

Changing Working Culture (Flexible working) and Work-life Balance: United Kingdom and Bangladesh Context

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Abstract: Due to the internationalization of investment, business and production, technological changes, forms of work organization, market economy and global strategy, working culture has been changed significantly where flexible working is important one and new one as the Human Resource Management strategy. Flexible working is the arrangement of annualized hours, compressed hours, flexible time, flexi time, job rotation, job sharing, weekend working, evening working, opportunities to work at home with benefit of both employers and employees with or without child in order to provide a balance between work and life especially for the working women. It provides an advantage to the employee - both male and female- to manage more time to spend in their family activities. It is concerned with the employers' need and benefit so that they can utilize optimum level of human capital, make proper utilization of technologies, resources (software and hardware), premises and fulfil social commitment as well. On the other hand, flexible working provides alternative choices where employees can choose better options to make their work and life balanced; utilize their time at home for performing family activities. Besides the positive sides of flexible working, it has negative consequences by which working women are mainly affected both in working place and family after the work. This article attempts to discuss the consequences of flexible working with examples of the UK organizations and the role that plays to create work life balance for all employees, working mothers in particular. This article also tries to see how this changing working culture works in Bangladesh.

1.0 Introduction

Working conditions have changed increasingly since the 1980s due to the internationalisation of investment, production and business, the use of new technologies, the emergence of recent forms of work organisation. These factors have changed the forms of working arrangements where the flexible working time is the most significant one (Benach *et al.*, 2002).

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In addition, the growth of female participation in employment in particular women with children is one of the most important development in the labour market where the change has led to an interest to flexible working time arrangements (Cully *et al.*, 1999:143; Gardiner and Martinez Lucio, 2006:140; Walsh, 2005:149; Zafarullah, 2000). Flexible working serves as a balancing arrangement between work and family responsibilities for working parents especially for child caring, looking after ageing people and career breaks for female employees.

Flexible working (Appendix-1) arrangements are the arrangements of working time, job sharing, working at home or at office that bring positive result for the employees for their work life balance and wage effort bargain and also for employers to utilise optimum level of technology, premises for business case to meet the customers' demand.

This article attempts to discuss the consequences of flexible working with examples of the UK organizations and the role that plays to create work life balance for all, working mothers in particular. This article also tries to see how this changing working culture works in the workplace of Bangladesh.

2.0 Flexible Working Time Arrangements

Flexible working is the arrangements of annualized hours, compressed hours, flexible time, flexitime, job rotation, job sharing, weekend working, evening working and opportunities to work at home with the benefit of both employers and employees with or without children (Cully *et al.*, 1999: 143; Blyton, 1994; Dex and Smith, 2002:5; Hogarth *et al.*, 2001:21; Gardiner, 2007; Walsh, 2005). It is an alternative way of traditional 9-5 work culture and is an important element to secure family friendly workplace. Many companies are using this policy all over the world particularly in developed countries like the UK, the USA, Australia, New Zealand, France etc. In the Cable & Wireless company of the UK more than 5,000 employees enjoy flexible working arrangements like part-time, and an additional 300 workers in call centres on the premises (DTI, 2003b: 27). There are various types of flexible working (Appendix-2) time arrangements in the organisation. Holt and Thaulow (1996:83-85) identify informal flexibility besides formal flexibility in their research that comprises of the unwritten rules or working culture which is allowable and these arrangements are made for the personal needs of parents and these informal rules exist alongside the formal rules and this informal flexibility is more widespread than formal flexibility.

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3.0 Wage-effort Bargain & Work-life Balance

Wage-effort bargain is one kind of bargaining power of employees to get maximum wage from the organisation on the basis of negotiation between workers and employers regardless flexible working arrangements. Wage effort relationship is associated with time and result (Rubery, *et al.*, 2005). It can increase the rate of work life balance which is about balancing paid and unpaid care work. It is something which concerns men and women where men value flexibility in paid works with intension to spend more time with their family members (Charles and James, 2005:170). The work performed by the employees helps maintain their family life making their arrangements for their family responsibilities like child caring, working at home, taking time off etc. This is very much encouraging for the female workers with children who can arrange their job timings or sharing jobs, even can take career breaks. This also includes parental leave, working at home or from home that helps their families (Dex and Smith, 2002:4). Clark, 2001 in Walsh (2005:154) defines 'work-family balance as satisfaction and good functioning at work and a home with a minimum role of conflict but contends that such a synergistic state is difficult to attain, mainly because the simultaneous combination of work and home is likely to entail some degree of role conflict.' Work-life balance is one kind of balancing between job and family life to make everything done smoothly for greater benefit.

4.0 Consequences of Flexible Working Arrangements

Flexible working time arrangements have both positive and negative consequences for employees and employers. Working people can utilise their time for their family responsibilities and their labour can be utilised after the 9-5 work culture for the fulfilment of customer demand that actually is very much helpful for the employers. However it can be difficult for the managers to arrange this timing at the workplace that brings negative result in production process. Large organisations can easily maintain their flexible working arrangements as they have large number of employees whereas it is difficult for small or emerging organizations to give advantage to the working people for the small number of employees.

4.1 Socio Cultural Consequences

Changing working culture is not an easy task to establish within very short time. It is associated with many socio-economic issues of the organization and the policy of the state as well. As employees are

habituated to the present system of working timing, it is difficult to introduce any kind of change for working people who are not ready to accept these arrangements. In that case it takes time to adopt. In principle every employee working in the organization should have the same opportunity to enjoy the benefit of these new arrangements. If a large number of workforce wants to avail this opportunity at day time or in the evening which is maybe considered as the productive hour for the organization, management and employers would be in trouble to reorganize this timing. Particularly this is difficult in the twenty-four office culture. Another negative consequence is found that those women who think about their career they become mother late for which there has been a reduction of young workforce in the UK (Tomlinson, 2007). Walsh (2005) finds that 'time-based pressures, such as long working hours and inflexible or unpredictable schedules can lead to increased work-family conflict' and the consequences are job dissatisfaction, lower organizational commitment and productivity.

If flexible working arrangements and career breaks or some other family friendly advantages are provided, they will be able to do for the society. Mothers with young children can take advantage from the work life balance and flexible working time and they can make a plan for their children. As the children will be nourished well by working mother giving extra care of health, schooling for the children, future generation will be brought as a good nation. It is found that good parenting and strong family relationships are the key factors in improving children with the best possible start in life which can help parents providing balance in work and family life (DTI, 2003a:13). Female workers can produce good performance at the workplace with a greater productivity if they are provided childcare facility and workplace nurseries by alleviating tensions and anxiety about childcare arrangements (Kossek and Nichol cited in Walsh, 2005:166). The Hongkong and Sanghai Bank Corporation (HSBC) gets the benefits providing this facility (850 nursery places, 300 of them on the bank's premise) to the workers (DTI, 2003b: 38).

Flexible working hours is scheduled for the optimum utilisation of labour force where students, women with children and senior citizen can enjoy this advantage to utilise their labour according to their choices. It is seen that the rate of older people is increasing. Potential time of elderly people and women who like to stay at home can be utilized by giving them these flexible arrangements. So the demographic issues are also important factors involved in working time flexibility.

People can enjoy their personal life and utilise their potentiality at the working place if the organisation has the facility of flexible working hours. Flexible working arrangements can be used as antidote to these. Even the flexible approach embodied in work-life balance and part-time work, job sharing are seen as the way of becoming popular employer which is claimed by P&O Ferries of the UK (DTI, 2003b: 31).

4.2 Family Friendly Advantage

Flexible working time arrangements are very much supportive for the working parents with young children as they can utilise their time for child caring and family responsibilities. In this case women have to do more as they are largely engaged in child caring (Brewster, 1998:238; Tang and Cousins, 2005). However female workers can enjoy this taking career breaks so that time off from the labour can not affect negatively in their career progression. Evidence suggests that male partners also enjoy the flexible time for their family activities.

4.3 Employee Satisfaction

Employee satisfaction depends on both financial and non-financial benefits provided by the organization. Family friendly policies, reasonable terms and conditions of jobs, working environment and goodwill of organization also serve as the issues of satisfying working people. These arrangements particularly flexible working time provides them opportunity to utilize potential time in office and they can spend more time for their family for child caring, looking after ageing people and physically challenged. Those women who have to compulsorily maintain family responsibilities and want to continue the job, they are satisfied with the arrangements because of exercising the arrangements (DTI, 2003b). In developing countries like Bangladesh where women have to maintain both the office and family, they can utilize this opportunity because flexible working assists working people to do their jobs according to their choices and can maintain their family lives. Flexible working arrangements have the opportunity of job sharing, working at home, flexi time that can help them pick up suitable options (Glass and Estes, 1997). These are encouraging for the working people particularly working mothers. If the organization provides flexible working arrangements, working people can utilize these arrangements for their purpose in order to spend more time for family activities. So this type of arrangements could serve as the important factor of job satisfaction. Thus the flexible working time makes balance between work and life for employees, improves performance level, increases

productivity and reduces absenteeism. It is related to organisational high performance (Baltes *et al.*, 1999 cited in Walsh, 2005:165; Torrington *et al.*, 2005:745).

4.4 Utilizing Potential Resources (Young Groups and Experienced Old People)

In the UK there is a good number of students who work part time while they are studying in the educational institutions. If they are given the part time facility (as given) they can utilise their labour. Even employers can utilise this labour at a minimum rate without providing them pensions or other benefits. Some older people can utilise their labour according to the flexible timing. In some cases experienced workers who wish to enjoy longer hour or wish to work at home, can make use of their potential labour. In that case female with young children can utilise this, as they do not need to take career break. So organizations can exploit the potential resources for experienced and potential labour forces providing them flexible working arrangements and help create work life balance. It is found in the UK that the number of female employment with dependent children has creased from 57% in 1990 to 65% in 2000 for the flexible working hours (Walsh, 2005:149).

4.5 Utilization of Technologies, Premises

Companies use modern technologies for more production in order to get more profit. If it is allowed to maintain flexible working time, shifts, job rotation, flexible working hour, more workers can be engaged and they will be able to make use of their potential labour, other resources as well as technology at the workplace (Gardiner, 2007). If it is necessary to run the machines twenty-four hours a day or seven days a week, flexible time will be most appropriate one. In that case highest utilisation of technology can be achieved and production can be grown more as well. If the companies can utilise the premises all time they can minimise the fare.

4.6 Opportunities to Work at Home

Work life balance policies and flexible working arrangements can provide the benefits to both the employers and employees. If organization provides arrangements of working from home, employees can maintain both official and family activities. Workers can do the work at home the flexible time simultaneously with their family caring. Moreover, working from home is associated with the greater work-life balance for the female workers as they can spend their time in domestic activities (Walsh,

2005:166). This is an opportunity for the workers to wish to earn more utilising their time at home. Employers can get more labour from the workers especially from the single male and the female with young children. This type of opportunities can provide some autonomy to the workers. For the business case if it is contract basis employers can make these works done at the low costs though sometimes employers are in tensions to get back outputs in time. It is also found that teleworking or working from home can lead better work-life integration and has a positive impact on employees' motivation and retention. The British Telecom (BT) plc claims flexible working time has enabled BT to recruit more effectively and retained employee (DTI, 2003b: 26). However researchers find some negative consequences for employers and isolation of professional progress with reduced promotional facility for the employees (Cooper and Kurland, 2002; Hill *et al.*, 1998, Walsh, 2005).

4.7 Disparity may be Minimized between Men and Women as Women can do according their Choices

If the working time is rigid due to some strict rules and regulations or not family friendly mothers can take break from the jobs for their young children. As most organizations follow the traditional working hour, female employees sometimes take career break for maintaining family activities. If female workers can choose their flexible time e.g. working opportunities at home, they do not need to take the break from the service. In that case they have more choices before them to utilise their labour. They can easily shift from full time to part time. However, female part-timers report that they have to bear high workload in the workplace. Walsh (2005) also finds that women in career positions are experienced with excessive workload in office or family whether they do part time or full time work.

5.0 Assessment of Consequences of Flexible Working Arrangements

Flexible working arrangements are affected by many factors such institutional context, labour markets, management of organization and labour union strategies. These factors include government regulations, industrial relations, demographic criteria, employee efficiency, technology, work organisation which have great impact on duration and timing of work (Berg *et al.*, 20004). These are supportive for employees for maintaining both work and family which also reduce work-family conflicts and stress (Lewis, 2001).

DTI (2003b:13) report suggests that working long hours can have negative impact on family life and health , especially low skilled and low

income workers are in the high risk of parental and family stress as they have less choice to maintain balance in family and work. Flexible working hour culture creates less work-family stress among employees, decreases absenteeism, decreases turnover rates after the implementation of day care centres (Vinnicombe and Colwill, 1995: 44). However, Houston (2005:2) remarks that flexible working may 'result in greater job insecurity and poor conditions of employment'.

It is a positive success of work flexibility that parents with young and disabled children have the legal right to request employers for arranging working flexibility. Working parents can enjoy maternity and paternity pay, leave. It is found that female enjoy the flexible working arrangements more, especially in public sectors rather than private sectors (Cully *et al.*, 1999; DTI, 2003b: 2; Appedix-3). However, Tomlinson (2007) remarks that working flexibility is achieved at a cost of job quality and promotional prospect and derived from employees being 'easily substituted' for one another. It also restricts workers from fully participating in the labour market in terms of skill acquisition and career development.

There are several factors encouraging employers to change their working hours for the customers as they are the main targets for the business companies. So their demands are always given top most priority. Now there is a tradition to open shops or services for all the time i.e. twenty-four hours which requires workers to work at any time. These working patterns are needed for the liberalisation of Sunday trading, extension of banking hours, evening or night opening of retail and services or other necessary items (Noon and Blyton, 2002:103). This shift working can help employers and employees as well if they want to work part time or term time basis. Due to the changes of life patterns it becomes necessary to get the benefit for all time in the service sectors, medical facilities, security, transport services or essential services etc. If the companies can arrange flexible working time for the employers they can provide better services for the customers. However some emergency service members have to bear work load or odd timings that everybody wants to avoid (Gardiner, 2007).

Policy makers in the UK have tended to adopt a mutual gain philosophy where flexibility in working time arrangements is seen as a solution of work life balance and family responsibilities. However, companies are in tension for temporal flexibility to meet service demand where managers find difficulties to reconcile for working times. It is especially difficult for twenty-four service delivery in the NHS (Natural Health Services) or

some other emergency services (Gardiner, 2007). For the part time workers it is not easy to utilise their potentialities because they are not engaged in jobs like full working employees and the jobs are designated for or suitable for full time working and they receive same terms and conditions as full time workers. Part timers are given less responsibility and less overtime facility that affect on the workload of the full time employees (Edwards and Robinson, 2004, Rubery, *et al.*, 2005).

Though it seems that women are the main group who can get advantage from the flexible working hours, they are the main sufferer from the flexible working as they are more likely to adjust with their job activity to family responsibilities by taking part time or full time works or short hours. Even they have to quit the job. So they reduce their working life. The consequences of this adjustment of working hour they face high penalties in terms of low payment, poor promotion and limited facility to pensions or other financial benefits. To adjust flexible working time to family responsibilities they have to reduce their working hour, change shifts and patterns of jobs, quit from the labour market that result in working life with a discontinuity of career progression that affect their potential human capital. (Maruani, 1995 in Rubery *et al.*, 1999:251-252; Sigala, 2005:106-119). Data prove that the percentage of women working age (who were engaged exclusively in looking after home and family) went down in the last two years from 17% in 1999 to 13% in 2001 and they have become increasingly involved in paid work (Wise, 2003:13). And men are giving value the family responsibilities being actively involved in parenting (O'Brien, 1992; Russell *et al.*, 1988 cited in Lewis, 2001).

Researchers find that in most occupations (Appendix-4) the rate of 48 working hour or more the number of male is much higher than that of female as the female workers more likely to take time off or to utilise the flexible working time for their family responsibilities. It proves male parents less engage themselves in the family activities (Kersley, *et al.*, 2006:267; Lewis, 2001). From the research findings of Bowey, *et al.*, (1982) cited in Brown (1989) it is seen that majority of British workers are paid on the basis of time rates not performance that indicates flexible working creates impact on wage bargain. In spite of positive and negative consequences it is fact that 'new working-time arrangements are changing the wage-effort bargain and blurring the previously clearly demarcated boundary between work and non-work time' (Rubery, *et al.*, 2005).

6.0 Flexible Working Culture in Bangladesh

From the perspective of definition of flexible working, it does not exist in the organisation either in public or private organisation in Bangladesh. However, some arrangements of flexible working system are followed informally compromising with colleagues (Hazel, 2003; Mohiuddin, 2007). Even long working hour culture is imposed binding with rules and regulations. The concept has been used to utilise the optimum level of human potentiality and to offer a balanced service life to enjoy by the working people. The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh has an obligation for the employees to serve people all the time (GOB, 1997). This is implied in the government offices where the traditional working time (fixed working time per week) with some other rules and regulations is maintained. Working women can maintain their family life even after performing their official work which is possible for employees in government or some other private offices where traditional working time is maintained. Most private organizations use long working hour culture such as ready-made garments factories which is not suitable for working women. The arrangements of shift and extended working hour hamper their normal life. Sometimes they work without a break during their shift. The working time sometimes starts from 7:30 a.m. and ends at 2 a.m. with home & official work which indicates the extreme business and inhuman condition of female employees (Khaleque, 1988; Rahman, 2004 ; US Department of Labor Affairs). They can not enjoy work-life balanced life (Kabeer, 1997; Rahman, 2004). Informally private sectors offices allow some flexible working time arrangements which are not standardized. Employees can not enjoy the benefit as these are not well written and there is a scarcity of job in the employment market (<http://www.gdrc.org/icm/wind/uis-wind.html>).

Since the rate of unemployment is very much high in Bangladesh, job itself serves as the tool of establishing balance between work and life. Due to the globalization, pressure of foreign agencies, organizations in Bangladesh are sometimes compelled to take some initiatives in favour of employee benefits. Besides, working women in Bangladesh can not enjoy work-life balanced life as they have to perform both the work in office and at home. It is extremely difficult for female employees to maintain their family lives after this long stressful work (Kabeer, 1997; Kabeer and Mahmood, 2004). It is found that female employment in Bangladesh is surrounded by a set of complex social factors (Ahsan *et al.*, 2002). Women's main duties are childrearing, child caring, looking after young children and ageing people and helping at family activities that are

socially constructed concept. Traditionally they are responsible to cook and maintain household works, even for working women (Zafarullah, 2000). Household works include goods and services such as home management, cooking, cleaning and washing, maintenance of house and household durables, child caring, looking after elderly and disabled people, subsistence collecting and gathering, nursing and basic health care provisions, skill impartation to the young etc. (Mahmud, 1997). In that case women have to play dual role in the society. Evidence suggests that a woman works more than double of a man whereas their services are not added to GDP (Majumder, 2001; Rahman, 2004:84). This brings dissatisfaction among female employees.

From the literature review it is found that flexible working brings positive consequences in organisational level and personal level. Organisations in Bangladesh (particularly private organisations) use their premises at the optimum level, utilise human and financial resources changing their working conditions. Labours are being utilised with minimal wages, even the child labour. However, these all are for the financial development of the organisation not for employee benefit which is desired for the sustainable development of the organisation (Hossain and Tisdell, 2005). Here is the difference between developed and developing countries. In developed countries welfare issues of working employees are emphasized whereas organizational issues profit in particular are the prime concerns in developing countries. Another thing is that in some cases informal flexibility is utilised by some organisation for getting better financial benefit which is not added in the GDP of the country (Mahbub, 2007). Here women employees mostly suffer.

7.0 Conclusion

Flexible working is popularly viewed as the means of increasing work life balance for individual, however, from an organisational perspective the benefits of the flexible working may be related to non-standard contracts and elimination of overtime payments, rather than greater work life balance for employees (Houston, 2005:2). It has both positive and negative consequences in the workplace which may affect the business culture, managerial responsibility, career progression for women even in productivity level. These flexible time arrangements help workers maintain balance between their working place and family responsibilities, provide strengths to the employees to take decision in favour of them. These serve as an advantage for employees working in organizations of developed countries where some other social and economic issues are

very supportive for the people. It is very difficult to maintain in developing or under developed countries, particularly in Bangladesh where unemployment is the burning issue. However, still it is dilemma that women think they are more effective and productive at the time of using flexibility of reduced working hours whereas the senior managers do not think so (Lewis and Taylor, 1996: 117-118; Powell and Mainiero, 1999). Even some employees want to work more to earn more and some want to enjoy their family lives. Researchers remark that benefits can be brought for both employers & employees and tensions in business can be resolved by formulating policy at the workplace that there would be a system of taking time off or financial benefit from the overtime in flexible working hours. In that case those who wish to enjoy the family life they would take time off for their family members and those want to enjoy financial benefits they would work more. This seems justified and rational (Gardiner, 2007).

According to the definition of flexible working provided by the Human Resource Management academics it does not exist in Bangladesh particularly in government offices. However, informal flexibility is sometimes maintained by pursuing respective supervising authority which is mainly done the male employees though it is more important for female (Zaffarullha, 2000). Bangladesh is such a country where getting a job is like winning in a battle, flexible working is not a matter of creating work life balance rather any type of jobs brings balance in life. However, due to the significant emphasis on women development by the donor agencies like World Bank, UNFPA, IMF, government is bound to take initiatives for gender mainstreaming, developing women friendly environment, upgrading quality of life etc. In this connection, it is argued to create a congenial working atmosphere and change working conditions so that working mother can make better performance both in workplace and family as researchers in Bangladesh find some reasons behind the imbalance between work and life (Buse, 1999). Researchers find that it is very difficult to create balance between work and life due to many factors related to work, policies of organization and state. These are harsh and manual working condition, lack of social safety net particularly for female employees, limited facility of family friendly policies, limited arrangements of flexible working, bureaucratic management in the procedures etc. Although flexible working arrangement is a recent issue in our working culture, it may be popularised in near future due to its positive consequences for creating work-life balance and organizational benefits.

Appendix-1

Flexible Working: DTI Guidance

<i>Annualized hours</i>	Working time is organized on the basis of the number of hours to be worked over a year rather than a week: it is usually used to fit in with peaks and troughs of work.
<i>Compressed hours</i>	Individuals work their total number of agreed hours over a shorter period. For example, employees might work their full weekly hours over four rather than five days.
<i>Flexitime</i>	Employees can choose their actual working hours, usually outside certain agreed core times.
<i>Homeworking</i>	This does not have to be on a full-time basis and employees can divide their time between home and office.
<i>Job-sharing</i>	Typically involves two people employed on a part-time basis , but working together to cover a full time post.
<i>Shift working</i>	Gives employers the scope to have their business open for a longer periods than an eight-hour day.
<i>Staggered hours</i>	Employees start and finish their day at different times.
<i>Term-time working</i>	Employees can take unpaid leave of absence during the school holidays.

Source: Walsh, J. (2005) 'Work-Life Balance: Challenge the Overwork Culture' in S. Bach (ed) *Managing Human Resources: Personnel Management in Transition* (4th edn), Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. Page-158.

Appendix-2**Types of Flexible Work****Flexible Location**

Flexible location includes:

- working on the move
- working from home
- working from telecentres/satellite offices

Variously described as location independent working, teleworking, telecommuting, home working, remote working, anywhere/anytime working, and many more

Flexible Time

The most commonly found forms of non-standard or flexible hours arrangements are:

- flexible hours or "flexitime" schemes
- part-time working
- jobshare
- compressed working weeks
- annualised hours
- zero hours

Flexible contract

Contractual arrangements can include any of the above, but in particular usually refers to the following kind of arrangements:

- outsourcing
- use of agency workers
- temporary/fixed term contracts
- casual labour

Source: <http://www.flexibility.co.uk/flexwork/index.htm>

Appendix-3

Flexible and family friendly working arrangements, by gender and sector.

Sector					All employees
	Private		Public		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
	% of employees	% of employees	% of employees	% of employees	% of employees
Flexi-time	24	36	37	39	32
Parental leave	21	30	35	33	28
Job sharing scheme	6	15	23	34	16
Working at or from home	10	6	13	9	9
Workplace nursery/Child care subsidy	6	3	6	9	4
None of these	57	42	40	34	46

Source: Cully, M., Woodland, S., O'Reilly A. and Dix G. (2002) *Britain at Work: As depicted by the 1998 Workplace Employee Relations Survey*, London: Routledge, page-147.

Appendix-4

Employees working over 48 hours per week, by occupation, industry and gender.

	Male	Female	All employees
	% of employees	% of employees	% of employees
Occupation			
Managers and administration	37	21	32
Professional	24	17	21
Associate Professional & Technical	12	3	7
Clerical and Secretarial	9	1	3
Craft and related	20	5	19
Personal and protective service	20	2	10
Sales	15	1	5
Plant and Machine operatives	25	5	20
Other Occupations	17	1	9
Industry			
Manufacturing	23	4	18
Electricity, gas and water	13	6	11
Construction	32	3	28
Wholesale and retail	18	2	9
Hotels and restaurants	19	7	12
Transport and communications	29	5	24
Financial services	22	3	10
Other business services	27	7	17
Public administration	11	3	8
Education	27	10	15
Health	13	2	4
Other community services	15	5	10
All employees	22	5	13

Base: All employees working in excess of 48 hours per week in workplaces with 25 or more employees. Figures are weighted and based on responses from 24,728 employees.

Source: Cully, M., Woodland, S., O'Reilly A. and Dix G. (2002) *Britain at Work: As depicted by the 1998 Workplace Employee Relations Survey*, London: Routledge, page-155.

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