pronounced once education, age and geographical region are taken into account (Cribb et al., 2014). In addition, this difference is unevenly distributed across occupational groups. High skill workers in the public sector tend to be paid less than they would receive in the private sector, although the converse is true of lower skilled workers (Lucifora and Meurs, 2006). However, it is worth noting that some of this disparity may have declined in recent years, because of government imposed restrictions on pay increases within the public sector (Dolton et al., 2014), the impact of which is potentially greater on those with lower incomes. At the same time, one in five universities increased the pay of their Vice Chancellors by more than 10% between the academic years 2014-2015 (Times Higher Education, 2016). However, although there may be some increasing similarity between public and private sector pay, it should be emphasised that care should be taken when considering the relevance of these findings to the private sector.

The following sections of this chapter describe the development of the quantitative and qualitative elements of the research, explaining what questions were asked of participants and why.

3.5 Questionnaire design: Pay satisfaction as a multi dimensional phenomenon

Previous studies of the gender pay paradox have examined the issue using one variable of satisfaction. Some studies have used a single concept of satisfaction (for example, Clark 1997; Smith 2009). Others asked a range of questions but then have subsequently combined the responses into an 'overall' category (for example both Young, 1999 and Oshagbemi, 1997 utilised the Job Descriptive Index which asks participants to agree or disagree with a range of statements including 'income is adequate for normal expenses,' 'less than I deserve' and 'underpaid'). Both approaches are problematic because the former assumes that there is only one dimension to pay satisfaction whilst the latter neglects the possibility that the gender pay paradox might not occur on all dimensions of pay satisfaction. Indeed, the variety of ways that pay satisfaction has been defined and measured, may even be a contributory factor towards the inconsistency of results found by paradox research. This research adopted a different approach and a new questionnaire was developed (Appendix 1) which asked four different questions on pay satisfaction and then conducted analysis on each of the variables separately. In this way, by examining whether the paradox occurred on all dimensions of pay satisfaction, the research aimed to clarify the actual nature of the gender pay paradox.

Two of the questions focussed on the level of occupational pay in general, aiming to gather data on participants' beliefs about the value of their occupation. This was important because social constructionist perspectives on pay have suggested that beliefs about the value of different occupations are gendered (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). Additionally, perceptions of occupational value may be regarded as a 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]) that contributes towards inequality. These questions also drew upon Lawler's theory of discrepancy (1971, 1981) that proposed that equity (satisfaction) is achieved when input (such as the tasks undertaken or the qualifications needed) is

balanced with output (level of pay). Participants were asked 'Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do' and 'Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills and training needed' (Appendix 1, questions 12, 13).

The two other pay satisfaction questions focussed on personal satisfaction and aimed to gather information on individual experiences of pay satisfaction. The questions were 'Thinking about your standard of living, are you satisfied with your pay?' and 'Thinking about what similar occupations are paid, are you satisfied with your pay?' (Appendix 1, questions 14, 15). The 'standard of living' question, defined satisfaction in terms of the amount of money received in relation to what people expect or need in order to live and draws upon the idea of 'need' (Jasso and Rossi, 1977; Alves and Rossi, 1978). This was not an absolute measurement of adequacy of pay to cover needs, but instead is a perception of the adequacy of pay and aimed to capture perceptions of need. Finally, the 'similar occupations' question asked participants to consider their personal pay satisfaction in comparison to what others are paid, irrespective of whether similar occupations are overpaid or underpaid. This question refers to the concept of relativity and the belief that pay satisfaction is dependent upon comparisons with others (Crosby, 1982).

3.6 Questionnaire design: Understanding the paradox

The questionnaire was designed in order to provide information relevant to the four theories of the gender pay paradox but which would additionally provide information on the workplace, domestic lives and participants' orientation to work, as defined in the literature review. Therefore, questions were developed that specifically addressed each issue as follows.

The 'differential inputs' theory (discussed in section 2.5) suggests that, as a result of their domestic responsibilities, women have lower 'input' into work and therefore see lower pay as equitable. Previous paradox research has attempted the problematic task of quantitatively measuring the extent of men and women's 'input,' concluding that there was no support for the theory (Phelan, 1994; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; Buchanan, 2005). This research did not attempt to measure the complex and nuanced nature of 'input,' but instead collected data on responsibilities outside of work and social attitudes. The survey included

questions on participants' dependents, who was responsible for care of children or other relatives and who was responsible for household chores (Appendix 1, questions 16-22). In addition, three questions relating to attitudes towards gendered roles in the home were asked in order to ascertain if there was any connection with levels of pay satisfaction (Appendix 1, question 23).

The 'same gender referents' theory (discussed in section 2.6) suggests that women's high pay satisfaction is caused by women comparing their pay to other equally low paid women and that this is amplified by gendered occupational segregation (Loscocco and Spitze, 1991). Therefore, the survey collected data on the gender of the people who worked in the same department as the participants (Appendix 1, question 4).

An alternative explanation for the pay paradox is the 'differential values' theory (Phelan, 1994), which suggests that women have a different orientation to work to men and that they do not value money as much (discussed in section 2.8). It has been hypothesised that women are more likely to work for luxury items or that they are less responsible for 'breadwinning' (de Vaus and McAllister, 1991). The survey, therefore, collected information on household breadwinner status (Appendix 1, question 7) and the extent to which both men and women worked for money. Participants were asked if they worked for money for 'essential items' and/or 'luxury items'. They were also asked if they worked for money for themselves or to provide for family (Appendix 1, question 6). In addition, in order to ascertain if people worked for 'intrinsic' or 'extrinsic' reasons (Watson, 2008) and whether work was a central interest for them (Morse and Weiss, 1955; Warr, 1982; Harpaz, 2002; Highhouse et al., 2010), participants were asked if they worked for enjoyment of their work or for fulfilment/self-esteem (Appendix 1, question 6). Participants were also asked the 'lottery' question (Appendix 1, question 8). Finally, participants were asked if they worked for the social aspects of work (Appendix 1, question 8).

In addition, the survey was designed in order to collect data on the workplace and to explore potential links with pay satisfaction, something that previous paradox researchers have not adequately considered. First of all, research has suggested that the level of autonomy experienced at work has an impact upon the level of alienation experienced by workers (Blauner, 1964). Therefore,

questions were asked about control over the amount and type of work undertaken and how much participants enjoyed their work (Appendix 1, questions 5, 9, 10). Additionally, as discussed in section 2.17, the status or prestige of different occupations varies because of the different market skills they require (Weber, 1964) or because of the different types of cultural and symbolic capital associated with each role (Bourdieu, 2010 [1979]). Therefore, participants were also asked if they believed their occupation was respected (Appendix 1, question 13).

Finally, a range of demographic data was also collected by the survey. The literature review noted that the gender pay paradox is driven by high levels of satisfaction amongst lower paid occupations (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009), therefore data was collected on occupational group and salary. For occupational group, participants were given the following options; 'administrative,' 'academic,' 'technical,' 'manual,' 'researcher,' and 'other' (Appendix 1, question 3). These categories were chosen because they would provide groups that were large enough to enable comparisons between occupational groups. It was important to provide categories that were 'recognisable' to participants and therefore the occupational classifications used by the Higher Education Statistics Agency (shown in Appendix Table 2.2) were rejected as potentially too confusing. In particular, non-academic jobs in universities are extremely diverse and challenging to categorise in this manner. The categories chosen and used in this research, therefore drew upon the 'Staff Satisfaction' approach developed in the University of Central England (Knight and Harvey, 1999) and a successfully implemented university staff satisfaction survey undertaken at Sheffield Hallam University (Smith et al., 2004). Participants who described themselves as 'other' were given the option to elaborate and describe their job in words. This 'other' category included managers, professional staff and those whose roles were split between categories (for example one role was 50% administrative and 50% technical). This group also included note takers for students with disabilities and those on teaching only contracts. In addition, participants were asked to indicate how much they earned within a ten thousand pound range, for example '£10,000 or under,' '£10,001-£20,000' and so on (Appendix 1, question 31). Using these two measures of occupational group and salary has the disadvantage of potentially

wide variation within each category. However, it does provide an indication of the nature of the work undertaken, occupational status and the remuneration received. At the same time, it also helped to ensure that the anonymity of survey participants was respected.

In addition, several of the paradox explanations imply that women's part-time status is important when understanding the paradox. For example, the 'differential inputs' theory speaks of reduced input (Phelan, 1994) and the 'differential values' theory suggests that women seek 'flexible' rather than high paid employment (Bender et al., 2005). Therefore, participants were also asked if they worked full-time or part-time (Appendix 1, question 26). Additionally, to enable comparison by workplace institution, participants were asked to indicate which university they worked at. A range of other demographic information was collected including faculty, age, ethnicity and educational level, although this was not used in this analyses (see section 3.10 for more detailed discussion). It also ensured that the sample could be checked for representativeness.

One open question was included to ensure that participants could describe their circumstances, perceptions of pay satisfaction or other issues in a way that was meaningful to them (Appendix 1, question 32). Last of all, the survey was used as a means of identifying which participants would be willing to take part in the second, qualitative stage of the research (Appendix 1, questions 33, 34).

3.7 Designing the qualitative interviews

The survey to staff was followed by in-depth qualitative interviews with a sample of those who had already completed the survey. The aim of these interviews was to explore participants' perceptions of pay and their own understanding and evaluation of pay satisfaction. Feminist researchers have argued that top down quantitative approaches reduce research participants to mere inanimate objects of study (Mies, 1993) and impose ways of thinking upon participants, denying them the opportunity to speak for themselves (Reinharz, 1992), an approach that also tends to reproduce dominant gendered discourses (Jayaratne, 1993). Paradox research has indeed, tended to fall into this category, defining women as 'paradoxical' and men as the normative standard to be adhered to, whilst simultaneously denying either women or men the opportunity to tell researchers how they personally interpret and understand pay satisfaction. Therefore, semi-

structured interviews were chosen and used because they provide an excellent opportunity for participants to describe how they evaluate pay satisfaction and how this relates with other aspects of their lives. Semi-structured interviews emphasise conversation and dialogue, enabling the researcher to understand how the participants themselves see the world. They are flexible, new areas of dialogue can be introduced if the interviewee wishes and they also emphasise depth and nuance (Smith and Bowers-Brown, 2010) which is ideal for the complex and subjective issue of pay satisfaction. This approach is also a good fit with social constructionism as it reflects the idea that knowledge is situated and contextual (Mason, 2002) and helps the researcher to see the world both from the ground up (Cresswell, 2007) and from the inside out (Flick, 2009). In addition, it is an effective method to gain understanding of how pay is evaluated in relation to both the social construction of gender (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990) and pay scales which arguably discriminate against women (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011) and working class individuals by presenting themselves as naturalised, self evident 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]).

The interviews were semi-structured therefore, although there was a list of questions/areas of interest, the exact ordering of the questions varied from interview to interview. Furthermore, additional follow on questions were sometimes asked depending on the responses given. Thus, although there was a set of questions or areas that needed to be covered, this was not static and a flexible, conversational approach was adopted. Questions were tailored, the order of questions changed, and new areas introduced as when appropriate (Smith and Bowers-Brown, 2010). The questions asked are summarised in Table 3.1.

The first question operated as a 'warm-up,' a way of accustoming the interviewee to the interview situation and also as a means of establishing a relationship between the researcher and the interviewee. Additionally, this first question provided valuable information about the interviewees' circumstances and their attitudes to work and pay which could then be followed up later in the interview. Again, this is a participant led approach which emphasises how the researcher can learn from the interviewee, rather than imposing a framework from above (Reinharz, 1992).

Questions 2-5 were specifically aimed at gathering data on participants general orientation to work, their orientation to their current job and any differences between the two. It has been argued that women's orientation to work is different to men's, in particular how much they value money (Mueller and Kim, 2008). This section was designed to allow both male and female participants to explore their orientations to work in a way that was not pre-determined and was participant led.

Table 3.1 Qualitative interview questions

Question Number	Question
1	What is your job, what do you do?
2	What is it like working here?
3	Do you enjoy it, are there some parts you enjoy and others you don't, what are they?
4	Why do you work?
5	Why do you do this particular job?
6	Are you satisfied with your pay? Why do you say this?
7	Do you think that your occupation is paid the right amount? Why do you say this?
8	Can you tell me about your home life, who you live with?
9	How are domestic tasks/chores organised, who does what? Do you employ anyone?
10	Does your home life affect how you view employment and in what way?
11	Have other things affected your attitudes to work and pay, what are they and in what way?

Questions 6 and 7 enquired about interviewees' pay satisfaction as they themselves defined it. Interviewees were asked to explain their responses. This question aimed to collect evidence relevant to the explanations previously proposed including participant thoughts on their 'input,' pay referents, their expectations/sense of entitlement and their 'values'.

Questions 8-10 refer to the home lives of participants. Explanations for the paradox have tended to suggest that women's home lives are the root cause of their high pay satisfaction, for example, the 'differential inputs' and 'differential values' explanations both make reference to women's domestic lives. These questions were designed to assess the impact of both men's and women's home lives upon their pay satisfaction.

Finally, question 11 provided the opportunity for interviewees to talk about issues that had not been covered already. This was, once again, a device to ensure that the participants had the opportunity to talk of the issues that were of importance to them.

3.8 Survey Distribution

The questionnaire was formatted on and distributed electronically via the software 'Survey Monkey'. First of all, it was piloted with fourteen members of staff drawn from both participating universities; six academic staff, one technical staff, three manual staff, three administrative staff and one researcher. A small number of issues pertaining to clarity on questions were made apparent and the questionnaire was amended accordingly, the main survey was then distributed.

All staff from both universities were contacted by email and invited to take part in the research. Participation from the 'manual' group of staff was initially low. Low participation in research is not uncommon from those working in low paid jobs and has been experienced by other researchers (Savage, 2015). However, it was important to ensure that this group of staff was given the opportunity to participate for two reasons. First, the paradox is more likely to be found in lower grade employment (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009) and secondly, previous research has included disproportionate numbers of middle class women (Crosby, 1982; Varca et al., 1983; Phelan, 1984; Buchanan, 2005). Therefore, participation amongst manual staff was boosted by approaching individual staff members whilst they were working and asking them to take part. This included asking cafe staff, porters in lodges and cleaners at both universities, in a range of buildings and campuses to participate. They were given a hard copy of the questionnaire and a stamped addressed envelope in which to return the questionnaire to the researcher. The 'manual' group of participants still comprised the smallest occupational group in the survey,

however the group was now large enough for valid Chi Square statistical tests (as explained in the following section) to be conducted on most of the analyses. A total of 731 questionnaires were completed in this staff survey. An additional 51 questionnaires were submitted electronically but were blank, with the exception of the ethical consent question (Appendix 1, question 1), these 51 questionnaires were therefore excluded from the analyses.

Analysis of the survey data showed that just under two thirds of the sample worked at the new university, approximately two thirds were female and approximately a third of the sample were administrative staff and a third were academics. Slightly under a quarter of participants worked part-time and the salary data (Appendix 1, question 31) displayed a classically 'bell-shaped' curve with small proportions earning either less than £10,000 or more than £60,001. The most common level of pay was £20,001-£30,000. The full survey profile is provided in Appendix 5.

3.9 Survey Analysis

Results from the electronic survey were automatically transferred into Statistics Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) whilst hard copy questionnaires were data entered into SPSS by hand. This research adopted alternative analytical techniques to previous studies of the paradox. Hitherto, regression analysis has been favoured, a statistical approach that estimates the relationship between independent and dependent variables. In the study of pay satisfaction, independent variables might include gender, 'input' into work or the gender of co-workers, whilst the dependent variable is pay satisfaction. Regression can be used as a way of predicting the determinants of pay satisfaction, for example, in the case of the gender pay paradox, whether gender, 'input' or the gender of work colleagues determines a person's pay satisfaction. However, given that people understand survey questions in different ways (Cicourel, 1964) and that pay satisfaction is subjective (Freeman, 1978), predictive models with their implied levels of 'certainty' do not fit well with a social constructionist approach. Therefore, this research used descriptive statistics; frequencies, Chi Square, Phi/Cramer's V and Mann Whitney U/Kruskall Wallis H. Furthermore, a non-probability sample was used and therefore, descriptive statistics are arguably more appropriate (Leman, 2010). In addition, using more than one statistical

technique is in keeping with a social constructionist ontology, which recognises that there are limits to the extent that statistics can provide adequate description of the social world. Using several statistical techniques provides an overview rather than the assertion of a definitive 'fact'. No single piece of analysis is regarded as providing a definitive answer, instead, each piece of analysis helps to provide an indicative picture of the gender pay paradox in higher education.

A brief description of each type of analysis is given below.

A frequency is the most simple of all statistics and states the percentages of participants that answered questions in a specific way. For example, 63.2% of participants said that they went to work for money to pay for essential items ($n = 731$). The 'n' refers to the number of survey participants who answered that specific question.

The Chi Square and Phi/Cramer's V statistics are used when analysing nominal data collected in the survey. Nominal data has categories that are discrete from the others and the order of possible responses is not important. For example, the question 'are you full-time or part-time?' is nominal. The pay satisfaction questions used in the survey can also be treated as nominal and tested with this statistic. The analysis consisted of cross tabulation between two questions for example, gender was cross tabulated with 'Do you go to work for money to pay for essential items?' and the proportions of men and women who worked for money for essential items can then be compared. The Chi Square statistic was used as a standardised measure that distinguishes between a random distribution of responses and a pattern of responses that suggests a statistically significant association between the two questions. It is presented as a 'p' value which indicates the probability that the pattern of distribution between the two variables has happened by chance. The conventional measure of $p \leq 0.05$ is used as indicative of a statistically significant difference between groups. Although this measure of 0.05 is used, it is noted that this is a convention and not a mathematical truth (Dankowski, 2000).

It is also a convention that Chi Square statistics are not considered reliable when there is an expected cell count in a cross tabulation table of less than five in more than 20% of the cells. Therefore, if, and when this occurred, categories

were 'merged' together, for example, a five point satisfaction scale of '1 - not at all satisfied,' '2,' '3,' '4' and '5 - very satisfied' was merged into a 3 point scale of '1 - not at all satisfied/2,' '3' and '4/5 - very satisfied'. Where this was done, it is made explicit within the text. When it was not possible to produce a valid Chi Square, no test is undertaken and this is indicated in the data tables with an asterisk.

There are a number of weaknesses with the Chi Square test. First of all, the size of the Chi Square statistic may not provide a completely reliable guide to the strength of the statistical relationship between two variables. Sample size can affect this statistic, for example when two separate cross tabulation tables have different sample sizes, the size of the Chi Square is not a reliable indicator of the strength of the association. Additionally, the value of the Chi Square may vary depending on the number of cells in the table. To help overcome these weaknesses, Cramer's V and/or Phi statistics are used to show strength of association. Cramer's V is a test that looks at the strength of the association between either two nominal variables or one nominal and one ordinal variable in tables that are larger than 2 x 2. Phi tests for strength of association in 2 x 2 tables. Both Cramer's V and Phi give a reading of between zero and one. The higher the number, the stronger the association. Cramer's V and Phi are particularly useful in comparing the strength of association across different tables. Corbett's (2000) interpretation of Cramer's V and Phi statistics was used, as described below.

- 0 equals no association and 1 equals a perfect association
- 0.001 to 0.099 signifies a very weak association
- 0.100 to 0.199 signifies a weak association
- 0.200 to 0.299 signifies a moderate association
- 0.300 or greater signifies a strong association

It is also worth noting that the Phi statistic indicates either a positive or negative result which shows the direction of the association. However, the principle remains; '0' indicates no association and anything other indicates an association.

Mean rank non-parametric statistics were also used which treat the pay satisfaction questions as ordinal. The categories within ordinal questions are not discrete and have a natural ordering. For example, the question 'In relation to

the standard of living that you have, are you satisfied with your pay?' has five response categories of '1 - not satisfied at all,' '2,' '3,' '4' and '5 - very satisfied'. This question is ordinal because the responses are ordered in terms of satisfaction level. The Mann Whitney U test was used when there were two independent variables, for example, 'male' and 'female' whilst the Kruskal Wallis H was used when there were more than two independent variables, for example 'academics', 'administrative staff', 'manual staff', 'technicians', 'researchers' and 'other'. These statistics rank the data for each condition (for example male and female) and then observe differences between the rank totals. If there is a systematic difference between the conditions, this is apparent when $p \leq 0.05$.

Analysis of the data was not limited to gender and the pay satisfaction data was also routinely analysed by occupational and salary group (amongst full-time staff only) and type of employment. These variables were chosen because previous research has suggested that the gender pay paradox may be linked to job grade (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009) whilst working part-time is more likely to be a feature of women's working lives (Office for National Statistics, 2013). Routinely conducting analysis with these variables ensured that an inductive approach was adopted and that the research was open to new ways of thinking about the gender pay paradox.

3.10 Presentation of survey data

To provide clarity for the reader, values for both Cramer's V, Phi, Mann Whitney U and Kruskal Wallis H statistics are colour coded in the data tables as illustrated in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Colour coding of association/statistical significance

Cramer's V/Phi	0.000 - 0.099/-0.099 (very weak association)
Cramer's V/Phi	0.100 - 0.199/-0.199 (weak association)
Cramer's V/Phi	0.200 - 0.299/-0.299 (moderate association)
Cramer's V/Phi	0.300 - 1.000/-1.000 (strong association)
Mann Whitney U/Kruskall Wallis H	$p \leq 0.005$

The statistical analysis produced a large amount of data and therefore only the most relevant is included in the main text. Some additional analysis is presented in the appendices. It should be noted that occasionally, the Chi Square test would indicate a significant association, albeit with a Cramer's V/Phi test result which suggested that this was so weak (under 0.100) that overall, the result was not considered statistically significant.

Not all variables were used in the analysis. Sometimes this was due to a lack of 'usability' of the data, for example, with hindsight, it was clear that the question on education level (Appendix 1, question 30) was not detailed enough whilst the question about responsibility for gardening (Appendix 1, question 22) merely reflected which participants had large gardens rather than providing useful data about conjugal roles. At other times, it was due to small sample sizes, for example, faculty of work, ethnicity and care of elderly relatives (respectively Appendix 1, questions 25, 29, 20). Sometimes it is not included because it provides no insight into the gender pay paradox, for example, enjoyment of work (Appendix 1, question 5) is omitted for this reason. Finally, participants were asked if they were, male, female or transgender (Appendix 1, question 27), however, only three participants indicated that they were transgender and therefore this group was excluded from the gender analysis. However, they were included in all of the other analyses.

Last of all, only significant associations for pay satisfaction are reported. Some paradox researchers (for example, Phelan, 1994) have suggested that women who are as equally satisfied with their pay as men are 'paradoxical'. However, this approach does not take into account that different occupations tend to pay different amounts and furthermore, occupations that are dominated by women tend to be paid less than those dominated by men (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). Presuming that those with lower pay should be more dissatisfied ignores the differential values assigned to different occupations. Therefore, the analysis of the data collected did not consider equal satisfaction to be 'paradoxical,' only statistically significant unequal levels of satisfaction.

3.11 Undertaking and analysing the qualitative interviews

A large number of survey participants (246) stated that they were willing to be interviewed for the second stage of the research and potential interviewees were recruited from this pool of people. Interviewees were chosen to be illustrative of university staff in terms of gender, occupational group, salary, age and whether they worked full-time or part-time. They were also chosen on the basis of their survey responses to ensure that participants reflected a range of satisfaction levels, orientations to work and had varying work and/or domestic circumstances. If they had written comments in the open question on the survey, this was also sometimes helpful in choosing potential interviewees. The uniqueness of each interviewee's life (Appendix Table 6.1-6.22 show the survey responses of each interviewee) meant that all possible combinations could not be covered, however the interviewees did include people with a range of characteristics, situations, attitudes and satisfaction levels. This approach to sampling is strategic or purposive as opposed to representative (Mason, 2002) and enabled an examination of a wide range of factors that could potentially aid understanding of the gender pay paradox.

Potential interviewees were approached by email and an interview was arranged and conducted at the university where they worked. Interviews were undertaken in 'batches' so that transcription could keep pace with interviewing and to also enable an appraisal of both the characteristics of the sample achieved up to that point. The shortest interview was approximately 25 minutes whilst the longest was just under an hour. The interviews were all audio recorded with a digital recorder and transcribed in full.

In total, 22 qualitative interviews were conducted, and this qualitative sample included people with a range of demographics characteristics, work and home situations, work orientations and pay satisfaction levels. As well as being influenced by the need to include a range of interviewee characteristics, the decision to conduct no more than 22 interviews was influenced by achieving 'saturation'. Saturation is used as an indicator of whether data collection should be continued or discontinued and its origins lie in the grounded theory approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967). The term is a little unclear but generally refers to either the point in data collection when no new information is being obtained

(Bowen, 2008). Alternatively, theoretical saturation occurs when no new themes are identified (Guest et al, 2006). There are no definitive guidelines for identifying when saturation is achieved (Bowen, 2008). However, after 22 interviews were conducted, in spite of the unique nature of each of the interview, similar data was being produced in terms of how people evaluated their pay satisfaction and in particular how home lives, the workplace and work orientations impacted upon their satisfaction levels.

Analysis of the qualitative transcripts was inductive and ideas developed from the data itself, rather than specific evidence being searched for and then extracted. Information was sought on the level and complex nature of pay satisfaction, and how interviewees themselves evaluated their pay satisfaction. Ideas were not firmly in place at the start of the analysis and the words of the interviewees themselves guided the findings presented (Becker and Bryman 2004). This approach was again part of the desire to allow the research to be participant led and to challenge the power relationship between researcher and 'subject' (Reinharz, 1992).

There were two stages to the analysis, a thematic analysis followed by a narrative analysis. First of all, the transcripts were divided into themes and concepts (Mason, 2002) that emerged from the data. For example, one theme was the interviewee belief that there were a number of ways of considering pay satisfaction. Another theme was the impact of structural reorganisation in the workplace and its detrimental impact upon well-being. This type of thematic analysis is useful because the responses of different participants may be considered alongside each other, common elements identified, dissimilarities observed and any patterns of behaviour or attitudes noted. Some elements or themes were apparent for all interviewees, others were only seen amongst certain subgroups. This thematic analysis provided an overall picture of the data and enabled an initial understanding of people's perceptions and evaluations of pay satisfaction.

The second stage of the analysis was concerned with understanding each individual transcript independently. The top down methodological approach of much gender pay paradox research has meant that understanding participants' perceptions of pay satisfaction from their own individual perspective has been

neglected. In order to rectify this, the context or 'narrative' of each person's life must be included in the analysis. In particular, pay satisfaction and other aspects of a person's life must be viewed holistically rather than as disjointed entities. The work of Steph Lawler (2002) was particularly useful in conceptualising the idea of narrative obtained from qualitative analysis. She argued that individuals use narratives to interpret and understand the world and their own place within it by linking events both past and present in a way that 'makes sense'. In essence, events in each individual's life are interpreted to create a 'storied account' or a narrative (Lawler, 2002). This narrative is the outcome of a process of 'emplotment' which enables life events to be understood as a story. There are three aspects to this process. Firstly, that many events have a part in a larger story, secondly, that the plot includes disparate events some of which are discordant with the main narrative but nonetheless are still a part of it and thirdly that time is included, so what happened in the past affects the present and the future (Ricoeur, 1991). Furthermore, emplotment is an ongoing process and these narratives are constantly reconsidered and thought through so that the events of one's life make sense (Lawler, 2002). In addition, this narrative is constructed within and bounded by other narratives. Cultural narratives may limit what can be said, what stories can be told and what is considered meaningful (Lawler, 2002). For example, a person's job satisfaction might be influenced by wider beliefs about having a useful role in life or the intrinsic value of supporting oneself financially, both of which are part of wider narratives about the role of work in people's lives. Narrative analysis is, therefore, unlike traditional approaches to social science research because it does not compartmentalise findings into small parcels or believe that understanding is improved by taking things apart. Instead, understanding is achieved when an individual's life is considered holistically (Thomas, 2012). Furthermore, the context of each life within wider cultural narratives is also of great significance (Lawler, 2002).

This way of conceptualising individuals is a good fit with social constructionism, because it is not simply what has happened in the lives of interviewees that is important but their interpretation of it. Therefore past events, opportunities and constraints all affect an individual's understanding of the world. It also fits well with the work of gender theorists such as Butler (1990) and West and

Zimmerman (1987) who argue that gender is an ongoing construction of either masculinity or femininity. Thus, an individual's life narrative will fit inside the wider narrative of gender which has expectations of appropriate behaviour to be either adhered to or challenged. The concept of narrative also complements Bourdieu's (1995 [1972]) idea of 'doxa' because a pathway through life leads to an individual having a particular occupation which is then understood to have a designated 'value'.

The interviews produced a large amount of data, which could not all be used in the thesis. In the text, interviewees narratives are used to develop particular points or arguments, however, not all interviewees are used in relation to each point made. To some extent, this is due to space limitations. However, in the main it is because the interview design enabled interviewees to define and mould the interview to fit their own experiences. Therefore some interviewees spoke at length of some issues whilst others concentrated on other issues. As a consequence, the choice of which narratives are used in relation to specific arguments is a reflection of the information that the interviewees themselves felt was important to them.

3.12 Reliability, validity and 'trustworthiness'

This section discusses the reliability and validity of the survey data and the 'trustworthiness' of the qualitative data.

First of all, the internal reliability of the pay satisfaction data was ascertained using the Cronbach's Alpha statistical test. Cronbach's Alpha is a measure of internal consistency and scale reliability. The survey measured participants' pay satisfaction by asking four separate questions. Two of the questions concerned perceptions of occupational pay and asked participants to respond on a five point scale as follows '1 - paid far too little', '2', '3', '4' or '5 - paid far too much' (Appendix 1, questions 11 and 12). The other two questions enquired about personal pay satisfaction and asked participants to respond on a five point Likert scale as follows '1 - not satisfied at all', '2', '3', '4' or '5 - very satisfied' (Appendix 1, questions 14 and 15). Given the dissimilarity of these two scales, two separate Cronbach's Alpha tests were undertaken. Cronbach's Alpha provides a result of between 0 and 1, and a reliability co-efficient of 0.700 or higher is generally considered acceptable (Institute for Digital Research and

Evaluation, 2017). Conducting this test suggested internal consistency on both the occupational pay satisfaction questions (test result of 0.846) and personal pay satisfaction questions (test result of 0.779).

Reliability can also be considered in terms of repeatability and whether or not survey questions would produce similar results if repeated. This test for reliability was not conducted because of the time limitations of PhD research. However, the results of the survey do suggest similarity with the findings of previous studies. Thus, the research presented in this thesis found evidence of a gender pay paradox (for example, also found by Crosby, 1982; Phelan, 1994; Clark, 1997) and furthermore, that this is more common amongst lower paid workers (also found by Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009).

Validity in quantitative research refers to whether or not the measures used accurately reflect reality, for example whether or not the measures of pay satisfaction used accurately reflect the 'real' satisfaction levels of the research participants. There are a number of ways of thinking about validity. At the superficial level, validity can be measured by 'face validity' which is whether or not the questions appear to measure what they are intended to measure and to this purpose, feedback from professional researchers was sought. Another way of considering validity is to examine whether the questions have 'construct validity.' These pay satisfaction questions were developed with reference to perceptions of equity and justice (Lawler, 1971, 1981), relativity (Crosby, 1982) and need (Jasso and Rossi, 1977; Alves and Rossi, 1978) and therefore they do have construct validity.

Moving on to the 'trustworthiness' of the qualitative data, Lincoln and Guba (1985) argued that qualitative data should not be judged on the same criteria as quantitative data. Rather than proving reliability and validity, they suggested that the 'trustworthiness' of qualitative data needs to be established which comprises four elements; credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. The research presented in this thesis established trustworthiness on three of these four elements.

First of all, the credibility of the qualitative data can be confirmed because it triangulates with the survey data. For example, survey data, presented in section 6.2, suggested that women with children are not more satisfied with their pay than women without children, a finding which is supported by the qualitative data, presented in section 6.3, which suggested that women's 'choices' about their working and home lives were juxtaposed to evaluations of satisfaction, rather than integral to them. In this way, the findings of the survey and qualitative interviews triangulate in a complementary manner, suggesting qualitative credibility. Secondly, transferability of the qualitative data was established with the use of 'thick description'. Geertz (1973) defined thick description as evidence which is contextualised within broader patterns of behaviour or culture and which integrates specific interviewee statements within wider social and cultural patterns. Conversely, thin description refers to isolated statements or events. The narrative analytical approach adopted by this research ensured that the context of people's lives and wider social structures are considered alongside individual interviewee statements, thus ensuring transferability. Thirdly, the confirmability of the research is supported by the reflexive approach adopted. Reflexivity requires that the researchers' characteristics and beliefs are made transparent to the readers of research outputs, therefore the authors own background in higher education, feminist and socialist beliefs are made explicit and their potential impact upon the research are openly discussed in section 8.10. In this way, the potential impact of subjective experiences upon the research is made explicit. However, the fourth element as defined by Lincoln and Guba (1985); dependability is established when auditors 'shadow' researchers to ensure that data has been analysed correctly and that decisions taken about sampling or analysis are justified. Given that this is impractical for PhD research, this aspect of trustworthiness is therefore not established.

3.13 Ethics

Ethical approval for the study was obtained from both the researcher's university of study and also the participating universities. Staff in organisations are potentially vulnerable to the actions of managers and/or co-workers and

therefore particular care was taken with anonymity, informed consent and data protection.

First of all, given the potential vulnerability of staff, the anonymity of all participants was particularly important. Invitations to participate in the research were sent out via 'all staff' emails and returned questionnaires could not be linked with any individuals. Furthermore, participants were not asked to provide their names unless they wished to participate in the second stage of the research. Once the second stage interviews were concluded, this information was deleted from the SPSS dataset. Although interviewee identities were known to the researcher, they are referred to by pseudonyms in the text. In addition, contextual information that could identify them is not revealed, although general information about their job roles, salary and home lives is presented. All correspondence between the researcher and the interviewees (for example the request for an interview and arranging a time and place) was deleted. The universities are referred to as the 'old' and 'new' universities.

In addition, care was taken to ensure that survey participants knew that the research was being conducted for a post-graduate degree and that responses would not be passed on to managers. This information was included in the invitation to participate in the research and potential participants were approached directly, not through a manager or third party. In this way, no individuals in the universities were aware of who had participated in the research. It was also made clear that participation was voluntary and that there were no consequences relating to either participation or non-participation. However, the anonymous nature of the survey meant survey participants, once their questionnaire was submitted, could not withdraw from the research. The qualitative interviewees, however, were informed that they could withdraw from the study whilst the data collection was ongoing.

There are also clearly sensitivities about how much money people earn. This information was therefore collected in a sensitive and non-specific way (Appendix 1, question 31). Participants did not have to answer this question if they did not wish to. Indeed, the 'Survey Monkey' questionnaire was designed so that participants were, with the exception of the ethical consent question (Appendix 1, question 1) not obliged to answer any questions that they did not

want to. In this way (with the exception of the ethical consent question mentioned above), a participant's progress through the questionnaire was not reliant on having to submit answers to all the questions. In the qualitative interviews, no questions were specifically asked about how much interviewees earned, although this information was often volunteered and discussed.

Finally, in order to facilitate access to potential research participants, the researcher had contacts with both of the universities, that is, she was a student at one and a member of staff at another. This raises questions about whether or not the researcher was known to some of the potential participants and whether this created an ethical problem. However, this was not considered problematic because the covering letter made it clear who was conducting the research, allowing individuals to make an informed decision about whether they wished to participate or not. Additionally, survey participants did not have to supply their names if they did not wish to. Furthermore, since there was such a large pool of participants willing to be interviewed (246 individuals), the vast majority were not known to the researcher. Consent forms and the interviewee information sheet are attached in Appendix 4.

The next four chapters present the empirical findings of this research. First of all, chapter four presents data relating to the four dimensions of pay satisfaction, as measured in the survey. Findings are presented which suggest that the gender pay paradox is not visible in all dimensions of satisfaction and furthermore, that there are 'paradoxical' patterns of satisfaction by variables other than gender. This suggests that the focus on gendered differences by previous researchers, has been misguided and furthermore has potentially diverted attention away alternative explanations for the phenomenon.

CHAPTER 4 PAY SATISFACTION

4.1 Introduction

This preliminary empirical chapter presents survey data on participant levels of pay satisfaction and the gender pay paradox using four measures of pay satisfaction (Appendix 1, survey questions 11, 12, 14, 15). Previous research has tended to use only one measure of satisfaction (Clark 1997; Smith 2009) or has combined a number of questions into one 'overall' category (Oshagbemi, 1997; Young, 1999). The approach adopted by this research aimed to acknowledge the complexity of pay satisfaction and to also ascertain if the pay paradox was visible in different dimensions of pay satisfaction. Additionally, data is presented that examines pay satisfaction amongst different occupational groups, different salary groups and amongst full-time and part-time workers. Analysis on male and female satisfaction in these different sub-groups is also presented. In essence, the chapter addresses the first three research questions:

1. Is there current evidence for the gender pay paradox?
2. Is this evidence (or lack of it) consistent for different dimensions of pay satisfaction?
3. Is this evidence (or lack of it) consistent across occupational groups, salary groups and part-time/full-time employees?

The research did suggest that there was evidence for the gender pay paradox. However, this was not consistent across different dimensions of pay satisfaction. Specifically, the question 'In relation to the standard of living that you have, are you satisfied with your pay?' was less likely to show evidence of the paradox. In addition, analyses by occupational group, salary and type of employment suggested that paradoxical patterns of satisfaction were not unique to gender and that higher paid occupations and groups tended to be more dissatisfied than lower paid ones. Furthermore, when the satisfaction levels of men and women who were employed in similar jobs or at similar pay levels were compared, the gender pay paradox was not apparent.

4.2 Dimensions of pay satisfaction: Evidence from the survey

This section presents data from the survey on levels of pay satisfaction. First of all, as can be seen in Table 4.1, only a few participants thought their occupation was paid too much (questions 1 and 2). Between 40% and 50% of participants thought their occupation was paid too little. However, only 10%-15% of participants thought their occupation was paid either 'far too little' or 'far too much' (points 1 and 5 on the Likert scale). Pay scales may be considered as a representation of a naturalised social construct, a 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]) that reflects a natural ordering of the value of different occupations (discussed in detail in section 2.16). Therefore, this data suggests that only a minority of participants significantly disagreed with the 'value' attributed to their occupation. Table 4.1 also shows responses to the personal pay satisfaction questions (3 and 4) which were evenly split between satisfaction, dissatisfaction and the neutral position. There was a slightly higher proportion of participants who were dissatisfied with their pay in relation to what similar occupations receive than were dissatisfied in relation to their standard of living.

Table 4.1 Pay satisfaction levels

	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much
1: Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do (n = 724)	10.5	32.6	49.9	6.6	0.4
2: Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed (n = 727)	15.1	34.0	45.0	5.9	0
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied
3: Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living (n = 730)	6.7	23.6	32.3	29.5	7.9
4: Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid (n = 729)	12.5	27.2	29.1	20.6	10.7

Overall, this suggests that people evaluate their pay in different ways and use a variety of criteria, pay satisfaction therefore varies depending on how it is conceptualised. This is significant because previous research about the gender pay paradox has tended to consider pay satisfaction as a single concept (for example, Clark, 1997, Smith, 2009), whilst other researchers have combined multiple questions about pay into one 'overall category' (for example Young, 1999 and Oshagbemi, 1997).

Secondly, although almost half of participants specified that they thought their occupation was paid too little (questions 1 and 2), fewer were personally dissatisfied with their pay (questions 3 and 4) suggesting that believing your occupation to be paid too little does not automatically result in personal pay dissatisfaction. There is clearly a complexity about the evaluation of pay satisfaction. However, gender pay paradox research which has employed top down quantitative methods has not given research participants the opportunity to explain how they make their evaluations of pay satisfaction. This finding therefore reinforces the need for research with a methodological approach that includes understanding pay satisfaction from the point of view of the participants themselves.

Thirdly, pay satisfaction in relation to the standard of living was higher than in relation to perceptions of what similar occupations receive. Evidence presented in the following section suggests that data from this standard of living question behaves differently to data from the other three pay satisfaction questions. This theme is recurrent throughout this thesis and was key to developing an understanding of the gender pay paradox.

4.3 The gender pay paradox and other patterns of pay satisfaction

This section presents data on gender and pay satisfaction for each of the four satisfaction questions. In addition, this preliminary data is also analysed by occupational group, salary group and type of employment (whether working part-time or full-time). The occupational and salary variables are used because previous research has suggested that the paradox may be linked to job grade (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009). The 'type of employment' variable is used because working part-time is often a feature of women's work (Sands, 2013), especially mothers (Lewis, 2006). Additionally,

women's domestic and maternal roles and how these impact on the amount and type of work that women do are mentioned by both the 'differential inputs' and 'differential values' theories (Phelan, 1994).

First of all, the data suggests that pay satisfaction does vary between men and women. However, this is not as pronounced on the standard of living question. Indeed, the Chi Square statistic indicates that there is no significant association for this variable, although the Mann Whitney U test does provide some evidence (Tables 4.2-4.7). Secondly, paradoxical patterns of satisfaction were not unique to gender. Pay satisfaction also varied by occupational group on three of the satisfaction questions, although not on the standard of living question. In general, researchers and academics were more likely to think their occupation was paid too little whilst academics were also more dissatisfied with their pay in relation to that received by similar occupations (Tables 4.2-4.7). Thirdly, there is also evidence that higher paid workers tended to be more dissatisfied with their pay than lower paid ones. However, on the standard of living question, this was reversed and lower paid workers were more dissatisfied (Tables 4.2-4.7). Finally, analysis of full-time and part-time workers showed a complex picture with full-timers more likely to think that their occupation was both underpaid and overpaid compared to part-timers (Tables 4.2, 4.3). However, the Mann Whitney U analysis suggested that overall, part-timers are more satisfied than full-timers with their pay, although again, not on the standard of living question (Tables 4.6, 4.7).

These findings are significant as they demonstrate that paradoxical patterns of satisfaction are not are not exclusive to women. Given this, paradox researchers' emphasis upon defining the paradox as a purely gendered phenomenon appears misguided. Indeed, the patterns of satisfaction amongst men and women could be merely symptomatic of the greater number of women working in low paid occupations. Lower paid jobs in universities are more likely to be held by women whilst the converse is true of higher paid jobs (Appendix Table 2.2). Thus, the gender pay paradox may be linked to the structural inequality experienced by women in the labour market. Therefore, searching for explanation solely within the behaviour or characteristics of women is unlikely to successfully find the 'cause' of the pay paradox.

Secondly, it is clear that the standard of living question is being answered in a different way to the other pay satisfaction questions. Although, there is some evidence of the gender pay paradox on all four satisfaction questions, it is clearly weaker on the standard of living question. Additionally, the analysis by occupational group, salary and type of employment also suggested that this question was different to the others because it showed no evidence of 'paradoxical' patterns. This data, therefore, reveals a serious problem with previous research which conducted analysis on either a single or a 'combined' measure of satisfaction, but never on a number of different measures and compared the results.

In addition, this finding suggests something important about the nature of the gender pay paradox. Women do not simply 'need' less money than men. Instead, the gender pay paradox was observed when satisfaction was conceptualised in terms of equity (Lawler, 1971, 1981) and relativity (Crosby, 1982). Although, two of these 'paradoxical' pay satisfaction questions (Appendix 1, questions 11, 12) referred to perceptions of occupational pay and the other to personal satisfaction (Appendix 1, question 15), what they have in common is that they conceptualise satisfaction in terms of 'appropriate' pay. Thus, pay is considered as 'appropriate' (or not) in relation to the 'value' of the occupation in terms of tasks undertaken, job entry requirements or with regard to the pay of similar occupations. This is significant and fits well with the social constructionist view of pay levels outlined in section 2.16. Different occupations are paid different amounts of money and feminist scholars have argued that occupations which are dominated by women are paid less because the skills they involve are categorised as 'feminine' and therefore are not valued (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). In addition, beliefs about different levels of pay for different occupations may be considered a 'doxa,' which is a naturalised and self-evident social construct (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]) which rewards middle class individuals. These preliminary patterns of satisfaction, presented here, suggest that the paradox may arise because women and low paid workers believe their pay to be 'appropriate' for their occupations. In Bourdieusian terms, organisational pay scales are exerting 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu 1995 [1972]) against women and the low paid by encouraging them to be satisfied with relatively low pay.

This idea is explored further in subsequent chapters of the thesis and forms a major component of the arguments presented.

Table 4.2 Perceptions of occupational pay considering the nature of what you do by gender, occupational group, type of employment and salary: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	10.5	32.6	49.9	6.6	0.4	724
Male (%)	14.8	34.4	43.0	7.4	0.4	n = 706 0.011 Cramer's V = 0.136
Female (%)	7.6	31.4	54.3	6.3	0.4	
Administrative (%)	7.1	31.3	53.6	7.9		n = 723 0.027 Cramer's V = 0.112
Academic (%)	14.2	35.4	45.1	5.3		
Technical (%)	18.6	25.4	44.1	11.9		
Manual (%)	5.9	23.5	64.7	5.9		
Research (%)	10.7	36.0	50.7	2.7		
Other (%)	3.5	35.1	49.1	12.3		
Full-time (%)	10.9	34.6	46.7	7.8		n = 710 0.008 Cramer's V = 0.129
Part-time (%)	7.6	25.9	62.0	4.4		
<i>Full-time only</i>						
£20,000 or less (%)	13.8	26.2	49.2	10.8		n = 547 0.646
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	8.4	35.3	47.9	8.4		
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	9.4	39.6	45.3	5.8		
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	13.4	35.7	45.5	5.4		
£50,001 or more (%)	14.1	28.1	46.9	10.9		
£30,000 or less	9.9	32.8	48.3	9.1		n = 547 0.581
£30,001 or more	11.7	35.9	45.7	6.7		
£40,000 or less	9.7	35.3	47.2	7.8		n = 547 0.586
£40,001 or more	13.6	33.0	46.0	7.4		

Table 4.3 Perceptions of occupational pay considering the skills/training needed by gender, occupational group, type of employment and salary: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	15.1	34.0	45.0	5.9	0	727
Male (%)	20.5	37.3	36.9	5.3	0	n = 709 0.002 Cramer's V = 0.142
Female (%)	12.0	32.5	49.2	6.2	0	
Administrative (%)	7.2	28.1	58.2	6.4	0	n = 726 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.179
Academic (%)	22.5	39.8	34.9	2.8	0	
Technical (%)	20.3	30.5	37.3	11.9	0	
Manual (%)	8.8	20.6	61.8	8.8	0	
Research (%)	19.7	38.2	40.8	1.3	0	
Other (%)	10.2	39	35.6	15.3	0	
Full-time (%)	16.8	35.7	41.1	6.3	0	n = 714 0.001 Cramer's V = 0.148
Part-time (%)	9.3	28.4	58.0	4.3	0	
<i>Full-time only</i>						
£20,000 or less (%)	12.5	35.9	39.1	12.5	0	n = 547 0.167
£20,000-£30,000 (%)	12.0	33.1	46.4	8.4	0	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	19.3	35.7	41.4	3.6	0	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	20.5	39.3	36.6	3.6	0	
£50,001 or more (%)	23.1	33.8	36.9	6.2	0	
£30,000 or less	12.2	33.9	44.3	9.6	0	n = 547 0.005 Cramer's V = 0.154
£30,001 or more	20.5	36.6	38.8	4.1	0	
£40,000 or less	14.9	34.6	43.2	7.3	0	n = 547 0.112
£40,001 or more	21.5	37.3	36.7	4.5	0	

Table 4.4 Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living by gender, occupational group, type of employment and salary: Chi Square and Cramer's V

	1 - not at all satisfied	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	6.7	23.6	32.3	29.5	7.9	730
Male (%)	7.0	27.6	33.3	26.7	5.3	n = 712 0.128
Female (%)	6.6	21.7	30.7	31.6	9.4	
Administrative (%)	4.8	25.0	33.3	29.8	7.1	n = 729 0.707
Academic (%)	8.8	25.6	27.2	28.8	9.6	
Technical (%)	8.5	18.6	37.3	27.1	8.5	
Manual (%)	5.9	26.5	38.2	29.4	0	
Research (%)	6.7	14.7	40	29.3	9.3	
Other (%)	5.1	23.7	32.2	32.2	6.8	
Full-time (%)	6.5	23.4	31.2	31.5	7.4	n = 717 0.351
Part-time (%)	7.4	24.7	34.6	23.5	9.9	
<i>Full-time only</i>						
£20,000 or less (%)	13.8	29.2	32.3	24.6	0	n = 550 0.100
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	5.4	25.7	32.3	31.1	5.4	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	4.3	20	28.6	36.4	10.7	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	7.1	25.7	31.9	27.4	8.0	
£50,001 or more (%)	6.2	16.9	29.2	35.4	12.3	
£30,000 or less	7.8	26.7	32.3	29.3	3.9	n = 550 0.036 Cramer's V = 0.137
£30,001 or more	5.7	21.4	29.9	33.0	10.1	
£40,000 or less	6.5	24.2	30.9	32.0	6.5	n = 550 0.768
£40,001 or more	6.7	22.5	30.9	30.3	9.6	

Table 4.5 Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive by gender, occupational group, type of employment and salary: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

	1 - not at all satisfied	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	12.5	27.2	29.1	20.6	10.7	729
Male (%)	14.3	31.1	31.6	16.4	6.6	n = 711 0.008 Cramer's V = 0.140
Female (%)	11.3	24.8	27.8	22.9	15.1	
Administrative (%)	6.8	23.9	28.3	27.9	13.1	n = 728 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.148
Academic (%)	21.3	28.1	28.5	13.3	8.8	
Technical (%)	8.5	37.3	23.7	20.3	10.2	
Manual (%)	5.9	11.8	41.2	23.5	17.6	
Research (%)	13.2	28.9	34.2	19.7	3.9	
Other (%)	6.8	33.9	27.1	18.6	13.6	
Full-time (%)	13.9	27.7	27.7	20.2	10.5	n = 716
Part-time (%)	6.8	25.5	33.5	22.4	11.8	0.125
<i>Full-time only</i>						
£20,000 or less (%)	12.3	35.4	30.8	15.4	6.2	n = 550 0.100
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	10.1	22.6	28.6	26.2	12.5	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	15.7	23.6	29.3	16.4	15.0	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	17.0	33.9	24.1	20.5	4.5	
£50,001 or more (%)	16.9	30.8	24.6	16.9	10.8	
£30,000 or less	10.7	26.2	29.2	23.2	10.7	n = 550
£30,001 or more	16.4	28.7	26.5	18.0	10.4	0.235
£40,000 or less	12.6	25.2	29.2	20.6	12.3	n = 550
£40,001 or more	16.9	32.8	24.3	19.2	6.8	0.066

Table 4.6 Perception of occupational pay by gender, occupational group, type of employment and salary: Mean Ranks

	Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		Occupation paid the right amount of money considering the skills/training	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Male	244	328.31	244	319.87
Female	462	366.80	465	373.42
Mann Whitney U p value	0.009		0.000	
Administrative	252	382.84	249	417.77
Academic	246	333.40	249	306.83
Technical	59	356.73	59	360.07
Manual	34	407.68	34	436.35
Research	75	342.23	76	321.43
Other	57	397.51	59	389.30
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.021		0.000	
Full-time	552	348.08	552	345.79
Part-time	158	381.42	162	397.41
Mann Whitney U p value	0.049		0.003	
<i>Full-time only</i>				
£20,000 or less	65	287.20	64	296.84
£20,001-£30,000	167	282.34	166	299.02
£30,001-£40,000	139	265.53	140	261.74
£40,001-£50,000	112	259.49	112	249.85
£50,001 or more	64	282.64	65	255.63
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.580		0.025	

Table 4.7 Personal pay satisfaction by gender, occupational group, type of employment and salary: Mean Ranks

	Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Male	243	331.83	244	321.13
Female	469	369.28	467	374.22
Mann Whitney U p value	0.017		0.001	
Administrative	252	366.27	251	411.82
Academic	250	359.06	249	313.38
Technical	59	366.42	59	356.05
Manual	34	333.18	34	445.18
Research	75	388.31	76	337.40
Other	58	372.03	59	375.83
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.831		0.000	
Full-time	555	362.24	555	350.28
Part-time	162	347.89	161	386.84
Mann Whitney U p value	0.420		0.042	
<i>Full-time only</i>				
£20,000 or less	65	217.61	65	252.44
£20,001-£30,000	167	268.73	168	305.59
£30,001-£40,000	140	303.83	140	281.80
£40,001-£50,000	113	265.74	112	245.37
£50,001 or more	65	306.74	65	259.15
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.001		0.011	

4.4 Is the gender pay paradox consistently seen across occupational and salary groups?

The previous section presented data that suggested that higher earners, researchers and academics have lower pay satisfaction than other groups when satisfaction is considered in relation to the concept of 'appropriate pay' for different occupations, but not when satisfaction is conceptualised in relation to material 'need'. In addition, the literature review noted that the gender pay paradox is driven by high levels of satisfaction amongst lower paid occupations (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009). This section therefore examines whether women and men who are working in similar occupations or who receive similar pay have similar or dissimilar levels of satisfaction.

First of all, the sample was divided into salary groups and then the satisfaction levels of men and women within each group were compared. The data suggested that, on the whole, women and men who earn similar amounts of money are equally satisfied. There were some minor differences: for example women who earn £30,001 or more are slightly less likely to think that their occupation is paid too little, than are men. However, more often than not, when women and men were earning similar amounts, they were equally satisfied (Tables 4.8, 4.9, 4.9a, Figures 4.1, 4.2).

Secondly, the sample was divided into occupational groups and the satisfaction levels of men and women within each group were compared. The data suggested no difference in satisfaction between male and female manual workers, technicians, researchers, academics and 'others'. Thus, on the whole, when men and women are doing similar jobs, they have similar levels of pay satisfaction. However, the administrative group did reveal some differences between men and women, with female administrators indicating higher pay satisfaction than male administrators (Tables 4.10, 4.11, 4.11a, Figure 4.3, 4.4). This might be explained by the diversity of roles within the administrative group, ranging from low paid routine clerical work to professional workers and highly paid senior managers (although women are much more likely to be employed in lower paid roles than men). In contrast, academic, research, manual and technical

occupations each tend to be concentrated amongst a smaller number of pay bands (Appendix Table 2.2).

Overall, the evidence suggests that when there is similarity in grade or pay group between men and women, the occurrence of the gender pay paradox reduces substantially. This suggests that not only is the paradox not consistently seen across all occupational or salary groups, it is also likely that it is not the 'differences' between men and women that are driving the gender pay paradox but rather differences between occupational groups. However, women may appear to be more satisfied because of occupational segregation and their disadvantaged position in the labour market.

Table 4.8 Gender by pay satisfaction amongst salary groups: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V (full-time only)

	£30,000 or less	£30,001 or more	£40,000 or less	£40,001 or more
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do	0.351	0.043 Cramer's V = 0.161	0.204	0.209
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed	0.972	0.159	0.447	0.590
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living	0.874	0.072	0.539	0.270
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid	0.091	0.0151	0.038 Cramer's V = 0.165	0.767

Figure 4.1 Gender by perceptions of occupational pay considering the nature of what you do amongst those who earn £30,001 or more full-time only (n = 314, p ≤ 0.043, Cramer's V 0.161)

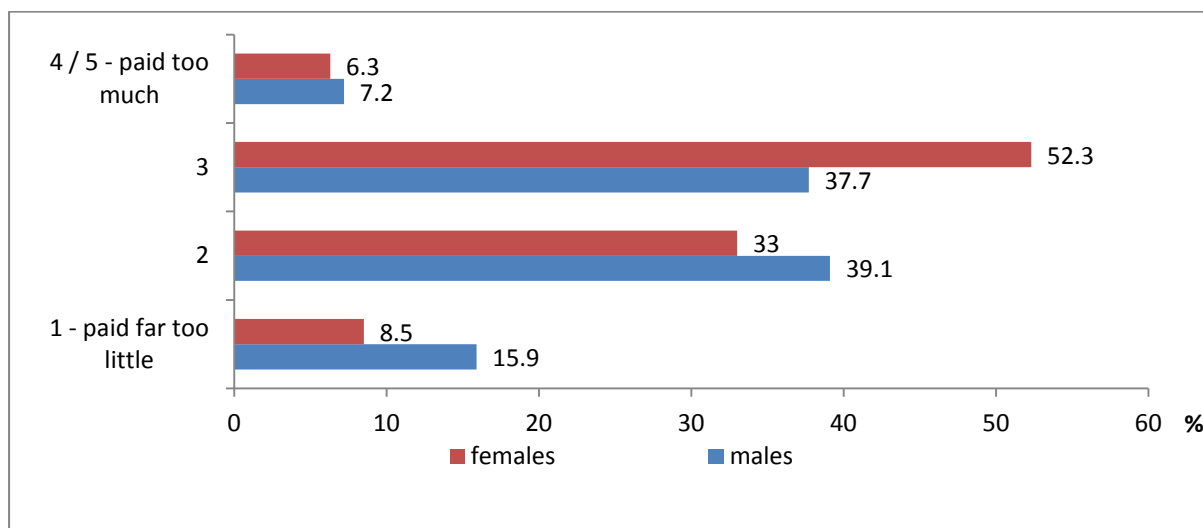


Figure 4.2 Gender by pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive amongst those who earn £40,000 or less full-time only (n = 370, p ≤ 0.038, Cramer's V = 0.165)

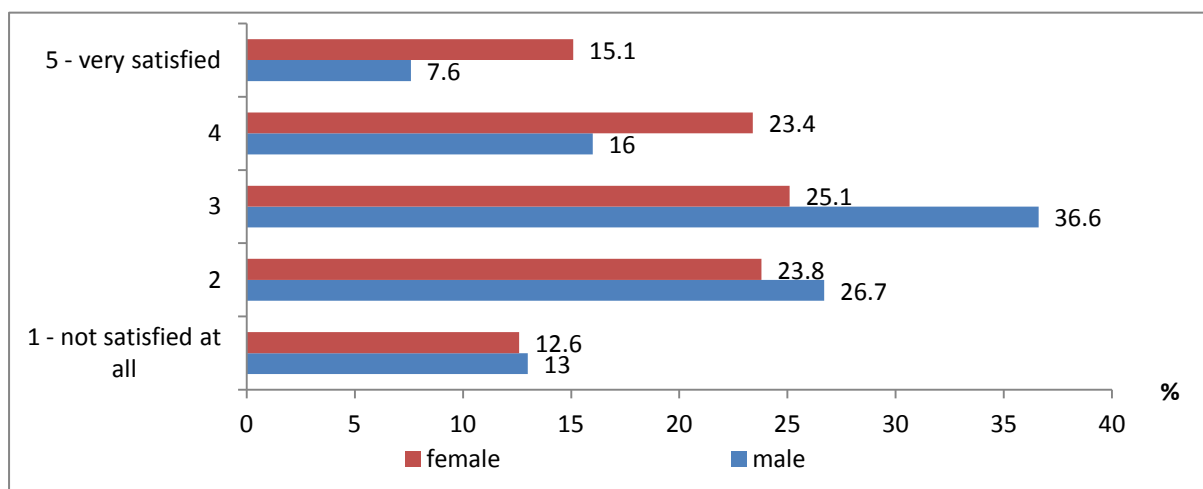


Table 4.9 Gender by pay satisfaction amongst salary groups: Mann Whitney U p values (full-time only)

	£20,000 or less	£20,001-£30,000	£30,001-£40,000	£40,001-£50,000	£50,001 or more
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do	0.672	0.610	0.168	0.008	0.779
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed	0.958	0.576	0.108	0.025	0.386
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living	0.672	0.358	0.060	0.065	0.784
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid	0.604	0.074	0.149	0.066	0.561

Table 4.9a Gender by pay satisfaction amongst those who earn £40,001-£50,000: Mean Ranks (full-time only)

	Occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do		Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Male	56	48.99	56	49.62
Female	56	64.01	55	62.50
Mann Whitney U p value	0.008		0.025	

Table 4.10 Gender by pay satisfaction amongst occupational groups: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V (b)

	Administrative	Academic	
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do (a)	0.067	0.182	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed (a)	0.003 Cramer's V = 0.222	0.723	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living	0.008 Cramer's V = 0.236	0.268	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid	0.305	0.580	
	Technical	Research	Other
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do (a)	0.340	*	*
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed (a)	0.340	*	0.687
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living (a)	0.640	0.642	*
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid (a)	*	0.491	*

(a) Chi Square and Cramer's V calculated using 'merged' pay satisfaction scale

(b) manual staff excluded because of small sample size

Figure 4.3 Gender by perceptions of occupational pay considering the skills and training needed amongst administrative staff (n = 241, $p \leq 0.003$, Cramer's V = 0.222)

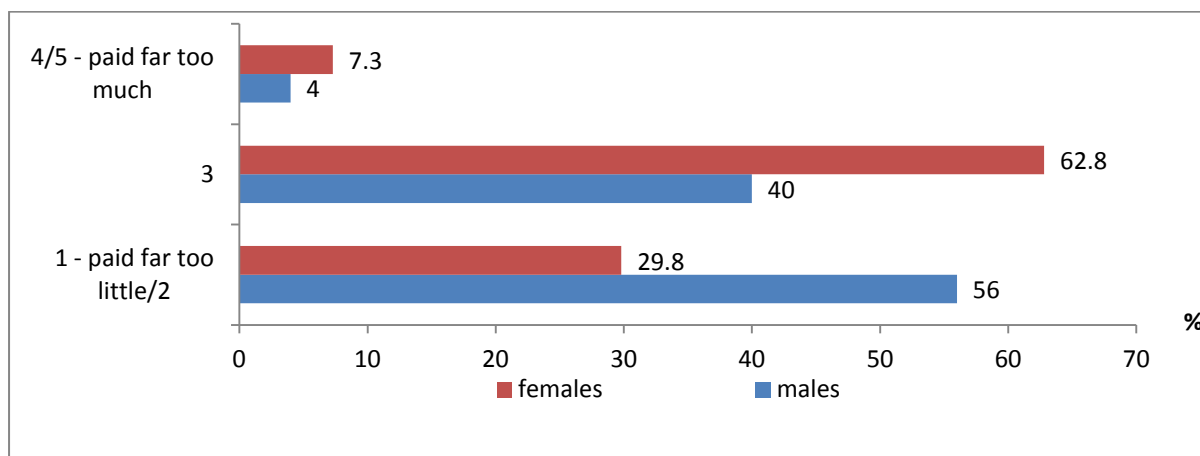


Figure 4.4 Gender by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst administrative staff (n = 245, $p \leq 0.008$, Cramer's V = 0.236)

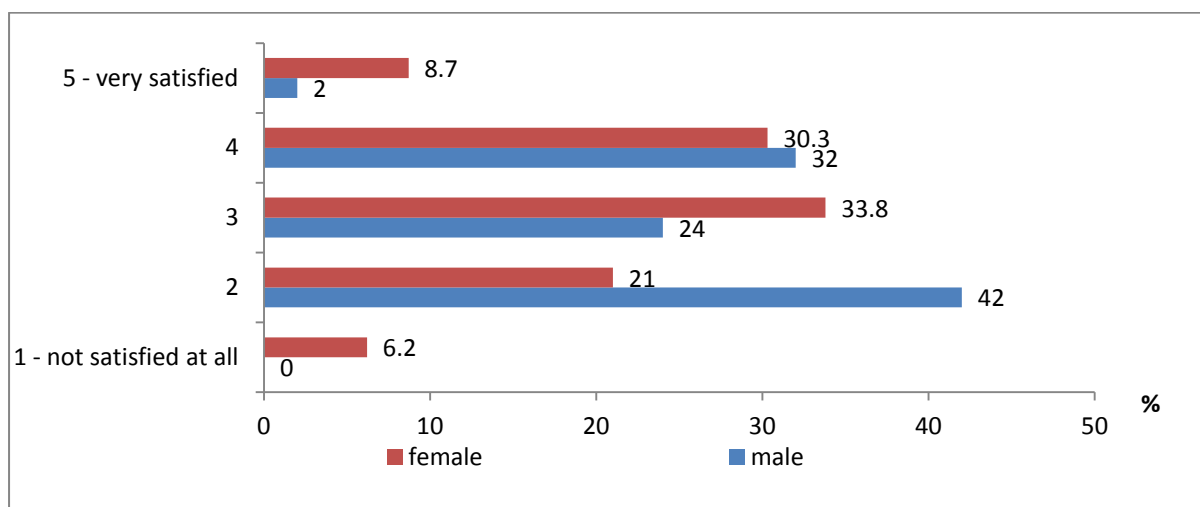


Table 4.11 Gender by pay satisfaction amongst occupational groups: Mann Whitney U

	Admin.	Academic	Technical	Research	Other
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do	0.101	0.108	0.639	0.353	0.866
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed	0.001	0.249	0.533	0.186	0.531
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living	0.164	0.150	0.941	0.274	0.592
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid	0.039	0.286	0.068	0.192	0.780

Table 4.11a Gender by pay satisfaction amongst administrative staff: Mean Ranks

	Occupation paid the right amount of money considering the skills/training		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Male	50	95.56	91	104.66
female	191	127.66	150	127.10
Mann Whitney U p value	0.001		0.039	

4.5 Is the gender pay paradox consistently seen amongst full-time and part-time staff?

The survey data presented earlier in this chapter, suggested that full-time staff are more likely to be dissatisfied with their pay than part-time ones, when pay is conceptualised in terms of 'appropriate pay' (Tables 4.6, 4.7). Several of the paradox explanations imply that it is women's part-time status that causes the pay paradox, for example, the 'differential inputs' theory speaks of reduced input (Phelan, 1994) and the 'differential values' theory suggests that women seek

'flexible' rather than high paid employment (Bender et al., 2005). Indeed, working part-time is much more common amongst women than men and in 2013, 42% of women worked part-time compared to 12% of men (Office for National Statistics, 2013). However, paradox researchers have found evidence to suggest that hours of work are not connected to the gender pay paradox (Phelan, 1994; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; Buchanan, 2005). In addition, the evidence comparing the satisfaction levels of part-time and full-time workers, in general, is inconsistent (Wotruba, 1990; Steffy and Jones; Martin and Sinclair, 1997). Therefore, this section considers whether the paradox occurs amongst both full-time and part-time staff.

In order to explore this, the survey sample was divided into full-time and part-time groups and the satisfaction levels of men and women within each group compared. Notably, as would be expected, working part-time was much more common amongst the female survey participants: 28.8% of women worked part-time compared to 10.2% of men (Appendix Table 4.14). Evidence that women were more satisfied than men could be seen amongst both full-timers and part-timers suggesting that the paradox occurs irrespective of whether participants work full-time or part-time. However, there was also some evidence to suggest that the paradox occurred more frequently amongst part-time staff. Three of the pay satisfaction questions showed evidence of the paradox amongst part-timers, compared to only two of the questions for full-timers. In addition, the Cramer's V statistics suggest 'moderate' strength associations for part-time staff compared to the 'weak' association for full-time staff (Tables 4.12, 4.12a, Figures 4.5-4.7).

However, the heterogeneity of part-time staff (Tilly, 1991, 1996; Martin and Sinclair, 2007) makes it difficult to draw conclusions. Although part-time workers are often low paid (Sands, 2013), this is not exclusively so. Amongst participants to the survey, 36.4% of manual workers were part-time but so too were 22.3% of academic staff (Appendix Table 4.15). Nor were the wages of part-timers necessarily supplementary to household incomes, over a third (38.5%) of part-time staff were the main breadwinner (Appendix Table 5.16). The ambiguity of this data on type of employment in comparison to the much clearer patterns provided by occupational and salary groups suggests that type of employment is not a particularly fruitful way of considering patterns of pay satisfaction.

**Table 4.12 Gender by pay satisfaction amongst full-time and part-time staff:
Chi Square and Mann Whitney U p values, Cramer's V**

	Full-time	Part-time
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Chi Square and Cramer's V (a)	0.324	0.019 Cramer's V = 0.226
Mann Whitney U	0.189	0.004
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Chi Square and Cramer's V (a)	0.160	0.031 Cramer's V = 0.209
Mann Whitney U	0.051	0.002
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Chi Square and Cramer's V	0.191	0.363
Mann Whitney U	0.043	0.056
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Chi Square and Cramer's V	0.036 Cramer's V = 0.137	0.323
Mann Whitney U	0.018	0.033

(a) Chi Square and Cramer's V calculated using 'merged' pay satisfaction scale

**Table 4.12a Gender by pay satisfaction amongst full-time and part-time staff:
Mean Ranks**

	Full-time				Part-time					
	Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive		Occupation paid right amount considering nature of what you do		Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Male	281	259.65	219	256.86	25	57.78	25	56.90	25	62.62
Female	333	286.70	332	288.63	131	82.45	135	84.87	134	83.24
Mann Whitney U p value	0.043		0.018		0.004		0.002		0.033	

Figure 4.5 Gender by pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive amongst full-time staff (n = 551, $p \leq 0.036$, Cramer's $V = 0.137$)

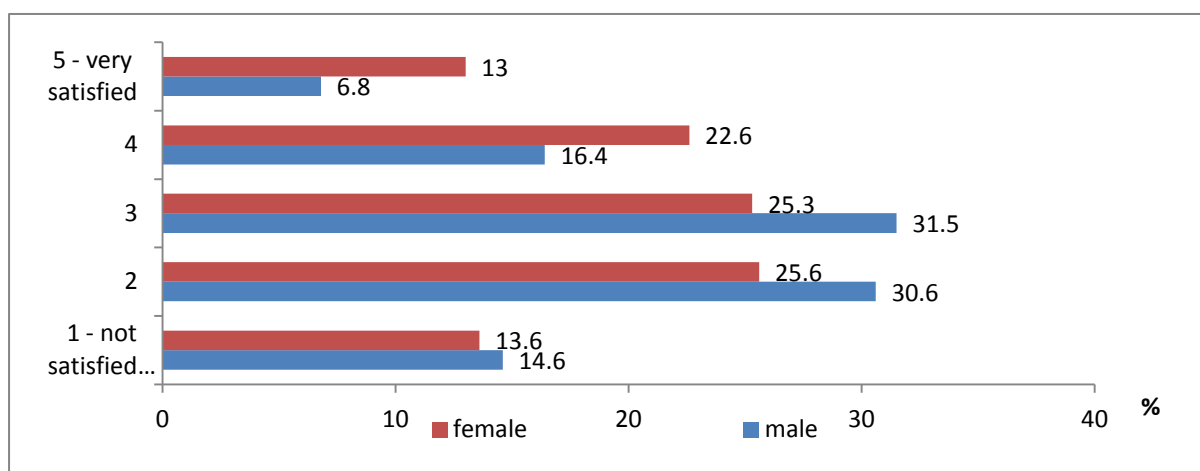


Figure 4.6 Gender by perceptions of occupational pay considering the nature of what you do amongst part-time staff (n = 156, $p \leq 0.019$, Cramer's $V = 0.226$)

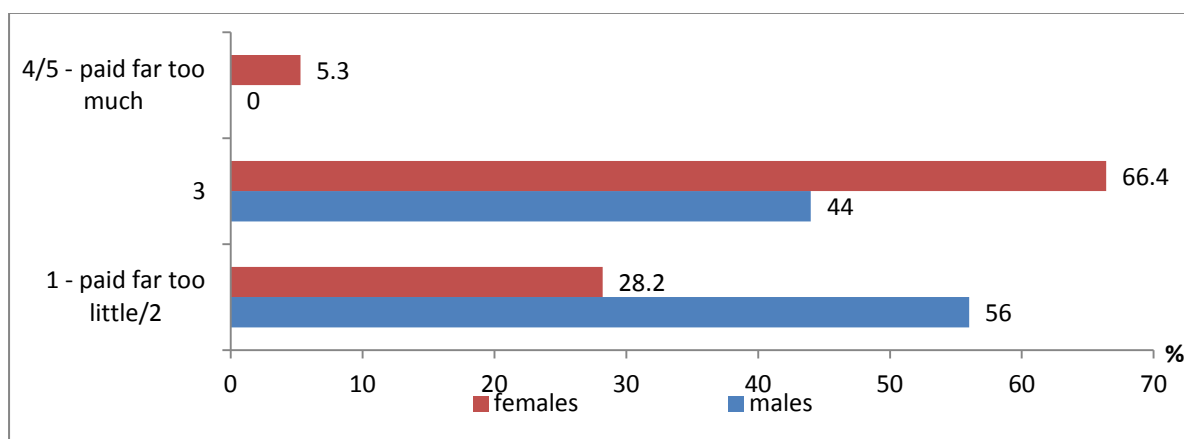
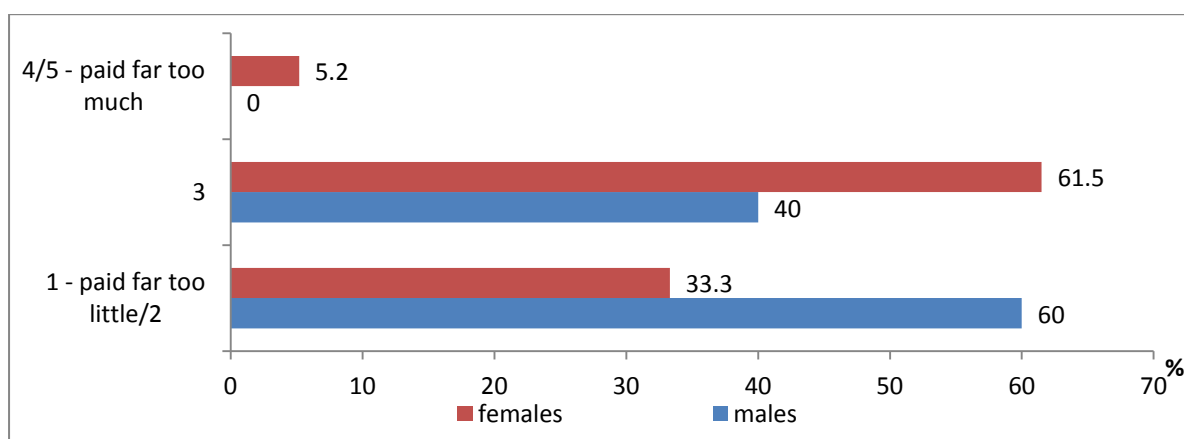


Figure 4.7 Gender by perceptions of occupational pay considering the skills and training needed amongst part-time staff (n = 160, $p \leq 0.031$, Cramer's $V = 0.209$)



4.6 Conclusions

This preliminary analysis of the data has provided answers to the first three research questions. The first question asked if there was evidence for the gender pay paradox. Clearly, the data suggested higher levels of pay satisfaction amongst women than amongst men. However, there were other paradoxical patterns of satisfaction observed; in particular higher paid groups and academics were often more dissatisfied than lower paid groups. Gender is, therefore, not unique in presenting 'paradoxical' patterns of satisfaction. The focus of paradox researchers on the behaviour and characteristics of women as a source of explanation for the paradox is therefore misguided.

The second research question asked if the gender pay paradox was consistent across different aspects of pay satisfaction. The findings presented in this chapter are significant because, not only has this type of analysis not been undertaken before, but it also provides insight into the nature of the pay paradox. The standard of living question was consistently answered differently to other questions and was less likely to show paradoxical patterns of satisfaction. The other three satisfaction questions all make reference to the idea of 'appropriate' pay for different occupations which suggests that the pay paradox is not the outcome of women or the low paid simply needing less money. Instead, it is linked with ideas of the perceived 'value' of different occupations. This supports the work of feminist scholars who have argued that organisational pay scales are constructed to reflect the low value attributed to 'feminine' work and thus discriminate against women (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). In addition, inequity in pay may also be considered as a naturalised social construct, or 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]), represented by pay scales, which serve the interests of the middle classes. This 'doxa' exerts subtle and indirect symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) by defining middle class occupations as having greater value than others and simultaneously presenting this as justified. This encourages those in low paid work to 'misrecognise' the power relations that underpin pay inequality and to consider their own pay, although low, to be appropriate. The idea that pay satisfaction is synonymous with expectations that are driven by the perceived value of different occupations

is explored in much greater depth in the following chapter (section 5.6) and is central to understanding the gender pay paradox.

The third research question asked whether the pay paradox was consistent across occupational groups, salary groups and full-time and part-time workers. The analysis by full-time and part-time staff was inconclusive. However, on the whole, women and men who work in similar occupations or who are paid similar amounts do not differ in their levels of pay satisfaction, suggesting that differences in satisfaction levels are driven by occupational/salary group rather than gender. This further suggests that researchers' focus on women as the cause of the gender pay paradox has been misguided.

CHAPTER 5 AT WORK

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents empirical evidence relating to working lives. Previously, paradox researchers have framed the pay paradox as an issue which affects women only and therefore explanations have concentrated upon the behaviour of women, particularly their maternal and domestic role, they have simultaneously tended to neglect the role of the workplace. Issues such as autonomy at work and occupational status/prestige have not been considered by paradox researchers. Therefore, this chapter turns attention to the workplace and its relationship with pay satisfaction.

The 'same gender referents' theory does make some limited reference to gendered occupational segregation, arguing that women choose other women as pay referents and that the uneven distribution of men and women in the labour market, amplifies this tendency (Blysmá and Major, 1992, Phelan, 1994). However, this chapter presents qualitative evidence which disputes the suggestion that women choose same gender referents and additionally, quantitative evidence which suggests that the impact of occupational segregation upon pay satisfaction is less clear than implied by the same gender referents' theory. Qualitative data is also presented which suggests that the university single pay spine is highly influential upon perceptions of pay satisfaction. It is argued that the pay spine represents a 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972] of occupational value which exerts 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) against those on low pay, particularly women, encouraging them to believe their pay to be appropriate for the work that they do. Qualitative data, relating to the processes of 're-grading' and 're-structuring' within the university, however, does not suggest evidence of a link with how either women or men evaluate their pay satisfaction.

The literature review also suggested that the degree of autonomy experienced at work may be influential upon work orientation and/or levels of worker alienation. Therefore, quantitative data which explores the association between autonomy at work and pay satisfaction, is presented. This evidence suggests that amongst higher paid and academic groups, a lack of autonomy contributes towards pay

dissatisfaction. Additionally, interviewee perceptions of workload are discussed along with the impact of this upon levels of pay satisfaction. Quantitative and qualitative evidence relating to perceptions of occupational respect is also presented, although this data provides no insight into why women or the low paid are often more satisfied with their pay than men or the more highly paid. Finally, differences in the pay levels and working experiences of staff working at each of the universities are considered, and any relevant connection with pay satisfaction discussed.

5.2 Pay referents, occupational segregation and their relevance to pay satisfaction

The 'same gender referents' theory suggests that women are more satisfied with their pay than men because they tend to compare themselves to other equally low paid women. It has also been suggested that gendered occupational segregation encourages same gender referents (Bylsma and Major, 1992; Phelan, 1994). There is some evidence to support the theory that women compare themselves to other women (Crosby, 1982; Zanna et al., 1987; Buchanan, 2005), although a significant number of researchers have found no support (Phelan, 1994; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; McDuff, 2001). Indeed, evidence suggests that gender is rarely mentioned as a reason for choosing another individual as a pay referent (Davison, 2014) and that occupation tends to be more influential (Bygren, 2004).

Sections 5.3-5.5 present evidence from the survey and the qualitative interviews that relates to the 'same gender referents' theory. First of all, qualitative data is presented that suggests that people do not choose referents on the basis of gender. Secondly, further qualitative evidence is presented which suggests that pay referents are not always used and that evaluations of pay satisfaction also factor in other issues, such as the intrinsic satisfaction gained from the work. Thirdly, quantitative evidence is presented which indicates that, although women who work in female dominated occupations have high levels of pay satisfaction, there is no evidence to suggest that this is caused by their disposition to choose other women as their pay referents.

5.3 Do people choose same gender pay referents?

The qualitative interviews provided no evidence that people make pay comparisons with those of the same gender. Instead, comparisons were made with those employed in similar occupations, thus supporting the work of both Davison (2014) and Bygren (2005). Some interviewees made comparisons with those employed in similar occupations within the university where they worked (organisational referents). One clear example of this was Penny, a professor, who earns more than £60,001 a year and who was accidentally copied into an email that included details of senior staff pay and thus found out that her male colleagues were on higher pay than she was. She concluded "I'm still sort of complaining to HR that my pay isn't right, but it's not because I'm not happy with the amount I get, it's the differential with my male colleagues". Similarly, Jenny, who works as a parking warden earning £10,001-£20,000 a year, compared her pay and responsibilities (which can include communicating with frustrated or angry car owners) to other manual occupations in the university, irrespective of the gender of those employed in those occupations. "I do think we get paid the right amount ... I don't know what the catering staff get, but I presume we are all on about the same grade anyway ... I think the porters can get confrontation and stuff like that, they are responsible for keys and opening and locking doors, I think we are about equal, in the scheme of things".

Other interviewees made comparisons with those in similar jobs in other universities or outside of higher education (market referents). For example Anna, works as a student advisor earning £20,001-£30,000, and compared her own pay to what she would receive if she worked for another organisation. "In an advice and guidance sort of thing ... for example, if I wanted to work in a Citizens Advice Bureau, I think they only get paid in the early twenties whereas I'm on thirty thousand pounds, so it's a big difference". Similarly, George, a researcher of substantial experience compared his pay to school teachers, stating "I've been looking at, for example, school teachers' pay scales, somebody who is not a headmaster but who has been in the teaching profession for thirty years, so in other words the kind of same point in their career would be on about 55 to 58 thousand pounds and I'm on 37 thousand pounds".

Thus, there was no evidence from the qualitative interviews that people chose to compare themselves with people of their own gender. Instead, when people did make comparisons with other individuals, this tended to be based on the idea of comparability of occupation and took the form of both market and organisational referents. This was not the only type of referent used and section 5.6 discusses in detail how interviewees considered their pay in relation to the roles, responsibilities and pay levels outlined in the university single pay spine. However, as the discussion above demonstrates, there was no evidence to support the argument that people are predisposed to choose same gender pay referents.

5.4 How useful is the concept of pay referents?

The data from the qualitative interviews, as well as finding no support for the suggestion that women compare their pay with other low paid women, also challenged the idea that choice of referent is, by itself, sufficient to understand pay satisfaction levels. Even at the most basic level, the theory includes the assumption that people know what others are paid which was not the case amongst all of the interviewees. This included Niamh, who works in the Estates department earning £20,001-£30,000, who said "I'm not really hugely aware of what pay people are on, it's not transparent". Similarly, Lena who works as an academic, earning £30,001-£40,000 has "no idea what other people are paid".

Additionally, the theory also implies that pay is only evaluated in relation to what others earn. However, evidence from the qualitative interviews suggests that pay evaluation may result from a personal historical referent. In addition, pay satisfaction can be a compromise between enjoyment of the job and the level of pay received. This is shown by George, a researcher who previously worked in the private sector. He unfavourably compared his pay with what he received in his previous job however, he also noted that "I don't expect that of an academic career". In addition, his previous employment had become unpleasant due to new management who over-supervised his work. This had prompted him to successfully apply to the university where he can carry out his duties unhindered. He had also disliked the physical location of his work in the private sector: "I used to visit the pharmaceutical companies, and they are basically isolated communities and I felt that as well, that if you wanted to nip out for

some shopping even, you just couldn't do that ... so I like the freedom to be able to organise my day". Therefore, for George, his freedom and autonomy to organise his work and his day have a value which are included in his pay satisfaction calculations.

Similarly, Euan who works in the Student Union Advice Centre, recognises that he is paid less than he would be for similar advice roles outside of the Student Union. However, he explained that his evaluation of pay is affected by the nature of those jobs, which he finds less appealing: "Say I get £22,000 for a similar sort of role, the university might get up to £27,000 but the university roles are far more bureaucratic and restricted in what you can do and it's not the same sort of advice ... it's about job satisfaction for me". Again, Euan's autonomy and job satisfaction have a value which is considered when he evaluates his pay.

David is a senior post holder in the finance department, earning over £60,000. He also assesses his pay in relation to the quality of his working life, stating that in his previous job he was paid more: "If you look at my package in the private sector, it would be 30%, 40% greater than the one I've got here". However, the work came with major drawbacks and in particular, an exhausting itinerary of travel: "I was doing a lot of international travel so I'd probably be away most weeks, not every week but most weeks, two or three nights a week and you know, the other days I would be leaving early and getting back late, so I would be leaving at five in the morning and getting back at stupid time at night. Horrible, really horrible, that's why, one of the reasons why I left".

This evidence therefore suggests that pay satisfaction is not merely the outcome of comparison with others. Not only are some individuals not aware of what others are earning but clearly, pay evaluation is also affected by other considerations. In particular, the enjoyment of the work or the conditions of the workplace are factored into evaluations of satisfaction. Chapter 4 suggested that there is a mismatch between perceptions of occupational pay and personal satisfaction (Table 4.1) with participants often being satisfied in spite of believing that their occupation was paid too little. The viewpoints of interviewees reported here suggest that this might be because pay satisfaction involves a consideration of factors other than pay. The evidence also suggests that the

'same gender referents' theory is an inadequate explanation for the gender pay paradox because it argues that pay satisfaction is only affected by comparison with others.

5.5 Is gendered occupational segregation linked to pay satisfaction?

It has been suggested that occupational segregation amplifies the tendency of women to choose other women as pay referents (Loscocco and Spitze, 1991; Bylsma and Major, 1992; Phelan, 1994). In order to test this hypothesis, the survey asked participants whether the people they worked with, doing a similar job as themselves, were 'mostly male,' 'slightly more male,' 'about equal male and female,' 'slightly more female,' or 'mostly female' (Appendix 1, Survey Question 4). The profile of occupational segregation is presented in Table 5.1. Men were fairly evenly distributed between male dominated, female dominated and gender equal workplaces. However, there was a significant 'bunching' of women into female dominated departments. Additionally, administrative work was female dominated, as was low paid work. Thus occupational segregation was particularly a feature of low paid, administrative, female employment. As discussed in chapter 4, women, the low paid and administrative staff are more likely to express high pay satisfaction when pay is conceptualised in terms of 'appropriate' pay.

The survey provided some evidence that occupational segregation is linked with pay satisfaction, in particular those in female dominated workplaces tended to be slightly more satisfied than others (Tables 5.2, 5.3). In addition, men's satisfaction was not linked at all with the gender make up of their department, although women's was. Women who worked in mostly female departments tended to have a more positive view of their pay (Tables 5.4, 5.4a, Figures 5.1, 5.2). Furthermore, this was visible in the occupational group (administration) that was most likely to be dominated by women (Tables 5.5, 5.5a).

However, observing a statistical association is not indicative of causation. In addition, the evidence presented in section 5.3 has already suggested that people do not make comparisons on the basis of gender. Therefore, if women who are working in female dominated environments are making comparisons with their (mainly female) colleagues, this is first and foremost because they are their colleagues and not because they are female. Even though this analysis

does not provide proof that occupational segregation is *causing* women's high pay satisfaction, it does suggest that pay satisfaction is higher amongst women who work in low paid, administrative and female dominated workplaces. Therefore, gendered inequality in the labour market might be significant when attempting to understand women's high pay satisfaction. Possibly, women work in occupations which are not valued highly (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011) which impacts upon their perceptions of 'appropriate' pay. Therefore, the following section considers perceptions of the value of different occupations and how this might relate to pay satisfaction.

Table 5.1 Occupational Segregation by gender, occupational group, type of employment and salary: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

	Mostly female	Slightly more female	About the same	Slightly more male	Mostly male	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	31.8	17.5	20.5	12.2	17.9	730
Male (%)	16.9	11.9	22.2	20.6	28.4	n = 711 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.325
Female (%)	39.3	20.3	19.9	8.1	12.4	
Administrative (%)	65.6	16.2	11.9	4	2.4	n = 729 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.331
Academic (%)	9.6	20.1	32.5	16.1	21.7	
Technical (%)	6.8	3.4	11.9	23.7	54.2	
Manual (%)	23.5	17.6	5.9	11.8	41.2	
Research (%)	11.8	18.4	30.3	21.1	18.4	
Other (%)	36.2	25.9	10.3	8.6	19	
Full-time (%)	29.2	17	20	13.7	20	n = 716 0.010 Cramer's V = 0.137
Part-time (%)	38.9	19.8	22.2	7.4	11.7	
<i>Full-time participants only</i>						
Earn £20,000 or less (%)	61.5	10.8	4.6	9.2	13.8	n = 549 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.198
Earn £20,001-£30,000 (%)	40.7	14.4	15	9.6	20.4	
Earn £30,001-£40,000 (%)	17.1	22.1	28.6	15.7	16.4	
Earn £40,001-£50,000 (%)	20.5	17.9	19.6	20.5	21.4	
Earn £50,001 or more (%)	7.7	18.5	30.8	13.8	29.2	
Earn £30,000 or less (%)	46.6	13.4	12.1	9.5	18.5	n = 549 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.341
Earn £30,001 or more (%)	16.4	19.9	25.9	17	20.8	
Earn £40,000 or less (%)	35.5	16.7	18.3	11.8	17.7	n = 549 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.208
Earn £40,001 or more (%)	15.8	18.1	23.7	18.1	24.3	

Table 5.2 Occupational segregation by pay satisfaction: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Mostly male (%)	13.1	26.2	53.8		6.9	n = 722 0.646
Slightly more males (%)	10.2	38.6	43.2		8	
About the same (%)	11.5	35.1	48.6		4.7	
Slightly more females (%)	7.9	32.5	54		5.6	
Mostly female (%)	9.6	32.6	48.7		9.1	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Mostly male (%)	21.4	29	43.5	6.1	0	n = 725 0.006 Cramer's V = 0.113
Slightly more males (%)	18.2	43.2	35.2	3.4	0	
About the same (%)	20	36	40	4	0	
Slightly more females (%)	13.4	31.5	47.2	7.9	0	
Mostly female (%)	7.4	33.6	52	7	0	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Mostly male (%)	7.6	20.6	29	31.3	11.5	n = 728 0.469
Slightly more males (%)	5.7	25	35.2	27.3	6.8	
About the same (%)	5.3	28	30	31.3	5.3	
Slightly more females (%)	7.8	16.4	42.2	25.8	7.8	
Mostly female (%)	6.9	25.1	29.4	30.3	8.2	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Mostly male (%)	13.7	26.7	32.1	17.6	9.9	n = 727 0.092
Slightly more males (%)	15.7	33.7	28.1	16.9	5.6	
About the same (%)	15.3	26	32	18	8.7	
Slightly more females (%)	12.6	28.3	30.7	20.5	7.9	
Mostly female (%)	8.3	24.8	25.2	25.7	16.1	

Table 5.3 Occupational segregation by pay satisfaction: Mean Ranks

	n	Mean Rank
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Mostly male	130	368.79
Slightly more males	88	346.79
About the same	148	344.35
Slightly more females	126	369.87
Mostly female	230	369.57
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.637	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Mostly male	131	347.76
Slightly more males	88	316.92
About the same	150	330.18
Slightly more females	127	381.00
Mostly female	229	400.94
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.001	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Mostly male	131	383.83
Slightly more males	88	355.18
About the same	150	353.96
Slightly more females	128	366.20
Mostly female	231	262.99
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.771	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Mostly male	131	352.10
Slightly more males	89	316.90
About the same	150	345.12
Slightly more females	127	351.97
Mostly female	230	407.96
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.001	

Table 5.4 Occupational segregation by pay satisfaction amongst males and females: Chi square and Kruskal Wallis H p values, Cramer's V

	Males	Females
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Chi Square (a)	0.340	0.753
Kruskall Wallis H	0.072	0.917
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Chi Square (a)	*	0.013 Cramer's V = 0.117
Kruskall Wallis H	0.265	0.002
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Chi Square (b)	0.283	0.432
Kruskall Wallis H	0.094	0.599
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Chi Square (b)	0.125	0.042 Cramer's V = 0.131
Kruskall Wallis H	0.078	0.004

(a) Chi Square and Cramer's V calculated using 'merged' pay satisfaction scale and 'merged' occupational segregation variable

(b) Chi Square and Cramer's V calculated using 'merged' pay satisfaction scale and non-merged occupational segregation variable

Figure 5.1 Occupational segregation by perceptions of occupational pay considering the skills and training needed amongst women (n = 464, p ≤ 0.013, Cramer's V = 0.117)

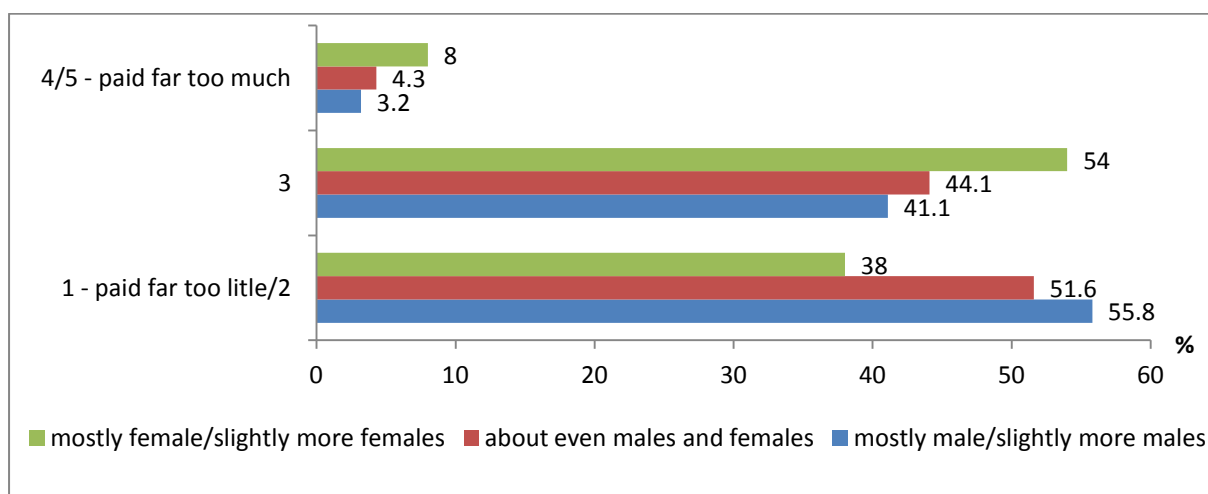


Figure 5.2 Occupational segregation by pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive amongst women (n=466, $p \leq 0.042$, Cramer's V = 0.131)

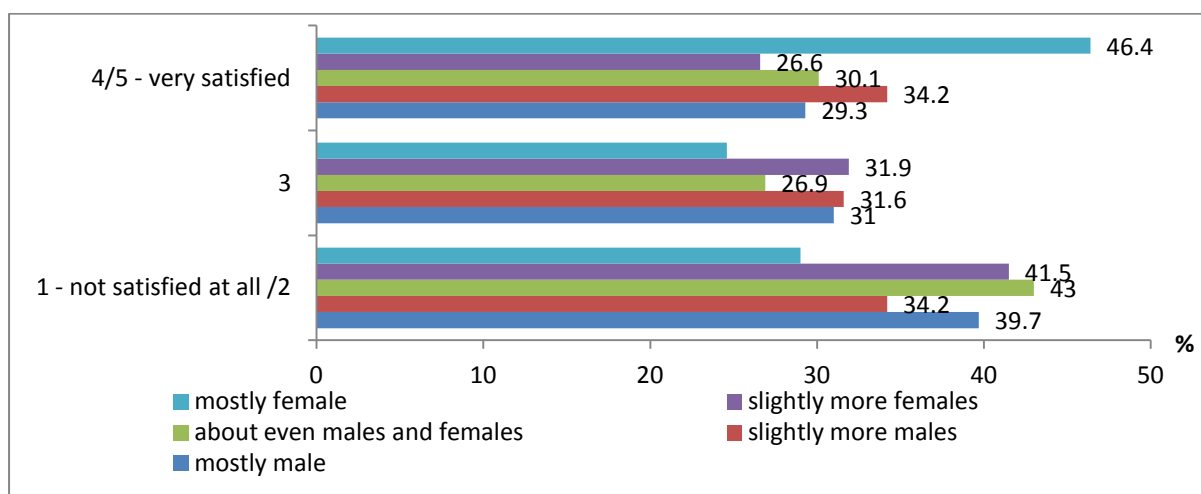


Table 5.4a Occupational segregation and pay satisfaction amongst females: Mean Ranks

	Occupation paid right considering the skills and training needed		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations are paid	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Mostly male	58	209.41	58	213.66
Slightly more males	37	189.68	38	229.75
About the same	93	210.76	93	215.37
Slightly more females	95	236.41	94	208.62
Mostly female	181	257.77	183	262.56
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.002		0.004	

Table 5.5 Occupational segregation and pay satisfaction amongst occupational groups: Kruskal Wallis H p values (a)

	Admin.	Academic	Technical	Research	Other
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do	0.249	0.480	0.543	0.242	0.374
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed	0.067	0.890	0.254	0.179	0.398
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living	0.880	0.580	0.720	0.526	0.739
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid	0.045	0.380	0.088	0.225	0.508

(a) manual staff excluded as group too small for analysis

Table 5.5a Occupational segregation and pay satisfaction amongst administrative staff: Mean Ranks

	n	Mean Rank
Mostly male (%)	6	103.75
Slightly more males (%)	10	74.20
About the same (%)	30	133.68
Slightly more females (%)	41	110.43
Mostly female (%)	164	132.46
Kruskal Wallis H p value	0.045	

5.6 The single pay spine: A standardised referent that affects perceptions of entitlement

This chapter has so far reported no evidence to suggest that the gender pay paradox is caused by women choosing other women as their pay referents. Nor has it provided evidence that occupational segregation amplifies the tendency of women to compare their pay to other women. However, the evidence does suggest that gendered inequality in the labour market and the concentration of women into low paid occupations may be of significance when attempting to understand why the pay paradox occurs. Therefore, this section of the thesis presents data from the qualitative interviews regarding perceptions of pay

scales, ideas of 'appropriate' pay for different occupations and whether this affects the expectations of staff working in different occupations.

Pay in universities, except for the most senior staff, is governed by the standardised single pay spine (Appendix Table 2.1) and is agreed between trade union representatives and the university employers. The spine is divided into bands, with some minor variations across institutions concerning the number and exact positioning of the bands. Employees are appointed on a starting salary in a particular pay band with specified roles and responsibilities. Subsequently, they have an annual increment until they reach the top of their band, unless they successfully apply for re-grading to a higher band. At UK universities, staff paid on the top band are predominantly male and earn more than five times as much as those in the lowest band who are predominantly female (Appendix Table 2.2).

The qualitative data presented in this section is analysed with reference to key concepts in feminist literature and the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1992, 1995 [1972]). Feminist scholars have argued that pay scales institutionally, and intentionally, discriminate against women by defining the types of jobs that are traditionally undertaken by women as being of lesser value than jobs traditionally undertaken by men (Acker, 1990; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). Additionally, pay scales may also be conceptualised as a representation of a social construct that may appear to be self evidently true but which actually serve to disadvantage the working class and reproduce social inequality. This 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) encourages low paid individuals to 'misrecognise' the true nature of pay scales and to believe that they represent natural and justified differences in pay. From a Bourdieusian perspective, middle class individuals will benefit from this 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]) because they possess the appropriate cultural capital to hold highly paid jobs, arguably not because of intrinsic merit, but because of the advantages they have experienced in the educational system (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). However, it should be noted that the evidence presented in this section is mainly limited to perceptions of pay scales and includes no detailed discussion of how particular skills, qualifications or cultural capital translate into either particular levels of employment or pay satisfaction.

The idea that pay systems might be linked to rates of pay satisfaction has been suggested before. Graham and Welbourne (1999) found evidence of the gender pay paradox under traditional pay systems but not under 'gainsharing' systems that distribute bonuses to staff when certain goals such as productivity or cost saving are reached. However, the potential importance of pay scales as an influential factor upon pay satisfaction has not been investigated further. Instead, an individualistic approach has dominated whereby pay satisfaction originates from the individual, rather than cultural beliefs and understandings of the worth of different occupations. In particular, the 'differential entitlements' theory suggests that women have lower expectations of pay than men (discussed in section 2.7). These lower expectations are mainly formed outside of the workplace and are a consequence of women's socialisation (Mueller and Kim, 2008), although women's low expectations may also be amplified by experiences in the workplace (Major and Konar, 1994; Clark, 1997). This theory of entitlement considers gender to be the determining factor that causes differing levels of expectations. However, the evidence presented in this section explores an alternative approach to the idea of 'entitlement'; that expectations are influenced by the 'value' of different occupations which is both reflected in and reinforced by the university single pay spine.

The influence of the university pay spine upon interviewees' evaluations of pay satisfaction could be seen in a number of ways. First of all, although, interviewees would sometimes complain that their pay was low, their dissatisfaction tended to be confined to the desire to move up a single grade. Thus, it tended to be dissatisfaction with the pay band they were allocated to in comparison to the roles and responsibilities that they had, rather than a dissatisfaction with the whole pay scale itself. For example, Amanda, a food technician in the department that teaches catering, earning £20,001-£30,000 stated "I think I should be on the scale above, for the responsibility that I'm on". Jason, an administrator who also earns £20,001-£30,000, noted that "Some of the high level work that I undertake is certainly well above the grade that I am on and the pay grade that I am doing. A lot of the meetings and development things that I get involved in are things that my grade eight boss doesn't want to do ... so I'm ending up in steering groups". Similarly, Anthony, an academic earning £40,001-£50,000, believed that he should be paid on the grade above

for the responsibility he has for co-ordinating research activity. "Actually, I think that I am being asked to do a job that is a pay grade above the one that I am receiving. I think, actually the job of Director of Research should be done by someone who has professor rank and I don't have professor rank". Thus, in spite of the desire for some minor readjustment, the overall structure of the single pay spine wasn't questioned and interviewees, irrespective of gender or occupation, regarded university pay scales as a predominantly legitimate description of how much different occupations were worth. Indeed, several support staff specifically mentioned that they believed academics deserved higher pay than they themselves did, for example Niamh, who works in Estates earning £20,001-£30,000 stated of academic work: "It's a tough, tough job and it's pressure piled up on top of pressure". Similarly, Gill an administrator, earning under £20,000 said "I can understand them getting a heck load more because they have that extra responsibility". Amanda, the food technician, pondering the thought of equal pay for all occupations went even further in her approval of variations in pay: "I suppose in a perfect world, no, but that can't happen, can it? It has to be relative, I suppose it just has to be, for society to work."

In addition, when non-academic interviewees did express unhappiness about the higher pay of others, this was generally in relation to a specific individual who they felt was not fulfilling the role that they were being paid to do, rather than a criticism of the system itself. For example, working as a student advisor, Anna, has to liaise with academic staff on a regular basis. She said "I don't really mind lecturers getting paid more because they are experts in their field aren't they? Or they should be, it's when they are not that it becomes annoying". Bradley, a multi-skilled operative earning £10,001-£20,000, recalled "I know a certain lecturer and he was on fifty odd thousand a year, I was on, at the time, about twelve. I used to come in of a morning at eight o'clock ... his car would turn up shortly or his car would be there shortly before me. I leave there at five and his car would still be there. Talking to the porters he would be there at weekends, all his students passed with flying colours, I rest my case. Some of them, no, I wouldn't pay them in washers". Similarly Niamh, from Estates was critical of what she called 'permafrost management' and added "I do think, you know, you

kind of look at some people and you can go 'I do know vaguely what you are earning and you know, step up to the blade a bit'".

Together, the evidence that individuals largely accept the pay scale as a legitimate reflection of the value of different occupations coupled with the perception that it was specific individuals, rather than the occupational group as a whole, that did not deserve their higher pay, provides some evidence that lower paid staff were 'misrecognising' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) the true nature of pay scales. From a Bourdieusian perspective, pay scales are a vehicle for reproducing social inequality and his theoretical thinking suggests that disadvantaged individuals are complicit in the perpetuation of social inequality because they misrecognise the power relations that underpin symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977).

However, this does not necessarily mean that people blindly accept everything about their disadvantaged situation (Bourdieu and Eagleton, 1992). This was clear in the way that interviewees, from a variety of occupations, would theoretically challenge the legitimacy of inequity in pay between different occupations. For example, Adrianna, a lecturer who works part-time earning £20,001-£30,000, stated "I'm sort of a communist as far as it comes to pay. I don't want to be a bin lorry driver but it needs doing and why should someone who empties a bin, why should they get less than I get?". Others questioned whether the skills needed for some traditionally higher paid jobs were actually more valuable than those needed for lower paid jobs. Jason, an administrator, questioned whether 'front line' student support work should be paid less than managerial duties and pondered "There is always that question as to what the pay is a reward for. Is responsibility what they are paying you for?". Parking warden, Jenny had also thought about this issue: "I don't think that managers deserve more because they are managers". She also believed that the system of reward for different jobs did not accurately reflect the real value of each job, suggesting that some traditionally low paid jobs, often undertaken by women, were underpaid: "If you are, like, in the health care profession, you should be paid a decent wage or if you are a child minder or a teacher you should be, you know, you are responsible for those children. If you work in care, exactly the same, that sort of thing".

However, although these interviewees all hypothetically challenged the legitimacy of pay rewards given to different occupations, when it came to considering the value of their own work, they fell back on comparisons that didn't challenge the status quo. As discussed earlier, Jason considered the tasks that he did in relation to the single pay spine and Jenny compared her pay to other manual workers in the university (discussed in section 5.3). Adrianna summarised the complexity of understanding the unfairness of the pay system whilst at the same time being under pressure to comply with the system: "My sister's an accountant and my brother-in-law is a lawyer and yeah, the amount they earn is, just well, it's a bit, I'm kind of jealous but at the same time I find it a bit distasteful, the amount of money they earn ... the average is like 28 grand, isn't it which is what I earn as a part-timer, so yeah. I'd love to be earning more but I don't know, I find it hard to complain about it. Having said that I did go on strike (laughs) because I'm in a union so you have to do what the union says!".

Thus, although interviewees would sometimes think of pay in ways that challenged the 'doxa', they were also constrained by wider beliefs that some types of job are worth more than others. In this way, Adrianna, in spite of her egalitarian beliefs, when she observed the high salary of her in-laws and listened to the wishes of the academic trade union, was being influenced by wider beliefs and structures that justify her relatively high pay and diminish the 'logical' argument that because she earns more money than many others, she, therefore, *should* be more satisfied. In contrast, both Jenny and Jason experienced no such 'pressure' to regard their pay as anything other than justifiably low. Jenny in particular, was clear that the cultural capital of educational qualifications justifies higher pay and equally, that a lack of qualifications justifies low pay: "I think for the job I do, yes, I do [get paid enough], you don't need qualifications in my job". In this way, interviewees' thinking about pay satisfaction is clearly constrained and shaped by wider beliefs about the value of different occupations.

Additionally, it is also extremely important to emphasise that the symbolic violence exerted by pay scales is often gendered. Jobs undertaken by women and which need 'feminine' skills are frequently less well paid than jobs requiring 'masculine' skills because pay scales have been developed and maintained in order to serve the interests of men (Acker, 1990; Halford and Leonard, 2001;

Cotter et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). For example, Student advisor Anna, mentioned previously, works in a nursing department and believes that the market value (Weber, 1964 [1947]) or cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2010 [1979]) of her employment skills is not as valuable as would be needed for more highly paid forms of work: "Nursing has its own standards because it has to work to the nursing standards. I have to know those regulations, the university's regulations. It is quite a bit of responsibility". However, when comparing her skills to those possessed by academic staff, she seemed to brush aside her own expertise and stated "I suppose admin. staff are more replaceable than somebody who has got in-depth knowledge in a certain area". Furthermore, Anna sees a large proportion of her work as "looking after the students as best as I can," a type of caring employment that is an extension of the unpaid traditional female role undertaken for no wages in the home (Irving, 2008), involving skills that are believed to be acquired 'naturally' rather than through study or experience (Halford and Leonard, 2001). Therefore, it is likely that her view of the low 'value' of what she does is a reflection of the low value ascribed to 'feminine' skills both generally and within the workplace (Acker, 1990; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011).

In comparison, Bob who earns £40,001-£50,000 as an engineering technician directly challenges the notion that academic staff should earn more than he does. "There seems to be a mind-set that unless you are academically intelligent, you don't deserve decent remuneration, so just because you can produce the physical hardware that runs the experiment and you can deliver solutions that facilitate the science, well you are only making stuff!". However, unlike Anna, Bob is paid at a similar level to many academic staff, and furthermore, his job is male dominated and involves traditionally masculine skills (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). His work and his skills are more highly valued and financially rewarded than the feminine skills held by Anna (Acker, 1990; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). Thus, Bob's work skills, their market value (Weber, 1964 [1947]) and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2010 [1979]), are much more similar to those of academic staff than Anna's. Therefore, Bob's challenge to the pay of academic staff is a call for minor adjustment in the single pay spine rather than a major reconfiguration of the way that skills and expertise are valued and categorised.

Overall, the qualitative data suggests that pay satisfaction is influenced by perceptions of how much different occupations are worth. However, interviewees were clearly not completely compliant and passive 'victims' but were actively thinking about and challenging the system in their own ways. As already discussed, some interviewees did theoretically challenge dominant beliefs about pay, although overall the evidence does suggest that their evaluations of pay were constrained and shaped by the university pay scales. However, when it came to the pay of the most senior staff within universities, whose pay is not governed by the single pay spine, interviewees responded differently and were often openly critical. For example, speaking of vice chancellors' pay, Gill, the administrator, stated "I just don't understand what you do with £500,000 a year, with that much money". Similarly Jason, mentioned previously, stated "I'd be happy pretty much with anything as long as it is a job I'm enjoying, the bit that is grating is comparative, you know when you see the VC getting his hundred grand a year pay rise". Similarly, Euan, a part-time student advisor and associate lecturer said "I think there is an argument for the very high salaries in the university, like the Vice Chancellors and so on ... if the university was going to save money, the fair way to save that money would be ... to bring those down". The lack of restraint displayed by interviewees in voicing their disapproval of the high pay of senior staff might be because the recent trend within universities to increase the pay of vice chancellors (Times Higher Education, 2016) is conspicuous when juxtaposed next to government imposed restrictions on pay increases within the public sector more generally (Dolton et al., 2014). Additionally, the zeitgeist surrounding extreme inequality is arguably changing. The banking crisis of 2007 and the popularity of protest movements such as Occupy (Graeber, 2013) coupled with growing questions about the appropriateness of the high salaries of senior staff in business and organisations (Kaplan, 2013) all contribute towards making exceptionally high salaries a relatively easy and socially acceptable target for criticism.

However, the pay inequality represented and enshrined within the single pay spine, is not such an easy target. The evidence presented in this section suggests that people see the pay spine as a mostly legitimate description of the value of different occupations that influences both their expectations of pay and their satisfaction. To a degree, this may be because university pay scales are

nationally negotiated and agreed by trade union representatives and the university employers, and are therefore perceived as fair. However, 'symbolic violence' is subtle (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]) and although pay scales may give the impression that they are fair, it seems likely that they also help to maintain the advantageous position inhabited by both men and the middle classes, by suggesting that women's work is of low value (Acker, 1990; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter, et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011) and that particular forms of expertise, skills and cultural capital are superior to others (Bourdieu, 2010 [1979]). The 'differential entitlements' theory (Phelan, 1994) suggested that expectations of pay are driven by gender, however these research findings suggest that expectations are driven by beliefs about the value of different occupations which are both reflected in and reinforced by the nationally agreed single pay spine. The findings presented in this section, therefore, contribute towards understanding why both women and those employed in lower paid occupations are often more satisfied with their pay than men and those in higher paid occupations. The jobs of these individuals are often understood to have little value and therefore, pay is perceived to be appropriate and satisfactory at a relatively low level.

5.7 The problem of re-grading

The previous section presented evidence which suggested that beliefs about the monetary value of different occupations help to shape the way that individuals think about their pay satisfaction. This section presents qualitative evidence that suggests that the 're-grading' process is perceived by both men and women as unfair, difficult to negotiate and often unsuccessful. However, there was no evidence to suggest that this process encouraged low paid individuals to consider their work of little value and to thus, express 'paradoxically' high pay satisfaction.

An employee may apply to the university for 're-grading' if they believe that they should be paid on a higher pay band than they currently are. Pay bands in the lower sections of the single pay spine are more compressed than they are at the top and employees reach the top of their scale more quickly than more highly paid staff (pay bands for the two universities are shown in Appendix Table 3.2). Lower grade staff, who have reached the top of the pay band may attempt to

improve their pay by applying for re-grading to a higher band, arguing that the tasks that they are doing are of greater value than they are currently paid for. However, the evidence presented in this section suggests that this is a complex, time consuming, difficult process and not guaranteed to succeed.

In the first instance, the process is so daunting that some individuals decide against applying. For example, Amanda, a food technician, stated that applying for re-grading would be too exhausting: "I have thought about it a couple of times and I have virtually been there ... but I think I would be struggling. I would be fighting very hard and I'm not really that bothered. It is not worth that kind of fight and upsetting myself". Indeed, it is not an easy process, Gill an administrator had spent three years obtaining a re-grading, which had helped her overall financial position slightly. However, the impact was not substantial, she was still earning under £20,000 a year and still taking on additional transcribing work in order to survive financially. Furthermore, it is understood amongst support staff that re-grading of jobs is not the preferred option of management, Gill noted that "Normally to get a better grade I would have had to leave and go to a different department and a new job". Similarly, Niamh who works in Estates said: "The way to get more really is to apply for a higher grade job, that is how you progress". Thus, employees are not encouraged to routinely apply for re-grading which, coupled with the challenging nature of the re-grading process, would appear to perpetuate the low pay of those working in support roles.

In addition, there is the perception that grading is unfairly applied. Bob, the technician in the Engineering department, stated "When I was looking at my job description, re-writing it for the promotion case, I noted that HR had actually been really cheeky 'cause part of my current description is already in the higher grade band wording". Penny, the professor mentioned previously, talked of how she encouraged several administrative staff to apply for re-grading but feared that the system is unfairly applied due to pressure on the Deans of faculties to save money: "If they are operating at a grade higher than they are getting paid for, then there is no argument, you have to pay them that, but she [the faculty Dean] is not keen to increase her salary bill for the faculty". Thus, there was clearly the perception that the university will try to limit the pay of support staff, resulting in employees often being 'worth' more than they are actually paid. This

not only keeps the pay of support staff low, but this reluctance to reward people commensurate with their duties and skills, may further perpetuate the belief that these occupations have little value.

The unfairness of how grading is applied was also demonstrated by Bradley, a member of manual staff who benefitted from a 'pay modernisation' process. The use of a particular wording on his job description actually resulted in his job grade changing. "I did the write-up for pay mod ... and then I took it to my brother's missus who is really shit hot on things like that and she just went through and said 'Right. You want to change that word to that because that shows you are responsible for' and boom, boom, boom! We ended up with a three grand pay rise because I put down that we work under our own steam, we use our initiative". Thus Bradley, with a little expert advice managed to emphasise the right aspects of his work to his advantage. Therefore, it appears that the system of re-grading is not designed for individuals to easily demonstrate the realities of their day to day work but instead, is reliant on knowledge of which 'key' words or terms to use on the re-grading application form.

In spite of re-grading success for some interviewees, the overall picture that emerged was of staff struggling with a system that felt designed to keep lower paid staff at the lowest possible salary. It is seen as a system which places obstacles in the path of staff who wish to stay in post but feel they are working over and above their current grade. Given that many staff working in these grades are women, the knock on effects for equal pay are substantial. Thus, not only does the single pay spine award low pay to occupations which are often undertaken by women, there is also a bureaucratic system that is understood to make it difficult to negotiate fair pay for the work undertaken.

This systematic devaluing of lower paid employees and the work they do, like the pay scale itself, may impact upon perceptions of what is reasonable pay. Arguably, this may be conceptualised as a form of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) against the low paid because it sends a message to support staff that universities are extremely reluctant to believe that this group of staff deserve higher pay. However, there was little evidence that this was 'misrecognised' by employees. Instead, it appeared to be regarded, by both

male and female staff, working at a variety of grades, as a clearly unfair and difficult process. Nor was there evidence to suggest that it made people more satisfied with their pay. Amanda considered her pay in relation to the roles and responsibilities of the single pay spine (discussed in section 5.6), Niamh was dissatisfied with public sector pay in general (section 7.8) and Bob, because of a relationship breakdown, was needing money in the short-term and was also dissatisfied because of an ongoing organisational re-structure in his work department (section 5.13). Bradley who had successfully negotiated a re-grading, compared his pay favourably with manual staff in other universities (section 5.16) and Gill, stated that her satisfaction with pay had temporarily increased: "I was thinking about leaving but then they finally went through with that promotion, so they have got me for another year or so." Thus, although the re-grading process is likely to contribute towards perpetuating gender inequality, there was no evidence that it encouraged high pay satisfaction.

5.8 Autonomy at work and the gender pay paradox

The level of autonomy experienced at work has been given scant attention by paradox researchers. Instead, research and theory has focussed on the characteristics or behaviour of women, for example the 'differential values' theory suggests that women do not value money as much as men and the 'differential entitlement' theory suggests that women have lower expectations of pay than men (Phelan, 1994). However, avoiding the potential influence of the workplace and specifically, the level of autonomy experienced by individuals is a significant omission. Higher paid staff tend to have greater autonomy at work (Wheatley, 2017), and furthermore, those who have control over their work tend to have greater intrinsic job satisfaction than those who do not (Gruenberg, 1980; Link et al., 1993; Chiaburu et al., 2013). Blauner's (1964) seminal study of technology suggested clear links between alienation at work and the experience of powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation or self estrangement. Additionally, some paradox researchers have noted that pay satisfaction is higher amongst those who have greater freedom to organise their own work (Nguyen et al., 2003). There is clearly potential relevance to a study of the gender pay paradox because many women are employed in routine level occupations with little autonomy (Crompton and Jones, 1984; Glenn and Feldberg, 1977; Sands, 2013). However, in spite of this range of evidence,

paradox researchers have tended to consider autonomy as simply another aspect of the paradox. For example, it might be noted that women's working conditions, along with their pay, are often less favourable than men's and therefore it is paradoxical that women are satisfied with their jobs (Clark, 1997). However, analysing the actual relationship between autonomy at work and pay satisfaction has not been considered as a potential route towards understanding the gender pay paradox. Therefore, the analysis presented in subsequent sections addresses this omission and considers the relationship between autonomy at work and pay satisfaction.

5.9 Who has autonomy at work? Evidence from the survey

This section explores which survey participants reported that they had control over the amount and type of work that they did (Appendix 1, Survey questions 9, 10). Overall, approximately, a third of participants reported a lack of control and approximately a third reported some degree of control over both the amount and type of work they did (Tables 5.6, 5.7). There was no statistically significant difference between men and women in this regard. However, higher earners reported significantly higher levels of control over the amount and type of work than lower earners. Manual staff and administrative staff tended to report lower levels of control than other occupational groups. This supports previous research which suggests that higher paid staff have more control over their work (Wheatley, 2017).

Table 5.6 Control over the *amount* of work by gender, occupational group, type of employment and salary: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

	1 - No control	2	3	4	5 - A lot of control	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	14.9	22.2	36.1	19	7.9	726
Male (%)	13.1	21.7	33.2	21.3	10.7	n = 709
Female (%)	15.7	22.2	37.6	18.3	6.2	0.171
Administrative (%)	17.2	24.8	32.8	18	7.2	n = 729 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.184
Academic (%)	10	26.1	37.3	20.5	6	
Technical (%)	23.7	10.2	32.2	22	11.9	
Manual (%)	50	26.5	23.5	0	0	
Research (%)	4.1	12.2	51.4	20.3	12.2	
Other (%)	10.2	16.9	35.6	23.7	13.6	
Full-time (%)	14.3	22.4	34.9	20.6	7.8	n = 714
Part-time (%)	16.8	21.1	39.8	14.9	7.5	0.471
<i>Full-time only</i>						
£20,000 or less (%)	27	31.7	23.8	17.5	0	n = 548 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.165
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	22.6	20.8	36.3	15.5	4.8	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	7.9	22.1	40	17.9	12.1	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	8.9	25.9	26.8	30.4	8	
£50,001 or more (%)	4.6	13.8	40	27.7	13.8	
£30,000 or less (%)	23.8	23.8	32.9	16	3.5	n = 548 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.267
£30,001 or more (%)	7.6	21.8	35.3	24.3	11	
£40,000 or less (%)	17.8	23.2	35.6	16.7	6.7	n = 548 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.195
£40,001 or more (%)	7.3	21.5	31.6	29.4	10.2	

Table 5.7 Control over the *type* of work by gender, occupational group, type of employment and salary: Chi square p values and Cramer's V

	1 - No control	2	3	4	5 - A lot of control	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	10.8	23.7	33.4	25.1	7	730
Male (%)	8.2	22.5	31.6	27.5	10.2	n = 711
Female (%)	12.2	23.8	34.5	24.2	5.4	0.061
Administrative (%)	15.5	32.1	28.6	17.1	6.7	n = 729 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.184
Academic (%)	3.6	19.2	39.2	34	4	
Technical (%)	13.6	18.6	28.8	23.7	15.3	
Manual (%)	33.3	36.4	24.2	3	3	
Research (%)	6.6	11.8	42.1	25	14.5	
Other (%)	11.9	20.3	27.1	35.6	5.1	
Full-time (%)	9.5	22.7	33	27	7.7	n = 716
Part-time (%)	15.5	26.1	34.8	19.3	4.3	0.043 Cramer's V = 0.117
<i>Full-time only</i>						
£20,000 or less (%)	25	37.5	23.4	10.9	3	n = 550 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.192
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	15.5	26.2	35.7	19.6	3	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	4.3	18.6	36.4	28.6	12.1	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	2.7	20.4	29.2	38.1	9.7	
£50,001 or more (%)	1.5	13.8	32.3	40	12.3	
£30,000 or less (%)	18.1	29.3	32.3	17.2	3	n = 550 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.344
£30,001 or more (%)	3.1	18.2	33	34.3	11.3	
£40,000 or less (%)	12.9	25.3	33.9	21.5	6.5	n = 550 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.248
£40,001 or more (%)	2.2	18	30.3	38.8	10.7	

5.10 Who has autonomy at work? Evidence from the qualitative interviews

The survey data suggested that higher paid groups tend to experience higher levels of autonomy over the amount and type of work they do. The qualitative interviews revealed evidence of a form of autonomy that was not covered by the 'top down' method of the questionnaire. This was the control and freedom to organise one's tasks as one wished or freedom from close supervision, and was experienced by both men and women working in range of employment roles.

For example, parking warden Jenny's activities are undertaken away from direct supervision. "I love that, the fact that I am out and about. Even in the bad weather ... I can come in and see the porters and 9 times out of 10, they will say 'oh do you want a cup of tea?'" Similarly, Leo works in an administrative role in a department that sets up student projects with businesses/external organisations, earning £20,001-£30,000 and said "It's a really positive environment to be in, very autonomous, very much about managing your own time and even with the placement students, they have their own project that they run and manage". Additionally, Sally who works on a zero hours contract as a note-taker for disabled students, earning £10,001-£20,000 stated "I like the fact that every day is different and I am not just stuck in an office seeing the same four walls every day ... and I like the fact that I've got quite a lot of autonomy, not sort of sitting with a line manager, a bit of freedom really".

This type of autonomy was equally cherished by higher earning interviewees. David is a senior manager in the finance department, earning over £60,000. He explained "I feel very privileged. The role I am doing is a new post, newly created and I therefore have almost got a blank sheet of paper ... so the reasons why I enjoy it is that I've got a lot of freedom to get on and design and do things the way I think is right". As a researcher, George appreciates the lack of day-to-day supervision: "I am in control of what I do, and the principal investigators ... they kind of tell me what the projects are, leave me to design my part of the project and get the resources that I need and it is absolutely ideal..... I'm self sufficient ... I am the sort of person who really hates being supervised".

Thus, having the autonomy to 'get on with the job' was experienced by different types of employees. Clearly, this was cherished by the interviewees and added to their enjoyment and satisfaction with their work. However, the relationship with pay satisfaction was not so clear. Section 5.4 described how George, the researcher, recognised that his pay satisfaction was affected by his desire for a job that was not 'micro-managed'. Thus, his previous, unpleasant experiences with a lack of day to day autonomy encouraged him to compromise his expectations and accept a lower level of pay than he had previously received. However, other interviewees articulated no such connection. Jenny compared her pay to other manual staff in the university (discussed in section 5.3) and Leo compared his pay to what similar jobs in the university are paid, explaining that there are "'Discrepancies', shall we say, between what some other people get paid in other departments and what we get paid for the work we do". David's pay satisfaction is evaluated in terms of both his need to pay his household bills but also his awareness that he is paid relatively well compared to other staff in the university (section 6.7), whilst Sally complained that the nature of her contract means that she isn't paid for the hours in between the sessions that she works. With no office base, she is "stuck with my bags all day, coat ... we just sort of float around the buildings". Thus overall, the qualitative interviews suggested that the relationship between this form of autonomy at work and pay satisfaction was not clear.

5.11 Is there a link between autonomy at work and pay satisfaction: Evidence from the survey

Section 5.9 presented survey data which suggested that academics, researchers and higher paid staff tend to experience greater autonomy than other staff groups. This supports the work of Wheatley (2017) which suggested that autonomy is a feature of higher paid employment. A lack of autonomy at work may lead to alienation (Blauner, 1964) whilst research by Nguyen et al. (2003) suggested that individuals who experience high levels of autonomy are more likely to be satisfied with their pay. However, as outlined in chapter 4, lower paid participants, when satisfaction was conceptualised in terms of 'appropriate pay,' were more satisfied than those on higher pay. The analysis presented in this section attempts to unravel these contradictions between the experience of autonomy, occupation group/salary level and pay satisfaction.

The analysis provided a number of interesting findings. First of all, association between control at work and pay satisfaction was more pronounced in relation to 'control over the amount of work' rather than 'control over the type of work'. Therefore, the data presented in this section is confined to 'control over the amount of work'.

Secondly, analysis of the connection between control at work and pay satisfaction suggested some limited evidence that those with lower levels of control tended to be less satisfied (Tables 5.8-5.13a). However, this was more frequently (although not exclusively) associated with lower levels of satisfaction in relation to standard of living. Thus, the Marxian belief that a lack of autonomy leads to lower satisfaction is upheld to a greater extent when satisfaction is conceptualised in terms of material need rather than in terms of 'appropriate' pay. However, it may simply be that those who report a lack of autonomy are more likely to be on low pay and thus, as shown in chapter 4, are more likely to be dissatisfied with pay in relation to their standard of living.

Thirdly, when higher earners and academics experienced a lack of control over the amount of work, they were more likely to be dissatisfied with regard to all aspects of pay satisfaction, rather than just on the standard of living question. Thus, perceptions of control over the amount of work were connected to their perceptions of what an 'appropriate' level of pay for their job is *and* material need (Tables 5.11-5.13a, Figures 5.4-5.6, 5.8).

This is significant when attempting to understand why higher paid workers are more dissatisfied than lower paid ones, when satisfaction is conceptualised in terms of 'appropriate' pay. There are two ways of interpreting this finding. First of all, control over the amount of work can be understood as not merely referring to the flow of work but to the actual amount of work. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that high paid staff who feel overwhelmed by their workload become dissatisfied with their pay with regard to the concept of 'appropriate' pay. Long working hours can result in work-family conflict (Grzywacz et al., 2002; Moen and Yu, 2000) or high levels of stress (Kinman and Wray, 2013). Here, it would seem that heavy workload is impacting upon perceptions of pay satisfaction and may be driving the high levels of dissatisfaction, relating to

'appropriate' pay, expressed by academics and higher paid staff, as demonstrated in chapter 4.

Alternatively, this connection between a lack of control and pay dissatisfaction amongst academics and higher paid staff can be interpreted using the conceptual ideas of Pierre Bourdieu. Academia can be considered as a 'field' where social activity takes place. However, academics have arguably lost influence within this field because professional managers have become increasingly influential and powerful in universities. Thus, the nature of the field is changing and therefore, there is now a mismatch between the field and the academic 'habitus'. Traditional academic ways of working, developing and gathering social, cultural and economic capital are now at odds with the higher education system (Noordergraaf and Schinkel, 2011). This dissonance is sharpened by the joint impact of the public sector pay freeze (Dolton et al., 2014) and the large increases in pay of vice chancellors (Times Higher Education, 2016) and may have contributed to pay dissatisfaction amongst this group because they no longer feel valued or paid appropriately, given their contribution.

Fourthly, it is of note that the association between a lack of control over the amount of work and pay satisfaction is found amongst females but not males (Table 5.10, 5.10a, Figure 5.3). If the issue of autonomy at work is to help explain the gender pay paradox, it would be necessary that when men experience a lack of control at work, that their satisfaction decreases. However, this was not the case and instead it was women whose satisfaction decreased. This might be because women tend to take main responsibility for childcare and domestic chores (Mencarini and Sironi, 2012, Park et al., 2013) and thus may experience greater work life conflict as caused by long working hours (Grzywacz et al., 2002; Moen and Yu, 2000). This is actually very significant because both theorists of the gender pay paradox and sociological researchers such as Blauner (1964) have all emphasised that women's attitudes to pay are formed outside of work. In particular it is suggested that they are the outcome of their maternal role and domestic circumstances and yet, this data clearly suggests that it is women's satisfaction that is sensitive to conditions in the workplace and not men's.

Overall, this analysis of control over the amount of work can help to explain dissatisfaction amongst higher paid employees. In particular, it suggests that amongst higher paid and academic staff, a lack of control over the amount of work is associated with pay dissatisfaction. However, it provides no explanation for women's high satisfaction because it is women who tend to report higher dissatisfaction when they experience a lack of autonomy. In spite of this, the data does suggest that understanding the association between autonomy over the amount of work and pay satisfaction for higher paid staff is certainly a useful step to take when trying to unravel the connections between autonomy, occupation group/salary level and pay satisfaction.

Table 5.8 Control over the amount of work by pay satisfaction: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
1 - No control (%)	16.8	35.5	38.3		9.3	n = 718 0.017 Cramer's V = 0.107
2 (%)	13.8	36.3	46.3		3.8	
3 (%)	7.3	31.7	53.3		7.7	
4 (%)	6.7	33.3	52.6		7.4	
5 - A lot of control (%)	12.3	17.5	61.4		8.8	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
1 - No control (%)	21.3	28.7	40.7	9.3	0	n = 722 0.102
2 (%)	16.9	37.5	41.3	4.4	0	
3 (%)	12.2	35.9	45.8	6.1	0	
4 (%)	11	36.8	46.3	5.9	0	
5 - A lot of control (%)	21.4	19.6	55.4	3.6	0	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
1 - No control (%)	13	25.9	31.5	24.1	5.6	n = 724 0.279
2 (%)	6.8	23.6	36	27.3	6.2	
3 (%)	5	25	33.1	29.6	7.3	
4 (%)	5.8	19.6	27.5	35.5	11.6	
5 - A lot of control (%)	5.3	22.8	28.1	33.3	10.5	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
1 - No control (%)	18.5	23.1	24.1	20.4	13.9	n = 723 0.250
2 (%)	11.9	31.9	30	20	6.3	
3 (%)	12.7	26.9	31.5	19.6	9.2	
4 (%)	10.1	23.9	28.3	23.9	13.8	
5 - A lot of control (%)	5.3	28.1	28.1	21.1	17.5	

Table 5.9 Control over the amount of work by pay satisfaction: Mean Ranks

	Control over the amount of work	
	n	Mean Rank
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
1 - No control	107	326.20
2	160	326.46
3	259	376.69
4	135	374.79
5 - A lot of control	57	399.11
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.008	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
1 - No control	108	354.19
2	160	340.61
3	262	369.97
4	136	372.50
5 - A lot of control	56	368.96
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.554	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
1 - No control	108	317.66
2	161	351.07
3	260	363.01
4	138	400.06
5 - A lot of control	57	386.49
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.022	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
1 - No control	108	356.79
2	160	338.83
3	260	354.15
4	138	390.17
5 - A lot of control	57	404.53
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.103	

Table 5.10 Control over the *amount* of work by pay satisfaction amongst males and females: Chi Square and Kruskal Wallis H p values, Cramer's V

	Amount of work	
	Males	Females
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Chi Square (a)	0.636	0.012 Cramer's V = 0.119
Kruskal Wallis H	0.555	0.002
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Chi Square (a)	*	0.129
Kruskal Wallis H	0.832	0.152
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Chi Square (b)	0.591	0.259
Kruskal Wallis H	0.574	0.023
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Chi Square (b)	0.782	0.373
Kruskal Wallis H	0.558	0.135

(a) Chi Square and Cramer's V calculated using merged pay satisfaction scale and merged control variable

(b) Chi Square and Cramer's V calculated using merged pay satisfaction scale and non-merged control variable

Figure 5.3. Control over the *amount* of work by perceptions of occupational pay considering the nature of what you do amongst women

(n = 458, $p \leq 0.012$, Cramer's V = 0.119)

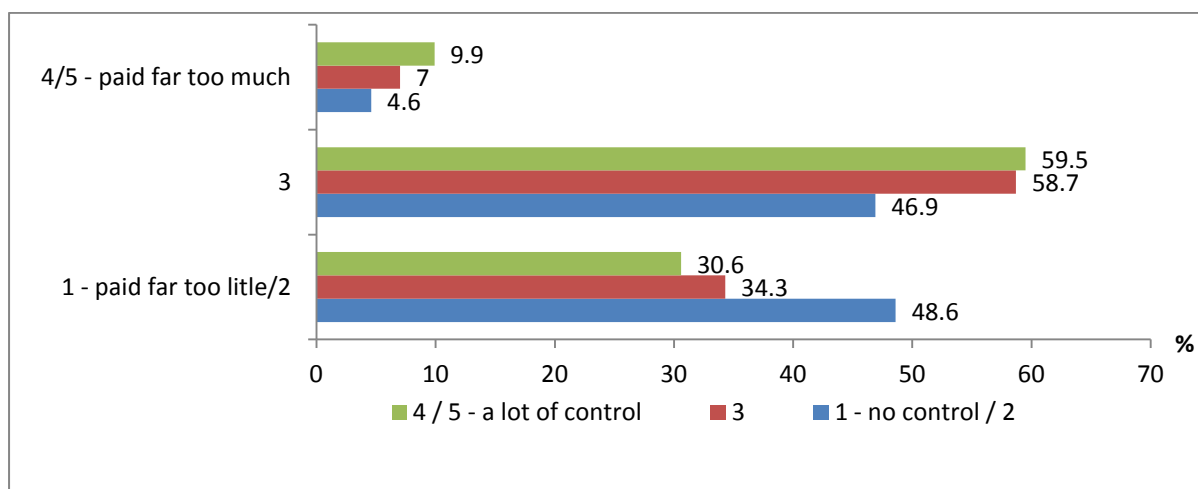


Table 5.10a Control over the *amount* of work by pay satisfaction amongst females Mean Ranks

	Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
1 - No control	73	190.49	73	195.30
2	102	210.15	103	224.79
3	172	241.84	175	237.26
4	82	251.54	85	261.85
5 - A lot of control	29	260.24	29	246.78
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.002		0.023	

Table 5.11 Control over the *amount* of work by pay satisfaction amongst those who earn above and below £30,000: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V (full-time only)

	£30,000 or less	£30,001 or more
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do (a)	0.457	0.013 Cramer's V = 0.142
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed (a)	0.748	*
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living (b)	0.887	0.005 Cramer's V = 0.187
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid (b)	0.281	0.029 Cramer's V = 0.164

(a) Chi Square and Cramer's V calculated using merged pay satisfaction scale and merged control variable

(b) Chi Square and Cramer's V calculated using merged pay satisfaction scale and non-merged control variable

Figure 5.4 Control over the *amount* of work by perceptions of occupational pay considering the nature of what you do amongst those who earn £30,001 or more full-time only (n=314, p ≤ 0.013, Cramer's V = 0.142)

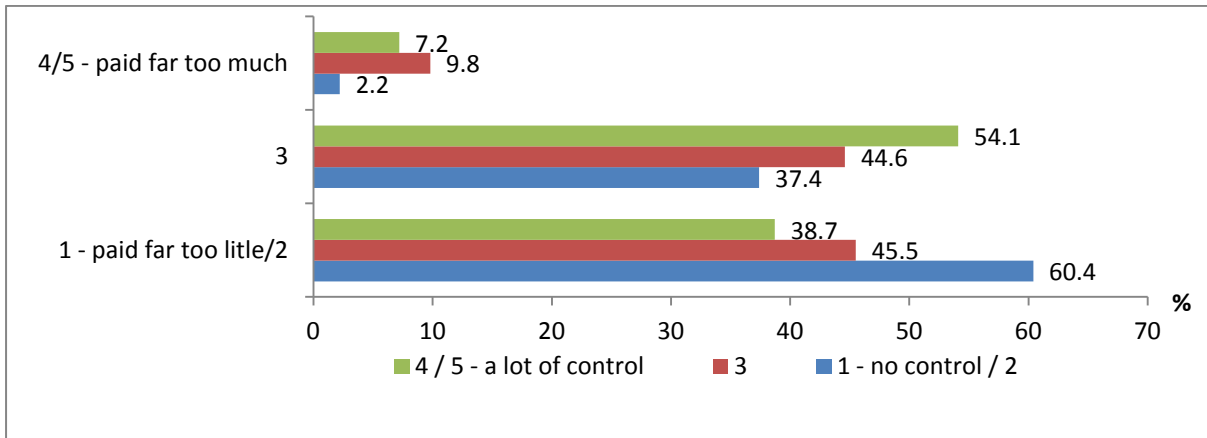


Figure 5.5 Control over the *amount* of work by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst those who earn £30,001 or more full-time only (n = 317, p ≤ 0.005, Cramer's V = 0.187)

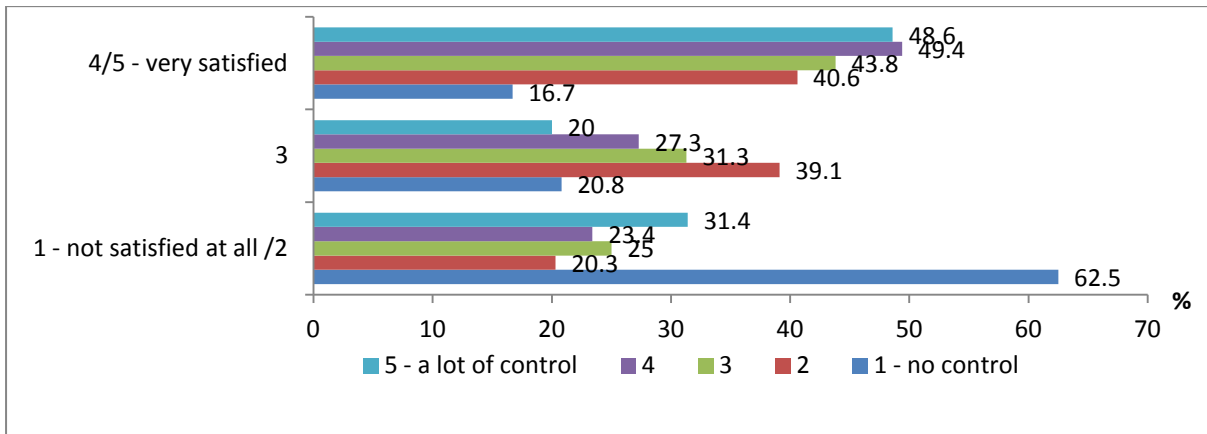


Figure 5.6 Control over the *amount* of work by pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive amongst those who earn £30,001 or more full-time only (n = 316, p ≤ 0.029, Cramer's V = 0.164)

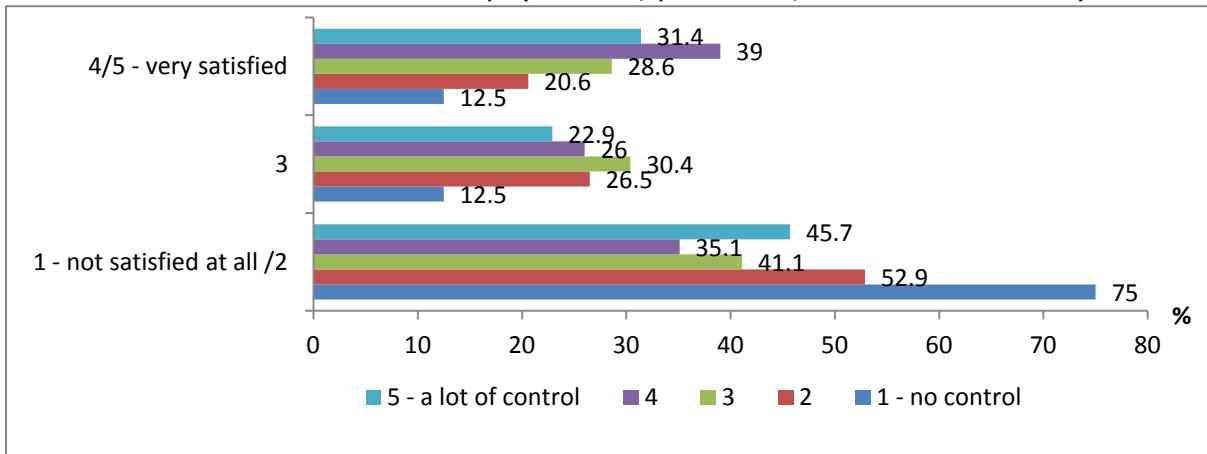


Table 5.12 Control over the *amount* of work by pay satisfaction amongst salary groups: Kruskal Wallis H p values (full-time only)

	£20,000 or less	£20,001-£30,000	£30,001-£40,000	£40,001-£50,000	£50,001 or more
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do	0.341	0.264	0.096	0.004	0.127
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed	0.980	0.923	0.081	0.047	0.438
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living	0.322	0.745	0.039	0.046	0.065
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid	0.510	0.077	0.202	0.002	0.036

Table 5.12a Control over the *amount* of work by pay satisfaction amongst those who earn £30,001-£40,000 and £50,001 or more: Mean Ranks (full-time only)

	£30,001-£40,000		£50,001 or more	
	Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
1 - No control	11	45.68	3	6.00
2	31	68.03	9	35.00
3	56	73.99	26	39.00
4	25	84.82	18	29.44
5 - A lot of control	17	58.50	9	29.78
Kruskal Wallis H p value	0.039		0.036	

Table 5.12b Control over the *amount* of work by pay satisfaction amongst those who earn £40,001-£50,000: Mean Ranks (full-time only)

	Occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do		Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed		Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
1 - No control	9	26.00	10	36.00	10	37.70	10	35.95
2	29	51.81	29	50.53	29	56.29	28	52.13
3	30	53.95	30	54.50	30	49.05	30	46.15
4	34	65.57	33	65.59	34	65.04	34	71.32
5 - A lot of control	9	70.17	9	65.67	9	70.61	9	65.28
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.004		0.047		0.046		0.002	

Table 5.13 Control over the *amount* of work by pay satisfaction amongst occupational groups: Chi Square and Kruskal Wallis H p values, Cramer's V (c)

	Admin.	Academic	Technical	Research	Other
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do					
Chi Square (a)	0.037 Cramer's V = 0.143	*	*	*	*
Kruskall Wallis H	0.054	0.001	0.546	0.160	0.467
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed					
Chi Square (a)	0.805	*	*	*	*
Kruskall Wallis H	0.659	0.007	0.998	0.313	0.267
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living					
Chi Square (b)	0.825	0.010 Cramer's V = 0.201	*	*	*
Kruskall Wallis H	0.267	0.021	0.457	0.194	0.166
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid					
Chi Square (b)	0.610	0.195	*	*	*
Kruskall Wallis H	0.620	0.024	0.701	0.346	0.207

(a) Chi Square and Cramer's V calculated using merged pay satisfaction scale and merged control variable

(b) Chi Square and Cramer's V calculated using merged pay satisfaction scale and non-merged control variable

(c) manual staff excluded from analysis due to small numbers

Figure 5.7 Control over the *amount* of work by perceptions of occupational pay considering the nature of what you do amongst administrative staff (n = 249, p ≤ 0.037, Cramer's V = 0.143)

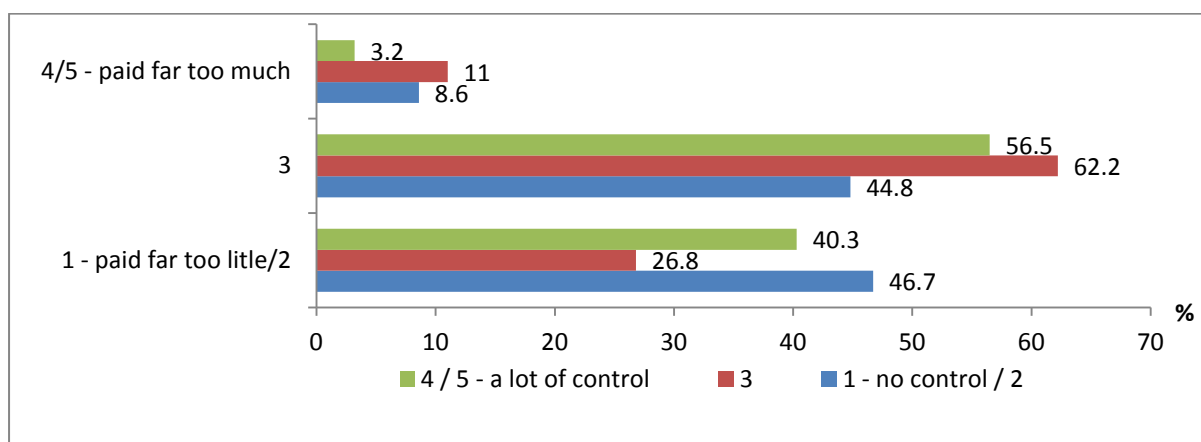


Figure 5.8. Control over the *amount* of work by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst academics (n= 249, p ≤ 0.010, Cramer's V = 0.201)

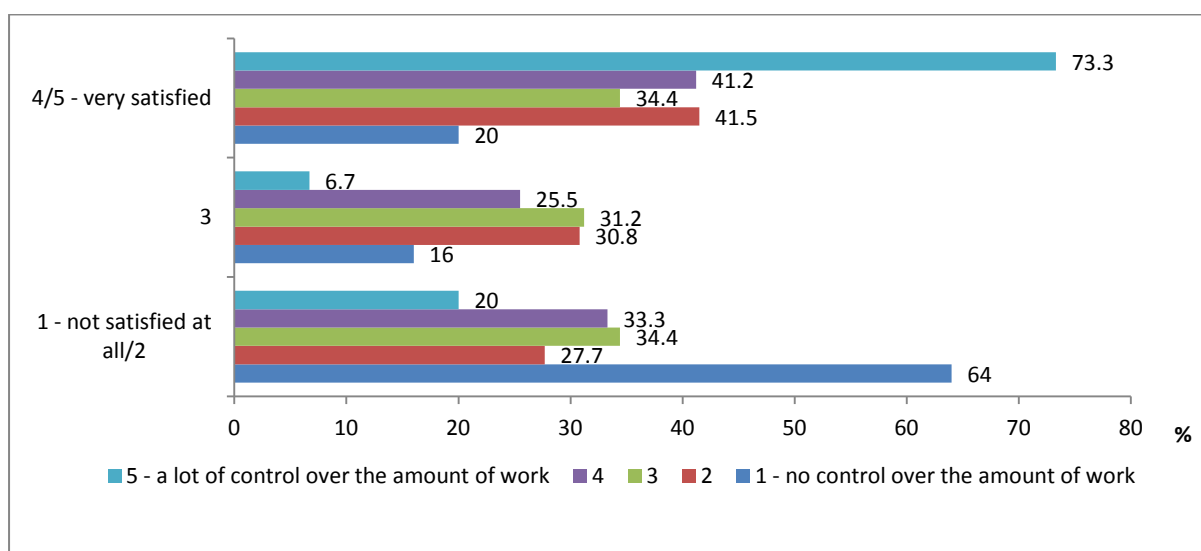


Table 5.13a Control over the *amount* of work by pay satisfaction amongst academics: Mean Ranks

	Occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do		Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed		Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
1 - No control	24	85.10	25	97.32	25	90.86	25	87.74
2	65	112.88	65	109.82	65	129.72	64	119.19
3	92	128.16	93	132.36	93	121.70	93	126.59
4	49	130.28	51	133.36	51	130.10	51	138.29
5 - A lot of control	15	172.07	15	162.83	15	164.60	15	148.57
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.001		0.007		0.021		0.024	

5.12 The pursuit of control and academic workload: Evidence from the qualitative interviews

The previous section suggested that academic and higher paid staff who have little control over the amount of work they have, tend to have lower pay satisfaction than those with higher levels of control. This section presents data from the qualitative interviews which suggests that some academics and higher paid staff within universities are experiencing an extremely heavy workload resulting in stress and home-work conflict. The academic staff interviewed did not explicitly suggest that this heavy workload was connected to their pay satisfaction, however lower paid staff who experienced a lighter workload, justified their own lower pay with reference to the high workload of others.

Amy is a researcher on a fixed-term contract, earning £20,001-£30,000. She has worked for the university for several years, on a number of short-term contracts. She enjoys her work immensely which she feels "privileged" to do, saying that she gets a "decent" wage for it. However, the insecurity of her

employment means that in order to ensure continuity of employment, she must work the hours required on her contract, but then also put in additional hours, networking, working with others and putting in research bids: "I am paid 35 hours to do that, that means that I have got the stamina to do a nine hour day Monday to Friday, that gives me at least a day a week on other stuff". However, although she pragmatically explains how this could work in theory, the reality is not so straightforward. "Life is extremely stressful then because ... it's evenings or it's weekends or like you are fitting it in". The pressure to fulfil competing demands at work whilst ensuring that she has continuity of employment spills over into life at home with her partner. "We have argued in the past. The big things that we have argued about tend to revolve around me and how much I work which causes me a lot of grief because the last thing I feel that I need, when I've got all these deadlines to meet and this pressure is then somebody telling me the thing that feels worst to me, that I'm bad person because I am neglecting people because I am working too hard".

Seeing the insecurity of her position, Amy considers moving into lecturing but explained that she is fearful that her workload could increase further. "I don't want to work 60 hours a week and I actually feel that sometimes it's a bit difficult to say that because people say it, but then people's behaviour isn't what they say. Then there is this kind of toxic sense of, it becomes normal to be constantly juggling things and ... I don't want to do that, I don't want to work myself into the ground and I do sometimes feel like there is a kind of an acceptance that is what it takes, maybe, to be really successful".

The stress of long working hours was echoed by Anthony, an academic who habitually works sixty hours a week. He explained that he copes by talking to and gaining support from similarly overworked colleagues but also by "simply not doing it and apologising to someone when they say 'Why isn't this done?' or 'Have you done this?' and you say 'Actually, I haven't been able to, sorry' and normally they accept that because everyone else is under the same pressures and we all understand". However, the heavy workloads contributed towards the breakdown of his marriage: "The real financial contribution to the household that was being made was almost entirely myself, so that all of that responsibility for paying all the household bills, for making sure that our daughter could have clothes and food and we could all have a roof over our head and paying the

mortgage and making sure we had a car and all of these, making sure that we took the occasional holiday, all these sorts of things, all of that had to be paid for by me. So when I faced demands to spend more time at home and less time on my work...".

Both Amy and Anthony described the stress of having heavy workloads and how this created conflict in their personal lives, echoing the findings of Grzywacz et al. (2002) and Moen and Yu (2000). This conflict and perception of too much work quite clearly formed the backdrop to their working lives. However, the connection between this and their levels of pay satisfaction was not explicit or linear, Anthony made reference to his role and responsibilities as Head of Research in relation to what is specified on the single spine pay. He also spoke of the low pay of academics in the UK, in comparison to other countries. Amy made favourable comparisons with others, such as her mother who works as a nurse. Clearly, both had ideas of the 'worth' or value of their occupation and although their unhappiness with their workload was a cause of discontent, for these two individuals, it was not the main contributory factor that they considered when they evaluated their pay.

However, the long working hours of academics were noted by others, working in support occupations, who would justify their own lower pay with reference to their more reasonable workload. Student advisor, Anna stated "I like work being at work and home being home. I wouldn't like to work in the evenings or the weekends at all". Sally who works as a note taker for disabled students remarked "I like my life out of work, I like to go home and do things I am interested in". Claire, a careers advisor, who left an academic job in order to work in careers said "I think that some aspects of the job are not nice and demand probably a 70 hour working week ... [and] I think a lot of people get sucked down that plug hole and then they wake up and they're 55 and they haven't done anything except publish a few papers".

Thus, the 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]) of the value of different occupations, is further reinforced by the heavy workload of higher paid jobs. This heavy workload is a reminder to those in lower paid occupations of the 'reasonableness' of their own pay. Lower paid workers conclude that although they are paid less, they are not required to work such long hours and can undertake other activities

outside of work. Although, a heavy workload is not legitimated by the pay spine, it is normalised and expected as part of the academic role. The support staff interviewed recognised this and factored it into their pay satisfaction. This might, therefore, help to explain the high pay satisfaction of lower paid staff, many of whom are women.

5.13 Re-structuring, 'flexibility' and uncertainty

This section presents evidence from the qualitative interviews about the impact that organisational re-structuring has upon employees' well being and their evaluations of pay satisfaction. Re-structuring is a form of 'flexibility' that is imposed upon employees, obliging them to be adaptable and able to move from job to job as the market changes (Sennett, 2006; Standing, 2011). It is a recurrent and ever-present feature of modern employment which causes considerable uncertainty and distress to employees (Sennett, 1998). It is a form of 'flexibility' that is imposed for the benefit of the employer, rather than that of the worker (Maxwell et al., 2007). It is therefore, far removed from the flexibility that is arguably sought by women in preference to high paid work (Mueller and Kim, 2008). The evidence presented in this section suggests that, although re-structuring was an unpleasant process which made employees unhappy with their work situations, in general, it did not affect their pay satisfaction.

Both male and female interviewees who had experienced re-structuring, described their helplessness in the face of this process. Re-structuring was regarded as relentless and impossible to challenge. It was perceived as a disrespectful and demeaning process that was to be endured and survived. Unlike the heavy workload experienced by academic or higher paid staff, there was no frenetic scrambling to stay in control, but rather a gritty acceptance that this was the way things were. For example, Jim, an IT technician, working on a 'protected' salary of £30,001-£40,000 and due to retire in a few weeks, described how his working life was catastrophically changed by re-structuring: "Along came a bloke who decided that we stuck out like a sore thumb compared to the rest of the university and properly destroyed my team, merged us with other departments and took about half of my skills off me". However, fighting the re-structuring processes was not a viable option and only led to exhaustion, for example, Bob, an engineering technician, described how work is almost

'suspended' until the outcome is announced. He concluded "I've been here two years, I'm just about fed up, I'm just about burnt out of fighting the system". An unhappy acceptance of the situation was common, for example, Sasha who works part-time as an administrator, earning £10,001-£20,000 described the strung out uncertainty: "There are eight people in our team of twenty who have fixed term contracts until the end of July and we have still not been told if they are going to be extended or what's going to happen". Jenny, who works as a parking warden, explained "Over the last, say, three or four years, we have gone through quite a bit of a change. We've changed departments, we've changed managers, three or four times, nobody has sort of kept us for any more than six months and, like, every manager that came in was like 'I'm going to do this, I'm doing to do that, I'm going to do the other' and they would start it and then 'oh by the way, you're moving to somebody else'". Leo, working at administrative grade, struggled to stay optimistic: "It always seems a bit of a negative but there is always positive in things," although he admits his work colleagues are "overwhelmed". Euan, a part-time advisor in the Student Union, described the aftermath of a re-structuring: "When they re-structured it, they re-structured it quite badly so it was a sort of mass redundancy and people would just vanish and it wasn't like say 'goodbye' or anything, it was almost like 'clear your desk and go and then we will never mention you again' and it kind of poisons the atmosphere".

Thus, re-structuring was a powerful process that seemed to work against the interests and well-being of support staff in the university. There was also the perception that re-structuring did not affect academics, for example Jim, the IT technician, believed that the university targets "everybody that is vulnerable. There are some groups that are untouchable ... they are not going to reduce lecturer's salaries, not going to happen because they would just shut the place down and I can't blame them for doing that, I wish I had that clout". Furthermore, there was also the suggestion that academic staff were oblivious to the plight of many non-academic staff. Sasha, an administrator but who also works as an hourly paid lecturer, noted that despite the extent of re-structuring within universities "There is absolutely no knowledge of that within [the academic trade union] UCU".

Arguably, the way that re-structuring appeared to be targeted at non-academic staff might be considered a form of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) against the low paid because it reinforces beliefs about the low value of support roles within the university and delivers the message that those who are subjected to it, along with their skills, are dispensable. However, there was no evidence to suggest that interviewees were 'misrecognising' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) the nature of organisational re-structuring. They did not see it as fair or as the correct way to make a university function effectively, instead they expressed their frustration, anger and unhappiness. Furthermore, with the exception of one interviewee, the experience of re-structuring was compartmentalised and separated from their evaluation of pay satisfaction. Sasha, Jim, Leo, Jenny and Euan all tended to consider their pay in relation to the roles, responsibilities and pay levels outlined in the single pay spine. However, Bob, the engineering technician, explained that his pay dissatisfaction was, in part, caused by the re-structuring process. He believed that he could offer solutions to the dead-lock caused by the re-structuring and yet "my vision is being completely ignored, squandered, not utilised. Equally I am the lowest paid technician in the lab, driving change from a pro active perspective and I'm being treated like ... I was causing trouble".

Thus, analysis of this qualitative data on re-structuring provides no insight into why women and low paid staff are often more satisfied with their pay than men and higher paid staff. The following section turns attention to the idea of occupational respect and considers whether levels of respect experienced by staff can help understand the gender pay paradox.

5.14 Occupational 'respect' and the connection with pay satisfaction: Evidence from the survey

The evidence presented in Section 5.6 suggested that the 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]) of occupational value exerts 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) against women and the low paid by encouraging them to believe that their pay is reasonable, given the job that they do. However, there was no evidence that either 're-grading' (discussed in section 5.7) or re-structuring (section 5.13) increased the pay satisfaction of women and the low paid. This section turns

attention to another potential form of 'symbolic violence'; the amount of 'respect' that is experienced by occupations.

Occupations differ in terms of their salary levels and the tasks undertaken but there are also differences in terms of 'status'. This is a somewhat nebulous concept that is difficult idea to pin down but which takes into account the relationship between different workers (Marx, 1970 [1870]; Weber, 1964 [1947]) and perceptions of the market value or the cultural capital of the skills needed for different jobs (Weber, 1964 [1947]; Bourdieu, 2010 [1979]). Status is also influenced by the presumed social class and characteristics of the individuals doing those jobs and there is evidence, for example, that the middle classes may hold judgemental views about the working classes (Lawler, 2008; Jones, 2016), whilst occupations mainly undertaken by women are attributed low status because women are held in lower esteem than men in the wider culture (Cotter et al., 2003). Although, paradox researchers have noted that a lack of status at work is a part of women's poor working conditions (Clark, 1997), the actual relationship between status and pay satisfaction has not been explored. This research attempted to capture this elusive notion of status by asking survey participants whether they thought their occupation was respected (Appendix 1, Survey Question 13) and subsequently explored the links with pay satisfaction. However, overall, the analysis of the survey data did not suggest that occupational 'respect' can help to explain the gender pay paradox.

First of all, the survey data suggested that academics, researchers and more highly paid employees were more likely to report that they felt that their occupation was respected than other groups of staff. However, there was no difference between the genders or full-time and part-time staff (Table 5.14). Next, analysis of the relationship between perceptions of respect and pay satisfaction suggested that those who felt 'respected' tended to be more satisfied with their pay in relation to both their standard of living and the idea of 'appropriate' pay (Tables 5.15, 5.16). Thus, having occupational respect tended to be associated with higher levels of satisfaction on all dimensions of pay satisfaction. However, unfortunately, this is not helpful in explaining the gender pay paradox. If perceptions of occupational respect were to help explain the gender pay paradox, it would be necessary for the pay satisfaction of men and the more highly paid to be more sensitive to variations in occupational respect.

This was not the case, however and the degree to which men's and women's perceptions of respect were associated with pay satisfaction were the same. Similarly, the degree to which the perceptions of respect of the low paid and the more highly paid were associated with satisfaction were also comparable.

Therefore, overall, this analysis suggests that perceptions of respect were associated with 'non-paradoxical' patterns of pay satisfaction and thus provide no insight into the gender pay paradox. This analysis also suggests that occupational respect (or a lack of) would not appear to be a form of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) against the low paid. Although the low paid are more likely to report a lack of respect, this did not seem to be viewed as justification for low pay and indeed, *anyone* who experienced a lack of respect was more likely to be dissatisfied with their pay than those who experienced a greater level of respect.

Table 5.14 Perceptions of occupational respect: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

	1 - Not respected at all	2	3	4	5 - Respected a great deal	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	6.6	25.4	31.1	31.1	5.8	724
Male (%)	7.1	22.5	29.2	35	6.3	n = 707 0.398
Female (%)	5.8	27.2	32.1	29.1	5.8	
Administrative (%)	45		31.9	20.7	2.4	n = 723 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.221
Academic (%)	16.2		30	45.3	8.5	
Technical (%)	47.5		25.4	25.4	1.7	
Manual (%)	61.8		32.4	5.9	0	
Research (%)	19.2		28.8	39.7	12.3	
Other (%)	27.1		40.7	23.7	8.5	
Full-time (%)	6.3	26.4	30.4	30.6	6.3	n = 712 0.669
Part-time (%)	5.7	22.6	34	33.3	4.4	
<i>Full-time only</i>						
£20,000 or less (%)	12.3	40	30.8	13.8	3.1	n = 548 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.161
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	8.3	32.1	35.7	20.2	3.6	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	4.3	22.5	26.8	37.7	8.7	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	4.5	19.6	31.3	39.3	5.4	
£50,001 or more (%)	1.5	13.8	24.6	46.2	13.8	
£30,000 or less (%)	9.4	34.3	34.3	18.5	3.4	n = 548 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.288
£30,001 or more (%)	3.8	19.7	27.9	40.0	8.6	
£40,000 or less (%)	7.5	29.9	31.5	25.6	5.4	n = 548 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.204
£40,001 or more (%)	3.4	17.5	28.8	41.8	8.5	

Table 5.15 Perception of occupational respect by pay satisfaction: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
1 - Not respected at all (%)	33.3	33.3	31.3		2.1	n = 716 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.156
2 (%)	13.1	30.1	49.7		7.1	
3 (%)	7.2	41	44.6		7.2	
4 (%)	6.3	29.7	56.3		7.7	
5 - Respected a great deal (%)	9.8	14.6	65.9		9.8	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
1 - Not respected at all (%)	29.8	29.8	38.3	2.1	0	n = 719 0.073
2 (%)	15.3	31.1	48.6	4.9	0	
3 (%)	13.5	37.7	41.3	7.6	0	
4 (%)	11.6	35.3	47.8	5.4	0	
5 - Respected a great deal (%)	23.8	23.8	42.9	9.5	0	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
1 - Not respected at all (%)	22.9	27.1	33.3	14.6	2.1	n = 723 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.166
2 (%)	8.2	30.6	32.8	24	4.4	
3 (%)	4.9	26.7	36	25.8	6.7	
4 (%)	4	16	29.3	40.4	10.2	
5 - Respected a great deal (%)	7.1	9.5	23.8	33.3	26.2	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
1 - Not respected at all (%)	29.2	25	27.1	10.4	8.3	n = 722 0.002 Cramer's V = 0.114
2 (%)	14.7	28.3	27.2	22.3	7.6	
3 (%)	9.9	31.4	30	17.5	11.2	
4 (%)	9.8	24.4	31.1	24	10.7	
5 - Respected a great deal (%)	11.9	21.4	14.3	26.2	26.2	

Table 5.16 Perception of occupational respect by pay satisfaction: Mean Ranks

	n	Mean Rank
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
1 - not respected at all	48	242.89
2	183	353.62
3	222	348.18
4	222	386.42
5 - respected a great deal	41	420.28
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.000	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
1 - not respected at all	47	293.79
2	183	364.68
3	223	359.63
4	224	370.78
5 - respected a great deal	42	354.83
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.210	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
1 - not respected at all	48	249.60
2	183	317.54
3	225	347.82
4	225	417.58
5 - respected a great deal	42	462.37
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.000	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
1 - not respected at all	48	282.96
2	184	345.52
3	223	357.82
4	225	382.16
5 - respected a great deal	42	430.12
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.004	

5.15 The experience of 'respect': Evidence from the qualitative interviews

The previous section discussed how survey data indicated that perceptions of a lack of respect were more commonly reported by those in low paid and non-academic occupations. This suggests that occupations are different from each other, not just in terms of the tasks undertaken or the pay received, but also in terms of their status, be that caused by hierarchy (Marx, 1970; Weber, 1964), the value of different skills (Weber, 1964; Bourdieu, 2010), judgemental beliefs about members of different social classes (Lawler, 2008; Jones, 2016) or because women's work is attributed low value (Cotter et al., 2003). This section presents evidence from the qualitative interviews which supports the survey findings. Occupational respect tends to coincide with professional status and/or higher pay, and furthermore, there was no evidence that experiencing a lack of respect contributes to high pay satisfaction.

Interviewees who worked in non-academic roles often recognised that the higher status of academic staff was embedded within the culture of the universities and was reinforced daily by institutional means. For example, Anna who works in student support, complained that universities are "elitist," noting that teaching staff get better pay, more holiday entitlement and are 'celebrated' within the culture of the university. She spoke of a newsletter that she recently received: "They've done the employer survey, so they have sent, what they did last year to improve ... and it was all focused on teaching staff and what they have done for teaching staff ... there was nothing mentioned about any of the other professional services or technicians or cleaners". Anna also feels that the status of support staff has been further diminished by the way that rules around the 'inspirational teaching awards' have changed. The year previous to her interview, Anna won the award for inspirational student support. However, whereas "that used to be an individual award for student support and now they have decided that it's teams," essentially rendering individual support staff invisible.

As well as being embedded within the culture of the university, a lack of respect manifested itself in the individual behaviour of individuals, although clearly this wasn't necessarily something that was done intentionally. Several interviewees suggested that when they acted in ways that were outside of the 'expected'

parameters of their occupational role, it provoked reaction from others. For example, Gill, an administrator described how her point of view was overlooked in meetings. "I've tried to make a point that I am not just admin. here, if I am in a meeting, I'm going to make a point of saying something, if I have an idea and you do get people who are a bit like 'Well, how would *you* know about this?'".

Sasha, a part-time administrator at the new university but also an hourly paid lecturer at the old university, described how at the new university, on a day of strike action, she went to support the academic union UCU's pickets but was dismayed to find that "The response, from some of them, was as soon as they found out I wasn't a lecturer, like OK, and then the conversation would gradually peter out". Thus, in a similar way that gender roles can be regulated by the judgement of others (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990), support staff reported how behaving in a way that was not expected of their role could elicit confusion or disapproval from academic or more senior/more highly paid staff.

The sense that there was a hierarchy of jobs within the university, also affected people when they were outside of the workplace. Jason, who works as an administrator, explained how his job was not of interest to strangers, who, he feels, consider it run-of-the-mill. "Say, you are getting into a taxi and you are picked up from the university and they say 'Are you a student or are you staff?' and it's like 'Oh, I work here'. 'Oh, are you a lecturer?' 'No, no just administration'. 'Oh right' and then that is kind of where it sort of ends the conversation". For Jason, his job is not a source of pride or something that he considers of potential interest to other people. Thus, amongst support staff, there was recognition of their low status in the organisation. It impacted upon their sense of who they were, their value to the organisation and guided how they thought that they should behave at work. Moreover, it was 'visible' to staff, a constant reminder of their (perceived) lack of specialist skill and their low status.

This was very different from the experiences of 'respect' reported by academic and senior staff. For these staff, the issue of respect often depended upon which group of people were 'judging' the value of an occupation. For example, Adrianna, a part-time academic, stated "It depends whether you ask people who value education or not. So if, for example, if you ask my husband's family ... they really think we're just layabouts, who just muck about and they think we

get the summer off!". Likewise, Lena, an academic earning £30,001-£40,000, stated that when she meets people for the first time, they are impressed that she is a lecturer. However, within the university "Administration think that academic jobs are just pretending to do something". David, a senior manager, admitted "That there are times when I think I feel a bit embarrassed about how much I am paid". Pondering, whether his occupation was respected, he equivocated and suggested that "I think corporately, is well respected, certainly that is the way the VC would paint the picture. I'm sure that there are people and by that I mean, you know, academics, researchers, admin. staff who get frustrated by finance and will, you know, without thinking, will say 'Who are these annoying people from finance?'".

Others downplayed the status of their occupation and suggested that their occupation was respected, but that this was misplaced. For example, Andrew who works as an academic in medicine, earning £50,001-£60,000, stated "Medicine is always like fetishised, always like programmes on telly, people are fascinated by medicine, you know dramas like 'Casualty' through to 'Embarrassing Bodies', you know programmes about surgery ... the other obvious reason is that it's so hard to get into medical school but what people just completely fail to realise is that that's not because medicine is difficult, it's merely a way of reducing the number of applicants". Anthony, an academic, was equally modest and said "I'm sometimes surprised, actually, receiving too much respect or a bit too much deference sometimes from some small proportion of students, the more old fashioned type ... well it's nice, it makes me feel a bit uncomfortable sometimes. Though, it's a kind of pleasant uncomfortable".

This equivocation about status, displayed by all the academics in this section, might be indicative of the declining status of academics within universities and the corresponding rise in influence and power of professional managers. If academia is considered as a Bourdieusian 'field,' then arguably academic work is evolving, changing and there is competition for symbolic capital, between those who uphold the 'old' way of doing things and those that stand for the 'new' way of doing things (Noordergraaf and Schinkel, 2011). Thus, the uncertainty and insecurity described by academics concerning their status might reflect the decline in their power and status, that has accompanied the expansion and transformation of higher education. In addition, it may be that the insecurity

expressed by academics is a reflection of the long term declining trust and confidence expressed by the public in powerful institutions, such as the police, the BBC, the press and banks (Park et al., 2013). Long accused of residing in ivory towers (Georgalakis, 2017), academics are increasingly dismissed as irrelevant or even 'wrong' about many issues. For example, during the 2016 referendum on European membership prominent 'Leave' campaigners, Michael Gove and Nigel Farage, both announced their distrust of experts (Breuilly, 2016).

Overall, the qualitative data suggests that perceptions of respect did vary between higher paid staff and those who worked in support roles. For support staff, a lack of respect was visible both institutionally and at the personal level. Amongst higher paid staff, 'respect' was experienced as something that varied according to which group of people were believed to be judging the value of their occupation. In addition, although, there was the sense that people knew that their occupation was respected, there was evidence that this was downplayed.

However, a relationship between perceptions of respect and pay satisfaction was usually, not explicitly stated by interviewees. Anna, Jason, Sasha and Gill all voiced their dislike of their relatively low status, but their evaluation of pay was often the outcome of considering the expected roles, responsibilities and pay levels for their occupation. Anna considered her pay in relation to what she would receive if she did a similar job in the charity sector and also justified her own lower pay compared to lecturers because she was able to have a good work-life balance (discussed in sections 5.3 and 5.12), whilst Jason considered his pay in relation to the single pay spine (discussed in section 5.6). Sasha who works as both an administrator and an associate lecturer considered the pay for each job separately, thinking of the rates of pay that were specified for each. Gill, who struggles to have enough money to live on, mainly considered her pay in economic terms (discussed in further detail in section 6.8). Amongst higher paid staff, Adrianna's egalitarian beliefs encouraged her to be satisfied but she was also influenced by what family members earned and her trade union, whilst Anthony considered his pay in relation to his roles and responsibilities and the single pay spine (both discussed in section 5.6). Lena thought of her pay in terms of how easily she could support two people and finally, David was

affected by his desire to earn enough to keep his family, but also considered how much others received (both are discussed in further detail in section 6.7).

Conversely, for Andrew, the medical academic, the connection between his experiences of 'respect' and pay satisfaction was explicit. Andrew believes that his occupation is respected too much, this is partly due to the way that medicine is, as he explains, "fetishised" in our society, and also the challenging entry requirements for medical school. However, he also argued that the job itself is not as hard as people believe. He explained: "In the end once you have been taught how to do it and have sort of got into it, it's not that challenging on a day to day basis". Asked about his pay satisfaction, Andrew said "I think that I am probably paid too much for what I do ... because in comparison to what other people are paid and what they do, my job seems to be more highly valued than I think perhaps it automatically should be". However, this belief also stemmed from his desire for a fairer and more equal society, a belief which was reinforced by the day to day experiences of his work. He explained "Being involved in medicine you do meet a lot of patients ... [you] realise how many people live very different lives to you and I think you also realise that you don't naturally mix with these people and you would never normally see them, really and you realise ... that most people in life, have a very different life to ours and I think that after a while that does begin to affect you, your view about inherent, you know inequality or unfairness of things". Thus, overall Andrew believes that "As a general comment, I believe that people at the top should earn less and people at the bottom should earn more and that the income distribution range should be smaller".

The qualitative data therefore provides examples of how perceptions of respect were experienced by interviewees. However, with the exception of Andrew, interviewees did not directly articulate a connection with their pay satisfaction. Thus, experiences of respect were juxtaposed to evaluation of pay satisfaction rather than being an integral part of it. Furthermore, because a lack of respect was clearly visible to support staff, it cannot be considered as a form of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) that indirectly and subtly encourages the low paid to think of their pay as reasonable given the low status of their work.

5.16 Pay levels at the two universities and the link with pay satisfaction

The final sections of this chapter consider the impact that the place of work has upon pay satisfaction levels, by comparing participant satisfaction levels from each of the universities. Staff from two universities participated in this research; one was an 'old' research intensive, relatively wealthy university and the other was a 'new' teaching-led, less wealthy institution. Although both universities use the single pay spine, there are slight differences in the way that the pay spine is implemented. Pay at the new university is slightly more favourable for those on lower pay bands but very slightly less favourable for those on the higher pay bands. In addition, senior roles at the old university pay substantially more, especially for men (full details are provided in Appendix 3). This section summarises the survey data analysis which compares the satisfaction levels of staff from the two universities.

Overall, the satisfaction levels at the two universities suggest that those who worked at the old university were less satisfied. This was particularly apparent on the questions 'Do you think your occupation is paid the right amount of money, considering the nature of the work you do?' (Appendix 1, question 11) and 'Thinking about what other similar occupations are paid, are you satisfied with your pay?' (Appendix 1, question 15). This data is shown in Appendix Tables 7.1 and 7.2. However, although this pattern was visible amongst men, women, full-time and part-time staff, it was particularly a feature of those with lower pay (Appendix Tables 7.3-7.4a, Appendix Figures 7.1-7.7) and those working in support roles (Appendix Tables 7.5-7.6c, Appendix Figures 7.10-7.11). Conversely, academic staff at the old university tended to be more satisfied with their pay in relation to their standard of living, although there was no difference between old and new university academics regarding 'appropriate' pay (Appendix Tables 7.5, 7.6c, Appendix Figure 7.12).

This data therefore suggests that levels of pay satisfaction correspond with the difference in pay levels at the two universities. Lower paid staff at the old university receive less than their counterparts at the new university and are more likely to express dissatisfaction. Satisfaction levels therefore reflect the realities of pay for staff at the two universities. This suggests that participants

were making comparisons with similar occupations within the sector. This was supported by the qualitative interviews. For example, Bradley who is a member of the manual staff at the new university said "I think we are paid very well for what we, well what we are worth and I know for a fact that we are paid more than a lot of universities".

Thus, satisfaction levels of staff working at the two universities, to a large degree reflected the realities of their pay. In particular, the high dissatisfaction of lower paid workers at the old university was a reflection of their 'real' disadvantage in comparison to new university employees. However, this analysis provides no insight into the gender pay paradox.

5.17 The experience of working at the two universities: Is there a connection to pay satisfaction? Evidence from the survey and qualitative interviews

As well as differences in pay, there is an additional difference between the two universities. The old university enjoys higher income, and arguably higher status than the new university. It has significantly more research funding than the new university and scores more highly in terms of the Research Excellence Framework (full details are provided in Appendix 3). Working for the old university, therefore, has greater status than working for the new university. This is particularly the case for academic or research staff who benefit from the research intensive environments and are therefore more likely to accumulate valuable market skills (Weber, 1964 [1947]) or high status cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2010 [1979]) which are beneficial when seeking higher paid employment (Parker, 2008; Dever and Morrison, 2009).

Given this difference in the status of the two universities, it was sensible to assume that there might be differences in the working experiences of staff from each. The survey data was therefore analysed in order to ascertain if experiences of occupational segregation, autonomy at work, occupational respect and enjoyment of work were similar or different for the two groups of staff. However, the analysis was largely inconclusive, and the findings suggested great similarity in the working experiences of the two groups of staff (Appendix Tables 7.7, 7.8), although one interesting and relevant finding emerged; academic staff at the new university reported less control over the amount of

work than academic staff at the old university (Table 5.17), although as discussed in the previous section, this wasn't reflected in lower satisfaction when pay was conceptualised in terms of 'appropriate' pay (only when satisfaction was conceptualised in relation to standard of living). This might be because research activities are perceived to be of a higher 'value' than teaching activities (Dever and Morrison, 2009; Parker, 2008) and thus academics working at the new university consider their pay fair given that they generally undertake lower value tasks.

Table 5.17 University worked at by control over the *amount* of work amongst academics: Mean Ranks

	Control over the amount of work	
	n	Mean Rank
Old university	72	140.03
New university	177	118.89
Mann Whitney U	0.029	

(Higher rank value equals more control)

In addition, evidence from the qualitative interviews suggested that staff at the new university experienced heavy teaching loads, sometimes overwhelmingly so. In addition, there was less time or necessary resources available to undertake research. For example, Adrianna, a part-time academic, described a return from maternity leave as extremely challenging. She explained that she "had the semester from just, it was awful, awful. Just so, so much teaching that I couldn't, I could barely do the teaching, never mind keep up with emails and everything else, so it was just a really heavy workload". Adrianna also spoke of a lack of research funds and being forced to 'share' resources. "Well, this is the thing you see, so I haven't got any money. As it happens, the instrument that I use isn't in our department so I have to go, kind of cap in hand, to another department. The research we were doing before I went away, I was working with another academic and it's, since I've been away, it's sort of gone the line of their technique, rather than mine ... so, yeah, I'm sort of starting from scratch really". Penny, a professor at the new university explained that because of her heavy teaching commitments she had never "achieved what I wanted to". She stated "I've fallen behind my sort of competitors in terms of, you know I have managed to keep publishing but I would have liked to have published more, be in higher profile journals you know and be invited to give talks at conferences

but now I go to conferences, I might chair sessions, I might organise, I'm doing one in Prague where I am in charge of the PhD student presentations but I've not been invited as an expert to talk ... I wouldn't be considered a leader in the field".

These narratives contrast greatly with those of some academic staff from the old university. For example Lena, a newly appointed lecturer at the old university, described a fairly calm work schedule. "I don't teach yet because we just started in September so we have no students this year, we are only recruiting and thinking about teaching, creating modules although not really yet because you know preparing ourselves for teaching next year. So actually what I do is more write up the premise for research project when I was a post doc because you can't finish one project and start doing the other thing". Similarly, Andrew, an academic at the old university, is happy to have control over his teaching modules and aside from grumbles about bureaucracy or being overly "exam focussed," shows no real indication of stress over his teaching: "In terms of the teaching, I suppose I am sort of running courses rather than being asked to teach on them, so, indeed, in general I feel that I have a huge amount of control over what I do". For Andrew, research is talked about with a certain ease, it is a part of his employment, rather than something that is an uphill struggle to even get off the ground. "In research, particularly, I think we are still in a very privileged position that I can do research that I am interested in ... I, you know, publish a few papers, I bring in a bit of money so I'm sort of left to my own devices pretty much with that". However, not all academics at the old university were so calm. Anthony, also an academic at the old university spoke at length of the impact of workload and stress on his well-being (discussed in section 5.12).

However, although academic staff at the two universities reported differences in their working experiences, the connection with pay satisfaction was not clear. Adrianna believed that all people should be paid a similar amount but was also influenced by her trade union and what her family earn whilst Anthony evaluated his pay in relation to the single pay spine (both discussed in section 5.6). Lena evaluated her pay in 'economic' terms, considering whether she could provide for two people on her salary (discussed in further detail in section 6.7). Penny compared her pay to other professors at the university where she works (discussed in section 5.3) and also at other universities (discussed in section

5.16) whilst Andrew believed his occupation is paid too much given that it is not excessively difficult and also because he desires a more egalitarian society (discussed in section 5.15).

Thus, overall, neither the survey or qualitative interview provided compelling evidence that aids understanding of why women or the low paid or often more satisfied with their pay than men and those on higher pay.

5.18 Conclusions: Is there a connection between the workplace and pay satisfaction?

This chapter has presented a range of evidence and considered whether there is support for either the 'same gender referents' or the 'differential entitlements' theories. It has also presented additional evidence, relating to the workplace, that aids understanding of the gender pay paradox.

First of all, the 'same gender referents' theory was not supported. This theory suggests that women are more satisfied with their pay because they tend to compare their pay to similarly, low paid women, rather than highly paid men. In addition, the theory suggests that gendered occupational segregation amplifies this tendency. However, qualitative evidence suggests that both men and women make comparisons on the basis of occupation, rather than gender. In addition, the qualitative evidence suggests that not all individuals use pay referents and furthermore, comparisons may also be influenced by the intrinsic satisfaction that employees gain from their job. Therefore, 'pay referents' by themselves, are not sufficient to explain pay satisfaction. Additionally, although the survey data did suggest that women who work in female dominated departments are more satisfied with their pay than women who do not, there was no evidence to suggest that this was because they were comparing their pay to other women.

The 'differential entitlements' theory suggests that women are more satisfied with their pay because they have lower expectations than men. The qualitative interviews provided no evidence to support the idea that women's expectations are lower than men's, simply because they are women. However the data did suggest that perceptions of 'entitlement' are linked to pay scales and beliefs about how much different occupations are worth. There was evidence to suggest

that beliefs about variance in pay levels formed a naturalised social construct, a 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]) that exerts subtle and indirect 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) against the low paid. The qualitative data demonstrated that people both largely accepted the university pay scale as a legitimate description of the 'value' of different occupations and furthermore, that they often used the pay scale as a reference point, when evaluating their own pay. From a Bourdieusian perspective, they were 'misrecognising' the true nature of the pay scale, which, arguably, works hand-in-hand with an educational system that benefits the middle class, and ensures that the wealth and privilege of the middle classes is perpetuated. Furthermore, this occurs in a labour market where men and women are unequally distributed amongst high and low paid jobs, with work undertaken by women often defined as having little value (Acker, 1990; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter, et al., 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). Thus, if women do have a lower sense of entitlement, this is driven by their occupational status, rather than because they are women. Entitlement is therefore not a characteristic of gender but is the outcome of the social construction of work and pay that, by design, undervalues 'feminine' skills (Acker, 1990; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter, Hermsen and Vanneman, 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). This may help to explain why the low paid, and specifically women who are often employed in low paid jobs, are 'paradoxically' satisfied when pay is conceptualised in terms of 'appropriate' pay.

The qualitative interviews also suggested that the 're-grading' process and restructuring are perceived as working against the interests of lower paid employees. The former is regarded as difficult to negotiate, time consuming and unfairly applied, the latter as targeted at lower paid staff, unpleasant and demeaning. However, the qualitative interviews provided no evidence that this was 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) against the low paid because these processes were clearly recognised by low paid staff and were not causing them to consider their pay as satisfactory. In addition, the experience of occupational 'respect' and its potential link with pay satisfaction was explored through both survey and qualitative data. Both research approaches suggested that lower paid staff were more likely to experience a lack of occupational respect, however, analysis did not find evidence that this could help to explain

the gender pay paradox or that it was a form of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) against the low paid.

In addition, this research also considered the relationship between autonomy at work and pay satisfaction, an area that has been neglected by previous researchers. Evidence from both the survey and qualitative interviews suggested that autonomy at work may be relevant understanding why higher paid staff are often dissatisfied, when pay is conceptualised in terms of appropriate pay. First of all, the survey data suggested that on the whole, academics and higher paid staff tend to experience higher levels of 'control' than other types of staff. However, when academics felt that they had a lack of control over their work, they became dissatisfied. Their higher dissatisfaction might be because of increased work-life conflict (Grzywacz et al., 2002; Moen and Yu, 2000) or because of a mismatch between participants 'habitus' and 'fields' (Noordergraaf and Schinkel, 2011) both of which lead to unhappiness at work and a desire for higher financial reward in order to compensate. The qualitative data also provided clear illustration of the high workload of some academic and research staff and the impact that this had on their well-being and home lives. Moreover, the interviews clearly showed that lower paid staff observed the high workload of academics, and considered themselves in an advantageous position, in spite of their lower pay. The heavy workload of academics reassured them that their own pay, although relatively low, was appropriate for the job that they had. The survey findings are also of interest because, although paradox researchers have argued that women's pay satisfaction is largely formed outside of the workplace, the findings clearly suggest that it is women's, not men's, satisfaction that is associated with this issue of control. Thus, clearly women's pay satisfaction can be affected by the workplace.

Finally, the analysis of autonomy, when linked to the university worked at, provided an insight into perceptions of the 'value' of different aspects of academic work. Academics who were employed at the old university experienced a higher level of autonomy over the amount of work than those at the new university, possibly because academics at old universities tend to undertake more research and less teaching than those working in new universities. However, the lower control experienced by academics at the new university did not translate into lower pay satisfaction, when conceptualised in terms of

'appropriate' pay. This might be because research activities are perceived to have a higher value than teaching (Dever and Morrison, 2009; Parker, 2008) and therefore the lack of autonomy does not impact upon pay satisfaction.

This chapter has considered the role of the workplace in the formation of pay satisfaction, the next chapter examines the role that the domestic lives of both men and women play in determining pay satisfaction.

CHAPTER 6 HOME LIVES

6.1 Introduction

Two of the theories for the gender pay paradox have emphasised women's maternal and domestic roles as the root cause of the gender pay paradox. First of all, the 'differential inputs' theory argues that women have less input into work than men, caused by maternity leave and time out of the workforce to bring up children, although there is no supporting evidence that the level of women's inputs is associated with their pay satisfaction (Phelan, 1994; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; Buchanan, 2005). Secondly, the 'differential values' theory posits that women do not value money as much as men. One interpretation of this theory hypothesises that women are more likely to be secondary breadwinners and that, therefore, their income is not as essential to the household as men's (deVaus, and McAllister, 1991). However, there is substantial evidence that challenges the suggestion that women value money less than men (for example, Phelan, 1994; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; Mueller and Wynn, 2000; Buchanan, 2005).

This chapter focuses on the home lives of participants in order to provide evidence that either supports or disputes the 'differential inputs' and 'differential values' theories. First of all, with regard to the 'differential inputs' theory, data from the survey is analysed to show the relationships between having and caring for young children and pay satisfaction. Additionally, qualitative data is presented which demonstrates how individuals make decisions about childcare, employment and whether this links with evaluations of pay satisfaction. In addition, the concept of 'input' itself is challenged with evidence from the qualitative interviews. Finally, the quantitative relationship between domestic chores and pay satisfaction is explored. Secondly, the hypothesis that women are secondary breadwinners, and therefore do not value money and are more easily satisfied than men (de Vaus and McAllister, 1991) is considered in the light of the survey data. Additionally, qualitative data provides interviewee narratives and perspectives on their financial role in their households and how this ties in with their pay satisfaction. There is also a section about the relationship between social attitudes and pay satisfaction.

6.2 Having and caring for dependent children: Is there a relationship with pay satisfaction? Evidence from the survey

Several researchers have tried to test the 'differential inputs' theory by analysing whether the level of men's and women's inputs into work are linked to their satisfaction. Using quantifiable measures such as years in the workforce, hours worked per day, weekends worked and lunchtimes worked, they found no support for the 'differential inputs' theory, even when controlling for family circumstances (Phelan,1994; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; Buchanan,2005). This research, takes a different approach to previous studies and rather than trying to undertake detailed (and problematic) measurement of 'input' at work, it investigates the other side of the equation implied by the differential inputs theory, that is, people's circumstances at home and whether or not they link with pay satisfaction.

It is known that women are more likely to take greater responsibility for childcare than men (Mencarini and Sironi, 2012) and initial analysis of the data reported here supported this view. There were less women with dependent children in the survey sample than there were men with dependent children (Table 6.1), most probably because women with children are less likely to be in work than women without children whilst the converse is true of men (Office for National Statistics, 2013). Women who were in work and had dependent children were more likely to state that they were the main carer of these children than were the men with dependent children. The Cramer's V statistic of 0.389 suggests that this is a strong association (Table 6.2).

The 'differential inputs' theory suggests that women have less input into work, due to the responsibilities of motherhood. However, whilst the data presented in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 certainly provides empirical evidence that women do take greater responsibility for childcare, for the differential inputs theory to be convincing, the data would also need to demonstrate higher levels of satisfaction amongst women with dependent children/who were the main carer of these children. In reality, when the data was examined there was no evidence of this. Instead, the data suggests the opposite, that amongst all participants (Tables 6.3-6.6) and particularly amongst women (Tables 6.7-6.7b, Figure 6.1), having dependent children or being the main carer of children is associated with lower

levels of pay satisfaction, particularly on the standard of living pay satisfaction question.

Overall, there was no evidence that those who have children or who take the main responsibility for caring for children have higher levels of pay satisfaction, indeed the opposite is suggested. This contradicts the findings of Fleming and Kerr (2014) who found that women (excluding women who were working in jobs that did not make use of their skills/qualifications) with dependent children were more satisfied with their pay. In addition, it is of significance that when the variables 'dependent children' and 'the main carer of those children' are statistically associated with pay satisfaction, this is predominantly on the standard of living question. Chapter 4 discussed how this variable showed weaker evidence of the gender pay paradox and it was suggested that the paradox is driven less by perceptions of material need and more by beliefs about 'appropriate pay' for different occupational groups, both in terms of 'equity' (Lawler, 1971, 1981) and relative to others (Crosby, 1982). Given this, the 'differential inputs' theory's suggestion that women's role caring for children can explain the gender pay paradox seems tenuous. Instead, having and caring for dependent children, has an economic cost that links with greater pay dissatisfaction.

Table 6.1 Do you have dependent children by gender, occupational group, type of employment, breadwinner status and salary: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

	Do not have dependent children	Have dependent children	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	57.9	42.1	722
Male (%)	52.7	47.3	n = 706 0.043 Cramer's V = 0.076
Female (%)	60.6	39.4	
Administrative (%)	62.2	37.8	n = 720 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.208
Academic (%)	45.4	54.6	
Technical (%)	57.6	42.4	
Manual (%)	63	37	
Research (%)	68	32	
Other (%)	78	22	
Full-time (%)	62.7	37.3	n = 711 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.187
Part-time (%)	40.5	59.5	
Main Breadwinner	61.1	38.9	n = 704 0.010 Cramer's V = 0.097
Not main breadwinner	51.0	49.0	
<i>Full-time only</i>			
£20,000 or less (%)	84.4	15.6	n = 549 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.357
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	77.2	22.8	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	63.6	36.4	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	47.8	52.2	
£50,001 or more (%)	29.2	70.8	
£30,000 or less (%)	79.2	20.8	n = 549 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.289
£30,001 or more (%)	50.9	49.1	
£40,000 or less (%)	73.3	26.7	n = 549 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.313
£40,001 or more (%)	41.0	59.0	

Table 6.2 Are you the main carer of these children by gender, occupational group, type of employment and salary: Chi Square p value and Cramer's V

	Main carer of children	Not main carer of children	Share equally with at least one other person	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	28.6	15	56.5	n = 301
Male (%)	7.9	23.7	68.4	n = 294 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.389
Female (%)	42.2	8.3	49.4	
Administrative (%)	30.5	12.6	56.8	n = 278 0.029 Cramer's V = 0.159
Academic (%)	28.1	17.8	54.1	
Technical (%)	0	20	80	
Manual (%)	*	*	*	
Research (%)	39.1	4.3	56.5	
Other (%)	*	*	*	
Full-time (%)	19.1	18.6	62.3	n = 297 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.321
Part-time (%)	49.5	6.5	44.1	
Main Breadwinner (%)	25	20.5	54.5	n = 296 0.004 Cramer's V = 0.195
Not main breadwinner (%)	33.3	6.7	60	
<i>Full-time only</i>				
£20,000 or less (%)	20	30	50	n = 202 0.712
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	13.2	21.1	65.8	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	23.5	11.8	64.7	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	23.7	18.6	57.6	
£50,001 or more (%)	13.6	20.5	65.9	
£30,000 or less (%)	14.6	22.9	62.5	n = 202 0.483
£30,001 or more (%)	20.8	16.9	62.3	
£40,000 or less (%)	19.2	17.2	63.6	n = 202 0.909
£40,001 or more (%)	19.4	19.4	61.2	

Table 6.3 Dependent children by pay satisfaction: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3		4/5 - paid far too much	
No dependent children	9.9	32.6	50.5		7.0	n = 713 0.961
Has dependent children	11	32.1	49.5		7.4	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
No dependent children	13.3	35.5	44.4	6.8	0	n = 716 0.265
Has dependent children	17.5	31.5	46	5	0	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
No dependent children	4.8	21.3	30.5	34.1	9.4	n = 720 0.003 Cramer's V = 0.150
Has dependent children	9.2	26.1	34.7	23.8	6.3	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
No dependent children	10.8	26.1	30.7	21.6	10.8	n = 719 0.379
Has dependent children	14.6	29.1	26.2	19.5	10.6	

Table 6.4 Dependent children by pay satisfaction: Mean Ranks

	n	Mean Rank
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
No dependent children	414	358.22
Has dependent children	299	355.31
Mann Whitney U p value	0.839	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
No dependent children	414	363.29
Has dependent children	302	351.93
Mann Whitney U p value	0.436	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
No dependent children	417	384.56
Has dependent children	303	327.39
Mann Whitney U p value	0.000	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
No dependent children	417	369.79
Has dependent children	302	346.48
Mann Whitney U p value	0.126	

Table 6.5 Are you the main carer of children by pay satisfaction: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3		4/5 - paid far too much	
Yes	13.1	28.6	54.8		3.6	n = 296 0.589
No	9.1	31.8	52.3		6.8	
It is shared equally with someone else	10.1	33.9	46.9		9.5	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Yes	14.1	34.1	48.2	3.5	0	n = 299 0.762
No	20.0	35.6	42.2	2.2	0	
It is shared equally with someone else	17.8	29.6	46.2	6.5	0	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Yes	12.8	32.6	33.7	18.6	2.3	n = 300 0.086
No	4.4	20.0	44.4	28.9	2.2	
It is shared equally with someone else	8.9	23.7	32.5	25.4	9.5	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Yes	15.5	32.1	22.6	22.6	7.1	n = 299 0.522
No	6.7	35.6	31.1	17.8	8.9	
It is shared equally with someone else	15.9	25.9	27.1	18.2	12.9	

**Table 6.6 Are you the main carer of these children by pay satisfaction:
Mean Ranks**

	n	Mean Rank
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Yes	84	145.27
No	44	151.45
It is shared equally with someone else	168	149.34
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.894	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Yes	85	151.70
No	45	137.88
It is shared equally with someone else	169	152.37
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.546	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Yes	86	129.22
No	45	161.43
It is shared equally with someone else	169	158.42
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.019	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Yes	84	144.02
No	45	152.89
It is shared equally with someone else	170	152.19
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.743	

Table 6.7 Dependent children/are you the main carer of children by pay satisfaction amongst males and females: Chi Square and Mann Whitney U/Kruskall Wallis H p values, Cramer's V

	Do you have dependent children		Who is the main carer of the children	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do				
Chi Square	0.744	0.858	*	*
Mann Whitney U/Kruskall Wallis H	0.983	0.857	0.709	0.739
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed				
Chi Square	0.777	0.058	*	*
Mann Whitney U/Kruskall Wallis H	0.530	0.746	0.921	0.573
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living				
Chi Square	0.262	0.016 Cramer's V = 0.162	*	*
Mann Whitney U/Kruskall Wallis H	0.111	0.001	0.666	0.005
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid				
Chi Square	0.404	0.941	*	*
Mann Whitney U/Kruskall Wallis H	0.273	0.454	0.530	0.225

Figure 6.1 Dependent children by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst women (n = 465, p ≤ 0.016, Cramer's V = 0.162)

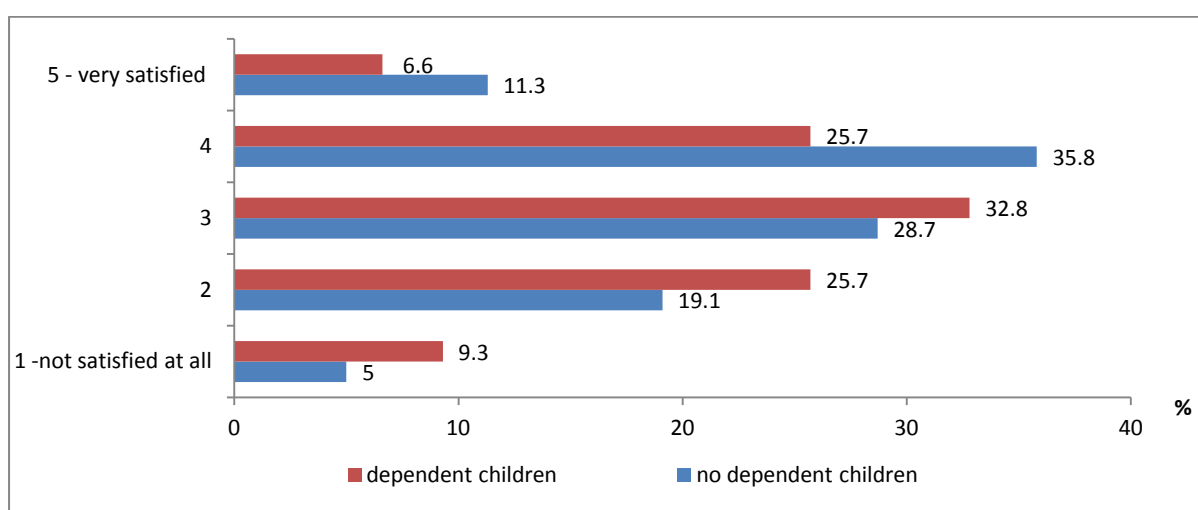


Table 6.7a Dependent children by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst women: Mean Ranks

	n	Mean Rank
No dependent children	282	249.59
Has dependent children	183	207.43
Mann Whitney U p value		0.001

Table 6.7b Are you the main carer of children by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst women: Mean Ranks

	n	Mean Rank
Yes	76	76.20
No	15	102.87
It is shared equally with someone else	89	100.63
Kruskall Wallis H p value		0.005

6.3 'Choosing to care': Pathways of lesser and greater resistance. Evidence from the qualitative interviews

The previous section suggested that women are more likely to take responsibility for childcare, however there was no evidence that women with children are more satisfied with their pay than others. Thus, there was no support for the argument that motherhood results in women shifting their priorities to home, lowering their 'input' and seeing low pay as equitable. Instead, the economic cost of having and caring for children was associated with a decrease in satisfaction on the standard of living pay satisfaction question. Similarly, data from the qualitative interviews, suggested that although what happened at home was linked with decisions about participation in the labour market, pay satisfaction was still, on the whole, conceptualised in relation to beliefs about the value of different occupations. Thus, similar to the survey data, the qualitative interviews provided evidence of women's greater involvement in childcare but provided no clear indication that this was linked to their pay satisfaction.

The interviews were particularly useful in understanding how inequity in childcare is perpetuated. The 'differential inputs' theory (Phelan, 1994) implies that women are more satisfied with their pay because they have voluntarily

'chosen' to have lower input into work. However, evidence from the interviews suggested that choices made by participants were shaped by expectations of gender, which made certain pathways easier to take than others. They were therefore a way of 'doing' or 'performing' gender (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990), There was also evidence of how people could rebel against gender conventions and 'undo' gender (Deutsch, 2007), although this very much depended on the opportunities that were available to help them achieve this and it was easier for some interviewees to 'rebel' than others. The remainder of this section consists of interview narratives from Sally, Penny, Euan and Adrianna. These narratives demonstrate how 'choosing to care' is often shaped by gendered expectations. Importantly, they also suggest that this has little bearing upon pay satisfaction.

Sally works as a note taker for students with disabilities, as an invigilator and also in the university library, earning £10,000-£20,000. She has teenage children and is aged 46-55 years old. Before her children were born, she worked as an au pair, a clerical assistant and a full-time library assistant. When her children were at school, she returned part-time to library work and other casual employment. Sally has always had an ambivalent attitude to work, she described herself as a 'drifter'. She struggles with the routine of employment: "I have walked out on a lot of jobs when I was younger because I just couldn't stand that routine thing". Additionally, Sally, although educated to degree level, suffers from anxiety and feels that more highly paid work would be too challenging for her. She said "I'd get nervous if I was doing something like, you know meetings round a table or presenting, I couldn't handle the stress, that would make me very anxious, so I think that has held me back ... these roles don't stress me out, I can manage and handle them". Thinking back to her childhood, there was also a lack of encouragement from her family and school: "I don't think they even knew what A levels I was doing, my parents ... [and] the careers advice wasn't very good at school". Although her children are almost grown up, she described how she is still expected to take responsibility for household chores, creating lists of things that need to be done when she is at work and "constant nagging and nobody responds to nagging, and it's just a nightmare!" Additionally, she stated "I would never get a meal made for me at the end of my working day, so I don't want to be in a job till 6 or 7 at night". Sally has

therefore taken a traditionally female pathway through life partly because of a lack of confidence and motivation, but also because of a lack of support and encouragement when she was young and a lack of practical help in the home now. All of which has made prioritising family life a more 'natural' option for her to take.

Penny, like Sally, came from a family where academic ability was unusual. However, unlike Sally, she attended a girls' grammar school "where they were very pushy, we were all expected to go to university". She now works as a professor and has three grown up children. She took maternity leave when they were born and subsequently worked part-time for a few years. Penny has always had a great deal of confidence and at the start of her career, she was working as a researcher on short term contracts when she unexpectedly became pregnant. She was determined to continue with her career and said "I wasn't overly happy to be expecting a baby and when I was expecting him, that was when one of my contracts was coming up. So this woman boss actually took me on knowing I was pregnant and I said you know 'It's not going to affect me, I will be back at work' and she gave me the job". In addition, Penny's husband shared the responsibility for childcare with her. She said "I couldn't have done what I did, if he didn't look after the kids ... when the children were little, he was always the one who took them to playschool or the child minders or whatever on the days when I was working". Thus, Penny acknowledged that her husband's support has enabled her to transcend the traditional female role. In addition, the school that she attended was very encouraging, thus the pathway to focussing on career was easier for Penny than it was for Sally.

Euan, who works in both the Students Union and as an associate lecturer, described how he has made a conscious decision to challenge gender conventions. When his pre-school daughter was born he took extra paternity leave in order to support his wife who he said felt "that she needed to work, just work, just for a sense of self". After the paternity leave, Euan decided to cut back his work hours and spend more time looking after his daughter, explaining that it was "easier for me to stay at home because it was kind of my intrinsic choice ... if you're the sort of person that likes to shock your mum or whatever, it's quite good you know 'cause it's like 'what are you going to do for money and ooh, ooh, ooh!' And I'm like 'Well, she earns exactly the same money as me so it

makes no difference who is at work and who is at home". Here, it is clear that the income equality between Euan and his wife made the decision for him to rebel against gendered expectations easier. In addition, Euan's upbringing was relatively easy going, he explained: "Both my parents had experiences where their parents had told them what they were going to do so they were kind of like, very wary of doing that, so there was very little guidance like 'you should do what you want to do". Therefore, following an unconventional pathway was not a significant rebellion against his parents. Furthermore, Euan has strong beliefs about the environment and sustainability. Working less, in order to care for his daughter, fitted in with his beliefs about being less materialistic and focussed on money. Thus, there were a number of factors that made choosing the non-traditional pathway relatively easy.

Adrianna is an academic with two pre-school children and is currently working part-time. She takes the main responsibility for childcare and said "I never imagined I would be a working mum because my mum wasn't" and would "much rather be at home with the kids but we can't afford it". However, this choice has also been influenced by the fact that her husband is not good at childcare. She described simple everyday tasks which she always has to do: "Even in the mornings, I always dress the kids, you know, if I go and have a shower, he doesn't think 'Oh I'll get the kids dressed while she's in the shower' he just sits there doing whatever he's doing". Her husband was brought up with traditional ideas of gender and this influences his input: "He once said something along the lines of 'it's woman's work' and he wasn't, he was sort of joking but he wasn't really joking because that's where he came from". In addition, although she enjoys many aspects of her work, there is a sense that she isn't comfortable or confident in the workplace. She has recently returned from maternity leave and had problems with an unmanageable workload and there was an unpleasant misunderstanding with a colleague. She spoke of how she enjoys research but finds teaching challenging. In her previous job, she described a sense of loneliness: "I actually had my own office which you would think is nice, but ... you can go days without seeing anybody and at the time I was living on my own as well. I would ring up my mum and just talk to her, like it would be verbal diarrhoea for twenty minutes". It is clear that for Adrianna, taking the main responsibility for childcare was something that she wanted but that this was also

reinforced by the lack of a real alternative coupled with her ambivalence about the workplace. She concluded "I think a lot of people these days are like you can have everything, you can have kids, you can have, I don't think you can, I think if you have one, it compromises the other ... You can have it all at different times, I just don't think you can have it all at the same time". Certainly for Adrianna, given her particular circumstances at this point in her life, if 'having it all' means being a mother and having a full-time job, this is currently difficult for her to achieve.

Sally, Penny, Euan and Adrianna all demonstrate how 'choices' are affected by the constraints and opportunities of personal circumstances. Choices are not necessarily a clear reflection of what people want and in particular, the decision by women to take main responsibility for childcare was sometimes taken because there was no viable alternative available, for example both Sally and Adrianna were constrained by the lack of support they experienced at home which worked in tandem with their ambivalence about the workplace. Not all interviewees were bound by gender in this way, however, and combinations of factors could aid individuals to pursue non traditional pathways. For example, Penny was confident because of her schooling and furthermore, whilst her children were small, the support of her husband had enabled her to continue working. Euan, found that he could transcend gendered expectations because of his own easy-going upbringing, his political beliefs and the pay equality between himself and his partner.

In addition, what the qualitative data also clearly demonstrates is that, irrespective of the nature of the 'choices' that interviewees had made, there was no evidence that these choices were related to their pay satisfaction. Instead, the evidence presented in this section suggests that evaluations of pay satisfaction are juxtaposed to 'choices' about care, rather than the cause of it. Instead, it was beliefs about the 'value' of different occupations that was particularly influential upon evaluations of pay satisfaction. Thus, Penny used other professors as a pay referent (discussed in section 5.3, 5.16) and Euan considered his pay in terms of the single pay spine, the nature of his work and his own political beliefs (discussed in sections 5.4, 7.6). Adrianna's evaluation of her pay is based on comparisons with what other members of her family earn, her egalitarian beliefs and trade union activity (discussed in section 5.6). Finally,

Sally, was slightly different in that she didn't refer to beliefs about occupational value, but rather the hourly paid nature of her work. She is not paid for the hours in between teaching sessions and so has 'dead' time when she is at work but not earning and it is this, which she finds particularly unsatisfactory (discussed in section 7.7). Thus, in a similar way to the survey data (section 6.2), there was no evidence that taking the main responsibility for childcare was the cause of high pay satisfaction. The data presented here, therefore, gives little credence to the 'differential inputs' theory which suggests that women's home lives are influential upon whether or not they see their pay to be equitable.

6.4 What is meant by 'input' and can it be measured and compared? Evidence from the qualitative interviews

Previous research into the paradox has tried to measure 'input' in terms of time spent at desk, lunch hours worked through or years in workforce, although with inconclusive results (Phelan, 1994; Mueller and Wallace, 1996). There are problems with attempting to measure input, not least that quantitative measures say nothing about the quality of input that is given. In addition, quantitative approaches such as these are only useful if similar types of jobs are being compared. Quite clearly, comparing time at desk for a clerical worker with for example, the interviewee Jenny, who works as a parking warden and spends the vast majority of her day away from the computer, is meaningless.

However, there is a more fundamental problem since different jobs require different levels of 'input,' in a manner that is more nuanced than merely assessing whether some jobs are desk intensive or not. Section 5.12 discussed the high workload experienced by academic and research staff along with the expectation that long working hours were part of the job. Support staff justified their own lower pay with reference to the nine to five nature of their employment. Indeed, there was a marked difference between the working hours of Anthony and Amy described in Section 5.12 and support staff, such as Jason who works in Student Support who said "I work nine to five Monday to Friday and if it doesn't get done in that timescale, it doesn't get done. I am not expected to work from home or to stay late if something comes up". Similarly, Gill, who works as an administrator said "I figure I am not paid enough to take

my work home". Since women dominate lower grade administrative roles (Appendix Table 2.2), they are more likely to work standard office hours. Comparing the input of men and women thus becomes entangled with comparing the input requirement of different occupations. A drawback of the differential inputs theory is that it has not adequately accommodated this complexity.

In addition, the idea of reducing 'input' may be different for different occupational groups. For some professional staff, input can be reduced by cutting back on 'after hours' working. For example, Andrew is an academic whose wife also works full-time as a consultant paediatrician. They have two young daughters and they share the care of their children equally. Andrew said "This week, I think she is on nights six nights, so for this week, I wouldn't see her, except for passing in the night, it's like being a single Dad really". In order to accommodate the care responsibilities that he now has, Andrew has cut down on his working hours. He said "When there is just the two of you, you can devote a lot of time to work ... it's just not feasible to be staying late at work when the kids need picking up from nursery, you know in the evening when you might have done some work the kids are running around ... once they are in bed, you know there is still tidying up to do 'cause they've made a mess so indeed, in the end my priority is certainly my family now". Thus, for Andrew, although he has previously worked very long hours, the autonomy and flexibility he has over his work means that he can reduce his workload in a way that a nine to five worker cannot without having to 'officially' reduce their hours and pay.

As well as referring to 'input,' Andrew also mentioned the time consuming nature of household tasks, such as tidying up after children. The next section turns attention to domestic chores and considers whether having responsibility for particular chores has any impact upon pay satisfaction.

6.5 Domestic Chores: Is there a relationship with pay satisfaction?

Evidence from the survey

The survey also collected data concerning who was responsible for household chores, specifically cleaning, laundry, DIY (Appendix 1, Survey Question 22) and tested for association with levels of pay satisfaction. Arguably, if the 'differential

inputs' theory is to be supported, then women should not only be undertaking a greater proportion of traditionally female tasks, such as cleaning and laundry (Fenstermaker, 2002), but this should also correspond with higher levels of pay satisfaction. The data did not support this and therefore is not presented in this thesis. However, the data is worthy of brief comment. There was certainly evidence of a clear division of labour with regard to household tasks and that furthermore, this became more marked when living with a spouse/partner. This was amplified again when there were children in the household (Appendix Tables 8.1-8.3), thus supporting previous research in this area (Ridgeway, 2011).

However, any links between responsibility for household chores and pay satisfaction were extremely unclear. Sometimes doing a particular chore oneself was associated with higher satisfaction, for example main breadwinners who lived with their partner and/or lived with their partner and children, who did their own laundry were sometimes more satisfied than others (Appendix Table 8.4). Doing DIY oneself tended to be associated with lower levels of satisfaction, for example amongst both full-time and part-time staff (Appendix Table 8.5). There was also evidence of higher dissatisfaction when 'someone else' undertook a particular chore, for example amongst women in relation to cleaning (Appendix Table 8.6). However, given the inconsistency of patterns, it is possible that these associations are spurious. Therefore overall, the data provided no support for the 'differential inputs' theory.

Having said that, it is also worth mentioning one obvious pattern that appeared in the data which is clearly of relevance to the study of pay satisfaction, although not in a way that either supports or disputes the 'differential inputs' theory. When individuals employed someone to undertake either cleaning or DIY tasks, they tended to have higher levels of pay satisfaction in relation to their standard of living, than those who did not employ someone (Appendix Table 8.7 and 8.8 show the example of cleaning). This suggests that those who employ others to do such work for them, have more disposable income than those who do not employ others in this way. Their satisfaction with their standard of living is, therefore, a reflection of their higher levels of disposable income.

6.6 Is there an association between breadwinner status and pay satisfaction? Evidence from the survey

Two of the theories that seek to explain the paradox make reference to women's secondary breadwinner status in the home. Firstly, the 'differential inputs' theory, argues that women pull back from the labour market in order to care for their families. This prioritisation of the domestic sphere leads to lower pay but subsequent high satisfaction, because pay is seen as equitable in relation to input (Major and Konar, 1984). There is however, no empirical evidence that women in the labour market, do 'input' less than men (Phelan, 1994; Mueller and Wallace, 1996). Additionally, the data presented in this thesis so far has offered no support for this theory. Secondly, the 'differential values' theory suggests that women are more easily satisfied with their pay than men because women tend to value other aspects of work more than money (Phelan, 1994). There has been mixed empirical support found for the theory, with some studies suggesting that pay is less important to women than men (Crosby, 1982; Clark, 1996; Sloane and Williams, 2000) whilst others suggest this is not the case (Loscocco and Spitze 1991; Phelan, 1994; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; Buchanan, 2005). One interpretation of the theory is that women tend to be secondary breadwinners and therefore the money they earn is not as essential to the household as the main breadwinner's wage (de Vaus and McAllister, 1991). Pay satisfaction, in this respect, is linked to notions of economic or material need.

However, it is of note that the traditional male breadwinner has always been an ideal rather than a reality and many women, particularly working class women, have always worked (Lewis, 2006). In addition, women's participation in the labour market is changing and evolving, rising from a third of women at the beginning of the 20th century (Crompton, 1997) to 69.9% of women aged 16-64 years in 2017 (Office for National Statistics, 2017c). Female breadwinners are no longer uncommon, a third of mothers in working families in the UK are the household's main breadwinner (Cory and Stirling, 2015). In addition, recent research suggested that only 13% of members of the public believe that it is "A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family," and only 33% think a mother should stay at home when there is a pre-school child (Park et al., 2013). Additionally, data presented in chapter 4

suggests that the economic/material need model of pay satisfaction, as represented by the standard of living satisfaction question, was less likely than the others to show evidence of the gender pay paradox. Thus, although the breadwinner interpretation of the 'differential values' theory suggests that women are simply happy with less money, the data collected in the survey and presented in chapter 4 disputes this. Instead, women's high satisfaction is linked with the idea of 'appropriate' pay.

This section presents data from the survey on breadwinner status and the relationship with pay satisfaction to ascertain if non-main breadwinners and specifically female non-main breadwinners are more satisfied than others with their pay. First of all, it is clear that being a main breadwinner is not exclusive to men, 73.9% of men and 59.3% of women reported being main breadwinners, although this relatively high proportion of female main breadwinners maybe the outcome of relatively high wages for support workers in the public sector (Lucifora and Meurs, 2006). The data also showed some expected differences by occupational group, type of employment and salary level, with higher earning groups being more likely to be main breadwinners (Table 6.8). Secondly, the data suggested no association between breadwinner status and pay satisfaction (Tables 6.9, 6.10). Furthermore, female non-main breadwinners showed no greater satisfaction than female main breadwinners (Appendix Table 9.1). Thus, overall the data suggests no support for the argument that women are more satisfied with their pay because of their secondary breadwinner status.

However, the cross tabulation analysis did produce some interesting results when salary group was introduced (Table 6.11). These cross tabulation and Chi Square statistics suggest that amongst higher earning non-main breadwinners, whilst some are more likely to be satisfied with their pay, others are more dissatisfied. The individual cross tabulations are presented in Figures 6.2-6.6. Thinking first about those non-main breadwinners who tend to be more satisfied, this would certainly lend some support to the idea that overall household income can impact upon perceptions of satisfaction, in a similar way to that suggested by the 'differential values' theory. However, this was not on the question that referred to economic or material need (the standard of living variable), but on the questions referring to 'appropriate' pay. Next, thinking about those higher earning non-main breadwinners who were more dissatisfied, they were

significantly more likely to have a negative view of their pay than main breadwinners, but only with regard to those pay satisfaction questions which refer to the notion of 'appropriate pay' for different occupations. The economic need pay satisfaction question about the standard of living, showed no such pattern (Figures 6.2-6.6).

This is interesting, as it suggests that participants are using the wages of 'social' pay referents as a marker to evaluate the 'appropriateness' of their own pay. Blau (1994) defined five types of pay referent; social, financial, historical, organisation and market. A social referent is someone that an individual knows outside of their work, such as a friend, family member or neighbour with whom they compare their pay. The importance of pay referents has already been highlighted by paradox researchers and it has been suggested that women compare themselves with other low paid women (Phelan, 1994). However, as discussed in section 5.3, people tended to compare their pay to those doing similar occupations, rather than those of the same gender. The data presented in this chapter provides interesting new evidence about the use of pay referents and suggests that the use of social pay referents might be contributing towards 'paradoxically' high pay dissatisfaction amongst higher earning groups. Quite possibly, sharing domestic space with someone who has a higher salary may be a daily reminder of the lower pay that public sector professionals receive as compared to private sector professionals (Lucifora and Meurs, 2006; Cribb et al., 2014). In addition, there have been pay freezes imposed on all public sector workers (Dolton et al., 2014) which may also exacerbate the perception of inequity and lead to unfavourable comparisons.

Table 6.8 Breadwinner status by gender, occupational group, type of employment and salary:² Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

	Main breadwinner	Not main breadwinner	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	64.3	35.7	729
Male (%)	73.9	26.1	n = 698 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.144
Female (%)	59.3	40.7	
Administrative (%)	55.6	44.4	n = 714 0.001 Cramer's V = 0.172
Academic (%)	72.4	27.6	
Technical (%)	71.2	28.8	
Manual (%)	47.1	52.9	
Research (%)	67.6	32.4	
Other (%)	66.1	33.9	
Full-time (%)	71.9	28.1	n = 703 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.285
Part-time (%)	39.2	60.8	
<i>Full-time only</i>			
£20,000 or less (%)	34.7	65.3	n = 699 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.385
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	57.9	42.1	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	76.9	23.1	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	86	14	
£50,001 or more (%)	80	20	
£30,000 or less (%)	48	52	n = 699 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.341
£30,001 or more (%)	80.6	19.4	
£40,000 or less (%)	57.5	42.5	n = 699 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.244
£40,001 or more (%)	83.9	16.1	

² A small number of participants stated that they were unsure if they were the main breadwinner or not. This group is excluded from all the analysis in this chapter to enable valid Chi Square tests to be run

Table 6.9 Breadwinner status by pay satisfaction: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Main breadwinner	9.9	32.2	52		5.9	n = 707 0.504
Not main breadwinner	10.4	33.5	47.4		8.8	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Main breadwinner	14.8	34.7	45.4	5	0	n = 711 0.675
Not main breadwinner	15.4	32.4	45.1	7.1	0	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Main breadwinner	6.7	23	31.3	31.1	7.8	n = 713 0.890
Not main breadwinner	6.7	23.3	34.4	27.7	7.9	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Main breadwinner	12	28.8	30.1	19.8	9.4	n = 712 0.441
Not main breadwinner	12.3	24.9	27.3	22.9	12.6	

Table 6.10 Breadwinner status by pay satisfaction: Mean Ranks

	n	Mean Rank
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Main breadwinner	456	353.97
Not main breadwinner	251	354.05
Mann Whitney U p value	0.996	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Main breadwinner	458	353.26
Not main breadwinner	253	360.96
Mann Whitney U p value	0.607	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Main breadwinner	460	359.77
Not main breadwinner	253	351.97
Mann Whitney U p value	0.615	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Main breadwinner	459	348.73
Not main breadwinner	253	370.59
Mann Whitney U p value	0.162	

Table 6.11 Breadwinner status by pay satisfaction amongst salary groups: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V (full-time only)

	£30,000 or less	£30,001 or more	£40,000 or less	£40,001 or more
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do	0.094	0.009 Cramer's V = 0.193	0.014 Cramer's V = 0.171	*
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed	0.359	0.011 Cramer's V = 0.189	0.232	0.047 Cramer's V = 0.214
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living	0.850	0.245	0.985	0.311
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive	0.276	0.151	0.601	0.040 Cramer's V = 0.240

Figure 6.2 Breadwinner status by perceptions of occupational pay considering the nature of what you do amongst those who earn £30,001 or more. full-time only (n = 310, p ≤ 0.009, Cramer's V = 0.193)

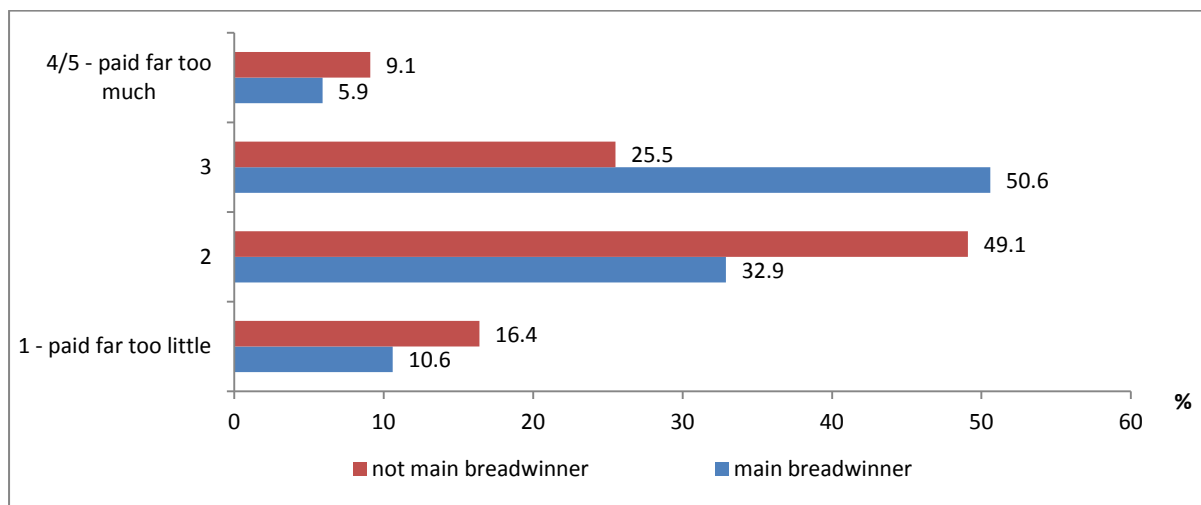


Figure 6.3 Breadwinner status by perceptions of occupational pay considering the skills/training needed amongst those who earn £30,001 or more. full-time only (n = 312, p ≤ 0.011, Cramer's V = 0.189)

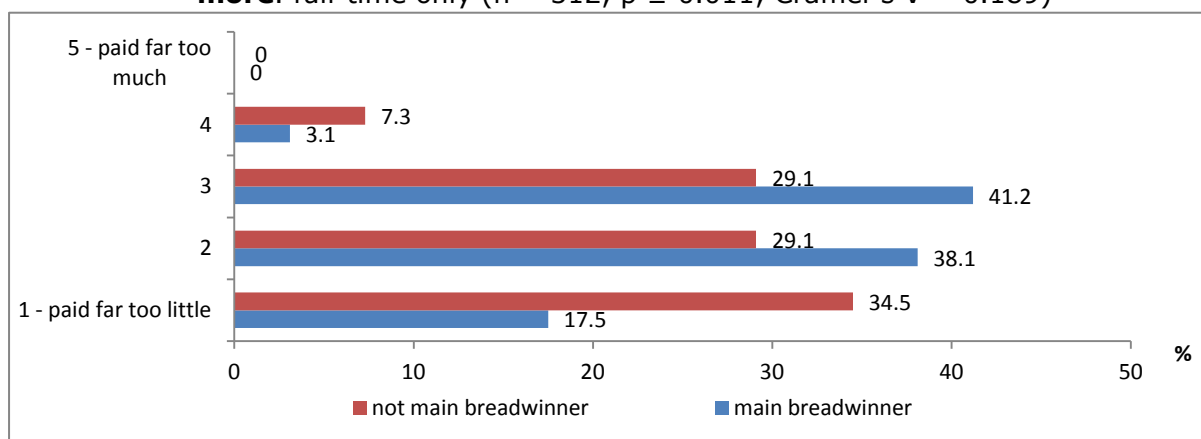


Figure 6.4 Breadwinner status by perceptions of occupational pay considering the nature of what you do amongst those who earn £40,000 or less. full-time only (n = 363, p ≤ 0.014, Cramer's V = 0.171)

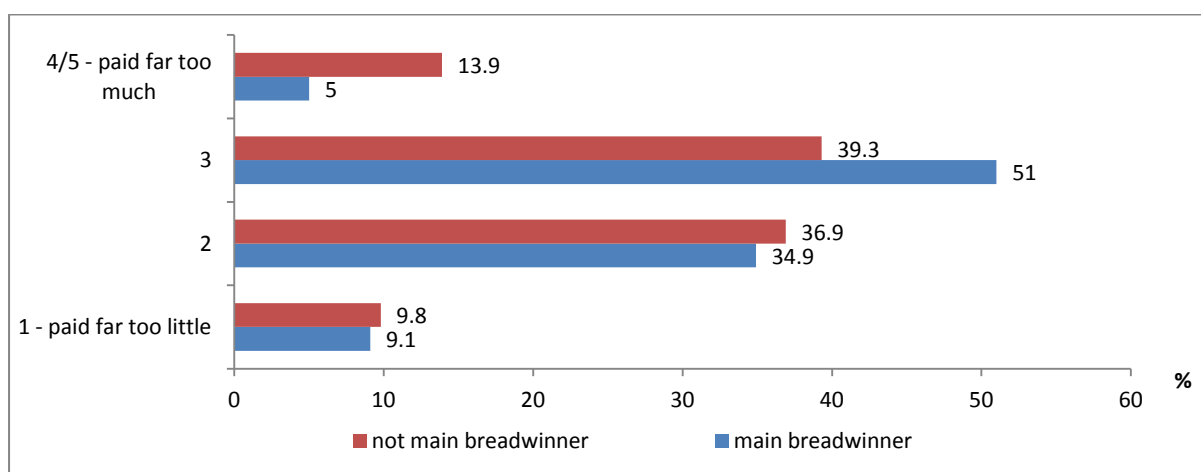


Figure 6.5 Breadwinner status by perceptions of occupational pay considering the skills/training needed amongst those who earn £40,001 or more. full-time only (n = 174, p ≤ 0.047, Cramer's V = 0.214)

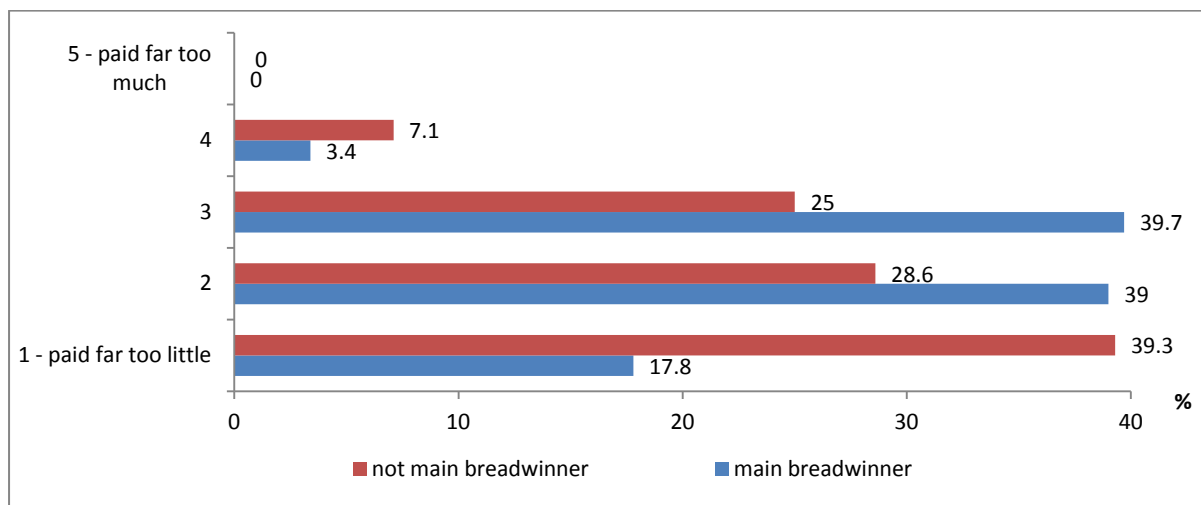
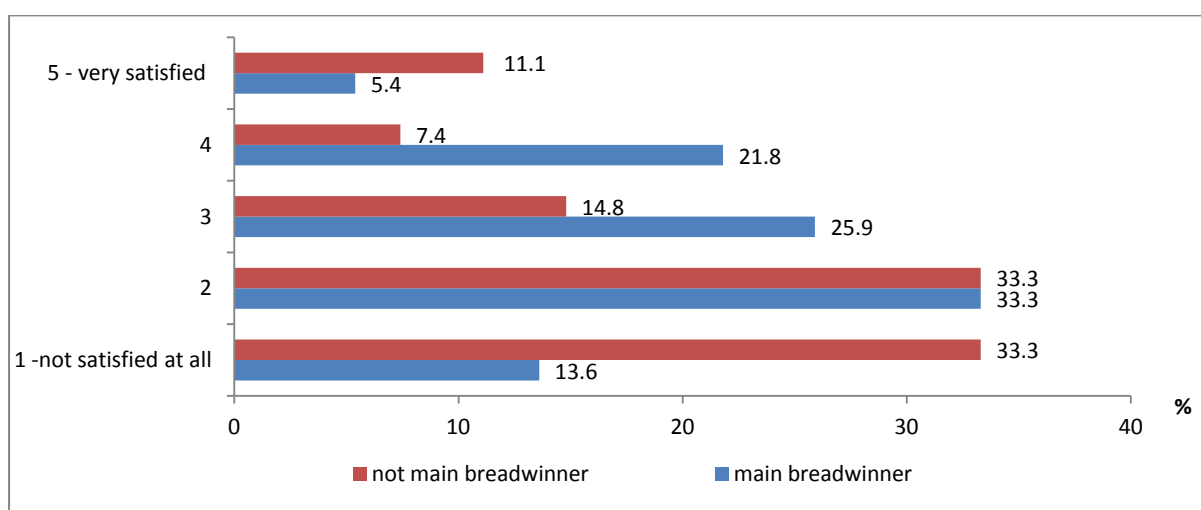


Figure 6.6 Breadwinner status by pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive amongst those who earn £40,001 or more. full time only (n = 174, p ≤ 0.040, Cramer's V = 0.240)



6.7 Is male breadwinner ideology accepted and is there a link with pay satisfaction? Evidence from the qualitative interviews

Analysis of the survey data suggested that households with male main breadwinners were not as ubiquitous as theories such as the 'differential inputs' or 'differential values' suggest. Indeed, some 59.3% of female survey participants were the main breadwinner in their households. However, both the 'differential inputs' theory and the breadwinner interpretation of the 'differential values' theory both imply that the male breadwinner household is a normal state of affairs and popularly accepted as such. The qualitative interviews provided an

opportunity for participants to talk of their financial roles in their own household, how they felt about the role that they had, and whether this had any impact upon their pay satisfaction. The interviewees lived in a variety of household types and the traditional male breadwinner model was actually unusual. In addition, household structures were not static, they were changeable, flexible and breadwinner roles within households could vary over time. For example, the administrator Anna, explained how her husband had recently become self-employed and that she was currently the main breadwinner. Both Niamh, who worked in Estates and the academic professor Penny had partners that were (relatively recently) retired. There was a sense that households developed and changed over time. In addition, as would be expected, not all households were heterosexual, an issue that is ignored by explanations which concentrate on women's domestic responsibilities.

There were, of course, some interviewees whose households fitted the traditional male breadwinner model, for example, Amanda works as a food technician, she lives with her husband and her adult son has recently moved back home. She is currently working full-time but has worked part-time in the past, she also gave up work completely when her children were young. She only returned to full-time work when she was in her fifties. She describes the decision to prioritise her children as a choice: "I didn't think I could do both very well, so I decided I had to do one or the other". This was not something that she resented, in fact she appreciated that her husband earned enough money that he could support the whole family and stated "Some people probably don't have that kind of luxury, actually to be honest but, it was what I wanted to do at the time". Thus, Amanda recognises that this is not necessarily the only financial model that households can adopt. Amanda does talk of the being able to 'treat myself' and in her questionnaire stated that she worked for money for luxury items but not for money for essential items. However, in her interview Amanda discussed her dissatisfaction with her pay, explaining that in spite of her relatively comfortable position, she felt that she should be paid at the next pay band (discussed in section 5.6). Thus, her secondary breadwinner status and relative comfort was not related to her pay satisfaction.

David, the senior manager, is 46-55 years old and lives with his wife and three children. He is the main breadwinner and was, until recently, the only

breadwinner in his household. Although his previous job paid very well, some "30-40%" more than he receives for his current job, he wasn't happy in that employment (discussed in section 5.4). David explained that being the sole breadwinner, the responsibility for his (still relatively young) children coupled with his unhappiness at work, all combined to leave him feeling stressed and pressured. David's evaluation of his pay is complex, on the one hand, he considers his pay in terms of the amount he needs to cover the household's costs. He good naturedly complains about the amount of expensive food that his three sons can eat. He is also aware that his reduced salary now means that his household is "running a small monthly deficit," although this is not a major concern given that the mortgage is paid off and they have substantial savings. Clearly, David is thinking of his responsibility to provide adequately for his family. However, he is also aware that he is actually paid a lot more than most other staff in the university: "There are occasional times I have sort of slight pangs of thinking, I'm paid really well compared to other people here, compared to people who do things like teach and stuff like that and research". Having said that, he is equally aware that his was not a run-of-the-mill appointment. "I had a contract with myself, with [name of VC]. I said 'This is a number I could work for you on, I can't do it for less, but if you can give me that, then we are not going to talk about it ever again and that's fine'". The complexity of his feelings on his pay were perhaps exemplified when he concluded (whilst side stepping the question a little), "It's just what it is ... it's not something I engage in". Thus, although his position as main breadwinner is influential on his pay satisfaction, this is, arguably cancelled out, by the fact that he knows he is in a privileged position compared to others. Clearly, his family circumstances are influential but so too is his knowledge of pay structures and the, arguably, unfair values that are attributed to differential occupations. Therefore, the 'differential values' theory's suggestion that satisfaction is only driven by breadwinner status, was not true in David's case.

However, Amanda and David were unusual amongst the interviewees in that their households were 'traditional' in terms of breadwinner roles. Amongst others, there was no acceptance of traditional roles and often a clear rejection of gendered expectations. For example, Jason is aged 26-35 years old, works in Student Support and is the main breadwinner in his household. He has strong

political views and desires an occupation that is "doing something for the public good". His partner does not have stable employment and when she does, it tends to be of an ad hoc or casual nature. He explained "When we met she was up to her ears in debt, which I cleared off for her". Now, she stumbles from one temporary job to another. However, this is not a happy situation for either of them: "She is the kind of person who can't stand to be unemployed so she gets incredibly stressed when she's out of work, doesn't want to go on job seekers, doesn't like going on benefits and will seek work constantly every day and take up any job no matter how crap it might be ... when she is earning, she is very insistent on contributing equal share to everything". For Jason, the pressure of being the main earner has pushed him into seeking promotion and leaving behind the front facing student support work which he enjoys. The role he is in now is more managerial in nature which he finds less rewarding: "I would probably never have applied to go up so many grades, if it wasn't for the need to kind of keep support within that". The situation has been ongoing for several years and Jason feels trapped within his job and the responsibility of having a mortgage to pay. He said "Ideally, if my partner can find steady work, then I may reconsider my position and do something a bit better" but feels that the reality of his situation is preventing him moving on: "You start to lose hope a little bit, after a while". However, the responsibility of being a main breadwinner, whilst putting pressure on him to seek promotion, does not in itself make him dissatisfied with his pay. Instead, when he evaluates his pay, he thinks of the single pay spine and the roles and responsibilities that are commensurate with each pay grade. His disappointment with his employment situation and reluctant breadwinner role is juxtaposed, rather than interconnected with, his pay satisfaction.

Gill, a young and single administrator explained that her personal circumstances are a 'battle' against gendered expectations and the structural constraint of low pay. She struggles to pay the rent on her apartment on a salary of under £20,000 and takes on additional transcribing work in order to survive. She acknowledges that her decision to live in an apartment rather than a shared house is relatively expensive, but cherishes her independence and rejects the notion that a woman only needs a small wage because her husband will provide the essentials in life. She said "I don't feel that I should get married, I should

have to get married or something to survive, that just seems a shallow way to be living, to go and find a rich husband or something". She added "It's a situation that people are going to have to start realising is more frequent, that I'm in my thirties, I live on my own". Gill's pay satisfaction is predominantly driven by economic need, the struggle to earn enough money to pay her bills and rent. Gill is also influenced by feeling that administrative work tends to be undervalued, in particular she feels that experience of administrative systems takes many years to achieve and yet administrative work is not appreciated or properly remunerated. Believing the system of pay and promotions to be unfair, she said "Although I say it is an easy job, it is an easy job because I have been doing it for years".

Jenny works as a parking warden, is the main breadwinner in her household and lives with her teenage son from her first marriage. Although she has married again, she doesn't live with her husband because her son and husband do not get along. She lives with her son, but spends several nights a week with her husband. She explained that her husband does not pay any money towards the household. "Ever since me and my first husband split up, and we split up two months after we had bought the house I am in now, I've never had a penny off him neither so I've always, always done it". To Jenny, being the breadwinner and provider for her son feels natural, "It's normal life isn't it? You do that. Well it is to me, and it's my responsibility. My house is my responsibility and my son is my responsibility, and it's up to me to make sure that it is paid and kept a roof over his head and made sure he is fed and nobody else's". However, as explained in section 5.6, rather than believing that her position as the main breadwinner makes her deserving of higher pay, Jenny evaluates her pay in relation to what other manual workers in the university are paid.

Lena is aged 26-35 years old and works as an academic earning £30,001-£40,000. She is from Poland and lives with her long-term partner, who moved to the UK at the same time as she did. Her partner does not work, when Lena was planning to move to the UK, he lost his "dream job, he was a radio presenter in a jazz radio". No longer economically tied to Poland, he moved to be with Lena. However, he has struggled to find work without references in the UK and also "He refuses to take some very simple jobs that he would think are disgraceful, I don't think there is a disgraceful job but it would be like maybe cleaning or

something". Lena explained that the situation has caused tension in the past because there is inequity in the household. However, she has come to accept the situation and actually relishes it to some degree: "It empowered me, in a sense, I am responsible for the, for everything that happens at home and if something happened and we split, I would be totally fine because I am in control of everything now. Most women if they decide to break up with their partners are much more affected, so it feels comfortable in a sense that I am independent financially". Having said this, Lena is still aware that her situation is unusual: "People would ask what your partner does and I say 'Oh, he's a house partner, a house husband and they say 'oh my God!' You know and they were so, like, compassionate and pity and I am 'But if I was a man and he was a woman you wouldn't say that, you know. You don't need to be sorry that my partner doesn't work!'" Lena is uncertain about her pay satisfaction, she thinks that her breadwinner role coupled with her partner's dependent status does stretch her salary. However, concluded that "I'm happy although sometimes I think if maybe it was two or three hundreds more then maybe we could save some money but maybe it is always like that. If I had more then I would spend everything! So it feels to be a good salary if I can support two people".

Finally, Sasha is currently working as a part-time administrator on a fixed-term contract and as a casual, hourly paid lecturer in two other universities, although she is seeking secure, academic employment. Her husband has full-time permanent employment, however they struggle to have a decent standard of living: "We haven't got anywhere near enough to be getting a mortgage together, we have put off having kids and ... that's a massive concern". Sasha is considering abandoning her academic dreams and looking for full-time, secure administrative work so that they can start a family: "The idea of having something a bit more secure, then having the space to be able to think about having maternity leave and then maybe make some decisions after that, but at least I will have the buffer of the job in place". Aware that her precarious employment and lower salary make it logical that she would take the main responsibility for childcare, Sasha said "If I had a permanent job that was equivalent salary to [name of husband] and we were to have kids, I would seriously consider sharing the maternity/paternity leave, I would be perfectly happy to do that ... but in most instances, it's not a practical option because

men tend to be higher up the economic ladder". Thus for Sasha, rather than a straightforward choice, taking the traditionally female role will 'make sense' and thus be grudgingly accepted. Sasha's secondary breadwinner status, however, is not related to her evaluation of pay satisfaction. Instead, she thinks about her pay in relation to the roles and responsibilities of each job that she has.

Thus, evidence from the qualitative interviews suggests that there were a variety of household types with different financial arrangements. In addition, peoples' attitudes and beliefs about household financial responsibility were both liberal and flexible. Thus, there was clearly no consistent evidence to suggest that the interviewees thought the male breadwinner model was either normal or a desirable state of affairs. Additionally, although, interviewees would certainly discuss whether their salary was adequate in relation to their economic need, more commonly they would discuss whether or not they thought they were paid appropriately given the 'value' of what they did, usually by making reference to the roles and responsibilities commensurate with the different points on the pay spine. The data presented in this section therefore suggests that the 'differential values' theory, which makes assumptions about the prevalence of the male breadwinner model and simultaneously positions pay satisfaction as a purely economic issue, is inadequate as an explanation for the gender pay paradox.

6.8 Social Attitudes: Is there a connection with pay satisfaction?

Evidence from the survey

The 'differential values' explanation suggests that women view money differently to men and that this may be the result of their secondary breadwinner status (deVaus and McAllister, 1991). 'Values' may also be conceptualised in terms of attitudes to gender roles. Women's increased participation in the labour market (Crompton, 1997; Office for National Statistics, 2017c) has been accompanied by a decline in traditional attitudes about the roles of men and women (Park et al., 2013). However, it is still possible that traditional views of gender are linked to pay satisfaction and therefore this section presents a summary of data from the survey regarding participants' social attitudes and the relationship that this has with their pay satisfaction.

Evidence from the survey clearly suggested that women were still taking the main responsibility for childcare and certain household activities (discussed in

sections 6.2-6.5). However, participants' beliefs about gender roles did not reflect the reality of how they lived their lives, instead they had relatively non-traditional attitudes. Participants did not believe that women should take responsibility for childcare or the care of other relatives (Appendix Table 10.2) and had mixed views about the impact of full-time work upon pre-school children (Appendix Table 10.1). They also tended to disagree that men had less choice than women about whether to work or not (Appendix Table 10.3). This supports the work of Yee Kan (2007) who criticised Hakim's preference theory (1998, 2000, 2006) by arguing that it is important to not confuse what people do in their lives with what they 'prefer'. Similarly, this data suggests that there is a difference between what people do and their beliefs about what *should* be done.

Although the differential values theory (Phelan, 1994) suggests that 'values' affect pay satisfaction, the survey data provided little evidence that social attitudes were linked with pay satisfaction. There was some evidence that women who believed that a pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work were more satisfied with their pay than those who did not believe this (Appendix Table 10.4). However, overall, there was no clear indication that particular attitudes are linked to higher or lower pay satisfaction. Indeed, the data even suggested on several occasions that both strong agreement or disagreement with a social attitude statement was associated with lower levels of pay satisfaction. Thus, there was some evidence to suggest that those who hold very strong opinions are more likely to be dissatisfied, irrespective of the nature of those strong opinions (for example, Appendix Table 10.5 shows this trend amongst full-time and part-time staff). This suggests a complexity about the relationship between social attitudes and pay satisfaction which, unfortunately, this data does not explain. However, clearly, there was also no indication that beliefs about gender roles could explain men's low pay satisfaction and women's high pay satisfaction.

6.9 Conclusions: Do home lives affect pay satisfaction?

The data presented in this chapter has focussed upon the home lives of participants, and using quantitative and qualitative data, has presented evidence that provides little support for either the 'differential inputs' or the breadwinner interpretation of the 'differential values' theories.

Considering first the 'differential inputs' theory, unlike previous paradox studies, this research did not attempt to measure the problematic notion of 'input' at work and its relationship with pay satisfaction. Indeed, the qualitative data cast further doubt on the validity of such an approach by suggesting that comparing the 'input' of differing types of employees is not viable unless, the expectations of 'input' for these different jobs are similar. Overall, the survey provided no evidence that caring for children or taking responsibility for traditionally female chores increased the satisfaction of women. Instead, having dependent children actually increased women's dissatisfaction in relation to their standard of living. The survey did suggest that women still take main responsibility for care of dependent children, however, the qualitative data suggested that this was not because women are 'choosing' these pathways in a straightforward manner. Instead, these choices were affected by normative expectations of gender and were part of the everyday social construction of gender (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990). Furthermore, the ability of individuals to rebel against these expectations was affected by other opportunities and constraints, such as family background, education, prior work experiences or political beliefs. Importantly, although the narratives provided by interviewees suggested that home lives affect working lives, there was no explicit connection with pay satisfaction.

Secondly, the breadwinner interpretation of the 'differential values' theory was considered. The research found no support for the argument that women are secondary breadwinners and are therefore more satisfied with their pay than men. Female breadwinners were relatively common and additionally, the data suggested that main breadwinners and non-main breadwinners were equally satisfied with their pay. However, the research did suggest that high earning non-main breadwinners were more dissatisfied than high earning breadwinners. This might be because they were comparing their pay with a higher earning spouse or family member. The daily experience of earning less than others in the household, coupled with the relatively low pay of professionals within the public sector (Lucifora and Meurs, 2006; Cribb et al., 2014) might be contributing towards their pay dissatisfaction. Finally, participants lived in a variety of household types with varying financial arrangements, there was also often a rejection of the male breadwinner model as something that was either

considered 'normal' or to be aspired to. In addition, although interviewees would discuss whether the amount of money they received was adequate for their needs, more often they would discuss their pay in relation to their expectations of pay for the role they were doing, most usually by referring to the single pay spine.

This chapter has presented evidence regarding the home lives of participants but has provided little evidence that gendered roles contribute towards women's high pay satisfaction and men's low pay satisfaction. Not only does this cast doubt upon the two theories discussed in this chapter, it also supports the arguments made within the literature review, that paradox research has been hindered by its assumption that the paradox is the 'problem' of women and that therefore, explanation must be sought within the behaviour of women.

CHAPTER 7 ORIENTATION TO WORK

7.1 Introduction

Explanations for the gender pay paradox have not satisfactorily examined the association between work orientation and pay satisfaction. Orientation to work refers to the meanings that employees attach to work (Goldthorpe et al., 1968) and yet only one paradox explanation, the 'differential values' theory makes reference to the idea of work orientation. This theory suggests that women do not value money as much as men (Phelan, 1994). However, although there is a limited number of studies that provide evidence to support the theory (Crosby, 1982, Clark, 1996, Sloan and Williams, 2000), there is also a large number of studies which have found no evidence to support the suggestion that women value money less than men (Loscocco and Spitze, 1991; Phelan, 1994; Rowe and Snizek; 1995, Mueller and Wallace, 1996, Mueller and Wynn, 2000; Mueller and Kim, 2005). It has even been suggested that women may value money more than men (Buchanan, 2005).

In addition, the explanation is theoretically problematic. There are three ways of interpreting the theory, the first suggests that women, as a result of socialisation have different natures or characteristics to men (Rowe and Snizek, 1995), an argument that positions gender as static and predominantly formed in childhood. However, this has been challenged in theoretical debate and social constructionists emphasise the fluidity, ongoing and provisional nature of gender (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990). Secondly, it has been hypothesised that women do not value money as much as men because they tend to be secondary breadwinners and are more likely to work for luxury goods, or the social aspects of work (de Vaus and McAllister, 1991). However, this suggestion is based upon a somewhat out-dated and idealised vision of the family that is not reflected in contemporary empirical reality. A third of mothers in working families in the UK are now the household's main breadwinner (Cory and Stirling, 2015), whilst childlessness amongst women is increasing (Office for National Statistics, 2015). In addition, there are currently over a million people aged 16 to 64 who live alone and almost two million lone parents with dependent children (Office for National Statistics, 2015). Thirdly, it has been argued that women value money less than men because their child care responsibilities encourage

them to seek 'flexible' rather than high paid employment (Bender et al., 2005). However, the concept of 'flexibility' is broad and can cover types of working that are both for worker benefit and employer benefit. Worker benefit flexibility includes policies and practices that allow the worker to vary when they undertake their work (Maxwell et al., 2007) and the implication of the 'differential values' theory is that this is what is sought by women in preference to high paid work. However, the types of employment that offer this form of flexibility tend to pay relatively well (Glauber, 2011). In contrast, flexibility which is imposed for employer benefit is often low paid (Atkinson and Sandiford, 2016) and therefore the theory appears to be conflating the two types of flexibility.

However, in spite of the theoretical and empirical problems of the 'differential values' theory, there is still a 'common sense' credibility to the explanation, linked to the persistent inequality between men and women both in the labour market and the home. Women still earn less than men (Office for National Statistics, 2016a) and are more likely to work part-time than men (Office for National Statistics, 2013), especially within married or co-habiting heterosexual couples (Lewis, 2006). Additionally, women are still significantly more likely to take the main responsibility for childcare and domestic chores (Mencarini and Sironi, 2012; Park et al., 2013). Thus, the reality of many women's lives clearly complements the theory, irrespective of the lack of evidence regarding the extent that women value money or the relationship between women's home lives and their pay satisfaction.

This chapter presents data from the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the research that examines the relationship between work orientation and pay satisfaction. First of all, evidence from the survey considers whether women are less likely to work for money than men and whether this is linked to pay satisfaction. The extent to which women work for money for luxury items or for the social aspects of the work is also explored. Evidence from the qualitative interviews is presented which challenges the suggestion that working for the social aspects of work is a feature of women's employment. This chapter also considers evidence from the qualitative interviews that suggests that women do not, on the whole, choose their employment on the basis of 'flexibility'. The

qualitative data also challenges the assumption, implicit within the 'differential values' theory that work orientations are fixed.

As well as considering evidence that is relevant to the 'differential values' theory, this chapter also discusses other aspects of work orientation. Qualitative data is presented that explores Furåker's (2012) suggestion that rising living standards are leading to a rejection of materialism and examines whether this is connected with pay satisfaction. Additionally, survey data examines the relationship between working for 'intrinsic' reasons (Watson, 2008) or the 'centrality' of work to people's lives (Morse and Weiss, 1955) and pay satisfaction. Finally, qualitative data is also presented that explores the intrinsic motivations of interviewees, whether work is a central interest in their lives and the relationship that this has with pay satisfaction.

7.2 Do women value money less than men and do they work for money to pay for luxury items? Evidence from the survey

The 'differential values' theory suggests that women are more satisfied with their pay because they do not value money as much as men (Phelan, 1994). This section considers evidence from the survey on people's motivations to work in the light of this theory. Survey participants were asked to indicate the reasons that they came to work (Appendix 1, Question 6). Four of the options in this question are financial motivations to work; 'money to pay for essential items', 'money to pay for luxury items', 'money to provide for myself' and 'money to provide for my family'. Responses to these questions are shown in Tables 7.1 and 7.2. Money for 'essential items' was the most common response, followed by money 'for myself'. Money for 'luxury items' was the least common response.

The responses by gender, occupational group, type of employment and salary group are also presented in these tables. Overall, there was clearly no evidence to suggest that women were *less* likely to work for money than men, although a slightly *higher* proportion of women stated that they worked for money to provide for themselves than did men (Table 7.2). However, significantly, although the 'differential values' theory has suggested that women are more likely to work for 'pin money' (de Vaus and McAllister, 1991), there was no evidence that women are more likely to work for luxury items than men. Nor

was there evidence that men are more likely to work for 'essential items'. Furthermore, responses were more likely to vary by other demographic variables than they were by gender. Lower earning groups were more likely to work for essential items than higher earning ones (Table 7.1), whilst higher earners were more likely to work for money to provide for family (Table 7.2). Although, gender pay paradox theories have emphasised the differences between men and women, variations in the proportions of people who worked for financial reasons were both more common and more pronounced between salary and occupational groups than between genders.

The data can also be considered from a slightly different perspective, by examining the small group of participants who did not work for money at all. This analysis also found no support for the 'differential values' theory. Overall, only 7.8% of survey participants ($n = 731$) did not work with one of these financial motivations. This supports previous research which suggests that the vast majority of people work for money (Furåker, 2012). The group who did not work for money at all, was very slightly more likely to be male than female. Some 11.1% of men did not work with a financial motivation, compared to 6.2% of women ($n = 731$, $p \leq 0.021$, Cramer's $V = 0.086$). There was no difference in the proportions of part-time and full-time staff who did not work for money at all. However, there were differences by occupational group: only 2.8% of administrative workers did not work for money, this rose to 5.1% of the 'other' group, 8.5% of technical staff, 11.8% of researchers and 13.2% of academics ($n = 696$, $p \leq 0.000$, Cramer's $V = 0.171$). Additionally, those earning £50,001 or more were more likely than other groups to state that they did not work for money: 18.2% of this group compared to 8.1% of those who earned £40,001-£50,000, 5.8% of those who earned £30,001-£40,000, 5.9% of those who earned £20,001-£30,000 and 8.7% of those who earned £20,000 or less. Not working for money was most certainly not associated with low earning women, indeed the data suggests the opposite, it is male, higher earners who were more likely to not indicate a financial motivation for going to work.

Table 7.1 Who works for money for essential items and money for luxury items? Chi Square p values and Cramer's V/Phi

	Money to pay for essential items		Money to pay for luxury items	
Whole sample (%)	63.2	n = 731	38.3	n = 731
Male (%)	62.3	n = 713 0.660	35.2	n = 713 0.171
Female (%)	64.0		40.5	
Administrative (%)	68.3	n = 730 0.012 Cramer's V = 0.142	41.7	n = 730 0.328
Academic (%)	56.4		35.2	
Technical (%)	57.4		28.8	
Manual (%)	82.4		41.1	
Research (%)	60.5		38.2	
Other (%)	67.8		44.1	
Full-time (%)	62.1	n = 718 0.284	37.9	n = 718 0.720
Part-time (%)	66.7		39.5	
<i>Full-time only</i>				
£20,000 or less (%)	72.3	n = 551 0.033 Cramer's V = 0.138	29.2	n = 551 0.142
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	65.6		39.9	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	64.3		44.3	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	53.1		37.2	
£50,001 or more (%)	52.3		29.2	
£30,000 or less (%)	67.4	n = 551 0.023 Phi = 0.097	36.9	n = 551 0.672
£30,001 or more (%)	57.9		38.7	
£40,000 or less (%)	66.2	n = 551 0.002 Phi = 0.129	39.7	n = 551 0.221
£40,001 or more (%)	52.8		34.3	

Table 7.2 Who works for money to provide for 'myself' and for money to provide for other family members? Chi Square p values and Cramer's V/Phi

	Money to provide for myself		Money to provide for other family members	
Whole sample (%)	61.4	n = 731	51.3	n = 731
Male (%)	54.5	n = 713 0.005 Phi = -0.105	53.7	n = 713 0.364
Female (%)	65.2		50.1	
Administrative (%)	62.7	n = 730 0.006 Cramer's V = 0.149	44.8	n = 730 0.006 Cramer's V = 0.150
Academic (%)	57.2		61.2	
Technical (%)	57.6		49.2	
Manual (%)	44.1		52.9	
Research (%)	77.6		43.4	
Other (%)	67.8		47.5	
Full-time (%)	63.7	n = 718 0.022 Phi = 0.086	50.0	n = 718 0.167
Part-time (%)	53.7		56.2	
<i>Full-time only</i>				
£20,000 or less (%)	60.0	n = 551 0.042 Cramer's V = 0.134	23.1	n = 551 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.279
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	67.3		39.9	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	70.7		55.7	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	59.3		64.6	
£50,001 or more (%)	50.8		64.6	
£30,000 or less (%)	65.2	n = 551 0.522	35.2	n = 551 0.000 Phi = -0.252
£30,001 or more (%)	62.6		60.7	
£40,000 or less (%)	67.3	n = 551 0.011 Phi = 0.108	42.9	n = 551 0.000 Phi = -0.203
£40,001 or more (%)	56.2		64.6	

7.3 Is there a connection between working for money for luxury items and pay satisfaction? Evidence from the survey

The 'differential values' theory suggests that women are more easily satisfied with their pay than men because they do not value money as much (Phelan, 1994). However, section 7.2 included evidence that suggests that women are no less likely to work for financial reasons than men and if anything, men are slightly less likely than women to work for money. One interpretation of the 'differential values' theory is that women are less likely to be the main breadwinner, therefore 'need' less money, only spend on luxury items and are thus more easily satisfied (de Vaus and McAllister, 1991). Therefore, this section explores the relationship between working for luxury items and pay satisfaction.

Analysis of the survey data did suggest that participants who worked for 'luxury items' tended to have higher pay satisfaction than those who do not work for this reason (Tables 7.3, 7.4). Furthermore, examining the luxury items data further suggests that the higher satisfaction of those who worked for luxury items was actually driven by women. Men's satisfaction was at the same level whether or not they worked for luxury items however, women's satisfaction levels varied (Tables 7.5, 7.5a, Figures 7.1-7.3).

However, this cannot be viewed as support for the 'differential values' theory for a number of reasons. First of all, this pattern was also observed amongst full-time staff, administrative staff and researchers and particularly amongst those who earned £30,001-£40,000. Thus, working for luxury items and being more satisfied with pay wasn't confined to women. Secondly, evidence from the survey has already disputed the suggestion that women are more likely to work for luxury goods than men (Table 7.1). Therefore, although the data suggests that working for luxury items links with higher levels of pay satisfaction, working for luxury items is not specifically a feature of women's employment. Thirdly, the breadwinner interpretation of the 'differential values' theory suggests that women, because of their secondary breadwinner status, 'need' less money (de Vaus and McAllister, 1991) which implies that the gender pay paradox is the outcome of differences in material need between men and women. However, working for luxury items is associated with an increase in all aspects of pay satisfaction (Tables 7.3, 7.4) including those which do not refer to material need

and instead make reference to ideas of 'appropriate' pay for the work done, the skills needed and what similar occupations receive. Thus, clearly if there is a relationship between working for luxury items and pay satisfaction, this is more complex than a simplistic relationship between material need and satisfaction.

Table 7.3 Work for money for luxury items by pay satisfaction: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Yes	6.1	32.0	54.7		7.2	n = 723 0.015 Cramer's V = 0.121
No	13.3	33.0	46.7		7.0	
Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Yes	11.5	29.9	51.8	6.8	0	n = 726 0.009 Cramer's V = 0.127
No	17.4	36.6	40.6	5.4	0	
Pay satisfaction in relation to your standard of living						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Yes	3.9	17.9	35.4	34.6	8.2	n = 730 0.002 Cramer's V = 0.153
No	8.4	27.1	30.4	26.2	7.8	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Yes	10.4	23.3	29.7	25.8	10.8	n = 729 0.038 Cramer's V = 0.118
No	13.8	29.6	28.7	17.3	10.7	

Table 7.4 Work for money for luxury items by pay satisfaction: Mean Ranks

	Work for money to pay for luxury items	
	n	Mean Rank
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Yes	278	384.10
No	445	348.19
Mann Whitney U p value	0.014	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Yes	278	394.05
No	448	344.54
Mann Whitney U p value	0.001	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Yes	280	398.57
No	450	344.92
Mann Whitney U p value	0.001	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Yes	279	389.84
No	450	349.60
Mann Whitney U p value	0.010	

Table 7.5 Work for money for luxury items by pay satisfaction amongst males and females: Chi Square, Mann Whitney U p values and Cramer's V

	Males	Females
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Chi Square	0.300	0.053
Mann Whitney U	0.330	0.033
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Chi Square	0.928	0.003 Cramer's V = 0.174
Mann Whitney U	0.736	0.000
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Chi Square	0.755	0.002 Cramer's V = 0.190
Mann Whitney U	0.193	0.003
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Chi Square	0.314	0.028 Cramer's V = 0.153
Mann Whitney U	0.291	0.051

Table 7.5a Work for money for luxury items by pay satisfaction amongst women: Mean Ranks

	Occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do		Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills and training needed		Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living needed	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Work for money for luxury items	188	245.89	189	258.69	190	256.69
Do not work for money for luxury items	274	221.63	276	215.41	279	220.23
Mann Whitney U p value	0.033		0.000		0.003	

Figure 7.1 Work for money for luxury items by perceptions of occupational pay considering the skills/training needed amongst women (n = 465, p ≤ 0.003, Cramer's V = 0.174)

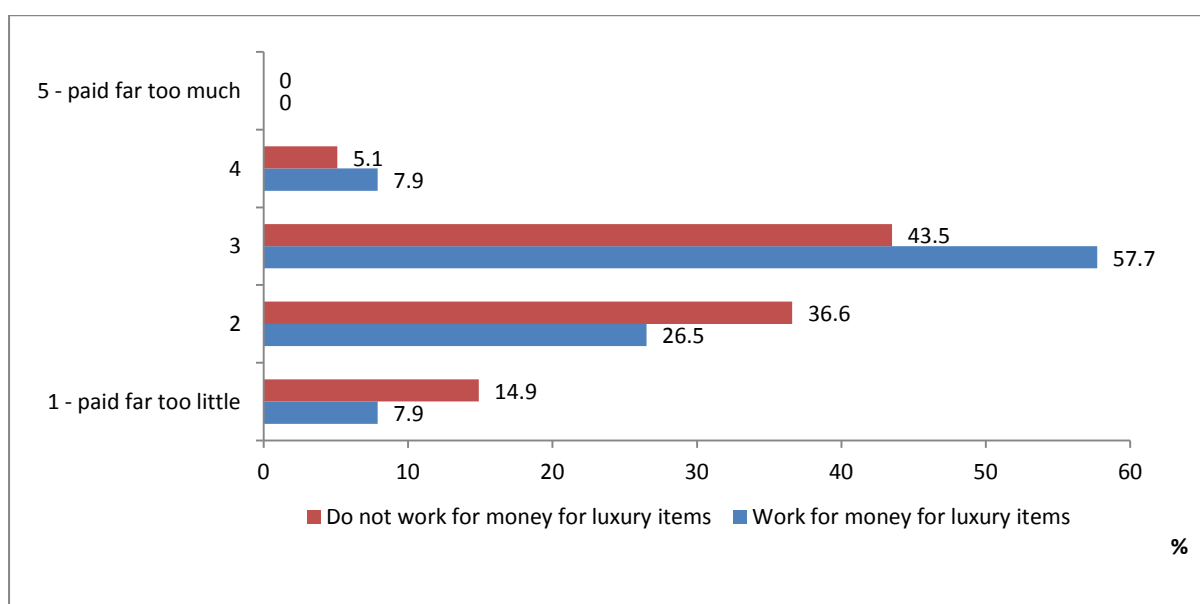


Figure 7.2 Work for money for luxury items by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst women (n = 469, p ≤ 0.002, Cramer's V = 0.190)

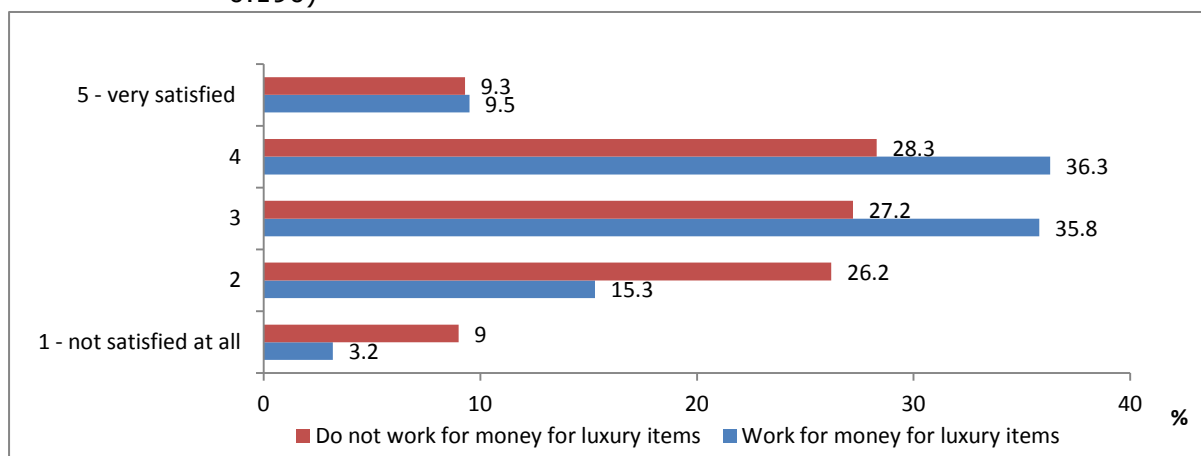
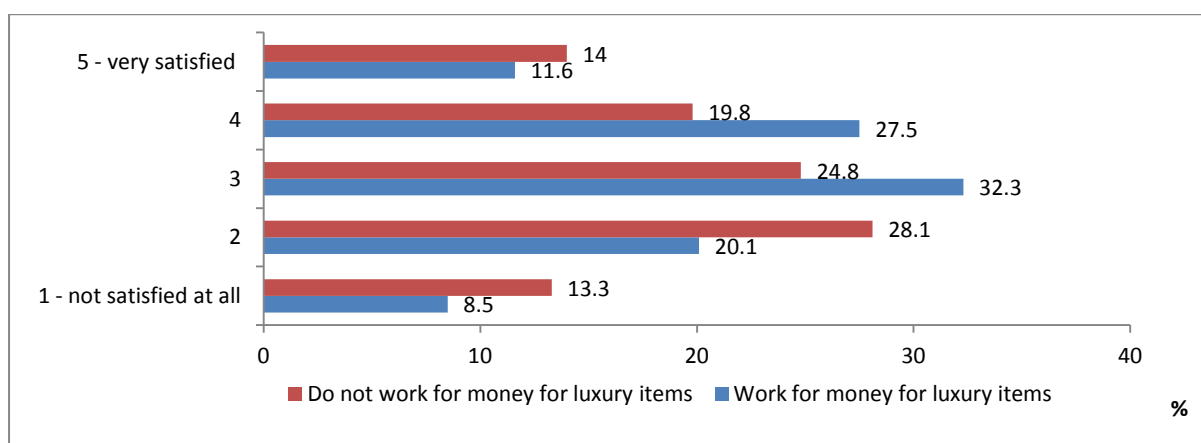


Figure 7.3 Work for money for luxury items by pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive amongst women (n = 467, p ≤ 0.028, Cramer's V = 0.153)



7.4 Are women more likely to work for social reasons than men, and is this linked to pay satisfaction? Evidence from the survey

This section examines evidence from the survey regarding the social aspects of work (Appendix 1, Question 6). The breadwinner interpretation of the 'differential values' theory hypothesises that women are happy with low pay because they are more likely to work for social reasons than men (de Vaus and McAllister, 1991). Section 7.2 presented evidence that suggested that women were no less likely to work for financial reasons than men. The data presented in Table 7.6, however, suggests that, even though only a relatively low proportion of people stated that they worked for social reasons (33.8%), women were more

likely to state this than men. However, contrary to the arguments of the 'differential values' theory, these were not necessarily low paid women, because, as shown in Table 7.6, middle income earners are more likely to work for social aspects than low earners.

Examining the relationship between working for social aspects and pay satisfaction, did suggest that working for social aspects is associated with higher levels of pay satisfaction (Tables 7.7, 7.8). However, this was not confined to women and was also visible amongst men (Tables 7.9, 7.9a, Figure 7.4). It could also be seen amongst full-time and part-time staff, amongst administrative and research staff and particularly amongst those who earned £30,001-£40,000. Thus, working for social aspects was associated with increased pay satisfaction for groups other than women.

As can be seen from the data, this association with pay satisfaction was mainly visible on the 'standard of living' question but not on the questions that referred to the concept of 'appropriate' pay. Thus, as proposed by the 'differential values' theory, working for social aspects of work does appear to be linked with material satisfaction. However, as explained in chapter 4, the gender pay paradox is more likely to occur when pay satisfaction is conceptualised in terms of 'appropriate' pay and not in terms of 'standard of living'. Therefore, any increase in satisfaction with regard to the 'standard of living' question cannot be used to explain the gender pay paradox. Thus, overall, this analysis provides no support for the argument that women are more satisfied with their pay because they work for the social aspects of work.

The following section presents evidence from the qualitative interviews which further explores the notion of working for 'social aspects'. The qualitative data suggests that the social aspects of work are not, as implied by the 'differential values' theory, a frivolous and dispensable aspect of the working lives of *women*, but are an important part of the working lives of both male and female employees.

Table 7.6 Who works for social aspects? Gender, occupation, type of employment, salary group: Chi Square p values, Cramer's V/Phi

	Social aspects of work	
Whole sample (%)	33.8	n = 731
Male (%)	24.2	n = 713 0.000 Phi = -0.151
Female (%)	39.2	
Administrative (%)	38.5	n = 730 0.063
Academic (%)	30.0	
Technical (%)	28.8	
Manual (%)	17.6	
Research (%)	40.8	
Other (%)	35.6	
Full-time (%)	32.6	n = 718 0.134
Part-time (%)	38.9	
<i>Full-time only</i>		
£20,000 or less (%)	23.1	n = 551 0.034 Cramer's V = 0.138
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	31.0	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	42.9	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	31.0	
£50,001 or more (%)	27.7	
£30,000 or less (%)	28.8	n = 551 0.094
£30,001 or more (%)	35.5	
£40,000 or less (%)	34.0	n = 551 0.317
£40,001 or more (%)	29.8	

Table 7.7 Work for social aspects by pay satisfaction: Chi square and Cramer's V

Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Yes	5.3	31.3	56.8		6.6	n = 723 0.004 Cramer's V = 0.135
No	13.1	33.3	46.3		7.3	
Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Yes	11.0	33.7	49.6	5.7	0	n = 726 0.105
No	17.3	34.2	42.5	6.0	0	
Pay satisfaction in relation to your standard of living						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Yes	3.2	19.8	30.4	36.0	10.5	n = 730 0.001 Cramer's V = 0.157
No	8.5	25.5	33.3	26.1	6.6	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Yes	8.5	29.3	28.0	24.0	10.2	n = 729 0.109
No	14.5	26.1	29.6	18.8	11.0	

Table 7.8 Work for social aspects by pay satisfaction: Mean Ranks

	n	Mean Rank
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Yes	243	388.55
No	480	348.56
Mann Whitney U p value	0.008	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Yes	246	383.30
No	480	353.35
Mann Whitney U p value	0.050	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Yes	247	408.20
No	483	343.66
Mann Whitney U p value	0.000	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Yes	246	379.05
no	483	357.84
Mann Whitney U p value	0.186	

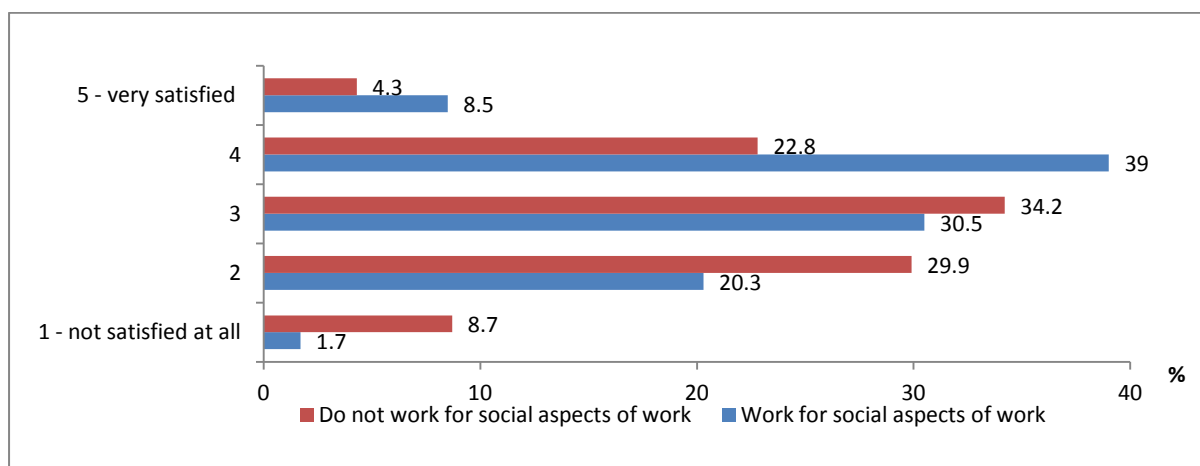
Table 7.9 Work for social aspects by pay satisfaction amongst males and females: Chi Square, Mann Whitney U p values and Cramer's V

	Males	Females
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Chi Square	0.349	0.080
Mann Whitney U	0.203	0.071
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Chi Square	0.661	0.518
Mann Whitney U	0.623	0.221
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Chi Square	0.032 Cramer's V = 0.209	0.190
Mann Whitney U	0.002	0.028
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Chi Square	0.351	0.384
Mann Whitney U	0.405	0.787

Table 7.9a Work for social aspects by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living: Mean Ranks

	Males		Females	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Work for social aspects	59	145.93	184	251.44
Do not work for social aspects	184	114.33	285	224.39
Mann Whitney U p value	0.002		0.028	

Figure 7.4 Work for social aspects by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst men (n = 243, p ≤ 0.032, Cramer's V = 0.209)



7.5 Does working for social reasons increase pay satisfaction? Evidence from the qualitative interviews

The breadwinner interpretation of the 'differential values' theory suggests that working for the social aspects of work is a feature of women's employment. This, de facto, suggests that men are motivated by the desire to earn money essential for survival, and therefore reflects and contributes to a dominant gendered narrative that positions women as different to men, and belonging to the domestic rather than the public sphere. However, this argument diminishes the importance of the social aspects of work. Social aspects are relegated to something that women appreciate, whilst implying that they are a 'frivolous' form of work orientation. This is problematic because the social aspects of work are not the preserve of women, nor are they inconsequential. Goldthorpe et al.'s (1968) study of work orientation suggested that a common form of (male) orientation to work is 'solidaristic,' whereby work is experienced as a valuable group activity, enabling individuals to be part of a community or team, and

which plays an important role in satisfying the emotional needs of human beings (Furåker, 2012). Thus, defining working for social aspects as 'feminine' fails to acknowledge the potential importance of social aspects for all employees.

This section presents evidence from the qualitative interviews which suggests that social reasons are often an important aspect of both men's and women's employment. For example, David, a senior manager stated "Human beings are social animals ... I do enjoy people's company, so part of it is the social aspect". Additionally, Penny, a professor, spoke of the joy of working with students: "It's just really great being in touch with young people ... they are just fun to be with". Amongst other interviewees, there was a sense of satisfaction from being in a team that was working towards a common goal. Sasha who works part-time as an administrator but who also has ambitions to be an academic, explained that one of the reasons that the administrative job is tolerable is because of the sense of belonging to a good team: "The reason I have stuck with the job is because it is a really nice team ... even on the days where I really don't want to go to work, I get into work and there is decent people about".

However, it was two of the older male interviewees who provided narratives that particularly illustrate how the social aspects of work are important to employees in a way that is not considered by the 'differential values' theory. Both of these interviewees spoke of the perception that the social aspects of work were in decline. One of these interviewees, Bradley, works as a multi-skilled operative, and in a similar way to Sasha, appreciated a sense of team spirit at work, although was saddened by its decline. He explained that when he began work at the university "Everyone worked together, everyone was fighting for common cause. Came down [to this particular campus] after seven years and things were different for some reason and I could never understand it that people were 'Oh, it's not my job to do that' and I'm going 'But we work for the university, we do anything' ... You know, I am here to work". Another, interviewee spoke of how structural changes in the way his job was organised meant that there were now few social aspects to his work. Working as an IT technician and due to retire in a few weeks, Jim felt that his job had become increasingly isolated: "We used to go out and see the customers, the users, far more often. Used to go out, sit on the corner of the desk, fix the job and talk about the dog or their holidays or the

kids or something. Now, everything or nearly everything is done remotely and you've got that disassociation and you're talking to people that you might never meet and I find that is, that's something that is increasingly missing from the working environment, interaction with people face to face". The experiences of both Bradley and Jim suggest a real sense of loss and sadness. Bradley's narrative brings to mind a decline in the 'solidaristic' orientation outlined by Goldthorpe et al. (1968) whilst Jim's narrative suggests a form of alienation caused by isolation from other people (Marx, 1970 [1870]). Although, arguably indicative of nostalgia and a yearning for the way things used to be at work (Strangleman, 2007) or romanticised ideas of old fashioned community (Tönnies, 2001 [1887]), these narratives do, particularly in Jim's case, reflect real changes in working practice which have real impact upon people. Significantly, they also highlight how the social aspects of work are of great importance to people. Far from being a feminine concern, these social aspects were greatly valued by two older male employees, undertaking traditionally masculine work.

The 'differential values' theory suggests that being motivated to work for social reasons is integral to women's evaluations of pay satisfaction. However these interviewees' observations on the social aspects of work, appeared to be juxtaposed to their satisfaction, rather than the cause of it. David's pay satisfaction was complex, influenced by both his family circumstances and his knowledge of pay structures and inequality (discussed in section 6.7). Penny compared her pay to what other professors receive (section 5.3). Sasha and Jim both made reference to the single pay spine whilst Bradley explained how other universities pay less for similar work (section 5.16). Thus, the interviewees' evaluations of pay satisfaction were made independently of their views on the social aspects of their work.

7.6 Is 'not' valuing money linked with pay satisfaction? Evidence from the qualitative interviews

Researchers have hypothesised that women do not value money as much as men because they are financially 'provided for' by a spouse (de Vaus and McAllister, 1991). However, there is another way of conceptualising a lack of financial motivation to work that is not gender specific. It has been suggested

that because of rising living standards and material comfort, accumulating money is less important to people than it used to be (Furåker, 2012). Thus, in a similar way that Maslow (1943) defined a hierarchy of needs which prioritises physical needs over psychological ones, this theory suggests that human beings are 'freed' from worry about survival and can prioritise other human desires. It is worth noting that this theory is focussed on the concept of material need only and not notions of 'appropriate' pay. However, it is when pay satisfaction is conceptualised in relation to 'appropriate' pay that there tend to be links with the gender pay paradox. Furthermore, suggesting that material comfort is widespread is contentious given the substantial increase in non-standard and insecure employment (McGovern et al., 2004; Doogan, 2009; Office for National Statistics, 2017a) and in-work poverty (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2016), suggesting that although a rejection of materialism might exist amongst some better paid employees, it is unlikely to be a feature of the lives of the majority. In addition, all public sector employees have experienced government imposed restrictions on pay increases (Dolton et al., 2014), the impact of which is potentially greater on those with lower incomes. However, in spite of these misgivings, the idea might be of relevance to the study of the gender pay paradox. Therefore this section, using evidence from the qualitative interviews, presents data that suggests that some individuals, especially those who were young, were rejecting materialism and explores the links that this had with their pay satisfaction.

For example, Claire works in the careers department earning £30,001-£40,000, she is 36-45 years old. She is satisfied with her pay and has chosen to work four days a week since she is not "massively motivated by money". On her days off, she is involved with a women's training organisation and also teaches yoga. She described how she bought a small house which she could easily afford since "One of my horrors is seeing people that have taken on big mortgages and then become slaves and can't give up jobs that they hate, you know that fills me with horror". She is reluctant to apply for a job that is higher paid because she enjoys her job so much. She says, "The careers advisors who are on a grade 8, I mean I think that is a massively large sum of money for what they do, so and I am quite tempted to do that 'cause I can but ... sometimes I think my current grade 7 job would be, might just be more interesting and more fun". However, Claire's

non-materialist position is not straightforward because she also has "These issues around being a woman and being independent and being feminist and that kind of stuff, so doing a job that pays reasonably well ... is really important". She lives with her partner, however, it is her house and her partner pays her rent. In addition, although Claire is rejecting excessive materialism, in a way that fits with Furåker's (2012) suggestion that rising standards of living are giving people the freedom to pursue other interests, her satisfaction with her pay is also caused by her belief that her job is paid 'appropriately', she says "I get paid very well for how easy my job is, I do. I can't complain at all". In addition, having completed a PhD and working briefly as a researcher, Claire is happy that she left academia and no longer has a job requiring long working hours (discussed in section 5.12).

However, holding non-materialist views did not automatically mean that interviewees were satisfied with their pay. Bob is a technician in the engineering department and aged 36-45 years old. He describes himself as a person who enjoys a 'simple' life, saying "I'm very much of the case that when I have enough to just exist, I'm comfortable ... I don't need a great deal of money to be happy". Interested in Buddhism and mountaineering, Bob aspires to having an instrumental attitude to work, so that he can enjoy his life outside of work. However, circumstances at home mean that he is currently struggling for money. There has been a relationship breakdown that that has left him needing to buy his ex-partner's share of the mortgage. He is experiencing cash flow problems which is making him dissatisfied with his pay. Additionally, he is unhappy at work due to an ongoing and difficult organisational re-structure which is fuelling his pay dissatisfaction (discussed in section 5.13). Thus, his belief in the virtues of a 'simple' life and his rejection of materialism are currently being challenged by the realities of his situation.

A rejection of materialism could also be seen in other interviewees. Jason, an administrator, aged 26-35 years, has been promoted to a semi-managerial position. He lives with his precariously employed partner but despite his successful rise through the ranks, said "Money has never been a primary desire" (Jason's home life is discussed in section 6.8). Feeling trapped and unhappy with his current situation, he suggested that "I'd much rather go and live somewhere

in Europe with a slightly more left-leaning government and seek employment there. I know pay would be lower but I would be happier with that, just somewhere where it is a bit less capitalist than we are here at present". Similarly, Euan, who is aged 36-45 years and lives with his wife and young daughter, stated that he is not driven by material desires. He works part-time in the Student Union, as an associate lecturer and also looks after his young daughter several days a week. He spoke of his interest in environmental issues: "I have always read and been interested in environmental issues and sustainability and that sort of thing, and the idea of everybody working shorter hours and producing less is kind of like 'Yes! Why do we all need to like burn ourselves out and work full-time?' If I can manage to earn enough money and, say, work three days a week and then have time to do other things, then I would do that". Although both Jason and Euan's rejection of materialism was influential upon their attitudes to pay, they equally referred to the single pay spine, levels of pay, roles and responsibilities and the nature of the work undertaken, in order to gauge whether their own pay was satisfactory (Jason's pay satisfaction is discussed in section 5.6 and Euan's in section 5.4). Thus, although both Jason and Euan stated that they would be happy with small amounts of money, they both still consider their pay in relation to pay scales and what similar occupations receive. This idea was explored in depth in section 5.6.

A lack of interest in accumulating money was, however, not always the outcome of a high standard of living. It could also be the outcome of the seemingly insurmountable task of accumulating material possessions, specifically being able to afford a house. Leo is aged 26-35 years old and earns £20,001-£30,000 working in a department that facilitates students/business projects. He said "I think the whole mortgage situation in other countries, they tend to rent places whereas, I think, in the UK, we've got more snobbery of 'You must own your own house'. The same where parents were growing up, they paid like 16, 17 grand so it's almost like they've never really had a mortgage on today's scale. I think at the minute it's so difficult on the housing ladder ... Do you want to do that, is that your point of existence, getting a mortgage?". He concluded "I probably will save the money for it just, although probably when it gets to the point of buying, I'll probably think 'Sod it' and go round the world for a year (laughs). Yeah, you can't take money with you when you die!". Leo's department

is currently being re-structured and the process has encouraged him to look at what other staff in the university are paid. Although he is not dissatisfied with his pay, Leo thinks his job is underpaid considering the roles and responsibilities of other staff in the university. He said "I'd probably say we don't get paid enough in a comparative context, thinking about what other people do, but that's not an indication of being unhappy with that". Yet again, the social construct of the pay scales is bringing pressure to bear upon a person's idea of what is and is not appropriate pay.

Additionally, one of the older interviewees, also spoke of a rejection of materialism, although it was framed in terms of 'living within your means,' rather than in relation to seeking a better sort of life. Jim works in IT support and at the time of interview, was on a 'protected' salary. He said "I've never had a car ... I believe you live within your own means, I don't understand the mentality of borrowing up to the hilt and having to pay it back. I've never paid a penny on a credit card in my life in interest ... if I can't afford it, I will do without it and, again, that is an old fashioned attitude and it is my generation's attitude, if you like and previous generations'. It seems to have gone out the window a lot lately". Jim also evaluated his pay in relation to the pay spine and believes that, considering he is currently being paid a higher amount than the salary commensurate with the roles and responsibilities of his post, he is paid well.

This section has presented evidence that, to a degree, supports Furåker's (2012) suggestion that amongst some individuals, there is the desire to not be driven by materialism. However, the evidence presented here suggests that this is not just the preserve of those who already possess a relatively comfortable life. In addition, there was no evidence that this 'cancelled out' other ways of thinking about pay satisfaction. Instead, these existential thoughts about the purpose of money and life itself, were juxtaposed with beliefs about appropriate pay for different occupations. Even though interviewees suggested that they might be happier with less money, they were still heavily influenced by the social construction of pay scales and notions of appropriate pay for different roles and responsibilities.

7.7 Do women seek flexible employment? Is this linked to pay satisfaction? Evidence from the qualitative interviews

One interpretation of the 'differential values' theory is that women are more easily satisfied with their pay because they prioritise flexibility at work over high pay (Bender et al., 2005). However, there are many problems with this argument. First of all, as discussed in section 2.12, women's 'choices' are made within the confines of normative and structural constraints (McRae, 2003, Procter and Padfield, 1999, Gregson and Lowe, 1994). Furthermore, taking a particular course of action, is not the same as actively 'choosing' it (Yee Kan, 2007). Secondly, the use of the term 'flexibility' is confusing because it can refer to both a voluntary agreement between employer and employee such as working from home (Maxwell et al., 2007) but which, as Glauber (2011) points out, is more likely to occur in higher paid occupations. At the same time, it can also refer to a non-standard contract that has been imposed upon staff by employers, a form of employment that is often low paid and insecure (Sennett, 2006; Standing, 2011). For example, the numbers of people employed on zero hours contracts is now close to a million (Office for National Statistics, 2017a) and women are amongst those more likely to have these type of contracts (Office for National Statistics, 2017d). However, the prevalence of this type of contract has largely been driven by employers and not employee 'choices'.

In order to examine, whether women are 'choosing' flexible work over high paid work, this section presents data from the qualitative interviews on women's choices, flexible employment and pay satisfaction. Twelve of the interviewees were women and half of them had children, it is these six women and their employment choices that are considered in this section. If the 'differential values' argument that women are seeking flexibility over high pay is valid then there would need to be evidence that a) women chose their jobs on the basis of the flexibility of the job rather than other factors and b) that this increases women's pay satisfaction.

Only one of these women spoke of flexibility as a contributory factor in her choice of career. This was Sally who works as a note-taker for students with disabilities. She said "Before my kids were born, I was full-time library assistant ... and then after my daughter was born, I went back there at the weekends

'cause that fitted around my childcare and then as the kids went to nursery, I started this, just 'cause it was more flexible than going back in a full-time job. I could manage all the childcare, I didn't have to pay for childcare 'cause I could finish when I wanted to". However, as discussed in section 6.3, Sally's husband offers little in the way of practical help that would enable her to work longer hours and at the same time, Sally lacks confidence in her abilities and suffers from anxiety. Therefore, her 'choice' was clearly affected by the limitations of her situation and there have been a number of factors pushing her towards the traditional female role. Moreover, choosing to be flexible in this way, has not, as the 'differential values' theory would imply, made her satisfied with her pay. Instead, she complains about the unfairness of the hourly rate that does not cover the 'down' time between lectures.

The other female interviewees with children did not talk of choosing an occupation on the basis that it was flexible. Furthermore, their stories of how they had chosen their jobs varied widely and had little in common with each other. Jenny, the parking warden has always worked full-time, although she has changed jobs a number of times on the ad hoc basis of "I've just thought 'Oh that sounds quite good, I might try that!'". Amanda, studied catering at university, became a food technician, took a career break when her children were born, before returning to work in the same field. Anna, who works as a student adviser, had her children young, obtained a university degree as a mature student before entering the labour market. Penny, a professor, explained that becoming an academic was a natural choice. She said "I went from school to university and then did a PhD and then went into a sort of research contract". Finally, Adrianna was made redundant from her first graduate job, so re-trained for forensic science and thus became an academic. She currently works part-time, although this is a temporary arrangement whilst her children are young: "I wouldn't be part-time if it wasn't for the kids".

Thus, there was clearly no evidence that these other five female interviewees had chosen their jobs because of the flexibility they offered. With regard to pay satisfaction, none of the interviewees evaluated their pay in relation to a need for employment which 'fitted in' around childcare. Jenny, Penny and Anna all made reference to market pay referents or the pay of colleagues (discussed in

section 5.3), whilst Amanda considered her roles and responsibilities with regard to the single pay spine (section 5.6). Adrianna, was different to the others in that she held very egalitarian views about pay but then also admitted that she was constrained in her thinking by the other forces, such as pay scales or her trade union (section 5.6). Overall, the 'differential values' theory with its suggestion that women actively seek out flexible employment making them more satisfied with their pay, was therefore not supported.

7.8 Is work orientation static? Evidence from the qualitative interviews

Explanations for the gender pay paradox have suggested that satisfaction is largely formed outside of the workplace, for example it is hypothesised that women do not value money as much as men and that this is a result of their socialisation or their domestic situation (Rowe and Snizek, 1995). However, this explanation suggests that gendered characteristics are fixed and unchanging, a point of view at odds with social constructionist perspectives on gender which conceptualise masculinity and femininity as ongoing and daily constructions (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990). In addition, it disregards the role of the workplace which can impact upon work orientation. For example, it has also been suggested that orientation to work varies according to the type of work undertaken, and anyone employed in an unfulfilling job is likely to focus upon the material rewards (Loscocco, 1989; Rose, 1994). Additionally, the relationship between the individual and their workplace can develop and change over time. For example, Noorderfgaaf and Shinkel's (2011) Bourdieusian analysis of the work of academics illustrates how the working environment of academics has changed, creating a lack of fit between the traditional academic way of working and their new market-driven environment, resulting in conflict and disaffection amongst academics. This section therefore presents evidence from the qualitative interviews which suggests that work orientation is not a static and fixed attribute.

First of all, evidence from the qualitative interviews suggested that a person's orientation can change over time. For example, Jim the technician who is due to retire in a few weeks, currently works for instrumental reasons, although in previous jobs, he has worked for intrinsic satisfaction. His current job makes

little use of his skills "which means that life is extremely boring ... the amount of work has actually gone up but most of it is just a bit sausage machine.... so you have got that fatal combination of high workloads with boredom". He continues to work because "Until I can get my pension, I need the money otherwise I would have gone a long time ago". He has not always had an instrumental attitude and he spoke of some previous jobs with obvious pride: "I ended up as hardware and electronics engineer which was a brilliant job, absolutely brilliant, used to maintain the main frames ... there is six of them and all sorts of paraphernalia all the way round and one board out of there, covered in chips and whatever ... and we repaired them down to chip level, we understood those boards, how they worked down to chip level". However, his previous enthusiasm for work has now declined, due to changes in the tasks that he is undertaking but also because of a weariness with workplace re-structuring and the ensuing perception of being under-appreciated. He explained "I have had jobs that I've loved, I've had several in my time and they have always turned sour through some idiot in management imposing a ridiculous ruling or set of conditions from a position of ignorance, in my view". Clearly for Jim, the workplace has changed and the relentless pressure from re-structuring has affected his orientation to work. Asked if he was looking forward to his retirement he said "Oh just a bit! To walk away from here [mimes wiping hands], yes, I'm afraid. Had things been different, I might have considered staying on 'cause obviously you don't have to retire at 65 but I thought 'No, if I'm not appreciated I'm going and that's that'".

Although the changes in Jim's workplace have affected his orientation to work, there was no suggestion that this had affected his pay satisfaction. Instead, his pay satisfaction was affected by his perceptions of the 'value' of different tasks. Section 5.6 presented evidence that suggests that the university pay scale is deeply influential upon people's satisfaction with their pay, it is a representation of a 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]), which exerts 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) against those on low pay. The influence of this doxa can also be seen as Jim considers his pay: "I've got to sit back and look at this one. Given what I do now, I am more than well paid, given what I would like to do, I am underpaid, given what I have the skills and ability to do I am underpaid".

Secondly, evidence from the interviews suggested that what people seek to gain from their work can also change and develop over time. Jenny works as a parking warden and as discussed in section 5.10, enjoys her job, especially the autonomy and the social aspects. She says that she works "'To pay the bills' but that 'I do enjoy it, I like to meet people, to socialise really'". However, the week that Jenny was interviewed was her fiftieth birthday and this milestone had encouraged her to reflect on her working life. She wishes to "Use my brain a bit more" and although she enjoys the work, she is increasingly bored: "I do know that I can't see for the next 15 years that I have to work, doing this and just this ... sometimes you just think (sighs) I've done this that many times, because I've done this for nine years and I think, I've done it that long ... and sometimes I just want a bit of a change". Seeking fulfilment, Jenny has "Been doing a couple of courses through the union and I quite fancied going down the union route, I don't think I want to be a 'rep' yet but they have different stages that you can go through". She described the courses she took, 'Return to Learn' and 'Women's Lives' as "fabulous". Jenny's field of employment has not changed, however, she has. Reassessing her life as she matures whilst taking up opportunities offered by her trade union, is changing her outlook and encouraging her to seek more intrinsically fulfilling and satisfying work. However, in spite of the changes in Jenny and the rewards that she is seeking, her pay satisfaction is still evaluated by comparing her pay to other manual workers in the university (discussed in section 5.3) although, clearly she is also aware that many forms of employment undertaken by women are underpaid (discussed in section 5.6).

Finally, it is possible for individuals to feel differently about different aspects of their work and thus have multiple orientations. For example, Niamh who works in Estates explained how enjoyment of some aspects of her work make her intrinsically motivated: "I really, really enjoy the bits where I get to be a little bit creative and work with people to kind of work up their vision into a kind of 'space' reality, I really enjoy that". However, there are also routine aspects which "Quite frankly, I could quite happily never do again!" On the whole though, Niamh does have an intrinsic orientation to work, concluding that if she won the lottery, she "Would miss the challenge, I would miss the stimulation and I would miss being able to kind of achieve something". Niamh is not satisfied

with her pay, but this has nothing to do with her orientation to her work. Having previously worked in the private sector, earning almost double what she does now, she thinks that "Pay across the board in the university is low for what people do". She feels that "for the type and level of work that I'm doing and what I am giving to the university and the skills and experience that I am bringing, merit more". However, she accepts that the public and private sector are different and that within universities, to progress into higher paid work, it is necessary to successfully apply for a new post. However, within the "private sector, the way it worked was that if you fulfilled your role and exceeded expectations you got promoted within the job and there was also performance related pay".

Overall, the assumption underpinning the 'differential values' theory that work orientation is static and unchanging is not supported by this evidence from the qualitative interviews. Instead, the data suggests that orientation changes from job to job and can change according to the task being undertaken within each job. Furthermore, there is evidence that a person's orientation can develop and change over time.

7.9 Who works for intrinsic rewards? Evidence from the survey

Gender pay paradox research has not considered the impact that working for 'intrinsic' rewards may have on pay satisfaction. Working for intrinsic satisfaction includes finding employment a challenging or enriching experience with opportunities to grow and develop. Conversely, working for extrinsic reasons is limited to regarding work as a means to an end with satisfaction in life sought in activities outside of work (Watson, 2008). Alternatively, work may be considered as a central life interest (Morse and Weiss, 1955). Previous research suggests that intrinsic motivation is a feature of middle class or well-paid employment (Gruenberg, 1980; Link et al., 1993; Rose, 2003; Chiaburu et al., 2013). Conversely, working for extrinsic reasons is often the outcome of having an unfulfilling job (Loscocco, 1989; Rose, 1994). However, in spite of this, the 'differential values' theory has suggested that women value money less than men (Phelan, 1994), a position which implies that work orientation, including working for intrinsic or extrinsic rewards, is formed outside of the workplace and predominantly driven by gender.

In order to examine the relationship between working for intrinsic reasons and pay satisfaction, this section presents data from the survey outlining who works for intrinsic rewards. Participants were asked if they worked for 'enjoyment of the work itself,' 'fulfilment or self-esteem' and whether or not they would continue working if they won the lottery (Appendix 1, Questions 6 and 8). This data is presented in Tables 7.10 and 7.11 and overall, suggests that there was little difference in the proportions of men and women who worked for intrinsic rewards or who considered work as a central life interest. However, there were much stronger and consistent differences between occupational and salary groups. Academics, researchers and higher paid staff were all more likely to work for intrinsic reasons or to consider work as a central life interest. This supports evidence that suggests that those who work in higher grade jobs are more likely to have intrinsic orientations to work than those who work in lower grade jobs (Gruenberg, 1980; Link et al., 1993; Rose, 2003; Chiaburu et al., 2013) and also mirrors findings from early studies on the centrality of work in people's lives which suggests variations by occupational group (Morse and Weiss, 1955; Orzack, 1959).

Table 7.10 Who works for enjoyment of the work or fulfilment/self esteem? Gender, occupational group, type of employment, salary group: Chi Square and Cramer's V/Phi

	Enjoyment of the work itself		Fulfilment/self-esteem	
Whole sample (%)	50.5	n = 731	53.4	n = 731
Male (%)	48.3	n = 716	50.0	n = 713
Female (%)	51.6	0.474	55.2	0.185
Administrative (%)	32.1	n = 730 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.358	44.4	n = 730 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.243
Academic (%)	66.4		65.6	
Technical (%)	42.4		37.3	
Manual (%)	17.6		26.5	
Research (%)	73.7		64.5	
Other (%)	59.3		55.9	
Full-time (%)	50.7	n = 718	52.9	n = 718
Part-time (%)	50.6	0.982	55.6	
<i>Full-time only</i>				
£20,000 or less (%)	26.2	n = 551 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.286	26.2	n = 551 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.295
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	39.3		41.7	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	67.1		67.9	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	56.6		60.2	
£50,001 or more (%)	63.1		67.7	
£30,000 or less (%)	35.6	n = 551 0.000	37.3	n = 551 0.000
£30,001 or more (%)	62.6	Phi = -0.266	65.1	Phi = -0.275
£40,000 or less (%)	47.5	n = 551 0.011 Phi = -0.108	48.8	n = 551 0.002 Phi = -0.132
£40,001 or more (%)	59.0		62.9	

Table 7.11 'If you were to win the lottery would you continue with your job at the university?' Gender, occupational group, type of employment and salary: Chi Square and Cramer's V

	Yes	Yes, but not as many hours	No	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	14.1	38.3	47.7	n = 724
Male (%)	18.8	35.4	45.8	n = 705 0.026 Cramer's V = 0.102
Female (%)	11.4	40.0	48.6	
Administrative (%)	10.0	29.6	60.4	n = 723 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.206
Academic (%)	16.1	48.8	35.1	
Technical (%)	10.7	33.9	55.4	
Manual (%)	5.9	14.7	79.4	
Research (%)	25.0	46.1	28.9	
Other (%)	16.9	39	44.1	
Full-time (%)	13.6	42.0	44.4	n = 710 0.001 Cramer's V = 0.140
Part-time (%)	14.4	26.3	59.4	
<i>Full-time only</i>				
£20,000 or less (%)	7.7	35.5	56.9	n = 545 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.176
£20,001-£30,000 (%)	10.8	32.9	56.3	
£30,001-£40,000 (%)	14.7	57.4	27.9	
£40,001-£50,000 (%)	16.1	40.2	43.8	
£50,001 or more (%)	20.0	43.1	36.9	
£30,000 or less	9.9	33.6	56.5	n = 545 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.210
£30,001 or more	16.3	48.2	45.5	
£40,000 or less	11.7	42.4	45.9	n = 545 0.164
£40,001 or more	17.5	41.2	41.2	

7.10 Does working for intrinsic or extrinsic reward link with pay satisfaction? Evidence from the survey

Evidence presented in section 7.9 suggested that whilst there was very little difference in the proportions of men and women who worked for intrinsic rewards or who had work as a central life interest, there was considerable difference by occupational and salary groups. Working for intrinsic rewards and having work as a central life interest was more commonly seen amongst the well paid. This section presents evidence from the survey regarding the relationship between working for intrinsic rewards and pay satisfaction.

Overall, the data suggested that pay satisfaction is higher amongst those who worked for enjoyment or fulfilment/self-esteem and amongst those who had work as a central life interest (Table 7.12-7.16). This was particularly visible in the standard of living question and was not specific to any particular group. It was visible amongst both men and women (Tables 7.17-7.19a, Figures 7.5-7.11). It was also visible amongst a range of occupational and salary groups. However, this analysis provides no insight into why women or lower paid employees are more satisfied with their pay. Indeed, the high levels of intrinsic work motivation amongst higher paid staff suggest a further layer of 'paradox.' Clearly, being employed in higher paid work offers the reward of greater remuneration but it also offers greater intrinsic reward, and yet people employed in these jobs are more likely to report dissatisfaction with their pay.

The subsequent section examines evidence from the qualitative interviews concerning the extent to which interviewees regarded their work as part of their identity.

Table 7.12 Work for enjoyment of the work itself by pay satisfaction: Chi Square and Cramer's V

Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Yes	9.3	33.9	51.9	4.9		n = 723 0.076
No	11.8	31.4	47.6	9.2		
Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Yes	16.3	36.1	43.8	3.8	0	n = 726 0.057
No	14.0	31.8	46.1	8.1	0	
Pay satisfaction in relation to your standard of living						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Yes	5.4	19.0	32.2	33.6	9.8	n = 730 0.003 Cramer's V = 0.148
No	8.0	28.3	32.4	25.2	6.1	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Yes	13.1	28.9	26.2	21.3	10.6	n = 729 0.500
No	11.9	25.4	32.0	19.9	10.8	

Table 7.13 Work for fulfilment or self-esteem by pay satisfaction: Chi Square and Cramer's V

Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Yes	7.6	31.8	54.4	6.3		n = 723 0.010 Cramer's V = 0.125
No	13.9	33.6	44.5	8.0		
Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Yes	13.1	35.3	45.9	5.7	0	n = 726 0.409
No	17.5	32.5	43.8	6.2	0	
Pay satisfaction in relation to your standard of living						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Yes	2.8	20.1	33.2	35.5	8.5	n = 730 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.215
No	11.1	27.6	31.4	22.6	7.3	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Yes	10.6	26.0	29.6	23.2	10.6	n = 729 0.223
No	14.7	28.4	28.4	17.6	10.9	

Table 7.14 'If you were to win the lottery would you continue with your job at the university?' by pay satisfaction: Chi Square and Cramer's V

Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Yes	12.7	23.5	55.9		7.8	n = 716 p ≤ 0.517
Yes, but not as many hours	8.8	34.7	49.6		6.9	
No	10.9	33.2	48.8		7.1	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Yes	15.7	30.4	48.0	5.9	0	n = 719 p ≤ 0.645
Yes, but not as many hours	17.2	35.9	41.0	5.9	0	
No	13.1	33.1	47.7	6.1	0	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Yes	5.9	19.6	27.5	33.3	13.7	n = 722 p ≤ 0.001 Cramer's V = 0.134
Yes, but not as many hours	4.0	19.6	34.1	35.1	7.2	
No	9.3	28.2	32.3	23.5	6.7	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive?						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Yes	13.7	19.6	30.4	23.5	12.7	n = 721 p ≤ 0.551
Yes, but not as many hours	11.3	29.8	25.8	22.2	10.9	
No	13.1	27.0	31.1	18.6	10.2	

Table 7.15 Work for enjoyment of the work itself/fulfilment or self esteem by pay satisfaction: Mean Ranks

	Enjoyment of the work itself		fulfilment or self-esteem	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do				
Yes	366	359.54	384	376.35
No	357	364.53	339	345.74
Mann Whitney U p value	0.726		0.032	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed				
Yes	368	348.16	388	368.68
No	358	379.27	338	357.55
Mann Whitney U p value	0.037		0.444	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living				
Yes	369	394.85	389	400.41
No	361	335.50	341	325.68
Mann Whitney U p value	0.000		0.000	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid				
Yes	367	360.40	388	378.36
no	362	369.67	341	349.80
Mann Whitney U p value	0.541		0.060	

Table 7.16 'If you were to win the lottery would you continue with your job at the university?' by pay satisfaction: Mean Ranks

	n	Mean Rank
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Yes	102	375.52
Yes, but not as many hours	274	358.47
No	340	353.42
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.716	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Yes	102	366.43
Yes, but not as many hours	273	343.73
No	344	371.01
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.205	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Yes	102	402.21
Yes, but not as many hours	276	389.11
No	344	327.28
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.000	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Yes	102	382.50
Yes, but not as many hours	275	362.55
No	344	353.39
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.437	

Table 7.17 Work for enjoyment of the work itself by pay satisfaction amongst males and females: Chi Square, Mann Whitney U p values and Cramer's V

	Males	Females
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Chi Square	0.028 Cramer's V = 0.198	0.256
Mann Whitney U	0.364	0.177
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Chi Square	0.145	0.035 Cramer's V = 0.136
Mann Whitney U	0.794	0.005
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Chi Square	0.086	0.056
Mann Whitney U	0.010	0.003
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Chi Square	0.847	0.758
Mann Whitney U	0.933	0.441

Figure 7.5 Work for enjoyment of the work itself by perceptions of occupational pay considering the nature of what you do amongst men (n = 244, p ≤ 0.028, Cramer's V = 0.198)

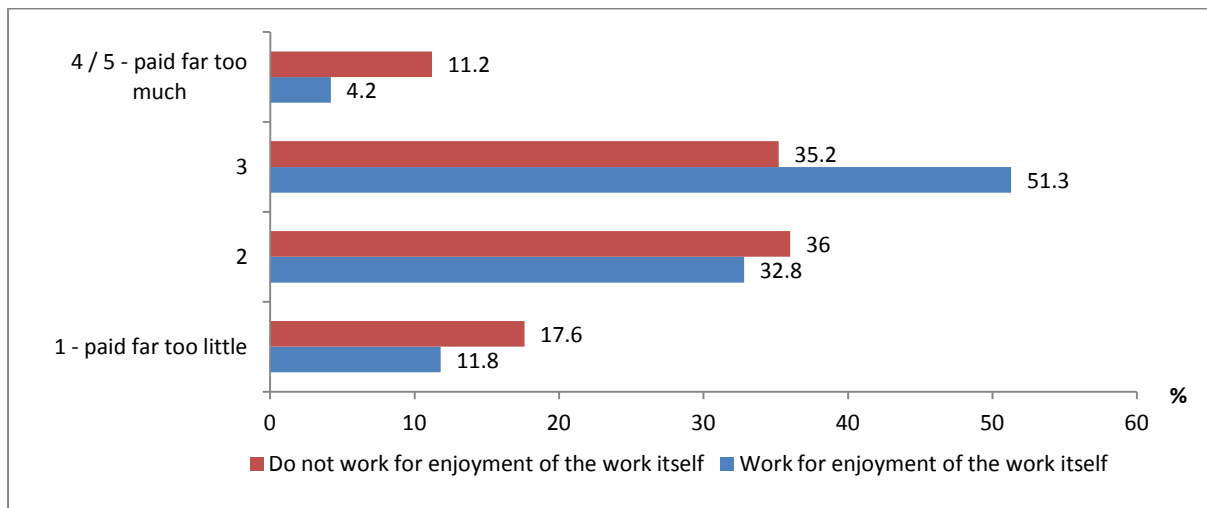


Figure 7.6 Work for enjoyment of the work itself by perceptions of occupational pay considering the skills/training needed amongst women (n = 465, p ≤ 0.035, Cramer's V = 0.136)

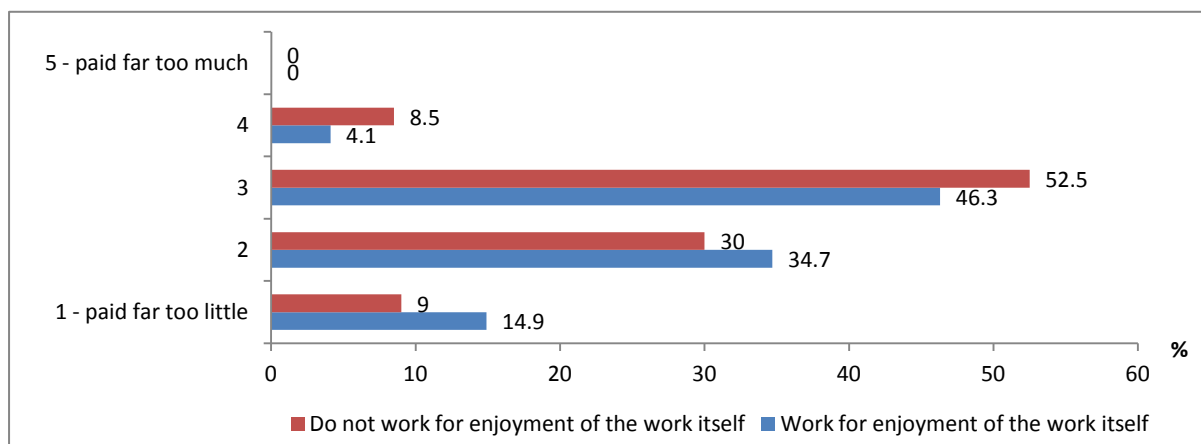


Table 7.17a Work for enjoyment of the work by pay satisfaction amongst males and females: Mean Ranks

	Men		Women			
	Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills and training needed		Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Work for enjoyment of work	119	133.44	242	217.72	242	252.30
Do not work for enjoyment of work	124	111.02	223	249.58	227	216.56
Mann Whitney U p value	0.010		0.005		0.003	

Table 7.18 Work for fulfilment/self-esteem by pay satisfaction amongst males and females: Chi Square, Mann Whitney U p values and Cramer's V

	Males	Females
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Chi Square	0.017 Cramer's V = 0.204	0.326
Mann Whitney U	0.074	0.209
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Chi Square	0.432	0.860
Mann Whitney U	0.287	0.913
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Chi Square	0.001 Cramer's V = 0.283	0.007 Cramer's V = 0.173
Mann Whitney U	0.000	0.002
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Chi Square	0.241	0.775
Mann Whitney U	0.050	0.508

Figure 7.7 Work for fulfilment/self-esteem by perceptions of occupational pay considering the nature of what you do amongst men (n = 244, p ≤ 0.017, Cramer's V = 0.204)

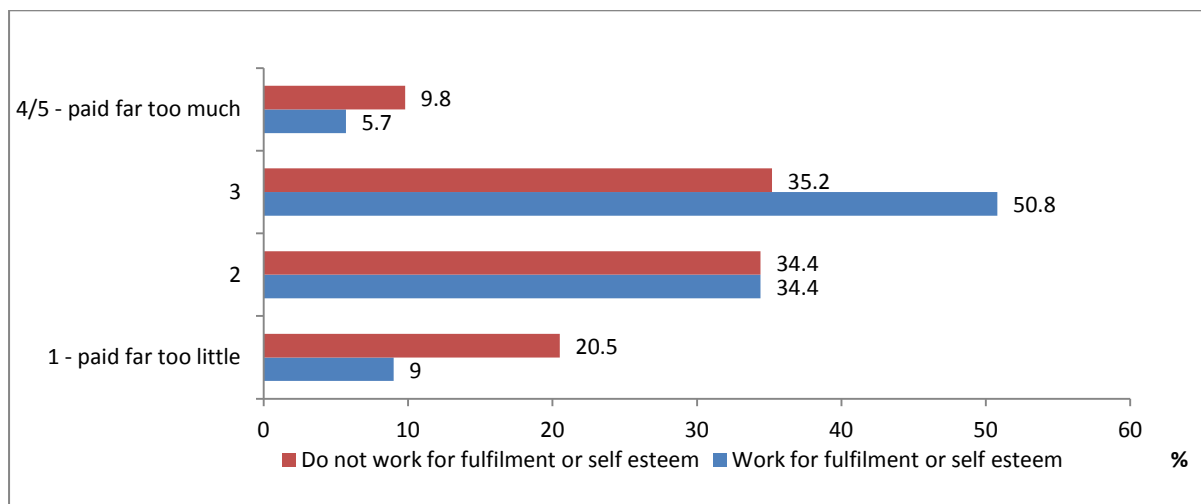


Figure 7.8 Work for fulfilment/self-esteem by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst men (n = 243, p ≤ 0.001, Cramer's V = 0.283)

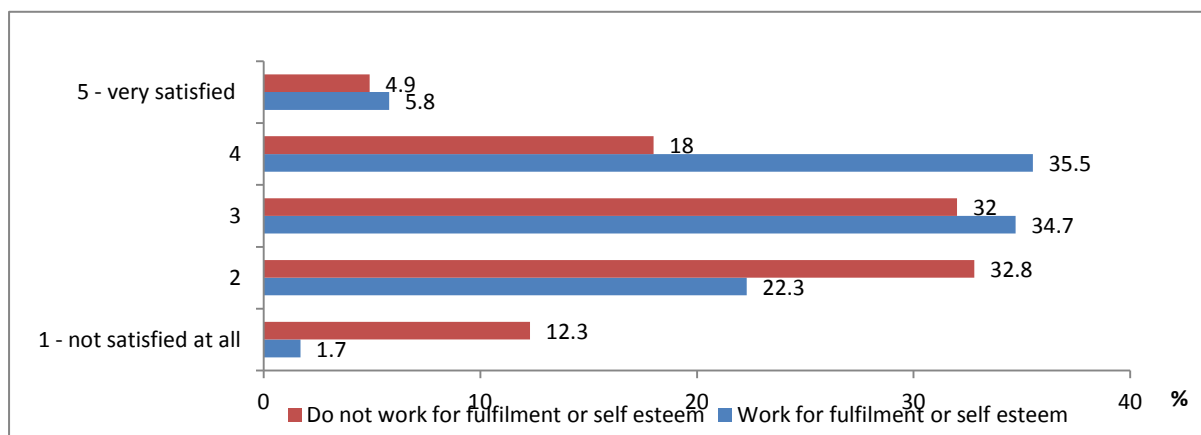


Figure 7.9 Work for fulfilment/self-esteem by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst women (n = 469, p ≤ 0.007, Cramer's V = 0.173)

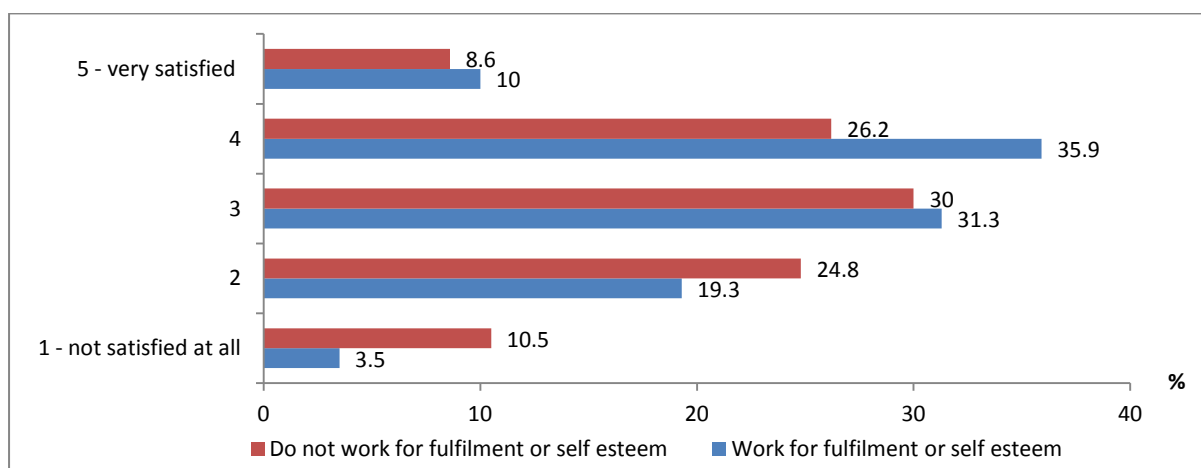


Table 7.18a Work for fulfilment/self-esteem by satisfaction with pay in relation to standard of living amongst males and females: Mean Ranks

	Males		Females	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Work for fulfilment/self-esteem	121	138.99	259	251.89
Do not work for fulfilment/self-esteem	122	105.15	210	214.17
Mann Whitney U p value	0.000		0.002	

Table 7.19 'If you were to win the lottery would you continue to work at the university?' by pay satisfaction amongst males and females: Chi Square and Kruskal Wallis H p values, Cramer's V

	Males	Females
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Chi Square	0.882	0.263
Kruskall Wallis H	0.836	0.079
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Chi Square	0.891	0.237
Kruskall Wallis H	0.712	0.074
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Chi Square	0.035	0.000
	Cramer's V = 0.186	Cramer's V = 0.174
Kruskall Wallis H	0.071	0.000
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Chi Square	0.478	0.106
Kruskall Wallis H	0.661	0.067

Figure 7.10 'If you were to win the lottery would you continue to work at the university?' by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst males (n = 239, p ≤ 0.035, Cramer's V = 0.186)

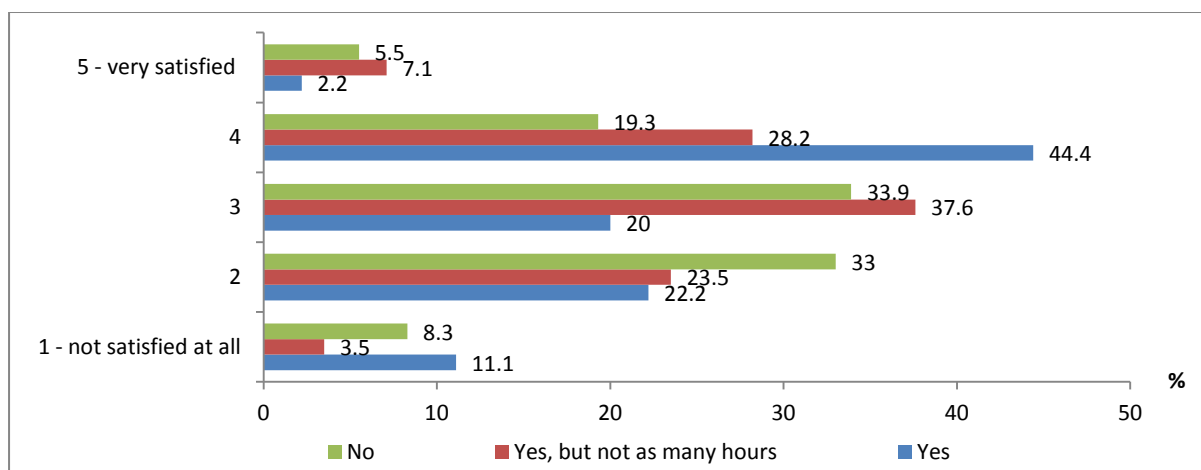


Figure 7.11 'If you were to win the lottery would you continue to work at the university?' by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst females (n = 465, p ≤ 0.000, Cramer's V = 0.174)

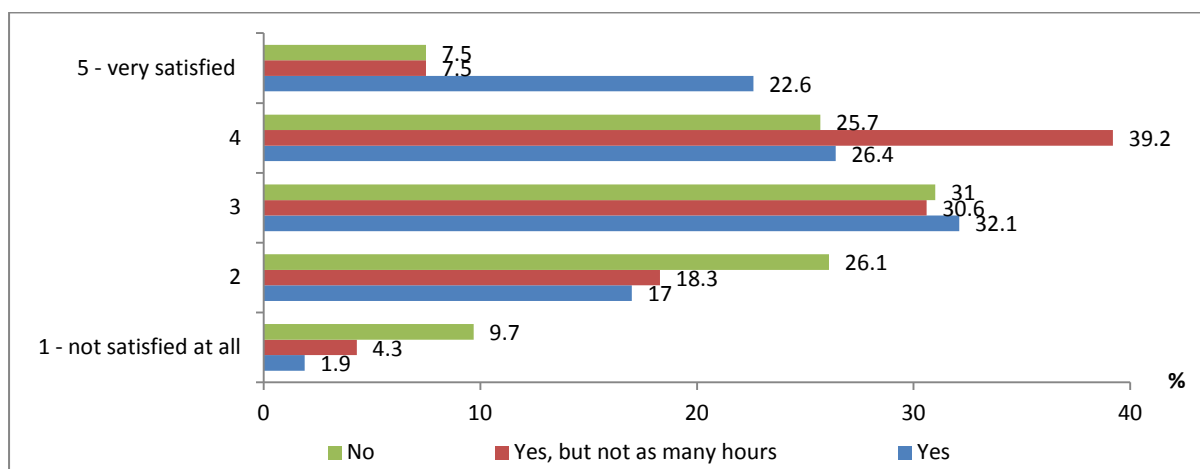


Table 7.19a 'If you were to win the lottery, would you continue to work at the university?' by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst females: Mean Ranks

	n	Mean Rank
Yes	53	273.21
Yes, but not as many hours	186	249.53
No	226	209.97
Mann Whitney U p value	0.000	

7.11 Work, identity and intrinsic satisfaction: Evidence from the qualitative interviews

The survey data clearly suggested that working for intrinsic satisfaction or having work as a central interest in life tended to be a feature of higher paid work. Furthermore, this tended to be associated with higher pay satisfaction in relation to participants' standard of living. The qualitative data suggested a similar difference in the work orientations of professional and support staff. This section presents these findings and examines interviewees' reflections on the centrality of work in their lives and any connections that this has with their pay satisfaction. This section also discusses why higher paid and professional employees tend to have greater intrinsic motivation than lower paid employees.

Interviewees who were either relatively higher paid or who had professional roles tended to explain that they worked for intrinsic rewards or that work was a

central interest for them. For example George, a researcher said "The thought of retiring early fills me with total horror ... I hate DIY and I hate gardening ... I like putting 'electronicky' things together and I work with chromatography systems ... but something like putting shelves up or mowing the lawn, I absolutely hate and I can feel myself, when I'm doing these jobs, getting more and more in a bad mood with it ... so I come to work because I am doing the stuff, I'm doing the things, the activities that I really enjoy doing". Amy, who is also a researcher, suggested that by doing this type of work for a number of years, it has become part of her identity: "I come to work because that is what I am now, I am this person that does research, that is what I do".

In addition, academic interviewees tended to speak of their employment as much more important than just a means of earning money. For example, Anthony who worked in a variety of short term activities before becoming an academic, explained that he felt the need to have "A career with a capital C where I could identify a set of achievements and contributions". Andrew, the medical academic spoke of his family background and explained that "It was kind of assumed that I would do or write or whatever, you know would find a niche or a field and do alright in it". Thus employment to these two interviewees was conceptualised as more than just a means to an end. It was connected to the idea of an acceptable pathway, of having a 'position' in the world and in addition, there is an allusion to status, recognition and achievement. Indeed, some of the professional interviewees, when asked 'why do you come to work?' were incredulous and amused that a researcher should ask such a question. Anthony laughed and said "Why do I come to work? Well I get up in the morning and I need to do something don't I? I suppose, I mean, I suppose I could stay in bed!" whilst David, the senior manager responded "What at all? Why wouldn't I just be on benefits or something like that?". Similarly, Lena, an academic greeted the question with incredulous laughter and retorted "Why do I come to work!". Thus, amongst higher paid and professional staff, work clearly had a much greater significance than the financial reward. It's value was also linked to their enjoyment of the job as well as their sense of achievement, their sense of worth and their role in life.

Amongst interviewees who worked in either lower paid or non-academic roles, there was often resistance to the idea of work being so entwined with identity. Anna who works as a student advisor said "I don't want work to ever be my defining characteristic, I don't ... when people say 'what do you do?' they mean what do you do as a job don't they? And sometimes it would be nice ... it's separate and I am me". Gill, who works as an administrator is clear that her identity is not linked to her job. With a degree in Art and Creative Writing, she works to support herself whilst using her spare time to pursue her creative activities. However, being an impoverished artist is not an identity she craves either: "I don't want to be a poor artist. I prefer to have a day job and just do my thing in the evening". Work undertaken by women, such as administration or which involves traditional 'feminine' skills of nurture and care is often held in low esteem (Cotter et al., 2003), whilst the female dominance of these occupations reinforces the view that they are an inferior sort of job (Steinberg, 1990). It is therefore not surprising that Anna and Gill both wanted to create distance between themselves and their relatively low status work, arguing that work was not a central part of their identity.

In addition, interviewees who worked in support roles often conceptualised their work orientation, as well as their own sense of worth, as arising from belief in a work ethic. It was considered morally right to support oneself. For example, Jim, the IT technician stated "It is expected, when you are brought up, it is expected you will get out there, find a job and pay your way ...it came from my father, I suppose. Basically, if I ever, I hadn't had a job he would have kicked me out the front door. You can't expect the whole world to look after you, you look after yourself and you look after the people around you ... we can't all sponge or anything like that". Similarly, Jenny, the parking warden stated that she works because "You have to [laughs] I don't know if it's bred into you, you have to do something ... I think it's what you learn, that is what you've got to do".

Others articulated their work motivation as the need to be occupied, rather than as a central life interest, for example, Bradley a multi skilled operative said "I was saying to someone the other day, basically when the lotto was £126,000,000 or whatever it was, I said if I ever won that I wouldn't know what to do with it and I have to work, I couldn't not work because I have worked all

my life even when I was unemployed. I worked harder when I was bloomin' unemployed than when I was working full-time [laughs]. My mother had a list of the old dears and stuff. 'Oh he's not working, he'll decorate your house!' What?! 'Oh he'll go the shops, he'll run you to London, he'll do this, he'll do that' (laughs). So I couldn't not work and I enjoy that". Leo, the young worker in the student/business project unit suggests that working gives him a purpose which he might lack otherwise, thinking of the impact of a lottery win he said "Whether I'd work as much I don't know, but I think I would still need that, some sort of purpose to, to do something".

These findings are significant for a number of reasons. First of all, the qualitative data clearly supports the survey findings which suggest that working for intrinsic rewards is more likely to be a feature of well paid or professional employment. This also supports previous research (Gruenberg, 1980; Link et al., 1993; Rose, 2003; Chiaburu et al., 2013). In addition, it suggests that the centrality of work to higher paid and professional employees was more than just interest or enjoyment of the work, it was also linked to ideas of achievement, value and status.

Secondly, although scholars of the labour market have noted that work is becoming increasingly insecure and precarious (Sennett, 2006; Standing, 2011) and that these changes in the labour market affect how 'central' work is to an individual's identity (Bauman, 2005; Ransome, 2005), these findings very much reflect early studies of work centrality conducted in the 1950s, that centrality varies accorded to occupational group. Early studies suggested that amongst lower paid industrial workers, work was less likely to be a central interest (Dubin, 1956) whilst amongst professionals it was more likely to be a central interest (Orzack, 1959). Thus, the qualitative data presented in this chapter does not suggest evidence of the declining importance of work to individuals.

Thirdly, irrespective of whether work was a central interest to interviewees, there was little connection made with pay satisfaction. George compared his pay to school teachers and his previous job in industry (discussed in sections 5.3 and 5.4), Amy compared her pay to her mother's: "I think my wage is comparable to my mum's and she is a really senior nurse with a hell of a lot of responsibility and in that respect, I think I am paid quite well for what I do," although at the

same time, she worried that she was reaching the ceiling of pay for a researcher. Anna compared her pay to those doing similar work for a different employer (section 5.3). Gill, in contrast, expressed unhappiness with her pay, in the main because her pay is too low to cover her basic needs (section 6.8). In addition, Jim considered his pay in relation to the single pay spine but also spoke of his own skills (section 7.8), Jenny compared her pay to other manual staff (section 5.3) and Bradley compared his pay to similar staff working at other universities (section 5.16). Anthony made reference to the single pay spine but also pondered the nature of pay satisfaction: "What does enough mean? Enough to have a reasonably comfortable life according to the standards that I am used to ...[or]... enough in terms of questions of equity?". David's evaluation of his pay was complex, influenced by both his family circumstances and his knowledge of his privileged position, whilst Lena thought of her pay in terms of her need to support both herself and her partner who does not work (Lena and David are discussed in section 6.8). She also made reference to the pay of academics in her homeland, noting that "I think it's much better [than] my colleagues get paid in Poland".

Finally, this section notes that evidence was found which suggests that some interviewees wished to undertake work which, would not just support themselves, but would also have a positive impact on the world (Karlsson, 2012). Like other aspects of intrinsic orientation to work, this form of work motivation has not been considered by paradox researchers. A wide ranging group of interviewees noted that they were motivated by altruistic concerns, for example, Jason, an administrator in Student Support, said "Doing something for the public good has always been important to me". Anthony, the academic stated "It might sound a bit pious ... but I hope that, that my time I have on earth is used somehow productively to improve conditions for other people". Similarly, Adrianna, the academic currently working part-time said "The reason I got into forensic science, actually, was because I wanted to use science in a way that was helpful to you know, the wider community, it's helpful to society that people are able to analyse evidence and potentially convict or not convict people". Finally, Bradley, the multi skilled operative believed that his job at the university is worthwhile "You are actually doing some good, you know. Hopefully, the students come in and learn something and go out a better person,

in all walks, not just academically but also they are grown up ... and any interaction I have with them, make them think a bit more about life rather than just about the academic side of it".

However, again there was no pattern with regard to pay satisfaction. Anthony's and Bradley's satisfaction is described above. Adrianna has egalitarian beliefs about how much the different occupations should be paid but is also influenced by peer pressure and trade unions (section 5.6) and although Jason spoke of his desire for worthwhile employment rather than increasing the level of his pay (section 7.6), he also considered pay in terms of the single pay spine (section 5.6). Therefore, this research suggests that examining whether people have altruistic motivations to work provides no insight into the gender pay paradox.

7.12 Conclusions: Is work orientation connected to pay satisfaction?

This chapter has presented evidence that does not support the 'differential values' theory. This explanation for the gender pay paradox suggests that women are more satisfied because they do not value money as much as men (Phelan, 1994). Evidence from the survey clearly suggests that women are no less likely to go to work for financial reasons than men. Thus women were no less likely than men to state that they were working for 'essential items', working for 'luxury items', working for money for 'myself' or working for money for 'my family'. Indeed, the evidence suggested, that men were actually slightly less likely to work for money than women.

There are three ways in which the 'differential values' explanation can be interpreted and this research challenges the theory in all of these interpretations. Firstly, the socialisation interpretation suggests that women and men have different natures or characteristics, as a result of their upbringings (Rowe and Snizek, 1995). However this conceptualises work orientation as a static and unchanging feature of individuals. This was not supported by the qualitative data which suggested that people's orientations to work can change both as a consequence of occupational changes or because of individual development. In addition, orientation to work can vary according to the tasks that are being undertaken within one job.

Secondly, the breadwinner interpretation of the 'differential values' theory hypothesises that women are more likely to be secondary breadwinners and therefore they are more likely to work for 'pin money' (de Vaus and McAllister, 1991). However, the survey data suggested that women were no less likely than men to work for 'essential items' and no more likely to work 'luxury items'. Women who worked for luxury items were more satisfied with all dimensions of pay satisfaction, however this was also true of other groups, such as full-time staff and those who earned £30,001-£40,000. Additionally, the survey data suggested that women were more likely than men to state that they worked for social reasons, and furthermore that those who worked for social reasons tended to be more satisfied. However, this increase in satisfaction was mainly seen on the 'standard of living' question which, as explained in Chapter 4, differs from the other three pay satisfaction questions because it tends to *not* show 'paradoxical' patterns of satisfaction. This increase in satisfaction therefore, cannot be used to explain the gender pay paradox. Additionally, evidence from the qualitative interviews challenged the assumption that the 'social aspects' of work are only important to women and presented a range of evidence showing that they were important to a variety of employees.

The third interpretation of the theory suggests that women choose to work in jobs which are 'flexible' in order to accommodate their childcare and domestic responsibilities (Bender et al., 2005) however, this was not evidenced by the data. Six of the qualitative interviewees were women with children, however of these, only one made reference to the concept of 'flexible' working. Moreover, this interviewee was not 'paradoxically' satisfied, instead she was dissatisfied with the terms and conditions of her employment.

Furåker (2012) suggested that there are links between material satisfaction and not valuing money. Qualitative data was presented which examined the connections between material comfort and pay satisfaction. Conceptualising the value of money in this way has not been considered by paradox research which has been restricted to considering 'differences' between men and women. However, although this research found evidence that some interviewees were not materialistic, there was no evidence of a connection between this characteristic and their levels of pay satisfaction.

Finally, this chapter presented quantitative and qualitative evidence on the relationship between working for intrinsic rewards and pay satisfaction. The survey data suggested that there were large differences in the proportions of higher paid and lower paid staff who worked for either 'enjoyment', 'fulfilment', or for whom work was a central interest. In addition, those that worked for intrinsic rewards tended to be more satisfied with their 'standard of living'. However, this analysis provided no explanation for the gender pay paradox. The qualitative data also supported the suggestion that intrinsic work motivation is more likely to occur amongst well paid or professional employees and found little connection with pay satisfaction.

Thus overall, analysis of both the quantitative and qualitative elements of the research found no support for the 'differential values' theory. There was no evidence that women were less likely to work for money than men, or convincing evidence that their work motivation could explain the gender pay paradox. Additionally, there was clearly evidence, that different groups, in particular the more highly paid and the less well paid, viewed their work in different ways. However, this appeared to be linked to the type or nature of occupation held rather than it being a gendered characteristic.

CHAPTER 8 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary of the research

Research on the 'paradox of the contented female worker' has suggested that although women generally earn less than men, their pay satisfaction is, at least equal to, and often greater than men's (for example, Crosby, 1982; Phelan, 1994; Clark, 1997; Buchanan, 2005). If, as standard utilitarian economics suggests, it is believed that satisfaction or 'utility' increases commensurate with pay (Jones and Sloan, 2007), then high satisfaction with low pay can be regarded as 'paradoxical'. However, thinking of pay satisfaction in this way is limited because satisfaction may also be influenced by the desire for balance between what an individual thinks they should receive and what they, in reality, do receive. Thus, pay satisfaction also includes the idea of fairness or 'justice' (Lawler, 1971, 1981). In addition, pay satisfaction may be influenced by 'material' need and some individuals may 'need' more money than others, for example because of the number of dependents that they have (Jasso and Rossi, 1977; Alves and Rossi, 1978). Furthermore, pay satisfaction may also be considered as a relative concept and thus satisfaction depends on with whom comparisons are made and is variable relative to the point of reference (Crosby, 1982). Indeed, explanations for the paradox have often drawn upon these ideas, for example, referring to perceived equity between women's 'input' and pay, the equity between women's low expectations and what they receive in payment, women's tendency to compare themselves to other women, and finally, women's low material need in comparison to men.

This thesis has argued that research on this subject has problematically defined women as 'paradoxical' (Crosby, 1982) and assumed that women's behaviour needed explanation whilst that of men's did not (Phelan, 1994; McDuff, 1991; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; Buchanan, 2005). Thus women, as has often been the case in academic research, were compared to the normative male (Feldberg and Glenn, 1970) and categorised as 'paradoxical'. Furthermore, women's 'difference' to men has been central to attempts at explaining this 'paradoxical' discrepancy between levels of pay and satisfaction. Indeed, explanations for the paradox (Phelan, 1994) have largely reflected a dominant discourse that implicitly suggests that women are self-evidently 'different' to men either

because of their 'natures,' their socialisation, or because of their domestic and maternal responsibilities. There is a further problem with the approach adopted because this focus on women as the 'cause' of the gender pay paradox has also diverted attention away from the effect that the workplace may have on pay satisfaction. It has also distracted from the observation that the gender pay paradox is particularly a feature of low paid employment (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009).

This problematic ontological position has been compounded by positivist data collection and analytical techniques that are both 'top down' and quantitative. Positivism, feminist scholars have argued, ensures that the researcher has control over the way that issues are conceptualised which are then imposed upon participants (Yeatman, 1994) and neglects the perceptions of those being researched (Reinharz, 1992). In the case of the gender pay paradox, scant attention has been paid to participants' narratives of how pay satisfaction is evaluated. Constrained by the narrow focus of their research tools, the data collected and analysed has not challenged paradox researchers' belief that this is an issue of women and their employment alone (discussed in sections 2.2-2.9).

A critical review of the literature clearly suggested a need for a feminist study of the subject which did not automatically define women as either 'paradoxical' or 'different' to normative men. The research presented in this thesis adopted an alternative approach to previous studies. A social constructionist perspective was utilised where gender and gender roles, work and pay were not considered as simple or straightforward 'facts' but rather as social constructs which are fluid and changeable. In addition, in order to understand the complexities of the nature of the gender pay paradox, views on different dimensions of pay satisfaction were collected and analysed separately from each other. A mixed method approach was adopted, a quantitative element included a bespoke questionnaire which addressed the workplace, home lives and orientation to work. This was complemented by qualitative interviews which enabled participants to consider and speak of their attitudes to pay and work in a way that was meaningful to them. The scope of the research was wide ranging to ensure that the project was not narrowly focussed on gender alone. The qualitative interviews in particular, were designed to allow participants to discuss

the issues that were of importance to them rather than being restricted by parameters imposed by the researcher. The subsequent analysis was inductive, analytical ideas and themes developed out of the data. The quantitative analysis employed a range of descriptive statistics to provide an overview of the data whilst the interview analysis was both thematic and narrative based.

The research focussed on exploring five key research questions

1. Is there current evidence for the gender pay paradox?
2. Is this evidence (or lack of it) consistent for different dimensions of pay satisfaction?
3. Is this evidence (or lack of it) consistent across occupational groups, salary groups and part-time/full-time employees?
- 4: If the paradox still exists, is there evidence to support the theories that have been proposed?
- 5: Is there evidence to suggest alternative explanations for gender differences in pay satisfaction?

A number of key findings emerged. First of all, survey data did suggest evidence of the gender pay paradox, however, it was also noted that women were not the only group to present 'paradoxical' patterns. This is significant and suggests that 'paradoxically' high satisfaction is not necessarily driven by gender (discussed in section 8.2). Secondly, the paradox did not occur on all dimensions of pay satisfaction, specifically the 'standard of living' question, which referred to material need, tended to not show paradoxical patterns. Thus, this research identified details of the nature of the gender pay paradox (section 8.3). Thirdly, the evidence suggests that beliefs about the 'value' of occupations contribute towards perceptions of what is 'appropriate' pay for different occupations and that this influences evaluations of pay satisfaction (section 8.4). Fourthly, the level of autonomy experienced at work appears to contribute to the level of satisfaction expressed; this finding helps to explain why higher paid groups are often more dissatisfied with their pay than lower paid groups (section 8.5). Fifthly, although several of the previous explanations for the paradox have emphasised women's maternal role, there was no evidence to suggest that this was the case. Nor was there evidence to support any of the four explanations for the gender pay paradox (sections 8.6, 8.7).

8.2 Women are not the only group to present 'paradoxical' patterns of satisfaction

Researchers have paid little attention to the 'paradoxical' pay satisfaction of low paid workers or the fact that higher paid workers are not necessarily more satisfied than lower paid ones (Judge et al., 2010). In addition, the knowledge that the gender pay paradox more commonly occurs amongst lower paid occupations (Varca et al., 1983; Graham and Welbourne, 1999; Smith, 2009) has not prevented the discourse on satisfaction levels being focussed on gender differences alone. However, the findings of this research clearly demonstrate that paradoxical patterns of satisfaction are not unique to women. Chapter 4 sets out evidence suggesting that lower paid workers were often more satisfied than higher paid ones. Additionally, administrative, technical staff, manual workers and 'other' (see section 3.6 for a description of which staff the 'other' group comprised of) also tended to be more satisfied than researchers and academics. Significantly, the research also suggested that when men and women are paid similar amounts of money or work in similar occupational groups, there is no difference in their levels of satisfaction. Thus, the evidence clearly suggests that paradoxical patterns of satisfaction are not a feature of women's employment alone. Thus, although, it may 'appear' that satisfaction differences are the outcome of gendered differences alone, the gender pay paradox is likely to be a reflection of the way that men and women tend to cluster into higher paid and lower paid occupations with patterns of satisfaction arising, not from gender, but from issues relating to occupational group and/or grade. Therefore, defining the gender pay paradox as an issue of women, is a flawed conceptualisation. Instead, it is an issue of low paid employment, albeit with the acknowledgement that low paid employment is often dominated by women.

8.3 The pay paradox does not occur on all dimensions of pay satisfaction

Previous research into the paradox has measured the phenomenon using only one quantitative measure of pay satisfaction. This single measure has derived from either one question about pay or one overall variable calculated from several aspects of pay. This research adopted a different approach and asked

four separate questions about pay and tested for the pay paradox on all of them. Two of the questions asked about perceptions of occupational pay and drew upon ideas of equity (Lawler, 1971, 1981). These were 'Is your occupation paid the right amount of money considering the nature of the work you do?' (Appendix 1, question 11) and 'Do you think your occupation is paid the right amount of money considering the skills/training needed?' (Appendix 1, question 12). The other two questions referred to personal pay satisfaction. The first referred to material need (Jasso and Rossi, 1977; Alves and Rossi, 1978) and was 'In relation to the standard of living that you have, are you satisfied with your pay?' (Appendix 1, question 14). The second personal pay question drew upon the idea of relativity in comparison to others (Crosby, 1982) and was 'Thinking about what similar occupations are paid, are you satisfied with your pay?' (Appendix 1, question 15).

The survey data suggested that one of these questions; the standard of living question differed from the others and presented patterns of satisfaction that were, on the whole, not 'paradoxical.' Thus, the pay paradox occurred on the three pay satisfaction questions that referred to either ideas of equity or relativity. This thesis suggests that these three questions all make reference to the idea of 'appropriate' pay for different occupations. Women and lower paid employees therefore do not have less material need than men or the more highly paid, however, they do consider their pay 'appropriate' for the job that they have, even though their pay is low. Conversely, the standard of living question tended to be answered in a more utilitarian manner and thus reflected the actual amount of money received (discussed in chapter 4).

It is also important to note that the standard of living question's 'non-paradoxical' nature was a thread that ran throughout the quantitative element of the research. For example, participants who had dependent children were less satisfied in relation to their standard of living than those who did not have dependent children. One possible explanation is that the outgoings of those with dependent children increased as a result of the 'cost' of children (discussed in section 6.2) and was thus reflected in their responses to this question. The other three pay satisfaction questions, however, were not affected by practical concerns in this way.

Thus, overall, women and the low paid tended to present paradoxical patterns of satisfaction when pay when conceptualised in terms of being 'appropriate', both in terms of equity for their job and also in comparison to similar occupations. However, paradoxical patterns were less visible when satisfaction was conceptualised in terms of material need. This concept of 'appropriate' pay and its effect upon pay satisfaction was central to understanding the gender pay paradox and is discussed in the following section.

8.4 The effect of beliefs about occupational 'value' on pay satisfaction

The theoretical idea that there are beliefs about 'appropriate' pay for occupations has been raised by scholars previously. Neo-classical economists have suggested that there is a justified inevitability regarding pay level variance and that this reflects a natural ordering of skills in terms of their complexity or scarcity (Cotter et al., 2003). Others suggest that pay reflects the level of responsibility or perceived importance of the occupation in society (Weber, 1964; Steinberg, 1990). Alternatively, from a social constructionist perspective, feminist scholars have argued that beliefs about the value of different occupations reflect the low value ascribed to jobs which are understood to need 'feminine' skills (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter, et al. 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). 'Feminine' skills are not intrinsically less valuable than 'masculine' skills, however, pay scales have been socially constructed to advantage men whilst disadvantaging women (discussed in section 2.16).

In addition, this thesis has suggested that beliefs about the 'value' of different occupations may also be conceptualised as a 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]). This is a conceptual aid to understanding the impact of pay scales upon pay satisfaction. A 'doxa' is a naturalised social construct, and in this thesis, is used to refer to the beliefs about the value of different occupations and how pay scales may self-evidently appear to reflect a natural and fair ordering of different occupations. The university single pay spine is negotiated between trade union representatives and the employers and specifies the roles and responsibilities commensurate with particular levels of pay. However, from a Bourdieusian perspective, this pay scale does not reflect the intrinsic worth of different roles and responsibilities, but is a social construct that rewards middle class

occupations more than working class ones and serves to reproduce existing inequalities through a process of 'symbolic violence'.

Bourdieu developed his ideas of 'symbolic violence' with regard to education, but the theory may be used as a more general way of conceptualising power relations (Jenkins, 2002). Therefore, this research has used the concept of 'symbolic violence' in relation to the effect that pay scales have on the pay satisfaction of those in relatively low paid work. Bourdieu believed that contemporary educational systems are unfair to working class individuals, who, he argued, find it harder to succeed at school because they do not possess the same cultural language as their teachers. Indeed, there is ample evidence that working class students perform less well than middle class ones and furthermore that this is a long standing pattern of inequality (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Reay, 2017). However, working class students, according to Bourdieu, 'misrecognise' their disadvantage and believe that their failure is due to personal inferiority. Bourdieu argued that this mistake occurs because the working class are subjected to 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), a process which subtly and indirectly encourages the belief that educational achievement is meritocratic (Bourdieu and Eagleton, 1992).

Bourdieu noted that success in education led the middle classes to higher paid work and thus the educational system contributed towards the reproduction of inequality. From this perspective, organisational pay scales also reflect the unfairness of the educational system because they reward the success of the middle classes whilst exerting 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) against the low paid. The true nature of pay scales is 'misrecognised' and low paid individuals see pay variance as a mostly legitimate and fair way of awarding value to different occupations. As a consequence, the low paid tend to be satisfied with their pay, even though their pay is materially less than that received by more highly paid employees.

The qualitative interviews, included in this study, provide evidence to support the theoretical idea that pay scales reflect a 'doxa' which defines the value of different roles, responsibilities or occupations. In particular, knowledge of the single pay spine profoundly affected pay satisfaction evaluation (discussed in section 5.6). Amongst interviewees, the existing pay spine was the most

common way of conceptualising satisfaction. In addition, on the whole, interviewees perceived the university pay spine as a legitimate description of the value of different occupations and although there were minor disagreements, these were not major challenges to the overall, hierarchical system of pay determination. Some individuals suggested that individual higher paid employees were not worthy of the rewards received on a particular pay band, whilst others would sometimes challenge the legitimacy of pay scales in an abstract or hypothetical way. However, when considering their own satisfaction, they invariably reverted back to thinking of pay in relation to the idea of 'appropriate' pay by referring to levels of pay for similar types of work and in particular, by referring to the roles and responsibilities that were specified in the single pay spine for their work. The gendered nature of the 'symbolic violence' of the pay scale was also apparent with female interviewees being more likely to feel that their skills or expertise were inferior to those held by more highly paid employees. Additionally, employees also considered how the single pay spine was implemented across the sector as a whole and, when there were discrepancies between universities, staff from the university, in which their occupation was lower paid, were dissatisfied. Again, staff did not question the pay spine itself but highlighted the need for minor modifications in its implementation at the local level.

The way that interviewees conceptualised their satisfaction in relation to the pay spine clearly suggested that lower paid staff considered their pay 'appropriate' and thus satisfactory because they believed that this is what their particular occupation was 'worth'. A Bourdieusian analysis suggests the 'doxa' of occupational value has been constructed and maintained by the middle class to work against the interests of the low paid, whilst a feminist analysis would suggest that pay scales discriminate against women (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter, et al. 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). The findings presented here support both theoretical positions and help to explain the 'paradoxically' high pay satisfaction of both women and the low paid. Overall, these findings suggest that perceptions of entitlement to pay are not, as suggested by the 'differential entitlements' theory the outcome of gendered differences between men and women (Phelan, 1994) but instead are the outcome of the way that dominant discourse defines different

occupations as worth different amounts, to the disadvantage of both women and the working class. These perceptions of entitlement subsequently influence pay satisfaction, often leading to 'paradoxical' satisfaction amongst women and the low paid. Furthermore, this finding supports the quantitative evidence, summarised above in section 8.3, that the pay paradox is related to perceptions of appropriate pay rather than perceptions of material need.

This is not to suggest that employees were passive victims of the pay system and completely lacking in agency or ability to consider their pay independently. Indeed, the research provided evidence that people were sometimes openly critical of the high pay of university vice chancellors (discussed in section 5.6). In addition, interviewees also considered their pay in relation to what they used to earn (section 5.4) and others spoke of a lack of interest in material possessions (section 7.6). Some spoke of their work ethic and their need to be doing 'something' in order to contribute to their communities (section 7.11). In addition, there was also evidence from the survey that participants made comparisons with those that they lived with and, amongst higher paid employees, that this might also be a contributing factor to their dissatisfaction with their pay (section 6.6). However, what was consistently suggested by the interviewees, was that pay satisfaction evaluation is profoundly affected by beliefs about how much particular occupations are worth (represented in universities by the single pay spine), and that this is of great importance when attempting to understand paradoxical patterns of pay satisfaction.

8.5 Control over the amount of work

Paradox research has paid scant attention to the workplace as a potentially important contextual, rather than individual, factor that might help to explain attitudes to work and pay satisfaction. One such aspect is the level of autonomy experienced by employees. This is a significant omission because autonomy has already been recognised as a perk of higher paid employment (Wheatley, 2017) whilst those who experience higher levels of autonomy tend to have greater intrinsic satisfaction in their work and lower levels of alienation (Blauner, 1964; Gruenberg, 1980; Link et al., 1993; Chiaburu et al., 2013). There is also evidence to suggest that pay satisfaction is higher amongst those who experience autonomy at work (Nguyen et al., 2003). The research reported here

adds greater understanding to the relationship between autonomy in the workplace and pay satisfaction.

Data on autonomy at work was collected using both quantitative and qualitative methods and provided revealing results about the relationship between autonomy and pay satisfaction. The survey suggested that higher paid workers and academics who experienced a lack of control (Appendix 1, question 9) over the amount of work were more dissatisfied in relation to the 'appropriateness' of their pay than other academics or higher paid staff who experienced control over the amount of work. Thus, perceptions of a lack of control over the amount of work affected how much this group thought their occupation was 'worth'. Conversely, this did not occur amongst lower paid staff (discussed in section 5.11). The concept of control over the amount of work may refer to both the flow of work and also the actual volume of work undertaken and therefore this dissatisfaction might arise from increased work-life conflict that results from the high workload (Grzywacz et al., 2002; Moen and Yu, 2000) of academic and higher paid staff. Alternatively, the higher levels of satisfaction might be the outcome of a mismatch between academic's 'habitus' (deeply ingrained habits and dispositions) and their 'field', which is the Bourdieusian term for a social arena where activity takes place (Noordergraaf and Schinkel, 2011). The outcome being the desire for higher financial reward in order to both compensate and reassert authority. The qualitative data supported these findings by indicating that the high workloads of academic staff caused both disillusionment and conflict at home, although interviewees did not directly articulate a connection between workload and their pay satisfaction. However, significantly, lower paid interviewees did observe the long hours of academics and believed that their relatively short hours and work-life balance justified their own lower pay (discussed in section 5.12). Therefore, workload might help to explain why lower paid staff are more satisfied with their pay, when pay is conceptualised in terms of its 'appropriateness'.

However, although women are more likely to be employed in lower paid jobs that do not have this excessive workload, this data does not specifically explain the gender pay paradox. This would only happen if the survey data suggested that men's satisfaction decreased when they had no control over the amount of

work. However, the data did not provide evidence of this, instead, it was women's satisfaction levels that decreased. Although this data does not help to explain the gender pay paradox, this is still significant because it challenges the assumption amongst theorists of the gender pay paradox that women's pay satisfaction is formed outside of the workplace. Indeed, this data suggests that women's pay satisfaction may actually be more sensitive to conditions in the workplace than men's. This might be because women tend to take greater responsibility for childcare and household tasks (Mencarini and Sironi, 2012; Park et al., 2013) and thus are more likely to experience greater work life conflict as caused by long working hours (Grzywacz et al., 2002; Moen and Yu, 2000).

Finally, the issue of autonomy also raised some interesting questions about the perceived 'value' of different aspects of academic work. The quantitative data suggested that academics at the old university were more likely to experience greater control over the amount of work. This might be because academics at the old university tend to undertake less teaching and a greater proportion of research activities (Appendix 3 provides details of the two universities' income). Given the lower levels of control experienced by academics at the new university, it might be expected that their satisfaction would be lower than academics at the old university. However, the data suggested that this was not the case and there was actually little difference between the two groups. This may be because participants believe research activities to have a higher value than teaching activities (Dever and Morrison, 2009; Parker, 2008) and thus, given that they do less 'high value research' than academics at the old university, they consider their pay to be fair (discussed in sections 5.16, 5.17).

8.6 Interviewee narratives suggested no connection between childcare/domestic responsibilities and pay satisfaction

Explanations for the gender pay paradox proposed by previous researchers have often suggested that women's characteristics are the root cause of the paradox. In particular, their maternal role and domestic responsibilities are understood to be implicitly linked with their levels of pay satisfaction, including, for example, the 'differential inputs' theory and the 'differential values' theory (discussed in sections 2.4-2.9). By conceptualising gender as an ongoing and daily social

construction of either masculinity or femininity (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990) and simultaneously analysing interview data with a narrative approach (Lawler, 2002), this research examined the reasoning behind decisions and choices that the interviewees had made (or were currently making). In addition, any connections with pay satisfaction were explored. In this way, the assumption of the 'differential inputs' and 'differential values' explanations; that gendered domestic roles are the cause of high levels of pay satisfaction, was critically examined.

The research suggested that each individual's decision to either work or care for children, and the degree to which they did either, was the outcome of a complex series of considerations, opportunities and constraints. These considerations included cultural gendered expectations of behaviour, security at work, pay level, enjoyment of work, family or spousal support, educational background, previous experience in the labour market and personal philosophies about how to live one's life. Each person had a unique combination of factors that both pushed them towards and pulled them away from traditional gender roles.

For example, one male interviewee found it relatively easy to rebel against the expectations of his gender because he already held strong beliefs about the importance of working part-time and caring for the environment, in addition his wife earned the same amount of money as he did. On the other hand, a female interviewee was reluctantly coming to terms with the fact that when she and her husband had children, due to her insecure and low paid employment, she would be the one that took responsibility for childcare. Another female interviewee described the inspirational girls' grammar school that she attended and support from her husband, enabling her to rise to professor level. Another female spoke of a lack of encouragement from her family when she was a child, a lack of practical support from her husband around the house and her own low confidence which had worked in tandem to keep her career aspirations in check. Thus, the qualitative data suggested that women did not 'naturally' take on a domestic role, but often 'chose' this pathway as the easiest option given their circumstances, and the opportunities and constraints that they experienced. Furthermore, the extent to which men and women could 'rebel' against traditional roles was dependent on factors other than gender. Although paradox

explanations (Phelan, 1994) suggest that women's domestic and maternal roles are influential upon their satisfaction, the interviewees' stories and narratives clearly suggests that this is not the case. Decisions about childcare or domestic roles, for both men and women, were not taken into consideration when they evaluated their pay satisfaction. Their experiences of domestic life were juxtaposed with, rather than integral to their evaluations of pay satisfaction (discussed in sections 6.3, 7.7).

8.7 Was there evidence to support any of the existing theories for the gender pay paradox?

The data was also examined to see if there was support for any of the explanations proposed for the gender pay paradox. Overall, the data indicated no evidence that supported any of the four explanations identified; the 'differential inputs', 'same gender referents', 'differential entitlements' and 'differential values' theories.

Firstly, the 'differential inputs' theory, discussed in section 2.5, suggests that women have less input into work because of time out of the workforce or reduced working hours in order to care for young children. Their lower input, it is argued, encourages them to believe that their lower pay is equitable (Major and Konar, 1984). However, research which has previously attempted to measure women's 'inputs' into work has found no evidence to suggest that their satisfaction levels are caused by their level of input (Phelan, 1994; Mueller and Wallace, 1996). Unlike previous studies, this research did not attempt to measure the inputs of men and women but concentrated on the home lives of participants. If, as is suggested by the 'differential inputs' theory, women are more satisfied because they prioritise their home lives and input less into work, it would be expected that those women who have responsibility for dependent children or who undertake household chores would be more satisfied than women who do not. However, the quantitative element of the research revealed no evidence to suggest this (discussed in sections 6.2, 6.5). Furthermore, the notion of women's inputs and equity were not raised in the qualitative interviews (discussed in section 6.3). It is also of note that although the 'differential inputs' theory implies that women's part-time status is important (in terms of having lower input), the data on part-time staff provided little insight into the gender

pay paradox. This may be because the diversity of part-time workers is too pronounced to make them an effective category to use for pay satisfaction analysis (Tilly, 1991, 1996; Martin and Sinclair, 2007). Overall, there was no support for the 'differential inputs' theory.

Secondly, the 'same gender referents' theory, discussed in section 2.6, suggests that women tend to compare their pay with similarly low paid women, whilst men compare their pay to equally highly paid men (Crosby, 1982; Zanna, Crosby and Lowenstein, 1987; Buchanan, 2005). Gendered occupational segregation, arguably, amplifies this tendency by limiting the numbers of men with whom women can compare their pay (Phelan, 1994; Bylsma and Major, 1992). However, research studies have produced conflicting results suggesting that gender is not generally used as a means of choosing a pay referent (Davison, 2014) and that similarity of employment is more commonly used (Bygren, 2004). This research found no support for the 'same gender referents' theory. The qualitative interviews suggested that people are not predisposed to compare their pay with someone of their own gender and instead make comparisons with those at a similar level of employment (discussed in section 5.3). The survey data did suggest that that women who worked in majority female working environments were more satisfied, when pay was conceptualised in terms of 'appropriate' pay, than women who worked in less female dominated environments (section 5.5). However, there was no evidence that this was the outcome of comparison with other women. This might equally be the outcome of the concentration of women into low paid occupations such as administration, an occupation assigned little 'value' or worth by the 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]) and regarded as needing low value 'feminine' skills (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter, et al. 2003; Ridgeway, 2011).

Thirdly, the 'differential entitlements' theory suggests that the gender pay paradox occurs because women have lower expectations than men and therefore, they are more easily satisfied. As discussed in section 2.7, there is some evidence to suggest that women do have lower expectations of pay than men (Major et al., 1984; Hogue et al., 2010; Bonnard and Giret, 2016). However, there is equally evidence that there is no difference in expectations

between men and women (Phelan, 1984; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; McDuff, 2001; Davidson et al., 2012). The qualitative element of this research found no evidence that women had lower expectations of their pay than men, however, as discussed previously, expectations of pay were profoundly influenced by a pay system which rewards different types of work with varying amounts of pay.

Fourthly, the 'differential value' theory suggested that women are more satisfied because they do not value money as much as men do (Phelan, 1994). This theory has been interpreted in a number of ways; firstly, that men and women have differing characteristics, secondly, that women 'need' less money than men because they are secondary breadwinners and therefore are more likely to work for pin money and a social life (de Vaus and McAllister, 1991) and thirdly, that women actively seek work that is 'flexible' rather than high paid (Bender et al., 2005). There is some evidence that women place less emphasis upon pay than men (Crosby, 1982; Clark, 1997; Sloane and Williams, 2000), or are less sensitive to pay inequality than male employees (Khoreva and Tenhiälä, 2016). However, studies which have statistically compared the degree to which men and women value money have suggested that there is no difference between the genders (Loscocco and Spitze, 1991; Phelan, 1994; Rowe and Snizek, 1995; Mueller and Wallace, 1996; Mueller and Wynn, 2000; Mueller and Kim, 2005) and one study has even suggested that women value money more than men (Buchanan, 2005). The research, presented in this thesis, also found no support for the 'differential values' theory. The quantitative elements of the research suggested that there was great similarity in the proportions of men and women who worked for financial reasons. There was no conclusive proof that women worked for luxury items to a greater degree than men *and* that this linked to higher pay satisfaction (discussed in section 7.2, 7.3). Amongst the interviewees, a proportion of both men and women suggested that they were not motivated by money, however, they still, in the main, considered their pay in relation to the university pay scale (discussed in section 7.6). Additionally, there was no support for the suggestion that women who are secondary breadwinners are more satisfied with their pay than those who are not (discussed in section 6.6). Furthermore, although the survey did suggest that women were more likely to work for social reasons than men, this was not at the expense of financial motivations to work, whilst the qualitative interviews suggested that

the social aspects of work were important to both men and women (discussed in sections 7.4, 7.5). Finally, the interviews provided no evidence to suggest that most women chose their jobs because they were 'flexible' rather than highly paid (discussed in section 7.7).

Having discussed the key findings of the study, this chapter now turns attention to a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the research.

8.8 Strengths of the research

The main achievement of this research is challenging the understanding of the gender pay paradox developed through previous research studies. The research presented in this thesis therefore contributes to furthering knowledge of this subject theoretically, methodologically and empirically. Several elements of the way that the research was conceptualised and undertaken were particularly useful in achieving this. First of all, by examining a number of aspects of pay satisfaction and testing for the paradox in each of them, insight into the nature of the paradox has been found and a new possible explanation for the paradox is suggested; that expectations of, and satisfaction with, pay are driven by beliefs about the value of different occupations. Secondly, by not focussing on the behaviour or characteristics of women alone, the research strongly suggests that the relatively high pay satisfaction of women is likely to be a reflection of patterns of occupational satisfaction, rather than indicative of the characteristics of women. Thirdly, the research adopted a social constructionist approach in which gender and gender roles are not unquestionable 'facts' from which theories can be extrapolated, instead they are the product of ongoing and daily activity (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990). This approach enabled a research methodology which explored the life narratives of individuals to see if 'gender' was contributing towards pay satisfaction. Fourthly, unlike previous research, the study was inductive in its approach and therefore, was not constrained by a deductive positivist approach which tends to focus on hypothesis testing. Instead, this research listened to the narratives of interviewees and incorporated them into the findings of the research.

Taken together, these four elements; using multiple definitions of pay satisfaction, not focussing on women alone, a social constructionist approach

and inductive analytical techniques, provide a robust challenge to the belief that the gender pay paradox is simply indicative of women's 'difference' to men. Instead, it clearly suggests that pay satisfaction is more likely to be linked to beliefs concerning the value of different occupations. It also suggests that workload is related to paradoxical patterns of satisfaction. In addition, the research is a significant challenge to the implicit assumption within paradox explanations that pay satisfaction is formed outside of the workplace and on the whole, there was no support for the suggestion that the home lives of either men or women were related to their pay satisfaction.

However, there were also limitations and weaknesses in the research which, along with suggestions for improvements, are discussed in the following section.

8.9 Limitations, weaknesses and methodological improvements for future research

There are a number of limitations with this research. First of all, this is a study of pay satisfaction amongst university staff. Pay in the public sector more generally is standardised and negotiated in a similar fashion between trade union representatives and employers, therefore these findings may also be applicable to the public sector more generally. However, within the private sector, where pay is individually negotiated, the relevance of these research findings is limited.

Secondly, the sample size of the survey was not large enough to conduct valid Chi Square tests on all subgroups, for example, it was not possible to separately consider males and females within each occupational group from each university which would have enabled a fuller examination of the gender pay paradox. A larger sample would thus have enabled more detailed analysis and additional insight.

Thirdly, the data provides a static picture of pay satisfaction at one particular point in time. This research, in common with many other research studies, would benefit from being repeated after several years to ascertain if trends in pay satisfaction are consistent or whether they develop over time, for example the recent industrial dispute between members of the academic union, UCU and the employers at old universities (Times Higher Education, 2018) which centred on

changes to pensions, may have impacted upon pay satisfaction levels at old universities.

However, the largest limitation of the research stems from one of its key methodological components; the aim to gather information on a wide range of issues. This research was designed to explore the potential links between pay satisfaction and the workplace, orientations to work and home lives. The research was designed this way to ensure that it was not unjustifiably focussed on gender and to also ensure that potentially important issues were not excluded from the research. However, a side effect of this approach was that in order to collect a manageable amount of data, the information collected was sometimes lacking in detail and depth. Future research which aims to deepen knowledge of the gender pay paradox, could subsequently improve upon this research by increasing the clarity and focus of some questions whilst also removing others, for example, there would be little benefit in repeating the questions about household chores and social attitudes since they provided such little insight into the pay paradox.

There are a number of ways that the survey could be improved. Firstly, although the pay satisfaction questions provided evidence which suggested that beliefs about occupational value were important to understanding the gender pay paradox, there was room for improvement. The questions were initially designed to refer to perceptions of occupational pay and personal pay satisfaction. However the results suggested that this way of considering pay did not actually reflect how people think about it. Furthermore, the two sets of questions used different scales of measurement which made comparison between the two difficult. Therefore, since the questions on occupational pay (Appendix 1, questions 11, 12) indicated that very few participants thought their occupation was paid 'too much,' future research would benefit from using only the 'personal pay satisfaction' scale on all questions. In addition, providing greater clarity about the issue of 'appropriate' pay would also be helpful. Therefore increasing the number of dimensions of pay satisfaction considered to include specific reference to the following would help to provide this clarity; the amount of work, the skills/training needed, the amount of money needed to pay for necessities (such as housing, bills and food), the amount of money needed to pay for leisure

and luxury items, pay in relation to what similar jobs in this organisation receive, pay in relation to what similar jobs outside of the organisation receive, pay in relation to what colleagues receive, pay in relation to what family and friends receive and finally, pay in relation to what individuals think they are personally worth.

There are other ways that the survey could be improved. Looking first at the issue of autonomy at work, participants were asked two questions about control at work; one about the amount of work and the other about the type of work. This produced data which clearly suggested a connection between control over the amount of work done and pay satisfaction in relation to 'appropriate pay', particularly amongst higher paid and academic staff. However this would be enhanced by greater clarity and precision. In particular, a future survey could provide greater clarity by also asking participants how heavy their workloads is, whether they routinely work more than their specified work hours, whether they can control the speed or flow of their work, whether their daily work is closely supervised and finally, whether they choose the nature of the tasks that they do.

A third part of the quantitative survey that could be improved in future research relates to the issue of 'respect at work'. Although, the qualitative interviews suggested that a lack of respect at work was part and parcel of the daily lives of those employed in support work at the university, the quantitative data consisted of one single question about respect which provided little insight into either the nature of the respect experienced (or not experienced) or why or how this issue of occupational respect might relate to pay satisfaction. It seems likely that, given that social class comprises of more than economic advantage or disadvantage (Weber, 1964 [1947]); Bourdieu, 1986, 2010 [1972]), that beliefs about the value of different occupations, are influenced both by the 'doxa' of occupational value and also by beliefs about the status or prestige of different occupations. There is also likely to be relationships between the 'doxa' and perceptions of status. It is therefore important to try and understand how status and 'respect' tie in with pay satisfaction. It is therefore suggested that future quantitative research within universities attempts to further understand this concept of occupational respect by asking whether participants thought their job was respected by other staff within the university, respected by people outside

of the university, respected by students, whether they thought their job was valued by the employer, how difficult they think their job is, whether they were supported by other staff and departments to do their job effectively and finally, whether their job is currently or has recently been part of an organisational restructuring. In addition, the issue of status could also be explored by examining whether academics mostly undertake research or teaching.

Last of all, the orientations to work chapter, whilst effectively challenging the 'differential values' theory, provided little insight into understanding why higher paid staff or men are more satisfied with their pay, when pay is conceptualised in terms of its 'appropriateness'. This might be because the questions were too focussed on the dichotomy between working for money or not working for money and/or because the questions were also too simplistically focussed upon the idea of working for either intrinsic or extrinsic rewards. Future quantitative research might therefore examine this issue more effectively by inquiring about the degree to which participants work for the money (using a scale question rather than dichotomous options). This might include how much they work for intrinsic satisfaction in the work itself, how much they work because it is morally right to support yourself, the degree to which they work because they want to contribute towards society, the degree to which they work to 'keep busy', the extent to which they feel that their identity is tied to their job, how much they are motivated by money and to what extent their current occupation is their 'perfect' job.

There was also room for improvement in the qualitative aspect of the research. Although, the interviews provided a wealth of information about the work and home lives of the interviewees alongside insight into the thought processes and considerations that go into pay evaluation, there were some parts of the interviews that were less effective. Specifically, the interviews sometimes floundered a little when participants were asked about which household members undertook which household tasks. At other times, this provided a wealth of interesting information about domestic roles albeit with little insight into the gender pay paradox. On other occasions, these questions prompted interviewees to open up about their lives, providing details of what motivated or inspired them in a way that was often more helpful than the earlier questions

about orientation to work. Given that this information was therefore stumbled upon accidentally rather than by design, the qualitative interviews would therefore be improved by changing the focus of the final questions away from the narrow specification of domestic arrangements towards lives outside of work more generally. This would help to understand the interviewees' motivations and aspirations and how this tied in, if at all, with pay satisfaction.

Finally, although this thesis uses the conceptual ideas of Pierre Bourdieu, this is confined to, and in relation to, perceptions of occupational 'value'. It does not include analysis of how specific educational achievements or cultural capital are used to achieve high paid employment. Bourdieu's concepts of 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1995 [1972]), cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2010 [1979]) and 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) are therefore used as conceptual aids to understanding pay satisfaction. They are not used as part of a comprehensive Bourdieusian theory of educational achievement, career and pay satisfaction.

8.10 A note on positionality

A major critique of paradox research, made within this thesis, is that it has not recognised how its own methodological approach has resulted in little more than a reproduction of dominant gendered discourse. Feminist scholars have challenged the traditional belief that researchers can be impartial, suggesting that a claim to objectivity is little more than a commitment to the status quo, a position 'which is as potentially biased as any other orientation' (Jayaratne, 1993 p. 120). Using a social constructionist approach challenges the belief that a researcher can be completely independent or neutral. Instead, researchers are bounded by themselves and do not have an 'ultimate' view of the world, only a partial vision (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2010). Therefore, all research is subjective because there are value judgements made in relation to design, data collection, analysis and interpretation which can be deconstructed to reveal underlying beliefs and assumptions (Reinharz, 1992).

Therefore, recognising that as a researcher, I have a particular perspective which is likely to affect my own research is important. Furthermore, it is not acceptable to criticise previous researchers of the pay paradox for their lack of self-awareness and yet claim that this insight has provided an elevated state of

objectivity for myself. Therefore, it is necessary to describe myself a little in order to provide some transparency in this respect. I am white, female and heterosexual. I am a long-standing feminist and member of the Labour Party. I have worked within higher education institutions for approximately twenty five years. I have worked as a researcher, both as the 'traditional' research assistant and more independently within research centres. I have also worked within a Learning and Teaching Institute. I currently work as a part-time associate lecturer. I have thoroughly enjoyed some of the jobs I have held and others not so much.

As a junior researcher I always felt low paid, particularly in terms of the actual money I received. As a research fellow, I felt undervalued for what I did. Appointed at senior lecturer level within the Learning and Teaching Institute, I was relatively well off although working part-time, partly because I was a new mother but also because of employment insecurity within the job itself. Currently, as an associate lecturer, my employment is low paid, insecure, but enjoyable, although frustratingly lacking in career structure.

My interest in work and pay satisfaction as an area of sociological study developed when I was working in a self-funding, independent research unit that also undertook ad hoc pieces of research for the university management. This included undertaking qualitative work with black and minority ethnic staff about their experiences of working in university, equality analysis of human resources pay data and a staff experience survey. The latter included a question about satisfaction with pay which, when analysed with gender suggested that women were more satisfied with their pay than men. My interest was piqued and the topic eventually became the subject for an application to study for a doctorate.

Who I am will have inarguably affected this research. All research is conducted from a perspective and I do not claim to be 'neutral' or objective. Ramazanoglu and Holland (2010) point out that all research is partial and subjective. However, I have reflected on whether this research has been conducted as fairly and objectively as possible. In particular, I have questioned whether I have been too harsh in my criticism of the conservatism of paradox researchers and I have highlighted the contribution of their insights, for example Clark (1997) and Buchanan (2005) who both noted the misguided focus on women's behaviour.

Others, such as Phelan (1994) clearly wished to understand the paradox in order to promote gender equality. I conclude that even though individual paradox researchers have not intended to reproduce the dominant discourse on gender, that they have been bounded by their own methodological position. Therefore, criticising the methodological approach taken by previous researchers and adopting an alternative methodology, is a valid position to take in order to improve knowledge in this area.

In addition, the data collected has been treated holistically and not cherry picked for evidence to support my position. If the data was helpful in answering the research questions, then it was included in the thesis. The survey data was analysed systematically and although not all data is reported, the main findings are all included. Last of all, the narrative approach to the qualitative interviews helped to ensure that the lives of the interviewees are presented in the 'spirit' of what they disclosed overall. The interviewees' words have not been presented out of context but are purposefully placed within the context of their overall lives. I have endeavoured to be respectful to the interviewees and to present their viewpoints accurately.

8.11 Wider Relevance and implications of the research

As well as contributing to the research on the gender pay paradox this research may have wider relevance to academics and those who seek to implement fairer pay systems, including trade union representatives, managers, human resources staff and fair pay campaigners.

First of all, the research may be of interest to academics who are interested in the impact of ontological perspective upon research findings. This research, by making use of feminist methodology and a social constructionist ontology took a new approach to the study of an old paradox. It has provided a voice to research participants who have previously been silenced by positivist research methodologies (Mies, 1993), and enabled the understanding of pay satisfaction from the point of view of those being researched (Reinharz, 1992). In addition, this approach has avoided assumptions that women are 'paradoxical' whilst men are not. It has also directed discussion of potential causes of the gender pay paradox away from discussion of what women are *doing* (be that their input,

their choice of pay referent, their sense of entitlement or the degree to which they value money) towards a contextual understanding of men and women's home and working lives. As a consequence of this, the findings suggest that there is arguably no gender pay paradox, only paradoxical patterns of satisfaction between occupational and salary groups. This may be of interest to feminist scholars and others who seek to challenge the dominance of male perspectives within academia (Burton, 2015). It may also be of interest to scholars of methodology who seek to understand the significance of ontological perspectives when undertaking research.

In addition, this research is likely to be of interest to scholars of inequality and in particular, those who seek to understand how inequality is reproduced. This research utilised the feminist argument that pay scales are social constructs that reflect the low value apportioned to both women and the work that they do. Thus, women frequently earn less than men because their work is not valued as much as men's. Furthermore, this is actively sustained in order perpetuate male dominance (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter, et al. 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). Women are therefore arguably satisfied with low pay because they believe that their jobs have little value. This feminist argument was also extended to encompass inequality in pay more generally. This was done by suggesting that Bourdieu's (1995 [1972]) concept of 'doxa' can be utilised to describe the social construction of beliefs about the 'value' of different types of work. The findings of this research suggested that this 'doxa,' by exerting subtle and indirect 'symbolic violence,' encourages those on low pay to see their pay as fair or just. This approach and the findings of this research might be of particular interest to scholars of Bourdieu who could elaborate on this approach and build upon these findings to create a more detailed account of pay levels, status and satisfaction. This might be achieved, for example, by examining educational background in detail, such as level of qualification achieved, and type of school and/or university attended which could then be considered within Bourdieu's wider thinking on power and inequality.

On the practical level, this research may be of interest to higher education trade union representatives, pay campaigners, university managers and human

resources staff who wish to implement pay systems that reduce the incidence of the gender pay gap. Examination of Higher Education Statistics Agency data clearly suggested that the pay spine, whilst not eradicating the gender pay gap, successfully limits its extent. Conversely, amongst senior staff, who are not appointed on the single spine, the gender pay gap would appear to be flourishing (Appendix Table 2.2). However, comparison between the old and new university suggested that this senior level gender pay gap existed only at the old university (Appendix Table 3.1), therefore is not inevitable and arguably, could be eliminated in all universities.

In addition, it is of note that although the pay spine is a nationally agreed scale, there is flexibility in how it is implemented at the local level. Examining pay at the two universities (Appendix Tables 3.1, 3.2) suggested that the new university is slightly more egalitarian than the old university and in particular, that the pay for those on the lowest bands is slightly more generous than that at the old university. This research suggested that this discrepancy is recognised by employees on the lowest pay bands at the old university who were clearly more dissatisfied with their pay than their counterparts at the new university (discussed in section 5.16). Improving the pay of the lowest salaried workers at all universities should be a priority. Hardship experienced by those in low pay is becoming increasingly pervasive and there has been an increase in the numbers of people experiencing 'in work' poverty (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2016). Furthermore, the impact of the recent Coalition and current Conservative governments' austerity policies are likely to further decrease the quality of life for low paid employees. All public sector workers have been affected by government imposed restrictions on pay increases (Dolton et al., 2014) which will be more keenly felt amongst lower paid workers. In addition, changes in the tax credit system (being replaced by universal credit) mean that low earning working families with three or more children will no longer be supplemented by the state. It is estimated that approximately 600,000 low earning parents who, if they have at least two children, will lose £2780 of state support for every child born after April 2017. It is also anticipated that in November 2018, this will become even more draconian and will apply to anyone who makes a new claim for Universal Credit, irrespective of when their children were born (Hood et al., 2017). The potential impact upon low paid employees within the public sector is

substantial and could be alleviated by an increase in pay for the lowest paid workers.

The research also raises questions about the morality of inequality in pay more generally. Although, the high pay of Vice Chancellors (Times Higher Education, 2016; Times Higher Education, 2017) was questioned by the research participants, overall, the differences in pay represented by the university single pay spine were generally accepted. Recent research on social class by Savage et al. (2015) suggested that, although there was a small and privileged 'super rich' category of individuals, one of the most striking findings of their research was the existence of an 'elite' who were substantially wealthier than other social classes. This 'elite' comprised approximately 6% of the population and had an average household annual income of £89,000 which was almost twice as large as the next social class identified; the 'established middle class'. This elite group is clearly substantially wealthier than the majority of the population and could easily include higher earning university employees in dual earner households. However, this research suggests that acceptance of this level of inequality is commonplace.

If achievement was entirely meritocratic, this would not necessarily be problematic. However, pay scales arguably reward the cultural capital of the middle class (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Moore, 2008) whilst discriminating against women (Acker, 1990; Steinberg, 1990; Crompton, 1997; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Cotter, et al. 2003; Ridgeway, 2011). In addition, although social mobility in the United Kingdom increased from the 1940s to the 1970s, since the 1980s, social mobility has stalled and is beginning to reverse (Boston Consulting Group Sutton Trust, 2017). Furthermore, it is also worth noting that inequality in yearly salaries is not a 'one off' event but occurs repeatedly throughout the lifetimes of individuals, and leads to the gradual acquisition of savings and property, which when coupled with inheritances ensure that the gap between those who 'have' and those who 'have not' continues to widen (Savage, 2015). This inequality is then reproduced in future generations because of the ease with which middle class children navigate the educational system and obtain the appropriate cultural capital for high earning employment (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Moore, 2008).

These issues of inequality are unlikely to be solved by pay campaigners within the near future. However, there is perhaps a need to debate and consider the morality of such inequality, not just within higher education but across all employment sectors. This is especially important considering the growing levels of 'in work' poverty and the decline in social mobility. This research on pay satisfaction within universities has demonstrated how wider beliefs about the value of different occupations, and in particular the low value attributed to occupations undertaken by women and the working class, may contribute towards 'paradoxical' patterns of pay satisfaction and thus help to perpetuate inequity in pay. It is hoped that these findings will contribute towards this wider debate and help to raise important questions about occupational value and inequality.

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APPENDIX 1

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

***1. Please indicate that you have read the email accompanying this questionnaire**

I have read the email and am taking part voluntarily

To begin with I would like to ask you about your work at the university

2. What university do you work at?

university names removed

3. Would you describe your job at the university as

- Administrative
- Academic
- Technical
- Manual
- Research
- Other

Other (please specify)

4. Thinking about the people in your department who do a similar job to yourself, are they (please tick one box only)

- Mostly male
- There are slightly more males
- About even male and female
- Slightly more females
- Mostly female

5. Please indicate on the scale how much you enjoy this job that you do at the university with 5 meaning that you enjoy it very much and 1 meaning that you do not enjoy it at all (please tick one box only)

- 1 - do not enjoy at all
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 - enjoy very much

6. Would you say that you worked for (please tick as many as apply)

- Money to pay for essential items
- Money to pay for luxury items
- Money to provide for myself
- Money to provide for other family members
- Enjoyment of the work itself
- Self fulfilment or self esteem
- The social aspects of work

7. Are you the largest/main wage earner in your household? (please tick one box only)

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

8. If you were to win the lottery, would you continue with your work at the university? (please tick one box only)

- Yes
- Yes, but not as many hours/days
- No

9. Do you have any control over the amount of work that you do at the university? Please indicate on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 equalling no control and 5 equalling a lot of control (please tick one box only)

- 1 - no control over the amount of work
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 - a lot of control over the amount of work

10. Do you have any control over the type of work, or the specific tasks that you do at the university? (please tick one box only)

- 1 - no control over the type of work
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 - a lot of control over the type of work

11. Generally, do you think that your occupation is paid the right amount of money considering the nature of the work you do? Please indicate on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 equalling being paid far too little and 5 equalling being paid far too much (please tick one box only).

- 1 - paid far too little
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 - paid far too much

12. Generally, do you think your occupation is paid the right amount of money considering the skills/training needed? Please indicate on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 equalling being paid far too little and 5 equalling being paid far too much (please tick one box only).

- 1 - paid far too little
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 - paid far too much

13. Do you think that, on the whole, your occupation is respected by others? Please indicate on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 equalling not respected at all and 5 equalling respected a great deal (please tick one box only).

- 1 - not respected at all
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 - respected a great deal

14. In relation to the standard of living that you have, are you satisfied with your pay? Please indicate on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 equalling not satisfied at all and 5 equalling very satisfied (please tick one box only).

- 1 - not satisfied at all
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 - very satisfied

15. Thinking about what other similar occupations are paid, are you satisfied with your pay? Please indicate on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 equalling not satisfied at all and 5 equalling very satisfied (please tick one box only)

- 1 - not satisfied at all
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 - very satisfied

I would now like to ask you some questions about your home life

16. First of all, do you live (please tick all that apply)

- Alone
- With partner/spouse
- With children
- With other relatives
- With friends/flat mates
- Other

17. Do you have dependent children (Please all that apply)

- Yes, living at home with me
- Yes, but not living with me
- No dependent children

18. Are these children (please tick one box only)

- Under the age of 18
- Aged 18 or over
- Both under and over the age of 18

19. Would you say that you are the main carer of these children (please tick one box only)

- Yes
- No
- It is shared equally with at least one other person

20. Do you have the care of any other relatives/friends (please tick all that apply)

- Yes, living at home with me
- Yes but not living at home with me
- No

21. Are you the main carer of these friends/relatives? (please tick one box only)

Yes
 No
 It is evenly shared with at least one other person

22. Thinking about your household, who takes the main responsibility for the following household chores?

	I do	Someone else in the household	It is shared	Employ someone	Not applicable
Laundry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cleaning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gardening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DIY/Odd jobs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. I would like to ask you how much you agree with the following statements on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 equalling disagree strongly and 5 equalling agree strongly (please tick one box per row)

	1 - disagree strongly	2	3	4	5 - agree strongly
A pre school child suffers if both parents/carers work full time	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

And finally, I would like to ask some questions about yourself and your job...

This information will be used to analyse responses by groups and not to identify you

24. Do you work in

- A faculty/academic department
- A central department

25. If you work in a faculty, which one do you work in?

university faculty names removed

26. Do you work

- Full time
- Part time

27. Are you

- Male
- Female
- Transgender

28. What is your age?

- 25 years or younger
- 26 - 35
- 36 - 45
- 46 - 55
- 56 - 65
- 66 years or older

29. What is your ethnic background?

- White - Welsh/English/Scottish/Northern Irish
- White - Irish
- White - Gipsy or Irish traveller
- Other White background
- White and Black Caribbean
- White and Black African
- White and Asian
- Other mixed/multiple group
- Asian Indian
- Asian Pakistani
- Asian Bangladeshi
- Asian Chinese
- Other Asian background
- Black African
- Black Caribbean
- Other Black background
- Other ethnic group (please specify)

30. Are you educated to university degree level or equivalent? (please tick one box only)

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

31. What is your annual pay? (please tick one box only)

- £10,000 or under
- £10,001 to £20,000
- £20,001 to £30,000
- £30,001 to £40,000
- £40,001 to £50,000
- £50,001 to £60,000
- £60,001 or more

32. Have you any further comments to make?

33. would you be willing to take part in a face to face interview that will take approximately 30 - 60 minutes to talk about these issues further? This interview is also a part of my PhD research.

Yes

No

34. If you would like to take part, please leave your name and either your email or phone number in the space below. Once participants have been interviewed, this information will be deleted from the data set containing these survey responses. If you don't wish to be interviewed, there is no need to leave your name and contact details

APPENDIX 2: UNIVERSITY PAY AND THE GENDER PAY GAP

University staff are paid according to the nationally agreed single pay spine (Appendix Table 2.1). The pay spine is divided into a number of 'bands' (which vary slightly from university to university) and employees are appointed on a starting salary in a particular pay band with specified roles and responsibilities. Subsequently, their pay rises every year until they reach the top of their band. However, there are built in disadvantages for those on lower grades. The percentage increases for those on lower grades are less than for those on higher grades. Even when the increase is the same, 3% of an already high salary is significantly more than 3% of a lower salary, thus so-called 'parity' is actually masking inequality (Appendix Table 2.1). Furthermore, the pay bands nearer the top are generally longer and enable employees to enjoy a greater number of incremental steps before they reach the top of the scale. This can be clearly seen in the pay bands for the two participating universities (Appendix Table 3.2).

Data, from the Higher Education Statistics Agency, presented in Table 2.2 suggests that within each occupational grade, men are paid slightly more than women. At senior level, the difference between men and women's salaries is substantial. Appointments at senior level are not governed by the single pay spine and therefore this suggests that when pay awards are not constrained by the single pay spine, the gender pay gap prevails to a greater degree. Inequity in pay is also the result of women and men working in different occupational groups. For example, men are more likely to be employed at principal lecturer level than women, which largely explains the well documented pay gap between male and female academic staff (University and College Union, 2016). More significantly though, women are much more likely to working in occupations situated on the lowest bands. They are also significantly less likely to be employed in senior roles.

Appendix Table 2.1 Higher Education Single Pay Spine 2016/2017 (original source University and College Union, 2017)

Spinal Point	Salary (£)	Increase from previous grade (%)
51	59,400	0.030
50	57,674	0.030
49	55,998	0.030
48	54,372	0.030
47	52,793	0.030
46	51,260	0.030
45	49,772	0.032
44	48,237	0.028
43	46,924	0.030
42	45,562	0.030
41	44,240	0.030
40	42,955	0.030
39	41,709	0.029
38	40,523	0.030
37	39,324	0.030
36	38,183	0.030
35	37,075	0.030
34	36,001	0.030
33	34,956	0.030
32	33,943	0.030
31	32,958	0.030
30	32,004	0.032
29	31,016	0.028
28	30,175	0.030
27	29,301	0.030
26	28,452	0.030
25	27,629	0.030
24	26,829	0.030
23	26,052	0.030
22	25,298	0.030
21	24,565	0.029
20	23,879	0.031
19	23,164	0.030
18	22,494	0.030
17	21,843	0.029
16	21,220	0.029
15	20,624	0.029
14	20,046	0.029
13	19,485	0.029
12	18,940	0.029
11	18,412	0.029
10	17,898	0.029
9	17,399	0.026
8	16,961	0.021
7	16,618	0.020
6	16,289	0.020
5	15,976	0.020
4	15,670	0.020
3	15,356	0.020
2	15,052	0.019
1	14,767	

Appendix Table 2.2 The gender pay gap at UK universities 2014-2015 by occupational group (source HESA, 2017)

	Male Average pay	Female Average pay	Average amount that men are paid more than women	Proportion of females in each occupational group (%)
Senior management	£109,619	£90,854	£18,765	35.4
Head of Schools/Senior Function head	£74,259	£67,381	£6,878	38.2
Professor	£80,104	£75,225	£4,879	23.2
Function head	£62,793	£58,886	£3,907	48.5
Non-Academic section manager, Senior/principal lecturer, Reader, Principal Research fellow	£56,979	£55,607	£1,372	40.8
Team Leader (Professional, Technical, Administrative), Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Senior Research Fellow	£45,792	£45,236	£556	49.5
Senior Professional(Technical), Lecturer, Research fellow, Researcher (senior research assistant), Teaching fellow	£36,707	£36,330	£377	52.7
Senior Administrative staff (Professional/technical) Research assistant, Teaching assistant	£30,764	£30,226	£538	58.2
Assistant professional staff, Administrative staff	£24,574	£24,183	£391	69.8
Junior Administrative Staff, Clerical Staff, Technician/Craftsmen, Operative	£20,604	£20,527	£77	67.0
Routine task provider	£17,262	£17,163	£99	56.8
Simple task provider	£15,208	£14,895	£313	66.3
Overall average	£41,791	£34,139	£7,652	54.0

APPENDIX 3

UNIVERSITIES IN THE UK AND THE TWO PARTICIPATING UNIVERSITIES

Universities in the UK

There are over 150 universities in the UK which vary considerably in size and character. There are the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but also redbrick universities, mainly established in Victorian times. In the 1960s 'plate glass' universities were built. 'New' universities were established after the Further and Higher Education Act of 1992. This act abolished the UK binary policy and polytechnics, which had previously been funded by local authorities with the aim of providing locally orientated, vocational courses, could now become universities in their own right. However, although universities may be equal in name, in reality, the status of these universities still varies enormously. Universities are assessed and ranked in terms of the quality of their research, through the Research Excellence Framework (REF), which has a profound impact on the research funding allocated to each university. Additionally, students provide feedback on the quality of their 'experience' through the Student Experience Survey (SES). Results for both exercises are published and ranked in the media and it is clear that these measurements of 'excellence' link with certain types of universities. The ancient universities and the 'Russell Group' of universities (comprising of an elite of red brick and plate glass universities) tend to score most highly. The 'new' or post 1992 universities tend to fair less well (Savage, 2015). It is therefore not surprising to see that the social class background of students at different universities also varies, with middle class students dominating the elite universities and working class students favouring the 'new' or 'post 1992' universities (Reay, 2009). Graduate outcomes also differ, with students from 'new' universities facing poorer employment prospects (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). Furthermore, for academics, it has long been recognised that teaching has relatively low status and is less likely to result in promotion than research activities (Dever and Morrison, 2009; Parker, 2008). The concentration of research funding at old universities is not just a distinguishing characteristic, but one which carries connotations of status and

prestige. However, although the new universities may 'lag' behind by these criteria, there is some evidence to suggest that the new universities are more egalitarian when it comes to the financial rewards offered to males and females. New universities tend to have lower gender pay gaps than those at the old universities, with the Russell Group universities having the largest gender pay gap of all at 16.3% (University and College Union, 2016).

The two participating universities

There are some similarities between the two universities chosen for this PhD study, they are both large metropolitan, northern universities, from the same city, in the United Kingdom. However, the old university has between 20,000 and 25,000 students and the new university has between 25,000 and 30,000. The 'old' university is a member of the Russell Group, has an REF grade point average between 3.00 and 3.25 and its SES score is between 90 and 95. The 'new' university has an REF grade point average of between 2.75 and 3.00 and its SES score is between 85 and 90 (Times Higher Education, 2016). The annual financial statements of the two universities reveal substantial differences in income. For the financial academic year ending July 2015, the old university had an income of between £550 and £575 million. Tuition fees comprised 45% of this, research 25% and the remainder was comprised of grants and 'other.' The new university in the same academic period had an income of between £250 and £275 million, of which tuition fees comprised 80% and research money for less than 5%. The websites of each university state that there are approximately 7750 staff employed at the old university and approximately 4500 staff at the new university. Thus, overall, the old university has greater income with a higher proportion of this income derived from (and dedicated to) research activity. It is ranked higher in terms of both the REF and the SES, it also has more staff and fewer students.

There are also some differences in pay with the most substantial occurring amongst the highest paid staff. The Vice Chancellor at the old university is paid between £375,000 and £400,000 compared to between £300,000 and £325,000 at the new university (Times Higher Education, 2016). Data provided by the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) for the academic year 2014/2015, suggests that senior appointments at the old university consistently pay more

than at the new university. Amongst 'rank and file' academics, there is similarity of pay but amongst support staff, the new university tends to pay slightly more (Appendix Table 3.1). In addition, the pay band system used at each participating university suggests that the new university has a system that is more beneficial to lower paid staff, in particular there is no grade 1, and grade 2 is extended several points above that paid at the old university. Conversely, the banding system used by the new university for those on the highest grades is slightly less beneficial than at the old university (Appendix Table 3.2).

Looking at the gender pay gap, appointments at senior level, in both universities, are not governed by the single pay spine and it is clear that when pay awards are not constrained by the single pay spine, the gender pay gap prevails. The data from HESA also suggests that the gender pay gap in these higher echelons is particularly a feature of the old university (Appendix Table 3.1).

Appendix Table 3.1 Average salary of staff (to nearest £1000) at the universities 2014-2015

	New university	Old university	Difference
A0 to C2 Senior management			
All	£124,000	£127,000	£3,000
Female	*	*	*
Male	£122,000	£136,000	£14,000
D and E Head of Schools/Senior Function head			
All	£67,000	£78,000	£11,000
Female	£67,000	£75,000	£8,000
Male	£68,000	£80,000	£12,000
F1 Professor			
All	£60,000	£76,000	£16,000
Female	£61,000	£72,000	£11,000
Male	£59,000	£77,000	£18,000
F2 Function head			
All	£54,000	£66,000	£12,000
Female	£53,000	£65,000	£12,000
Male	£54,000	£67,000	£13,000
I0 Non-Academic section manager, Senior/principal lecturer, Reader, Principal Research fellow			
All	£55,000	£57,000	£2,000
Female	£55,000	£57,000	£2,000
Male	£55,000	£57,000	£2,000
J0 Team Leader(Professional, Technical, Administrative), Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Senior Research Fellow			
All	£45,000	£44,000	£1,000
Female	£45,000	£44,000	£1,000
Male	£45,000	£45,000	£0
K0 Senior Professional(Technical), Lecturer, Research fellow, Researcher (senior research assistant), Teaching fellow			
All	£35,000	£34,000	£1,000
Female	£35,000	£34,000	£1,000
Male	£34,000	£34,000	£0
L0 Senior Administrative staff (Professional/technical) Research assistant, Teaching assistant			
All	£30,000	£28,000	£2,000
Female	£30,000	£28,000	£2,000
Male	£30,000	£27,000	£3,000
M0 Assistant professional staff, Administrative staff			
All	£24,000	£23,000	£1,000
Female	£24,000	£23,000	£1,000
Male	£24,000	£23,000	£1,000
N0 Junior Administrative Staff, Clerical Staff, Technician/Craftsmen, Operative			
All	£20,000	£19,000	£1,000
Female	£20,000	£20,000	£0
Male	£20,000	£19,000	£1,000
O0 Routine task provider			
All	£17,000	£16,000	£1,000
Female	£17,000	£16,000	£1,000
Male	£17,000	£16,000	£1,000
P0 Simple task provider			
All	£15,000	£14,000	£1,000
Female	£15,000	£14,000	£1,000
Male	£15,000	£13,000	£2,000
Key	Old university pays more	New university pays more	

* not provided by HESA as under 7 FTE equivalent employees

Appendix Table 3.2 Pay bands at the two participating universities 2017 (obtained from their university web sites)

Old University		Spinal Point	New University	
Grade 9		54	Grade 9	
		53		
		52		
		51		
		50		
		49		
		48		
		47		
		46		
	Grade 8	45	Grade 8	
Grade 7		39	Grade 7	Grade 8
		38		
		37		
		36		
		35		
		34		
		33		
		32		
		31		
Grade 7	Grade 6	30	Grade 5	Grade 6
		29		
		28		
		27		
		26		
		25		
		24		
		23		
		22		
Grade 5		21	Grade 5	
		20		
		19		
		18		
		17		
		16		
		15		
		14		
		13		
Grade 3	Grade 4	12	Grade 4	Grade 4
		11		
		10		
		9		
		8		
		7		
		6		
		5		
		4		
Grade 1	Grade 2	3	Grade 3	Grade 2
		2		
		1		

APPENDIX 4

Information sheets and interview consent form

Email covering letter/information sheet for survey

Dear staff member

I am inviting you to be a research participant in my post graduate research project 'Pay satisfaction amongst higher education staff' . You can do this by completing the questionnaire attached to this email which will take approximately ten minutes. The research aims to discover if there are differing levels of pay satisfaction between different groups of staff and how this is connected to the context of people's lives. The questionnaire therefore includes questions about both your work and home life.

This research is being conducted as part of my personal PhD study and is **not connected to the management of the university**. Your participation is entirely **voluntary and anonymous**. No other member of staff at the university will know that you have participated and your responses will not be made available to other staff or your managers. All responses to this survey will be analysed as a whole, rather than individually. Responses may be analysed in terms of groupings such as staff occupation or gender but not individually. You do not have to answer all the questions if you do not wish. All responses to the survey will be stored securely on password protected files. Nobody but myself has access to this file.

The main output of this research is a PhD thesis. It is also anticipated that the findings will be presented at academic conferences and in academic journals. All findings will be presented in an anonymised format, neither your name or the name of the university will be mentioned.

My PhD is being undertaken in the Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield. My academic supervisor is Dr. Zoe Irving, if you have any concerns you may contact Dr. Irving at z.m.irving@sheffield.ac.uk. This research was given ethical approval by the University of Sheffield on 8 January 2014.

Your responses will be very much appreciated

If you require further information, please do not hesitate to contact me by email at sopmjs@sheffield.ac.uk. By completing the questionnaire, I assume that you are consenting to the research and that you agree to the conditions as stated in this accompanying email.

Regards and thank you in advance

Maria Smith

PhD student. Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield

Associate Lecturer. Politics, Sociology and Psychology, Sheffield Hallam University

Information sheet for qualitative stage

This interview forms part of my PhD study in the Department of Sociological Studies at the University of Sheffield. The research is examining whether different occupational groups and men and women have different levels of pay satisfaction. It also aims to look at explanations for this. This interview therefore involves questions about both your work and your home life.

Although this research is concerned with attitudes to pay, it has no connection with the management of the university. It is being conducted solely for the my PhD research.

Your involvement in this research is voluntary. You do not have to take part, if you do take part you, do not have to answer all questions. You may withdraw from this research at any point, either before, during or after this interview. However, you may only withdraw whilst the data collection period of the research is ongoing. If you choose to withdraw later, the findings of the research may already have been published.

Your participation in this research is anonymous. Nobody will know that you have taken part. Nobody will be told what you have said. Responses are collated and analysed by theme.

The interview will, with your permission be audio recorded and then transcribed in full. All information which could identify you will immediately be removed from the transcript. The Word file will then be stored securely in a password protected file. Nobody but myself has access to this file. The file will be named with a number. The audio recording will be deleted.

The interview will be conducted on university premises Monday - Friday between the hours of 9.00 am and 5.00 pm.

The main output of the research is my PhD thesis. It is also anticipated that the findings will be presented at academic conferences and in academic journals. All findings will be presented in an anonymised format, including the name of the universities where people work.

My PhD is being undertaken in the Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield. My academic supervisor is Dr. Zoe Irving. You may contact Dr. Irving by email z.m.irving@sheffield.ac.uk. This research was given ethical approval by the University of Sheffield on (insert date).

If you require further information about this research, please contact me on sop11mjs@sheffield.ac.uk

Consent form for qualitative stage

Name of research participant

Date

- I agree to being interviewed for this research project about attitudes to pay in higher education. The research is being undertaken for the purposes of Maria Smith's PhD study.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary. I do not have to answer all the questions. I may withdraw from the study up until the end of the data collection period.
- I understand that any data collected from this interview will be stored securely and anonymised.
- My participation in the research is not divulged to any third party including other staff and/or managers at the university.
- The interview is audio recorded and then transcribed. The recording is then deleted. If I do not wish the interview to be audio recorded then I must inform the researcher before or during the interview.
- The interview will take place on university premises.
- The outputs of the research are a PhD thesis and academic papers presented at conferences or published in journals.
- I have been given adequate information concerning the study.

signed by research participant

Researcher contact details: Maria Smith, email sop11mjs@sheffield

PhD supervisor: Dr. Zoe Irving, email zoe.irving@york.ac.uk

APPENDIX 5

SURVEY PROFILE

Appendix Table 5.1 University worked at

	%
Old university	40
New university	60
Sample size	732

Appendix Table 5.2 Gender

	%
Male	34.1
Female	65.5
Transgender	0.4
Sample size	716

Appendix Table 5.3 Occupational group

	%
Administrative	34.6
Academic	34.2
Technical	8.1
Manual	4.7
Research	10.4
Other	8.1
Sample size	731

Appendix Table 5.4 Type of employment

	%
Full-time	77.4
Part-time	22.6
Sample size	718

Appendix Table 5.5 Age group

	%
25 years or younger	6.7
26 - 35	28.8
36 - 45	27.2
46 - 55	21.5
56 - 65	14.9
66 years or older	0.8
Sample size	716

Appendix Table 5.6 Educated to degree level

	%
Yes	85.9
No	13.6
Not sure	0.6
Sample size	714

Appendix Table 5.7 Ethnic group

	%
Other ethnic group	1.3
White Welsh/English/Scottish/Northern Irish	85.7
White Irish	2.7
White gypsy or Irish traveller	0.3
Other white background	5.3
White and Black Caribbean	0.6
White and Black African	0.1
White and Asian	1.3
Other mixed/multiple group	1.4
Asian Indian	0.6
Asian Pakistani	0.1
Asian Chinese	0.3
Other Asian background	0.4
Sample size	713

Appendix Table 5.8 Salary

	Full-time only %	All participants %
£10,000 or under	0.0	3.4
£10,001 to £20,000	11.8	17.6
£20,001 to £30,000	30.5	28.4
£30,001 to £40,000	25.5	24.1
£40,001 to £50,000	20.5	17.2
£50,001 to £60,000	10.0	7.7
£60,001 or more	1.8	1.5
Sample size	551	714

Appendix Table 5.9 Gender by occupational group

	Male %	Female %
Administrative	20.6	41.6
Academic	37.4	32.6
Technical	17.7	3.2
Manual	7.4	3.2
Research	10.7	10.0
Other	6.2	9.4
Chi Square p value	0.000 Cramer's V = 0.316	
Sample size	712	

Appendix Table 5.10 Gender by type of employment

	Male %	Female %
Full-time	89.8	71.2
Part-time	10.2	28.8
Chi Square p value	0.000 Cramer's V = 0.211	
Sample size	712	

Appendix Table 5.11 Gender by salary: Chi Square (full-time only)

	Male	Female
	%	%
£10,000 or under	0	0
£10,001 to £20,000	9.7	13.3
£20,001 to £30,000	26.7	32.7
£30,001 to £40,000	24.0	26.4
£40,001 to £50,000	25.8	17.0
£50,001 to £60,000	11.5	9.1
£60,001 or more	2.3	1.5
Chi Square p value	0.090	
Sample size	547	

Appendix Table 5.12 Gender by salary: Mean Rank (full-time only)

	n	Mean Rank
Male	217	296.33
Female	330	259.31
Mann Whitney U p value	0.006	

Appendix Table 5.13 Type of employment by occupational group

	Full-time	Part-time
	%	%
Administrative	75.6	24.4
Academic	77.7	22.3
Technical	93.2	6.8
Manual	63.6	36.4
Research	80.8	19.2
'Other'	71.2	28.8
Chi Square p value	0.014 Cramer's V = 0.141	
Sample size	717	

APPENDIX 6

INTERVIEWEE PROFILES

Appendix Table 6.1 Anna

University	New
Gender	Female
Occupation	Administrative
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Age	36-45 years old
Salary	£20 - £30K
Who live with	Lives with partner and one of their grown up children
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	Mostly female
How much enjoy this job	Enjoys (4 on a 5 point scale)
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	No
Work for money to provide for other family members	No
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	No
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	No
Work for the social aspects of the job	No
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	No
Control over the amount of work	No control (1 on a 5 point scale)
Control over the type of work	No control (2 on a 5 point scale)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	3 on a 5 point scale
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	3 on a 5 point scale
Is your occupation respected	Yes (4 on a 5 point scale)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Yes (4 on a 5 point scale)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Yes (5 on a 5 point scale)
Dependent children	No
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	It is shared
Who does the cleaning	I do
Who does the garden	I do
Who does the DIY	Someone else
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Disagree (2 on a 5 point scale)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a 5 point scale)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Disagree (2 on a 5 point scale)

Appendix Table 6.2 Bob

University	Old
Gender	Male
Occupation	Technician
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£40 - £50K
Age	36 - 45 years
Who live with	Alone
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	Mostly male
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys (4 on a 5 point scale)
Work for money for essential items	No
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	Yes
Work for money to provide for other family members	No
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	No
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	Yes
Work for the social aspects of the job	No
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes but not as many hours
Control over the amount of work	Has control (5 on a 5 point scale)
Control over the type of work	Has control (4 on a 5 point scale)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	No (1 on a 5 point scale)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	No (1 on a 5 point scale)
Is your occupation respected	3 on a 5 point scale
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	No (2 on a 5 point scale)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	No (2 on a 5 point scale)
Dependent children	No
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	I do
Who does the cleaning	I do
Who does the gardening	I do
Who does the DIY	I do
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Agree (4 on a 5 point scale)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a 5 point scale)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Agree (4 on a 5 point scale)

Appendix Table 6.3 Andrew

University	Old
Gender	Male
Occupation	Academic
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£50 - £60K
Age	36 - 45 years
Who live with	Lives with wife and two young children
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	About even male and female
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (5 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	Yes
Work for money to provide for myself	Yes
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	Yes
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	Yes
Work for the social aspects of the job	No
Main breadwinner	No
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes
Control over the amount of work	Has control (5 on a scale of 5)
Control over the type of work	Has control (5 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation respected	Yes (5 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Satisfied (5 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Satisfied (5 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	Yes
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	Shared equally
Who does the cleaning	Employ someone
Who does the gardening	Shared equally
Who does the DIY	I do
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Agree (4 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.4 Euan

University	New
Gender	Male
Occupation	Has 2 posts one Administrative and one academic
Full-time or part-time	Part-time
Salary	£10 - £20K
Age	36 - 45 years
Who live with	Lives with partner and young daughter
Ethnicity	White Scottish
Gender of people in work department	About even male and female
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (5 on scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	No
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	No
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	Yes
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	No
Work for the social aspects of the job	No
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes
Control over the amount of work	No control (1 on a scale of 5)
Control over the type of work	No control (1 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation respected	3 on a scale of 5
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	3 on a scale of 5
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	3 on a scale of 5
Dependent children	Yes
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	Shared equally
Who does the cleaning	Shared equally
Who does the gardening	Shared equally
Who does the DIY	Shared equally
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Agree (1 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.5 Bradley

University	New
Gender	Male
Occupation	Manual
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£10 - £20K
Age	56 - 65 years
Who live with	Lives with partner
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	Mostly male
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (4 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	No
Work for money to provide for other family members	No
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	No
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	No
Work for the social aspects of the job	No
Main breadwinner	No
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes but not as many hours/days
Control over the amount of work	No control (1 on a scale of 5)
Control over the type of work	No control (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	Paid too much (4 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	Paid too much (4 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation respected	Not respected (2 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	3 on a scale of 5
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	3 on a scale of 5
Dependent children	No
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	Someone else in the household
Who does the cleaning	Shared equally
Who does the gardening	Someone else in the household
Who does the DIY	I do
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Disagree (2 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Agree (5 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.6 Jim

University	New
Gender	Male
Occupation	Technical
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£30 - £40K
Age	56 - 65 years
Who live with	Wife (grown up children left home)
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	Slightly more males
Enjoyment of job	Doesn't enjoy job (2 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	Yes
Work for money to provide for myself	Yes
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	No
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	No
Work for the social aspects of the job	Yes
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	No
Control over the amount of work	3 on scale of 5
Control over the type of work	No control (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	Paid too much (4 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	Paid too much (4 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation respected	Respected (4 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Satisfied (4 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Satisfied (4 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	No
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	It is shared
Who does the cleaning	It is shared
Who does the gardening	It is shared
Who does the DIY	I do
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Agree (5 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	3 on a scale of 5
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Agree (4 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.7 Gill

University	Old
Gender	Female
Occupation	Administrative
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£10 - £20K
Age	26 - 35 years
Who live with	Lives alone
Ethnicity	White Irish
Gender of people in work department	Mostly female
Enjoyment of job	3 on a scale of 5
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	Yes
Work for money to provide for other family members	No
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	No
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	No
Work for the social aspects of the job	No
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	No
Control over the amount of work	No control (2 on a scale of 5)
Control over the type of work	No control (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	Paid too little (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation respected	3 on a scale of 5
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	No
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	I do
Who does the cleaning	I do
Who does the gardening	I do
Who does the DIY	I do
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Agree (4 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (2 on a scale of 5)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Disagree (2 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.8 Jason

University	Old
Gender	Male
Occupation	Administrative
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£20 - £30k
Age	26 - 35 years
Who live with	Partner
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	Mostly female
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (4 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	Yes
Work for money to provide for myself	Yes
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	Yes
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	Yes
Work for the social aspects of the job	Yes
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	No
Control over the amount of work	No control (2 on a scale of 5)
Control over the type of work	No control (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	Paid too little (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	Paid too little (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation respected	No (2 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Not satisfied (1 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	No
Care of other relatives	Yes but not living at home with me
Who does the laundry	Someone else
Who does the cleaning	It is shared
Who does the gardening	I do
Who does the DIY	I do
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Agree (5 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	3 on a scale of 5

Appendix Table 6.9 Lena

University	Old
Gender	Female
Occupation	Researcher
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£30 - £40k
Age	26 - 35 years
Who live with	Lives with partner
Ethnicity	White European
Gender of people in work department	Mostly female
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (5 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	No
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	No
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	Yes
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	Yes
Work for the social aspects of the job	No
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes but not as many hours
Control over the amount of work	3 on a scale of 3
Control over the type of work	Has control (4 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	3 on a scale of 3
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	3 on a scale of 3
Is your occupation respected	Yes (4 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	3 on a scale of 3
Dependent children	No
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	Someone else
Who does the cleaning	It is shared
Who does the gardening	Someone else
Who does the DIY	Employ someone
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.10 Adrianna

University	New
Gender	Female
Occupation	Academic
Full-time or part-time	Part-time
Salary	£20 - £30k
Age	36 - 45 years
Who live with	Lives with partner and two young children
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	About even male and female
Enjoyment of job	Does not enjoy job (2 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	No
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	No
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	No
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	No
Work for the social aspects of the job	No
Main breadwinner	No
If won the lottery would continue to work	Missing
Control over the amount of work	No control (2 on a scale of 5)
Control over the type of work	3 on a scale of 3
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	Paid too little (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	Paid too little (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation respected	Yes (4 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Satisfied (4 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	Yes
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	I do
Who does the cleaning	I do
Who does the gardening	It is shared
Who does the DIY	Employ someone
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Agree (1 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (2 on a scale of 5)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.11 Sally

University	New
Gender	Female
Occupation	Other (note taker for students with disabilities, part-time library worker and invigilator)
Full-time or part-time	Part-time
Salary	£10 - £20k
Age	46 - 55 years
Who live with	Lives with partner and teenage children
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	Slightly more female
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (5 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	No
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	No
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	No
Work for the social aspects of the job	Yes
Main breadwinner	No
If won the lottery would continue to work	No
Control over the amount of work	3 on a scale of 5
Control over the type of work	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation respected	Yes (4 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	Yes
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	I do
Who does the cleaning	I do and employ someone
Who does the gardening	I do
Who does the DIY	Someone else
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Agree (5 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	3 on a scale of 3
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.12 Penny

University	New
Gender	Female
Occupation	Academic
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£60k or more
Age	56 - 65 years
Who live with	Husband
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	About even male and female
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (5 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	No
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	No
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	No
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	No
Work for the social aspects of the job	No
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes but not as many hours
Control over the amount of work	Has control (5 on a scale of 5)
Control over the type of work	Has control (5 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	Paid too little (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	Paid too little (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation respected	Not respected (2 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	No
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	Someone else
Who does the cleaning	Someone else
Who does the gardening	Someone else
Who does the DIY	Someone else
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Disagree (2 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.13 Jenny

University	Old
Gender	Female
Occupation	Manual
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£10 - £20k
Age	46 - 55 years
Who live with	Lives with her almost grown up son
Ethnicity	White Scottish
Gender of people in work department	Mostly male
Enjoyment of job	Doesn't enjoy job (2 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	No
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	No
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	No
Work for the social aspects of the job	No
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	No
Control over the amount of work	3 on a scale of 5
Control over the type of work	Missing
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation respected	No
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	Yes
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	I do
Who does the cleaning	I do
Who does the gardening	I do
Who does the DIY	I do
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.14 Amanda

University	New
Gender	Female
Occupation	Technician
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£20 - £30k
Age	56 - 65 years
Who live with	Lives with husband and sometimes also with her grown up son
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	Slightly more male
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (5 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	No
Work for money for luxury items	Yes
Work for money to provide for myself	No
Work for money to provide for other family members	No
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	Yes
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	Yes
Work for the social aspects of the job	Yes
Main breadwinner	No
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes but not as many hours or days
Control over the amount of work	No control (1 on a scale of 5)
Control over the type of work	No control (1 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	Paid too little (1 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	Paid too little (1 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation respected	Not respected (1 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	Yes
Care of other relatives	Missing
Who does the laundry	I do
Who does the cleaning	I do
Who does the gardening	Someone else
Who does the DIY	Someone else
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Disagree (2 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.15 George

University	Old
Gender	Male
Occupation	Researcher
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£30 - £40k
Age	56 - 65 years
Who live with	Lives with partner and son
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	Mostly male
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (5 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	Yes
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	Yes
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	No
Work for the social aspects of the job	Yes
Main breadwinner	No
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes
Control over the amount of work	Has control (5 on a scale of 5)
Control over the type of work	Has control (5 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	Paid too little (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	Paid too little (1 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation respected	3 on a scale of 5
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	Yes
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	It is shared
Who does the cleaning	Employ someone
Who does the gardening	Someone else
Who does the DIY	I do
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Agree (4 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.16 Amy

University	Old
Gender	Female
Occupation	Researcher
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£20 - £30k
Age	26 - 35 years
Who live with	Lives with partner
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	About even male and female
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	Yes
Work for money to provide for myself	Yes
Work for money to provide for other family members	No
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	Yes
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	Yes
Work for the social aspects of the job	Yes
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes but not as many hours or days
Control over the amount of work	3 on a scale of 5
Control over the type of work	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation respected	Respected (4 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Satisfied (4 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Satisfied (4 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	No
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	I do
Who does the cleaning	Someone else
Who does the gardening	Someone else
Who does the DIY	Someone else
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Disagree (2 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.17 Niamh

University	New
Gender	Female
Occupation	Other (space management)
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£20 - £30k
Age	36 - 45 years
Who live with	Lives with partner
Ethnicity	White Irish
Gender of people in work department	Slightly more males
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (4 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	Yes
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	Yes
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	Yes
Work for the social aspects of the job	No
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	No
Control over the amount of work	Has control (5 on a scale of 5)
Control over the type of work	Has control (4 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	Paid too little (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	Paid too little (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation respected	3 on a scale of 3
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Not satisfied (1 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	No
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	It is shared
Who does the cleaning	It is shared
Who does the gardening	It is shared
Who does the DIY	It is shared
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Missing
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Missing
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Missing

Appendix Table 6.18 David

University	New
Gender	Male
Occupation	Administrative
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£60k or more
Age	46 - 55 years
Who live with	Lives with wife and three children
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	Slightly more males
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (5 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	Yes
Work for money to provide for myself	Yes
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	Yes
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	Yes
Work for the social aspects of the job	Yes
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes
Control over the amount of work	Has control (4 on a scale of 5)
Control over the type of work	Has control (5 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	Paid too much (4 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation respected	Respected 4 on a scale of 5
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	3 on a scale of 5
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	3 on a scale of 5
Dependent children	Yes
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	Someone else
Who does the cleaning	Shared
Who does the gardening	Employ someone
Who does the DIY	Employ someone
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Disagree (2 on a scale of 5)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	3 on a scale of 5
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	3 on a scale of 5

Appendix Table 6.19 Anthony

University	Old
Gender	Male
Occupation	Academic
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£40 - £50k
Age	46-55 years
Who live with	Lives alone, daughter from previous marriage stays
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	Slightly more males
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (4 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	No
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	No
Work for money to provide for other family members	No
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	No
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	Yes
Work for the social aspects of the job	No
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes but not as many hours or days
Control over the amount of work	No control (2 on a scale of 5)
Control over the type of work	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	Paid too little (2 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	Paid too little (1 on a scale of 5)
Is your occupation respected	Respected (5 on a scale of 5)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	3 on a scale of 5
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Not satisfied (2 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	Yes
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	It is shared
Who does the cleaning	Someone else
Who does the gardening	Someone else
Who does the DIY	I do
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	3 on a scale of 5
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	3 on a scale of 5
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Agree (5 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.20 Leo

University	New
Gender	Male
Occupation	Administrative
Full-time or part-time	Full-time
Salary	£20 - £30k
Age	26 - 35 years
Who live with	Lives with friends/flatmates
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	Mostly female
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (5 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	No
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	Yes
Work for money to provide for other family members	No
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	Yes
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	Yes
Work for the social aspects of the job	No
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes
Control over the amount of work	Has control (4 on a 5 point scale)
Control over the type of work	3 on a scale of 5
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	Not paid enough (2 on a 5 point scale)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	3 on a 5 point scale
Is your occupation respected	Respected (4 on a 5 point scale)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Satisfied (4 on a 5 point scale)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	3 on a 5 point scale
Dependent children	No
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	It is shared
Who does the cleaning	It is shared
Who does the gardening	N/A
Who does the DIY	It is shared
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Agree (4 on a 5 point scale)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a 5 point scale)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Disagree (1 on a 5 point scale)

Appendix Table 6.21 Claire

University	Old
Gender	Female
Occupation	Other - Careers Service
Full-time or part-time	Part-time
Salary	£30- £40k
Age	36-45 years
Who live with	Lives alone
Ethnicity	White English
Gender of people in work department	Slightly more females
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (4 on a scale of 5)
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	Yes
Work for money to provide for myself	Yes
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	Yes
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	Yes
Work for the social aspects of the job	Yes
Main breadwinner	Yes
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes but not as many hours or days
Control over the amount of work	Has control (5 on a 5 point scale)
Control over the type of work	Has control (5 on a 5 point scale)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	3 on a scale of 3
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	3 on a scale of 3
Is your occupation respected	3 on a scale of 3
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	3 on a scale of 3
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	Satisfied (5 on a scale of 5)
Dependent children	No
Care of other relatives	Yes but not living at home with her
Who does the laundry	I do
Who does the cleaning	I do
Who does the gardening	I so
Who does the DIY	Employ someone
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	3 on a scale of 3
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	Disagree (1 on a scale of 5)

Appendix Table 6.22 Sasha

University	New and Old
Gender	Female
Occupation	Other (student support) and academic (part-time casual lecturer)
Full-time or part-time	Part-time
Salary	£10 - £20k
Age	36 - 45 years
Who live with	Lives with husband
Ethnicity	Latin American
Gender of people in work department	Mostly female
Enjoyment of job	Enjoys job (4 on a 5 point scale)
Work for money for essential items	Yes
Work for money for luxury items	No
Work for money to provide for myself	Yes
Work for money to provide for other family members	Yes
Work because of enjoyment of the work itself	Yes
Work for self fulfilment or self esteem	Yes
Work for the social aspects of the job	Yes
Main breadwinner	No
If won the lottery would continue to work	Yes but not as many hours or days
Control over the amount of work	3 on 5 point scale
Control over the type of work	Has control (4 on a 5 point scale)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do	Paid too little (2 on a 5 point scale)
Is your occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	Paid too little (2 on a 5 point scale)
Is your occupation respected	3 on a 5 point scale
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to the standard of living you have	Not satisfied (2 on a 5 point scale)
Are you satisfied with your pay in relation to what similar occupations receive	3 on a 5 point scale
Dependent children	No
Care of other relatives	No
Who does the laundry	I do
Who does the cleaning	It is shared
Who does the gardening	I do
Who does the DIY	It is shared
A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work	Disagree (2 on a 5 point scale)
Women should be the main carers of young children or elderly relatives	Disagree (1 on a 5 point scale)
Men cannot choose to work or not in the way that women can	3 on a 5 point scale

APPENDIX 7

UNIVERSITY WORKED AT AND PAY SATISFACTION

Appendix Table 7.1 University worked at by pay satisfaction: Chi square p values and Cramer's V

Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3		4/5 - paid far too much	
Old university	13.0	36.6	45.9		4.5	n = 724
New university	8.8	29.9	52.5		8.8	0.009 Cramer's V = 0.127
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
Old university	17.8	35.3	41.4	5.5	0	n = 727
New university	13.3	33.1	47.4	6.2	0	0.254
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Old university	7.5	22.5	31.4	28.7	9.9	n = 730
New university	6.2	24.3	33.0	30.0	6.6	0.514
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
Old university	14.0	31.8	25.3	21.6	7.2	n = 729
New university	11.4	24.0	31.6	19.9	13.0	0.011 Cramer's V = 0.134

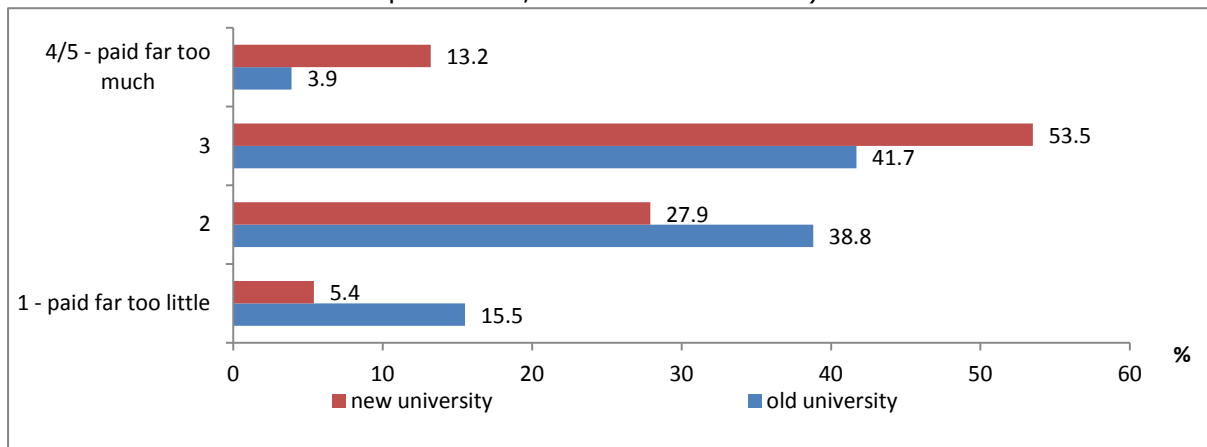
Appendix Table 7.2 University worked at by pay satisfaction: Mean Ranks

	n	Mean Rank
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Old University	292	333.75
New university	432	381.93
Mann Whitney U p value	0.001	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Old University	292	347.00
New university	435	375.41
Mann Whitney U p value	0.055	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Old University	293	370.41
New university	437	362.21
Mann Whitney U p value	0.593	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Old University	292	341.40
New university	437	380.77
Mann Whitney U p value	0.011	

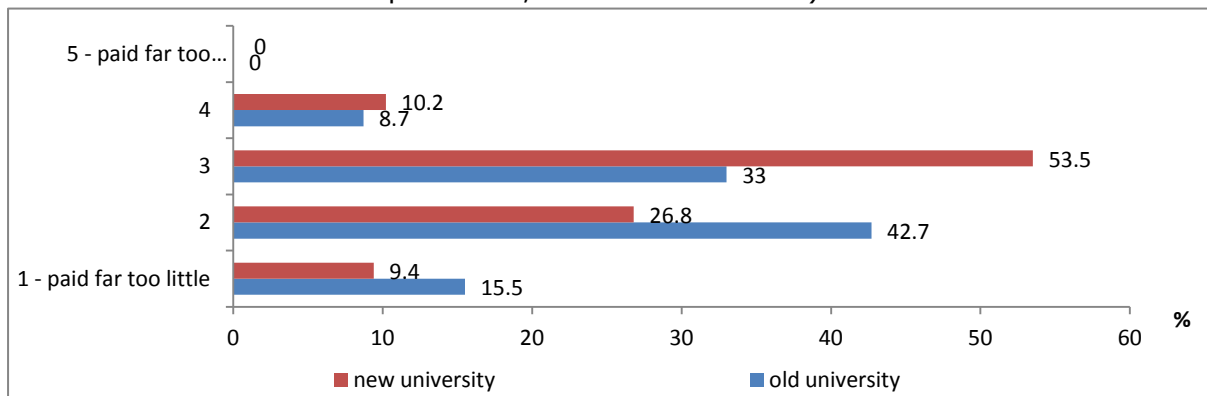
Appendix Table 7.3 University worked at by pay satisfaction amongst salary groups: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V (full time only)

	£30,000 or less	£30,001 or more	£40,000 or less	£40,001 or more
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do	0.002 Cramer's V = 0.255	0.985	0.008 Cramer's V = 0.178	0.970
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed	0.009 Cramer's V = 0.224	0.654	0.024 Cramer's V = 0.160	*
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living	0.422	0.044 Cramer's V = 0.176	0.555	0.079
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid	0.000 Cramer's V = 0.323	0.455	0.001 Cramer's V = 0.226	0.471

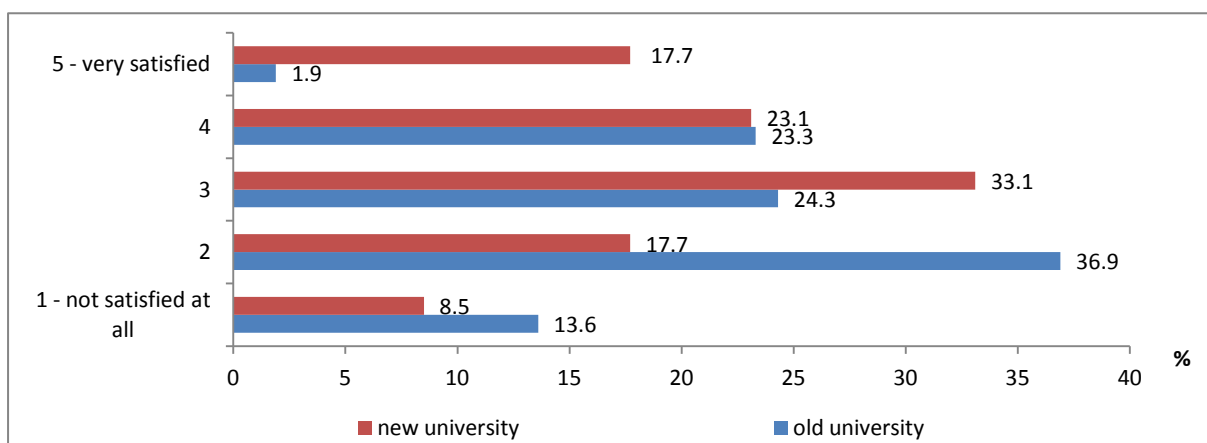
Appendix Figure 7.1 University worked at by perceptions of occupational pay considering the nature of what you do amongst those who earn £30,000 or less full-time only (n = 232, p ≤ 0.002, Cramer's V = 0.255)



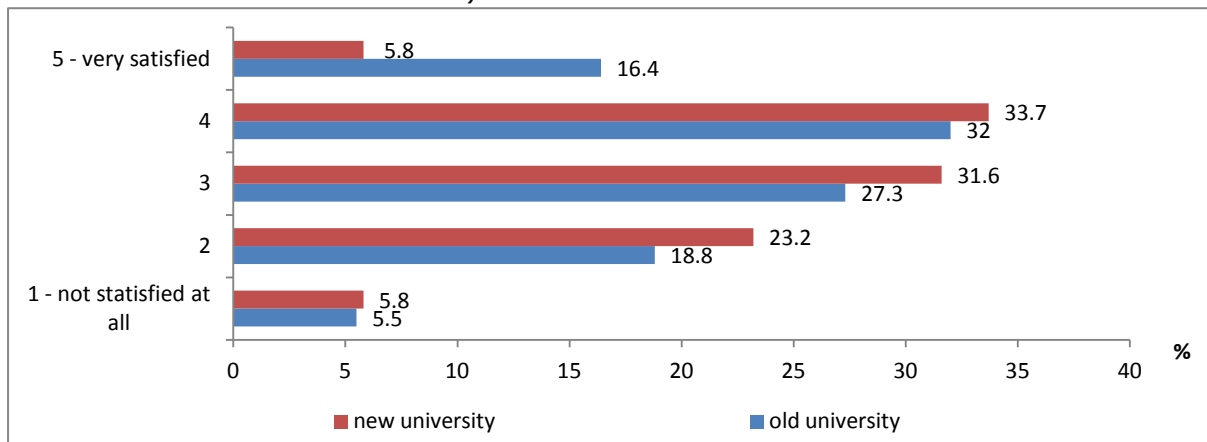
Appendix Figure 7.2 University worked at by perceptions of occupational pay considering the skills/training needed amongst those who earn £30,000 or less full-time only (n = 230, p ≤ 0.009, Cramer's V = 0.224)



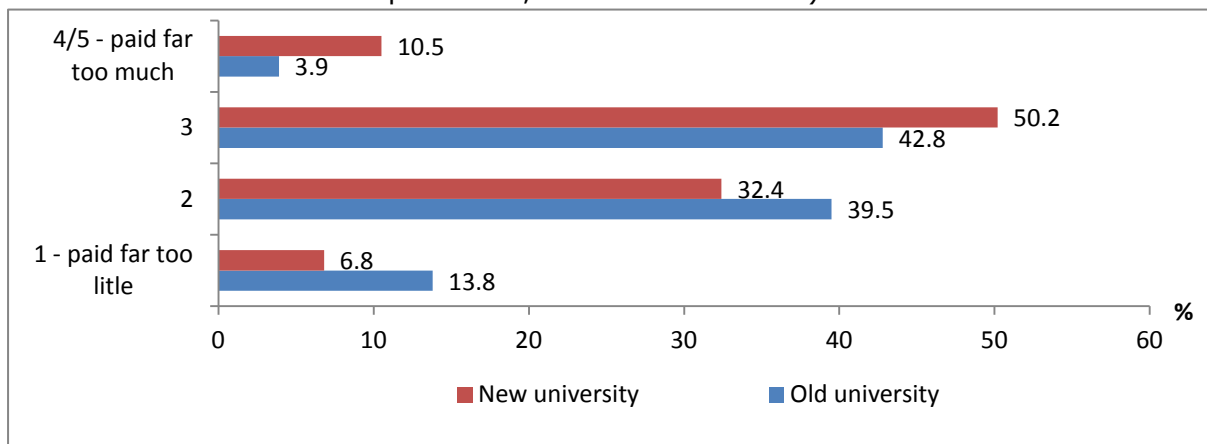
Appendix Figure 7.3 University worked at by pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive amongst those who earn £30,000 or less (n = 233, p ≤ 0.000, Cramer's V = 0.323)



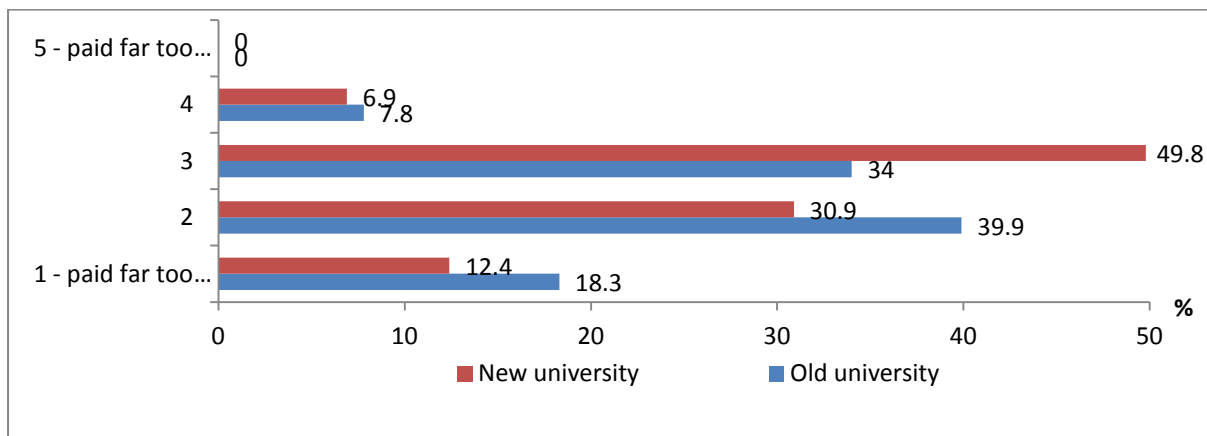
Appendix Figure 7.4 University worked at by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst those who earn £30,001 or more full-time only (n = 318, p ≤ 0.044, Cramer's V = 0.176)



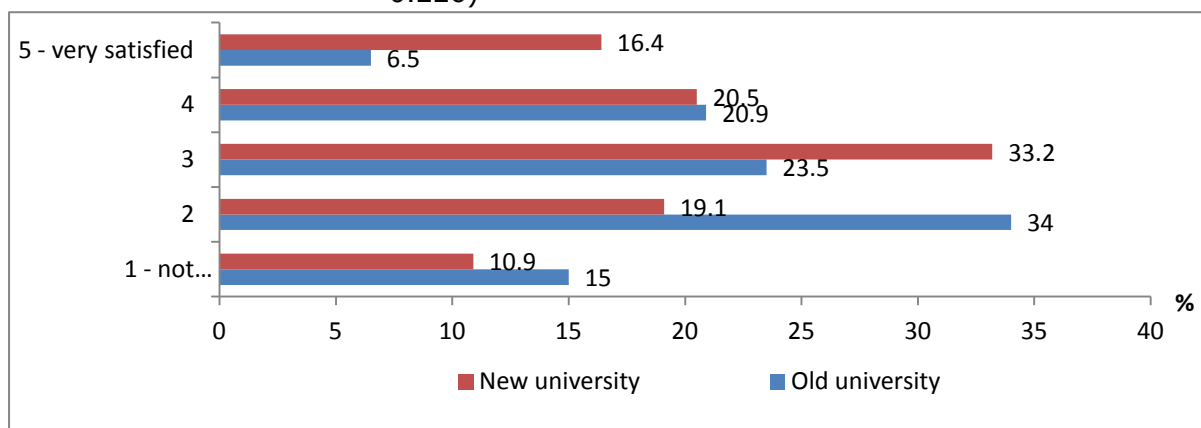
Appendix Figure 7.5 University worked at by perceptions of occupational pay considering the nature of what you do amongst those who earn £40,000 or less full-time only (n = 371, p ≤ 0.008, Cramer's V = 0.178)



Appendix Figure 7.6 University worked at by perceptions of occupational pay considering skills/training needed amongst those who earn £40,000 or less full-time only (n = 370, p ≤ 0.024, Cramer's V = 0.160)



Appendix Figure 7.7 University worked at by pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive amongst those who earn £40,000 or less (n = 373, p ≤ 0.001, Cramer's V = 0.226)



Appendix Table 7.4 University worked at by pay satisfaction amongst salary groups: Mann Whitney U p values (full-time only)

	£20,000 or less	£20,001-£30,000	£30,001-£40,000	£40,001-£50,000	£50,001 or more
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do	0.032	0.002	0.618	0.919	0.926
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed	0.368	0.004	0.535	0.897	0.983
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living	0.146	0.230	0.216	0.544	0.110
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid	0.080	0.000	0.545	0.663	0.251

**Appendix Table 7.4a Pay satisfaction by university amongst salary groups:
Mean Ranks (full-time only)**

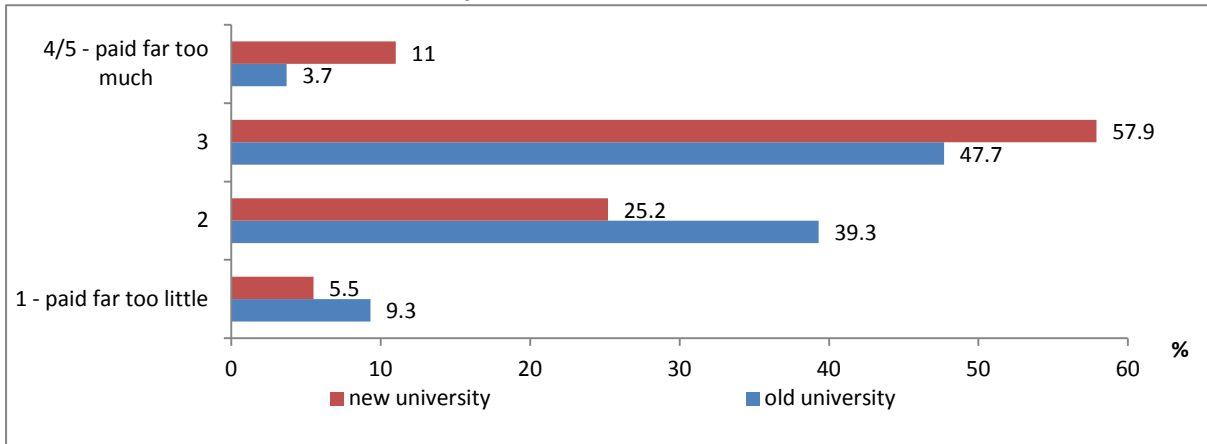
	£20,000 or less		£20,001 - £30,000					
	Occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do		Occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do		Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Old university	29	27.81	74	71.95	74	72.36	74	69.96
New university	36	37.18	93	95.59	92	92.46	94	95.95
Mann Whitney U p value	0.032		0.002		0.004		0.000	

Appendix Table 7.5 University worked at by satisfaction amongst occupational groups: Chi Square and Mann Whitney U p values, Cramer's V (a)

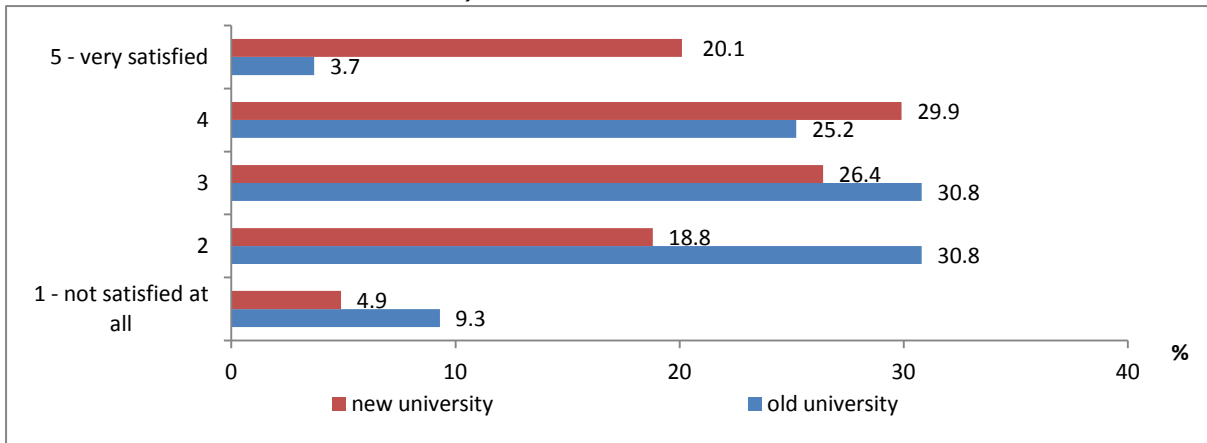
	Admin.	Academic	Technical	Research	Other
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do					
Chi Square and Cramer's V	0.016 Cramer's V = 0.202	0.960	*	*	*
Mann Whitney U	0.002	0.669	0.009	0.094	0.746
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed					
Chi Square and Cramer's V	0.167	*	*	*	*
Mann Whitney	0.163	0.817	0.032	0.039	0.457
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living					
Chi Square and Cramer's V	0.960	0.008 Cramer's V = 0.235	*	*	*
Mann Whitney U	0.103	0.006	0.129	0.454	0.176
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid					
Chi Square and Cramer's V	0.001 Cramer's V = 275	0.205	*	*	*
Mann Whitney U	0.000	0.460	0.041	0.050	0.758

(a) manual staff excluded as group too small for analysis

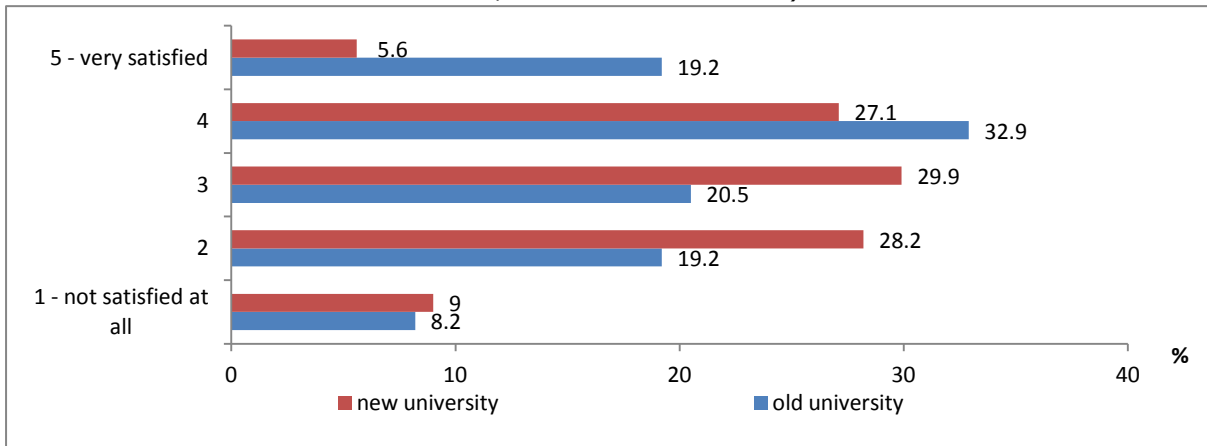
Appendix Figure 7.10 University worked at by perceptions of occupational pay considering the nature of what you do amongst administrative staff (n = 252, p ≤ 0.016, Cramer's V = 0.202)



Appendix Figure 7.11 University worked at by pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations are paid amongst administrative staff (n = 251, p ≤ 0.001, Cramer's V = 0.275)



Appendix Figure 7.12 University worked at by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst academic staff (n = 250, p ≤ 0.008, Cramer's V = 0.235)



Appendix Table 7.6a University worked at by pay satisfaction amongst administrative staff: Mean Ranks

	Occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Old university	107	111.36	107	105.43
New university	145	137.67	144	141.28
Mann Whitney U p value	0.002		0.000	

Appendix Table 7.6b University worked at by pay satisfaction amongst technical staff: Mean Ranks

	Occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do		Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Old university	21	22.62	21	23.86	21	24.10
New university	38	34.08	38	33.39	38	33.26
Mann Whitney U p value	0.009		0.032		0.041	

Appendix Table 7.6c University worked at by pay satisfaction amongst academic and research staff: Mean Ranks

	Academic		Research			
	Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Old university	73	144.53	52	35.19	52	35.26
New university	177	117.65	24	45.67	24	45.52
Mann Whitney U p value	0.006		0.039		0.050	

Appendix Table 7.7 University worked at by control over *amount* and *type* of work, occupational segregation, perception of respect and enjoyment: Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

Control over the amount of work						
	1 - no control	2	3	4	5 - a lot of control	
Old university	11.5	22.9	33.7	21.9	10.1	n = 726 0.046 Cramer's V = 0.116
New university	17.1	21.7	37.7	17.1	6.4	
Control over the type of work						
	1 - no control	2	3	4	5 - a lot of control	
Old university	9.9	23.3	33.2	26.0	7.5	n = 730 0.940
New university	11.4	24	33.6	24.4	6.6	
Occupational segregation						
	Mostly male	Slightly more male	About the same	Slightly more female	Mostly female	
Old university	17.7	13.3	20.5	17.1	31.4	n = 730 0.963
New university	18.1	11.4	20.6	17.8	32	
Occupational respect						
	1 - not respected at all	2	3	4	5 - respected a great deal	
Old university	7.5	25.7	32.2	27.1	6.8	n = 724 0.479
New university	6.0	25.2	30.3	33.3	5.1	
Enjoyment of job						
	1 - do not enjoy at all	2	3	4	5 - enjoy very much	
Old university	2.0	6.1	19.1	47.1	25.6	n = 732 0.873
New university	1.1	6.4	20.7	46.5	25.3	

Appendix Table 7.8 University worked at by control over *amount* and *type* of work, occupational segregation, perceptions of respect and enjoyment: Mean Ranks

	Control Over the amount of work		Control Over the type of work			
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank		
Old university	288	386.09	292	373.19		
New university	438	348.64	438	360.37		
Mann Whitney U p value	0.015		0.404			
	Occupational segregation		Perceptions of respect		Enjoyment of work	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
Old university	293	362.75	292	355.30	293	367.83
New University	437	367.35	432	367.37	439	365.61
Mann Whitney U p value	0.767		0.428		0.882	

(Higher rank value equals either more control, more respect, more female orientated or more enjoyment)

APPENDIX 8

HOUSEHOLD CHORES AND PAY SATISFACTION

Appendix Table 8.1 Who does the cleaning? The intersection of gender and household composition: Chi Square and Cramer's V

	I do	Someone else	It is shared	Employ someone	Sample size (n)
Whole sample					
Male (%)	26.4	21.3	46.8	5.5	n = 697 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.293
Female (%)	49.4	6.1	35.3	9.3	
Live with a partner					
Male (%)	8.0	24.5	59.5	8.0	n = 504 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.405
Female (%)	41.9	5.6	42.2	10.3	
Live with a partner and child(ren)					
Male (%)	7.2	28.9	54.2	9.6	n = 214 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.524
Female (%)	46.6	2.3	35.9	15.3	

Appendix Table 8.2 Who does the laundry? The intersection of gender and household composition: Chi Square and Cramer's V

	I do	Someone else	It is shared	Employ someone	Sample size (n)
Whole sample					
Male (%)	29.2	35.0	35.4	0.4	n = 703 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.401
Female (%)	63.3	7.1	29.6	0	
Live with a partner					
Male (%)	11.4	45.2	43.4	0	n = 509 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.520
Female (%)	58.3	7.9	33.8	0	
Live with a partner and child(ren)					
Male (%)	8.2	51.8	40	0	n = 219 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.645
Female (%)	64.9	4.5	30.6	0	

Appendix Table 8.3 Who does the DIY? The intersection of gender and household composition: Chi Square and Cramer's V

	I do	Someone else	It is shared	Employ someone	Sample size (n)
Whole sample					
Male (%)	73.9	5.7	15.2	5.2	n = 675 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.513
Female (%)	22.2	38.2	29.9	9.7	
Live with a partner					
Male (%)	72.0	3.7	18.3	6.1	n = 498 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.656
Female (%)	9.9	46.7	35.9	7.5	
Live with a partner and child(ren)					
Male (%)	75.3	2.4	20.0	2.4	n = 215 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.725
Female (%)	7.4	53.1	33.8	5.4	

Appendix Table 8.4 Household laundry by pay satisfaction amongst main breadwinners: Mean Ranks

	Live with partner		Live with partner and child(ren)	
	Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive		Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
I do	105	160.10	34	71.90
Someone else	77	127.53	41	53.99
It is shared	111	148.12	44	56.41
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.030		0.031	

Appendix Table 8.5 Household DIY by pay satisfaction amongst part-time and full-time staff: Mean Ranks

	Part-time						Full-time	
	Occupation paid the right amount considering the nature of what you do		Occupation paid the right amount considering the skills/training needed		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations receive	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
I do	36	62.35	36	61.10	35	70.81	235	240.16
Someone else	57	77.78	59	84.93	59	74.91	124	286.70
It is shared	39	85.62	40	84.25	40	91.33	130	268.30
Employ someone	17	68.12	18	66.69	18	59.83	37	317.11
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.041		0.012		0.040		0.003	

Appendix Table 8.6 Cleaning by pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living amongst women: Mean Ranks

	All women		Women who live with partner	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
I do	228	218.59	143	161.34
Someone else	28	202.43	19	139.29
It is shared	163	241.75	144	175.66
Employ someone	43	280.03	35	208.50
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.012		0.024	

Appendix Table 8.7 Household cleaning by pay satisfaction: Chi Square and Cramer's V

Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3		4/5 - paid far too much	
I do	13.3	28.1	51.9		6.7	n = 698 0.134
Someone else	7.4	43.2	43.2		6.2	
It is shared equally	8.3	34.8	48.6		8.3	
Employ someone	5.4	30.4	58.9		5.4	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed						
	1 - paid far too little	2	3	4	5 - paid far too much	
I do	16.0	31.3	16.5	6.3	0	n = 702 0.623
Someone else	12.3	42.0	42.0	3.7	0	
It is shared equally	14.1	35.1	43.5	7.2	0	
Employ someone	15.8	31.6	50.9	1.8	0	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
I do	10.0	24.5	29.7	26.6	9.3	n = 705 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.129
Someone else	4.9	28	37.8	25.6	3.7	
It is shared equally	4.7	21.4	33.7	34.8	5.4	
Employ someone	0	24.6	26.3	28.1	21.1	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid						
	1 - not satisfied at all	2	3	4	5 - very satisfied	
I do	14.9	26.3	26.3	20.1	12.5	n = 705 0.612
Someone else	11.0	32.9	30.5	19.5	6.1	
It is shared equally	10.1	24.9	33.6	20.9	10.5	
Employ someone	10.5	29.8	26.3	21.1	12.3	

Appendix Table 8.8 Household cleaning by pay satisfaction: Mean Ranks

	n	Mean Rank
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
I do	285	347.30
Someone else	81	328.43
It is shared	276	353.11
Employ someone	56	373.38
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.544	
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
I do	288	354.55
Someone else	81	336.46
It is shared	276	353.79
Employ someone	57	346.39
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.880	
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
I do	290	338.19
Someone else	82	324.81
It is shared	276	364.58
Employ someone	57	412.81
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.022	
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
I do	289	348.77
Someone else	82	329.48
It is shared	277	363.42
Employ someone	57	357.63
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.554	

APPENDIX 9

BREADWINNER ROLE AND PAY SATISFACTION

Appendix Table 9.1 **Breadwinner status by pay satisfaction amongst males and females: Chi Square and Mann Whitney U p values, Cramer's V**

	Males	Females
Occupation paid right amount considering the nature of what you do		
Chi Square	0.694	0.392
Mann Whitney U	0.709	0.539
Occupation paid right amount considering the skills/training needed		
Chi Square	0.737	0.685
Mann Whitney U	0.875	0.857
Pay satisfaction in relation to standard of living		
Chi Square	0.347	0.715
Mann Whitney U	0.910	0.346
Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations paid		
Chi Square	0.098	0.998
Mann Whitney U	0.168	0.966

APPENDIX 10

SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND PAY SATISFCTION

Appendix Table 10.1 'A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work full-time:' Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

	1 - disagree strongly	2	3	4	5 - agree strongly	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	18.1	20.1	23.3	25.2	13.2	717
Male (%)	14.0	19.8	21.5	28.9	15.7	n = 707 0.104
Female (%)	20.4	20.2	24.1	23.2	12.0	
Administrative (%)	18.6	21.5	23.9	25.1	10.9	n = 716 ≤ 0.162
Academic (%)	21.5	22.8	20.7	23.6	11.4	
Technical (%)	13.6	16.9	20.3	27.1	22.0	
Manual (%)	8.8	8.8	41.2	29.4	11.8	
Research (%)	18.1	13.9	23.6	30.6	13.9	
Other (%)	12.1	19.0	24.1	22.4	22.4	
Full-time (%)	20.0	21.3	22.9	24.0	11.8	n = 712 0.024 Cramer's V = 0.126
Part-time (%)	12.3	16.0	24.1	29.0	18.5	
Main breadwinner (%)	17.7	19.7	24.6	25.2	12.8	n = 703 0.774
Not main breadwinner (%)	19.1	19.9	20.3	26.3	14.3	
<i>Full-time only</i>						
£20,000 or less (%)	10.8	24.6	16.9	33.8	13.8	n = 546 0.024 Cramer's V = 0.115
£20,001 - £30,000 (%)	16.9	17.5	25.9	24.1	15.7	
£30,001 - £40,000 (%)	27.3	17.3	26.6	20.9	7.9	
£40,001 - £50,000 (%)	17.1	23.4	23.4	24.3	11.7	
£50,001 or more (%)	27.7	30.8	12.3	20.0	9.2	
£30,000 or less (%)	15.2	19.5	23.4	26.8	15.2	n = 546 0.035 Cramer's V = 0.138
£30,001 or more (%)	23.8	22.2	22.5	21.9	9.5	
£40,000 or less (%)	19.7	18.6	24.6	24.6	12.4	n = 546 0.271
£40,001 or more (%)	21.0	26.1	19.3	22.7	10.8	

Appendix Table 10.2 Women should be the carers of young children or elderly relatives' Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

	1 - disagree strongly	2	3	4	5 - agree strongly	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	59.5	20.8	15.1	3.8	0.8	713
Male (%)	51.7	24.0	19.0	4.1	1.2	n = 703 0.024 Cramer's V = 0.127
Female (%)	64.0	19.1	13.0	3.5	0.4	
Administrative (%)	57.1	22.4	14.7	5.7		n = 712 0.000 Cramer's V = 0.152
Academic (%)	69.8	17.1	11.4	1.6		
Technical (%)	37.3	30.5	22.0	10.2		
Manual (%)	33.3	21.2	39.4	6.1		
Research (%)	52.8	23.6	18.1	5.6		
Other (%)	70.7	15.5	8.6	5.2		
Full-time (%)	61.5	21.4	13.7	2.7	0.7	n = 708 0.015 Cramer's V = 0.132
Part-time (%)	53.1	18.8	19.4	7.5	1.3	
Main breadwinner (%)	60.2	20.7	14.7	3.3	1.1	n = 680 0.699
Not main breadwinner (%)	57.4	21.3	16.1	4.8	0.4	
<i>Full-time only</i>						
£20,000 or less (%)	46.2	30.8	15.4	7.7		n = 544 0.109
£20,001 - £30,000 (%)	58.2	21.8	15.8	4.2		
£30,001 - £40,000 (%)	69.8	15.1	11.5	3.6		
£40,001 - £50,000 (%)	64.0	20.7	13.5	1.8		
£50,001 or more (%)	65.6	23.4	10.9	0		
£30,000 or less (%)	54.8	24.3	15.7	4.3	0.9	n = 544 0.039 Cramer's V = 0.136
£30,001 or more (%)	66.9	18.8	12.1	1.6	0.6	
£40,000 or less (%)	60.4	20.9	14.1	4.6		n = 544 0.199
£40,001 or more (%)	64.6	21.7	12.6	1.1		

Appendix Table 10.3 'Men cannot choose to work or not work in the way that women can:' Chi Square p values and Cramer's V

	1 - disagree strongly	2	3	4	5 - agree strongly	Sample size (n)
Whole sample (%)	32.7	21.1	18.1	21.9	6.2	712
Male (%)	22.7	24.0	19.8	26.9	6.6	n = 702 0.002 Cramer's V = 0.157
Female (%)	38.0	19.6	17.0	19.8	5.7	
Administrative (%)	29.9	22.1	18.4	22.5	7.0	n = 711 0.262
Academic (%)	37.4	21.5	17.5	19.9	3.7	
Technical (%)	25.4	22.0	20.3	23.7	8.5	
Manual (%)	25.0	25.0	21.9	18.8	9.4	
Research (%)	22.2	22.2	20.8	27.8	6.9	
Other (%)	50.0	10.3	12.1	19.0	8.6	
Full-time (%)	33.2	21.5	17.3	22.4	5.5	n = 707 0.568
Part-time (%)	31.4	19.5	20.8	20.1	8.2	
Main breadwinner (%)	33.1	22.2	18.4	21.1	5.1	n = 698 0.592
Not main breadwinner (%)	32.3	19.4	16.9	24.2	7.3	
<i>Full-time only</i>						
£20,000 or less (%)	25.0	23.4	14.1	28.1	9.4	n = 544 0.157
£20,001 - £30,000 (%)	29.7	17.0	21.2	26.1	6.1	
£30,001 - £40,000 (%)	41.7	23.0	12.9	18.0	4.3	
£40,001 - £50,000 (%)	30.6	22.5	18.0	21.6	7.2	
£50,001 or more (%)	38.5	26.2	16.9	18.5	0.0	
£30,000 or less (%)	28.4	18.8	19.2	26.6	4.4	n = 544 0.038 Cramer's V = 0.136
£30,001 or more (%)	37.1	23.5	15.6	19.4	4.4	
£40,000 or less (%)	33.4	20.4	16.8	23.4	6.0	n = 544 0.808
£40,001 or more (%)	33.5	23.9	17.6	20.5	4.5	

Appendix Table 10.4 Agreement with 'A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work full-time' by pay satisfaction amongst women: Mean Ranks

	Occupation paid the right amount considering nature of what you do		Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations are paid	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
1 - disagree strongly	93	189.05	95	190.19
2	93	242.09	93	248.44
3	112	232.53	112	239.89
4	106	240.83	107	241.23
5 - agree strongly	54	248.96	56	242.21
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.006		0.014	

Appendix Table 10.5 Social attitudes by pay satisfaction amongst full-time and part-time staff: Mean Ranks

	A pre-school child suffers if both parents/carers work full-time		Women should be the main carers of young children and elderly relatives	
	n	Mean Rank	n	Mean Rank
	Pay satisfaction in relation to what similar occupations are paid (Full-time staff)		Occupation paid the right amount of money considering the skills/training needed (Part-time staff)	
1 - disagree strongly	110	234.55	85	76.66
2	116	291.74	30	99.28
3	126	293.58	31	81.40
4	132	284.49	12	62.17
5 - agree strongly	65	258.29	2	57.75
Kruskall Wallis H p value	0.017		0.040	