

WOMEN OF THE SOUTH IN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Regions studied:
Anatoliki Macedonia, Greece
Marche, Italy
Catalonia, Spain
Lisbon and Tagus Valley, Portugal

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1. INTRODUCTION

The study examines women's working and living conditions in the four Southern European countries (Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain) - as they are changing in the context of the coming European Integration - in order to inform European Policy on the particular condition of women of the South.

The study sees "working and living conditions" as inseparable parts of women's daily and working lives. It adopts a definition of women's work that goes beyond officially registered formal employment and includes all forms of paid and unpaid labour (formal and informal employment, family, domestic and voluntary labour). The study also underlines the importance of place for women's working and living conditions, based on the premise that women, more than men, are tied to particular places. Hence there is emphasis on specific regions in Southern Europe, as "cases" illustrating particular historical and geographical contexts in which to examine the prospects and problems that European Integration presents for women of the South.

The study seeks to identify key issues that have become part of, and determine, EC policy (as well as regional/local and national policy) in view of the social priorities set by European Integration for social cohesion and balanced development among Member States and European regions and of the Third Medium-term Community Action Programme (1991-1995) on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men.

1.1. Women's Work - a definition

In the context of this study women's work is not restricted to official employment, but includes all forms of women's labour in society, under whatever conditions and relations it is performed. For women, definitions and experiences of work are much more complex than paid employment. They include processes and relations of work that permeate the whole of everyday life and cannot easily fit in dualist classifications: work/non-work, working-time/leisure-time, workplace/home.

The temporal and geographical boundaries of those classifications overlap and shift and cannot be adequately grasped by looking exclusively into employment categories of economic and statistical surveys on which policy is usually based. For, in those surveys, the bulk of (unpaid) work that women do in the context of families is considered as "non-work": domestic labour, child-rearing, caring and emotional labour, but also "assistance" in family businesses or homeworking (Vaiou, Stratigaki, 1989).

In Southern European countries in particular, measurement and evaluation of women's work is heavily underestimated unless special attention is paid to forms of work that are out of the realm of "wage labour". Those include agricultural work in family farms, homeworking, family helpers, unpaid domestic and caring labour, informal work in tourism, industry or personal services.

The importance of the informal labour market is very likely to increase, as a number of branches of production (such as textiles, clothing and footwear, toys), which employ a primarily female workforce, are exposed to very powerful international competition and resort to informal activities as a means of reducing production costs. In several regions of Southern Europe the "ideal conditions" are present which favour the proliferation of such activities - with important effects on women's paid employment prospects.

In Southern European countries where the family (nuclear or extended) is an important institution in social life, women's access to paid work is dependent on it, to a large extent. In the gender divisions of labour (and power) within families/ households, the bulk of domestic and caring labour is performed by women and determines their access to the labour market and the conditions under which this is possible.

The family conditions women's work not only when women have to choose between full or part-time work in the labour market, but also when small family businesses are a dominant production unit in many branches (in agriculture, commerce and tourism) in Southern Europe. Patriarchal structures of families linked to religious and cultural traditions shape the economic and social terms of women's work. This is neither a

continuous nor a contradiction-free process; and it cannot be dissociated from the workings of other relevant processes and institutions, such as education and training systems, practices of organised labour, availability and spatial allocation of jobs and services.

As women's traditional roles are very much linked to caring for people, women's work is shaped, to a large extent, by the existence of social infrastructure which either "lightens" or "charges" women's daily life. Time schedules of schools and other institutions, availability of caring facilities for the sick and the elderly, care for the disabled, greatly influence women's lives and the terms of their access to paid labour.

A feature that is perhaps common and particular to Southern European countries is the absence of extensive and sufficiently flexible public social services which would facilitate women's (and men's) access to paid employment and public life. In some cases, even existing social services are partial and fragmented and need to be complemented by (unpaid) domestic labour, performed mainly by women.

1.2. The importance of place

Combinations of different types and relations of work in women's everyday lives - an all-inclusive definition and experience of work-ties women, more than men, to particular places which are shaped over time by a number of processes. Differences in sectors and branches of production, in the types and size of firms, in the technology used, in the forms of labour relations, are all part of the definition of place and, in turn, define quite diverse conditions of labour supply and demand.

Also part of the definition of place are local class structures, cultural traditions, ethnic and religious differences, traditions of gender relations and family structures, as well as spatially-differentiated provision of public services, such as education, health, welfare, etc. All of these condition the ways in which women (and men) are incorporated in the "public" domain of work and in the "private" domain of personal and family relations.

Research on the formation of labour markets and policy geared to their working, rarely takes into account their spatial dimension. To a great extent the same is true of studies about living conditions and personal life. This presents problems not only of description, but also of explanation and prediction of certain phenomena which are crucial to people's integration in the labour market and in social life in different places. Three points are important in this respect:

- a. Geographical mobility of labour is more restricted than that of capital. So, in the long run, place-specific characteristics develop; for example, regions are formed with high or low unemployment, with particular specialisation, with over-supply of labour, etc. Women are particularly affected by such processes since their integration in the labour market is conditioned by the time and labour they spend around homelife, tied to specific places.
- b. Living conditions (or conditions of reproduction) are geographically quite diverse, despite policies and general tendencies towards convergence of consumption patterns. Local of public services and facilities change the balance between unpaid domestic labour, publicly provided "means of collective consumption" and paid employment. They thereby considerably affect women's living conditions, their ability to take part in community life and in paid employment and the conditions under which this is possible.
- b. Such place-specific features underline the importance of difference at a micro-level of reference at which people's lives and struggles take place. Those features are in fact changing sets of resources appropriated in historically variable ways, shaping places and being shaped by them. For women the uses of time and space are conditioned by those resources, by what is available or not where they live.

It is therefore important to approach women's work and the effects of the Single Market on it by looking into particular historical and

geographical contexts in which working and daily lives take place. Different regions are integrated in different ways in the national and international division of labour. Thus, they present important differentiation in their productive structure and in their social and cultural constitution and are, of necessity, bound to respond to the challenge of the Single Market in ways that are far from being equally dynamic and beneficial.

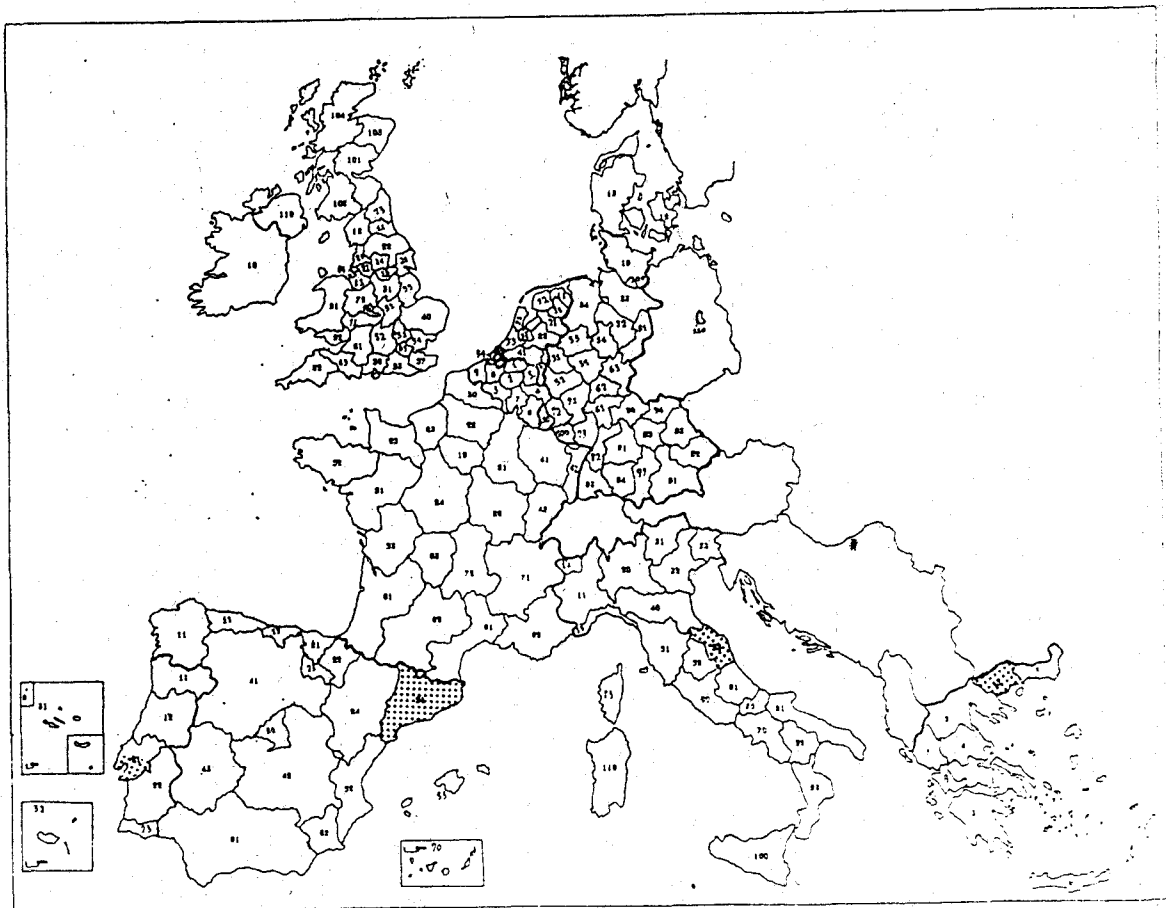
1.3. The Regions under study

In the context described above, the field study focusses on one region in each Southern European country (see map 1): Anatoliki Macedonia in Greece, the Marche in Italy, Catalonia in Spain and Lisbon and Tagus Valley in Portugal. This choice permits us to integrate into our study, the specificities of particular places to which women's lives are tied. It is also linked to the availability of geographically disaggregated data and to time and budget constraints. The following criteria together with the researchers' prior familiarity with specific regions in each country have led to the selection of regions.

- a. the characteristics of the region, with regard to the productive structure, the labour market and the condition of women in it, so that each region becomes a case illustrating qualitative dimensions of Southern European countries.
- b. the availability of data on each region, gathered in the framework of other studies and research, to illustrate some of the aspects of women's working and living conditions.
- c. the application of national, regional and EC programmes as a necessary precondition, in order to evaluate the impact of existing regional and social policies.

These regions present differences among themselves, as well as with regard to EC performance on a number of indices. However, they offer an opportunity to study the effects of European Integration on (different groups of) women of the South in different contexts of socio-economic development and to trace convergence, as well as divergence, among them.

Map 1 The Regions of the Community



In the typology of regions of the Community, all four regions are classified as "peripheral regions" on the basis of the "peripherality index" calculated in the context of the 3rd Periodic Report of the Commission on the Social and Economic Situation and Development of the Regions of the Community (1987). Catalonia and Marche are characterized as inner-peripheral regions and Anatoliki Macedonia and Lisbon and Tagus Valley as outer-peripheral ones.

It has to be noted that in the above-mentioned 3rd Periodic Report (1987) Portugal appears as one region. In the 4th Periodic Report (1991), however, there are figures for eight regions in Portugal, Lisbon and Tagus Valley being one of them. In Greece, on the other hand, the regionalisation was modified in 1987: What was Anatoliki Macedonia region in the 3rd Periodic Report is now divided in two parts and annexed to other regions (Kentriki Macedonia and Thraki). The same is true in national and regional statistics. In this report figures refer to the 1987 regional boundaries for Anatoliki Macedonia, with later figures adapted when used, and to the current regionalisation for Portugal.

As far as the total labour force is concerned, the Italian activity rate is near the EC average -and is higher than Greece and Spain. The employment rate is much lower than in EC figures for all Southern European countries, while in Italy unemployment reaches almost 12% of the total labour force -lower than Spain, but definitely higher than Greece and Portugal. Youth unemployment seems to be particularly high in Italy when compared to other countries considered and to the EC average (table 1).

In the last decade, female activity rate has grown considerably in all four countries but still remains lower than the male. On a comparative basis, the Italian female activity rate is lower than the EC average (as a percentage both of the total labour force and of female population) and lower than in Portugal, higher than in Spain and about the same as in Greece (table 2).

Table 1- Some indicators of the structure of labour force in South European Countries as compared to total CEE Countries. Percentage values only. OECD Labour Force Statistics, 1988.

COUNTRIES	ITALY	GREECE	PORTUGAL	SPAIN	EC
Total labour force					
% of total population	42.9	39.5	47.2	38.4	44.8
Total employment					
% of population age 15-64	54.0	54.8	64.4	47.2	81.0
Unemployment					
% of total labour force	11.8	7.7	5.7	19.1	10.2
Youth unemployment (-25 yrs)					
% of total unemployment	52.3	NK	49.6	46.0	38.2
Employment in Agriculture					
% of civilian employment	9.8	26.6	20.7	14.4	7.4
Employment in Industry					
% of civilian employment	32.4	27.2	35.1	32.5	32.5
Employment in Services					
% of civilian employment	57.7	46.2	44.2	53.1	60.1

Source: OECD, 1990.

Table 2 - Some indicators of female labour force in South European Countries as compared to total CEE Countries. Percentage values only. OECD Labour Force Statistics, 1988.

COUNTRIES	ITALY	GREECE	PORTUGAL	SPAIN	EC
Female labour force					
% of total labour force	36.2	36.9	42.3	33.8	39.4
Female labour force					
% of female population	30.3	28.7	38.6	25.5	34.4
Female labour force					
% of female pop. age 15-64	43.9	43.4	59.1	39.4	52.2
Female unemployment					
% of female labour force	18.6	12.5	8.0	27.4	12.6

The Marche region is close to or slightly above EC average and a representative case for Italy itself on a number of indices and trends, such as G.D.P. per capita, unemployment, sectoral shares in employment, women's participation rate etc. Thus, it is a base from which to compare the other three regions' performance. Catalonia is a high unemployment industrial region with a share of industrial employment around 45%. The region of Lisbon is a growing urban area with 62% of total employment in the services. In Anatoliki Macedonia the agricultural sector is still quite significant, with a share in employment around 46%, while a fast growth in industrial employment has been observed since the mid-1970s.

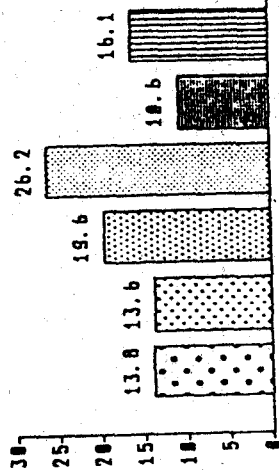
With the exception of Marche, none of the other regions has a level of income that is above or close to the average of the Community. Within each country though, regional per capita income is above national average (4th Periodic Report, 1991). The same is true with regard to the "synthetic index" based on key-indicators of Community-wide regional disparities, calculated in the context of the 3rd Periodic Report (1987) (maps 2 & 3). These different regional contexts present different opportunities- but also commonalities- for the working and living conditions of the women of the South.

1.4. Data Collection

In this study, research teams were involved in each country and region, as listed in the front page of this report. Information was collected with the help of a specially designed set of guidelines (appendix). The themes to be covered and the form of data were extensively discussed and agreed upon among researchers - so as to include information relevant for each region/country and for their examination in common.

The Guidelines aim to cover issues identified as essential for women's work in recent literature and research. It aims to grasp the totality of the women's everyday experience and conditions of life and the differences and similarities existing among women living in different regions within the European Community. Different sources have been used, including:

Ποσοστό πληθυσμού 1987

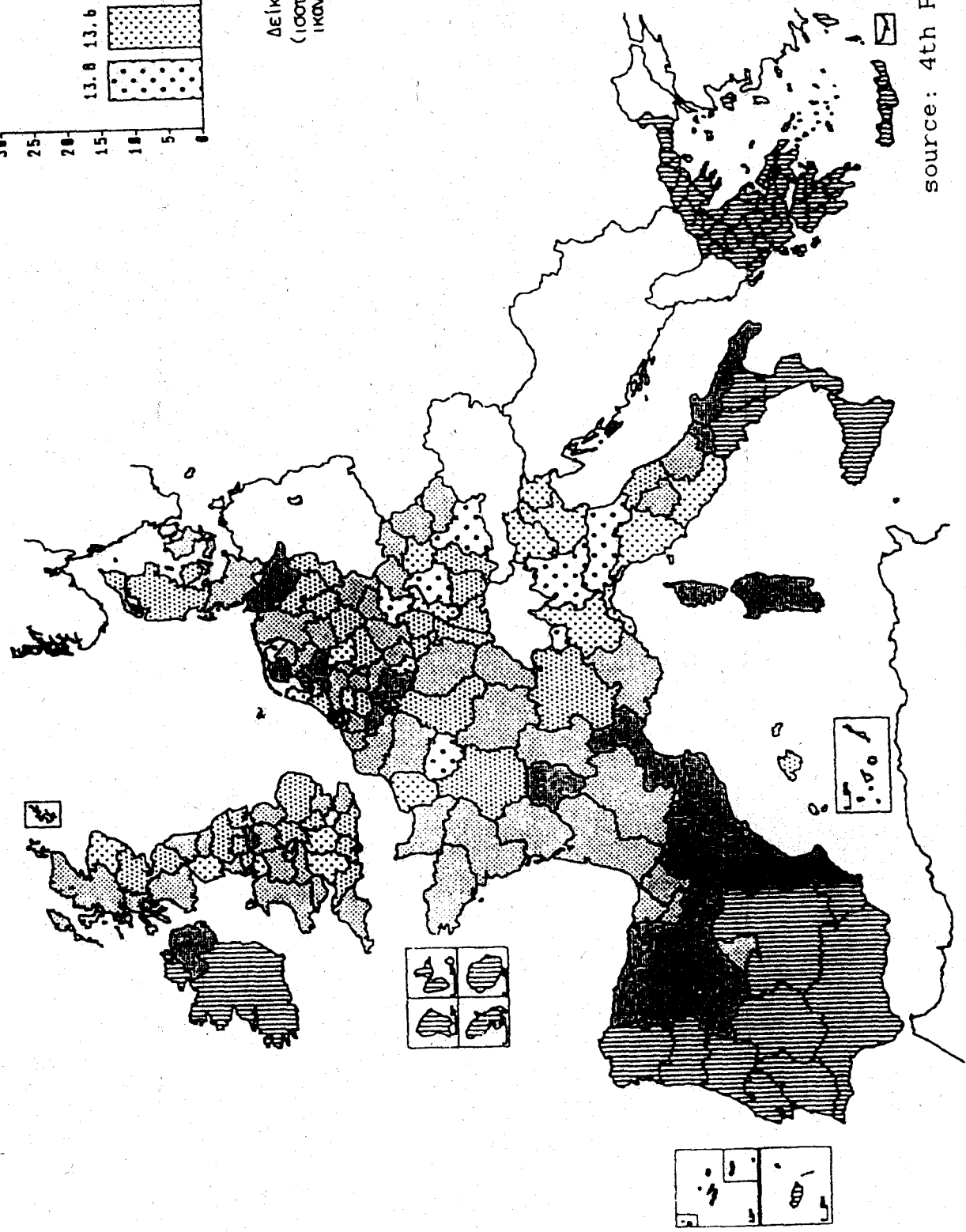


Δείκτης ΑΕΠ ανά κάτοικο
(ισοτιμίες αγοραστικής
ικανότητας)

1	> 127.9
2	113.9 - 127.9
3	100.0 - 113.9
4	86.1 - 100.0
5	72.1 - 86.1
6	< 72.1

eur12 = 100.0
5 = 27.9

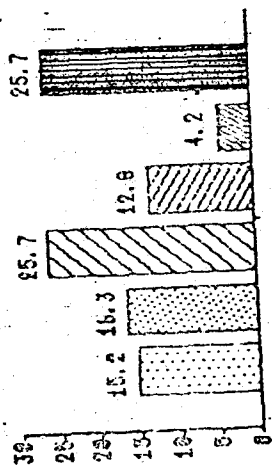
Map 2 Regional per capita income, 1988



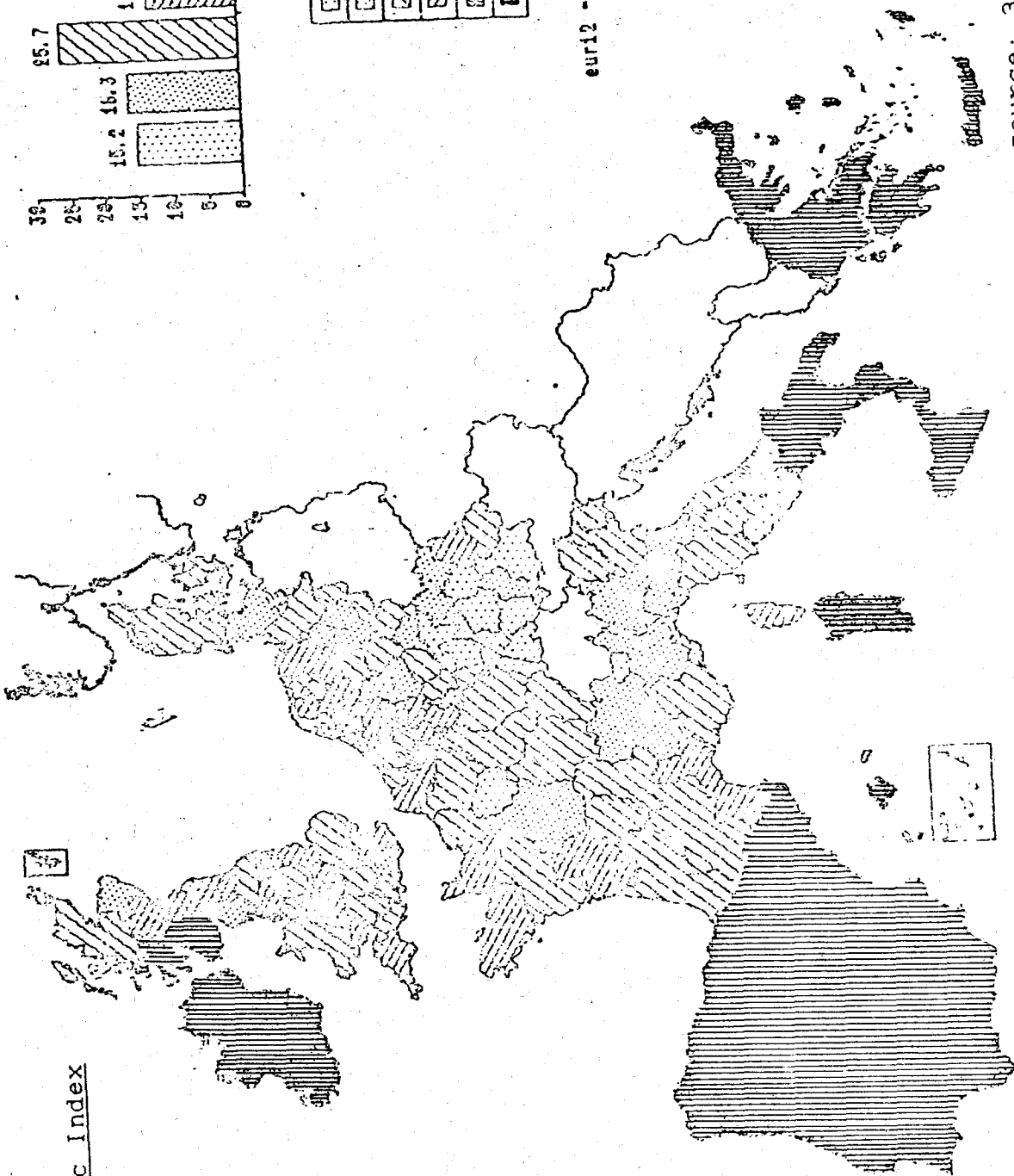
source: 4th Periodic Report

Map 3 Synthetic Index

% share of population



1	> 132.9
2	116.4 - 132.9
3	100.0 - 116.4
4	83.6 - 100.0
5	67.1 - 83.6
6	< 67.1



eur12 - 168.8 - s - 32.9

source: 3rd Periodic Repc

- a. Information and documents of institutions of planning and policy making regarding women's position on a national and European level.
- b. Quantitative and qualitative data gathered in official surveys and in existing research and studies on the topics of this study.
- c. Information on equality practices and regional policies of social agents, such as trade unions or women's organisations, with regard to the implications of European Integration.
- d. Regional development plans of Member States and of the Community focussed on women's employment and vocational training in the selected regions.

To this end extensive use has been made on the one hand of the official publications of the European Communities, and on the other of national and/or regional institutions involved in women's issues and in the workings of regional labour markets. These include the Ministries of Labour, National Economy, Social Welfare, Education, and Institutions for Equality. To illustrate some aspects of women's working and living conditions, other existing studies and research are also used, as referred to in the text.

Apart from published material, field work has been necessary, in order to get a better understanding of local conditions and grasp issues that are of particular importance for women. The main research method used was semi-directed interviews with people who can give information on the subject matter, the "key informants", based on their position in different agencies and institutions. These are listed in each Regional Report and include union officials, project managers for social policy, government advisors, etc.

Thematic, semi-directed interviews were necessary because information on some of the key issues identified in our guidelines is scarce or non-existent in all countries (eg. information about caring labour, divisions of labour in the family, atypical/informal employment) while in many cases, data is not disaggregated by sex. Moreover, even issues

covered in national surveys and statistics are not adequate at the regional level. However, such selective availability is indicative of the kinds of issues considered important enough to be covered or unimportant enough to be neglected.

1.5. The Study

After the introduction which clarifies some of the theoretical and technical aspects of the research, this report focusses on four areas. Chapter 2 looks at the domestic sphere and examines demographic trends and family structures; it also examines social infrastructures as a means of shifting the boundary between domestic labour and public services and facilities.

This is followed by chapter 3, examining education and training as a means of improving women's access in the labour market and as an important area of national and EC policy. Both chapters deal with the formation of a potential labour force (the supply of labour) in the four regions/countries.

Chapter 4 focusses on the terms of women's integration in the labour market and looks at the branches and firms in which women work, their status in employment, the types of contract and the conditions of work they face. The following chapter 5 looks at women's organising and at policies and programmes implemented to promote equality of opportunities. Comments and Recommendations are included in a final chapter 6.

The report as described above is followed by four Regional Reports, each of which includes the following chapters: 1. Regional Productive Structure, 2. Population, 3. Family Structure, 4. Social Infrastructure, 5. Education and Vocational Training, 6. Employment, 7. Women's Mobilisation, 8. National Policy, 9. European Community Policy.

2. THE DOMESTIC SPHERE

In the last two decades significant changes have occurred in women's domestic lives and in their participation in the labour market in the study areas. Increasing involvement in money-earning labour, both formal and informal, has been matched by drastic fall in fertility rates and by the persistence - in urban as in rural areas - of (new forms of) extended family and familial networks. It has taken place in a context of men's marginal involvement in domestic labour and of a continuing priority given by Southern European states to monetary transfers to families as an alternative to the development of social infrastructure.

These developments, with regional specificities in their pace and extent, are important in order to understand the types of work that women can undertake and the constraints they face when they venture into the labour market, also in the "public sphere" generally. These developments also help in the understanding of women's attitudes about (and control of) their daily lives, as well as changing attitudes towards women's work. Important changes in all four study areas, and in Southern Europe as a whole, are illustrated by the demographic indicators summarised in the Regional Reports (see tables 2.X).

2.1. Demographic trends

A common feature of the 1950s and the 1960s has been the strong waves of emigration from Southern European countries and from the study areas in particular. The trend has been reversed in the 1970s, accounting, to a large extent, for the growth of population at that time. Population growth has slowed down in the last decade and has been followed by an increasing presence of older age groups, predominantly female (see tables 2.1 to 2.3 in the Regional Reports).

Among the four regions, Anatoliki Macedonia, the most rural and backward, has shown the highest degree of depopulation in the 1960s and 1980s (-18.5% and -10% respectively), due to strong migration and urbanisation processes. Lisbon and Tagus Valley on the other hand have been on the receiving end of similar processes in Portugal, resulting in steady population growth.

In some cases, different rates of population growth between men and women can be explained by different patterns of geographic mobility. Men have been the main protagonists of emigration abroad, while women remained behind or moved within the region or country. This difference in mobility accounts in part for the higher share of female population, for example in the Marche.

In recent years, the study areas have progressively changed into receivers of migrants. The different conditions, along with the types of immigration flows, have defined the life patterns and the ways of integration of immigrants in each region, women facing greater difficulties to adjust and survive.

Some of the most important demographic trends for women in the four regions, and in Southern Europe as a whole, can be summarised as follows:

- a. Fertility rate is falling and is matched by fewer marriages and more divorces. As a result, there is a remarkable decline in the birth rate (see tables 2.5 in the Regional Reports).
- b. In urban areas, in particular, the marriage institution is in crisis, a partial indication of which is the increase in civil marriages. In Lisbon itself there has also been a considerable growth in cohabitation and children outside marriage. In rural areas, however, patriarchal structures are stronger.
- c. As far as information is available, a tendency can be observed for the childbearing age to be postponed and/or better controlled by the use of contraceptives and access to abortion. Such trends indicate a freer choice of women (and couples) to form families.
- d. In all four study areas infant mortality has greatly diminished since the 1960s, mainly in urban centres, as a result of improved living conditions.

- e. A clear process of ageing of the population is observed in the four regions and countries, with important implications on the welfare system (in terms of health and pension plans, demand for caring institutions and services, etc), on consumption patterns and on domestic labour.

2.2. Family structure and divisions of labour

A point that has to be stressed is that the family as an institution still plays a predominant role in the personal life in Southern Europe and women's ties to it are much more intensive, solid and exclusive than men's.

As a result of the demographic trends outlined above, families are changing in all the study areas. The average size of family has decreased considerably, as having less children seem to be a constant and homogeneous choice of women (and couples). This is linked with changing cultural attitudes and generalised access to contraception in the last two decades.

The traditional extended family has also been modified, at least in regard to the patterns of co-habitation associated with it. However, it persists in new forms, where, for example, elderly parents and children's family may not share the same house but choose to live close to each other and share domestic and caring responsibilities: the elderly (more specifically, grandmothers) look after young children and housekeeping, their daughters (or daughters in law) look after them when they need care.

This "modified" extended family is a significant substitute for the lack of public services - for women perhaps a "Southern European way" of coping with domestic work and paid employment. At the same time, however, it reproduces women's dependence on traditional family ties and material constraints.

In most cases, small households (1-2 members) correspond to elderly people living on their own. Young people tend to stay longer than their Northern European counterparts in their parents households, as a result

of material and cultural constraints, encountered more in rural than in urban areas. An exception here is the region of Lisbon, with a considerable number of young people leaving their families to live alone. This, along with the significant incidence of cohabiting couples already mentioned, may reflect different cultural traditions in Portugal. But it may also reflect the cultural differences between capital cities (or large urban areas) and the rest of the country/region. The latter is an incentive for young women to migrate to places where more "progressive choices" - but also more responsibilities - are open.

The changes reported here have had important implications for women's attitudes towards - and access to - paid employment and for their daily lives generally. However, this has been accompanied by very slow transformations in the gender divisions of labour within the family. Women remain almost entirely responsible for housekeeping, childrearing, looking after the elderly and the sick. It seems that they go into paid employment at their own cost.

The burden of domestic labour is really heavy, despite the diffusion of labour-saving appliances and the improvement of housing conditions in all parts of the study areas. It includes not only standard domestic tasks, but also making services and facilities available to different members of the family, complementing poor or inexistent social services, working in family businesses under difficult conditions and time schedules.

Men remain in their vast majority uninvolved, but for the token "help" in shopping or taking the children to school - a drop in the ocean compared to the tasks that women have to carry out on a daily basis. Domestic labour is a real handicap for women's participation in the labour market. Instead, lack of men's responsibility for housework and childcare leaves them with free time and open possibilities to pursue a career.

2.3. Social Infrastructures

The organisation of work and family life is still based on the

assumption that women are homebased and available and responsible for the care of children, disabled members of the family, elderly relatives or other dependents. Men are more or less free of any such responsibilities and so available for their employers at all hours. The same assumptions prevail in the provision of social infrastructure by Southern European states. As a result, the bulk of caring labour is left to individual women.

In our study areas, two regions - the most urbanised Lisbon and Tagus Valley and the most rural Anatoliki Macedonia - are below the respective national average in terms of social infrastructure provision. Catalonia is close to the Spanish average, while the Marche is not among the best cases in Italy. The problems are more serious if one considers not only quantitative data but also quality and geographical distribution.

Family planning, use of contraceptives, abortions

Family planning centres are a recent service in the study areas and, as a rule, do not cover real demand. Their availability, as well as the diffusion and use of contraceptives, varies considerably. It is related in many ways to the struggles and demands put forward by an active women's movement in the late 1970s and 1980s - which led to legal reform and establishment of the relevant infrastructure.

Family planning centres seem to be quite numerous only in the Marche, where 98 public and 13 private such centres are in operation, but whose quality of service varies. In Anatoliki Macedonia, as in the rest of the country, family planning centres were established in the mid-1980s. They are incorporated in the General Hospitals located in the three main towns and cannot adequately cover potential demand. However, their main problem is lack of information and social prejudice surrounding them. As a result, most women use them as primary health centres and only married women ask for contraceptive advice. Abortion remains the main means of contraception in the region.

In Catalonia, as in the rest of Spain, contraception became an issue only after Franco's dictatorship. Family planning centres are promoted

by municipalities and, by this token, they are geographically diffused. Availability of contraceptives is no problem, but only 47% of fertile women use them. Abortion is legal only under restricted conditions - so forcing many women to have illegal abortions or to go abroad, if they can afford it.

Childcare and primary education

In the domain of public childcare none of the study areas can be singled out as having adequate provision. As a rule, the situation is worse in nurseries (ages 0-3 or 0-4) while kindergartens (ages 3 or 4-6) are more numerous. In the Marche, for example, nurseries covered 8.3% of children while kindergartens covered 56% in 1985; in Anatoliki Macedonia the respective figures were 21.8% and 52.6% in 1991. The region of Lisbon is the worst in this respect, with a coverage of around 17% for the 3-5 age group.

In Catalonia, an indication of the deficit in childcare provision is that 12.7% of children in the corresponding age groups were registered in 1985. It has to be kept in mind that, unlike the other regions under study, childcare provision in Catalonia is private (reaching about 90% of total infrastructure).

An important consideration with regard to the adequacy of this service has to do with the geographical distribution of childcare facilities. In the rural part of Lisbon and Tagus Valley provision is satisfactory, since municipalities have made great efforts not only to build childcare facilities but also to provide transport for children. In Lisbon itself, however, coverage is very low compared to the needs of people and their complex patterns of daily life in the big city.

Similar urban-rural differences can be observed in Anatoliki Macedonia. In many villages there are kindergartens with spare places while in the towns there is a significant deficit. In addition, there is no transport service for children who live in villages without kindergartens. This type of service was badly hit by recent cuts in public expenditure: as a

result teaching staff cannot be hired for nurseries and kindergartens that are already built and fully equipped.

In the Marche, there has been a modest increase in the number of nurseries but a decline in the number of authorised places between 1985 and 1989. As a result, the number of children on the waiting list has increased. In that region only around 23% of the 246 municipalities had at least one nursery in 1989 (and only 21% in 1985) covering 54% of children overall.

A common problem in the study areas, in addition to the scarcity of childcare provision, has to do with the time-schedules of the relevant institutions. This is of prime importance for women but, presumably, is not considered by the respective Ministries. As a result, working hours of nurseries and kindergartens do not correspond at all with those of factories, shops or offices where women might work or seek employment.

Working hours is a major problem in primary education as well. It is compulsory in all four countries under study, and could release some of women's caring time. This is not the case, however, since either schedules are short (Italy, Spain) or morning and afternoon shifts are worked (Portugal, Greece), due to shortages in school buildings.

Shortcomings in the availability and provision of services for young children affect mainly women who are prime carers within families. They mainly affect women's being able to look for jobs of their own choice, forcing them to fit work around children's schedules. This explains in part why certain forms of employment, like industrial homeworking, are so common among women of the South. Moreover, "unsynchronised clocks" reproduce the need for help by the extended family - which in practice means other women's unpaid labour.

Public health and welfare

Public health is provided via primary health centres, clinics and regional hospitals. In all study areas there are also private clinics and doctors offering services privately. The services are quite diverse from one institution to another and between public and private ones.

An indication of the level of services available in each region is the number of beds per 1000 people: in the most recent date available (mid- to late-1980s) this was 3.7 in Anatoliki Macedonia, 4.8 in Catalonia, 4.9 in Lisbon and 8.1 in the Marche (see tables in chapter 4 of the Regional Reports). These rough figures, however, have to be qualified in a number of ways.

- a. The geographical distribution of services is an important parameter, directly influencing access to them. As can be expected, primary health centres are evenly distributed while hospitals concentrate in the larger towns. The quality and extent of services is fairly unequal, resulting in the movement of serious cases to larger and better-equipped facilities.
- b. In this sense, the figures for Lisbon are worse than the index indicates: most of Portugal's public hospitals are concentrated in Lisbon itself, yet must serve the whole country.
- c. Health infrastructure is generally not enough to cover people's period of illness completely. Even in the Marche where the situation is better, hospitals cannot provide for physically non-self-sufficient patients, due to serious shortage of nursing personnel. This is one of the reasons why patients are usually released before they have completely recovered, leaving it to their families, i.e. to women, to look after them until they are completely fit.
- d. Under the circumstances of health service provision, while in hospital patients have to be accompanied all the time by a member of their family, invariably a woman, who complements the inadequacies of hospital care. For those who can afford it, privately-paid nurses can take up this task.

Care for the elderly and the disabled

Public care for the elderly and the disabled is marginal in all four study areas, both in quantitative and in qualitative terms. Financial

assistance seems to prevail over the provision of services, and institutionalised services, over less traditional ones.

Financial assistance is very low (extremely low in Greece) and practically useless unless help from the family or from neighbours can be provided. Institutionalised care on the other hand is not accepted by most elderly or disabled people and is, in any case, very limited in the study areas and in Southern European countries in general.

Alternative care, in the form of sheltered homes, home care or centres for open services, is even more scarce. In Italy such care is provided by very few municipalities. In Portugal, the Catholic Church has been traditionally active in this domain, while recently services are being developed by some left-wing municipalities. In Spain most of the services for the elderly and the disabled are private and limited in numbers. In Greece the Centres for Open Protection for the Elderly, an innovative venture of the early 1980s, became mere meeting places due to lack of resources which made the provision of medical and other care impossible; care for the disabled is basically provided through the voluntary sector.

Provision, of public services and the terms of provision of social infrastructure are inadequate for the number of actual or potential users in all four study areas. They presuppose that women are willing and available to complement poor services or provide for non-existent ones. Reliance on the family is thus reproduced, along with a stereotype of a woman who is at the same time wife, mother, carer, nurse - and perhaps worker. In this context, women's attempts to venture into the labour market are limited and/or discouraged, unlike perhaps Northern Europe where infrastructures are better.

3. EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Education and vocational training are key means for women to improve the conditions of access and their position in the labour market. The kinds of jobs open to them depend, to a large extent, on the level of education and the training they are able to obtain. However, as the analysis that follows indicates, this is neither self-evident nor contradiction-free and women still have to struggle for jobs more than men with an equivalent level of education and/or training.

3.1. Education

Women's education in the four countries and regions under study is quite similar. Despite differences in the educational systems, three main levels can be distinguished: Primary School (ages around 6-13, compulsory), Secondary School (ages around 13-18, compulsory until about the age of 15), Higher Education / University.

In the four countries and regions, more men than women complete higher levels of education, indicating that they receive on average more formal education. A possible exception is the higher share of women in secondary education in Italy. Conversely, illiteracy is higher among women than among men, especially those women over 64 years of age.

Among the younger age brackets, women's presence at the higher education levels is more significant. In Italy, women are even more numerous than men among secondary school and university graduates, in the age bracket 25-29. The same is true in Portugal (see tables 5.1 in the Regional Reports). Education opportunities seem to be better for women in urban than in rural areas, as the examples of Lisbon and Anatoliki Macedonia show respectively.

These changes in the relative presence of men and women at all levels of education are, in part, the result of educational reforms which took place in all four countries after the mid-1970s. As a result of those reforms, more opportunities arose for social groups that were previously marginalised. Women's increased participation has to be seen in the light of changing attitudes on one hand of women themselves,

about their personal liberation and the possibility of having a better job through education; and on the other of families who gradually abandoned former priorities towards their sons' education rather than their daughters'.

Increasing levels of women's education are also related to the changing needs of production processes in each country. This, however, is rarely associated with easier access to jobs. On the contrary, the tendency of Greek or Italian girls to finish non-compulsory levels of secondary education postpones or even cancels their professional or technical orientation and leads only to less marketable skills. Similarly in Spain, women are under-represented in University degrees giving highly-valued job skills - which is probably the main reason for high unemployment rates among women with a university degree.

3.2. Vocational Training

In the study areas and countries, some local specificities notwithstanding, some vocational training is offered within the main educational system, as an option of secondary education or of Technical Schools (which are part of higher education but lower than universities standards).

Other than that, vocational training consists of subsidised courses offered by local authorities, trade unions, private institutions, professional associations, etc. Most of these courses are co-financed by the ESF in the context of policies and programmes for equal opportunities. An exception is perhaps Italy where the state finances a high number of training courses.

Training schemes vary from country to country and data is fragmented and not homogeneous. Most of it is derived from research projects and limited by their time and budget constraints. Also lacking is the post-evaluation of training schemes. Despite these limitations, it is possible to trace some of their important features.

Spanish vocational training programmes are very well organised and try to fulfill a professional profile for less-favoured women. They are

offered in coordination with the Women's Institute (local and regional) and are based on studies on women's situation in the relevant region/area.

State-financed vocational training in Italy and Greece is orientated to declining sectors and characterised by lack of technological innovation. This is especially the case with training programmes for women which, more often than not, include only "female" occupations, such as hairdressing or dressmaking; even intensive courses train women, for example, as machinists for the clothing industry.

Women's participation in training schemes is constantly rising and it is increasingly seen as an important means of their integration in the labour market. The limited evaluation studies available indicate, however, that the prospects of finding a job are not so correspondingly high. Trained machinists in Anatoliki Macedonia, for example, are usually hired as unskilled labour. In the Marche, among women who had finished long training programmes for service sector skills, 22% were still unemployed two years after graduation (vs 15% of male trainees) (see chapter 5 in the Regional Reports).

Private training centres are more flexible and adapt to labour market demand but they are accessible only to those who can pay for them. They are not usually an option for women who, on the contrary, attend subsidised training courses because they get paid during them. However, in the case of Lisbon, women's participation in courses implemented by private institutions and employers is on the increase.

Most of the training schemes are concentrated in urban areas. This is true in the case of Lisbon and Tagus Valley where most programmes are offered in the Metropolitan area of Lisbon; it is also true of Barcelona in Catalonia and of the towns of Anatoliki Macedonia.

Women's rapidly increasing presence at higher levels of education and decreasing illiteracy has been one of the most positive developments in Southern Europe, despite persistent problems of discrimination, unequal opportunities and segregation. Similar problems can be observed in vocational training schemes where traditional gender divisions are often

reproduced. As a result, it is more difficult for women than for men to find a job after training; when they do, it is usually under unfavourable conditions of work and pay. Such effects have only partially been studied since training courses are not evaluated regularly, either in general or with regard to women in particular. A key problem, however, is the orientation of women's training to non-marketable skills. Much of research and policy measures are needed in this area, to change such orientation.

4. THE TERMS OF WOMEN'S INTEGRATION IN THE LABOUR MARKET

In the study areas, as in the EC as a whole, an important feature of the last few decades is the growing participation of women in the labour market. In the four regions under study women's activity rate had reached 37-40% in the mid-1980s. The highest figure is observed in Anatoliki Macedonia, linked with women's participation in agricultural production, and the lowest in the Marche.

It is worth noting that married women represent a high proportion of working women and account for much of the increase in female activity rates. Their strong presence in the labour market indicates a tightening economic situation where families cannot survive on a single source of income (a man's family wage); it also indicates a change of attitudes towards women's roles, especially outside agriculture.

In most EC countries, women's participation in the labour market has been accompanied by an increase in the number of part-time and temporary jobs and precarious contracts (Meulders et al, 1991) mainly in the services where 67% of women's employment is concentrated. In Southern European countries increasing participation rates of women are related to the growth of atypical forms of employment and the expansion of public services (education, health, administration) where short hours of work act as a partial substitute for part-time.

Despite local specificities, in all four study areas the majority of women work in a few traditional branches of industry and in certain categories of employment in the services with relatively disadvantaged conditions of work and pay. They find jobs mainly through informal networks of acquaintances and relatives. They form the majority of "assisting and unpaid family members" in all sectors. Their earnings are typically lower than men's and unemployment rates are much higher, especially among young women.

4.1. Agriculture

As is to be expected, agriculture interests a small proportion of women in Lisbon and Tagus Valley and in Catalonia (around 7% and 2% of

employed women respectively) dominated as they are by major urban centres. The same is true for the Marche, where employment in agriculture fell from 60% in 1951 to 11% in 1989. The rural sector is very important in Anatoliki Macedonia with 46% of economically active population - and 56% of economically active women - in this sector (see tables 6.2 in the Regional Reports). Women's involvement in Catalan agriculture is more important than the statistics indicate, especially in family farming which predominates in most parts of the region.

The size of holdings is generally small, ranging from 1.5 to 10 hectares. In Anatoliki Macedonia, however, "functional holdings" are much larger than individual properties (reaching 50 hectares or more), since many owners let land to active farmers. A number of points are relevant here:

- a. Extensive use of family labour is very widespread in all four regions under study: 86% of total labour in the Marche, 76% in Anatoliki Macedonia, but less than 15% in Lisbon and Tagus Valley and in Catalonia. This in practice means women's labour: in the Marche, 42% of women's employment in agriculture is "assisting and unpaid family members", whereas women's involvement in agricultural labour exceeds 50% of total labour in many crops in Anatoliki Macedonia.

Family labour is not always evident in the employment statistics, since quite often women are not listed at all or are listed as self-employed or employers when men leave agriculture or find a job elsewhere, usually in the public sector. Family labour, and women's participation, is most widespread in the traditional, labour intensive crops, mainly Mediterranean products (vines, olive, citrus) and tobacco. Tobacco in Anatoliki Macedonia, for example, used to be totally dependent on large families and unpaid family labour; it is now declining as a result of, among other developments, demographic changes and youth migration from rural areas.

- b. A trend that can be observed both in the Marche and in the region of Lisbon is the recent increase in women's employment in

agriculture. Self-employment accounts for most of this increase and is associated with the entitlement of farms to women when men find a job outside agriculture. This has to do more with bureaucratic and taxation transactions than with men's delegation of control over the farm to women. There is a pattern of multiple job holding, while women are registered as "self-employed" in agriculture.

- c. Wage labour is mainly seasonal and coincides with harvest periods. Women are also highly represented among seasonal workers but the main occupants of such jobs are minorities and foreign migrants. Use of wage labour has to be examined in relation to the type of farm (subsistence, peasant or capitalist) and is usually found in larger holdings.
- d. Women are involved in the most labour intensive, manual tasks. Their presence diminishes when mechanised processes predominate. This is particularly exemplified in Anatoliki Macedonia by the predominance of women in tobacco and vegetable production and in arboriculture - where manual labour is the norm - and their almost total absence from mechanised cereal production.

4.2. Industry

In the study areas, as in the EC as a whole, women occupy around one in four jobs in industry. However, they are concentrated in a small number of branches where they comprise over 45% of the workforce: clothing, textiles, footwear, toys and sports goods, cotton, photographic and cinema labs, jewellery, cocoa-chocolate and sugar confection, pharmaceutical products (Conroy Jackson, 1990). Practically all of those branches face technical and administrative barriers and six of them are the low-cost branches of industry. Moreover, some are branches with a high concentration in specific areas. Women industrial workers then face a multiple disadvantage of low pay, lack of alternative employment opportunities and vulnerability in the process of formation of the Single Market.

In all four study areas, women's employment in industry has been decreasing (with the possible exception of Anatoliki Macedonia), along with the decreasing importance of the branches where women are concentrated, namely textiles and clothing, shoes and leather and food. This is particularly the case in Catalonia where the crisis of the textile industry accounts for much of the female job losses. In the region of Lisbon, a growing electronics industry has attracted a large number of women in the last decade. On the other hand, many women in Anatoliki Macedonia still work in some completely feminised parts of the traditional production process in tobacco processing, while 82% of the total industrial workforce concentrates in three branches: food industries, non metallic minerals and clothing. Similarly in Catalonia 59% of the industrial workforce is concentrated in five branches: food, drink and tobacco, metal products, textiles, transport equipment and chemical products.

Industrial activity in those feminised branches is based on small and medium enterprises (average size <10 employees per unit) in clothing and shoes and much larger firms in food industries. Large clothing firms in Anatoliki Macedonia work on orders from large European companies and, they in turn, subcontract to smaller units and to homeworkers. This mode of operation, as can easily be understood, is very vulnerable to fluctuations in demand and to changes in the practices of foreign firms which make employment very precarious for those low in the hierarchy (eg. homeworkers become "housewives" when there are no orders to be filled).

Women are hired as "unskilled labour" even when they have been through a training course of some length. Their wages are low in absolute terms, as well as in comparison with men's; as a result many of them resort to multiple employment - but to a much lower degree than men. The proportion of women who are salary/wage earners has been decreasing in both the Marche and the region of Lisbon, followed by an increase in self-employment in the 1980s.

As can be seen in some detail in the Regional Reports, job content, working conditions, labour relations differ by branch, by type of firm, and also by women's point in their life cycle. However, women's

employment in industry in general is characterised by hard working conditions, unsocial time schedules, salary derogations of different kinds, low status and low wages, unemployment rates significantly higher than men's, low levels of unionisation.

4.3. Services

Women are highly concentrated in the services, yet narrowly distributed across a few areas of activity. Examples include sales persons, cleaners and caterers, seasonal or casual workers in tourism (hotels, restaurants, tourist agencies, entertainment, bars, etc), secretaries, paid domestic workers nurses and primary school teachers. In those areas of activity career prospects are very limited and salaries/wages are relatively low. As the example of Lisbon indicates, women do not seem to be integrated in the new modern services (telecommunications or cultural) which brings improved working conditions and career prospects.

Catalonia and the Marche are close to EC average, especially in their urbanised parts, with 66% and 55% of women's employment in the services respectively. Feminisation of the services is even more pronounced in the urban area of Lisbon where 74% of economically active women work in the services, in the context of public/social services expansion after 1974. On the other hand, in Anatoliki Macedonia, unlike other regions and Greece as a whole, women's employment in the services is very low (27.4% of economically activewomen). It is also underestimated, since they are involved in informal jobs, mainly in tourism, which are for their most part unrecorded.

Employment in commerce means basically employment in very small units (with <2 employees) or self-employment in family shops. Women's work in this context again takes the form of assisting and unpaid family labour. This is also the case in many tourist businesses. In that case - where work is also seasonal - women become "housewives" when the season is over or engage in agricultural work.

The public sector (public administration and social services), expanding after the mid-1970s, has presented opportunities for women's employment. In the case of Italy and Greece shorter working hours have made it an

attractive employer for women who have to "combine" paid employment and domestic duties. The majority of women here as well are placed low in the hierarchy, with limited career prospects and low salaries, even among people with equivalent qualifications. Only highly skilled/trained women make it to the better posts in the public sector.

Present trends for an increase in service employment seem likely to continue. They offer opportunities for women's employment but simultaneously reinforce tendencies for segregation into the same handful of occupations where they have so far concentrated (Conroy Jackson, 1990). Computerisation of more routine jobs are likely to require higher levels of qualification or technical skill to which women have traditionally lower access, especially in the less developed parts of the study areas.

4.4. Atypical employment

The term "atypical employment", following the Meulders, Plasman (1989) report to the EC, is used to describe any kind of employment that does not conform to a "regular" pattern of formal, full-time, wage work, corresponding mainly of a Northern European, male pattern of employment. This latter type of paid work, however, is part of the experience of a minority of women (and men) of the South - which means that a large part of women's work falls into some category of atypical employment.

A lot of women's work lies outside the realm of wage labour and activity that is registered and adequately evaluated: agricultural work in family farms, family helpers in small businesses, industrial homeworking, informal and/or seasonal work in tourism, industry or personal services, irregular work in the public sector are some of the areas which employ a primarily female workforce in the study areas and in Southern Europe in general. All that bulk of atypical - and largely unrecorded - work is quite heterogeneous, sector-specific in its form and place-specific in its concentration. It is spreading, particularly in Southern Europe, in the context of general trends towards deregulation of employment, which affect primarily women; for example in Southern Europe women are 80-90% of the estimated 1.5 million homeworkers (Council of Europe, 1989).

The exact extent of atypical employment is impossible to assess and relevant data have to be treated cautiously. This is especially the case with the part of atypical employment that falls into the realm of "informal activities" which are, by definition, unrecorded. However, the following remarks, along with the discussion of women's work in different sectors of economic activity, are illustrative in this respect (see also Chapter 6 in the Regional Reports).

- a. In Anatoliki Macedonia, 55-65% of working women work without contracts. They hold "temporary" and/or "seasonal" jobs in agriculture, in tobacco and food industries and in tourism. In the Marche and in Catalonia, seasonal employment extends also in public sector services, following recent cuts (in the postal, telephone and public administration services). In Lisbon and Tagus Valley, 24% of economically active women have temporary contracts, mainly in agriculture and commerce, but also in public administration (12% of women employed in that sector).
- b. Women are the overwhelming majority of "assisting relatives" in small family firms - the majority of firms - in agriculture, manufacturing and services in all four study areas. Family labour also involves children - a case that is particularly widespread among return migrants in Portugal.
- c. "Self employment" is more widespread among men than among women. The data that is available, however, points to its increasing importance among women, particularly in agriculture in Portugal and Italy, some branches of industry related to subcontracting in Portugal and Greece and in commerce and tourism in all cases.
- d. "Homeworking", mainly in clothing, is an important part of the operation of that branch in both Catalonia and Anatoliki Macedonia. It used to be more common in the Marche in the 1970s, but it is actually less frequent and more regulated; it is more frequent in the feminised branches than in manufacturing as a whole (12% in shoes vs 3.6% in manufacturing).

- e. "Multiple job holding" is again more common among men, mainly those whose first job is in the public sector. Many women industrial workers in Anatoliki Macedonia are forced to take up second jobs, as a result of their very low pay which makes it impossible for them to survive on one source of income. In the region of Lisbon multiple job holding is frequent among very skilled workers and engages 5% of employed women.

It is worth noting, however, that many women registered as housewives (non-labour force) engage in a multitude of occupations the year round, especially in rural areas: they may be involved in farming for part of the year, in tourism during the season, in a family shop for some hours every day without ever gaining the status of a "working person", let alone a multiple job holder.

4.5. Unemployment and conditions of pay

Data on salaries/wages are scarce and unavailable by region or smaller geographical entities, even though, following relevant studies, regional differences are quite significant. Based on information that is available at the national level, salary/wage differences between women and men are increasing recently. The average wage of women is less than 75% that of men in all four countries and sectors of economic activity - with greater differences in the services (commerce, personal services) where the majority of women concentrate. Moreover, employed women concentrate in the worst paid branches and the lower status and worst paid jobs.

Figures on salary/wage levels and differences are even more limited since much of the economic activity in the study areas is not recorded and an important part of total labour is expended in conditions where evaluation and remuneration are quite problematic. As the preceding analysis has shown, this is particularly the case with women's labour in the study areas. Their contribution is thus underestimated and unfavourable conditions persist through horizontal and vertical segregation in the labour market.

In line with developments in all EC countries, female unemployment in the South is very high, despite the considerable increase in women's activity. It is also more than double the male unemployment: 11.3% vs 4.4% of economically active people in the Marche, 20.7% vs 7.8% in Catalonia, 23.0% vs 9.7% in Lisbon and Tagus Valley, but 5.7% vs 8.5% in Anatoliki Macedonia. In addition women are the majority of the long term-unemployed (those unemployed for more than 12 months).

Unemployment is particularly high among young women. In the age groups below 24 years of age, almost half of the economically active women are unemployed in all of the study areas, with a somewhat better picture in the Marche and in Italy in general. These figures though have to be seen in relation to overall high unemployment rates among young people, men as well as women. High unemployment among young women is also influenced by the high share of women among people "in search of a first job".

With the exception of the region of Lisbon, unemployment in the study areas is lower than national average in the respective countries. If data were further spatially disaggregated, one would be able to observe further differences evident in any detailed geographical study: higher rates in urban than in rural areas (and Lisbon is already an indication to that), as well as important differences among different areas, linked to their productive structure.

What these figures fail to grasp, however, is the status of women (and men) in atypical forms of employment which is so widespread in all sectors and branches of economic activity in the study areas. This is not only a problem within formal and non-registered activities, but also with employment in family businesses or with self-employment (when is a self-employed person or an assisting family member "unemployed"?).

An additional problem for women has to do with their frequent classification as housewives when they loose a job or when they are discouraged from looking for one. The assumption that women do not work - therefore cannot "loose their job" - is reinforced and reproduced also through surveys and studies that consider housewives as "non labour force", especially in the context local labour markets where the boundaries of people's activities are unclear and overlapping.

The points raised in the preceding discussion point to some strong commonalities in all the different contexts of study with regard to women's integration in the labour market. This is not to underestimate important differences that stem from each region's integration in the national and international division of labour or the importance of different development paths, both national and regional. Such differences explain much of what is presented in the Regional Reports. These, however, make commonalities all the more important and worth studying in detail.

5. WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS AND POLICIES FOR EQUALITY

Women's mobilisation and organisation is a very important issue - the historical base on which all emancipatory efforts are founded and the framework which defines the extent and success of equality policy in particular places and times.

5.1. Women's mobilisation

In the study areas, the new feminist movement flourished in the mid-1970s and started to decline by the mid-1980s. With the exception of Italy, this belated development is linked to the downfall of the dictatorships in Spain, Greece and Portugal. In Spain, development of the feminist movement was rapid and multi-faceted; in Greece and Portugal a large part of women's mobilisation was subjected to other political goals in the context of which it was considered as an issue of second priority.

Despite recent decline, many feminist groups and some organisations are still active and may greatly contribute to the formulation and implementation of policy for equality. Some of the present problems of such groups are summarised below.

- a. Groups seldom have enough resources to promote their goals. The case of Greece, and Anatoliki Macedonia in particular, seems to be the most extreme, with the complete absence of, among others, women's centres, rape crisis centres or shelters for battered women.
- b. In rural areas, feminist ideas are difficult to penetrate and traditional values persist. As a general rule, women's groups and organisations have developed more in the urban centres - and particularly in the capital cities - of the study areas.
- c. Women's committees within trade unions have formed recently but have very limited power. Some of them are quite bureaucratic and imposed from above. Despite some important initiatives, they have difficulties to incorporate women's issues in the mainstream of

trade union policy. In addition, participation of women in both union leadership and membership is very low, with the obvious exception of the "women-only" industrial branches (eg. clothing in Anatoliki Macedonia).

- d. Political parties usually use women's committees to promote party priorities. Four left-wing parties in Southern Europe (one in Greece, one in Italy and two in Spain) have adopted a minimum quota of women in electoral lists and in party elected bodies - which is not always observed.

These weaknesses reflect women's absence from the public sphere and underline the importance of mobilisation at all levels and in different forms. Historical circumstances determine the conditions under which this is possible and account for local specificities. It has to be emphasised, however, that the gender division of labour at home and the complex patterns of most women's daily lives discourage them, psychologically and practically, from participating in the public sphere.

5.2. National and local policy for equality

In the mid-1970s important legislative reforms for equality started in all four countries, linked with the struggles of active women's movements. Differences in the form and content of those reforms are important, due to different conjunctures in each country.

Reforms in Italy preceded those in the other countries, as a result of a rich democratic tradition and a favourable political environment. In the other three countries, reforms started after the downfall of the dictatorships, in a general climate of progressive social change. This is particularly true for the Democratic Revolution in Portugal and the post-Franco regimes in Spain. In Greece, most reforms were finally implemented after 1981, when PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) came to power.

Legislative reforms abolished some striking inequalities, like the need for the husband's consent in order for the wife to get a job in Spain,

the dowry in Greece, the restriction of women's access to some levels of diplomacy and local administration in Portugal. Their extent and precise content differs from country to country. In general they conform with EC directives and, in some cases, they are more advanced.

In each country there are different administrative bodies responsible for the promotion and implementation of equality policies. The General Secretariat for Equality in Greece, located in Athens, is restricted in its activity by lack of resources, personnel and power to intervene in policies of other Ministries. Prefectural Equality Offices in the rest of Greece - Anatoliki Macedonia included - are almost entirely immobilised by bureaucratic, male-dominated administrations and inefficient regional policy.

Institutions for equality are quite decentralised in Italy. In the Marche there are female councils, centres for equality, a Regional Commission for Equal Opportunities and Equality Divisions. In Spain, 7 out of 17 Autonomous Communities have official institutions for women. In Catalonia there is an Interdepartmental Commission for the Promotion of Women which seems to pursue less progressive policies than its central state equivalent.

A common feature of equality legislation and institutions in the four study areas is their limited ability to change women's condition to the degree that their rhetoric claims. Both external ideological and material constraints and internal weaknesses of the law, account for this discrepancy. A major issue here is the narrow scope through which legislation defines problems and attempts to solve each one separately and without much attention to indirect discrimination.

In Italy, such problems seem to be confronted more carefully through debates and legislation covering the "substantial type of equality", "positive actions" to cope within direct discrimination, and "conditions for equal opportunities". When it comes to policy implementation, women's groups and organisations are seldom consulted or asked to cooperate; as a result, implementation becomes a matter of bureaucratic processing, detached from women's everyday lives.

5.3. European Community Policy

European Community policy affects women in many direct and indirect ways. Indirect ways concern all the programmes aiming at regional/national development. Since development is not a gender-neutral process, it affects women and men differently; such differences are time- and place-specific.

Programmes of the Regional and Agricultural Funds do not usually include training schemes or employment initiatives. However, their support for investment initiatives in different economic sectors and in regional infrastructure decisively influences employment. For example, Greece has benefited from all the funds of the EC in the Community Support Framework. Anatoliki Macedonia in particular, with 5.9% of total population in the country, absorbs 4.9% of this support. The effects on women are related to the kinds of economic activity promoted through EC funding.

Promotion of certain industrial branches and certain crops may mean promotion or reduction of women's or men's employment, given the gender segregation in the labour market. Furthermore, priorities to formal economic activities (as opposed to informal ones or to social infrastructure) often do not answer basic needs of women, as discussed in the preceding chapters. Positive effects are therefore limited to men's world. Similar comments apply to the multi-funding programmes (eg. Mediterranean Integrated Programmes)

The direct ways in which EC policy affects women's working and living conditions have to do primarily with Council Directives concerning Equality between women and men. The Community law has initiated positive legislative reform in all Southern European Countries.

An important domain of EC policy in the regions under study is linked to vocational training which is promoted and subsidised by the European Social Fund. As already pointed out, ESF training schemes often

reproduce female segregation in the labour market. However, they constitute the main bulk of vocational training in the study areas. This is particularly true in Anatoliki Macedonia and also in the Marche where there is high demand for vocational training.

Of greater importance for women are the vocational training courses of the specific Operational Programme for women, dealing directly with women's training needs. However, this programme only receives a very low proportion of the funding: for example in the Marche, only 1% of total ESF resources went to only women's training for sectors in which they are under-represented. Finally, as far as other EC networks for women issues are concerned (Local Employment Initiatives, IRIS- network of vocational training for women, Childcare etc.) they can be complementary to the European Social Fund support for women. But they are not always taken advantage of, mainly due to lack of information.

Further more, Community Action Programmes on Equal Opportunities for women and men have provided the incentive and the opportunity, since 1982, to promote important activities for women. One example in this respect are the measures implemented in Portugal, following the Second Action Programme (1986-1990) (see chapter 9 of the Regional Report).

The NOW initiative - which is part of the Third Community Action Programme (1991-1995) - may be used as an example of the limited and sometimes contradictory scope of direct policy: it includes a whole host of positive provisions for women's integration in the labour market, but still considers women simply as workers-to-be in the formal labour market and lacks an all-encompassing approach of work -which would be closer to women's experiences.

Despite their limitations, programmes specific for women are very important, particularly for women of the South, and have to be expanded and promoted. The gaps and contradictions in the dissemination of information concerning EC policy and the use of available funding are a crucial problem that needs to be faced both by the European Community and by Member States. A case in point is the complete lack of

information about the NOW initiative in the Marche; until June 1991, when it was already too late to prepare applications, regional officials did not know of it.

Equality law and policy in its different forms cannot by itself change patriarchal practices and values. There are, however, subjective limitations incorporated in legislation and programmes which can and must be faced with greater sensitivity and stricter evaluation controls from the point of view of women's needs and priorities. Moreover, equality policy cannot be effective unless it is incorporated in all aspects of economic, regional, agricultural, etc. policy of the European Community.

6. COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study of women's work and daily lives in four different types of regions in Southern Europe highlights some of their most important features and the difference that place makes to them. The United Nations quote from 1980 is perhaps too well-known but still worth remembering: "Women constitute half of the world's population, perform two thirds of its work hours, receive one-tenth of the world's income and own less than one-hundredth of the world's property". Such a provocative generalisation is not meant to obscure the very real differences that undeniably exist among women, along with commonalities and continuities.

The picture is not perhaps as bleak in Southern Europe or among women of all classes and races. But the statement underlines what is usually obscured in statistical tables and rarely becomes a consideration of policy formulation. In the different contexts of our study areas, as elsewhere, women are worse off than men, in more vulnerable positions at work, with less power and autonomy and more responsibilities. They have a smaller share of the pie, even when the pie is larger and the standards of living higher. Looking at women's work and daily lives in the context discussed above, should help, at least in part, evaluate the prospect of the Single Market from the perspective of women of the South.

6.1. The prospect of European Integration

Achievement of a "Europe without frontiers" is expected to result in the increase of qualitative and quantitative benefits of the European companies and working population: the single integrated market is expected to reinforce competitiveness and modernisation of companies and mobility and valorisation of the labour force.

According to the Cecchini Report, the abolition of frontiers will permit the free movement of goods, services, people and capital in the Member States and will improve the economic position of the EC in the world. The scale economies that can be achieved by the Single Market are considered essential for the economic development of the Community and will establish the basis for further political and social integration.

The most important physical barriers identified are the checks and the controls of people and goods at internal borders and customs houses. The only kinds of controls planned to remain effective after the end of 1992 are those which deal with drug trafficking, crime prevention and movement within the Community of nationals of non-Member States.

Technical barriers impeding the free movement of goods, services, people and capital will be removed by the harmonisation of national regulations and legislation. In the production of goods and services, technical and quality standards will be harmonised in order to facilitate the penetration of all goods in all national markets.

In the formation of the labour force, educational systems, professional and vocational qualifications will be harmonised in order to facilitate the movement of working people among Member States. Concerning the movement of capital, introduction of a Community-wide tendering for public sector works and supplies contracts, de-regulation of the credit and banking system as well as of capital markets will facilitate foreign investments and transnational financial operations.

Concerning fiscal barriers, the approximation of indirect tax rates will lead to a less distorted competition and a better balance of the price level within the European market. Approximation is proposed instead of harmonisation as it permits the adjustment to particular national needs and changing circumstances.

All these measures will be further supported by the removal of protective restrictions on transport and the unification of standards for transmission and reception of broadcast programmes throughout the European Community.

Completion of the internal market and unification of the labour and goods market conditions is expected to decrease inequalities between Member States and to contribute to redistribution of wealth among countries and regions by promoting social cohesion within the European Community.

Nowadays, it is widely accepted that the economic benefits of completion of the internal market will not be equally distributed among all regions and social groups within the Community and that special policies against such "malfunctioning" of the European philosophy have to be promoted. Restructuring of the structural European Funds (social, agricultural, regional) in 1989 is a result of the new directions of European policies, shaped in the prospect of the Single Market and European Integration in general.

In order to accelerate such processes the Commission introduced in 1989 the "Charter of Fundamental Social Rights" attempting to complete the proposals of the White Paper with the social aspects of the impact of the Single Internal Market. The declared wish of the Commission to reduce social problems in the Community is, however, constrained by the limited budget available for this reason. The meagre part of Community budget devoted to the redistribution of resources in favour of weaker regions and social groups is unlikely to have any essential impact in the foreseeable future.

This study has been carried out in the above framework and has focused on the impact of the Single Market on women of the South. It has tried to identify some of the mechanisms that perpetuate the inferior working and living conditions of a specific social group in a specific European region.

6.2. An all-encompassing definition of work

There is no doubt that employment patterns in Southern Europe are changing. An important component of that change is the increasing participation of women in the labour force. This is true for all sectors of economic activity, from the most traditional parts of agriculture to the most advanced jobs in the services. The bulk of employed women, however, are not equally distributed across the spectrum. (Employment in Europe, 1989, 1990, 1991)

This major change has not been accompanied by adjustments in the domestic sphere. Women in Southern Europe bear the burden of family

responsibilities, without the back-up services. In most cases this means that they are faced with almost impossible choices when they venture in the labour market.

Changing patterns of employment

Broadly summarising, women in the study areas perform the more traditional and less mechanised tasks in agriculture, concentrate in declining and crisis-ridden branches of industry and hold the majority of low status and low paid jobs in the services. The problems of this situation and the tensions concerning women's employment prospects are more pronounced in places in the study areas whose productive structure is based on such declining or backward activities.

A case in point here is textiles and clothing, highly feminised, traditional branches, prominent in all four study areas. Since the early 1980s, firms in these branches have been reorganising under the pressure of very slow market growth and increasing competition from low-wage countries (Meulders, Plasman, 1991). Pressures on labour have increased after the opening of Eastern European markets and competition will definitely increase after the expiry of the Multi-Fibre Agreement in 1991.

Against these developments, automation is the aim in textiles in order to reduce labour costs. This means loss of jobs, especially women's jobs, since they are concentrated in low-skilled ones, threatened by automation. Re-direction towards upmarket, quality products for specific market niches and fast adaptations to demand are the main areas of innovation in clothing. These lead to the blossom of different types of "flexible" work patterns and pressure on wages. Not only are women's jobs reduced but conditions worsen (Mitter, 1992)

Innovative practices are not an option for the majority of firms in Southern Europe, where most of women's jobs concentrate. The very small family firms - which are the overwhelming majority in the study areas - are in an underprivileged position with regard to these options. They

rely heavily on informal practices and low wages which lead to casualisation of women's employment, deterioration of working conditions and reduced bargaining power.

Women in the South are concentrated not only in traditional branches but also in small family businesses in all sectors where they often work unpaid; they are the majority of informal workers with no job security or insurance. The variety of atypical forms of work identified in all the study areas bears witness to experiences of work completely different from those on which the prospect of the Single Market is based, i.e. innovative, dynamic firms which will benefit from scale economies.

Improved social and labour law protection, harmonised across the EC, has been important in increasing awareness about the condition of women at work. However, it can be effective only for jobs in the formal labour market. Paid employment in the study areas, and in Southern Europe in general, includes industrial homeworking, informal, seasonal and temporary work in services (especially tourism) and in agriculture, family labour.

These types of atypical employment, where workers are mostly women, usually lie out of the reach of labour legislation and regulatory directives. In a general tendency towards flexibilisation and declining state control mechanisms, the importance of legislative reform to the advantage of workers remains limited, at least for women of the South. More often than not, legislation is adequate but the problems lie with its enforcement, since that would alleviate the "comparative advantage" of many firms.

In this context it is not women's exclusion that will be the problem after 1992 (as is often argued), but rather the unfavourable terms under which they are likely to be integrated in the future Single Market.

Training: a passport to better jobs?

Women in Southern European countries and in the regions under study are increasingly taking more education, changing their relative presence at all levels. This is associated both with educational reforms promoted in the mid-1970s and by changing needs of production processes in each country and region. Higher levels of education, however, do not guarantee easier access to jobs.

Women's participation in training schemes is also rising and it is increasingly seen as an important means of integration in the labour market. Segregation in training for "female jobs" is more or less a rule - which reduces the possibilities of trainees to actually find employment.

The importance of women's training and acquisition of skills is gradually increasing in the context of an ageing population, gradually leading to skills shortages. Demographic factors, along with EC priorities, have led governments to promote women's training, while companies are forced to make better choice of their female workforce.

Training is an important area of both national/regional and EC policy, since most schemes - especially those for women - are co-financed by the ESF. A major improvement is needed in the orientation of training towards marketable skills, difficult as this may be especially at times and places of job loss.

Up to now, training and employment policy for women focus heavily on self-employment which, in many cases, means a transfer of risk to the women-workers. Moreover, not everybody can become "entrepreneur" - i.e., acquire skills, link to networks of information or develop access to markets. This is one of the reasons why many such ventures are very short-lived and simply postpone the problem of unemployment.

In order for EC financed programmes to provide a real opportunity for women, resources have to be devoted beyond "token investment" in

exemplary efforts. A helpful policy in this direction is the support of networks at different levels (regional, national, EC) and of research into local conditions in which women's initiatives are inscribed.

A double burden

At a time of unprecedented economic activity, women of the South are still solely responsible for looking after the home, children and dependent relatives. When they take paid employment, they do so "at their own risk", without the support of dedicated partners and in the absence of adequate services; they have to rely heavily on - and limit the time and activity of - other women members of their family.

Organisation of the labour market follows male patterns of activity; it is based on, and reproduces the assumption, that workers are fully available and have no family responsibilities. But in the study areas, as elsewhere, the terms of women's integration in the labour market are conditioned, to a great extent, by the amount and content of domestic and caring labour.

Women provide, or are responsible to make arrangements for, childcare, take the responsibility of running the house and the bulk of domestic chores, care for the elderly and other dependent relatives and are expected to give up their jobs for varying lengths of time if the need arises. All of this (unpaid) labour is considered as non-work, yet puts excessive demands on women's time and possibilities.

The need for more and better organised social services is evident from the Regional Reports and from the preceding analysis. In some cases it means re-arrangement of working hours of services (eg. schools, or health services) to fit women's working hours. In other cases major investments are necessary for the services to be adequately provided (eg. care for the elderly and the disabled, or better staffing of public health).

Provision of social infrastructure, as part of policies to help reconcile paid work and domestic and caring labour, is undoubtedly an important intermediate step. Its long-term effectiveness, however, will

remain limited unless it is combined with much more fundamental changes of attitudes and priorities. On the one hand the labour market has to be re-modelled so that it does not follow typical male patterns of employment. On the other hand, domestic responsibilities and caring has to be recognised as part of socially necessary labour that is not necessarily "women's work".

To this end, equality programmes introduced in schools, campaigns and model projects encouraging men's involvement in caring and mixing roles at home would gradually help change the role stereotyping of these activities. Domestic responsibilities might then become de-gendered and cease to be an "additional burden" for women workers.

6.3. The geography of women's work and daily life

One of the fundamental premises of the Single Market is the establishment of inter-Community mobility, of workers, as well as goods and capital. Women's working and daily patterns though are tied to particular places. Studying the prospects of a unified Europe for women of the South then necessarily means studying differences, variance and specificity of place.

Workers' mobility versus women's attachment to place

Women's responsibility for the home and family has been extensively discussed in this study. It is perhaps clear by now that women of the South have to develop complex support networks, including family, neighbours and friends, in order to cope with the demands of paid work and domestic and caring labour. Under such circumstances, mobility, in order to improve their job prospects, is very problematic. It is also questionable in its effectiveness, since a "better job" is not really a choice if support networks are lacking.

In the study areas, when women move, they usually follow their husbands at the cost of their own career/employment prospects; they usually have to abandon a job in the place of origin and remain unemployed for an

uncertain length of time. Since the main way of finding a job is through relatives and acquaintances, their chances in the area of destination are quite limited. So too is their time availability, especially if they have small children.

A move determined by the job prospects of a male partner does not necessarily mean better job opportunities for women. Local labour markets are themselves segregated along gender lines and women's employment is quite differentiated between places. Moreover, women having to combine working hours with the operation of schools and public services, seldom transcend the boundaries of their area of residence. Travel times are an important consideration, further constraining job choices and opportunities. In this context they are very unlikely to take advantage of increased mobility in the Single Market.

General principles - local policies

Policies for equality of opportunities between men and women, as well as employment or education and training ones, are, in general, national. They are usually general guidelines and legislative measures. Their effectiveness for different groups of women, however, depends on the extent to which local specificities are taken into account. As the experience of this study has shown, women's work and daily lives vary from place to place.

Even "regions" used here as study areas may in some cases be too large to be relevant for women's work and life. They are a imposed choice though, since data is not available for smaller spatial entities, for the number of issues studied. It is therefore important to collect data that is geographically further disaggregated further and therefore perhaps more meaningful for the women concerned.

To this end, local studies should be promoted as a base for the development of local policies. Resources committed to "mapping" women's lives along these lines, by Southern European states or by the EC are very limited. Their substantial increase could contribute to formulate policies based on women's needs and geared to their potential. Such

needs and potential have important place-specific dimensions, determined by an area's development history and the terms of its integration in the national and international division of labour.

Women - active agents of change

Policies for women, even local ones and those sensitive to women's condition, can only be effective if women themselves are activated in the areas concerned. Initiatives can only be effectively implemented if women are actively involved in them. In the study areas the prospects for such active involvement are not very encouraging.

Lack of information is one major obstacle inhibiting women's active involvement in employment or training schemes. This is also an area where improvements are not difficult to promote. In any case, however, generalised mobilisation cannot be expected. It is more likely that policies will be taken advantage of by some women, individually or in groups.

This is perhaps an indication towards policy implementation. Women's groups have to be identified and supported which can ensure the sustenance of initiatives. These groups may then develop information and support networks for other women's initiatives and advise them how to start. In this context, EC and national resources will be used to sustain activities with longer-term prospects and not simply displace or postpone women's problems. Women's organising and mobilisation, or simply the complex ways in which they manage to cope, is a positive asset in this direction.

6.4. A final comment

As women of the South, we have struggled in this study with our own limitations in understanding the experiences of work and life upon which the project of European Integration rests. Trying to see it through the eyes of women of the South, we have come to question many assumptions underlying it. It is beyond doubt that "a rising tide does not raise all

boats". And there is little indication that many groups of women in Southern Europe won't be left behind, even when important social advances are made. However, women are coping, changing, increasingly coming out of the shadows, organising and fighting against marginalisation. Awareness of the problems and the prospects in a Single Market, of things being potentially better or worse both are a result and an incentive for these struggles - that go beyond any landmark date.

APPENDIX

GUIDELINES FOR DATA COLLECTION

1. INTRODUCTION

Focus on the regional productive structure

2. POPULATION

2.1. Total population of the region and country by sex.

2.2. Variation in total population of the region and country by sex.
Percentages

2.3. Age groups of the region and country by sex

2.4. Minorities. Migration

2.5. Urban, semi-urban, rural population of the region and country. Percentages

2.6. Infant mortality. Fertility rate. Natural children. Marriage rate.
Divorces

2.7. Comments

3. FAMILY STRUCTURE

3.1. Size of households of the region and country(1971-1981)

3.2. Familial networks

3.3. Divisions of labour (and power) in the family

3.4. Time spent on household tasks by sex

3.5. Preference for boys or girls

3.6. Age of leaving the family

3.7. Inheritance of family property

3.8. Housing conditions

3.9. The importance of family structure and networks as a partial substitute for limited social infrastructure

4. SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

4.1. Family planning centres. Use of contraceptives. Abortions

4.2. Provision for pre-school age and primary education.

- 4.3. Public health
- 4.4. Caring for the elderly
- 4.4. Caring for the disabled
- 4.5. Comments focusing on the role of expanding public services and/or the impact of cuts in public spending for services on women as users and on women as workers

5. EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

(Latest available data and qualitative information)

- 5.1. Educational level of the region and country by sex and by age (0-14, 15-64, >65). Percentages
 - Primary school graduates and illiterate
 - Secondary school graduates
 - (Training and vocational training graduates)
 - Higher education graduates
- 5.2. Occupations by educational level and by sex of the region
- 5.3. Training policies (national and EC) numbers of trainees by sex occupations afterwards
- 5.4. Comments, focusing on the role of education and training in directing women to certain jobs. Trends

6. EMPLOYMENT

(Latest available data. Labour force survey)

- 6.1. Employment indicators of the region and the country by sex.
 - Total employment
 - Ratio of employment to working-age population
 - Unemployment rate
 - Youth (14-24) unemployment rate.
- 6.2. Employment in the region and country by sector and sex
- 6.3. Employment in the region by sector, by sex and by occupational status
- 6.4. Atypical employment in the three sectors of the region. EC classification and definitions
- 6.5. Comments

7. WOMEN'S MOBILISATION IN THE REGION

7.1. The kinds of women's groups that exist in the region:
feminist groups

women's groups in political parties

women's groups in trade unions

women elected in the local hierarchy of political
parties and local government

7.2. Activities of women's groups and issues they mobilise around

8. NATIONAL AND LOCAL POLICIES

Concentrate on policies for women/equality

9. EUROPEAN COMMUNITY POLICY

Concentrate on the specific Operational Programmes for women,
through which a lot of training takes place

Third Medium-Term Action Programme for Equal Opportunities for
Women and Men

LEI (Local Employment Initiatives) for women setting up small
businesses

IRIS, NOW

Comment: Are they relevant for women in the region? How have
previous programmes been implemented

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REGIONAL REPORT

ANATOLIKI MACEDONIA

GREECE

by

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- 1 Athens Region
- 2 Aetolo-Akarnania
- 3 Beotia
- 4 Euboea
- 5 Evritania
- 6 Phthiotis
- 7 Phocis
- 8 Argolis
- 9 Argolis
- 10 Arcadia
- 11 Laconia
- 12 Corinthia
- 13 Laconia
- 14 Messenia
- 15 Ionian Islands
- 16 Aetolia
- 17 Thessaly
- 18 Thessaly
- 19 Preveza
- 20 Korinthia
- 21 Larissa
- 22 Magnesia
- 23 Thessaly
- 24 Grevena
- 25 Drama
- 26 Imathia
- 27 Thessaloniki
- 28 Kavala
- 29 Kastoria
- 30 Xixis
- 31 Kazani
- 32 Pella
- 33 Pella
- 34 Serres
- 35 Florina
- 36 Kozani
- 37 Evros
- 38 Xanthi
- 39 Rodopi
- 40 Aegean islands
- 41 Iraklion
- 42 Lassithi
- 43 Rethymnon
- 44 Crete

1. REGIONAL PRODUCTIVE STRUCTURE

Anatoliki Macedonia is a region in the north of Greece, with 382,893 inhabitants in 1987, distributed in three prefectures (nomoi: Serres, Drama, Kavala) and in 471 settlements, 95% of which have a population of less than 2,000. Since the mid-1970s it shows repopulation tendencies, gradual decrease of emigration and increase of return migration, rates of growth of Gross Regional Product and labour productivity higher or close to national rates, dynamic development of different economic activities: tourism in coastal areas, intensive agriculture in the plains, industry around urban areas and on the main road network. For the past 20 years it has been prioritised by regional incentives for economic development, in the context of which new industries have located in the region.

Macedonia, of which Anatoliki Macedonia is the western part, became part of the modern Greek state in 1913, after the Balkan Wars. It was at that time a predominantly rural area, with 65% of its population in agriculture and low population densities. Settlement of national boundaries in the Balkans greatly affected the economy of many cities and regions. Boundaries restricted the "hinterland" of the cities and set barriers to economic activities in the regions— both of which led to changes in the productive structure of many parts of the Balkans, Anatoliki Macedonia included.

In the forcible exchange of populations that followed the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), 638,000 refugees were settled in Macedonia (which had an indigenous population of 695,000), mainly in the plains and coastal areas. The ethnic composition of the population in Macedonia, as in all parts of the former Ottoman Empire, changed significantly to an ethnically (and religiously), homogeneous one. According to the 1928 census, over 50% of the population of Anatoliki Macedonia were refugees of Greek origin from Asia Minor and the Balkans.

Urban refugee population contributed, both via capital investment and as supply of labour, to the revitalisation and industrialisation of many cities in Macedonia. Carpet and pottery making, tobacco and copper

processing were some of the industries for which the refugees brought innovative know-how from their areas of origin. Those who settled in rural areas introduced new methods of cultivation and new varieties of commercial crops, mainly tobacco, cotton and grain. Moreover, rural settlement - a priority of State policy - precipitated infrastructure works that improved and increased cultivated areas (irrigation projects, drainage of marshlands, road construction).

It is out of the scope of this study to discuss the impact of refugee settlement in this region (for such a discussion see among others, Pentzopoulos, 1962; Negreponti-Delivani, 1973; Psiroukis, 1974; Gerolymbou et.al., 1988). However, it is important to underline that the majority of refugees who came to Greece directly after the Asia Minor Disaster (1922) were women, especially among the "productive" age groups from which men were missing (either killed in the warfare, or detained as prisoners of war in Turkey). Those women were the sole "working persons" in many households. They had to sell their labour power at any cost in order to survive and support children and elderly people.

In a situation of crisis and struggle for survival a tradition of women's participation in productive activities was formed which is different from other parts of Greece and is usually overlooked in accounts of regional development. This is not unrelated to the branches of industry in which Anatoliki Macedonia specialised and where a female labour force predominates. Recent changes and specialisation of the region in final demand products, in labour-intensive, foot-loose industries have also to be studied in the light of this tradition of women's labour force participation and the availability of a female labour force.

Like the rest of "intermediate" regions, where similar processes are in operation, Anatoliki Macedonia lags behind compared to "old" core areas of the country. But it has avoided the marginalisation of mountainous parts of Greece and of many small islands (Hadjimichalis, Vaiou, 1987). There are marked differences among the three prefectures and between the northern mountainous zone and the southern plains and coast where most of the productive activities are concentrated. The region is rich in natural resources and contains a number of important wetlands and

natural forests whose protection poses a number of questions as to the intensity and locational choices for productive activities.

In what follows a brief reference is made to the productive structure of the region and to relevant state policies. Public services are discussed in detail in other parts of this report in connection with women's work and living conditions. It is important to note here that Anatoliki Macedonia rates low with regard to collective and individual consumption indices (eg. hospital beds per 1000 inhabitants, private car ownership, per capita power consumption).

Agriculture, stock-breeding, fishing, forestry

Anatoliki Macedonia is a mainly agricultural region where 67% of its total surface is occupied by farm and grazing land and 45.7% of its active population work in agriculture (see Table 6.2 below). This relative importance of the "rural sector" has to be qualified, by taking into account the high occurrence of multiple employment and the coexistence of traditional primary with other activities in many parts of the region.

Important heterogeneity can be observed, as capitalist and peasant farms, backward and dynamic units, small and large estates coexist and different types of agricultural work are present. The region has a high potential in developing fishing and productively exploiting forest resources (forests occupy 26% of the total surface). It is also quite dynamic, as can be seen by the orientation of agricultural production and its high productivity. This productive dynamism, however, is not accompanied by an equivalent development of food processing plants in the area, thereby leaving a lot of its potential unexploited.

Grain production (mainly wheat, barley, oat, rye, maize and rice) extends over 73% of total arable land in the region. More than 11% of total production of grain in Greece is produced in this region (26% of total maize production alone). Equally important is the production of sugar beets and canned tomatoes, in terms of their share in national production (21% and 17% respectively) (Papayannakis et al, 1986). Vegetables grown in greenhouses is a recent dynamic commercial crops.

Vines, olive trees and citrus (the "Mediterranean products"), on the other hand, are not an important part of agricultural production, even though they still form part of the region's exports to the EC and Eastern Europe. Tobacco, once the main commercial crop, is declining in importance - with significant effects on manufacturing activities and on women's employment (FW, 1991).

The average size of holdings is very small, 1.5-8.0 Hectares (Ha). However, "functional" holdings are often over 50 Ha (sometimes reaching 150 Ha) for grain production and over 10 Ha for tomato and other crops: many owners of land have retired or migrated and sublet their land to active farmers. In Serres - which is the main agricultural prefecture - there are 33,000 families registered in agriculture, most of whose members are over 50 years of age and only one third of them actually engage in agricultural activities (NSS, 1981)

The necessary labour varies very much by crop: grain production is mostly mechanised and involves only a few working hours per Hectare per year (22 hours for wheat and barley, 90-140 for maize, 120 for rice). Vegetables in greenhouses are the most labour intensive crops, requiring 2,500 hours (eg. lettuce, peppers, aubergines, spinach) to more than 10,000 hours of work per Hectare per year (eg. cucumbers). The rest of the crops lie inbetween the two extremes (Department of Agriculture, Drama, Kavala, Serres, 1991).

The traditional, subsistence family unit - that used to describe Mediterranean agriculture - is still dominant in the mountainous areas, but it is no longer typical of agriculture in the region (Hadjimichalis, Vaiou, 1990). Family labour concentrates in the more traditional and least dynamic crops (eg. tobacco) and in some of the new arboriculture (eg. almonds) where less than 20% wage labour is used. A substantial part of wage labour (15-20%) especially seasonal, consists of gypsies and pomaks from Thraki and migrants from Poland, Bulgaria and other Eastern European countries. Women form an important part of agricultural labour, exceeding 50% (over 80% in tobacco) of the total labour involved in most crops but the most mechanised ones.

As already mentioned, 28% of the total surface in Anatoliki Macedonia is grazing land and there is a large number of purely stock-breeding farms. Cattle-raising forms the most important part of stock-breeding in the region where one third of the whole number of cattle in the country is concentrated. Sheep and goats are also important in numbers and pigs are growing in importance. In all kinds of stock-breeding women's involvement is significant, reaching over 50% of the necessary working hours per year.

Promoting cattle-raising is an important goal of state policy, aiming to increase meat production and improve the animal population. Emphasis is placed on milk production where special programmes are in operation for improvement of milk quality, collection and initial treatment of milk and transportation of surplus. However, the large number of cattle does not lead to equivalent production of meat and meat products, milk and cheese, due to the lack of adequate manufacturing units in the region (Department of Agriculture of Serres, 1991)

The region's rivers and lakes are rich in fish while Kavala is a traditional fishing centre in Greece. In the case of rivers and lakes there are several projects in operation to enrich the fish population (mainly trout) in fish farms (FW, 1991). Such projects are difficult to work efficiently in the area of Drama, where there is no adequate infrastructure for the provision of spawn and fish food. However, these projects disturb subtle ecological equilibria in the wetlands in which they are placed. Wetlands are further endangered because of over-exploitation of water resources for agriculture, drainage for agricultural or urban expansion and pollution by industrial or urban refuse, fertilisers and pesticides.

Fishing in Kavala is still an important activity with about 2,000 people employed. It is in part connected with fish farms and mussels farms, most of which are publicly owned. Over-fishing on the other hand has greatly reduced the numbers of fish in the area. In Kavala there are fish-processing units - where salted fish is prepared - and installations for daily and deep freezing are in operation. From here

almost all of the fish produce of the region is transported to other places and an important part is exported to Italy and Spain where it is further processed.

As mentioned above, forests cover 26% of the total surface in Anatoliki Macedonia, mainly the northern part of the region. Some of the forest complexes are unique biotops and are protected by national or international law. They contain many species of trees and plants and house a variety of animals and birds. All of the forest complexes are an important resource for the region. 94% of forest area is state-owned and the remaining 6% is owned by local communities. Forests are exploited under state supervision mainly for industrial wood and firewood (53% of total production) (Papayannakis et.al, 1986).

Manufacturing

Manufacturing in Anatoliki Macedonia took off in the 1970s relying heavily on incentives for regional development. Prior to that it had been declining for a long time, especially in terms of manufacturing employment. The reasons are quite complex but it is worth pointing out

- a. the orientation of manufacturing activities towards heavy industry and their concentration in Greater Athens and Thessaloniki,
- b. the crisis in tobacco processing - traditionally the main branch in the region, and
- c. the relatively low importance of the "comparative advantages" of the region namely abundant low-cost labour, in the development priorities of the time.

The end of the 1960s is marked by the location in Kavala of the Phosphoric Fertilisers plant, concentrating 10% of manufacturing employment in the region. Since then manufacturing presents spectacular increase in all economic indicators. The share of manufacturing employment in the region rose compared to the country as a whole, while the rates of growth in all branches (except chemicals and printing) exceeded national ones.

The average size of firms in Anatoliki Macedonia is higher than national average, both in terms of employment and in terms of investment. The figure is influenced by two major paper mills and the Phosphoric Fertilisers plant but it is also true for food and clothing firms. The loan burden is again higher than national average, especially in Drama and Serres and in food, tobacco and paper - which, to some extent, accounts for the vulnerability of those activities (see table 6.5 below). There are few "basic" industries in Kavala: Fertilisers plant, oil refineries, North Aegean oil. With the exception of those and large paper mills, this "take off" was oriented towards traditional branches: food industries, non-metallic minerals (mainly marble) and clothing, where 82% of manufacturing employment concentrated in 1984 (NSS, 1978, 1984).

The food industry is the most important branch in the region and is geographically dispersed. Most of the largest firms in this branch are located in Serres where the number of workers per firm by far exceeds national average (Hadjimichalis, Vaiou, 1990). Plants include, by order of their size, sugar production, tomato processing, vegetable deep freezing, flour production, milk products, animal slaughter and meat conservation, meat processing, fruit and vegetable packing, rice processing, fish processing. These plants though do not have the capacity to process in full the primary production of the region.

Non-metallic minerals is also a traditional branch in the area but with prospects of further dynamic development, especially in marble where the larger firms in the branch are concentrated (mainly in Drama). Plants include concrete production, roof tiles and lime production. Compared to the country, one may observe the absence of other sub-branches. Firms are small, with the exception of two marble processing ones in Drama (Ministry of Planning, Housing and the Environment, 1984).

Wood and furniture firms, drawing on the important natural resources of Anatoliki Macedonia, are quite small in size and most of them were established after 1970. They employ primarily a male workforce and the same is true for paper mills where women's presence is minimal. In the latter branch most of the activity is concentrated in one big paper mill in Drama, perhaps the biggest in the Balkans, established in the mid-

1970s. This firm uses wood from the region and from its own plantation in Central Macedonia. Since 1980 the firm faced severe financial problems and in 1984 it was incorporated in ailing firms. It has been reducing its (almost exclusively male) workforce of more than 3,000 workers in 1980 to less than 1,000 at present - with important effects on unemployment in the local labour market of Drama (Labour Centre of Drama, 1991).

Tobacco processing, although declining, still forms part of regional specialisation with some important plants still in operation. It is highly feminised and provides seasonal employment for 4 or 5 months, leaving the workers to survive on unemployment benefits for the rest of the year (if they have worked enough days to be eligible for it). What is very important though is the development, over the years, of a tradition of industrial work discipline and labour militancy (see chapter 6, below) - on which most recent developments have drawn.

Clothing is perhaps the second most important branch (after food processing) and is found throughout the entire region. It is an all new branch in Anatoliki Macedonia where all firms, with minimal exceptions, were established after 1972. Firms are larger than national average in size, more than double in terms of employment. The branch is labour intensive and employs an "unskilled" workforce.

Clothing firms were primarily established in the region as subcontractors of firms from other EC countries, mainly W.Germany. They are geographically diffused and have heavily used regional incentives (loans and tax subsidies) when they first located here. The larger ones put out work to smaller local firms and, occasionally, to homeworkers. The workforce is female in its overwhelming majority and branch or firm unions have an almost entirely female membership and leadership.

Since the late 1980s, clothing firms have been faced with acute problems of international competition and many of them have been forced to close or drastically reduce the numbers of workers and/or lower the standard of working conditions. Such developments greatly affect women's working and daily lives in the region and intensify the pressures placed on them.

Tourism

Tourist activity is concentrated along the coast of Kavala and, mainly, on the island of Thassos. There is potential for development of tourism in other parts of the region, around health spa, in all three prefectures; archaeological sites, close to the coast of Serres and in different parts of all the prefectures; traditional settlements, in the mountainous zone of Serres; forest resources, mainly in Drama; winter resorts, in the mountainous zone of Kavala - where a small skiing centre is already in operation - and in Drama.

In terms of accommodation facilities, in 1985 there were about 7,000 beds in hotels and other registered establishments in the region, 83% of which are in the prefecture of Kavala. To these should be added another 7,000 beds in unregistered, low priced rooms-to-let, mainly in Thassos (Kairidis, 1987). Larger units have used loans and subsidies whereas most of the firms are small and established via personal resources.

Other services connected with tourism include bars and restaurants, car rental and transport firms, souvenir shops, etc. Almost all of those are established and operated by local people and rely on unpaid family labour for their survival. The waged labour used is seasonal, employed for 5 months at most (peak period during July and August). In most tourist oriented services foreigners are often hired on wages much lower than the Greeks (1,500-2,000 drs per day vs 5,000-7,000 drs per day) (Kairidis, 1987).

During the 1980s, dependence on tourism increased. Prior to that, and unlike other parts of the country (eg. the Cyclades islands), tourism had been regarded as an addition to, or improvement of, income earned from other activities, primarily agriculture and mining. For many households it is still part of a pattern of survival on multiple sources of income.

State Policy

State policy for regional development consists of both direct and indirect aspects. Indirect policies include general legislation, branch policy, government structure etc. which have an impact on regional development. Direct policy on the other hand includes public investment programmes, as well as more specific activity of the state or other institutions aiming at regional development.

Direct policy since World War II has been based on a series of successive "regional incentives" laws. It is out of the scope of this study to go into the details of those laws. It is worth noting, however, that they all established priority areas of the country, tax and insurance exemptions, financial subsidies (sometimes up to 40% of total investment), low-interest or interest-free loans for investments in the less developed parts of the country and in border areas.

Anatoliki Macedonia has been one of the high priority areas all along, especially its northern (mountainous) part which is close to the border. Food and clothing industries and non-metallic minerals are among the prime users of incentives. The three branches together account for almost two thirds of total employment in manufacturing in the region. In food industries incentives are used by farmers' cooperatives, whilst in clothing they are used by individual investors who often ended up having to contribute less than 20% of total capital investment.

Another aspect of direct state policy has to do with the establishment of industrial parks where infrastructure is provided along with incentives. However, they have not attracted as many firms as anticipated. This is in part due to the fact that there is no strict land use policy and firms can choose their location almost with no restriction.

According to all estimates, by planning studies or local institutions, infrastructure in the region is medium to poor. So, an important part of the yearly budget in each prefecture is directed to road construction and improvement. However, investments are mainly channelled to the national network and international linkages. Most settlements are

connected to the main towns (and to each other) by roads which are narrow and badly maintained. Public transport, except for a single railway line, consists of bus services mainly to the main towns.

Public investment in education, health and welfare and culture in the region is one of the lowest in Greece. Programmes are mainly directed towards land improvement and irrigation projects and mining. State and EC subsidies promote modernisation and infrastructural investment and finance training programmes for old and new farmers.

State policy for agriculture promotes grain production, especially maize, barley and wheat, grazing plants, arboriculture, greenhouse vegetable production and, most recently, pharmaceutical and aromatic plant production. In those crops women's involvement is limited to auxiliary tasks. Wood production is also subsidised by the state, aiming to improve and increase it. Part of this policy is the construction of infrastructure (forest roads) over the last decade.

A most recent piece of direct state policy is the plan to establish an energy plant close to Drama, which will exploit the lignite resources of the area. The project stands in clear contradiction with declared goals for environmental protection (some of which stem from signing international conventions for the protection of biotops and wetlands) and has aroused strong local protest.

Table 1.1

Anatoliki Macedonia: necessary labour for selected crops, 1991

Crops	Hours of work per Hectare, per year	% women's work
wheat, barley, oat	22	30%
maize	90-140	
rice	120	--
cotton handpicking	750	50%
machine picking	280	30%
sugar beets	220-260	30%
canned tomato: handpicking	1,200	
: machine picking	700	
tobacco	4,000	80%
sunflower	60-150	
soy	20-170	
pistachio nuts	200	50%
almonds	520-670	50%
vines wine	300-500	60%
table	600-930	60%
olives oil	300	60%
table	600-700	60%
cucumbers	10,000-11,000	60%
other vegetables in greenhouses (lettuce, peppers, aubergines, spinach, asparagus, cabbage)	2,780- 3,000	60%
beans	320-350	50%
kiwi fruit	1,500-1,600	--

Source: Prefectures of Drama, Kavala, Serres: Department of
Agriculture, 1991

2. POPULATION

Population evolution in Anatoliki Macedonia since 1961 is shown in tables 2.1. and 2.2. The share of Anatoliki Macedonia in total population of the country decreased from 6.1% in 1961, to 4.7% in 1971, 4.4% in 1981 and 3.9 in 1987. In the 1961-1971 period a strong depopulation tendency can be observed (-18.5%). It was a time period of massive out-migration which can be clearly seen in the population pyramids. Since, then, however, one can speak of a certain "demographic dynamism" at least until the mid-1980s. The latest population data (1987) is based on a 1.5% sample elaboration and do not seem to follow this trend. Changes in male population are more rapid both when increasing (1971-1981) and when decreasing (1981-1987). This indicates a higher mobility of men to and from the region, associated perhaps with the search for employment opportunities.

The repartition of population by age brackets in 1961, 1971, 1981 shows a clear increase of the share of elderly people (>65) and a clear decrease of the share of young people. The share of young people was higher than the Greek average in 1961 (29.1% vs 26.7%) but it reached the same level in 1981 (23.9% vs.23.7%). The share of people >65 years old follows a similar trend, indicating the ageing of the population. In 1961 Anatoliki Macedonia's elderly were less than national average (7.8 vs. 8.2) whereas in 1981 they reached a higher percentage (13.5% vs. 12.7%). The latter is due mainly to the substantial increase of women over 65 years of age who reached 15.3% of the female population in the region (Table 2.3). Women's distribution by age follow the same trend as men's except for the 15-65 age bracket which decreased in the period of 1961-1981 (64.3% - 61.5%) while men's increased (61.8% - 63.3%). This is to be associated with the returning migrants from industrial countries after the mid-1970s.

Population in Anatoliki Macedonia is dispersed in 471 settlements with an average size of less than 1,000 people. Only three cities had a population of more than 10,000 in 1981: Serres (46,317), Drama (36,109), Kavala (56,375); four towns had a population between 5,000 and 10,000. The remaining settlements had less than 5,000 people and the majority of them less than 1,000 in 1981. The distribution in urban, semi-urban

and rural population follows the trend of the national evolution. The share of rural population has remained almost the same during the last 20 years (1961-1981), around half of the region's population. During the same time period rural population in Greece decreased from 43.6% to 30.3% (table 2.4). The large agricultural areas of Serres prefecture which remains an important agricultural producer, account for this "discrepancy" between regional and national figures.

What can also be observed from Table 2.4 is an intra-regional movement towards the urban centres of the region throughout the 20-year period. Urban population increased its share from 23.4% in 1961 to 32.9% in 1981. At the same time semi-urban population decreased (from 26.8% to 18.6%) but remained much higher than national average (11.6% in 1981). This is due to the dynamism of certain middle-sized settlements in Anatoliki Macedonia linked with the productive structure of the region. Concentration of the cultivations in larger units as well as the multiple employment patterns in most households may account for the slower loss of population in the towns of Serres, while concentration of industrial and infrastructural investment may explain the population growth in the towns of Kavala prefecture.

Migration movements, both within the region and out of it, is a complicated problem for which there has been no detailed information since 1977 when the NSS stopped collecting such statistical data. Population decline between 1961 and 1971 was mainly due to net migration which reached -28.0% of the population and was three times higher than natural growth during the same time period. Massive return migration in the next decade (1971-1981) lowered the figure of net migration to -3.4%. A population increase could then be observed, since natural growth was +6.0% (NSS 1971, CPER 1983).

Returning migrants had a considerable impact on the regional labour market and on the distribution of population in the region. One third of industrial workers had worked or lived abroad (mainly in W.Germany) and around 40% of returning migrants settled in settlements with less than 2,000 people (Papayannakis et.al, 1986). Contrary to what was anticipated, most of them work in jobs requiring lower skills than they used to have abroad or they start their own small businesses. Their lack

of personal contacts, older age, low level of education place them in an unfavourable position in the labour market while their large numbers further increase the availability of labour in the region and concomitant pressures on it.

Developments in some demographic indices indicate some important processes of change in the region and the country. Fertility rate has dropped considerably between 1961 and 1981 (from 79.2 to 47.3 for Anatoliki Macedonia and from 69.4 to 45.4 for Greece) showing a tendency for fewer children and smaller families. As a consequence there is a remarkable decline in the birthrate both in the region and in the country (table 2.5).

The decline in the fertility rate is accompanied by a decline in marriages and therefore in the nuptiality rate (from 8.6 in 1961 to 6.6 in 1987). Dramatic decline in infant mortality (from 48.0 to 11.0 between 1961 and 1981) indicates that fewer marriages and children are a matter of choice by women and/or couples. Statistical data about divorces is listed by the courts where the cases are discussed. Therefore, there is no data available on divorce cases in Anatoliki Macedonia. The national figures show an upward trend but it has to be taken into account that around 60% of the cases are discussed in Athens and only 7% in Macedonia.

Table 2.1.

Anatoliki Macedonia and Greece: total population by sex,
1961-1987 (thousands)

	1961	1971	1981	1987(*)
GREECE				
MF	8,389	8,768	9,740	9,714
M	4,092	4,287	4,780	4,701
F	4,297	4,481	4,960	5,013
ANATOLIKI MACEDONIA				
MF	510	415	426	383
M	244	206	211	186
F	266	211	215	196

Source: NSS, Census data, 1956, 1971, 1981;

(*) NSS, Labour Force Survey, 1987

Table 2.2

Anatoliki Macedonia and Greece: variation in total
population by sex, 1961-1987. Percentages

	1961-1971	1971-1981	1981-1987(*)
GREECE			
MF	4.5	11.1	-0.3
M	4.8	11.5	-1.7
F	4.3	10.7	1.1
ANATOLIKI MACEDONIA			
MF	-18.5	2.6	-10.0
M	-15.6	2.4	-11.8
F	-20.7	1.9	-8.8

Source: NSS, Census data, 1961-81; (our data processing)

(*) NSS, Labour Force Survey, 1987

Table 2.3.

Anatoliki Macedonia and Greece: Total population by sex and age groups. Percentages

	1961			1971			1981		
	0-14	15-64	>65	0-14	15-64	>65	0-14	15-64	>65
GREECE									
MF	26.7	65.1	8.2	25.4	63.7	10.9	23.7	63.6	12.7
M	28.0	64.7	7.3	26.6	63.6	9.8	24.8	63.7	11.5
F	25.4	65.5	9.1	24.1	63.9	12.0	22.6	63.5	13.9
ANATOLIKI MACEDONIA									
MF	29.1	63.1	7.8	27.8	60.7	11.5	23.9	62.4	13.5
M	31.2	61.8	7.0	29.2	60.9	9.9	24.8	63.3	11.9
F	27.2	64.3	8.5	26.8	60.3	12.9	23.1	61.5	15.3

Source: NSS, Census 1961, 1971, 1981; (our data processing)

Table 2.4

Anatoliki Macedonia and Greece: Urban, semi-urban and rural population (MF). Percentages

	1961	1971	1981	1987(*)
GREECE	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	43.4	53.2	58.1	63.4
Semi-urban	13.0	11.6	11.6	11.0
Rural	43.6	35.2	30.3	25.6
ANATOLIKI MACEDONIA	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	23.4	28.5	32.9	
Semi-urban	26.8	20.8	18.6	
Rural	49.8	50.7	48.6	

Source: NSS, Census data, 1961-81; (our data processing)

(*) NSS, Labour Force Survey, 1987

Table 2.5

Anatoliki Macedonia and Greece: Demographic Indices 1961-1981

GREECE	1961	1971	1981	1987
Infant mortality (1)	39.8	26.9	16.3	11.7
Fertility rate (2)	69.4	65.6	56.8	45.4
Birthrate *	17.9	16.0	14.5	10.6
Nuptiality rate *	8.4	8.3	7.3	6.6
Divorce rate *	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.9
ANATOLIKI MACEDONIA				
Infant mortality (1)	48.0	25.9	11.0	---
Fertility rate (2)	79.2	62.1	51.5	47.3
Birth rate *	18.8	14.1	12.4	10.7
Nuptiality rate *	8.6	8.1	6.8	6.6
Divorce rate *	---	---	---	---

(1) per 1000 live births

(2) births per 1000 women 15-49 years old

* per 1000 inhabitants

Source: NSS Census data, Natural Movement of Population
(our data processing)

3. FAMILY STRUCTURE

Developments in demographic indicators (discussed previously) are closely linked with the decrease in family size and its structural simplifying. The average size of households in Anatoliki Macedonia has progressively decreased since 1971 from 3.47 to 3.20. It still remains slightly larger than the average for Greece (table 2.1). One can observe an increase of the relative amount of small households (2 or 3 members) and a significant decline of large ones (5 members or more).

Migration has had a significant impact on the demographic structure of the region. The age of marriage and the number of young people who got married diminished, while the region was drained of many people in reproductive age brackets. The idea of families with fewer children gained in popularity. Compared to the country as a whole, the relative weight of large households has been and still remains higher in Anatoliki Macedonia, whereas small households, especially one-member ones, are a smaller but an increasing proportion of all households. Small households consist more of elderly people living alone or elderly couples who remain in the villages, rather than with young people leaving their parent's home to live on their own.

Decline of large households has to be associated on the one hand with a falling fertility rate and on the other with significant changes in forms of co-habitation (fewer "extended" families). For the latter, however, there is no detailed information at the regional level. Decline of traditional labour-intensive crops, relying on unpaid family labour also indirectly indicates the diminishing importance of large households. Those crops (of which tobacco is a prime example) are difficult to maintain, partly because the requisite labour has to be paid for. In the last 3-4 years large families are found among the refugees from the USSR who have settled in the region (families with 3-7 children).

In Anatoliki Macedonia women's participation in the labour force has always been higher than in Greece as a whole. Moreover, their actual participation in productive activities is even higher than official figures show (see chapter 5 below). However, this has not resulted in a

more egalitarian division of labour within households. Unpaid domestic labour is still done by women of different ages: older women of the "extended-modified" family, living in the same house or not, women in the middle age brackets who often have a paid job outside the home and also young girls who usually do many errands around the house and in the neighbourhood. Husbands' involvement in housework is minimal and usually includes "shopping for food" which is a traditional male task, corresponding to the image of the man/provider.

In rural households, housekeeping is quite hard work since most of the houses are not well-equipped with modern amenities. In addition domestic labour includes much more than housekeeping alone: raising chickens, looking after a vegetable garden for self-consumption, preparing meals for agricultural workers, etc. These time and energy consuming activities are, as a rule, combined with women's involvement in "real" farm work. As one of the interviewees summarised the situation:

"In the villages, women have a hard time. Work in the fields, and wife-beating, and raising children, and house work. Recently men do not beat their wives as much because they risk losing unpaid labour for the fields. Women have started to leave home, so men play it cool".

In the villages, as in the towns of the region, caring for children and other members of household remains women's domain in which men are not involved. Women who do paid work outside their home have a hard time making child-care arrangements. Mothers or mothers-in-law are usually mobilised and, sometimes, other women with whom services are exchanged. Childcare services are very poor (see chapter 3, below) not only in terms of numbers of places, but also in terms of geographical distribution and working hours. As a result, most of the child-care is relegated to households, which in practice means women. In addition, as the population is ageing, younger women have to look after elderly people.

The case of women working in clothing factories is relevant here: they start work earlier than the childcare institutions open, so they have to make other arrangements. "How you can cope with a family and work in the factory" the chairperson of clothing workers in Drama asked herself.

"You wake up every day at 5:15 a.m. or so, try to get ready for work, see what you can do with the children. Wait for the bus (in the cold or the heat). Always with the chronometer: to do your piece-work, to run home quickly taking the children on the way, to do the housework. There is no free time, no time to rest."

Women working in the public services or in banks, in the cities of the region, have shorter working hours and better conditions of work. Their workload at home, however, is no less stressful. Support networks are sometimes looser in the cities and women have to depend on services offered by the state or bought in the market. This means that they often spend a significant part of their income on caring arrangements - mainly for children, but also for elderly or disabled people.

The burden of domestic labour (caring, housework, etc.) conditions women's venture into the labour market and the kinds of jobs they end up looking for. Looking for a job outside the home is restricted by the time-distance and the hours of necessary absence from home. In addition, domestic duties tie women to the home and the area around it. Going out and taking part in public life becomes difficult, especially when they have small children, as many women from women's groups observed "Women are confined to their homes, especially in the villages".

The network of services exchanged among women of an "extended" family works as a partial substitute for the inadequate services in the region. It is also a support net work mobilising resources at times of need or when major expenses are faced (eg. buying a house, or sending a child to study in another region). It has to be noted that young people, especially women, seldom leave home to live on their own - with the (unavoidable) exception of those who go to study elsewhere in the country.

Table 3.1

Anatoliki Macedonia and Greece: Size of household 1971, 1981

No. of Households	Average Size	Family Members					
		1	2	3	4	5	>6
GREECE							
1971							
2,478,492	3.39	11.2	21.5	21.3	23.9	12.8	9.3
1981							
2,936,450	3.14	14.1	24.8	20.3	24.2	10.3	6.3
ANATOLIKI MACEDONIA							
1971							
114,720	3.47	10.3	19.5	20.9	25.7	14.0	9.6
1981							
126,510	3.20	12.4	25.0	19.9	24.6	11.5	6.7

Source: NSS, Census data, 1971, 1981

4. SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Compared to the country as a whole, social infrastructure in Anatoliki Macedonia is below average on a number of indices, especially in the northern mountainous zone. The situation is further aggravated by the geographical distribution of services and the dispersion of the population in many small settlements (see chapter 2). Most of the services, are concentrated in the main towns of the three prefectures. Thus, improvement of the level of services has to incorporate an important spatial parameter. This is a goal stated in all of the most recent Regional Plans for the area (see, for example, Ministry of Planning, Housing and the Environment, 1984). In the context of those plans and the pertinent legislation, a hierarchy of settlements is envisaged, determined, to a great extent, by the distribution of public social services. After 1985, when drastic cuts in public expenditure started, such plans were never implemented and the availability and quality of services deteriorated. We discuss below the part of social infrastructure that is directly connected with caring and affects the amount of unpaid labour that women have to do in the context of families.

4.1 Family planning centres. Use of contraceptives. Abortions.

In the region there are three family planning centres, incorporated in the general hospitals of Drama, Kavala and Serres. The interview with the responsible doctor in Serres is representative for the region and, probably, for Greece as well - where there are less than 30 family planning centres. According to that interview, one centre for the prefecture of Serres is certainly not enough. The main problem, however, has to do with its function and the lack of publicity and information among women (and men) to use it properly. Although many women go there from both the town of Serres and the villages, most of them ask for a Pap-test. In 1990, only 2,000 out of 5,000 women who visited the centre discussed ways of contraception and that not always after their own initiative, but quite often the doctor's. Sexual problems are not discussed at all. It seems that most women consider themselves happy if their male partners are satisfied.

The pill (or other means of contraception) is taken more by married than by unmarried women. The latter often see it as a way of "publicising" their sexual life and prefer to avoid consulting a doctor about it. Furthermore, contraceptives are not promoted by gynaecologists themselves, unless they are specifically asked for by women. Abortion seems to be the dominant means of contraception in the region, as in Greece, and this is not unrelated to the lack of sexual education in schools. Abortions are free in Greece but under such strict conditions that women prefer to go private if they can afford the high cost.

4.2 Provision for pre-school age and primary education.

At present there are 90 public and 10 private nurseries (ages 0-4) in Anatoliki Macedonia, distributed in 75 settlements of the three prefectures and in the three main cities. The places available, in aggregate numbers, cover around one fifth of the children of that age group (table 4.1). Despite the overall under-provision there are more places available than children in a particular village. Attempts to bring children from other villages around have so far been unsuccessful, since there was no provision for transportation in public expenditure. This underlines once again the importance of geographical considerations when assessing the level of service provision in a region like Anatoliki Macedonia.

New nurseries planned for areas where there is a need have never worked due to the lack of personnel, even though the buildings are ready. Lack of personnel was reported as the main cause of functional problems in nurseries in general and the main reason why most public nurseries do not provide services for very small babies. Under a recent government law (September 1990), civil servants without permanent contracts were fired and no new ones may be hired - with few exceptions which do not include this branch of social services.

Women trade unionists argued that an important problem with public nurseries is their opening hours, especially in the morning when they open later than the factories. This is the reason why few clothing firms operate private nurseries on their premises. Those are only for the

children of women (and not men) workers, a fact that presupposes and reproduces a gender division in child care. In any case this type of provision is quite rare, not only in the region but in Greece in general.

The situation with kindergartens (ages 3-6) is not very different, even though they fall in the jurisdiction of a different Ministry than nurseries (Education vs Public Welfare). There are more places available and, in aggregate, half of the children in that age group could attend - which is almost the same as national average (table 4.2). However, their opening hours are very short (9:00 to 13:00) and they do not offer any real service for working mothers (or parents).

Primary schools (ages 6-12) are part of compulsory education and should, in principle, provide as many places as there are children in that age group. Coverage lower than 100% - which is the case in both in the region and the country (table 4.3) - means in this case that several units work in shifts (morning and afternoon) for very short hours, like nurseries, irrespective of parents' working hours. This is the case particularly in cities. In the city of Drama, for example, 7 of the 14 primary schools work in shifts, for lack of school buildings. On the other hand most of the 65 primary schools in the rest of Drama prefecture, especially in the small villages, have one or two classes instead of six and different grades are taught together.

Provision of day care for children of pre-school age and the operation of primary education (time-schedules, shifts, etc) presuppose that mothers - or some other member of the family, mainly grandmothers - are available to look after small children on a regular basis. Even when services are provided many women cannot benefit from them because of their impracticable geographical distribution, wrong priorities in financing and indifference to women's needs and patterns of life.

4.3 Public health and welfare

Public health is provided in three general hospitals in the towns of Drama, Kavala and Serres and in, approximately, one hundred primary health centres spread in the rest of the region. These centres are

either the so called Rural Centers or the more recent and better equipped Health Centers, which were founded in the 1980s. In the region there are also around fifteen private hospitals, almost half of which are basically maternity wards.

The number of beds per 1,000 inhabitants in public and private hospitals is lower than national average and much lower than Athens and Thessaloniki (table 4.4). As is the case with other parts of the country, the most serious cases are not treated in local hospitals but rather in Thessaloniki or Athens. This is one of the reasons why the bed occupancy in the region is much lower than that of the core urban areas. In addition, as part of the recent cuts in public expenditure for health, patients are kept in hospitals the minimum possible number of days. As a result they need additional care at home - which means additional work for the women who will provide it in the context of unpaid domestic labour.

Under the jurisdiction of the Departments of Social Welfare in the three prefectures, there are a number of other institutions which provide different kinds of welfare services. These include the Patriotic Institute for Social Welfare, the Manpower Employment Organisation, the Social Security Institution, the National Welfare Organisation etc., in the three cities and in some smaller towns of the region. They provide assistance in the form of small financial allowances to those eligible for it and are usually under-staffed, even though they have to deal with many cases every day. This type of financial assistance is dominant in a group of social services destined to the "protection of the family, motherhood, childhood and youth". Apart from monetary allowances, provisions for children include institutionalised care in four units in Drama, Kavala, Serres and Sidi rokastro - where children with family or financial problems are kept in care.

4.4 Care for the elderly and disabled.

Care for the elderly and the disabled takes mainly the form of financial assistance as well. There are six public and one private units for disabled children, two public clinics for the elderly and four private homes for the elderly. Some of the private provisions for the disabled

and the elderly are connected with charity organisations, some of which are "ladies' charity organisations".

The clinics and homes for the elderly are not enough for the people who need them. For example there are two private units in Kavala which provide 120 and 30 spaces respectively. Even if more places were available, however, it is doubtful that many old people would not like the idea of institutionalised care. A more acceptable solution for the elderly are the Centers for Open Protection of the Elderly, established in the 1980s. These centres were meant to provide primary health services, care and food for the elderly on a daily basis and facilities for them to meet. Cuts in public expenditure prevented them from fulfilling their initial goals and reduced them merely to a form of cafe or meeting place.

Social welfare in the form of financial assistance - which is widespread in Anatoliki Macedonia, as in the rest of Greece - presupposes that women will continue to be willing and available to care for the disabled and the elderly. On the one hand, financial support is very low and does not correspond to the cost of living; on the other, it is not accompanied by the appropriate infrastructure and networks that would free women from the burden of caring.

Table 4.1

Anatoliki Macedonia: Nurseries 1991

Population 0-4 years	32,063
No. of places	7.000
Coverage	21.8%
Units (private & public)	100

Source: Prefectures of Drama, Kavala, Serres, Dept. of Social Welfare, 1991; NSS, Census data, 1981

Table 4.2

Anatoliki Macedonia and Greece: Kindergartens. 1986/87

	ANATOLIKI MACEDONIA	GREECE
Population		
4-6 years	14.667	411.800
No. of places	7,720	155,527
Coverage	52,6%	37,8%
School Units	326	5,281
Teaching staff	435	7,774
Pupils per staff	18	20

Source: NSS, Statistical Yearbook, 1988; NSS Labour Force Survey, 1987

Table 4.3

Anatoliki Macedonia and Greece: Primary education. Pupils, school units and teaching staff, 1986/87

	ANATOLIKI MACEDONIA	GREECE
Population		
7-13 years	40,087	1,053,700
No. of places	35,918	873,521
Coverage	89.6%	82.9%
School Units	377	8,423
Teaching staff	1,643	38,244
Average pupils per staff	22	23

Source: NSS, Statistical Yearbook, 1988; NSS, Labour Force Survey, 1987

Table 4.4

Anatoliki Macedonia and Greece: Movement of hospitals, 1987

	ANATOLIKI			
	MACEDONIA	GREECE	ATHENS	THESSALONIKI
No. of hospitals	20	454	124	37
No of beds	1,586	51,745	25,471	6,831
Bed occupancy	58%	72%	78%	61%
Beds per 1000 inha.	3.7	5.3	8.4	7.8

Source: NSS, Statistical Yearbook, 1988

5. EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

In Anatoliki Macedonia high proportion of the population over 14 years of age has not gone beyond primary school education (61.4% of men and 50.4% of women, table 5.1) The percentage of male university graduates is much higher than the female one and the same is true for technical-vocational training graduates. The percentage of women who have interrupted primary school education or are illiterate is much higher than that of men especially among those over 65 years of age. These figures differ significantly from national average indicating an overall lower level of education in the region, mainly among the older generation. Improvements are not apparent in aggregate figures.

Children are considered very important by Greek families and many of the plans and activities of families revolve around children and their progress. Children's education absorbs many resources, with a higher priority placed on boys rather than girls. Education is seen as a means of social ascent which reflects to the entire family. In this context, family (or parent) power can be quite oppressive and is often resented by children. Rural families are particularly interested in educating their sons. As a result education opportunities are quite unequal between women and men.

Education schemes in the region follow the same pattern as in the rest of the country. After the 9-year compulsory education (6 years primary school and 3 years junior high school) young students can choose among 4 options:

- to seek a job as an unskilled worker
- to go to a 2-year Technical Vocational School where they acquire professional skills and, after graduation, access to the second year of the Technical-Vocational High School.
- to go to a 3-year Technical Vocational high school where they are trained for technical professions. After graduation, they may gain access to Universities or Technological Educational Institutions (TEI).

- to continue high school education (Lyceum) for 3 more years. After that they can enter the labour market as unskilled employees or take exams to enter Universities and Technical Education Institutions (TEI).

Young girls tend to continue high school (lyceum) more often than boys who undertake family responsibilities and are expected to look for a job sooner. This postpones the professional orientation of girls until after they become 18 years old. They reach that age without any technical or professional specialisation. If they fail to enter the University or the TEI (2/3 of the candidates do fail!) their options are to go to a private study centre, to look for a job as unskilled workers in manufacturing or as unskilled employees in an office or a shop. If they can afford to stay jobless for a longer time period or when there is a job shortage, they may follow vocational training programmes organised by one of the institutions subsidised by the ESF. This kind of training started to be developed the region only the last few years. The most important institutions offering training courses in the region are the following:

5.1 Technological-Educational Institutes (TEI)

There are two of them in the region. The TEI of Kavala has two faculties:

- School of Economy and Administration
 - Accounting Department, with 900 students
 - Management Department, with 400 students
- School of Technological Applications
 - Mechanical Engineering Department, with 500 students
 - Electrical Engineering Department, with 500 students
 - Oil Technology Department, with 300 students

The TEI of Drama has one faculty:

- School of Forestry, with 300 students

Two observations have to be kept in mind:

- location of higher education institution in less developed regions of Greece has been regarded by state policy as a contribution to

regional development and often has little connection with local demand for skills.

- b. the above places in TEI are not necessarily or preferably covered by local students. The entry examination system for Universities and TEI is a national one, where examination marks (and student preference) define the particular department in which one is admitted. This means that one may enter in a TEI far from one's area of residence without any subsidies for accommodation. For low income families this is a heavy burden, often leading to the student not being able to attend the particular department to which he/she has been admitted.

5.2. Greek Manpower Employment Organization (OAED)

Personnel Training Programmes for independent enterprises

The Personnel Training Programmes are offered by OAED to enterprises with more than 14 employees. Training can take the form of either a basic training programme for unskilled workers or of a supplementary training - or a specialization programme - for employees holding a diploma or substantial professional experience. Training is conducted during working hours with the system "on the job training". In 1990 in Anatoliki Macedonia alone there were 195 programmes conducted in 120 enterprises for 3,534 employees (1,056 men and 2,478 women). Trainees were mostly over 25 years old. The total cost of the programmes was 3,177 million drs (appr.15,000,000 ECUs) - which corresponds to 900,000 drs or 4,000 ECUs per person. Enterprises belong to almost all branches of production but clothing predominates. This accounts for the female majority of the trainees.

During the field work research a lot of derogations have been reported, by trade unionists, as well as by other key figures. Derogations referred to the duration of the programme (shorter than financed or outside the working time schedule), to the quality of the trainers (non-experienced ones) etc. In few cases programmes were not realised at all and, occasionally, the trainees did not even work in the enterprises concerned. All these derogations are partly due to the inefficiency of

state (OAED) and EEC control during the realisation of the programmes. Employees and workers usually do not report the derogations for fear of being fired. A worker in a clothing industry in Kavala reported: "in our case the programme hasn't taken place at all. We didn't expect any real training but at least some time to rest!"

Vocational Schools of OAED (KETEK)

In these schools vocational training programmes are offered specially to junior high school leavers who do not want or cannot follow their studies in the high school (lyceum) or in technical vocational high school. Young people become skilled technicians who can become either self-employed or wage workers in manufacturing units.

Vocational schools offer three year courses, including one year of theoretical and laboratory education and two years of both taught courses and practice. The specialities offered are supposed to be adapted to the needs of the local labour market. However, the list of the programmes offered in the region (table 5.2) is too short and too "traditional" in its orientation. Training in the region covers only 5 of the 127 occupations registered by OAED and does not indicate any correspondence to such needs. Only few of the programmes are addressed to women (i.e. hairdressing and dressmaking). The others pertain to strictly "male" jobs and have, so far, an exclusively male audience, as it is very difficult for young girls in the region to overcome such delimitations.

Intensive training programmes are also offered in KETEK. They last one year and do not include any practice. Among these programmes there is a female-only speciality: machinists. Women are trained there before they take a job in the clothing industry of the region. Despite this training, however, they are usually hired as unskilled workers, if they find a job, and they are trained "on the job" for a time period during which they are not paid (usually 2-3 weeks)

5.3 Ministry of Agriculture, Centres for Agricultural Education (KEGE).

Agricultural education lies outside the standard education schemes. It is addressed to people with or without previous education. The programmes offered by KEGE (Centres for Agricultural Education) in 1989 are shown on table 5.3. It is obvious that the programmes are very few considering the percentage of active population employed in agriculture in this region. Women's participation in the programmes is even smaller, almost inexistent. According to internal reports of the Ministry of Labour the inefficiency of agricultural education is due to the lack of finance and personnel in the regional KEGEs who undertake the programmes.

The Ministry of Agriculture undertook a 7-year Integrated Mediterranean Programme (1986-1992) for vocational training in Agro-tourism. The numbers of courses has been reduced due to the lack of trainers. In 1989, in the whole country only 18 from the originally planned 39 training courses have been realised - one of which were in Anatoliki Macedonia. This affects women in particular, as they are employed more than men in this job. In the region, such a programme would have promoted some women to develop agro-touristic enterprises in the forest of Drama and on the coast of Kavala.

5.4. Organizations offering programmes partially subsidised by the ESF

ESF contribution to vocational training has been increasing over last few years and tends to be very important all over Greece. Apart from the EC contribution to national vocational training schemes through nationwide organisations like OAED and the Ministry of Labour, ESF contributes to vocational training programmes in the region by locally based organisations and institutions.

EC policy in the region promotes the "valorisation of human resources" in the primary sector, in tourism and in the small and medium-sized firms (Community Support Framework p.25). The measures and actions for the realisation of these general priorities are specified in the Regional Development Plan which is worked out by both EC and National experts.

Figures for the training courses financed by the ESF in the Regional Development Plan are not available because the three prefectures do not constitute a unique Region any longer. A rough estimate for that can be based on the figures available for the existing Region of "Anatoliki Macedonia and Thraki" which includes Kavala and Drama as well as the three prefectures of Thraki. The specialities offered in these programmes are: management, computers, marketing, book-keeping, accountancy, silver, wood and pottery handicrafts, weaving, carpet making, etc. The beneficiaries are 3,146 of whom 1,743 are men and 1,403 women.

Field work research has identified the main organisations and institutions providing vocational training courses in this framework. The following local organisations and branches of national ones are eligible for ESF subsidies: Local Authorities, Commercial and Industrial Chambers, Economic Chambers, General Secretariat of People's Education, the Greek Centre for Productivity (ELKEPA). No vocational training programmes organised by Labour Centres have been reported.

The programmes last from 100 to 800 hours and offer training in computers, marketing, management, modelling, advertising, exporting, sales, etc. The demand for these programmes is very high, one of the reasons being that they provide subsidies to trainees during training. The only other possibility to train for these topics is in private schools where students have to pay fees. Admission of girls in these courses depends on the kind of the course. Competition for admission is very high and usually women are discriminated against. For example, in the vocational training programme for "Marketing and export techniques", organised by the Commercial and Industrial Chamber of Serres in 1991, only 36% of the girls who applied were admitted, compared to 48% of the boys. In the programme for "Sales techniques in commercial firms" organized by the Commercial and Industrial Chamber of Kavala in 1991, 50% of the girls who applied were admitted, compared to 90% of the boys.

5.5. Private Study Centres

In Greece, private sector compensates for the inadequacies of the public one in many areas, schooling included. In the big cities there are numerous private schools oriented to technical professions and other semi-scientific professions. These private schools are much more flexible than the public ones and adapt more quickly and successfully to the needs of the labour market, as is obvious in the field of computer skills. Training for accountants, computer specialists, typists, medical assistants, marketing employees, etc. is offered in private schools of this kind.

In the other regions of the country such schools are very limited. Young men are allowed to move to big cities more easily than young women in order to pursue appropriate education. Youngsters with limited possibilities to move (women and low income people) can only choose locally. All three main cities of Anatoliki Macedonia provide some private study centres which offer mainly accountancy and computer training.

Table 5.1.

**Anatoliki Macedonia and Greece. Educational level by sex
and by age. Percentages. 1987**

ANATOLIKI MACEDONIA	14-64		>65		TOTAL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
University graduates	5.1	3.0	0.6	---	4.3	2.4
Technical-vocational training graduates	2.1	1.4	--	--	1.7	1.1
Secondary school graduates	10.7	10.6	2.1	0.9	9.2	8.7
Primary school graduates	67.3	60.0	31.3	12.0	61.4	50.4
Interrupted primary school or illiterate	14.8	25.0	66.0	87.1	23.3	37.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

GREECE	14-64		>65		TOTAL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
University graduates	9.9	6.2	5.8	1.5	9.1	5.3
Technical-vocational training graduates	4.9	3.4	0.7	0.2	4.1	2.8
Secondary school graduates	18.6	20.4	8.0	4.8	16.7	17.3
Primary school graduates	58.0	54.5	47.4	29.3	56.1	49.5
Interrupted primary school or illiterate	8.6	15.5	38.1	64.1	14.0	25.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NSS, Labour Force Survey, 1987; (our data processing)

Table 5.2

Anatoliki Macedonia: Vocational Training in the Centres for Technical and Vocational Training (KETEK), Programmes, No. of students, 1990-1991

Training Courses (1)	Kavala	Drama	Serres
Mechanical technicians	58	66	62
Car technicians	81	92	69
Electrical technicians	64	78	75
Plumbing technicians	68		
Wood and furniture Technicians	40	23	X
Hairdressers		X	
Dressmakers		X	
Metal construction workers		X	X
Car electricians	73		
Intensive Training (2)			
Machinists	49		X
Painters	X		16
Pastry makers			38
Plumbing technicians			38
Wood and furniture technicians			11
Metal construction workers			9

(1) 3-year courses, 30-hours per week, including practice

(2) 1-year course, 30-hours per week, without practice

X Courses not offered in this year

Table 5.3

Anatoliki Macedonia: Vocational training in the Centres for Agricultural Education (KEGE)

	Programme	Men	Women
Drama			
	Plant production	1	29
	Stock-breeding	1	7
	Structural Policies	1	18
	Handicraft	1	29
Kavala			
	Plant production	1	29
	Stock-breeding	1	16
	Structural Policies	1	28
	Vineyards techniques	1	11
	Clothing	1	-
			29
Serres			
	Plant production	4	118
	Stock-breeding	1	25
			-
TOTAL	14	280	76

Source: Annual Report on the Centres for Agricultural Education, 1989

6. EMPLOYMENT

In Anatoliki Macedonia the active population is 53.3% of total population - which is higher than national average. Women's participation in the labour force is also higher than in Greece as a whole (39.9% vs.34.0%) (table 6.1).

The percentage distribution of employment in the three economic sectors shows that agriculture, with 45.7% of total employment, dominates and is much more significant than in the country as a whole (table 6.2). Its share, however, is declining at a rate equal to (Serres) or higher than national average (Drama, Kavala). Since the mid-1970s one can observe a spectacular increase in industrial employment, especially in Kavala, while employment in the services remains low. Employment in the services is much lower than the Greek average. Women's share in this sector is much lower than men's, unlike other parts of the country and elsewhere (NSS, 1987).

Half of the women who are included in the labour force (51.8%) are "assisting non-paid family members" whereas less than 6% of the men are in this category. A very small percentage of women are listed as "employers" (0.4%) and the remaining half is almost equally distributed between "salary/wage earners" and "self-employed" (table 6.3). Women "assisting non-paid family members" concentrate in agriculture, where they are 76% of the women employed in this sector. On the contrary most of the men in agriculture are "self-employed" (85%) and half of those in the services, are "salary/wage earners". As it is to be expected, in industry, 85% of the women and 62% of the men are "salary/wage earners".

Women's earnings are much lower than men's - in some cases more than 30% lower. Table 6.4 summarises wage differences in selected branches of industry and commerce whose presence in Anatoliki Macedonia is important. It seems that countrywide women's earnings are lower than men's in the least feminised branches (paper, chemicals etc.). They are comparatively slightly higher in the more feminised ones and in commerce. However, in these branches they are low in absolute terms (especially in commerce) and compared to the cost of living.

Unemployment in the region is slightly lower (6.8%) than that of Greece (7.4%). However, like other regions in Greece and in the other Southern European countries, it is considerably higher among women (8.5% vs. 5.7%). Of those unemployed over half (52.4%) are young (14-24). Youth unemployment is lower among men than among women, at least in official figures (table 6.1).

Finding a job often happens through informal networks of acquaintances, mainly through families. In conditions of growing unemployment, such practices extend to the private sector, whereas they still remain a common rule in the public sector (FW, 1991). "Assisting" people to find jobs in the public sector has always been a major means of developing clientelistic relations on the part of local deputies.

Women's work in Anatoliki Macedonia follows the same pattern as in the rest of Greece. But the particularities of the productive structure of the region form the specific conditions of women's everyday work. Job content, working conditions and labour relations differ by sector, type of productive unit (family, private or public company), individual women's phase in their life cycle. In Anatoliki Macedonia, women are employed mainly in agriculture, tobacco, clothing and food industries, and retail trade. In addition, they all work for the maintenance of the household and the care of the family.

Labour relations within the farming household are intertwined with family relations. The head of the farm is always the man (husband, son or father of the family), even in cases when the land belongs to the woman. Exceptions include cases where there is no man in the family or where he is not eligible because he holds another job outside agriculture. In such cases women are considered the "heads" of the farming households, participate in agricultural co-operatives and deal with banks and public services.

In agriculture, women work mainly in the manual tasks in the crops of tobacco, vegetables, arboriculture etc. Mechanisation of wheat and maize production pushed women out, in part to the production of vegetables in greenhouses which are labour intensive. Women who work in the intensive green house production demand kindergartens in the villages in order to

avoid taking their children with them, because the chemicals used are very bad for children's health (FW, 1991). A lot of young women, who cannot be employed, or do not accept the hard conditions of work in agriculture, seek further education and jobs in the urban centres of the region as well as in Thessaloniki.

Production of tobacco, where a lot of women used to work, is declining as demand falls - in general and for the particular local varieties. Cultivation of those varieties, although simplified, is still labour intensive and used to be accommodated within large (extended) families. It is not profitable to sustain production now that family labour is no longer abundantly available and new varieties have not been introduced. "It needs large families" and therefore unpaid family labour ready to follow the directions of the "head of the farming household". Nowadays, families are smaller, young people leave the villages more easily and look for better jobs. Only elderly women and men still work in tobacco fields.

Tobacco processing is done in big "tobacco warehouses" where only women are employed in unpacking, selection, sorting and re-packing of big bunches of tobacco leaves. Men are employed as "packers" - which requires lifting, transporting and loading of heavy weights - and have their own union, separate from women tobacco workers.

Women's work is seasonal (4-5 months a year) but men's work is almost permanent. Tobacco processing has been a traditional female job, since the 1920s. This is due to the surplus of female labour (see Introduction) as well as, to the manual - not easily mechanised - sedentary and seasonal character of the task. Decline of the industry creates job shortages and unemployment for a lot of women. In addition, the number of working days per year is diminishing, with a high risk of going under the limit of 100 days of work, which gives access to unemployment benefits for 5 more months.

Under these circumstances pressures for the pace of work in order to raise productivity increases. Employers also tend to select whole "groups" of competent and efficient workers. A characteristic example here is the case of an employer in Kavala who recruits women from the

ethnic minorities of Thraki. 8 of those women are reported to produce 220 packs when 75 of local women produce only 300 packs. In other cases women from the villages are recruited who are not unionised and accept lower wages while they sell their agricultural produce at the workplace. Less direct ways to repress women workers include all forms of sexual harassment and blackmail ("unwelcome intimacies") which are reported to be very common in the sector (Union of Tobacco Workers in Kavala, 1991).

The clothing industry, a much more recent sector in the region, employs almost exclusively women. Only 10% of the workers are men, mainly employed as cutters, warehouse workers, ironing staff and foremen. The predominant work, sewing, is also a labour intensive task, traditionally female. Work in the sector is characterised by unsocial time schedules and hard working conditions. It starts very early in the morning, almost prohibiting the use of nurseries which start one hour later than the factories. This is one of the reasons why some of the bigger firms provide nurseries in their premises. Work is also performed in bad temperature conditions especially during summer when winter clothes are sewn. Almost none of the factories provides air-conditioning, which accounts for a lot of fainting cases. Payment follows the National Collective Sectoral Agreement when the work is performed in the factory, with no major derogations except the very common "delay of payment" and often no pay for overtime. In the smaller firms it is quite common for employers to avoid paying social security and many workers work without contracts. For a non specialised worker this is 3,315 drs/day (6.40h/day, 6 days/week), 3,466 drs/day for a machinist and 4,320 drs/day for a technician. These wages, after deduction of 15% for social security, correspond to 70,000 -90,000 drs/month. Many women have to take on a second job in order to survive, usually in smaller workshops or as cleaners or child minders - which is an indication of the inadequacy of wages in their "first job".

In the clothing industry, firms are large by Greek standards (employing around 200 workers) and work on orders by large buying European clothing distributing companies. When firms cannot keep up with the demand, they subcontract parts of the production to medium and small firms (employing 20-30 workers or less) and/or to homeworkers. In the latter case workers work at home, provide their own machines and get paid on piece-rates.

This system seems to be less widespread in Anatoliki Macedonia than in big urban centres (Vaiou et.al., 1991). This is due to the fact that clothing firms in the region claim to be oriented mainly to "high quality" products, where the quality control by the foreign (usually German) contractors requires closer supervision.

The level of unionisation is very low and there is overt hostility of employers against workers unions. In Drama, for example, there are 7,000 women workers in the clothing industry only 200 of whom are union members and many of them do so secretly ("I am afraid I will be sacked if I am registered"). Women are hired as "unskilled labour" even when they have taken the training courses of the Manpower Employment Organisation (OAED). When new machinery is introduced they are trained by the foremen during unpaid overtime.

The worst conditions of women's work identified in the region are in fish processing. The work consists of packing fresh fish in tins after cleaning the heads and entrails. The work is performed in shacks where humidity is very high and workers have to stay in the water up to their knees. By the end of the day their clothes are wet and full of scale. The work is unstable, seasonal and low paid. Jobs in this field are very difficult to be secure, dependent as they are on the success of everyday fishing operations. "No man would accept to work in such conditions and under the discipline which is required" is reported as the reason for the exclusively female character of this job. As for the women who work there, they have very limited other choices (eg. pensioners with very low pensions, seasonal workers in agriculture, mothers of many children)

In the service sector, women are mainly employed in retail trade, nursing and tourism. Women employed in the shops are mainly young and work on a salary base. Time schedules are very unsocial (six days a week, on three of which they go to the shop twice a day - morning and evening). The retail shops are reported to be the workplaces with the most time and salary derogations. The small size of most units, the tasks to be done when shops close (cleaning, arranging the shelves etc) as well as large disponibility of young women to work there in order to avoid work in the factory, are some the main reasons for the high rate of indictment for derogations of the labour law.

In tourism, employment is seasonal and the season is quite short, extending over 5 months at most, with a peak during July and August. During the rest of the year women become "housewives" again, or work in agriculture. Most tourist firms, especially the small ones, are family businesses (80% of the hotels and 100% of other tourist businesses in Thassos) and rely almost exclusively on family labour - which practically means the labour of women and, to a lesser degree, children.

Rooms-to-let is a kind of accommodation managed exclusively by women. Rooms are located in or near the family house and the catering involved is often considered part of housework. Women are therefore not considered "working persons", although they have to clean the rooms, wash the dirty linen, sometimes prepare breakfasts and even collect clients and show them to the premises. In hotels, where paid labour is used, women work in the reception, prepare food for cooking or do the cleaning. In 80% of the hotels in Thassos women work also as unpaid family labour (Kairidis, 1987). In other tourist businesses (bars, restaurants, shops, etc.) unpaid family labour is the norm. In cases where wage labour is used, women hold many jobs but the owners of firms are mainly men. For some of these jobs foreign young women are hired at much lower pay and with the advantage of speaking foreign languages.

The preceding analysis indicates that women are over-represented in what is described as "atypical employment" (see Meulders, Plasman, 1989), a large part of which is informal, i.e. undeclared, without social security or contracts. The main types such employment encountered in Anatoliki Macedonia are the following:

Temporary, especially seasonal, work in agriculture and some branches of manufacturing (mainly in tobacco and food processing). If employment is formal and lasts for more than 100 days annually, it gives access to the unemployment benefit system for the rest of the year. Casual labour is also common in agriculture during picking season.

Self-employed workers and subcontractors in clothing industry. This form of employment is usually informal which means that the workers have no official contracts or access to social security or other benefits of

formally employed workers (paid vacation etc.). Sometimes fiscal regulation and inspection by the state in order to decrease tax evasion, force self-employed workers and subcontractors to abide by labour legislation. However, the system for self-insurance is either too complicated or too expensive for self-employed individuals.

Assisting relatives in small family firms in agriculture, services and manufacturing. This form of atypical employment is the most common one in Anatoliki Macedonia and all over Greece. In agriculture it also includes formal employment which allows access of women/wives to social security allocations. In family businesses - dominant feature of the productive structure in a lot of branches - it is rarely formal. In this case women can claim, through legal procedure, their contribution to the family income/property only in cases of divorce. An indicative example is the case of a young woman reported in Drama. After three years of unpaid work at the pastry shop of her ex-fiancé she indicted him to the Labour Inspection Office for employing her informally - which is considered a severe derogation of Labour Law.

Homeworking mainly in clothing but also in other branches. Homeworking is the form of atypical employment with the worst working conditions for women. Women work at home during the day, trying to combine household and caring tasks with paid work. They are paid on piece-rates -which makes work very intensive. Working time cannot be separated from time devoted to other tasks. Sometimes materials used in the manufacturing of small articles (toys, Christmas ornaments, shoes etc.) are dangerous for children's - and adults' - health. As a rule homeworkers do not enjoy social security benefits. Employers do not abide by the law that recognises employee status for them and they usually cannot afford to pay the relevant contribution as self-employed.

Multiple job-holding is more common among men than among women, although many women (especially single, single parents or divorced) have to take additional work after hours, in order to reach an adequate level of income. Multiple employment is a widespread form of household survival strategies, in part due to the fact that jobs in many sectors and branches are seasonal and salaries/wages low.

Through all these processes and relations of work the regional labour market is characterised by flexibility and adaptability that, in conditions of crisis, help mobilise new forms of defense against unemployment and shrinkage of real incomes. Summarising broadly, the following characteristics are important to bear in mind:

- a. There is an over-supply of unskilled labour and high unemployment, especially among young people and women. It is no coincidence that new firms, located in the area since the mid-1970s, use labour-intensive production processes and unskilled or semi-skilled labour (63% of the labour force). The highest share of industrial employment in the region concentrates in two branches: clothing and food industries, both of which employ a majority of women workers.
- b. There is a low percentages of waged employment and high percentages of multiple employment and high mobility of labour between sectors of production, thereby adapting to the fluctuations in demand and to the seasonal character of jobs in many branches. A high proportion of the labour force are "self-employed" while the figures for "employers" show a considerable increase.
- c. Industrial employment concentrates in few branches but is diffused in a great number of small firms. Along with them, some of the most important plants country-wide are located in the region. Medium-sized plants (>20) are technologically more advanced and export oriented. 70% of the increase in industrial employment is observed in the following branches: agro-products, food, clothing and footwear, wood. Plants are mainly located in the plains and along the main roads and the coast. The largest ones are close to the cities.
- d. Although women's rate of participation in production is high compared to other parts of the country, salaries and wages are lower than national average (the minimum allowed by collective bargaining agreements), and labour relations are poor. Women's activity rate increased spectacularly compared to national average

figures. After the mid-1970s, industrialisation has been based on medium- and large-size firms and on branches and types of production that facilitated women's integration in the labour market.

- e. Many women work in atypical forms of employment and 55-65% of them work informally (without contracts). Part of this bulk of work is associated with restructuring of production and dynamic activities which have led to modifications in the labour market. Another part, however, is linked to traditional and/or declining activities and forms of production whose prospects for further development or improvement are quite limited. All these diverse forms are difficult to be regulated by institutional or legislative reform or by union intervention.

Table 6.1

Anatoliki Macedonia and Greece: employment indicators by sex. (Population aged >14 years). 1987

	A	B	C	D
	LABOUR	FORCE	UNEMPLOYMENT	
GREECE				
MF	100.0	49.6	7.4	43.7
M	64.1	66.7	5.1	37.4
F	35.9	34.0	11.4	48.9
Married F	25.1	37.4	6.5	16.7
ANATOLIKI MACEDONIA				
MF	100.0	53.3	6.8	52.4
M	61.0	68.0	5.7	56.5
F	39.0	39.9	8.5	48.2
Married F	31.1	47.3	4.3	24.2

A: Labour force, percentages

B: Labour force, as % of total population

C: Unemployment, as % of total labour force

D: Youth unemployment (14-24), as % of total unemployment

Source: NSS, Labour Force Survey, 1987;(our data processing)

Table 6.2

Anatoliki Macedonia and Greece: Employment by sector and by sex. Percentages. 1987

	TOTAL	AGRICULTURE	INDUSTRY	SERVICES
A.				
GREECE				
MF	100.0	27.0	28.0	45.0
M	100.0	22.6	33.7	43.7
F	100.0	35.4	17.1	47.5
ANATOLIKI MACEDONIA				
MF	100.0	45.7	22.9	31.4
M	100.0	39.1	27.1	33.8
F	100.0	56.4	16.2	27.4
B.				
GREECE				
MF		100.0	100.0	100.0
M		54.9	79.0	63.8
F		45.1	21.0	36.2
ANATOLIKI MACEDONIA				
MF		100.0	100.0	100.0
M		52.8	73.0	66.6
F		47.2	27.0	33.4

Source: NSS, Labour Force Survey, 1987 (our data processing).

Table 6.3
Anatoliki Macedonia: Employment by sector, by sex and by occupational status. Percentages. 1987

	AGRICULTURE		INDUSTRY		SERVICES		TOTAL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Employers	0.7	0.0	7.6	0.7	5.9	0.8	4.4	0.4
Salary/wage earners	4.3	0.4	61.8	85.9	50.4	27.1	35.6	29.2
Self-employed	85.5	23.3	26.1	4.2	40.9	16.3	54.2	18.4
Assisting non-paid family members	9.5	76.3	4.5	9.2	2.8	55.8	5.8	52.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	37676	34112	26907	9740	31153	16347	96736	60199

Source: NSS, Labour Force Survey, 1987;(our data processing).

Table 6.4

Greece: average monthly earnings of workers in selected branches (1988)

Branch	M	F	F as % of M
food	112,691	80,868	71.8
tobacco	120,145	89,453	74.5
clothing	102,826	75,660	73.6
paper	115,591	80,154	69.3
chemical	141,620	91,518	64.6
non metallic minerals	119,654	85,019	71.0
INDUSTRY	125,428	84,347	67.2
COMMERCE	81,425	61,830	75.9

Source: NSS, Statistical Yearbook, 1988

Table 6.5

Anatoliki Macedonia: Employment by sex and by branch (1), 1990

Branch	Units	Men	Women	Young (2)	TOTAL (3)		
01-04	Agriculture	165	3345	1059	604	5008	24.0
11-19	Mines	165	3195	72	310	3577	2.2
	Manufacturing						
20	Food	475	3070	3180	843	7093	50.8
21	Beverages	37	154	130	31	315	45.8
22	Tobacco	18	394	1626	--	2020	80.5
23	Textiles	27	144	494	177	815	77.4
24	Clothing/footwear	586	729	10920	2140	13789	93.7
25	Wood and cork	405	3810	221	114	4145	5.5
26	Furniture	162	593	190	193	976	24.3
27	Paper	4	944	128	--	1072	11.9
28	Printing/publishing	35	82	18	19	119	18.0
29	Leather/fur	11	37	93	24	154	71.5
30	Rubber/plastic prod	20	334	77	40	451	39.5
31	Chemicals	10	1017	90	50	1157	8.1
33	Non metallic mineral	107	2030	36	270	2336	2.7
34	Basic Metal	61	296	--	145	441	0.0
35	Metal products	108	313	9	262	584	2.8
36	Machinery (non elec)	88	210	--	193	403	0.0
37	Electrical supplies	145	215	50	122	387	18.9
38	Transport equipment	153	238	25	160	423	9.5
39	Miscellaneous manuf.	7	440	84	17	541	16.0
41	Electricity	2	311	66	--	377	17.5
50	Construction	630	9060	185	500	9745	2.0
	Services						
61	Wholesale trade	192	300	227	29	556	43.1
64-65	Retail trade	977	625	1060	164	1849	62.9
66	Restaurants/Hotels	567	1045	1070	328	2443	50.6
71	Transports	437	2140	41	299	2480	1.9
72	Warehouses	19	77	20	--	97	20.6
73	Communication	13	970	269	--	1239	18.8
81	Banking/Finance	232	2370	640	--	3010	21.3
82	Insurance	43	114	67	--	181	37.0
83		167	147	196	30	373	57.1
91	Governmental	239	3065	1209	--	4274	28.3
92		26	135	230	--	365	63.0
93	Education	80	479	793	15	1287	62.3
94	Scientific research	4	52	32	--	84	38.1
95	Health	59	423	513	32	968	54.8
96	Social Welfare	37	183	252	--	435	57.9
97	Entertainment	59	162	66	--	228	28.9
98	Personal services	257	323	177	31	531	35.4
99	Domestic services	205	145	90	--	235	38.3
TOTAL		7034	43716	25705	7142	76563	37.0

(1) Only formal salaried and waged labour are included

(2) Young people 14-18 years old, both sexes

(3) Percentage of women in total adult employment

Source: Prefectures of Drama, Kavala, Serres, Labour Department

7. WOMEN'S MOBILISATION

Feminist groups evolved from political parties appeared in Greece in the mid-1970s, after the downfall of the dictatorship, mainly in the universities or in neighbourhoods surrounding big cities. They reached a peak period in the late 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. After that they started to decline and today there are only very few, concentrated mainly in Athens and Thessaloniki.

Such feminist groups were not found in the region. This is a reflection both of the present situation of the feminist movement in Greece and of its past history of being stronger in core urban areas and weaker in peripheral regions. Despite these limitations, and according to interviews with local activists, in early 1980s feminist groups tackled such issues as sexuality, male violence, contraception, etc. in the region's larger cities. They also broadcast feminist programmes on local radio and liaised with feminist groups in Thessaloniki and co-operated to some extent with local women's organisations. None of those groups have survived to date.

Women's organisations in Greece were formed in the 1970s by some political parties and centered mainly around issues of legislative equality, childcare, women's work and peace. Those included the Hellenic Federation of Women, the Women's Union of Greece and the Democratic Women's Movement - the latter being closer to feminist groups in terms of the issues it promoted and the alliances it sought in practice. These organisations used to attract many women but they hardly exist any longer and are not able to promote any mass activities. They are partly substituted by women's sections of political parties.

Women's sections of political parties became active rather recently and one of their concerns has been women's representation in the parties and in the parliament - which in Greek politics is very low. These sections are active mainly in Athens and consist of a small core of women (or feminists) with many internal and external problems and limited connections with the rest of the women.

Women's (or feminist) groups have also recently appeared in some trade unions or Labour Centres, for instance the Women's Committee of the General Confederation of Greek Trade Unions, the Women's Committee of the General Confederation of Bank Employees, etc.

Development in women's organisations in Greece as a whole are represented in Anatoliki Macedonia as well, according to interviews with local women members. The larger regional cities have been centres of activity for local branches of women's organisations, but quite often they used to organise activities in villages. Women's response in those areas has been marginal, as the bias against politically active women - especially feminists - is more dominant in the villages and the ideological and practical constraints by families are stronger.

In the 1980s the activities of feminist groups or women's organisations were public events through which women would be informed and motivated to question their situation and demand their rights. There was no organisation for concrete and immediate help for women in the form of, for example, women's centres, rape crisis centres or shelters for battered women. This was not so much a matter of the activists' choice, but rather to lack of resources, since no government (conservative or socialist) has ever considered financial assistance to this kind of social provisions necessary.

Today these activities have almost entirely ceased and what remains of feminist problematic and organising is cut off from similar activities in other parts of the country. The Prefecture Equality Committees that exist in each of the three prefectures can hardly fill this gap or reach women in the region. Despite individual good intentions, they have neither the institutional power nor the resources to play any significant role with regard to women's problems. Bound as they are to state bureaucracy, these Committees must follow government priorities which have for a long time reduced them to almost total inactivity. Only very recently have efforts been made to revive them in view of European Integration. Their agendas, however, are still unclear as are their intentions and potential for manoeuvre in the region.

However, in Anatoliki Macedonia women's organisation within trade unions are important and active. There used to be a Women's Committee in the Labour Centre of each prefecture, as a branch of the Women's Committee of the General Confederation of Greek Trade Unions (GCGTU). These Committees were created according to the directions of the GCGTU. This is perhaps why they are run by ... men and their function is almost nonexistent.

However, women are dominant in the traditional "female" branches where the overwhelming majority of the membership and the leadership are women. Examples here include trade unions in clothing, tobacco and fish-processing in Kavala or clothing in Drama. In tobacco there are two different trade unions, "women's" and "men's", corresponding to the gender division of labour in the production process where women deal with processing and men deal with packing and transporting. Similar representation of women is not found in mixed branches - which indicates that the presence of men discourages or excludes women from elected bodies.

Participation of women in trade unions is not homogeneous. There are marked differences between Kavala and the rest of the region. Working class consciousness seems to mobilise women more in the trade unions of Kavala which has a long tradition of labour militancy originating in the tobacco processing warehouses. Women trade unionists of Drama reported extremely low rates of participation in clothing which they attributed to the fear of dismissal, given the recession. Young women or women from the villages also have very low rates of participation in trade unions. This is partly due to the fact that they consider their work temporary (until they marry) or auxiliary (a contribution to family income earned in agriculture).

Generally low rates of women's participation in trade unions are also connected with attitudes about "a woman's place" and the gender divisions of labour in the family which, in ideological and practical terms, do not allow women to participate in the public sphere. This is further aggravated by the lack of social infrastructure which would

allow women some freedom from their traditional tasks as mothers, carers and homemakers, so that they could actively participate in trade unions and in public life in general.

Finally, the low rate of participation of women in trade unions has to be seen in relation to the absence of feminist groups in the region and in Greece as a whole: working class consciousness is not always enough to mobilise women for their specific problems at work. Feminist consciousness could help them consider - and react against - the terms of their participation both in production and the public sphere generally and in the family and the private sphere.

B. NATIONAL AND LOCAL POLICY FOR EQUALITY

In Greece, modern feminist ideas - which had been developing since the end of the 1960s in Western Europe - could only develop and be expressed freely after the downfall of the dictatorship (1967-74) which marked the end of a long period of reactionary politics and repression. During the first years after democratisation, the feminist movement tackled issues like abortion, contraception, violence and women's rights in the family. When the new (PASOK) government came into power in 1981, all forms of formal discrimination were eliminated, mainly through the adoption of revised Family and Labour Laws in accordance with EC directives. The most important changes in the Family Law (1329/83) included:

- the establishment of "common decision" in all matters concerning relationships between spouses and within families.
- the abolition of the institution of dowry and the establishment of the obligation for both spouses to contribute jointly to family needs.
- the possibility of women keeping their surname after marriage and for children to take either the mother's or the father's surname.
- the establishment of "claim to share" by each spouse of all assets acquired during marriage

The more important changes introduced by a new Labour Law (1414/84) included:

- elimination of all forms of sex-based discrimination, direct or indirect, in labour relations so that men and women may have access to employment on equal terms.
- equal pay for work of the same value
- same career guidance for boys and girls

Other laws regulated the protection of motherhood according to the International Convention 193, the possibility for farming women to participate in agricultural co-operatives, automatic prosecution in rape cases, the introduction of parental leave for both parents, financial assistance for mothers and especially single mothers, depenalisation of abortion within the first 12 weeks of pregnancy, civil marriage.

However, such institutional changes have had very little impact on the daily life of most Greek women. Especially in regions far from large urban centres, like in Anatoliki Macedonia, local attitudes and practices proved to be much more resistant to laws than expected. The family structure remained basically patriarchal and very few women adopted legal procedures to improve their family and employment conditions.

Along with those legislative changes, the government of PASOK established relevant institutions for making and promoting policies for equality of the two sexes. The "General Secretariat for Equality" was established at the national level and the "Prefectural Equality Offices" at the regional level. (1983). The responsibilities of these bodies were described as follows:

- promotion, by all available means of the general aim of increased equality at the prefecture level.
- sensibilisation, awareness and information of all citizens in each prefecture on the issue of Equality.
- identification of problems arising at local level as well as efforts to find solutions to discriminatory practices against either sex, in employment, education and training, family relations, health.

This promising list of responsibilities was put into practice only in few cases. The boundaries set by the bureaucratic and male dominated Public Administration were much more powerful than the political wishes of the Government. Both national and regional bodies were confronted by many problems when they tried to implement equality policies. The regional bodies in particular which - unlike the national one - have not been supported and encouraged by the European Policy for Equal Opportunities, have very rarely proceeded beyond a few festivities on the occasion of the Women's International Day.

In conclusion, we can say that the national policy for equality was confronted with many problems, including lack of finance and personnel.

In contrast, at the regional level the policy for equality can hardly be noticed. On the one hand regional policy in general is inefficient and very dependent on central decision making. On the other hand policy for equality has not been able to overcome male biased priorities, both in programmes and in finance distribution.

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY POLICY

European Community policy implemented in the region, influences women's living and working conditions in two ways

- directly through programmes addressed to individuals (namely vocational training courses financed by European Social Fund (ESF), or other funds)
- indirectly, through programmes aiming at regional development (infrastructure, support of certain sectors and types of cultivation etc, funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF).

It is important to note that total EC support in the region, through the Community Support Framework, comes from the three Structural Funds as follows: 90% Regional Fund, 3-4% Agricultural Fund, 6-7% ESF (the National split being 55%, 19%, and 26% respectively.

The region absorbs only 4,9% of the three Funds support to Greece although it represents 5,9% of the total population. The Regional Fund covers infrastructure investments, like construction or improvement of ports, roads, the University, etc.. The management of funds is done by the Prefecture and only 8-10% is managed by Local Authorities. Looking at the priorities set in the Community Support Framework for Anatoliki Macedonia, we estimate that the total EC support to the region will influence women's work in a number of ways.

The promotion of new tobacco varieties by the Agricultural Fund, for example, will reduce women's jobs as it requires less manual processing. On the other hand Regional Fund support to the clothing industry to renovate and upgrade its status will support a highly feminised sector. The new perspective of the sector concerns marketing of the products. This will reduce dependence on foreign contractors and increase profit. Such a development goes along with high quality products, which is reported as the only way for firms in the branch to survive increasing competition in the coming years (from Turkey, Eastern Europe, Morocco, Portugal).

The Regional Fund also promotes investment for tourist development in the region, especially in the coastal areas of Kavala, Thassos island and the coast of Serres (i.e. the port in Anthoupolis). This particular type of investment, together with the improvement of the relevant infrastructure, will facilitate access from Balkan and other countries. The influence of tourist development on women's work is double-sided: on the one hand jobs will probably increase, on the other they are very likely to be in family business and in other, atypical forms of employment, with little prospects and security.

The ESF contribution to vocational training is very important in Anatoliki Macedonia, as all over Greece. In the region no vocational training programmes addressed to women only (operational programme) have been reported. Most of the ESF subsidised ones are oriented to "male" skills and they are not accompanied by policies to encourage women to acquire such skills.

Concerning the EC equality policy implemented by the Equal Opportunities Unit, the Local Employment Initiatives (LEI) programme seems to be very well-known in the region although the figures do not show any specific interest in the programme. In the period 1988-1990, only 28 applications have been submitted and 6 (21.4%) have been granted. These figures are 600 and 147 (25%) for total Greece respectively. Other elements of the Action Programmes for Equal Opportunities (1985-1990) were not identified. It is to be noted that New Opportunities for Women (NOW) community initiative programme is advertised widely in Greece and has 140 proposals in the whole country.

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KEY FIGURES (interviews)

Prefectures of Kavala, Drama, Serres

(Heads of the Department)

Dept. of Labour

Dept. of Agriculture

Dept. of Industry

Dept. of Planning

Dept. of Equality

Dept. of Social Welfare

Dept. of Health

Dept. of Education

Commercial and Industrial Chambers

Trade Union Centres

Family Planning Centres

REGIONAL REPORT

MARCHE

by

Paola VINAY
Gabriella MELCHIORRE

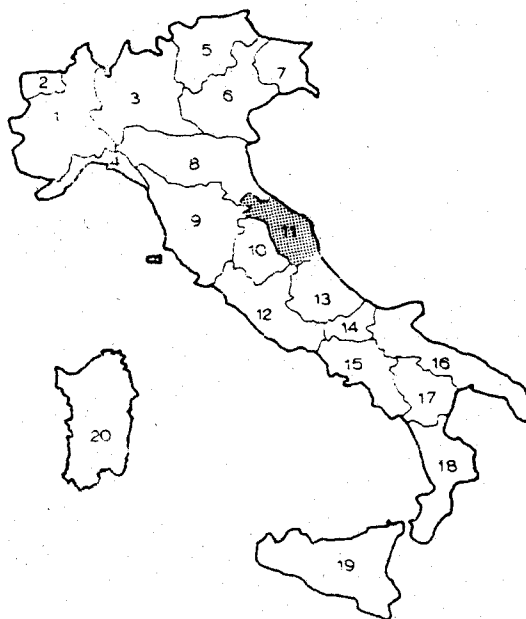
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PROSPECTA - RICERCHE STATISTICHE E SOCIALI

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- 1 Piemonte
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- 3 Lombardia
- 4 Liguria
- 5 Trentino
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- 7 Friuli
- 8 Emilia Romagna
- 9 Toscana
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- 11 Marche
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INTRODUCTION: THE ITALIAN CONTEXT

Important changes occurred in the Italian social structure between 1975 and 1990 (Paci 1990): an increase in white-collar workers and technicians, a moderate increase in self-employment (both in the industrial and service sectors) and in overall employment in the service sector. The analysis shows, moreover, that within this last sector final services grew more than the so-called "intermediate" ones and that Italy lags behind other Western countries in the development of the "intermediate" services, particularly in the regions characterized by "dispersed economy". Moreover, within the final services, the employment in the public sector has increased mainly during the 1970s, and slowly during the 1980s. The private sector (personal, touristic, entertainment, retail distribution and so on) shows a very high ratio of increase over several years.

Several changes concern female employment. Among them we shall recall the increase in self-employment, the decrease in assisting non-paid family members and the increase - in some areas of the country - in female self-employment in agriculture (while total employment in agriculture has strongly decreased).

Recent trends in irregular work - which in the sixties and seventies had an important part in the Italian economic development - are unknown and should be investigated. However, several hypotheses can be made. A decrease in industrial piece-work at home can be envisaged. This kind of work could now interest mainly relatively older women. In agriculture, the increase of regular female self-employment is due to legal reasons, after the mass exit of husbands from agriculture; this was followed by a decrease in female irregular work, particularly in the younger and middle-age brackets.

In the public service sector irregular work is fostered, today, by the "cuts" in public expenditure and by its inefficiency. This is the case of "precarious" and seasonal employment (within the postal and telephone sectors, public education, local administration, and so on) and of "sub-contracting" of personal and social services to small private firms and mainly to cooperatives. In all these cases women are the most

involved. Several national and regional laws have greatly stimulated the creation of "young cooperatives", both in the productive and the service sectors. Although women are largely involved in these cooperatives, they are strongly under-represented at the top levels (Merelli et al., 1985). Moreover, irregular female work has been strongly fuelled by the growth of final private services in the urban context.

The female labour force and activity rate has grown in Italy in the last decade (from 26.7 to 30.8). However, it is still much lower than the male one and has not been accompanied by an adequate growth in employment opportunities, therefore the female unemployment appears particularly high (18.6%). Moreover, female unemployment is still over three times as high as the male.

According to a recent analysis of the trends of female employment (IRES Piemonte, 1989) several changes, concerning both demand and supply of labour, have affected women's participation in the labour force. We shall recall here the most relevant ones for our analysis in the Italian context.

The above mentioned growth of the service sector and consequent decline of the primary and secondary sectors had important consequences for female employment. Indeed, female employment took great advantage of the growth of the service sectors - particularly with reference to the "final" public and private services as mentioned above - because of the more flexible work organization and daily and weekly schedules which characterize these sectors.

Generally speaking, though, it must be emphasized that "part-time" employment is not very common in Italy, compared to all other European countries. This is due to Italian legislation and collective bargaining (and this is probably one aspect that can be changed in the next few years, following European integration). The daily schedule of the public services (8.00 a.m. to 2.00 p.m., for six days a week) works as a partial substitute for part-time, and an incentive to female employment.

The growth of new professions (particularly in the service sector), moreover, opens opportunities to women. This is a subject of recent research and interest among women's studies in Italy. The growth of the service sector fosters also new demand for traditionally female jobs.

As far as the domestic work (housekeeping, caring) is concerned, the above-mentioned analysis indicates primarily the demand for paid work, fuelled by middle and upper-class families, which has rapidly grown in the last few years, due to the growth of women's employment in the middle-age brackets. This demand for paid domestic work has involved relatively older women without previous work experience and an important share of female immigrants from extra-European countries. Part of the caring work is temporarily covered also by young women, students and those in search of work.

However, a major part of the unpaid domestic labour is still done by women within the family, both older women of the "extended-modified family" and women in the central age brackets, who often have a paid job outside the family. An important cultural change has occurred in recent years in the attitude of women towards work: from previous "family-priority" (which resulted in the drop of female regular employment of the 60s and early 70s), we observe now the spread of a more balanced attitude (the so-called "double presence", Balbo, 1978), according to which participation in the labour market is neither exclusive nor secondary with respect to family and procreation.

The occupational and cultural trends so far mentioned have been fostered by several processes and factors on the labour supply side. First of all there is much greater access for women to higher levels of education which has totally neutralised previous gender differences. This change has been preceded by women's access to university departments (and therefore to professions) such as economics, engineering, medicine, veterinary, new technologies of information and communication, which formerly were typically male; though, of course, segregation still persists in all these fields.

The second important process is the drastic fall in fertility rate - now one of the lowest in Europe - and women's control over reproduction.

These phenomena are of the greatest importance in understanding the effects of both the rigidity of work organization and of the new attitudes of women towards work.

Another relevant factor is the persistence, also in the urban setting, of the "extended-modified" family, which explains the relatively lower demand for personal and social services, compared to other Western countries (as Sweden or the USA). To this last factor one must add the priority accorded by the State to monetary grants to the family, as an alternative to the development of public social services. (This is a common feature of the EC countries, U.K. and Denmark excluded; see Paci, 1990).

Also of some relevance may be the recent rapid growth of immigration from extra-EC countries, which involves the lower levels of the workplace, both in the formal and informal labour market. Competition between such migrant labour and Italian women, in some sectors, has still to be studied.

All the processes and trends mentioned above have favoured female employment (mainly in the service sector). However, this should not lead to an underestimation of the persisting problems of occupational sex discrimination and segregation. Equal access to the labour market, to regular employment, and to several professions and sectors (particularly to top-level jobs) is still denied. The Marche region - from almost all the statistics we have considered up to now - seems to reflect well the Italian average.

1. REGIONAL PRODUCTIVE STRUCTURE

The Marche is one of the regions of Central and North Eastern Italy, the so-called "third Italy", which are characterized by a wide diffusion of small and medium-size industries and by a wide interplay between industrial and agricultural activities. These regions, which in 1951 were mainly agricultural, have experienced in the last thirty years an accelerated rate of industrialization mostly in favour of small firms: a type of industrialization called "dispersed" or "diffused" economy. In fact, in these regions about 80% of those employed in industry are concentrated in firms of less than 250 employees and the average industrial unit has less than 10 employees. Indicators such as the rate of growth of valued-added, investment, productivity and employment - it has been observed - show the dynamism of industry in these areas. The traditional sectors of industry - textiles, clothing, shoes and furniture - predominate, but there is also - at least in some regions - a significant development of 'modern' sectors, particularly the machine tool industry. Small firms tend to be found clustered together in 'industrial districts'. They form integrated territorial systems with strong sectorial specialization" (Trigilia 1986, p.161).

One of the principal features that differentiates the social and economic structure of this important part of Italy from that of the advanced capitalist countries is precisely the persistence and vitality of a large sector of small industrial and craft-based firms, many of which are family concerns, performing an active function in the process of national wealth creation, and hence not definable simply as 'marginal', 'residual', or premodern' enterprises.

The socio-economic research of the past fifteen years has shown the structural nature - in the Marche development - of the sector of micro-enterprises, which are partly satellites of and partly autonomous from large firms. The dispersion of production into a multiplicity of small and medium-sized firms and the interplay between industry and agriculture seem to be two historical constants of the Marche industrialization since its beginning in 1945-55. Albeit attenuated in the subsequent decades and 'updated' in the course of recent

modernization, they never cease to constitute two typical functional features of the regional development. As far as the interplay between agriculture and industry is concerned, it is interesting to note that still in 1981 74% of the employed in manufacturing industries in the Marche worked in rural or semi-rural areas) while the relative figure for Italy as a whole was 42% (SISTAT, General Industrial Censuses).

Among the economic conditions that have favoured the 'dispersed' economy the main one is undoubtedly the position of the Italian (and hence Marche) economy within the Western capitalist system which has caused a progressive specialization towards production of durable goods, highly dependent on fashion and upon the uncertainty of the market, for which the more flexible small firm is especially suitable. In fact, market unpredictability has been considered as one of the explanatory economic variables for the spread of small production units which can manage to recover important margins of flexibility thanks to their lower costs, both in capital and labour-force (Paci, 1986).

The manufacturing industry of the region, indeed, is highly specialised in the production of consumer goods, such as shoes, clothing, textiles, wooden furniture and musical instruments, aimed mainly at the markets of the most advanced countries. This type of industry is heavily handicapped by two factors: the contingency of demand, which is subject to rapid oscillations in fashion and consumption, and the maturity of existing technologies, which are not susceptible to important labour-saving innovations.

In other words the vast majority of the region's industries produce goods with highly variable demand using highly rigid technology and high labour-intensity. The presence of a vast sector of small firms enables the regional economic system to recover significant flexibility margins, thanks to the capacity of micro-enterprises to adapt, with the family as a production unit, homeworking and also thanks to the sexist division of labour within the family which has been a typical feature up to recently.

The regional territory is of 9.693 square km (68.8% of which is considered hills, 31.2% mountains) with a population density of 147

inhabitants per square km. The population (1.431.000 inhabitants in 1989) is distributed in four provinces and 246 municipalities. For statistical purposes the region is longitudinally divided into three main geographical areas on the basis of altitude: the internal mountain area (the western part of the region), the intermediate hill area and the coastal hill area.

Agriculture, stock-breeding fishing, forestry

In 1951 60% of the labour force of the region worked in agriculture; however, the importance of this sector in the following decades declined sharply to 45% in 1961 and to 25% in 1971 (table 1.1).. In 1989 only 11% of the active population was employed in agriculture (although moonlighting in this sector is frequent).

At the end of 1987 there were 82.252 farms in the region with an average size of only 9.7 hectares; over 90% are leaseholder family farms with an average size of 7.6 hectares; 5.3 are sharecropper farms with an average size of 8.6 hectares; only 4.3% of the holdings use salaried labour and in this case the average size of the farm reaches 54.6 hectare's (table 1.2). Still, if we consider the farms of the region by class of agrarian utilized surface we see that 17% of them utilize less than 1 hectare, 48.8% fall in class 1<5 hectares, 28.5% in the class 5<20 hectares and only 5.7% of the farms utilize an agrarian surface of more than 20 hectares.

Due to their small size, the great majority of the holdings are based on the labour of the farmer and his family. In fact 86.4% of the number of days of work spent in agriculture in 1987 was contributed by the farmer and his family members, among whom women have a considerable importance, 6.6% of the days have been contributed by the farmer alone, while salaried labour amounts only to 5% of the total days of work. Compared to the 1982 General Census of Agriculture the number of farms has declined by 7.5%. Both the sharecropper farms and those using salaried labour have declined, while the family farms have slightly increased.

In spite of the small size of most holdings, the majority of the farms practice extensive cultivation: 63.2% specialize in seeded crops and

among them 27.7% specialize in cereals, 26.6% in other seeded crops and another 8.9% cultivate mixed seeded crops; 8.6% of the holdings are purely stock-breeding farms.

Fishing is still an important activity in the region, mainly in the Adriatic sea, but there are also some trout-farms along the mountain rivers. The fishing production of the region constitutes 14% of the total national fishing production. As far as forestry is concerned, the forested area of the region is relatively small - only 2% of the total forested area of the nation. It is mainly located in the mountain areas towards the western part of the region.

Industrial and service sectors

The industrial sector in Marche had a delayed development compared with the rest of the nation: in 1951 only 21.9% of the labour force worked in this sector; in the following decades, however, industrialisation took off rapidly and the share of employment in industry increased sharply (at the expense of agriculture) to 30.7% of total employment in 1961, to 40.8% in 1971 and to 44.7% in 1981. In more recent years the share of employment in industry diminished again to 38.4% in favour of the service sector.

In fact, after the rapid expansion of the industrial sector of the sixties and seventies, the last decade has been considered as the decade of its "readjustment" and of the development of the service sector. In this last decade, indeed, the mean annual growth in employment has been considerably lower than the Italian average, due to the lower dynamism of the traditional sectors based on small industries which characterize the region. Between 1980 and 1987 the relative weight of manufacturing decreased in terms both of value added and of employment. As far as the latter is concerned it must be noted that the effects of industrial restructuring can be seen up to 1986 (at a mean annual rate of -2.6%) whilst the trend was inverted in 1987 (+3%).

At the end of the industrial "readjustment" process the importance of the traditional branches of industry in the regional economy appears on the whole unchanged; self-employment is increasing as a percentage of

total employment in industry, while salaried employment is falling. The regional industrial sector in the end has managed to increase productivity first of all by terminating salaried employees (Rosanna Merli, 1991).

Employment in the service sector steadily increased since 1951 taking advantage, as did the industrial sector, of the decline of agriculture. In 1981 the "third sector" almost reached the secondary in terms of employment and in the last decade took advantage also of the decline of industry, reaching 50.6% of total employment. However, in Marche this increase has involved mainly private services, while services to the enterprises - a branch considered crucial for regional development - continues to have relatively low importance. Employment has grown particularly in trade and transportation. Contrary to what happens in industry, in the private services the share of salary-wage earners is increasing.

The value added per employee for final services (sales services) has diminished and we have registered in this sector a constant fall of investment; as a result the performance of this sector in Marche appears quite inadequate. It has contributed essentially to balance the labour-market after the "readjustment" of the industrial sector.

Table 1.3 shows the percentage distribution, in terms of local units and of employment in industry, craft and commerce for the main industrial branches. The metallurgical and mechanical branch involves almost 14% of local units and 18% of total employment in the secondary sector. The other manufacturing industries involve 48% of the local units and 59% of employment; among these shoes, clothing, wood and furniture are the most important in terms both of units and of employment. The building industry accounts for 30% of units but only 15.8% of employment.

As recalled before, the industrial sector of the region is characterized by small and medium sized firms and by a large number of artisans: indeed, the average size of the local units is merely 5 employees per unit. The industrial branches with the higher rate of feminization of the labour force are: clothing (339% over male employment), textiles (213%), shoes (111%) and leather (86%); those with the lowest rate are:

transportation, metallurgic-mechanic, non-metallic minerals, rubber, paper, furniture and wood, none of which reaches 25% of feminization.

The average size of units in commerce is even lower than in industry: less than 2 employees. Two thirds consist of retail family shops (64.6%) and of a considerable share of middlemen (22.6% of units).

State Policy

As far as public expenditure in the industrial sector is concerned, only a few towns of the Marche, located in the southern province of Ascoli Piceno, have benefited - in past years - from the intervention of the "Cassa per il Mezzogiorno" (the special State Agency for the development of the Italian South). This intervention is over now and it is generally recognized that it was not particularly important for the industrial development of the region: as a matter of fact the development has been stronger elsewhere in the region than in the area assisted by the Cassa del Mezzogiorno.

State intervention for industrial development, though, now occurs through two main channels: direct investment in the region by public industrial firms (i.e. State-owned firms or firms whose main share holder is the State) and financial support to local private firms through national legislation for industrial development and technological innovation.

The first kind of intervention (public investment) is not particularly significant and has declined in recent years. The Marche share of the IRI national investments, for instance, fell from 2.7% (1984) to 2% (1989). The same can be said as far as ENI investments are concerned: the Marche share of ENI investments in Italy actually declined from 2.2% to 1.1%, in the same years. The same trend appears for ENEL investments. Particularly worrying is the decline of the Marche share of national public investment in the information and communication industries (from 3.0 to 2.7% of IRI investment), which are strategic for the development of the economy and also for women's employment (Marche, 3-5, 1989).

As far as State financial support for technological innovation is concerned, the Marche can take advantage of several different laws: law no. 46 of 1982 (which established a national fund for applied research and technological innovation); law no. 902 of 1976 (which gives incentives for modernization of industrial firms; law no. 696 of 1983 (which subsidizes the purchase of electronic advanced machinery) and law no. 1329 of 1965 (which subsidizes firms producing or purchasing machine tools). Among these laws the first one (no. 46 of 1982) is the most important for truly high technological innovation: the remaining laws, indeed are mainly aimed to favour the adoption by industry of modern technology.

It is not surprising, then, that the Marche has profited much more by the last three laws (no. 696, 902 and 1329) than by the first one (no. 46). The mean value, for the period 1984-88 of the Marche share of the national fund established by law no. 46 was as low as 0.16% (compared with the 40.28% of Lombardy or the 40.78% of Piedmont). Indeed, only 15 firms of the region, out of a sample of 275, did profit by this law (Quaglia and others, 1990).

The Marche firms used the other three laws more widely (91 out of a sample of 275 firms). The financial support given by the State to the firms of the region through the law no. 1329, for instance, during the period 1984-88, was as high as 365 million liras, while the one given, in the same years, though the law no. 46 was as low as 9 million liras.

All that means that our region is characterized much more by a simple process of assimilation or adoption of modern machinery, than by a planned process of technological innovation.

As far as public expenditure in the service sector is concerned, it is worth noting that the Marche region has the highest per capita public financial support in the health sector, among Italian regions. This was as high as 1.6 million liras in 1990, compared with a national mean value of 1.3 million. Due to the growing deficit of the State budget, though, public expenditure, as a percentage of GNP has been cut in recent years. This has involved mostly public investment in the service sector, which has sharply declined, than salaries of public employees.

To cut salaries, of course, is much more unpopular for politicians, than to reduce capital expenditure. However, cutting investment will have a negative impact in the coming years, particularly on women's employment (which is relatively higher in the public service).

Table 1.1

Marche: Percentage distribution of employment in the three economic sectors in 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1989

	Agriculture	Industry	Services	Total
1951	60.2	21.9	17.9	100.0
1961	45.6	30.7	23.7	100.0
1971	25.3	40.8	33.9	100.0
1981	11.5	44.7	43.8	100.0
1989	11.0	38.4	50.6	100.0

Source: ISTAT, Censimenti Generali della Popolazione 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981; Forze di Lavoro, Media 1989, Bollettini ORML no. 14. Our data processing.

Table 1.2

Marche: Farms by forms of leaseholding, size groups of agrarian land utilized, work days and types of crops. 1987.

	N'	%	Mean size in hectares
FORM OF LEASEHOLDING			
Leaseholder family farms	72586	90.4	7.6
With salaried workers	3452	4.3	54.6
Sharecropper farms	4214	5.3	8.6
TOTAL	80252	100.0	9.7
AGRARIAN LAND UTILIZED BY SIZE GROUPS OF FARMS			
Less than 1 hectar		17.0	
1<5 hectares		48.8	
5<20 "		28.5	
20<50 "		4.2	
>50 "		1.5	
TOTAL		100.0	
DAYS WORK BY LABOUR FORCE CATEGORY			
		TOTAL	SEED CROPS
Leaseholder only		6.6	10.5
Leaseholder and family		86.4	79.5
Leaseholder and salaried workers		7.0	10.0
TOTAL		100.0	100.0
TOTAL N' OF HOURS		14733187	6870436
TYPES OF CROPS			
Specialized in cereals		27.7	
" in other seeded crops		26.6	
Mixed seeded crops		8.9	
Horticulture-flower culture		4.0	
Vines		4.3	
Olives-fruits other permanent		4.4	
Mixed seeded-vines-hortic.-permanent		7.3	
Mixed horticulture and permanent		2.7	
Cattle breeding only		5.4	
Stock-breeding mixed		3.2	
Crops and stock breeding		5.5	
TOTAL		100.0	

Source: ISTAT: Regioni in Cifre 1990; Le Aziende Agricole secondo la Classificazione Tipologica, Collana d'informazione n°24, 1990.

Table 1.3

Marche: Local units and employment in industry-craft and commerce by branch of activity. 1989. Percentages.

BRANCHES	Local Units	Employed	Mean N° of Employees
INDUSTRY AND CRAFT			
Related with agriculture	4.4	1.5	1.8
Electricity, gas, water	0.2	0.5	14.1
Mines-mineral trans.-chemical	3.2	5.1	8.2
Metal-mechanic	13.9	18.1	6.7
Other manufacturing industries	47.9	59.0	6.3
Food	5.2	4.7	4.6
Textiles	3.6	3.6	5.1
Leather	1.9	2.1	5.7
Clothing, furs, other	7.2	10.8	7.8
Shoes	13.2	18.6	4.6
Wood-furniture	10.0	10.8	5.6
Other manufacturing	6.8	8.4	6.5
Building construction	30.4	15.8	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	5.1
N°	48721	249460	
COMMERCE			
Wholesale trade	12.7	22.8	3.5
Middlemen of trade	22.6	14.0	1.2
Retail trade: Food	22.9	21.4	1.8
Retail trade: others	41.7	41.8	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	1.9
N°	39967	76630	

Source: Unione delle Camere di Commercio Industria Artigianato delle Marche. Our data processing.

2. POPULATION

At the end of 1989 the Italian population was 57.6 million, while for the Marche region the figure was 1.431.000 (table 2.1). This data is the result of a steady decline in the annual rate of population growth for the period between the 9th General Census of the Population of 1951 and the end of 1989 (most recent data available; see table 2.2). This trend is clear at national level for the whole period considered, with the exception of the 1964 "baby-boom". At the regional level there is a delay in this trend, due to the fact that, after years of emigration, the Marche region has become an immigration area (Moretti, 1989).

As a matter of fact within the last twenty years the emigration process, which characterized Italian history for over a century, has slowly come to an end (Nobile, 1988). The causes of this have been: the decrease in the demand for labour by foreign markets; the ability of the country to absorb labour in the Central and even in the Southern regions, thanks to a "new and more disseminated productive impulse" (Carfagna, 1990); the higher level of education of new generations willing to emigrate only for jobs reaching their expectations and the increased ability of families to support the cost of waiting for a job for their young members. All this has produced a limited and more qualified type of emigration - technicians and specialized blue-collar workers.

This process has "freed" within the country, the heavy, less rewarding and worst paid jobs - in agriculture, the building industry and catering - which are increasingly covered by foreign labour, mainly from countries outside the EC. As a result, Italy is progressively changing from an area of emigration into one of significant immigration (De Bartolo, 1988), mainly for Africans and Asians (40% of total foreign immigration, that is about 963.000 extra-EC immigrants). This process - with similar figures and about 12.000 non-EC immigrants - also includes the Marche region (Moretti-Vicarelli, 1986).

This immigration is characterized by a high proportion of irregular workers (estimated for Italy at about 60% and for Marche about 43% of non-EC immigrants), only partially reduced after the promulgation of

laws 945/1986 and 39/1990 concerning the legal requirements for non-Community immigration (ISTAT, 1991; Vicarelli, 1991).

Moreover, a progressive decline of internal (inter and intra-regional) migration is occurring. In Italy internal mobility has decreased from 36.1 mean annual transfers per 1000 inhabitants in 1960-62, to 20.4 in 1985-87. Also in the Marche region we have registered between 1961 and 1988, a noticeable decrease in internal migrations. Indeed, the migratory balance was about - 17000 individuals in 1961 and +2600 in 1988 (ISTAT Annuario Statistico Italiano 1963, 1972, 1983, 1990). The industrialization of Italy in the '50's and '60's and the "escape" from rural areas gave a great impulse to internal migratory movements from the South of the country toward the metropolitan areas of the North, whereas in the '70's and '80's, we observe a slight movement of population from large cities to small or medium-size towns (Moretti, 1989).

As far as the sex distribution of the population is concerned, we must point out for 1989 the prevalence of women (51.4% of total population both for Italy and the Marche region); this prevalence is clear for the whole period considered (never less than 51%). Moreover, in the period 1961-71 the annual rate of population growth has been definitely higher for females than for males in Marche as well as in Italy.

The Italian population shows both a significant rate of feminization and a clear process of demographic change toward the progressive ageing of the population (Mengani, 1989). The proportion of young people (aged 0-14) in the region was 22.3% in 1961 and only 14.8% in 1989; during the same period the proportion of people >64 increased from 9.9% to 17.3%; a similar process took place in Italy as a whole (table 2.3). Indeed, the decrease in the relative proportion of the younger age brackets (0-14 years) and the increase in the relative weight of the aged population (65 years and over) is narrowing the age pyramid at the base and widening it at the top (Moretti, 1989). In the region the share of aged population has been constantly higher than the Italian average and this difference has been increasing.

The senior citizens' dependency index (that is the ratio of retired +60-years people to working age people of 20-59), has increased from 33.6% in 1971 to 40.6% in 1989 (Brunori, 1991). This ageing process has, indeed, social health and economic implications (greater pressure on the welfare system in terms of health and pension plans, impact on the productive sector as a consequence of the change in consumption, etc.), which has been the subject of study and consideration for the whole nation for several years (Fioravanti, 1990).

With reference to the sex difference, we must note the greater proportion of females in the older age brackets (65 and over) due to the well-known longevity of women as compared to men, which accounts for their numerical prevalence over the total population (ORML, 1990; Grasso, 1990).

Population in Marche is dispersed in 246 municipalities; only one town (Ancona) has a population of more than 100.000, another three (Pesaro, Fano, Ascoli Piceno) of more than 50.000 and 9 between 50.000 and 20.000; 88% of the municipalities have a population of less than 10.000, 76% of less than 5.000 and 43% of less than 2.000. The region is, on the whole, fairly urbanized albeit by small towns (in fact, they are now speaking about a "metropolitan area" emerging along the coastline of Marche made up of many small and medium-size towns linked by a fairly good system of communication). It must be noted that of the 10 larger towns, 9 are situated along the coastal hill area. Indeed, the migration movements have favoured the coastal area since 1951.

The distribution in urban, semi-urban and rural population (table 2.4) shows that in Italy there has been, since 1961, a steady decline in the population living in rural and semi-urban municipalities in favour of those living in urban areas; this flow of population toward urban settlements has occurred in the Marche region only from semi-urban to urban settlements, while the share of population living in rural areas has not declined noticeably, indeed it even increased in the first decade.

Italian women are undergoing important changes both at the national and regional level which can be better illustrated by several demographic indicators which directly refer to them (table 2.5). The total fertility rate, for instance, shows a considerable decrease between 1961 and 1987 (from 2.4 to 1.3 for Italy; from 2.0 to 1.2 for Marche). As a consequence of this process, we note a significant decline in the birthrate which dropped drastically between 1961 and 1989, both for Italy as a whole and for Marche (respectively from 18.4% to 9.9% and from 15.8% to 8.3%).

Moreover, the choice to limit the number of children (and indeed it can be considered as a choice because infant mortality rates show that the probability of a live birth in 1989 was four times higher than in 1961), is positively influenced by having legal access to abortion (Nobile, 1988). Indeed legalized abortion has increased in Italy between 1981 and 1987 (for illegal abortion, of course, few figures are known); in this context, therefore, abortion constitutes a sort of missing birth quota.

Furthermore, the decline in the fertility rate is accompanied - as shown by our data - by a decline in marriages (-2.5% at national level between 1961 and 1989 and -3.8% for Marche between 1961 and 1987). However, the increase in civil marriages during the same period (from 1.6% to 14.7% for Italy and from 0.7% to 9.3% for Marche) shows a smaller desire for legal+religious marriage ceremonies. This crisis in the institution of marriage is also manifested in the increase in divorce rates (from 3.2 to 4.7 for Italy and from 1.4 to 1.9 for Marche within the period 1971-87) and by the increase in "free unions" or cohabitation, as the increase in the number of illegitimate children testifies (Nobile 1988).

Table 2.1

Marche and Italy: total population (a) by sex.
1961, 1971, 1981, 1989 (Dec. 31st). (Thousands).

	1961	1971	1981	1989*
ITALY				
MF	50.624	54.137	56.557	57.576
M	24.784	26.476	27.507	27.969
F	25.840	27.661	29.050	29.607
MARCHE				
MF	1.348	1.360	1.412	1.431
M	660	665	687	695
F	688	695	725	736

Source: ISTAT (Censimenti '51-'61-'71-'81. * Annuario Statistico Italiano 1990. Annuario Statistico Demografico Italiano 1990). Our data processing.

(a)= People actually living in the areas considered.

Table 2.2

Italy and Marche: variations (a) in total population by sex.
1961-1989. Percentages

	'61-'71	'71-'81	'81-'89
ITALY			
MF	6.9	4.5	1.8
M	6.8	3.9	1.7
F	7.0	5.0	1.9
MARCHE			
MF	0.9	3.9	1.3
M	0.7	3.3	1.2
F	1.0	4.3	1.5

Source: See Table 2.1. Our data processing.

(a) =
$$\frac{(\text{Total Population})_t - (\text{Total Population})_{t-1}}{(\text{Total population})_{t-1}} \cdot 100$$

Table 2.3

Italy and Marche: Total population by sex and age groups. 1961, 1971, 1981, 1989. Percentages.

	1961			1971			1981			1989*		
	0-14	15-64	65-W	0-14	15-64	65-W	0-14	15-64	65-W	0-14	15-64	65-W
ITALY												
MF	24.6	65.9	9.5	24.4	64.3	11.3	21.5	65.3	13.2	16.7	68.8	14.5
M	25.6	66.2	8.2	25.6	64.8	9.6	22.7	66.2	11.1	17.7	70.4	11.9
F	23.4	65.8	10.8	23.4	63.8	12.8	20.3	64.5	15.2	15.8	67.3	16.9
MARCHE												
MF	22.3	67.8	9.9	21.7	66.2	12.1	18.9	65.9	15.3	14.8	67.9	17.3
M	23.4	68.2	8.4	22.7	67.0	10.3	19.8	67.0	13.2	15.5	69.6	14.9
F	21.5	67.3	11.2	20.7	65.5	13.8	17.9	64.9	17.2	14.2	66.3	19.5

Source: ISTAT (Regioni in cifre '90. Ann. Stat. Ital. '90). Our data processing.

Table 2.4

Italy and Marche: Urban, semi-urban and rural population (MF). Percentages

	1961	1971	1981	1989*
ITALY	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	60.0	65.0	66.9	67.2
Semi-urban	32.8	28.0	26.6	26.5
Rural	7.2	7.0	6.5	6.3
MARCHE	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	53.5	59.0	61.0	60.7
Semi-urban	37.7	30.6	30.2	31.2
Rural	8.8	10.4	8.8	8.1

Source: ISTAT Censimenti 1961, 1971, 1981. Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1990. Our data processing.

Note: Urban: >10.000 inhabitants;

semi-urban: >2.000 <10.000;

rural: ≤2.000 inhabitants

Table 2.5

Italy and Marche : Demographic Indices 1961-1987

	1961	1971	1981	1987
ITALY				
Infant mortality (1)	40.1	28.3	14.1	10.1
Fertility Rate (2)	73.0	68.7	...	38.9
Total Fert.Rate (3)	2.4	2.4	1.6	1.3
Birthrate (4)	18.4	16.8	11.0	9.6
Marriage rate (4)	7.9	7.5	5.5	5.3
Divorce rate (8)	....	3.2	2.0	4.7
Civil marriages (5)	1.6	3.9	12.9	14.7
Illegitimate children (6)	24	24	43	58
Abortion (7)	...	...	360.8	374.2
Voluntary Abortions (7)	...	...	...	304.4
MARCHE				
Infant mortality (1)	28.0	16.8	11.2	9.9
Fertility Rate (2)	60.2	57.9	41.7	34.7
Total Fert.Rate (3)	2.0	2.1	1.4	1.2
Birthrate (4)	15.8	14.3	9.8	8.2
Marriage rate (4)	8.5	6.9	5.2	4.7
Divorce rate (4)	...	1.4	1.2	1.9
Civil marriages (5)	0.7	1.9	7.9	9.3
Illegitimate Children (6)	9	12	20	32
Abortion (7)	...	...	391.7	359.0
Voluntary abortions (7)	...	...	...	275.6

Source: ISTAT (Censimenti 1961, 1971, 1981. Sintesi Vita Sociale Italiana 1990. Annuario Statistico Demografico 1988. Annuario Statistico Italiano 1990. Statistiche sociali 1981. Popolazione e movimenti anagrafici. Our data processing.

(1) per 1000 live births (15-49)

(2) Live births per 1000 women 15-49 years old. (For 1961 and 1971 the data refer to the periods 1960-62 and 1970-72. For 1987 the data refer to 1987-88 for Italy, to 1989 for Marche).

(3) mean n° of children per woman 15-49

(4) per 1000 inhabitants

(5) per 100 marriages

(6) per 1000 born

(7) per 1000 live births. The data for voluntary abortions refer to 1989.

(8) per 10.000 inhabitants.

3. FAMILY STRUCTURE

The linkage of the demographic indicators so far examined and the most relevant emerging trend - the decline in fertility /birthrate - can be accounted for (besides the progressive ageing of the population) by other socio-demographic changes such as the decrease in the mean family size and its structural simplification (Notiziario ISTAT, 1989).

The family size becomes progressively smaller during the period 1971-88 in Italy as a whole (from 3.3 to 2.8 members; table 3.1), in the North-Centre of the country, and even in the South-Islands (where it is still larger than the national average); as far as the Marche region is concerned, the mean family size declined from 3.6 to 3.1 (1981) members per family. The relative proportion of families with five or more members declined sharply from 1971 to 1981 both for Italy and for Marche while the relative weight of the one-member families increased, mainly comprising people over 64 years old (57% according to the most recent ISTAT data), most of whom are women: an ever increasing number of "single" elderly people (mainly women), with the associated problems of solitude and marginalization (Carretta 1990).

With reference to the forms of cohabitation, the increasing share of "singles" and the decline, in Marche as well as in Italy, of the "extended" family, along with the above-mentioned fall in the fertility rate, would account for the decline of the traditional large households - with many children and relatives - which has been an important factor in the development of the "dispersed" and informal economy. (This does not imply, however, that the ties between relatives became weaker: indeed, the "extended modified family" replaced cohabitation).

As described below, the female activity rate and employment rate - albeit often in the informal labour market - have historically been higher in Marche than in Italy as a whole; nevertheless, unpaid domestic labour has been always done primarily by women of any age, whatever their occupational status or profession. Due to the growth in the standard of living, most houses in the region (over 90%) are provided now with the essential services (water, bath, toilet, heating system)

and the majority also with the most common electric appliances; however, as is well-known, unpaid domestic labour is still very time- and energy-consuming for women. Indeed, new tasks have emerged, such as bureaucratic tasks for the use of public services, activities for education and socialization of children and for the welfare of the old, the ill, the handicapped, while the traditional housekeeping tasks (cleaning, washing, cooking, etc.) and the production of goods for household consumption persist.

In all these activities women are definitely much more involved than men and an equal distribution between the sexes of unpaid domestic labour has still far away in any family. Recent research done in the region support this assertion.

Research on the mothers of 11-14 year-old students (David-Vicarelli, 1991) has found that the average time these women - aged 33-47 and therefore in a relatively mature phase of their family and professional life - devote to their children is 3-4 hours per day whatever their profession, even if the majority of them no longer have pre-school age children. Due to the inadequate services, in terms of units available and of time schedules, few families can take advantage of public services such as full-time schools. When children are not in school, generally it is the mother who takes care of them, while less than 2% stay with the father. When the mother's work schedule is inflexible - as in the case of blue collar workers - the grandmother takes over. Moreover women-mothers devote between 4 and 6 hours per day to other domestic tasks; over 40% of them (73% for blue-collar workers) have to do part of their domestic labour after dinner, and 37% (80% for blue collar workers) devote more time to domestic labour on weekends. When husbands do help they are mainly involved in bureaucratic tasks, shopping, and in driving children to school. Mothers (and daughters in the case of blue collar families) contribute to domestic labour more than husbands.

Another research on university teachers of the region (David-Vinay, 1991) has underlined how even women that have chosen an academic career - and who therefore can afford paid help - have to devote a large number of hours per week to domestic labour: on average 63% devote

more than 14 hours per week, while this is true only for 10% of their male colleagues. The number of hours per week spent by academic women on domestic labour is definitely higher in the case of younger women with small children and without paid help.

Yet another research on handicapped persons aged 15- 44 (Vinay, 1990), has shown that 52% need everyday-care; 25% need a continuous care; in fact this care must be provided almost exclusively by the family (i.e. by the women/wife/mother/sister) public home care services being totally unavailable.

All this research (and some others) have shown that the amount of time and energy spent by women on domestic labour is still very high and involves both the older women of the "extended-modified family" and the women in the central age brackets which now prefer the fatigue of the "double presence" model to the previous "family priority" model. There is no doubt that this has heavy consequences on the career of women as compared to men: their continuous lack for time, conditions their willingness to extend their working hours, a lack of flexibility for which they are heavily penalised in terms of career. Their lack of time, moreover, severely limits their participation in public life and their leisure-time, a word unknown to most of them.

Table 3.1

Italia and Marche: Size of household 1971, 1981.

N° of Households	Average Size	Family Members					
		1	2	3	4	5	6w
ITALY							
1971							
15,955	3.3	12.9	22.0	22.4	21.2	11.8	9.7
1981							
18,632	3.0	17.9	23.6	22.1	21.5	9.5	5.4
MARCHE							
1971							
377	3.6	9.7	19.2	22.5	23.7	13.8	11.1
1981							
451	3.1	14.6	23.4	23.0	23.1	10.2	5.7

Source: ISTAT (Annuario Statistico Italiano 1990. Statistiche Storiche. Sintesi Vita Sociale Italiana 1990).

4. SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Due to the lack of a clear and definite national policy, the geographical distribution and the quality of social services in Italy differ greatly from region to region and - even within the same region - from one municipality to the other. In fact the majority of social and care services are set up by the single municipality without any control and programming by the State or by the Region.

Moreover, since 1985, in order to cut welfare expenditure, the government has reduced the national funds devolved to the municipalities for social and welfare services. Therefore, the diffusion of social services and infrastructure is very diversified depending on the budget of the municipality, on the type of political administration and on the infrastructure previously established: the regions and municipalities of Central Italy traditionally provide more services than the rest of the country. The majority of social and health services - as well as schools - are concentrated in the larger municipalities, while they are totally absent in the smaller ones.

The Marche region lags behind the other regions of Central Italy as far as social services are concerned: the programming of social and care services is on the whole inadequate. The regional law n° 43/1988 was criticized by the Regional Equal Opportunity Committee because it caused a sharp reduction in the financing attributed by the Region to many municipalities. In fact, while dividing the regional financial resources, only the size of the town is taken into account and not the presence and quality of services (David, 1991). Moreover, in this region, schools, hospitals, family-planning centers, social infrastructures for children, the handicapped and the elderly are concentrated in the larger towns and lacking in the smaller municipalities, particularly in the inner mountainous areas.

4.1. Provision for pre-school age and primary education

Primary education in Italy starts at six years of age; pre-school provision includes nurseries for children aged <3, and kindergartens for children aged 3<6. However, recent data on population by age brackets is

available only for the age group 0-5, therefore it is only possible to estimate the overall coverage of pre-school age provisions. This coverage is around 55% of the population under 6 years, both for Italy and for Marche. The two services, however, are quite diversified in terms of geographical distribution and of coverage of the single age bracket: in fact (as can be seen in table 4.1) the coverage for nurseries in 1985 was estimated to be only 8.3%. It has to be noticed that the situation in Italy as far as nurseries are concerned, is always very bad: only few regions of central and northern Italy have a better coverage (Emilia-Romagna with 22.7%, Lombardy, Piedmont and Umbria between 12% and 10%), while all the other regions, and particularly the southern ones, have even lower rates.

As far as the Marche region is concerned (David, 1990), it has to be noted first of all that between 1985 and 1989 we have registered a modest increase in the number of nurseries, but a decline in the number of authorized child-places. As a consequence in the same period the children registered and the coverage have only slightly increased, while the n° of children on the waiting list has definitely increased (in 1989, for every 100 registered children, 46 were on the waiting list, while the corresponding rate in 1985 was 28).

The geographical distribution is very diversified: only 22.7% of the 246 municipalities of the region had at least one nursery in 1989 and only 20.7% in 1985. Moreover, while in 1985 only the municipalities with over 20.000 inhabitants had at least one nursery, this service was provided only in 69.6% of the municipalities with a population of >5.000<20.000 inhabitants and in 3.2% of those with a population of less than 5.000. It is interesting to note, moreover, that nurseries are not necessarily more numerous in the municipalities with a higher female labour force. Finally, another indicator of the deterioration in public provision is demonstrated by the share of family allowances which was raised on the average from 9.2% in 1985 to 25.2% in 1989; these allowances, moreover, appear very diversified in the region (from 24.000 liras to 300.000 liras as minimum required fee by the family).

As far as kindergartens are concerned, less data is available. They are definitely better disseminated in the regional territory and have a

satisfying coverage at least in the cities and towns, while smaller settlements are still sparsely covered. As table 4.2 shows the average number of pupils per class is 23.3 (lower than the Italian average) and the rate of registered children per staff members is 11.8 (again lower than the national average). This does not mean, however, that there are two staff members per class at the same time, but that in full-time kindergartens (8,15-16,15), the staff work in two shifts of four hours each.

Education in Italy is compulsory from 6 to 14 years. Primary education is divided in two different types of schools: the first one -"scuola elementare"- requires five years and provides only one teacher for all subjects; the second one -"scuola media"- requires three years and provides different teachers for the different subjects just as in secondary education. Although education is compulsory up to 14, it is necessary to pass an examination to pass from one type of school to the other.

As table 4.3 shows, in Marche there are, on the whole 1.040 school units, 74% of which are "elementari", that means that there are fewer second type schools located in the region (as well in the country). Public transportation for schools is provided generally only for the first type of school, for the peripheral areas of towns or for rural areas.

The average number of children per class is, on the whole, 15.8 for Marche and 17.3 for Italy, but on average "elementary" schools have a lower number of pupils per class (13.8 for Marche and 15.5 for Italy). Over 90% of both types of schools are public.

4.2 Public health and welfare

Since 1980 the region is divided in 24 "Unità Sanitarie Locali" (Local Health Units) which provide public health services. Each USL is divided in smaller centres called "Distretti Sanitari di base" which provide the population with primary health services. The regional health plan foresaw 138 such centres in the region, but not all of them are actually or completely working. In 1986 there were 106 working at least with

minimal services. Services provided vary greatly from one USL to the other, and even within each USL, from one "Distretto" to the other. All of them provide a general practice, a first-aid station and vaccinations, but not all of them provide innovative socio-health services which should respond to the main needs of the population. In 1986 there were, for instance, only 57 public pediatric surgeries (in 16 USL out of 24), 51 gynaecological surgeries (in 15 USL), 32 dental surgeries (in 32 USL), only 11 home nursing services in 4 USL. (Regione Marche, 1988).

According to the most recent data available (1991) there are in the Marche region 98 public family-planning centres and 13 private ones. As far as geographical distribution is concerned, this data shows that less than half the municipalities are provided with at least one centre and some larger towns have more than one. The public family-planning centres are fairly well spread among the four provinces, although the province of Ancona has a larger number. These centres, however, differ a great deal in terms of quality and number of services offered.

There are 63 hospitals in the region most of which are public: this is a high number for a region with less than one and a half million inhabitants. In fact, small and inefficient hospitals are scattered in the territory and most towns of more than 5.000 inhabitants have a small hospital. As a consequence, bed occupancy is very low (63.5% for public hospitals and 77.6% for private ones) and even lower than the Italian average. There are about 8 hospital beds per thousand inhabitants in the region, a rate which is higher than the already high Italian average. It has to be emphasised that, generally, hospitals are lacking in nursing personnel, therefore care for non self-sufficient patients is very often provided by the family, i.e. by the woman wife-mother-daughter.

As far as provisions for people in need (families and children, the elderly, disabled) are concerned, it should be noted that in the Marche region, as well as in Italy as a whole, there is a sharp tendency to provide financial assistance to families much more than to social services: in 1987, for instance, 79% of the regional public and private

expenditure for care went to financial allowances to eligible families, while only 13% was for the provision of social services (the relative value for Italy was slightly higher, that is 16.9% (see ISTAT Regioni in Cifre 1990).

4.3 Care for the elderly and disabled

As far as care for the elderly and the disabled is concerned, again financial assistance to families prevails over supply of services. Moreover, provisions for "institutionalization" are more prevalent than less traditional services (such as home care services, home nursing services, sheltered housing) enabling non-self-sufficient people to remain in their own homes.

In 1988, in the region there were 113 care institutions for the physically-handicapped (2), for the mentally handicapped (7), for other permanently disabled (6), and for elderly and other adult categories (93). The clinics and homes for the elderly are by no means adequate compared to the needs of the population. A research of SPI-CGIL (the union of retired people) has shown that in the region in 1989, there were 110 old people's homes 78% of which also catered for non-self-sufficient occupants; 43% of all 4.681 elderly people were non-self-sufficient.

These traditional institutions for the elderly are undoubtedly inadequate in the region, in terms of available beds but primarily in terms of quality. On the other hand, less traditional services, such as day centres, home hospitalization, television help service, are dramatically inadequate in the region - as well as in the country as a whole - while only one quarter of the municipalities provide public home-care services and one third summer holiday centres.

Table 4.1

Marche: Nurseries 1985, 1989

	1985	1989
N° public Nurseries	83	93
N° authorized places	3173	2991
N° children enrolled	27398	2858
N° municipalities involved	51	56
Dissemination (1)	20.7	22.7
Coverage	8.3%	8.8%
% children in waiting list	28.4	46.3
N° children per staff	5.4	5.3
% family allowances	9.2	25.2
Dissemination per Size of Municipality		
<5000 inhabitants		3.2
>5000<20000 inhabitants		69.6
>20000 inhabitants		100.0
Groups of Municipalities with nurseries by female activity rate		
Munic. with <25% female activity rate		0.0
" >25%<30%	" " "	25.0
" >30%<35%	" " "	27.0
" >35%<40%	" " "	21.6
" > 40%	" " "	17.6

Source: David, 1991, her data processing on data furnished by the Marche Region

Table 4.2

Italy and Marche: Kindergartens. 1986-87

	ITALY	MARCHE
N° of schools	26788	806
% of public schools	49.5	70.0
N° of children enrolled *	1632824	39280
N° of classes	66138	1686
N° of children per class	24.7	23.3
Staff (teachers and aids)	120019	3323
N° of pupils per staff	13.6	11.8
Estimated coverage	55%	56%

Source: ISTAT Statistiche Istruzione a. sch. 1986-87- Annuario n° 40, tomo1 ediz. 1990. Our data processing.

* Children aged >3 <6.

Table 4.3

Italy and Marche: Primary education. Pupils, school units and teaching staff. 1988-89.

	ITALY	MARCHE
Total School Units	36198 =100%	1040 =100%
Elementary	26177 = 74%	769 = 72%
Junior high	10021 = 26%	271 = 28%
Total n° of classes	333074	8184
Elementary	209428	5324
Junior High	123646	2860
Total n° of Pupils	5753547	129677
Elementary (age 6-10)	3247594	73558
Jun. High (age 11-13)	2505953	56119
Mean n° pupils per class	17.3	15.8
Elementary	15.5	13.8
Junior high	20.3	19.6

Source: ISTAT Regioni in Cifre, 1990. Our data processing.

Table 4.4

Italy and Marche: Movement of hospitals. 1988.

	ITALY	MARCHE
Total n° of hospitals	1711	63
Public hospitals	1081	50
Private "	630	13
Total n° of beds	412347	11580
Public	341658	10399
Private	70689	1181
Bed occupancy in:		
Public hospitals	70.1	63.5
Private "	70.2	77.6

Source: ISTAT, Regioni in cifre, 1990.

5. EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

An important process of change for the Italian population is due to higher education, which was formerly a "privilege" for a few and therefore a factor of social-economical selectivity. In recent years it has become open to an increasing proportion of the population (Ferruzzi 1990). From 1971 to 1989 there was, both at the national and regional level, a noticeable increase in university and high school graduates and a decrease in the number of illiterate people.

It is important to emphasize that between 1971 and 1989, both at the national and regional levels, we have registered a similar increase in university graduates for males and females. As far as high school graduates are concerned, the rate of increase was greater for females than males. In other words, the "historical" disadvantage of women in this field has been weakened in recent years and, as we will see, for the younger age bracket it no longer exists.

Table 5.1 illustrates the percentage distribution for the Italian and regional population over 14 years old according to the level of education in 1989 (most recent available data). In Marche, as well as in Italy, still a high percentage of the population in this age bracket has not gone beyond primary (compulsory) education (77.7% of males, 79.4% of female). This percentage is still higher for the older population. The percentage of women who dropped out of primary school is higher than that of males (54.4% as compared to 46.0%). There is no relevant sex difference in the percentage of secondary school graduates, but the percentage of university graduates is still higher among males (4.4%) than for females (3.0%).

It is interesting to note, however, that if we consider the age bracket 25-29 - i.e. relatively young people who should have finished their education - we will find that the percentage of females with a secondary education (43.5%) and also with a university degree (5.9%) is definitely higher than that of males (36.1% and 5.6% respectively). This means that among the younger generation not only the historical disadvantages for

women have completely vanished, but also that a higher share of females reach higher education as compared to males. Education, indeed, is seen by women as the main route to emancipation and to finding a good job.

There has been a major change in recent years in family attitudes towards education of males and females. While formerly - when the standard of living in the region was definitely lower - few families could afford higher education for all their children and only one - usually a son - was favoured. Today, when the average standard of living in the region is higher, education opportunities are equal for all children in the family and more females take advantage of this, also because young males have more chance of finding a job, than females.

5.1 Secondary education

Education in Italy, is compulsory from 6 to 14 years of age, it foresees 8 years of compulsory education (5 years of primary school and 3 years of junior high school). However, not all students complete their compulsory education - every year many give up education without any diploma (4,5% of the boys and 2.7% of the girls in 1983-84). After this period youngsters have four options:

- to seek an unskilled job (but there is one year gap since child labour prohibited up to 15).
- to acquire a secondary education in:
 - a. Vocational Schools;
 - b. Schools for primary school teachers (4 years at present, but it will change to 5 years), after which either they can either look for temporary teaching posts and start a long precarious career before finding a permanent post; or they can continue their education in higher (post-secondary) educational institutions such as schools for social workers, for professional educators, etc. or in university.
 - c. Professional schools (5 years) for agriculture, industry, trade and others (which includes the feminine professional school); or technical schools for industry, trade, building surveyors and other technical schools (agriculture, Navy, tourism, technical feminine etc.). Graduation in one of these schools allows a student to enter the labour market or to go to university.

- d. High schools (gymnasiums, scientific, linguistic or artistic lyceums) for 5 years, after which they can enter university or other higher educational institutions.

Statistics on education do not consider vocational schools separately, therefore those students who have a diploma from one of these schools are judged on an equal basis with those having only a primary (junior high) school diploma; similarly those having a diploma from higher (post-secondary) school institutions are equated with those with a secondary school qualification.

It must be emphasised that although the general level of education has greatly increased in Italy, the Italian system is still very selective. A study on trends in the Italian school system (ISPES, 1989) using ISTAT data for the school year 1984-85 shows that out of 100 students enrolled in the first class of the junior high school, only 90 graduate (that is 10 still do not complete compulsory primary education). Among the 90 graduates only 72 enrol in secondary school (20 in professional institutions, 31 in technical institutions and 21 in lyceums) and only 40 graduate. Finally, out of these 40 graduates only 26 enroll in university and only 8 obtain their university degree.

There are five universities in the region scattered in the four provinces; they cover a range of 9 faculties: engineering, medicine, pharmacy, mathematics physics and natural sciences, economics, law, letters and philosophy, education and agriculture, some of which are offered in other universities.

Secondary schools are not equally distributed over the territory, most of them are present only in the most important town. Students, therefore, often have to commute for long distances. In the school year 1988-89, there were, in the whole region 209 secondary school units for 71,134 students (with an average of about 340 students per unit; ISTAT, 1990). In Marche over 88% of the secondary school units are public (the Italian average is 73%) and 97% of all secondary school students go to public schools (the Italian average is 91%). The majority

of the girls achieving secondary schooling go to high schools, to schools for primary education teachers, to feminine technical or professional schools.

5.2 Vocational training

According to ISTAT (1990), in the school year 1988-89 there were in the region 130 units for vocational training, offering in total, 357 courses - 97.7% of which are defined as basic qualifications (first and second level qualification, retraining, supplementary training and courses for handicapped people) and 2.3% as specialization courses. Vocational training courses are defined as: "courses giving the theoretical-practical knowledge necessary to carry out professional roles in the various productive sectors. They aim to qualify, refresh and specialize workers". The proportion of women enrolled in these courses in the Marche region was 44.5%, slightly higher than the Italian average (41.7%); but they were relatively more in specialization courses (54.2% of all students in these courses) while the contrary was true for Italy as a whole (only 26%).

Vocational training in the Marche region, as well as in Italy as a whole, does not adequately fulfill the needs and changes of the local productive structure and of the labour market. The share of total expenditure for vocational training is not adequately shared among the various economic sectors, being still relatively high in declining sectors such as agriculture and industry. Moreover, the typology of courses offered is on the whole still fairly traditional. There is a lack of any type of coordination among the various policies and among the various agencies involved in vocational training: the whole system is so confused that it is difficult to collect adequate data.

The only recent data available refers to the annual plan approved by the regional administration for the year 1988-89, (Bartolomei, 1988) to which we will refer in the following analysis. It should be stressed, however, that this data does not demonstrate how many and which of the planned courses were offered finally nor does it show the quality of those offered. As table 5.2 shows, for the school year 1988-89 515 courses were planned for 9006 students; 82.3% of these courses were

short (less than 600 hours). Almost half were to be run by trade unions and other private institutions, while over one third were to be run by schools of the Marche Region and the remaining 18% by local authorities (Provinces and municipalities).

The trade unions and other private institutions run most (92.2%) of all courses in agriculture and over half of those for administrative workers. Local authorities are involved mainly in fields such as arts and crafts, commerce, new technologies and personal services (social workers, educators, etc.). There are 12 Regional schools, mainly involved in craft, industry and tourism/hotels and interest mainly traditional professions.

Most of the courses in agriculture are short (170 hours on average); but recently they have become more diversified and courses for entrepreneurs, agrarian accountants, biological agriculture and for technicians in management are increasing. As far as craft is concerned, although 70% of the courses in this sector last over 600 hours, they are mainly for traditional professions such as hairdressing, model-making, restoring. Most courses (92%) in the industrial sector are "long": on average they last for 1006 hours; the professions, however, are mainly traditional: mechanical technicians, electrical technicians, mechanical engineers; there are three courses for new technologies. Courses for administrative workers have been increasing in recent years, mainly for office automation, word-processing, computer; there are also 43 (2nd level) courses for high school graduates, mainly for the use of computer technology in management. Most courses in the service sector are in fields such as tourism/hotels, trade agent, environmental protection, waste disposal. There are also in this sector some courses for high school graduates in fields such as professional educators, animators, cultural agents.

It should be noted that the regional plan does not give figures of students by sex, but according to the latest reported data in 1984-85, only 35% of the students were women and they were mainly enrolled in traditional feminine courses (Brancadori, 1986).

In order to evaluate the outcome of vocational training in terms of quality and of occupational opportunities, the Region carried out research in 1987-88, with reference to students graduating from vocational schools in the school year 1984-85 (ORML, 20, 1991). It must be underlined that "short" courses were not included in this research, however all the students graduating from "long" courses in 1984-85 were interviewed; among them 45% were women.

Two thirds of those interviewed had followed a 2-year course, one third an annual course. Two years after graduation, 15% of males and 22% of females were still unemployed. As compared to males, females were older, had a higher level of education, and trained more often for the service sector. However, training courses for this sector were still traditional and seemed to lead to lower occupational opportunities. On the whole it has been noted that vocational training seems to have limited effects on the major "downfalls" of the local labour market (Brunori, 1991).

5.3 Vocational training partially subsidised by the ESF

The three-year Plan 1990-1992 for vocational training partially financed by the ESF, foresees mainly 2' and 3' level training courses for high school and university graduates. It favours, the new professions in terms of technological innovation and experimentation, as required by the labour market. Within the Plan, 2' and 3' level courses are supposed to take 59.5% of all EFS subsidies for training. Indeed, both the 1987-89 and the 1990-92 Plans for EFS vocational training are characterized by a qualitative change in favour of the medium high levels and by a strict linkage with development programmes such as Integrated Mediterranean Plan.

The training Plan, moreover, foresees actions aimed at basic training for unemployed youth (19.1%), in-job training (11.4%), training for workers with long-term unemployment (6.4%) and training in favour of the weakest components of the labour market (women, migrants, handicapped: 3.6% total). This last action should involve, in the triennial Plan, 455 workers: 67 women, 221 handicapped and 167 immigrants. As far as women are concerned, this action is intended to facilitate their involvement in professional areas in which they are under-represented.

On the whole, the Plan foresees to train 9690 workers. For 1990 the trainees should have been 2765, 86.9% being young people; the share of women foreseen was only 33.5%. As far as economic sectors are concerned, 67.6% of 1990 trainees should be for the industrial sector, 15.1% for agriculture and 17.3% for the service sector.

Table 5.1

**Italy and Marche: Educational level by sex and by age.
Percentages. 1989**

MARCHE	14-64		>64		TOTAL		25-29	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
University	4.8	3.7	2.6	0.6	4.4	3.0	5.6	5.9
Secondary	20.7	21.7	5.5	3.6	17.9	17.6	36.1	43.5
Primary	37.6	31.1	6.0	4.2	31.7	25.0	52.5	43.9
Inter.Prim.								
Illiterate	36.9	43.5	85.9	91.6	46.0	54.4	5.8	6.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

ITALY	14-64		>64		TOTAL		25-29	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
University	5.1	3.7	4.0	1.0	4.9	3.2	5.2	5.2
Secondary	21.8	20.9	6.6	4.3	19.4	17.7	36.5	38.2
Primary	41.0	36.0	11.0	7.9	36.3	30.4	48.2	45.3
Inter.Prim.								
Illiterate	32.1	39.4	78.4	86.8	39.4	48.7	9.9	11.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: ISTAT, Rilevazione Trimestrale Forze di Lavoro. Media 1989. Our data processing.

Table 5.2

MARCHE:**A. Vocational training. The regional Plan for 1988-1989. Percentages.**

	Courses	Students	Hours
Total n°	515	9006	269163
Mean length in hours	523		
% of brief courses (-600 hr)	82.3		
% DISTRIBUTION BY SECTORS			
Agriculture	20.0	17.3	6.5
Hotels	4.1	4.3	5.7
Grafts	16.9	17.3	21.7
Commerce	5.8	6.4	2.8
Industry	18.6	17.6	35.9
Administrative workers	19.0	20.7	19.4
Services	10.9	11.5	5.6
Tourism	4.7	4.6	2.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
% DISTRIBUTION OF INSTITUTIONS IN CHARGE			
Trade Unions and private inst.	47.2	45.0	46.4
Local authorities	18.1	18.8	7.9
Schools of the Region	34.7	36.2	45.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Regione Marche, Vocational Training Plan 1988-89.
Data processing by Bartolomei, 1988.

B. Vocational training: courses held during the scholastic year 1988-1989.

		Basic Courses		Specializ. Courses		Total Courses	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Courses	xw	338	95	19	5	357	100.0
Students enrolled	MF	8622	97.7	201	2.3	8823	100.0
Females enrolled		3814	97.2	109	2.8	3923	100.0
% of females F/MF		44.7		54.2		44.5	

Source: ISTAT, Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1990.

6. EMPLOYMENT

The linkage between birth rates and changes in the structure of the family, allows several hypotheses with reference to the labour market. In other words, if we read the decline in birth rate not as a cause but as a consequence, it is possible to infer that the choice of the couple of the '80's to practice birth control is conditioned not only by obvious economic-cultural factors such as price rises and better knowledge of maternity-paternity but also by the increasing female participation in the labour market. This fact "grants an occupational-status condition which is perceived as a basic moment in the process for social integration of the individual" (Sileri, 1990). On the other hand, it inevitably raises the problem of the woman trying to divide her time between work and family (the so called "double presence" of females; see Carfagna, 1990; Fadiga Zanatta, 1988).

For wives-mothers, indeed, - as we have seen in Chapter 3 - family work is so energy-consuming it discourages "venturing" into the labour market; this is because care of children, and of the household in general, does not constitute an historical and consolidated "apanage" for the father-husband (Saraceno, 1980). However, analysing the most recent regional data on female participation in the labour market, we notice a new phenomenon: in spite of the high rate of unemployment in the age bracket 25-49 and particularly 30-49, when raising children reaches a peak, women remain in the labour market, indicating that "discouragement no longer determines whether or not many women leave the labour market" (Materazzi, 1991, p.49).

Analysing the data which refers to the female component of employment, the relevant increase in the number of women on the labour market and their growing role - both at national and at the regional level for the period 1981-1989 - is clear. As a consequence, we note positive variations, both in terms of female employment rate (from 21.5% to 24.5% for Italy and from 27.0% to 31.7% for the Marche region) and activity rate (from 26.7% to 30.2% for Italy; from 31.2% to 36.0% for Marche). Nevertheless, participation in the labour market is still by no means equal between the sexes.

As the most recently available data shows (table 6.1), in 1989 the active population in the Marche region was 45.4% of the total population which is higher than the national average. The activity rate for females was also higher than the national average, as historically it always has been. However, it is lower than the male one (36% as compared to 55.4% at the regional level); particularly low is the activity rate for married women.

In spite of the increase in female employment, female unemployment is still very high. In fact it is more than double the male unemployment rate (18.7% compared with 8.1% for Italy; 11.3% compared with 4.4% for Marche). Particularly remarkable, is the unemployment rate of young women, as well as of young men (always over 40% of total unemployment). Moreover, the high female unemployment rate is influenced by the high share of women among the people "in search of first job" and "others in search of job". Unemployment in the strict sense of the word (i.e. the condition of those who lost their previous job) is - instead - higher for men.

Finally, if we focus our attention on the "non-labour force" (students, people unable to work, retired people and housewives) we find that the data is definitely unfavorable to women. However, it must be stressed that to consider housewives as a non-labour force is, at best, misleading - although "technically" justified for statistical purposes. In short, female participation in paid labour has increased in recent years, but not as much as it should have.

As far as the three main economic sectors are concerned, it must be remembered that the service sector has greatly increased in the last three decades (see table 1.1). In 1989 it was the main economic sector both in Italy (58.6% of total employment) and in Marche (55.6%). Although the female share of employment in this sector is still definitely lower than the male one (table 6.2), over 55% of employed women of the region (and 67% in Italy) work in this sector.

Employment in industry has declined less for females than for males and still involves a large share of employed women (23% for Italy and 35% for Marche respectively), while agriculture involves one

out of ten (or less) of them. It is interesting to note, however, that at the regional level female employment in agriculture increased between 1981 and 1989 while male employment in this sector declined.

On the whole, therefore, the structure of employment is characterized by the importance of a feminized service sector and, as far as the occupational status is concerned, mainly by wage-salaried work both in Italy and in the Marche region.

Considering in detail occupational status by sex and economic sector (table 6.3), we must stress the high proportion of women salaried workers in industry (83.6%, ten percentage points more than men) and in the service sector (69%); self-employment in these two sectors is much more frequent for males than for females although in the service sector it is also considerably important for women (almost a fifth of female employment in this sector).

"Assistant unpaid family members" are in all sectors, mainly women, but they reach 42.2% of female employment in agriculture. It has to be noted, however, that in recent years, the share of self-employed women (39.7% in 1989) has greatly increased in this sector. This is due to the fact that the majority of males formerly working in agriculture are now in the industrial sector and although they "moonlight" in the family farm, for legal and health insurance purposes, they have put the farm in their wife's name.

In the service sector a large share of dependent females are white-collar workers, mainly employed in public administration and other services, while self-employment is more frequent in commerce and trade. The women blue-collar workers prevail, of course, within the industrial sector.

Moreover, the younger age brackets (14-29) compared to the total (14-70), show a higher percentage of young women employed as salaried workers in the industrial sector; lower, but still relevant, the relative data for the service sector (respectively 45.4% and 31.6% at the national level; 45.4% and 30.7% at the regional level).

To summarise, the data analysed above shows, both at the national and regional level, a concentration of female employment in two specific branches of the service sector: public services and commerce. Here, female employment also reaches high professional levels (managers, entrepreneurs, professionals, self-employed), offering to young adult women with a high level of education significant opportunities. Education, in the end, appears to be the most important weapon women have in order to succeed in the labour market (Fatiga-Zanatta, 1988).

As a matter of fact, in the region, the service sector has attracted a number of young women with a medium-high level of education. It has in particular increased the share of white-collar women employed in "insurance, banking/finance, "production services" and in "public administration and other public and private services". In these two branches, indeed, in 1989 the rate of feminization for the occupational status of managers/white collars was 45.3% and 53.6% respectively (Sopranzi, 1991).

6.1 Horizontal or vertical segregation and wage differences

Although new perspectives have opened up in some less traditional "production services", it must be underlined that, on the whole, clear mechanisms of horizontal and vertical occupational segregation still persist with reference to the female component of the labour market. As far as horizontal segregation is concerned, Table 6.4 shows total employment by sex and by economic branch and the rate of feminization of each branch; the higher feminization rate of the service sector and particularly of "public administration and other services" is clear and, within the secondary, in manufacturing. Unfortunately this table does not report data for the single industries (but we must recall the concentration of women in industries which can be considered "traditionally feminine" such as clothing, textiles, shoes).

As far as vertical segregation is concerned, it must be recalled that, in the majority of "feminine" jobs of the service sector (nurses, nursing-aids, shop assistants, teachers, clerks etc.), career opportunities are very limited - if they exist at all. Research made on employment in the regional Administration of Marche has shown, for

instance, that 37% of women, as compared to 22% of men, are employed in the lower functional levels - the less professionalised and worst-paid ones - and that the higher one goes in the professional hierarchy the lower is the proportion of women (Materazzi, 1991).

An important index of vertical segregation is given by the wage differences between sexes. Unfortunately there is no data available on this topic at the regional level and there is a lack of information even at national level. Not even EUROSTAT data is available for Italy on salaries of males and females employed in the industrial sector since 1984. We will refer therefore to research on wage differences among dependent labour, made by the Institute for Economical and Social Research of the major Italian union (IRES-CGIL, 1991) which has used data supplied by the Ministry of Finance.

According to this research, the wage differences among sexes increased (instead of decreased) between 1983 and 1986. Moreover, in 1986 the average wage of women was only 76.8% of the relative male figure. It has been underlined that these differences are due to the fact that employed women are mainly concentrated in industries with the lowest salaries. Moreover, since 1983, employed women have had lower rises in their average wage than men.

Table 6.5 allows comparison of the rate of feminization of each economic sector and branch with the mean level of women's salaries and with the wage differentials between the sexes. As wages for salaried labour are collectively bargained at the national level this table can be a good proxy for sex wage differential in the Marche, knowing the productive structure of the region. The table shows clearly that there are less women in the better paid economic branches such as banking/finance and transportation, whilst they are definitely more present in the less well-paid branches.

6.2 Atypical forms of employment

Informal networks of acquaintances and relatives are still the most common way of finding a job in the private as well as in the public sectors of the regional economy. Client relations have, indeed, been

found to be quite common in the public sector although access to this sector is possible through public competition (Paci ed., 1985). In 1989 only some of those in search of a job enrolled in the list of public labour agencies (about 70%), while many, solely or not, resorted to informal actions such as: personal visit to possible employers (35%), recommendation to employers by friends and acquaintances (35%), application letters (21%), public competitions (29%).

The average time spent in search for a job is usually very high, but even in this aspect women appear disadvantaged: according to the 1989 data the search for a job takes on average 21 months for women compared to 17 months for men.

The national law 863 of 1984 instituted the so called "contratti formazione-lavoro" (in-work training contracts) which favoured the employers' need for a share of flexible labour force allowing them to hire by "personal call" (i.e. without following the order of the unemployment list set up by the local Employment Agencies) for a maximum of 24 months, young people aged 15-29 with considerable fiscal benefits. It has to be noted that this law turned out to favour male more than female youth: in 1989 less than 37% out of the 10.359 youth hired with this type of contract were females. Moreover only about 50-60% of these contracts ended up with regular engagement and usually no real training was provided.

Moreover, according to an interview, labour conditions in this type of contract have been reported so hard that some women preferred to give up. (In some small enterprises the work schedule reached 45-50 hours per week). Many employers practice indirect discrimination toward women by asking their intentions with respect to marriage, having children and so on. Some manage to fire young women as soon as they ask for a marriage licence.

Let us now analyse other forms of atypical employment. According to the labour force survey, in 1989 temporary employment involved 7% of female employment as compared with 3.6% of male employment. This type of atypical employment is more frequent for both sexes in agriculture (8.7% for females, 7% for males), and less frequent in industry (5% and

2.6% respectively). For women it is significant also in the service sector (7%). According to the data provided by the public Employment Agency, 45% of all women starting a job in 1990 entered a temporary post as compared with 33% of men.

Seasonal employment is frequent in agriculture but also in several branches of the service sector. We have already mentioned in the introduction how "precarious" and seasonal employment has been fostered in the public sector, following the recent cuts in public expenditure. In addition, in Marche young men and women are hired for three months once or twice a year in the postal and telephone sectors, in local administration, etc. in order not to increase the personnel. Teaching personnel are temporarily integrated with unemployed teachers when a teacher is ill, on temporary leave or on maternity leave.

During the summer season seasonal or casual employment is also frequent in the tourist sector in hotels, restaurants, tourist agencies, entertainment and bathing establishments. In the service sector seasonal work is frequent in particular periods of the year, also in other branches such as commerce. This is the case, for instance, of an important department store "Standa": in this case seasonal workers, nearly always the same ones, are hired for the summer season and for the Christmas season, when the store is open to the public from 8.30 in the morning to 8 in the evening non-stop. In this case it is mainly women who are hired and all part-time. All the rights of other employees are applicable to the seasonal workers (wage, paid holidays, etc.), but they all are at a functional level inferior to the majority of the personnel.

In this particular department store three other forms of atypical employment have been commonly practiced for several years : part-year (or vertical part-time), part-time and full-time on shifts. Part-time in this enterprise has been adopted to meet both the needs of the enterprise to reduce personnel and the needs of several employed women with heavy double-presence problems. Part-time in this firm involves 4 hours of work for six days a week, one week in the morning, the other in the afternoon. It involves only women, but it is a free choice, as a matter of fact several women are employed full time, while part-timers are mainly women with families.

Part-year work involves mainly newly-employed women for 6-7 months a year with a full-time schedule (8 hours per day). These workers also have all the rights of the full-time workers, but they are unemployed for half of the year. Moreover this type of atypical work necessitates a flexible second job which inevitably will be precarious. In the end, it does not solve the problems of women with "double presence". This type of work has been linked to the in-work training contracts, but no real training is done and adaptation to the new job is difficult.

According to the union representative interviewed, full-time work on shift in the form adopted at the Standa (6 hours non-stop for 6 days) "is the time schedule for women": it is a full-time job, it leaves time for the "double-presence", and over all it does not interfere with career possibilities as part-time does.

In actual fact, the main problem of part-time for women is that it dramatically interferes with career possibilities: in banking/finance, for instance - as well as at Standa - if a woman chooses part-time, she is automatically cut off from any career possibilities. In most economic branches, work organization is so rigid that any form of time schedule flexibility is a risk for career purposes; even in the public sector (where the time schedule is 8 a.m. - 2 p.m.) for the higher functional levels total availability for extra-time work is necessary.

In Italy part-time has been regulated by the law n° 863 of 1984 to meet employers' needs of flexibility and diversification of the work time-schedules. The law defines part-time in a broad way as "any work activity done with a time schedule inferior to the normal one as defined in collective bargaining or for previously established periods in the week, month or year". The percentage of part-time work, as well as the tasks and other formalities involved, are regulated by collective bargaining. In Italy part-time contracts in 1988 were only 3.4% of all occupation, a rate definitely lower than in the other EEC countries; an major obstacle to the spread of this type of contract is the taxation system which penalizes part-time more than full-time; a revision is

necessary to favour a wider diffusion of this type of atypical employment (ORML, 10). Part-time is more frequent in the north of the country as compared with the south.

In Marche in 1988 it was only 1.7% of total employment and involved mainly women: from 1984 to 1988, 9952 new part-time contracts were made, in the region, and 2597 were transformed from full-time to part-time; 79% of them were for women. The trend is both toward an increase in the number of P.T. contracts and in the share of women involved. In 1990, for instance, 81% of the 4537 new P.T. contracts and 84% of the 1267 contracts changed from full-time into P.T. involving women. Part-time contracts involve mainly blue-collar workers in the service sector and in industry and white-collar workers in the service sector. Over 85% of the firms which have adopted this type of contract are relatively small (less than 50 employees; ORML, 10).

As for age distribution it must be underlined that men involved in P.T. are mainly those over 50, i.e. it represents for them a slow exit from the labour market; the women involved on the other hand are mainly those in the central age-brackets (30-49), when double presence problems are more pressing; these women tend to see part-time as a choice, more than as an imposition of the labour market. Young people, on the contrary, seldom resort to these contracts and they consider them as under-employment.

As far as unsocial working time is concerned no statistical data is available. Only the above-mentioned research on mothers of primary school students aged 11-14 of Ancona gives some hints about it (see David-Vicarelli, 1991). 46% of the working mothers interviewed worked also on Saturdays and 11% also on Sundays; in both cases tradeswomen were particularly involved (77% and 31%) respectively. Late evening work and night-work involved 19% of the mothers, again mainly tradeswomen (38%) and teachers (46%) (those who correct students' papers and prepare their lessons preferably when their own children are asleep).

Aside from the continuous cycle production industries, which employ mainly men, a number of sectors foresee night shifts; this is the case in public transportation, hospitals - where many women are employed as

nurses, nurses aids, manual workers, technicians and recently also doctors - and of other public services of primary necessity. Moreover, the very heavy work schedule in agriculture is well-known, particularly in the good season, men and women working up to 12-14 hours a day - whatever the weather conditions - and women also have their housework.

Homeworking was definitely more common in the region in the '70s when informal economy and the need from the demand side for flexible work organization was at its maximum. In that period most homeworking was irregular and not registered. In recent years it is less frequent and more regulated; as a consequence there were more frequent controls by trade unions and public authorities and there are different attitudes of women toward work as previously stated.

Some statistical data on homeworking was supplied by research on manufacturing industry done by the regional Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Craft (1990). According to this data, in 1989 homeworking involved 3.6% of the regional employment in manufacturing. It was definitely more frequent in some highly feminized branches such as shoes (12%), musical instruments (13%) and other manufacturing industries (18%), but low on clothing (1.7%). It must be underlined, however, that this data was based on the answers employers gave to questionnaires sent to them. It is possible, therefore, that, no matter how representative of total manufacturing is the sample, some employers did not answer this particular question and that irregular and hidden homeworking was not registered.

As far as employment in the underground economy is concerned no data is available for recent years, although it is known that irregular work is still high in the service sector, particularly in the Marche region where traditional services are relatively important in terms of employment. As recalled in the introduction, the public sector fosters irregular work by "subcontracting" personal and social services to highly feminized small private firms and to cooperatives in which working conditions are very hard, often unprotected by collective bargaining, the number of work-hours either higher or lower than normal, the time schedule variable (sometimes even unsocial), and wages usually very low.

Paid housekeeping work is also in most cases irregular and it involves women with a low level of education in the older age bracket, or immigrant women. As just recalled the decrease in industrial homeworking and its legal regulation resulted in a decrease in irregular work as a whole; however, women's organisations have underlined the persistence of irregular work in small firms of the region, mainly in the clothing industry and in the internal areas of the region.

Finally, it is interesting to recall that 17% of the working mothers interviewed in the research (David-Vicarelli, 1991) held a job without any contract, 11% were considered "marginal workers"; moreover, 6% of all the mothers interviewed held an occasional or seasonal job. These figures refer to women in the central age brackets with young, but relatively grown-up children, living in the main town of the region. It is possible to suppose that they are higher in less urban centers and in the internal areas of the region, particularly for lower class women with heavy family responsibilities.

Child labour was found to be very frequent in 1980 in the southern part of the region, where shoes are made (Vinay, 1984): over half of the students aged 8-14 had some work experience (seasonal or continuous); both male and females were involved. Boys had a higher percentage of child labour, but girls were deeply involved also in housekeeping activities and undertook in shoe-making the most dangerous tasks for their health (such as spreading glue with their fingers). As no other research has been made on the subject we do not know to what extent child labour is still frequent in the region. Considering the better living conditions and the increasing importance given to education, it should be reduced both in the shoe industry and in agriculture.

As far as double job holding, or "moonlighting", is concerned, another research (Paci ed. 1985) has underlined that this type of atypical employment is mainly held by men with their main job in the public sector, because the working conditions and the time schedule typical of this sector are particularly favourable for the spread of multiple job holding.

Table 6.1

Employment indicators by sex - Total Population

	A	B	C		D
	LABOUR	FORCE	UNEMPLOYMENT		
			% of Population over 14		% of Married Women
ITALY					
MF	100.0	42.0	(49.6)	12.0	49.5
M	63.1	54.5	(65.0)	8.1	51.5
F	36.9	30.2	(35.4)	18.7	48.1
Married F	22.1	18.0	(35.8)	7.4	(12.4) 12.0
MARCHE					
MF	100.0	45.4	(53.1)	7.5	43.8
M	59.5	55.4	(65.2)	4.4	47.1
F	40.5	36.0	(41.7)	11.9	41.9
Married F	26.9	23.9	(?)	5.4	(8.1) 7.1

A: Labour force, percentages

B: Labour force, as % of total population

C: Unemployment, as % of total labour force

D: Youth unemployment (14-24), as % of total unemployment

Source: ISTAT, Rilevazione Forze di Lavoro, Media 1989; Regione Marche, Forze di Lavoro, Media 1989, Bollettini ORML n° 14. Our data processing.

Table 6.2

Italia e Marche: Employment by sector and by sex. Percentages. 1989

	TOTAL	AGRICULTURE	INDUSTRY	SERVICES
A.				
ITALY				
MF	100.0	9.3	32.1	58.6
M	100.0	9.1	36.8	54.1
F	100.0	9.6	23.1	67.3
MARCHE				
MF	100.0	11.0	38.4	50.6
M	100.0	11.7	40.7	47.5
F	100.0	10.0	34.6	55.4
B.				
ITALY				
MF	-	100.0	100.0	100.0
M	-	64.8	75.6	60.8
F	-	35.2	24.4	39.2
MARCHE				
MF	-	100.0	100.0	100.0
M	-	65.2	65.1	57.6
F	-	34.8	34.9	42.4

Source: ISTAT, Rilevazione Forze di Lavoro, Media 1989; Regione Marche, Forze di Lavoro, Media 1989, Bollettini ORML n° 14. Our data processing.

Table 6.3

Marche: Employment by sector, by sex and by occupational status. Percentages. 1989

	AGRICULTURE		INDUSTRY		SERVICES		TOTAL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Employers	2.0	2.5	2.4	0.9	6.5	2.1	4.3	1.8
Salary/wage Workers	24.3	15.6	73.0	83.6	61.4	69.0	61.8	68.6
Self- employed	65.5	39.7	23.3	8.0	28.9	19.4	30.9	17.5
Assisting non- paid family members	8.2	42.2	1.3	7.5	3.2	9.5	3.0	12.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Regione Marche, Forze di Lavoro, Media 1989, Bollettini ORML n° 14. Our data processing.

Table 6.4

Marche: Employment by sex, economic branch (Thousands) 1989.

	N°	N°	N°	%F on
	Males	Females	Total	Total
AGRICULTURE	43,0	22,7	65,7	34.8
INDUSTRY TOTAL	149,2	79,6	228,8	34.8
Electricity, water	4,8	0,2	5,0	4.0
Industrial proces.	102,7	76,7	179,4	42.8
Building-construct.	41,7	2,7	44,4	6.1
SERVICES TOTAL	174,2	127,8	302,0	42.3
Wholesale trade and retail trade	71,2	50,3	121,5	41.4
Transports and Communication	22,4	3,2	25,6	12.5
Banking/finance Insurances and services to enterp.	11,6	8,3	19,9	41.7
Public Administr. and other services	69,0	66,0	135,0	48.9
TOTAL	366,4	230,1	596,5	38.6

Source: Regione Marche, Forze di Lavoro, Media 1989, Bollettini ORML n° 14. Our data processing.

Table 6.5

ITALY: Mean level of wages of salaried women, rate of feminization of the economic branch, and wage differentials among sexes. (Wages in thousand liras per year). 1986.

<u>Economic Branch</u>	<u>Mean annual F. Wage</u>	<u>% Females Tot. salaried</u>	<u>Wages F Wage M</u>
Agriculture-forests	8068	28.2	62.3
Food industry	13007	32.3	68.7
Mines	17305	10.6	80.3
Manufacturing industry	12966	27.7	78.0
Wholesale trade	14281	35.4	78.0
Retail trade	12353	48.5	80.4
Other Commerce	9778	50.4	76.6
Transport-Communicat.	19782	17.0	88.0
Banking-finance	22104	28.3	67.7
Services	12001	55.6	62.1
Services:Governmental	16465	51.5	84.4
Other activities	15522	32.6	67.2
Total	14406	36.1	76.8

Source: IRES-CGIL, (Altieri and others) Work in progress, 1991, Their data processing of data supplied by the Ministry of Finance.

7. WOMEN'S MOBILISATION

Feminist groups outside political parties were particularly active in the 1970s and in the first half of the 1980s, both in Italy as a whole and in the Marche region. In that period they have tackled issues such as sexuality, contraception, free abortion and male violence. After the approval of the abortion law (194 of 1978) they became less active and more fragmented. Feminist groups are stronger in the main cities of the country than in small towns and are practically absent in rural areas. In Marche they have organized women's libraries, women's houses and UDI (Union of Italian Women) circles in Ancona and in Pesaro, and are active in other towns as well.

They are organized in groups working on specific themes and on historical research with the intention of creating feminine freedom; they are building a network of group relations, but they are not yet ready to confront institutions. Moreover, they are involved more in training activities than in revindications(?)

Women's groups within the political parties. All the political parties contain some form of women's organizations. Women's organizations in the Christian Democratic Party found a space in the party with their involvement in care, voluntary services and social issues. They are no longer called "Women's Commissions", but "Forums" and they are undergoing some qualitative changes: their social practice is more autonomous from the party, whose role of political mediation is now debated. The actual fact of having evaluated the needs-problems-resources has given them an indication of what they can do. Their demand for autonomy is gaining strength and they are emerging from the emancipation phase to the equality phase. Now they are closer to the lay women's groups, but the family is still their main issue, as witnessed by the recent proposal of national law on the family.

Women's groups in the Socialist, Social-Democratic and Republican parties are more oriented toward the conquest of social citizenship and equality of rights. These groups also are undergoing changes and their demand for autonomy from the parties is increasing.

The "Women's Commissions" formerly present in the Communist Party do not exist anymore in the newly-born Democratic Party of the Left. They have been substituted by the "Women's Councils" which are meant to be common meeting places where different experiences and women's projects are discussed and where women's policies and initiatives are worked out. The "Women's Councils" formulate the autonomous contribution of women to the policy and initiatives of the party; their general aims are defined by the "Conference of Women". This is an organization founded on free choice and allows women to confront each other within the party and, outside it, also with women of other parties. Indeed, the PDS also foresees Centers for initiatives with women who are not members of the party.

PDS women, as witnessed by the "theory of difference", have been influenced by the feminist way of thinking; also the law on equal opportunities and positive actions (n° 125 of 1991), has been seen, beyond emancipation, as an instrument to build an autonomous female force.

Women in trade unions are organized in "Coordinations": a more traditional form. The main trade Unions CGIL, CISL and UIL have regional coordinations of women. Up to now there has only been one experience of autonomous organization in the unions. In the region, there are, to date, only two Equal Opportunities Committees in the work place: in the local administration of a medium-size town (Senigallia) and in the tobacco industry. There has been another tentative self-organization in a metal-mechanical firm to induce the union to negotiate over part-time.

The last important regional women's mobilisation occurred on 7th March 1987; its intent was to denounce women's exploitation by the so-called "Marchigian development model"; it involved women employed both in the public and private sectors.

Another women's organization which is finding increasing favour among full-time housewives (and their husbands) is the "Feder-Casalinghe" (Housewives federation). This is an organization close to the Christian

Democratic Party. It has 850.000 members in Italy; in Marche it has 8000 members, 500 of whom are men. This organization demands subsidies for maternity, for full-time housewives, training courses for full-time housewives wishing to enter the labour market, better part-time collective bargaining, financial support from the Region for cooperatives of housewives over 40, etc.

Yet another organization has recently been developing all over the country: "ALFA". Its aim is to promote forms of self-organization among women in order to recognize and increase the value of family work. "ALFA" is asking the Italian Parliament : to include care work in the GIP, to recognize care work on a fiscal and pension basis, to give maternity subsidies for all non-working women, to extend to fathers the rights intended for to women workers at present, to obtain parental leave for both fathers and mothers, etc. ALFA asks local authorities to: improve public services, promote time-schedules for friendly towns, etc. This organization represents the answer of the women of the left to the "feder-Casalinghe" , but they have a number of common issues.

Women in Institutions are really under-represented in Italy. Up to now the only party that has a policy of fixing a minimum quota of women in electoral lists is the PDS whose statute foresees a minimum share for each sex of 40%. However, up to now, this share has not been reached in any institution, nor in any party directive bodies (the average is 30-35%). As far as the Marche regional administration is concerned only 3 out of 40 representatives in the regional parliament are women and all three are members of the PDS. These women have proposed to the regional parliament a law on "free time and substitutive services" which, in line with the new proposed national law, aims to change the times of work and of the city in a way that they would be more suitable to the needs of women and of their "double presence". This is a very important issue in Italy and in the region now.

8. NATIONAL AND LOCAL POLICY FOR EQUALITY

In Italy the evolution of the legislation on the "female question" and, in particular, on the relation between women and work, may be divided in three different periods.

The first period concerns the so-called "protection" legislation starting from the beginning of the century up to the middle of the '70s. During this period several laws were issued on female work which, up to 1975, were characterized by a common and constant factor, that is, by the "protective" attitude of the State towards women, who, being considered as "weak" objects, needed several protective measures to eliminate the presumed weakness of the object itself.

The first law worth mentioning is law n° 242 of 1902, which forbade the use of women for heavy and unhealthy jobs and for night-work. "Maternity leave" was introduced asserting that women workers could not be employed in work for a period of 4 weeks.

This law started the long tradition of protective legislation, which in the course of time would increasingly develop the "perverse effect" of expelling women from the labour market. During the first twenty years of the century, law n° 1176 of 1919 is worth mentioning; it gave women limited legal abilities, by anticipating, among other things, the possibility of women being allowed "with equal rights to men, to practice all professions and to fill all public positions".

Later on, during the fascist period, domestic segregation and political marginalisation of women was part of the wider ideological scheme which characterized that particular period. A logical and political plan was formulated, offering to women conflicting opportunities to participate in the political and social life, whilst in practice causing their exclusion and marginalisation. Indeed, during that period, for instance, the Royal Decree n° 1054/1923, explicitly aimed to expel women from the labour market and denying women access to governmental employment, coexisted with laws such as the law n° 653 of 1934 about "protection of women and child labour" and the law n° 1347 about the protection of "maternity for working women". These laws have two similar elements to the first interventions of social legislation at the beginning of the

century: (a) the persistent treatment of women's work together with child labour ("half labour forces") and (b) the lack of any norms for homeworking, family work and work in agriculture.

After the fall of fascism, the will for social changes was proved by two quite significant laws: the first one, in 1945, extended to women the right to vote and the second one, in 1946, recognized them as the passive electorate.

In 1946 the Italian Constitution sanctioned two important principles (Articles 3 and 37), one which foresaw the formal and substantial equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law, and the other, the principle of normative and retributive parity of the two sexes in work.

Later, in 1963 a law was issued which cancelled the so-called "spinsterhood clauses" (women workers avoiding marriage so as to be hired or not fired). This law, moreover, charged social fees for maternity and childbirth to the health insurances.

The 1970s are particularly important for women's issues. In this period, among other things, the relationship between maternity and work was faced in new terms both by trade unions and by the female movement. Many and important laws were issued:

- 1) L. no. 98/1970 regulating the dissolution of marriages.
- 2) L. no. 1204/1971 protecting working mothers.
- 3) L. no. 1044/1971 foreseeing the Five Year Plan for the institution of public municipal nurseries with subsidies from the State.
- 4) L. no. 151/1975 revising Family law.
- 5) L. no. 174/1978 concerning regulations for the social protection of maternity and for voluntary interruption of pregnancy.

More specifically, laws no. 1044 and no. 1204 implemented legislation on protection of working women, which have often been unsatisfactory not in their theory but in their actual operational possibilities. It is worth noting that law 1204, in foreseeing the "protection of working

mothers" addresses three areas of protection: physical, economical and sanitary, including also homeworking, previously excluded from any type of protection.

The change from the period of "protection" to that of "equality" dates back to 1977 when law no. 903 was issued. On the basis of its aims this law may be divided as follows:

- 1) Norms aiming to warrant equal treatment - or "non-discrimination" - in access to work.
- 2) Norms aimed against discrimination during work relations.
- 3) Norms designed to prevent difficulties of employment and the cost of female work.
- 4) Norms aiming to adapt the legislative discipline on female work to the new structure of the family after L. no. 151 of 1975.

The "rationale" of the law is to be seen in the light of the need for equality between sexes at work. This equality is meant as prohibition of unjustified and arbitrary discriminations on the basis of sex, but not as positive enactment of equal uniform treatment during all work relations.

The law represents, in the main, the realization of the articles of the Italian Constitution on normative and retributory equality and of the principle of equality in general. This principle was absorbed by law no. 903 only in its "formal" aspect, while its "substantial" dimension was still left out.

The need to realize a substantial type of equality, and the awareness of the persistence of "indirect" discriminations of a "collective" type, due not so much to illegal behaviour but to the cultural heritages detrimental to women, are the central points of the cultural debate of the 1980s.

In this context the attention of scholars and legislators is centered on the definition, possibility and legitimacy of interventions aiming to warrant conditions of "equal opportunities" for women, that is a substantial type of equality which is called "positive action". This

cultural change culminates in recent times with the issue of a new law: law no. 125/1991.

This last law, which certainly offers very interesting and strongly innovative provisions, combines the thematics of equal opportunities and positive actions with the anti-discriminatory dimension of law no. 903 of 1977, modifying and integrating many of its provisions. In particular, three sets of provisions should be emphasised: the first one refers to the definition and typology of positive action (positive action compensating-preventing-abilitating of the gender difference); the second one refers to the actions before the Court, both of the individual injured party and of the public subject (Equality Advisor); finally, the third one, refers to the administrative structures for protection at the national and regional levels.

At national level the law has established the National Committee for Equal Opportunities at the Ministry of Labour. This Committee joins the National Equal Opportunities Commission at the Council of Ministers constituted in 1984. The National Equal Opportunities Committee, which deals with female work, formerly had to:

- a) examine and express proposals about the realization of the principles of equality ex lege no. 903/1977;
- b) check on the state of realization of equality law;
- c) formulate behavioural codes in compliance with the principle of equality in the workplace;
- d) give advice to private citizens and to associations on disputes on work matters;
- e) guarantee adequate representation of women in international national and local institutions;
- f) participate with its own representatives on the Advisory Committee of the European Community for problems of equality and equal opportunity for women in work.

Recently, two new tasks have been added to the above ones by the law no. 125/1991. In particular the increase in the number of members of the Committee; the insertion in it of representatives of female associations and movements, and the promotion of plans of positive actions.

According to the new law, however, some powers are weakened. For instance, it excludes former power to make inquiries in the workplace and to give technical advice to people under discrimination. The understanding of the fields of competence of the Committee is to be inserted in a logic of development of regional structures such as the Equality Advisor.

At the Regional level - undoubtedly the most interesting one - we should mention a series of initiatives which, in recent years, has produced a set of institutions particularly varied and interesting (female councils, centers for equality, Regional Commissions for Equal Opportunities, Equality Advisors).

In the Marche region, the Regional Commission for Equal Opportunities was established by regional law no. 45 of 1982. Generally speaking the function of such commissions covered information and research on female issues within the region, formulation of projects to favour the presence of women in the social and political life of the region and finally, promoting projects and actions related to the professional training and progress of women.

In 1984, national law no. 863, promoting urgent measures for employment, introduced the "Equality Advisor" inside the Regional Commission for Employment. This figure was later repropounded by law no. 56/1987 concerning the restructuring of the labour market, and finally, was ratified and strengthened by law no. 125/1991.

Formerly the Equality Advisor's task was to check the enforcement of equality principles, by promoting, on well-founded grounds, inquiries from the Inspectorate of Labour. Today, according to law no. 125/1991, the Equality Advisor - being by law a member of the local organisation in charge of the implementation of equal opportunities - has the task both to prepare plans for positive actions and to propose a judicial trial in case of suspicion of discrimination. Together with the

"shifting the burden of proof", introduced by law no. 125, this constitutes a very relevant acquisition. This acquisition, together with the principle of "indirect discrimination" and with positive action, now positively sanctioned by law, will in the future be able to solve various problems, which for too long have been ill-served by merely "protective" legislation or by a merely "formal" equality legislation.

9. EUROPEAN COMMUNITY POLICY

EC support to Italy for 1990-92, through the Community Support Framework, is differentiated among the regions of the country: the more disadvantaged regions of the South have access to all the five main EC goals, including no.1 in favour of latecomer regions. Some of the regions of the North and in the Centre have access only to goal 3 in favour of long-term unemployment and to goal 4 for youth employment. The other regions, including Marche, beside aims 3 and 4, have access also to goals 2 (in favour of declining industrial sectors) and 5 (for rural areas).

Recently, articles have been published in newspapers reporting the concern of the EC for the low rate of utilization by Italian regions of European financing. Compared to other regions, Marche seems to have a relatively high rate of utilization of community financing, although resources are considered inadequate compared to needs (Vita, 1990).

For 1990-92 the Community Support Framework has allotted to the Region on the whole 40.4 billions liras: 3.7% for declining industrial sectors (goal no. 2), 5.5% for long-term unemployment (goal no. 3), 63.5% for youth employment (goal no. 4), and 27% for the development of rural areas (goal no. 5). These resources will allow for training of 15.150 individuals.

The ESF contribution to vocational training is very important and covers 45% of total resources, while the State and the Region cover 55%. The total training expenditure for 1990-92 amounts to about 90 billions. However, only in 1990 a number of applications worth 135 billions were addressed to the Region. On this basis it has been suggested that the resources available are not adequate for the actual demand from the labour market (Vita, 1990).

The share of resources foreseen for the whole period for operational programmes, specifically addressed to women's employment in professional areas in which they are under-represented, is minimal, i.e. 1% of total ESF resources (80% of which is for long-term unemployment).

The operational programme for 1990 had foreseen training 2765 individuals 13% of which in long-term unemployment (goal 3) and 87% for youth unemployment (goal 4). The share of women is on the whole 33.4%, that is 926 women. The operational programme specifically addressed to favour women's employment in professional areas in which they are under-represented should have involved 67 women, 73% of which under goal 3 (long-term unemployment) and 27% under goal 4 (youth unemployment).

The EC equality policy, implemented by the Equal Opportunity Unit, Local Employment Initiatives (LEI), is hardly known by the Regional officials in charge of vocational training and EC policies. Indeed, only one action has been taken, that is: a training course for Equality Advisors. According to an interview to a member of the Equal Opportunity Commission of the Region, however, the Commission had a marginal impact on the actual management of this course. Moreover, students have complained with the Commission for the inefficiency of the course and because they felt that they were wasting their time.

As for New Opportunities for Women (NOW) community initiative programme, the officials of the Region in charge of EC policies heard about this new programme for the first time in June 1991 when they were invited by the Ministry of Labour to a meeting and required to prepare plans by the middle of September. (By the end of September, however, no programme had been prepared).

According to an interview to a member of IRES-CGIL Marche, on the whole, the outcome to United European market will not determine any relevant change as far as normative laws on labour market are concerned. Indeed, there has been already a very specific normative which will hardly change in the following years. As far as women are concerned it will have positive effects on the whole, because of the direct and indirect EC policies aiming at overcoming the discrimination of women on the labour market. Indeed it has had already some positive effects, for instance with the 1984 action no. 219 aiming at overcoming the negative aspects of restructuring of textile and clothing industries. However, it has been suggested that EC policy directly aimed at influencing women's working conditions is too general as far as training programmes are concerned and checks over their realization are inadequate. It is,

therefore, difficult to measure on quantitative and qualitative grounds their effects on women employment.

As far as the regional productive system is concerned, some difficulties are foreseen for the less qualified industries which up to now have profited from some form of protection. For instance, in clothing and shoemaking industries the rate of technological innovation is lower than it should be. For this kind of industry the Single Market will undoubtedly have negative effects.

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KEY FIGURES (interviews)

Regione Marche:

Regional Study Center on the Labour Market

Department of EC policy

Department of Vocational Training

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REGIONAL REPORT

CATALONIA

SPAIN

by

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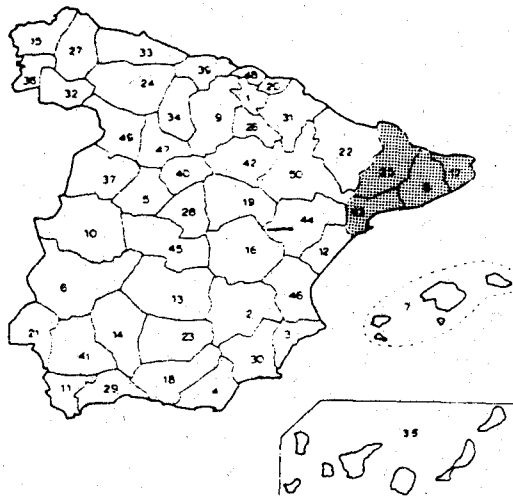
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Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics

Bellaterra



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| 1 Alava | 26 Logroño |
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1. INTRODUCTION TO THE REGIONAL PRODUCTIVE STRUCTURE

Catalonia is one of Spain's historical nationalities that people usually refer to as one of the most dynamic regions (demographically, economically and socially) in the Spanish context. Thereby we would like to focus this section on the economic aspects, which determine the recent Catalan productive structure. First of all we should stress that the Catalan economy has enormous magnitude in relation to the Spanish one, due to its long economical contemporary history. In the post-war period (1940), Catalonia was already the first Spanish industrial region, with 42% of the active population in industry and the rest distributed equally between agriculture and services. In the same period more than half of Spain's active population was employed in agriculture.

The 60's were an important economic growth period, specially in Catalonia where the economic growth model was based on the industrial and construction sectors. The service sector expanded, just after the industrial expansion in relative as well as total terms. The huge immigration flow, characteristic of the period - actually the key element of Catalan economic growth - came to be integrated into the industrial sector in two basic ways. On one hand, there was labour-intensive manufacture available in the region, specifically designed to absorb such a flow. On the other hand, the strong demographic growth - indirectly infused - brought about an intensive urbanisation process, which at the same time led to an enormous increase in the overall availability of active workers within the construction sector (Generalitat de Catalunya, 1982).

The economic crisis of the 70's was much more acute in Catalonia than in the rest of the Spain due to the price increase in energy and to stagnation of foreign demand for industrial products. These two factors directly affected the industrial sector devoted to the transformer industry, which suffered also from the lack of its own resources. Roughly speaking, the economic crisis did not really affect or generate deep changes in the Catalan economy in comparison with the rest of Spain. Nevertheless it was evident that sectors such as textile or construction suffered from the decline. On the contrary and for the

first time, it brought about the advance of the service sector in contrast to the losses in the industrial sector. In the same way economic re-activation took place in Catalonia in the mid-80's. This time it was not based on the shortage of capital intensive industries or on the high increase of immigrants, but on the increase of the service sector together with the reindustrialization linked to the large influx of foreign capital.

In 1985 alone, Catalonia produced 19,31% of the Gross Value Added in the whole Spanish economy. Macroeconomical variables show that the situation in Catalonia, compared to other regions of Spain, is somewhat privileged by its Personal Income rate which is among the highest. To be more precise, in 1964 the Gross Domestic Product per capita is much higher than the national average (by 45%). The Basque Country is the region that had the highest Personal Income (60% higher than the national average) and Catalonia holds second position. During the 1964-1973 period, with a strong economic development, the annual increase rate of Gross Domestic Product was about 7% in Catalonia. However, in the following period, marked by the crisis from 1973 to 1985, the increase rate of Gross Domestic Product in Catalonia was less than 2% and the relative level of the Gross Domestic Product per capita in Catalonia fell, so that the gap between the Catalonian and the national average was reduced. Since 1985 it seems that the economic decline has slowed down.

The Catalan productive structure shows - as would be expected from an industrialised economy - a primary sector, which relatively speaking, offers little to total production (2,5% of Gross Value Added compared to 6% in Spain in 1985) and which employs only a small proportion of the active population. The final agricultural production was distributed in 1987 as follows: livestock 59%, agriculture 38% and forestry 3%. In addition we must underline the role played by women in Catalan agriculture, where the land structure is dominated by modest holdings where women's contribution and large families are essential for economic survival. According to the Agrarian Census in 1982, most of the

agrarian holdings are small or medium-sized (about 37% of agrarian land has between 1 and 5 Hectares, 18% between 5 and 10 Hectares and 25% between 10 and 50 Hectares). Nowadays it seems that intensive production is taking place on Catalan land both in terms of crop changes and with the introduction of new technologies on land saving.

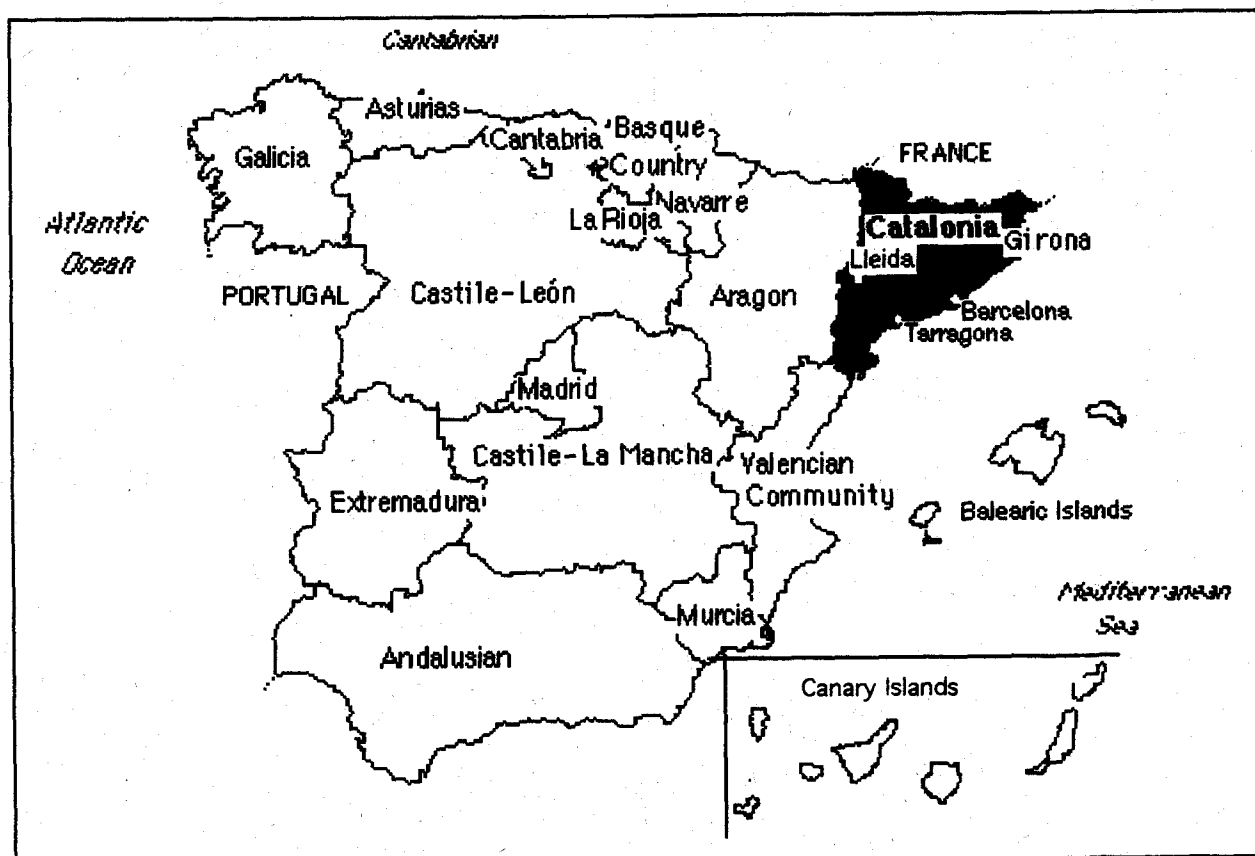
Otherwise the industrial sector employs much of the active population and accounts for a significant share of the overall production in Catalonia. According to the Industrial Census, only five branches of industry constitute 59% of industrial employment in 1986: food, drinks and tobacco (12%), manufacturing of metal products (10%), textile and manufactured articles (19%), transport equipment (9%) and chemicals (9%). Such percentages were slightly smaller in 1978, when these economic branches constituted 58% of total employment. In fact, this was due to progressive industrial specialisation in Catalonia, together with the restructuration of the productive system and the fall in production during the economic crisis. In summary, the expansion of some concrete economic branches such as chemical products, transport equipment, food, drinks and tobacco was compensated for by the decline in other areas such as textiles, which dropped from 22% to 19% of the employment level between 1978 and 1986 (Parellada, 1990). As for the Catalan enterprises within the industrial sector most of them are small or medium (between 1-9 employees: 70% and between 10-49 employees: 22%) and they employ, more or less, one out of three of the total employed population within the industry.

In Catalonia as well as in Spain there has been a relative increase of the service sector since the last few decades. This sector accounted for about 60% of the Catalan GDP in 1985, whilst in 1960 it reached almost 40%. The proportions are quite similar for the rest of Spain. Moreover its expansion has promoted not only an increase in production, but also in employment: people employed within the service sector in relation to the total employed population was 53% (52% in Spain) in 1985, whilst it was only 36% in 1960 (29% in Spain). Finally, it is also worth noting the great importance of the tourist sector within the Catalan economy. Since the 50's the promotion of mass foreign tourism has generated development on the Catalan coast. Nowadays another forms of tourism are becoming popular such as summer houses, which account for

an ever-increasing share of tourist accommodation.

One of the main long-term problems of the Catalan and Spanish economy has been the huge increase in unemployment, particularly for youth. We discuss this topic in detail later, for the moment we will just highlight the effects of national policies to promote employment. Such policies have been strongly criticized by the trade unions. They consider them as a main cause of pushing the labour force into a precarious position. Certainly they made a real impact on women. There are two basic reasons: the main policy was based on temporary contracts as well as the decrease in wage costs. This flexible recruitment explains the increase of women's employment. This was reflected, for instance, by the large amount of vocational training contracts or practicing contracts, which were undertaken.

Figure 1. Location of the Research Area: Catalonia and its provincial capitals. Spanish State by Autonomous Regions.



Scale: 1/9.250.000 approx.

Source: Own elaboration.

2. POPULATION

According to the last official data published ("Padr6 d'Habitants") Catalonia had 5.978.633 inhabitants in 1986. This is a large proportion in relation to the whole Spanish population, 16% to be precise. The demographic importance of Catalonia in relation to Spain has been growing since the 60's (see Table 2.1.). The root of this growth lies behind the concrete demographic dynamics.

When we look at the relative increase in population (see Table 2.1 and 2.2.), it is evident that population growth percentage of Catalonia triples, or at least doubles, that of the whole Spanish population between 1960 and 1970. In this period there were two main factors causing the population growth in Catalonia, immigrant and natural increase, unlike the Spanish case where natural increase was the only factor. During this decade large population contingents from the most depressed areas of the country came to Catalonia, attracted by the employment possibilities in this thriving economic region. They came especially from Galicia and Andalusian (see figure 1), spoke a different language and had different lifestyles. They arrived in such large numbers that the Catalan social balance was deeply affected. In the majority of cases, integration of the second generation, born in Catalonia, did not represent a problem, but one can still find districts, in various towns of Catalonia, which are real ghettos of Andalusian families organizing their social life according to the traditions of their motherland. These immigrants, mostly young adults, filled the gaps left in the age pyramid by the Civil War (1936-39): its profile shows both the deficit of births in those years and the high death rate, especially among men, registered during and just after the war. Hence the Catalonia population was increased naturally and also by the migrants many of whom started families soon after their arrival. Thus, demographically speaking, it was for Catalonia the period of "fat cows". During the 60's an unprecedented explosion took place in the number of marriages as well as in that of the births, as a result of the favourable economic expectations.

Since 1975, all demographic indicators have signalled a change in previous trends. Net immigration in Catalonia even became negative

when migrants returned to their land of origin. Equally, Spain has changed from being an emigratory country to an immigratory one. More recently, numerous immigrants from the Third World have been arriving in Catalonia and Madrid, particularly from African countries.

Other variables of the demographic dynamics show a shift of the tendency during the last few decades. There has been a fertility and nuptiality decline and no recuperation signs are visible yet. In 1975, Total Nuptiality Rate was superior to 1 in Spain, which showed a high nuptial conjuncture, but in 1985 it was below 0.64. In 1970, the fertility level indicated that each woman had an average of 2.88 children in Spain and 2.71 children in Catalonia, and the replacement of generations was then warranted; however in 1987, the fertility level showed 1.3 children per woman. This means that Catalonia, together with the Basque Country and some Italian regions, has the lowest fertility levels in Europe. It seems then that marriage and family patterns are changing for the new generation or, at least, being postponed. As a matter of fact, age at marriage as well as age at maternity is higher in the last few years (see Table 2.5): in Catalonia, in 1980 average age at marriage for women was 22.50 and it was 24.54 in 1985 (for men 25.54 in 1980 and 27.08 in 1985). As to age at maternity, the delay is less obvious as it was, 27.87 years in 1980 and 28.48 five years later. Simultaneously new household structures are gaining force, such as cohabitation. We have no statistics on cohabitation but we do have indirect indicators about this new family pattern. For instance, the percentage of children born outside marriage in Catalonia was 2.19% of total births in 1975 and 10.96% in 1985. It is worth remembering that, historically, because of their Catholic tradition, most Spanish regions have had relatively few "illegitimate children" in comparison with the rest of Europe. Lastly, the evolution of mortality among females and males (see Table 2.5) shows a greater level of life expectancy and a widening of the gap between sexes. Therefore it is important to take into account the progressive feminization of the elderly looking at the future insertion and implementation of social policies for the elderly (regulation of retirements, pensions...).

Lastly, it is interesting to note the Catalan territorial distribution of population. The location of economic activities and population that we now know is due to the accelerated economic growth since the 60's. Two basic factors, the drift from the rural to the urban areas in Spain and the fast Catalan industrial development account for the immigration explosion in the Catalan territory (see Table 2.2. on population growth in Catalonia and Spain during the period 1960-1986). The sudden and enormous quantity of incoming population left a great mark at the spatial level due to the real difficulty of providing, for instance, housing or urban infrastructure in general. Therefore the urban speculation, the great agglomeration around the largest traditional industrial colonies and the lack of urban planning which prevailed during the 50's and 60's made up the main features of our history from which we have the legacy of the so-called "inequalities of the recent Catalan territory".

Talking about polarisation centres we must mention Barcelona and its hinterland, nowadays known as the macrocefalic city of Catalonia. This is where the largest and most important shopping centres are found and where the main bureaucratic and political affairs take place. Only Barcelona city has 1,701,812 inhabitants, compared to the almost 6,000,000 inhabitants in Catalonia, which means about 28.46% of the overall population. Roughly speaking, Barcelona province is structured through an elaborate network of small and medium industrial cities. Most of them coincide with the "comarcal" cities. Moreover around two out of three people from Catalonia live within the metropolitan region. Barcelona has 597.8 inhab./km² of density that, compared to the rest of the provinces (Girona 82.9 inhab./km², Lleida 29.3 inhab./km² and Tarragona 83.7 inhab./km²), makes the point of its relative overpopulation at the regional level clear. However, the dynamics of Barcelona contrast hugely to the north of Catalonia and especially with high mountain zones. There, the problems are just the opposite: population loss and, linked to this, loss of the the smallest villages. This process started in the 30's but it is specially acute now.

Hence we have the legacy of the so-called "centralised model" of development basically based around the industrial and large tourist centres. An important urban network has also developed (see Table 2.4.): 62.06% of the population used to live in cities of more than 10.000 inhabitants in 1960, compared to 80.60% in 1986.

Table 2.1

Catalonia and Spain: total population by sex, 1960-1986.

	1960	1970	1981	1986
SPAIN				
MF	30528539	34041022	37683410	38473331
M	14810135	16641956	18491793	18878072
F	15718404	17399066	19191617	19595259
CATALONIA				
MF	3923968	5107504	5956597	5978633
M	1880009	2486313	2920204	2927882
F	2043959	2621191	3036393	3050751

Source: Population Census and Padrón.

Table 2.2

Catalonia and Spain: Variation in total population by sex, 1960-1970, 1970-1981, 1981-1986, 1960-1986. Percentages

	1960-1970	1970-1981	1981-1986	1960-1986
SPAIN				
MF	11,51	10,70	2,10	26,02
M	12,37	11,12	2,09	27,47
F	10,69	10,30	2,10	24,66
CATALONIA				
MF	30,16	16,62	0,37	52,36
M	32,25	17,45	0,26	55,74
F	28,24	15,84	0,47	49,26

Source: Own elaboration from the Population Census and Padrón.

Table 2.3.

Catalonia and Spain: total population by sex and age groups 1960, 1970, 1981, 1986. Percentages

	1960			1970		
	0-14	15-64	>64	0-14	15-64	>64
SPAIN						
MF	25,87	65,91	8,22	27,79	62,54	9,67
M	28,79	64,27	6,94	29,09	62,76	8,15
F	23,11	67,45	9,44	26,55	62,33	11,12
CATALONIA						
MF	23,23	67,2	9,57	25,63	64,5	9,87
M	24,86	66,99	8,15	26,96	64,76	8,28
F	21,73	67,40	10,87	24,35	64,26	11,39
	1981			1986		
	0-14	15-64	>64	0-14	15-64	>64
SPAIN						
MF	25,70	63,05	11,25	22,47	65,34	12,19
M	26,95	63,73	9,32	23,52	66,41	10,07
F	24,5	62,41	13,09	21,45	64,32	14,23
CATALONIA						
MF	24,92	64,03	11,05	17,38	71,11	11,51
M	26,22	64,70	9,08	16,94	72,96	10,10
F	23,66	63,39	12,95	17,75	69,57	12,68

Source: Own elaboration from the Population Census and Padrón.

Table 2.4

**Catalonia and Spain: Urban, semi-urban and rural population (MF)
1960, 1970, 1981 and 1986. Percentages.**

	1960	1970	1981	1986
SPAIN				
	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Urban (>10000)	42,88	54,74	62,76	73,86
Semi-Urban (2000-10000)	22,66	19,65	17,10	17,91
Rural (<2000)	34,46	25,61	20,14	8,23
 CATALONIA				
	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
Urban (>10000)	62,06	71,86	76,95	80,60
Semi-Urban (2000-10000)	17,44	15,62	13,54	12,75
Rural (<2000)	20,50	12,51	9,51	6,66

Source: Own elaboration from the Population Census and Padrón.

Table 2.5

Catalonia and Spain: Demographic indices, 1960-1985

CATALONIA

	1960	1970	1980	1985
Infant mortality:				
M	36,37	26,02	11,50	9,07
F	28,93	20,71	9,19	7,05
Expectation of life at birth				
M	67,80	69,50	73,80	74,20
F	72,60	74,90	79,50	80,30
Birth rate	17,83	19,20	13,60	9,80a
Total fertility rate	2,23	2,71	1,89	1,36a
Mean age of fertility	29,04	28,87	27,87	28,48
Nuptiality rate	8,00	7,40	5,20	4,90
Mean age at marriage				
M	27,69	26,92	25,54	27,08
F	24,22	22,92	22,50	24,54

SPAIN

Infant mortality:				
M	49,67	30,00	14,70	12,00
F	39,09	23,21	10,48	8,51
Expectation of life at birth				
M	66,90	69,10	72,30	73,50
F	71,80	74,60	78,60	79,80
Birth rate	21,80	19,60	15,13	10,80a
Total fertility rate	2,76	2,88	2,21	1,47a
Mean age of fertility	20,03b	29,08b	28,83b	—
Nuptiality rate	7,80	7,33	5,88	5,00
Total nuptiality rate				
M	—	1,04c	0,77	0,64
F	—	1,74	0,80	0,65
Mean age at marriage				
M	28,36	27,55	26,13	27,33
F	25,09	23,84	23,33	24,88

Notes:

a: 1987

b: 1960-61, 1970-71, 1980-81

c: 1975

Sources: CED, A. Cabré (1989), M. Delgado (1989).

3. FAMILY STRUCTURE

In the first place it should be stressed that the family institution still plays a predominant role in the sphere of personal life in our Catalan and Spanish territory. Women's links to the family are much more intensive, solid and exclusive than men's. Domestic labour is a real handicap to women's participation in the labour market. Instead, the lack of male responsibility towards housework leaves them with free time to sell in the labour market. Hence, it is important to focus on the Spanish and Catalan family features, since they influence women's lives.

In that sense we can look at Table 3.1., where the average size of the household and its distribution by size in Spain and Catalonia appears. We will not pay too much attention to the demographic variables influencing such factors. On the contrary we will analyse the fact that there are similar household size among Spain and Catalonia partly because of the slower fertility levels in Catalonia compared to the whole of Spain, this is an historical feature, since the decrease of fertility happened much earlier in Catalonia than in the rest of the Spanish regions. On the other hand, the relative importance of the extended families - which used to be larger - in the overall families is bigger in Catalonia. Anyway a decrease in the household average size occurred in Spain as well as in Catalonia between 1970 and 1981.

If we would like to know real family size, it is much more interesting to analyse household distribution by size, rather than household average size, because the average can lead to misunderstandings. Single households have increased during the last decade in Spain and Catalonia. This matter has a relatively higher relevancy in Spain, due to the single household phenomenon which often appears among the elderly population. Indeed the reason for the frequency of such households is related to the fact that there is a greater proportion of rural and uninhabited regions in Spain. It is important to underline this fact, as that women's life expectancy is higher than men's, therefore, the feminization level of single households is higher and a future rise should be expected. If we look at Graphic 3.2 where the household distribution by category of rural and urban zone appears we

can see how the Spanish percentage of single households is 3% higher (in relation to Spain) in the rural zones than in the urban. Such differences do not appear in Catalonia. The specific behaviour of Barcelona and its hinterland stands out in the statistical data: single households are increasingly common in the large cities. Thus single households could be specially identified either as an alternative way of life or as a temporary situation due to job or family reasons. Moreover, it has to be pointed out that households of 5 or more members are more frequent in Spain than in Catalonia (see Table 3.1).

The data for household structure shows most complex families are in Catalonia, even more in rural zones (26% in Catalonia versus 19% in Spain). This is because of the historical tradition of complex families in the Catalan rural regions, based on the ancient link with the legacy of land ownership. Recently, this sort of household appears more often in urban areas too. There is no current data available about family structure. However, we could state that recently the marriage age has been postponed and emancipation from the family occurs much later, in part due to the high cost of housing (bought or rented). Therefore, the current situation accounts for the large number of households with children, since the period of living with the parents is prolonged. Another factor to take into an account is the effect of divorce legislation which, since 1981, has contributed to the growth of single households: In the Census data of 1981 (Table 3.2), single parent households are four times more frequent among women than among men.

In what sense do these facts determine womens' lives? In spite of the greater access of women to education, the role of distribution inside the family has not changed too much. In fact, the family is the primary social unit of people's social integration. According to a survey undertaken by the Sociological Research Council in 1987 (Ramos Torres, 1990), about the use of time, women still devote an average of six hours daily to housework whereas men have not even reached an average of one hour daily. Data from this research also shows that married men devote less time to housework than single ones and, despite the fact that single women spend half as much time on housework than married women, it is still much more than single men. As a result discrimination increases in marriage. The younger women with higher educational and professional

qualifications devote less time to housework, but in any case, all categories of women are discriminated against in relation to comparable male groups. A positive aspect to mention is that men with high education levels have a greater predisposition to housework. In another piece of research undertaken by the Women's Institute in 1987 (Ramos Torres, 1990), it is evident that the average time devoted to housework by urban and rural housewives was similar. Moreover, women within the agricultural sector have to take over other additional tasks characteristic of subsistence economy. These indicators show that there are common guidelines of identity for all women - without considering social differences - which lead them to taking sole responsibility for housework.

If we look at the curve of the women's activity rate we can appreciate how this activity is affected by women's role as housewives. On the contrary the intensity of male activity of all ages, and specially in the central paternity ages, proves the lack of men's responsibility towards housework. However, we might stress that the increase of women's activity rate in Catalonia during the last years is primarily due to the incorporation of married women in the labour force, although we depart from very low levels of participation. Hence women have acceded to the labour market fulfilling a double role as workers inside and outside the home.

The double - discriminatory - load imposed on working women requires certain remedial actions in the area of education, and must go further than not only equal access (which has been more or less attained). Sex segregation when choosing university courses or professional training programmes (we will go further on this later on) prove there is still work in this direction. It is also evident that at higher education levels the presence of women decreases. For instance, the total female teaching staff in pre-school education (3 to 5 years old) was about 97.24% during the academic year 1986-87 (Instituto de la Mujer, 1988). In this way the traditional women's role is being reproduced indirectly in schools. Another factor preventing women's integration into the labour market is the difficulty of integrating school timetables and holidays with working hours.

A good network of daycare centres can save time for women. This point is highlighted in the Third Programme of Community Action for Equal Opportunities. It is also an essential point in Catalonia now that daycare centres (most of them private) offer sufficient places but cost almost 50% of the minimum professional wage. As a result grandmothers, sisters, aunts, neighbours or friends fill the gaps of this basic service. It is quite obvious that family according to its characteristics and the infrastructure still determines whether or not women can participate in the labour market. The family can act in two ways: as a constraint, if family size is too large and there is no help from older relatives; the family responsibilities must be assumed by mothers, again hindering labour force participation; secondly as a support, so that women combine two roles through help of relatives in housework or childcare.

Table 3.1

Catalonia and Spain: Families by size of household, 1970 and 1981

	Family members (%)						Average size >5 Household
	1970	1	2	3	4	5	
SPAIN	7,46	18,04	19,22	21,78	15,45	18,05	3,8
CATALONIA	6,42	18,08	21,68	23,22	15,37	15,23	3,7
1981							
SPAIN	10,25	21,35	19,78	22,20	13,80	12,62	3,5
CATALONIA	9,88	22,87	21,69	23,32	12,81	9,44	3,3

Source: Own elaboration from the Population Census

Table 3.2

Catalonia and Spain: population by types of household, 1981

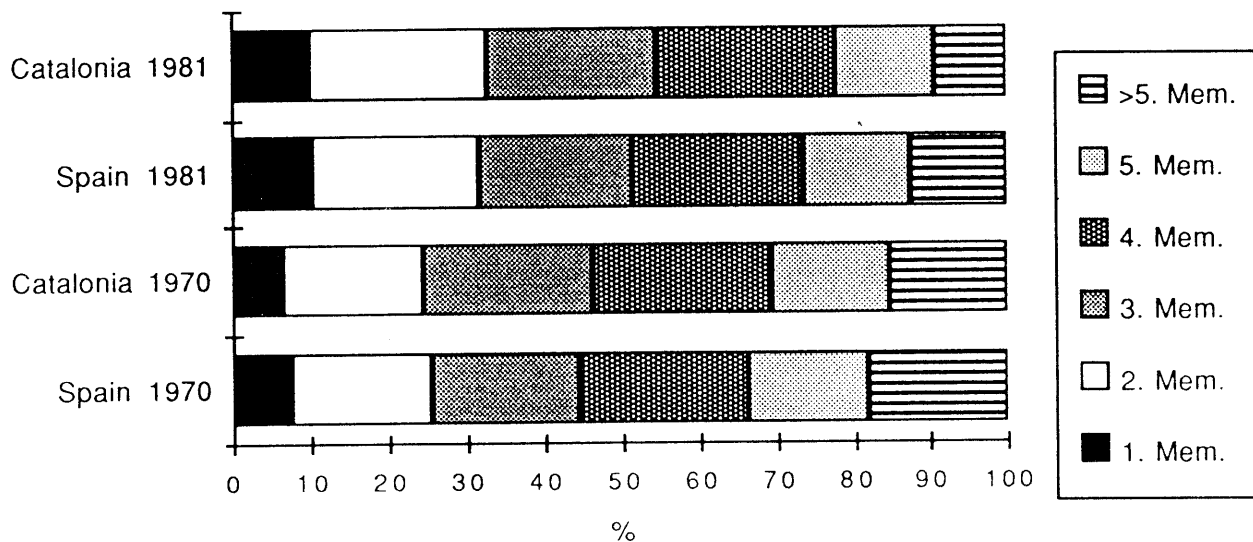
	Total Population	One-person Household	Non-family Household	One-nucleus Household				
				Total	A	B	C	D
CATALONIA	5918926	170789	129357	4238070	600574	3408040	38494	190962
SPAIN	37300618	1075755	790032	27235094	3311766	22288646	286275	1348407
Percentages								
CATALONIA	100,00	2,89	2,19	71,60	10,15	57,58	0,65	3,23
SPAIN	100,00	2,88	2,12	73,02	8,88	59,75	0,77	3,61

*Note

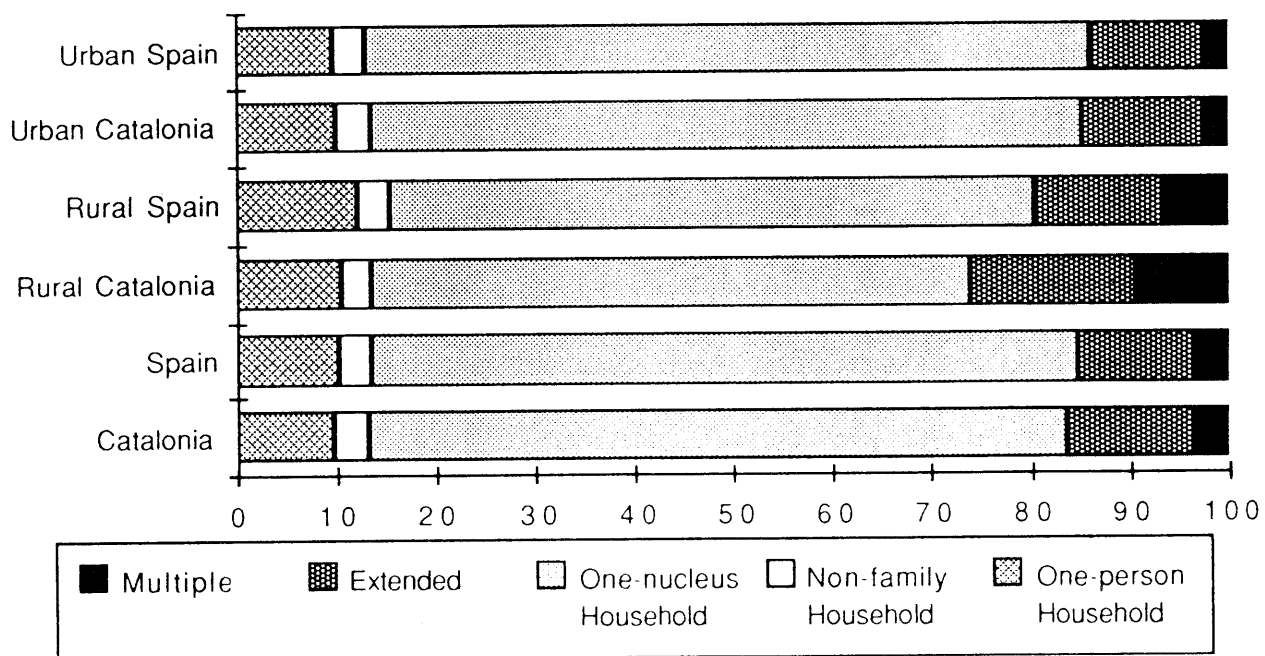
- A) Couples without single children without others
- B) Couples with single children without others
- C) Single father with children without others
- D) Single mother with children without others
- E) Couples without single children with others
- F) Couples with single children with others
- G) Single father with children with others
- H) Single mother with children with others

Source: Own elaboration from the Population Census

Graphic 3.1. CATALONIA AND SPAIN: FAMILY DISTRIBUTION BY SIZE. 1970, 1981.



Graphic 3.2. CATALONIA AND SPAIN: HOUSEHOLD DISTRIBUTION BY AREAS. 1981



Source: Table 3.1 and 3.2

4. SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

The provision of social services has been developed quite late with regard to other European countries. In fact one can describe the welfare state in our country as being incipient, until the first socialist government in 1982. In this section, we will comment on the main aspects of the social infrastructure, which would specifically affect women's lives.

4.1. Family Planning Centres. Abortions.

Family Planning Centres are quite recent institutions in Spain as the production, distribution and advertisement of contraception was forbidden until 1978. As a result of such "pronatalist" policies during Franco's dictatorship resources for the supply of any health centre were lower than the demand. Later on, the new act (1983) legalised sterilisation methods and the 1985 act legalized abortion in three concrete cases (eugenic, therapeutic and ethical). The lack of services - after these acts were passed - prompted many local and regional feminist associations setting up family planning centres all over the country. Family Planning Centres, a private initiative at the beginning of the 70's, promoted later by town councils. Therefore their integration within the primary health care of social security - as it has been suggested by the O.M.S. - is very recent.

The capacity of family planning service in 1985 did not meet demand. According to Fertility Survey only 36.8% of women between 18 and 49 years of age used this service; of this 5.7 went to Public Centres, 10.1 to the Social Security and 19.3 to the Private Centres. In Catalonia as well, from the overall percentage of 48.6% women who required this service, only 6.6 went to the Public Centres, 8.5 to the Social Security and 30.9 to the Private Centres. Most Family Planning Centres are private, which means a clear constraint for women with low incomes. Also from the point of view of the users, the attention received was not very good: 69.4% in Spain and 69.2% in Catalonia considered they were not well cared for.

Without any doubt there must be greater development of the Family

Planning network, as well as an improvement in the attention received, the coverage and costs. All these changes will make the services more accessible to greater numbers of the female population. Above all we should focus our attention on future potential users in, by providing sex education and precise information on preventing sexually transmitted diseases, and unwanted pregnancy by modern contraception. Moreover, it is worth noting too that there is little tradition of women attending these centres. This may be possibly the lack of information of its advantages. There should be educational campaign to change these attitudes.

Availability of contraception is not a problem at all in Catalonia: about 47% of the fertile females have used them; otherwise abortion is rather a matter of polemic: so far, there are no reliable statistics about it, due to the fact that most abortions are practiced illegally or abroad. A general research, roughly accepted by the developed countries, is that voluntary abortion ranges between 10 and 18% of the total yearly live births. Hence the number of voluntary abortions can be estimated between 42,110 and 75,800 at the national level and between 5,890 and 10,590 at the regional level of Catalonia. Very different figures are available from the Health Department relating to legal abortions foreseen by the Law (see Table 3.1) Abortion is only permitted in the following cases: firstly when the mothers' life or health is at risk (therapeutic abortion), secondly when the pregnancy is caused by rape (ethical abortion) and thirdly when it is expected that the foetus will be born physically or mentally handicapped (eugenic abortion).

According to the current data available about legal abortion in Catalonia in 1990, the general profile of women requesting service lawfully is as follows: (a) most are women between 20 and 29 years old, (b) they are mostly single women, followed by the married ones, (c) most have average educational level and (d) they are often unemployed. However, we would need to know more about women requiring illegal abortion, such data ensuring a real evaluation of the problem.

As well as the narrow confines of the Abortion Law, there are constraints imposed by doctors and lawyers, according to their

interpretation of the Law. They can be supported by the "conscience objection" right. In fact, the Abortion Law has not satisfied any social or political wing, left or right. While the Left considers that the Law is too restrictive, the Right together with the Catholic Church, does not accept it at all. Anyway, most abortions are illegal or based on these three assumptions. This works against women, who have to seek "backstreet" clandestine abortions under unhygienic conditions. In other cases, if women can afford it, they can go abroad. As a result, there are Social Security Hospitals allowed to carry out abortions, but where it is very difficult to do so owing to the shortage of professionals trained in abortion matters.

Without any doubt the Abortion Law is based on very restricted assumptions, as women are unable to make a choice about their own body or their physical and mental health, in complete freedom. In any case they are only able to ask for an abortion on grounds which are difficult to prove. One such instance cites the risk to the "mental health of the mother". Such an ambiguity can lead to the non-observance of the Law by some public health institutions. Therefore the recent Abortion Law has increased not solved the problem of clandestine abortions.

4.2. Health services for disabled and elderly people.

We will devote this section to all these sort of services that - independently of their capacity and access - can contribute to reduce directly or indirectly the "additional burden of work" for those women who have to take care of disabled or elderly people. These women carry out a work load seldom recognised and a basic task for the whole society. This section will basically focus on three population sectors: the diseased, the disabled and the elderly.

First of all it must be pointed out that most of the health services are private, even in such important aspects as the number of beds or hospital centres. Therefore, in spite of the Social Security guarantee for basic services, these do not match recent demand. We can observe,

looking at the data in Table 3.3. that there were 4.8 beds per 1000 inhabitants in Catalonia in 1988, unevenly distributed between private and public supply (1.7 versus 3.1 respectively). At the same time 78.4% of the hospital centres and 63.6% of the available beds in Catalonia are private. The geographical distribution of the basic services is also uneven. Once again, these services are basically concentrated in the large cities, to the detriment of the surrounding areas.

The same happens with rehabilitation centres, most of them being located in the most important population centres and 78.5% being related to private associations in 1990. The ownership differences are even more acute in these services. There were 123 day centres and 54 residences for the disabled for the whole of Catalonia in 1990, from which more than three out of four were private. Under such conditions few families can afford to enjoy them. The handicaps can be either due to the reduced supply - mainly in residences for the disabled or to the unreasonable price. In all cases the responsibility for their daily care falls on some female member of the family.

Concerning the health services available to the elderly population, there were 706 centres in Catalonia in 1990, from which 57% were day centres and 43% residential. There is a limited supply of public rather than private daycare centres and a greater number of private rather than public residences. Generally speaking there are less than 50 people per residence, which is the maximum recommended by specialists. Nevertheless a lot of the private institutions have a capacity of less than 10 people. The possibilities of having access are even more reduced, if we take into account that these institutions would not accept an elderly person with a serious physical mental illness. Hospitals do not accept them either, because of the permanent occupation of beds.

The Social Welfare Department (Catalan Autonomous body which governs public and private institutions offering social services to the population) has undertaken very important research to investigate thoroughly the problems of the elderly population. From this we can grasp the worries and shortages that they face. They stress that the main shortages are the following: residential units (92.5%), hospitals (90%), recreational and social houses for elderly (55%) and day centres

(52.5%). From this data we can conclude that there is an important deficit of basic services. This is a cause of concern for the elderly, given the recent ageing of the population and its future growth in the society. Hence there must be actions to enhance the supply of non-private services and increase their coverage. A most important point here is the re-evaluation of the role played by the elderly population within society, abandoning their classic reputation as being an additional burden.

4.3. Nurseries

It has been officially recognized that pre-school education is a very important stage in a child's life. Nevertheless, there are very few public centres for children under two years old in Spain. Moreover there is no reliable data on the total number of centres and the existing ones concentrate on the social service of child care rather than on education.

Most of the daycare centres are private in Catalonia. So far there are only 40 public daycare centres in Catalonia and, unfortunately, 70% are concentrated in the province of Barcelona. Accordingly, the Education Department has recently undertaken a Re-examination Plan and homogenisation of the private centres. This plan will define the qualification of the skilled staff according to the children's age, as well as the proper educational scheme to be adopted by the institutions. The regulations have been applied very recently, and private institutions have two years to implement it. Because of this, precise data about the number of private daycare centres is not actually available. This matter presents a real constraint for the social development of women, since there are few options to resort to in the public sphere. Nowadays there are few enterprises which provide daycare centres for their staff during work time. In any case, only the largest enterprises can afford this initiative. The productive structure of Catalonia is based on small and medium enterprises which do not have enough capital to finance it.

In such a climate, a major qualitative control of supply and demand by the Ministry of Education is urgently needed, in order to plan the distribution of education and its enlargement in the public sphere. The

Government must promote the expansion of the daycare centre network and improve the geographical distribution in the municipalities. These two actions would facilitate access of couples to the infrastructure at the workplace and home, thus facilitating equal responsibility for children.

4.4. Pre-school and Primary Education

According to the educational reform in 1990 the educational period starts when the child is born. However, this does not mean that it is free of charge. It is divided between pre-school and primary education (EGB). Pre-school is optional and includes children up to 6 years old. It is divided into two stages: first cycle of the infant school ("Llar d'Infants"), from 0 to 3 years old and second cycle of the infants school ("Parvuls") from 3 to 5 years old. Primary education is compulsory (EGB) and covers children from 6 to 14 years approximately.

Primary centres can belong to the State or Autonomous Administration or to private institutions such as churches or other institutions, territorial administrations or private enterprises. The supply of the pre-school centres is mainly private as is the case with supplementary assistance services. During the academic year 1985-86 about 90% of the total physical infrastructure available was private in Catalonia and 56% at the national level. There is a higher number of teaching staff working in public pre-schools (53% in Catalonia and 65% in Spain). This is in line with the smaller number of students per teacher (26 in the public versus 28 in the private schools in Catalonia, and 27 in public versus 31 in private schools in Spain) (see Table 3.4). In fact, a year ago there was a tendency to enroll children in private schools, basically because of the social status. At the same time and by the same logic, these schools were rather overcrowded and the educational quality was not so good. The situation changed during the democratic period, when major investments were devoted to public education. Nowadays the resources and conditions of the schools are rather favourable to the public sector: cheaper and less overcrowded. Anyway, the total number of pupils registered in pre-school education is a clear sign of the low take-up: there were only 12.7% of children registered

at this level in Catalonia and 9.4% in Spain. Evidently not much attention has been paid either to children's pre-school education nor to options for women to solve the deficit.

Nevertheless there has recently been a great advance on these issues. The Law for the Education System (LOGSE, 1990) recognises the huge importance of children's education in the first two years of life. On the other hand, there are fewer differences in the primary school among private and public units, basically due to the fact that this education is compulsory and free of charge. In Catalonia alone, 58.5% of the units belong to the state administration, although this number is below the national average of 69.7% (see Table 4.5.). Consequently there was greater number of children, more teaching staff and a smaller number of pupils per teacher in public schools during the academic year 1985-86.

It is worth noting too that children's education falls mainly on women (see data from Table 4.4. and 4.5. about the female teaching staff), a fact that makes us consider the role played by men in the future development of children's education. The predominance of women in the earliest stages of children's lives continues the traditional role of women looking after the youngest and oldest members of the family.

Table 4.1.

Legal abortion in Catalonia, 1990

Abortion by age group

	Total	%
-15	3	0,00
15-19	829	10,60
20-24	2039	26,00
25-29	1702	21,70
30-34	1515	19,30
35-39	1143	14,60
40-44	548	7,00
45 e +	59	0,80
Total	7838	100,00

Abortion by marital status

	Total	%
Single	3929	50,10
Married	3215	41,00
Widow	54	0,70
Divorced	138	1,80
Separated	493	6,30
N.S.	9	0,10
Total	7838	100,00

Abortion by education level

	Total	%
Illiterate	44	0,56
No studies	129	1,65
First degree	1227	15,65
2.Degree 1.cycle	2776	35,42
2.Degree 2.cycle	2249	28,69
Technical	794	10,13
University	599	7,64
Others	17	0,22
N.S.	3	0,04
Total	7838	100,00

Abortion by professional status of women

	Total	%
Employers	158	2,00
Professional	466	5,90
Employees	4202	53,60
Pensioner	23	0,30
Students	806	10,30
Unemployed	596	7,60
Housewives	1500	19,10
Others	86	1,10
N.S.	1	0,00
Total	7838	100,00

Source: information supplied by Departament de Sanitat de la Generalitat de Catalunya.

Table 4.2.

Catalonia and Spain: Movement of hospitals, 1985

	CATALONIA	SPAIN
No. of Hospital Centres	176	893
No. of beds	29050	181985
Beds per 1000 inha.	4,80	4,70

Source: Anuari Estadístic de Catalunya 1988, Consorci D'Informació i Documentació de Catalunya, 1989.

Table 4.3.

Catalonia : Movement of hospitals, 1988

	TOTAL	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
No. of Hospital Centres	167	36	131
No. of beds	29094	10601	18493
Beds per 1000 inha.	4,80	1,70	3,10

Source: Anuari Estadístic de Catalunya 1989, Consorci D'Informació i Documentació de Catalunya, 1990.

Table 4.4.

Catalonia and Spain: Pre-school Education. 1985/86.

	C A T A L O N I A			Total	S P A I N	
	Total	Public	Private		Public	Private
Pre-school Centers	361	9.97%	90.03%	3102	44.55%	55.55%
Pre-school Teaching staff	6805	3622	3183	39573	25648	13925
Percentage of male teaching staff	2,76%	3,87%	1,51%	7,20%	7,93%	5,86%
Percentage of female teaching staff	97,24%	96,13%	98,49%	92,80%	92,07%	94,14%
Average pupils per staff	27	26	28	28	27	31
	Total	Jardín de Infancia*	Parvulario**	Total	Jardín de Infancia	Parvulario
Pupils registration	181924	23130	158794	1127348	106216	1021132
Percentage of pupils registration in each center	100,00%	12,71%	87,29%	100,00%	9,42%	90,58%
Boys percentage	50,83%	50,71%	50,85%	50,69%	51,03%	50,66%
Girls percentage	49,17%	49,29%	49,15%	49,31%	48,97%	49,34%
Pupils registration in Public Centers	94162	1590	92572	702057	17648	684409
Percentage of pupils registration in each center	100,00%	1,69%	98,31%	100,00%	2,51%	97,49%
Boys percentage	52,45%	53,08%	52,44%	52,70%	53,14%	52,69%
Girls percentage	47,55%	46,92%	47,56%	47,30%	46,86%	47,31%
Pupils registration in Private Centers	87762	21540	66222	425291	88568	336723
Percentage of pupils registration in each center	100,00%	24,54%	75,46%	100,00%	20,83%	79,17%
Boys percentage	49,09%	50,53%	48,62%	47,38%	50,61%	46,53%
Girls percentage	50,91%	49,47%	51,38%	52,62%	49,39%	53,47%

* Pre-school education for children of 2 and 3 years old.

** Pre-school education for children of 4 and 5 years old.

Sources: Estadística de la Enseñanza en España. Niveles No Universitarios. 1985/1986. Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia. Madrid. 1988.

Table 4.5.

Catalonia and Spain: General Basic Education*. 1985/86.

	CATALONIA			SPAIN		
	Total	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private
School Centres	27855	58.54%	41.46%	186389	69.67%	30.33%
School Teaching staff	27927	16306	11621	193445	131950	61495
Percentage of male teaching staff	30.01%	30.57%	29.24%	37.90%	40.04%	33.31%
Percentage of female teaching staff	69.99%	69.43%	70.76%	62.10%	59.96%	66.69%
Pupil's registration	840844	453691	387153	5594285	3621238	1973047
Percentage of pupil's registration in each center	100.00%	53.96%	46.04%	100.00%	64.73%	35.27%
Boys percentage	51.31%	53.14%	49.17%	51.61%	53.58%	47.98%
Girls percentage	48.69%	46.86%	50.83%	48.39%	46.42%	52.02%
Average pupils per staff	30	28	33	29	27	32

* For children from 6 to 13 years old.

Sources: Estadística de la Enseñanza en España. Niveles No Universitarios. 1985/1986. Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia. Madrid. 1988.

5. EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Before starting with the analysis we considered it necessary to present briefly both the Spanish and Catalan educational systems in order to clarify the following explanations. The **educational system** is roughly as follows:

1. **Primary School:** This is divided into **first cycle of infant school** (here called "Llar d'Infants") from 0 to 3 years old and the **second cycle of infant school** (here called "Parvuls") from 3 to 6 years old.

2. **First Degree:** In Spain it is called the **Basic General Education** (here known as EGB). It is both a compulsory study and completely tax free (from 6 to 13 years old). It consists of two cycles: the first has five academic courses and the second one has three academic courses.

3. **Second Degree:** This level is optional and the students are between fourteen and seventeen. They have also to choose between two options.
 - 3.1. If they pass the EGB exams and thereby obtaining the **Scholarship Graduation**, they are allowed access to the **High School** (here called "Batxillerat Unificat Polivalent" BUP), which lasts three years. The aim is to train students to go later to University or to the second cycle of the **Training Institute (FP)**.
 - 3.2. If they do not pass the EGB final exam they obtain just the **Scholarship Certificate**. They can only have access to the **Training Institute** (here called "Institut de Formacio Professional" FP), which is divided in two cycles: five years and then two years. The aim is to give professional training according to labour market requirements and also to give students a broader general culture. Students from High School can also have access to the **Training Institute's second cycle**.
 - 3.3. **University Training courses** (here known as COU): It consists of one year's study. It can be followed by the students from High School (BUP) or the **Training Institute second cycle (FP)**.

4. **Third Degree:** Accessible to students coming from the University Training Course (COU) and students over 25 years old. Students coming from the TI second cycle certificate can only have access to Universities related to their training studies, which are basically Schools or Technical Universities. This level is also divided to three cycles as follows:

4.1. **First cycle:** University Faculties, Technical Schools and School Universities. These are devoted to the study of basic disciplines and consist of three years' study.

4.2. **Second Cycle:** University Faculties and Technical Schools. At this level the main aim is to gain concrete specialisation as a future researcher or teacher.

4.3. **Third Cycle:** These are the courses preceding a Ph.D.

Likewise we should highlight the recent changes of the Education Reform (LOGSE,1990). The admission age to the first cycle of public infants schools ("Llars d'Infants") has been moved a year forward; children of three years old are now accepted. Such a change can be considered a great success for working mothers. Moreover, compulsory education has been extended to include sixteen year olds (legal working age). This is a really positive target, in the sense that it will fill the gap between the end of compulsory education and the beginning of the legal working age.

5.1. **Women's situation within the educational pyramid**

At this point we can already make some comments about women's participation in the educational pyramid. As far as educational rates are concerned, their situation is quite similar to that of men, but there are still differences among specialisations and group age behaviour.

First of all if we compare the past and the present situation we reach a really positive conclusion: women's participation frequency has increased enormously within all educational levels during the last few

decades. This can be proved by looking at the age structure of women participating in the education system and the differences by sex (Tables 5.1. and 5.2 for Catalonia and Spain). We can also appreciate the effect of the discriminatory traditional model of education, which was in operation for decades. This model is responsible for women's constraints in education. These constraints account for the differences between education rates by sex in the older age bracket of the pyramid which have always been favourable for men. The new General Educational Law established a legislation reform in 1970, which was very important since it promoted mixed education and homogeneity for girls and boys up to their thirteenth year. Current legislation dates back to 1990 (LOGSE).

The recent situation is clear if one looks at Table 5.1 and 5.2. showing the population data by educational level in Catalonia and Spain form 1986. Starting from the base, namely, the lowest pyramid level represented by illiterate people, we find that women make up 4.42% of the overall population as opposed to 2.02% of illiterate males in Catalonia in 1986. Differences are much greater by age bracket, simply because of the generation effect of those people unable to attend any school at all. We have mentioned the generation effect, but the differences by sex are also a clear sign of the discriminatory traditional educational model set out above. With regard to the population without education, it is worth noting too that there was a slightly higher number of women (34.63%) than men (30.60%) in Catalonia in 1986 as was the case in Spain 1986.

The analysis concerning the first degree does not warrant investigation. Nowadays we can clearly state that access to education is equal for girls and boys. However, the more striking differences take place once they have finished their first degree. In the second degree, two characteristics can be pointed out. The first one would prove the hypothesis set out above, which was that women's participation has increased enormously at all educational levels. For instance, if we look at the age bracket of 35-44 and 20-24, the proportion of women's participation has risen from 21.76% to 68.99% respectively. For the same age bracket male participation has increased from 27.15% to 69.65% respectively. This means that women born between 1942 and 1966 had entered into secondary education 4.73% more than men. The second one

would prove the hypothesis that there are great differences by sex in relation to the specialisation chosen. For instance, women appear overestimated at the Training Institute just within the specialisations socially considered as "female field". If we look at the latest information about the percentage of women who obtained the first cycle of the Training Institute Certificate by specialisations in Spain during the academic year 1984-85 we find the following distribution ("La presencia de las mujeres en el sistema educativo", 1986): baby care 98% women, hairdressers 92%, health 90%, and administration 73%. In spite of that, there is a major tendency to gain greater diversification during the later years. According to an "Instituto de la Mujer" survey from 1991 ("La mujer en cifras", 1991) the percentage of women choosing the classic "female specialisations" within the Training Institutes has decreased.

Finally the number of women in the age bracket 25-34 reaching the third degree or university level, was about 13.24% in Catalonia compared to 12.34% in Spain in 1986. At this stage we can also prove how women's integration within the University has increased. Thus there were 7.38% of women in the age bracket 35-44 compared to the 13.34% in the younger age bracket 25-34 years old in Catalonia in 1986, which means an increase of 5.86%. If the same comparisons done with men, we observe an increase of 1.19%. Therefore we can see the huge participation of women in university studies. In another way, if we take into account the age bracket 25-34 years old, the percentage of population within the university is greater for men than for women (by 1.22%). The reason behind this is that men followed longer university studies, than women who chose shorter ones (third degree in three years). According to the Spanish data from the academic year 1986-87, about 55% of students who finished the University were women (percentage of women above the overall students), 64.68% at the University School and only 13.48% at the Superior Technical School. Inside the Technical Schools women are less represented in the following specialisations: 12.74% in architecture and technical engineering and 48.33% in business studies. Therefore they appear under-represented in the specialisations which most favoured access to the labour force, and what is more importantly to higher wages and socio-professional prestige. This is one of the aspects which explains the greater unemployment rate among university

women. The reason why women make such a choice by specialisations lies behind the socialisation process in their education, although this is not a matter for elaboration in this report.

In brief, women's participation in the educational pyramid has improved almost reaching parity with men. Recently they have been outnumbering the men in High School and University Training Courses. Despite that, there is still substantial sex segregation at the specialisation stage.

5.2. Vocational training

One of the ways to achieve women's integration in the labour market is through the known training policies. Such policies will try to fulfil a professional profile for less favoured women or to provide them with concrete training courses according to market needs. These programmes have become quite popular during the last few years in Catalonia and, so far, the evaluation is positive, although there is still a long way to go.

The main official body concerning vocational training is the national plan called FIP (Training and Professional Insertion Plan, here known as "Plan Nacional de Formació i Inserció Professional") established in 1985. The main goal is to adapt vocational training to the needs of workers and businesses. Before the Economic and Social Deal (AES, 1984) was signed, vocational and occupational training was unsatisfactory from the point of view of the Spanish Employment Ministry, (a) because too few were involved, (b) it was not geared to new technologies and (c) it did not fulfill new occupational requirements. These deficiencies led to the signature of the AES (1984) and the implementation of the Training and Professional Insertion Plan (Plan FIP) in 1985. The plan is basically aimed at groups with special difficulties looking for work. It is based on the following programmes.

1. young unemployment people
2. alternative recuperation studies for students and people carrying out military service,
3. occupational training courses in the rural environment,

4. occupational training courses for industrial restructuring and occupational recycling.
5. occupational training plan to promote the professional insertion and re-insertion of women and
6. special programmes for marginal groups or with special integration difficulties in the labour market.

These programmes can apply to our region. Occupational Training Courses are managed by different institutions, sometimes in cooperation with private enterprises. Normally, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, through the Institute of National Employment (INEM), develops the programmes related to FIP principles. In addition, some of the programmes follow the recommendations of the Woman's Institute (Catalan Woman's Institute was set up in Barcelona in 1990. It is an official organisation belonging to the Autonomous Government. This institute together with the Local Employment Offices are the main organisations which encourage women to take the training courses). The INEM of Barcelona should be stressed as it has undertaken the greatest number of training courses.

Also worthy of note is the work done by the "Instituto de la Mujer" through the Equal Opportunities Plan (1988-89) promoting goal number 5 (promotion of professional insertion and re-insertion of women in the labour market) and dealing with cooperation agreements among various Ministries. For example, both institutions: INEM and "Instituto de la Mujer" maintain also a deal through the experimental programme of occupational training for single family mothers (1989-1990). The deal was established: the Ministry of Labour and Social Security and the Ministry of Social Affairs in April 1989 and it is under FIP control. Since the Plan there has been large increase of women's participation in training courses. The number of women trained in 1984 -just at the beginning of the Plan - made up only 29.4% of the total, it reached 51% in 1988.

As for geographical distribution of training programmes, Catalonia together with Andalucia and Madrid, have polarised more than half of all-women courses. Furthermore this tendency of polarisation has declined (50.2% in 1986 to 47.4% in 1988). The territorial concentration

is related to the demographic importance of the region and its active population. 40,000 people were involved in training courses (15% of the total) in Catalonia 1988. This means a participation rate of 16.9% per 1,000 active persons. It should also be added that people involved in the workshops schools ("Escoles Taller") and professional institutions ("Cases d'Ofici") are part of the programmes designed to combat youth unemployment (13,101 people from January to May in Catalonia 1989).

Particularly with respect to specific groups of women, design of the training and occupational programmes starts with analysis of the causes that push women to choose housework instead of entering the labour market. The FIP action is at two levels: occupational level and at training level where efforts and resources are concentrated. Training is undertaken through technical instruction and the availability of instruments and methodologies necessary to achieve a certain level of self-reliance and self-respect. Currently, the main programme is aimed at single parent mothers.

From the concrete programmes carried out and those still running we can mention for instance:

- Programmes aimed to **women as single parents** in 1990, which has been applied through 57 courses throughout the Catalan territory. It involved about 235 women.
- Permanent educational plans aimed at **adult women** (PEPA). The goal is to reinforce vocational training within the economic areas where women are less integrated.
- Experimental programmes assigned by the **long-term unemployment** of women to lead them to the labour market. This programme springs from the agreement between the Ministry of Labour and Social Security and the Ministry of Social Affaires in 1990.

Moreover we should underline the work done by the Catalan Woman's Institute. It is responsible for the design of programmes according to the up-to-date demands generated in the labour market for workers and students. There were 118 courses just during 1989. The financial funding could come from the **Local Administration, Autonomous Government** or the **European Social Fund**. Because of the Catalan rank (no priority region,

category 7 type 5b) it received subsidies only for the 45% of the total cost. The remaining 55% come from other administrations set out above. So far, their policy has been based on concrete points such as: short training courses (200-400 hours) organised with a reduced number of assistance (average of 15), vocational training focused on the new technologies, recycling courses and re-insertion (retravailler). The latter is quite important in the sense that it promotes the insertion of long-term unemployed women in the labour market by psychological preparation. It is thought that women must follow a motivation course (about 150 hours) preliminary to vocational training courses. Other longer courses are the innovative (2 years) and the transnational ones, which are basically aimed to qualify women further.

Likewise we would like to make a comment about the overall evaluation of training courses in Catalonia. On the one hand, the available data on current courses designed for women alone shows an amount of 8,929 people in 1990. This data does not include any other mixed programme where women have been involved which makes it a really difficult task to study. On the other hand, we would like to stress the unequal territorial distribution of the courses. The elements in favour of organising them take into an account: the dynamics of population centres, the disposition of economic and human resources and the relative importance of its population. As a result most of the programmes are undertaken in Barcelona and its hinterland. There is also an unequal distribution throughout the Spanish territory, where the Autonomous Community of Madrid, the Autonomous Community of Andalusia together with the already mentioned Barcelona concentrated the majority of the programmes. However, the main criticism should be of its follow-up. There is real financial control, but there is no report about coverage and women's success in the labour market re-insertion.

Table 5.1.

Percentage of population according to their education level. Catalonia, 1986

Age	Women										Men										Total
	Illiterate	No studies	First degree	2 Degree 1. cycle	2 Degree 2. cycle	Technical	University	Ph. D.	Unknown	Total	Illiterate	No studies	First degree	2 Degree 1. cycle	2 Degree 2. cycle	Technical	University	Ph. D.	Unknown	Total	
10-14	1.08	81.03	7.15	9.41	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.33	245252	1.13	81.26	7.60	8.79	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.22	260464	
15-19	0.50	4.76	19.56	43.83	30.34	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.01	236364	0.58	5.45	22.02	42.49	28.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.17	248031	
20-24	0.57	5.16	18.28	25.72	43.27	4.10	1.82	0.00	1.07	230990	0.62	5.45	19.76	27.67	41.98	1.85	1.43	0.00	1.24	238883	
25-34	0.80	12.64	33.74	20.78	17.42	6.64	6.48	0.12	1.39	430164	0.71	10.02	30.52	21.20	23.66	4.38	7.70	0.19	1.64	430267	
35-44	2.17	27.87	39.00	13.78	7.98	4.09	3.21	0.06	1.82	390638	1.15	21.85	37.14	13.72	13.43	4.89	5.96	0.23	1.63	390707	
45-54	5.86	41.20	33.82	8.14	5.32	2.50	1.39	0.03	1.75	350625	2.75	37.14	33.38	8.92	8.98	3.24	3.66	0.23	1.71	346222	
55-64	7.06	46.94	32.06	5.43	4.02	1.97	0.81	0.03	1.68	348689	3.70	42.68	32.71	6.42	7.19	2.44	2.99	0.17	1.68	321008	
65 e +	12.64	52.65	25.04	3.26	2.56	1.63	0.55	0.01	1.67	443139	5.52	48.15	28.58	4.74	6.11	2.12	2.89	0.17	1.71	295886	
Total	4.42	34.63	27.83	14.62	12.03	2.87	2.05	0.04	1.52	2675861	2.02	30.60	27.78	15.99	15.68	2.67	3.58	0.14	1.53	2531468	
Women+Men																					
10-14	1.11	81.15	7.38	9.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.27	505716	1.13	81.26	7.60	8.79	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.22	260464	
15-19	0.54	5.11	20.82	43.14	29.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.09	484395	0.58	5.45	22.02	42.49	28.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.17	248031	
20-24	0.59	5.31	19.03	26.71	42.62	2.96	1.62	0.00	1.16	468873	0.62	5.45	19.76	27.67	41.98	1.85	1.43	0.00	1.24	238883	
25-34	0.75	11.33	32.13	20.99	20.54	5.51	7.09	0.15	1.51	860431	0.71	10.02	30.52	21.20	23.66	4.38	7.70	0.19	1.64	430267	
35-44	1.66	24.86	38.07	13.75	10.71	4.49	4.59	0.16	1.72	781345	1.66	24.86	38.07	13.75	10.71	4.49	4.59	0.16	1.72	698847	
45-54	4.32	39.18	33.60	8.53	7.13	2.87	2.52	0.13	1.73	698847	4.32	39.18	33.60	8.53	7.13	2.87	2.52	0.13	1.73	698847	
55-64	5.45	44.90	32.37	5.90	5.54	2.20	1.85	0.10	1.68	669697	5.45	44.90	32.37	5.90	5.54	2.20	1.85	0.10	1.68	669697	
65 e +	9.79	50.85	26.46	3.85	3.98	1.83	1.48	0.08	1.69	739025	9.79	50.85	26.46	3.85	3.98	1.83	1.48	0.08	1.69	739025	
Total	3.25	32.67	27.81	15.28	13.80	2.78	2.79	0.09	1.52	5207329	3.25	32.67	27.81	15.28	13.80	2.78	2.79	0.09	1.52	5207329	

Source: Own elaboration from the Padrón Municipal de Habitantes

Table 5.2.

Percentage of population according to their education level. Spain, 1986

Age	Women										Men										
	Illiterate	No studies	First degree	2. Degree 1. cycle	2. Degree 2. cycle	Technical	University	Ph. D.	Unknown	Total	Total	Illiterate	No studies	First degree	2. Degree 1. cycle	2. Degree 2. cycle	Technical	University	Ph. D.	Unknown	Total
10-14	0,88	84,14	3,68	8,75	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	2,55	100,00	0,92	84,73	3,82	8,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	2,53	100,00
15-19	0,59	13,03	16,56	46,80	21,31	0,00	0,00	0,00	1,70	100,00	0,64	14,54	18,71	44,50	19,84	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	1,77	100,00
20-24	0,72	11,99	17,97	27,36	35,23	3,91	1,63	0,00	1,18	100,00	0,69	12,75	19,91	28,19	34,12	1,78	1,29	0,00	0,00	1,26	100,00
25-34	1,07	19,50	31,86	17,91	16,12	6,83	5,77	0,14	0,81	100,00	0,87	17,31	29,98	17,89	20,96	4,77	7,06	0,25	0,93	0,93	100,00
35-44	2,42	35,28	36,37	11,19	6,93	4,44	2,48	0,10	0,79	100,00	1,29	29,72	34,46	11,22	11,98	4,81	5,36	0,32	0,84	0,84	100,00
45-54	6,49	48,19	31,04	5,93	4,04	2,52	1,02	0,04	0,73	100,00	2,93	45,22	30,58	6,54	7,40	2,88	3,39	0,30	0,76	0,76	100,00
55-64	8,38	53,11	28,31	3,94	3,07	1,85	0,92	0,03	0,69	100,00	4,22	51,61	28,37	4,52	5,42	2,05	2,84	0,26	0,71	0,71	100,00
65 e +	16,83	54,84	21,63	2,26	1,73	1,57	0,41	0,02	0,72	100,00	7,22	56,42	23,66	3,10	4,14	1,88	2,86	0,22	0,70	0,70	100,00
Total	5,38	40,27	24,86	13,82	10,00	2,88	1,69	0,05	1,05	100,00	2,33	37,98	24,84	14,79	12,97	2,55	3,23	0,19	1,13	1,13	100,00
Age	Women+Men										Women+Men										
10-14	0,90	84,44	3,75	8,37	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	2,54	100,00	0,90	84,44	3,75	8,37	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	2,54	100,00	
15-19	0,62	13,80	17,66	45,63	20,56	0,00	0,00	0,00	1,74	100,00	0,62	13,80	17,66	45,63	20,56	0,00	0,00	0,00	1,74	1,74	100,00
20-24	0,70	12,38	18,95	27,79	34,67	2,83	1,46	0,00	1,23	100,00	0,70	12,38	18,95	27,79	34,67	2,83	1,46	0,00	1,23	1,23	100,00
25-34	0,97	18,40	30,91	17,90	18,56	5,79	6,42	0,19	0,87	100,00	0,97	18,40	30,91	17,90	18,56	5,79	6,42	0,19	0,87	0,87	100,00
35-44	1,86	32,50	35,42	11,20	9,45	4,63	3,92	0,21	0,81	100,00	1,86	32,50	35,42	11,20	9,45	4,63	3,92	0,21	0,81	0,81	100,00
45-54	4,74	46,73	30,82	6,23	5,69	2,70	2,19	0,17	0,74	100,00	4,74	46,73	30,82	6,23	5,69	2,70	2,19	0,17	0,74	0,74	100,00
55-64	6,38	52,39	28,34	4,21	4,20	1,95	1,69	0,14	0,70	100,00	6,38	52,39	28,34	4,21	4,20	1,95	1,69	0,14	0,70	0,70	100,00
65 e +	12,93	55,48	22,45	2,60	2,70	1,69	1,32	0,10	0,71	100,00	12,93	55,48	22,45	2,60	2,70	1,69	1,32	0,10	0,71	0,71	100,00
Total	3,90	39,15	24,85	14,29	11,45	2,72	2,44	0,12	1,09	100,00	3,90	39,15	24,85	14,29	11,45	2,72	2,44	0,12	1,09	1,09	100,00

Source: Own elaboration from the Padrón Municipal de Habitantes

6. EMPLOYMENT

6.1. Female activity level in Catalonia and Spain.

Female activity level has been historically higher in Catalonia and other regions of the north than in the rest of Spain. Two main facts favour women's participation in economic activities in Catalonia: firstly the prevalence of family farming and secondly the location of textile industries in the region. The gap between female activity level in Catalonia and in Spain has been diminishing during the last two decades basically due to stagnation of the Catalan growth trend of the 70s. However, differences are still significant (see Table 6.1.).

Increasing women's participation in the labour market slowed down in the late 60s in Catalonia. A partial explanation for that is huge job losses within the textile industries, where many women used to work. Job loss was not replaced by employment generated in the growing service sector (such as Public Administration, Health, Education and assistance services), where women take an important share. Therefore the activity rate was kept constant between 1975 and 1981. Besides, the decrease of male activity came to be generalised in Spain during these years. Two basic facts lie behind this decrease: firstly, prolongation of studies, leading to better qualifications in order to face stiffer competition in the labour market and secondly, lower retirement age, promoted by the legislation and the reindustrialisation plans. Many businesses sought to restructure their staff by offering early retirement.

Female activity in the age of 16-64 years was 27% in 1970 compared to 38.3% in 1986. The increase of female activity rate is basically due to the incorporation of married women in the labour market, even though married women make up just 30% of the female active population. This on the one hand shows the effects of the economic crisis on family income (previously guaranteed by the husbands) which forced many women to look for new income sources to "help the family" situation. On the other hand it is an indication of women's changing attitudes and their will to enjoy the same status as men both in the family and in society; this leads first, to seek self-reliance by taking paid work and second, to ask for the same rights at work as a means to guarantee their economic

independence.

It is worth noting too that the female active population has important structural differences in Catalonia compared to Spain. For instance, there is a major representation of married women among the working women in general and women from all educational levels in Catalonia. The activity rate of married women in the central maternity ages shows that more than 5 out of 10 married women were linked to the labour market in 1986 in Catalonia, whilst only 3 or 4 out of 10 married in the age bracket of 20-30 years were working in Spain as a whole. In this context we could advance the hypothesis that the development of a network of women's employment determined the emergence of favourable attitudes to mothers as principal family workers. In other regions, especially in the south of Spain where the employment is very difficult even for the male population, women's roles are linked to their reproductive sphere rather than to the productive. The major demand for female labour force is explained by the less polarised structure of female activity population rate in the educational level: In Catalonia women with a medium education level have an activity rate closer to that of university women which is not the case in Spain.

Increase of the female activity rate among married women is also a good indicator of recent ideological changes between women in Catalonia as well as in the rest of the country. It is worth noting that employment data is based on women's self-registration, who have first to realise their own condition as workers inside and/or outside the home. The data on unemployment rates show that it is more difficult for women to find a job than for men in Catalonia as well as in Spain. The overall female unemployment rate is higher than the male one. In part this is due to the age effect. Female activity rate is higher among the young ages, where unemployment is greater and therefore the overall female active population in these age brackets has more weight than the male one. The obvious female discrimination through labour market segmentation must also be mentioned. Such discrimination is blatant even when women and men have an equivalent educational level. For instance, activity rate among people with the same qualifications is quite similar for both

women and men (nearly 85%), but unemployment rate is much higher among the female population than among the male one (14.5% versus 7.6%) in 1986 in Catalonia. Lastly women make up a great part of the discouraged workers (unemployed people who have stopped looking for a job, because they have lost hope of succeeding).

6.2. Occupational Characteristics.

First of all we will discuss the structure of female active population among economic sectors. The relative importance of women employed in agriculture is rather lower in Catalonia than in Spain. Just 1.88% of employed women were working in agriculture in Catalonia in 1986. Otherwise female activity in industry (as an outcome of the processes set out above) is much reduced: 49.52% of the female employed population belonged to the secondary sector in 1970, but only 31.94% in 1986. Anyway this sector is still important within Spain as a whole. The tertiary sector was already predominant in the 70s and it has grown continually since then (46.47% of total employed women in 1970 and 66% in 1986). This proportion is almost 70% of active women in all Spain. Services is the branch where women are more important within the tertiary sector: almost 50% of the total employed population in this branch were women in Catalonia as well as in Spain. If we take the industrial sector, it is more feminized in Catalonia than in Spain because of more textiles, clothing or food industries.

The occupational structure shows that in Catalonia, as well as in Spain, women are more represented in specific jobs such as: domestic service, health assistant, clerk, telephonist and typist. Other professions such as sales staff or professional and technical staff are proportionately higher in Catalonia than in Spain. The feminization index of managers, professionals and technical personnel is higher in Catalonia than in Spain. Thus we advance the hypothesis that when the general climate is positive for male employment it is also positive for women. However, during an economic crisis, even in the most feminized professions -for instance sales staff, men will generally take women's places. Hence women's position within the occupational pyramid is better in Catalonia than in Spain.

According to data about the socio-economic status of the female employed population, employees are more numerous in industry, while the proportion of employees is a little higher in Catalonia than in Spain. On the contrary, the employers category - which includes the self-employed - is statistically more representative in the whole of Spain. There is also a greater share of employers in Spanish agriculture than in the Catalan (40% versus 20%). Conversely, employees are the majority in Catalonia. Anyway it is likely that a female worker within agriculture would be an assisting relative, since there are 6 out of 10 people within this category in Catalonia. Occupational structure in the tertiary sector is quite similar for both (75% employees about 10% assisting relatives and the rest are employers). Employers category comprise also self-employers (see Table 6.7).

6.3. Atypical employment.

All varieties of "atypical" work have expanded in the 80s in Catalonia as well as in Spain, due to two basic facts: first, the effect of economic restructuring which came about at the end of the 60s and secondly legislation implemented in 1984, which penalised the hiring liberalisation in the Spanish state.

Later on there was the economic crisis of 1973 spreading internationally which added to Catalonia's own crisis. This crisis hit industry as well as labour, influencing basic female economic areas, such as textiles and wool. The restructuring plan of textiles and wool implemented in the mid 70s brought about the closure of many enterprises, reduction of staff and the semi-clandestine dismantling of many production plants. In actual fact some plants were not completely shut down, but contributed to the emergence of smaller production units and the massive growth of the professional category of self-employed. The new units had very narrow margins and they were completely linked to large enterprises, dominant within these sectors. The large enterprises were only interested in the Restructuring Plan during 1981-86. This plan undertook an important restructurisation of existing staff. The result of all this process was the emergence of three categories of workers: firstly, those who could remain in the workplace, apparently the privileged ones, but who at the same time were exposed to new staff

regulations; secondly, the self-employed who had an important but obsolete plant and adapted to the sub-contracting offered by large businesses; and thirdly, a wide range of temporary workers earning low wages and very often working in the "black market" economy. Within such a climate, women were in the worst situation. (Recio et al., 1988).

The legislative reform of 1984, concerning contractual issues, introduced amendments to the Workers Statute of 1981. We can point out the following: the creation of new activity contracts, the spread of temporary and occupational promotion contracts (training and work experience) in order to overcome the fringes of temporary staff established by the preliminary legislation of 1982. As a result, the option for temporary contracts has been used by private businesses as well as public administration. Thereby stable contracts have become the exception rather than the rule.

In most countries, temporary contracts are legally adopted in some justified cases, as the accumulation of some unforeseen tasks, workers replacement with the workplace booked, etc. The Spanish legislation is more imprecise: it permits occupational promotion contracts or hiring of workers for 6 months minimum to 3 years maximum, even if they performed the daily, therefore stable, tasks of the enterprise. Such practices damaged the principles of training and work experience contracts and have been used as a normal way to link temporary contracts covering activities that theoretically can and should be done by permanent workers. It must be taken into account that very few of the temporary contracts become permanent. According to the Trade Unions this makes up about 20% whilst according to the government it is about 50%. The majority of the Trade Unions, "Comissions Obreres" and "Unio General de Treballadors", have not reached any agreement with the government about the deal for competitiveness, looking at the future European integration.

A little earlier, when the European Single Act took effect, Spain appeared to be one of the countries where temporary workers were more significant with relation to all employees (23% according to the EPA, 1990 2nd quarter). The category of discontinuity stable workers who are unemployed most of the time must also be added to this data. The major

economic sectors demanding temporary workers are those where women are more represented as a part of the labour force: public administration, lodging and large stores.

To end this section the categories of atypical employment are defined as follows (Meulders and Plasman, 1989):

Part-time: Part-time jobs occur frequently among women working in public administration, manufacturing and, above all, among domestic workers. In the first case, the hiring is legal, but the others could be typical examples of non-registered informal work. There has been an increase of domestic work in the last few years. This demand is partly generated by the same households where both members of the couple are engaged in a professional activity. In that sense, we can state that growth of female employment has influenced the increase of female workplaces. This is linked to the fact that everyday there is a greater part of the reproduction sphere that must be socialised, namely sold into the market. Women are accustomed to working as a domestic worker just because they are obliged to and they find themselves developing their tasks in complete isolation. Their condition at the workplace could be precarious and without legal contracts, a fact that makes their position very difficult when they want to negotiate wages. Most of them have no social security card which used to belong to their husbands. They are not allowed to enjoy any retirement pension without the card in spite of having worked like their husbands. At best, they become self-employed.

Temporary contracts: The greatest problems are to be found in accommodation and large stores. In these sectors, chaining together temporary contracts as a way to cover stable workplaces is usual practice. The fact of being a temporary worker will effect the payment received, the rights of social security and the holiday periods. It is also better if the workers do not take training for granted. On the contrary, the work done by The Women's Institute ("El Instituto de la Mujer") stands out in the sense that it undertook positive actions in the labour market field whose results are already showing first successes in Catalonia. According to the National Institute of Employment (INEM) from 733.310 people, registered as employed, about 50.03% were women and 49.97% were men within the province of Barcelona

in 1990. Even so, female unemployment has been higher than the male one for a long time and although the discouraged workers are predominant within the female population, this year for the first time hiring of women is slightly more favourable than men.

Seasonal work: Again the greatest problems are taking place in textiles, trade, post-offices, public administration and all sorts of services. Agriculture has been the most demanding sector of this sort of category of workers due to its natural characteristics. Recently, the demand has basically been supplied by immigrant men, from Africa (South-Saharan people and Moroccan). The category of discontinuous stable contracts in temporary activities is used by the administration (workers in the Postal Service is the case of strikes) and the temporary service enterprises, which work illegally in Spain and often recruit women.

Self-employment and subcontracting: There are elements causing the growth of the self-employment and the cooperatives of production and services (above all the personal ones): the textile crisis and the spread of homeworking, as well as all the family and community strategies used to combat the Labour crisis at the end of the 70s.

Unpaid family work: Unpaid family work is quite frequent in all productive sectors given the enterprise structure and the small size of farms in Catalonia. Usually these people are the wives of owners and they play a key part in running the business. In that sense it is worth noting too, the work by the Woman's Institute ("El Instituto de la Mujer") according to the Plan for Equal Opportunities, which must be appraised as really positive. This Plan proposes that all people who work without being paid within family enterprises should be discharged from the system of social security in order to enjoy the advantages offered to them. This could be a way to gain the social recognition of productive tasks done by women working as "husband helpers".

Multiple jobs: This category is frequent among workers who are in the extremes of the occupational pyramid. Workers in precarious conditions have to maintain any opportunity of working that arises. Among the liberal professionals, this practice is frequent in the first stages of

the training period among youth. This is a clear sign of the culture which over-value works (yuppies) or wanted to keep the biggest piece of the cake for themselves.

To sum up, from our point of view, European Integration - in the sense of harmonisation of the social and labour market policies - must go in the following directions: (a) stabilising work and that stable contracts are not the real way of "atypical work" and (b) distributing exactly the work needed for the production of goods and services, required for human needs. In that sense there is no point in many enterprises (more than one out of two in Spain) overcoming the legal journey of work, whilst there is such a quantity of people who need to find a job and must resign themselves to very short periods of work (from 6 month to 3 years). After this time they have the right to claim unemployment benefit for a period even shorter than the time worked. If these two principles were respected, women's integration in the labour market - without ignoring the policies of positive actions - could be reached in more favourable conditions.

Table 6.1.

Catalonia and Spain: Employment indicators by sex, 1990 (Population 16 and + years old).

SPAIN	Labour Force (%)	Activity Rate	Unemployment Rate		
			16 and +	16-19	20-24
MF	100,00	49,31	16,26	36,46	29,97
M	64,84	66,65	11,98	30,62	23,78
F	35,16	33,33	24,16	42,78	37,72
CATALONIA					
MF	100,00	52,91	12,56	29,96	22,28
M	62,98	69,69	7,79	18,89	16,45
F	37,02	37,54	20,68	41,45	29,20

Source: INE. Encuesta de la Población Activa. 2º Trimestre. 1990.

Table 6.2

Catalonia and Spain: Female activity rates by age and marital status, 1986.
Percentages

CATALONIA

	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced-Sep	Total
Age					
16-19	38,27	38,13	34,78	60,23	38,29
20-24	66,76	53,50	52,73	79,03	62,85
25-29	82,96	55,77	60,25	82,47	63,40
30-34	80,60	41,04	52,22	81,59	47,37
35-39	76,46	30,08	44,87	77,58	35,91
40-44	73,03	24,78	42,56	72,15	30,23
45-49	68,12	21,90	38,35	65,05	26,85
50-54	63,69	19,26	31,20	55,60	24,28
55-59	55,79	15,38	22,78	42,41	20,38
60-64	36,31	9,39	12,58	25,93	12,99
65 +	5,11	1,21	0,87	2,98	1,51
16-64	58,14	29,72	24,15	69,04	37,88
16 e +	53,31	26,49	7,16	63,21	31,11

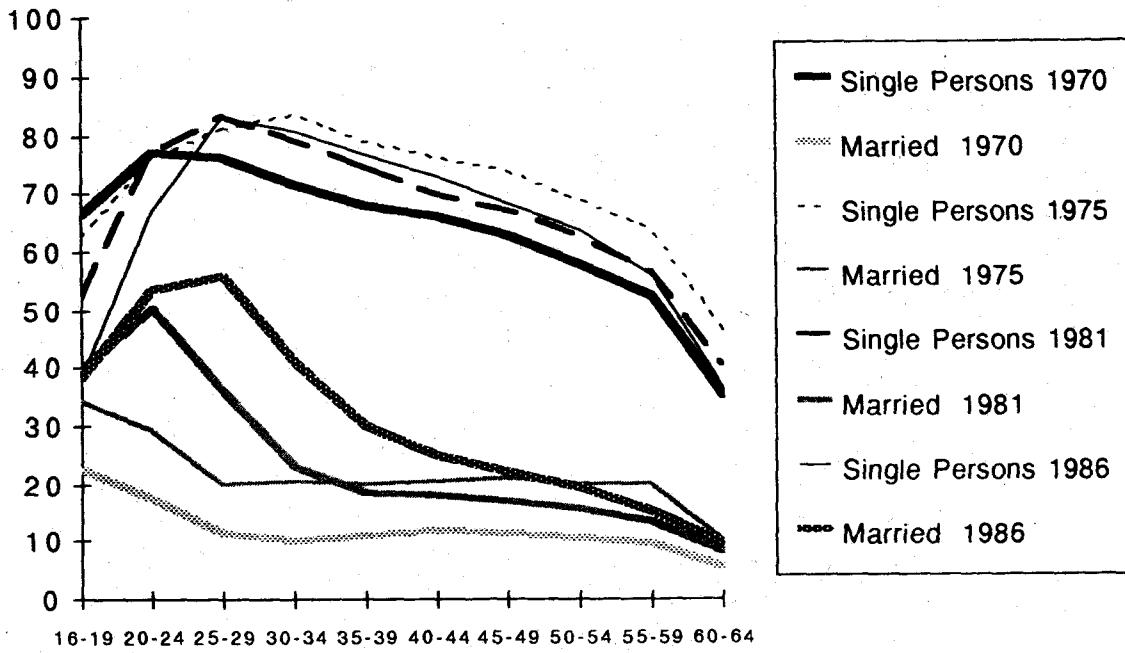
SPAIN

Age					
16-19	32,47	21,56	21,06	52,00	32,06
20-24	56,51	32,32	33,32	68,84	49,77
25-29	74,85	38,18	42,14	75,37	49,90
30-34	74,35	30,73	40,35	76,40	38,35
35-39	70,05	22,54	37,38	72,05	29,00
40-44	65,52	18,08	34,93	66,16	23,88
45-49	58,90	15,60	30,58	58,62	20,77
50-54	53,41	14,03	24,82	50,44	19,00
55-59	47,50	11,87	18,58	41,20	16,85
60-64	34,15	8,72	11,37	27,12	12,42
65 +	4,69	1,28	0,76	3,49	1,51
16-64	51,09	21,37	20,17	63,71	30,77
16 e +	46,69	19,00	6,24	58,59	28,12

Source: Own elaboration from the Padrón (INE).

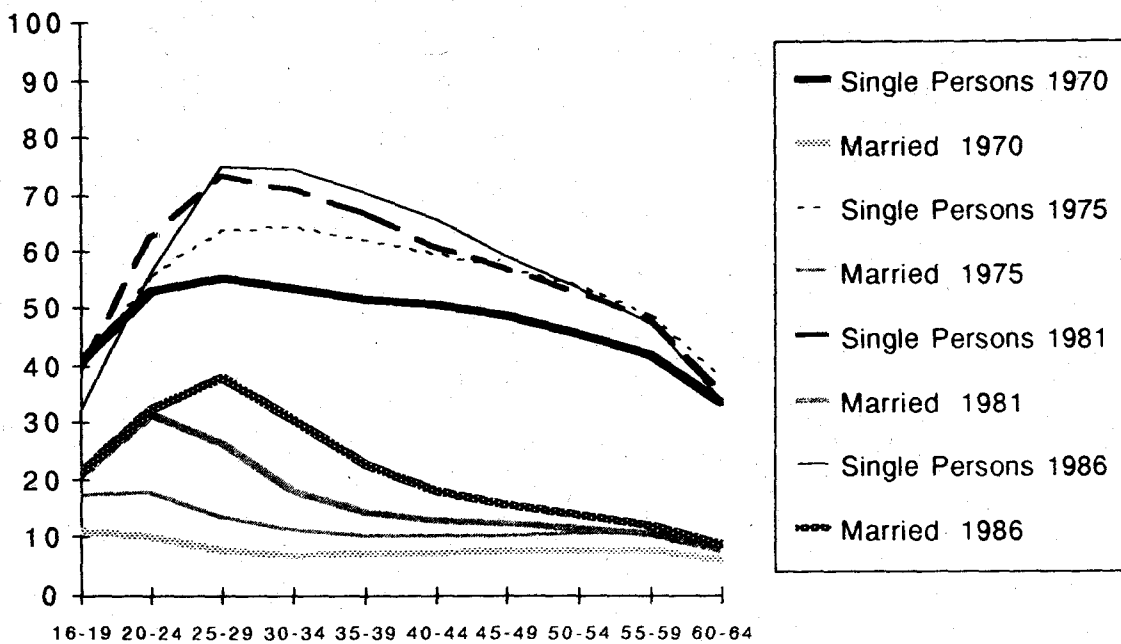
Graphic 6.1. CATALONIA AND SPAIN: FEMALE ACTIVITY RATES BY MARITAL STATUS AND AGE, 1970 AND 1986

CATALONIA



Graphic 6.2

SPAIN



Source: Table 5.2

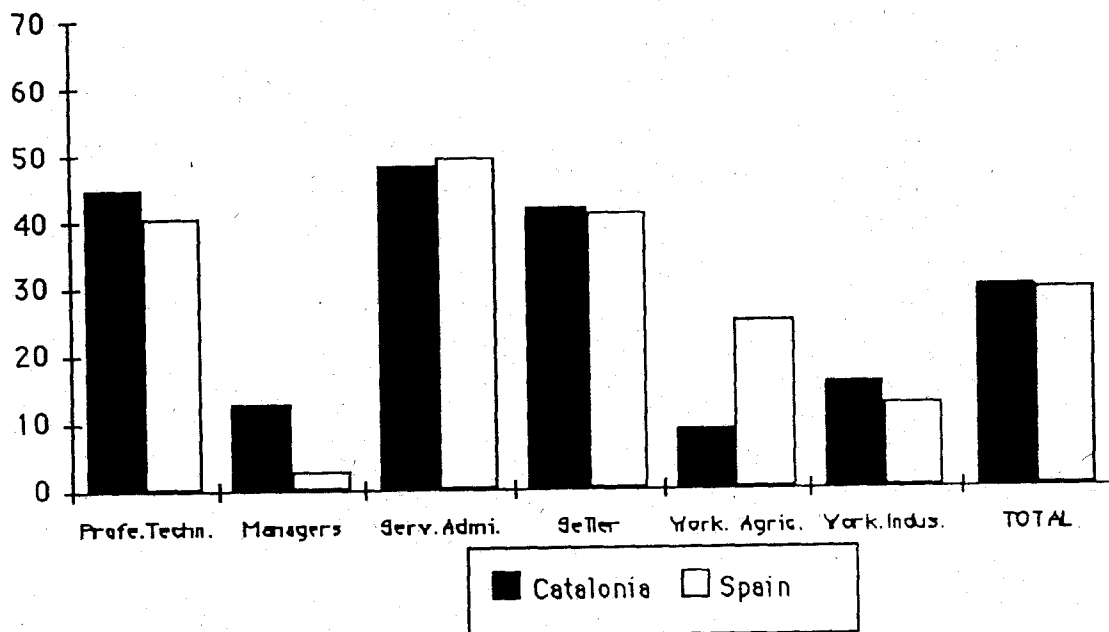
Table 6.3.

Female activity rate by age and by education level. Catalonia 1986

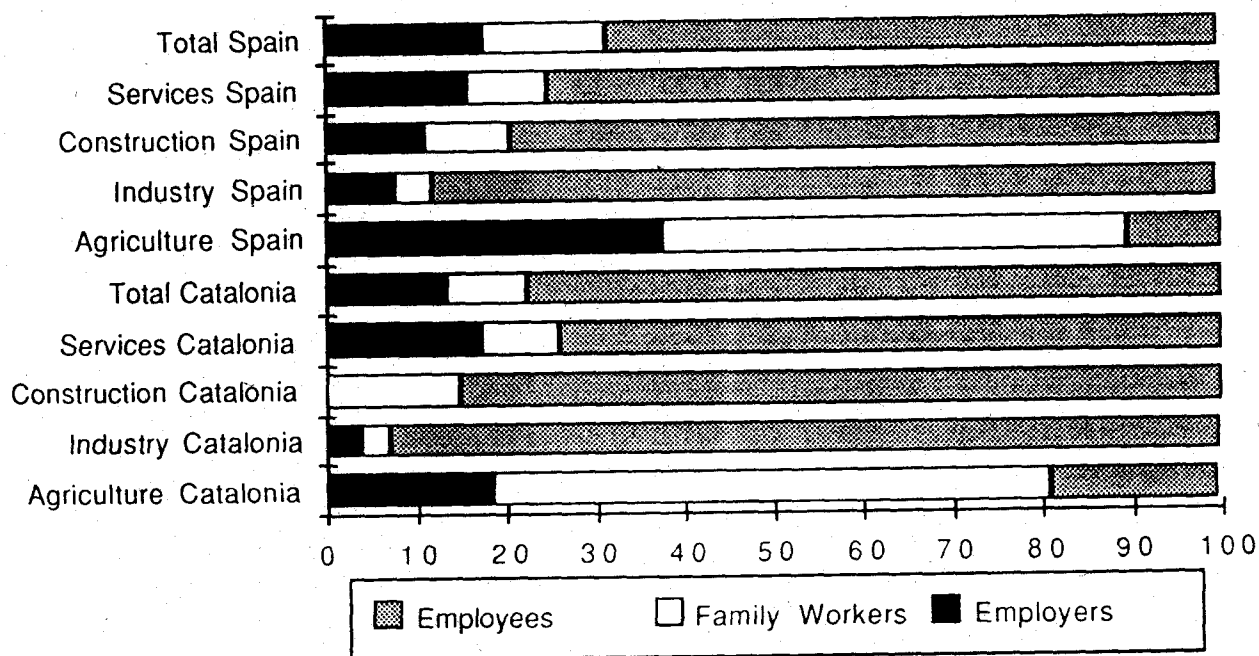
Age	Illiterate	No studies	First degree	2.Degree 1.cycle	2.Degree 2.cycle	Technical	University	Ph. D.	Unknown	Total
20-24	1,31	3,29	9,80	9,98	10,29	11,73	12,21	-	3,00	9,22
25-34	1,33	3,53	7,39	10,86	11,95	13,63	15,38	11,73	7,28	8,83
35-44	1,82	2,99	5,02	7,87	10,02	11,86	16,57	11,52	7,98	5,54
45-54	1,66	2,92	4,33	6,36	8,21	10,15	13,34	9,52	6,22	4,06
55-64	0,93	2,05	3,05	4,65	6,40	9,08	10,49	8,86	4,57	2,71
65 and +	0,04	0,15	0,29	0,74	1,00	1,12	1,91	2,50	3,30	0,24
Total	0,70	2,01	4,73	8,86	10,13	11,13	14,41	10,69	5,43	4,73

Source: Own elaboration from the Padró Municipal d'Habitants (CIDC).

Graphic 6.3. CATALONIA AND SPAIN: PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE EMPLOYED OVER TOTAL POPULATION EMPLOYED BY SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL LEVEL. 1986



Graphic 6.4. CATALONIA AND SPAIN: PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE EMPLOYED ACCORDING TO THEIR PROFESSIONAL STATUS. 1986



Source: Table 5.6

Table 6.4.

Catalonia and Spain: Unemployment rates by sex and by age groups, 1986

Age groups	CATALONIA			SPAIN		
	F	M	MF	F	M	MF
	1986					
16-19	65,55	56,54	60,68	65,07	57,95	60,94
20-24	43,65	34,99	39,01	47,88	39,44	42,89
25-29	24,18	17,39	20,14	28,79	21,35	23,92
30-34	18,68	12,05	14,24	18,16	13,77	15,02
35-39	15,09	10,30	11,61	13,55	10,95	11,56
40-44	12,66	10,23	10,82	11,61	10,38	10,63
45-49	11,75	11,28	11,38	10,71	11,23	11,14
50-54	10,68	12,19	11,85	10,05	12,35	11,93
55-59	11,38	15,76	14,80	9,78	14,70	13,77
60-64	8,93	12,82	11,92	7,37	12,53	11,42
65 +	9,69	7,88	8,59	8,46	7,82	8,04
TOTAL	26,74	17,49	20,47	28,65	19,25	21,89
	1988					
16-19	55,09	42,05	48,56	52,99	41,28	46,83
20-24	44,44	26,78	35,71	45,99	32,56	38,50
25-54	23,28	9,54	14,31	21,91	11,60	14,89
55 +	9,66	8,82	9,04	6,19	9,29	8,45
TOTAL	30,08	13,72	19,85	27,98	15,62	19,85
	1990					
16-19	41,45	18,89	29,96	42,78	30,62	36,46
20-24	29,20	16,45	22,28	37,72	23,78	29,97
25-54	17,24	5,89	10,01	20,79	9,45	13,29
55 +	10,38	5,75	6,91	6,71	8,10	7,73
TOTAL	20,68	7,79	12,56	24,16	11,98	16,26

Source: INE, Padrón Municipal de Habitantes, 1986; INE, Encuesta de Población activa 1988 and 1990.

Table 6.5.

Catalonia and Spain: employment by sex and by sector, 1986.
(16+) Percentages

	Agric.	Ind.	Const.	Com Host.	Trans Comu.	Serv.	Unknown	Total
CATALONIA								
MF	4,91	35,73	5,25	16,33	5,95	22,73	9,09	100,00
M	6,26	38,80	7,26	14,67	7,23	16,81	8,96	100,00
F	1,70	28,44	0,49	20,26	2,92	36,78	9,41	100,00
SPAIN								
MF	16,13	24,40	7,48	20,86	5,75	25,38	0,00	100,00
M	17,14	27,78	10,33	18,92	7,34	18,49	0,00	100,00
F	13,68	16,24	0,57	25,56	1,88	42,07	0,00	100,00
CATALONIA								
MF	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
M	89,73	76,39	97,22	63,20	85,47	52,02	69,32	70,34
F	10,27	23,61	2,78	36,80	14,53	47,98	30,68	29,66
SPAIN								
MF	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
M	75,21	80,56	97,76	64,18	90,44	51,55	100,00	70,77
F	24,79	19,44	2,24	35,82	9,56	48,45	0,00	29,23

Source: Own elaboration from the Padró Municipal d'Habitants (CIDC) and from the Encuesta de la Población Activa 2º trim.

Table 6.6.

Catalonia and Spain: employment by sex and by socio-professional level, 1986

	Prof. Techn	Manag.	Serv. Admi.	Seller	Work Agric.	Work Ind	Force Army	Unknown	Total
CATALONIA									
MF	12,10	3,64	22,04	11,23	4,83	39,84	0,24	6,08	100,00
M	9,48	4,50	16,27	9,33	6,26	47,78	0,34	6,04	100,00
F	18,32	1,59	35,74	15,73	1,44	21,01	0,00	6,17	100,00
SPAIN									
MF	8,86	1,76	25,91	11,01	16,01	35,47	0,98	0,01	100,00
M	7,46	2,42	18,55	9,18	17,00	44,02	1,38	0,00	100,00
F	12,25	0,16	43,74	15,44	13,61	14,78	0,00	0,02	100,00
CATALONIA									
MF	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
M	55,10	87,03	51,91	58,46	91,19	84,36	—	69,90	70,34
F	44,90	12,97	48,09	41,54	8,81	15,64	—	30,10	29,66
SPAIN									
MF	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
M	59,579	97,31	50,661	59,016	75,156	87,818	—	33,3333	70,772
F	40,42	2,69	49,34	40,98	24,84	12,18	—	66,67	29,23

Source: Own elaboration from the Padró Municipal d'Habitants (CIDC) and from the Encuesta Población Activa (2º Trimestre).

Table 6.7.

Catalonia and Spain: employment by sex, by sector and by occupation status, 1991. (Population 16 and + years old). Percentages

CATALONIA											
	AGRICULTURE		INDUSTRY		CONSTRUCTION		SERVICES		TOTAL		F
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Employers	61,59	21,01	8,75	4,68	23,12	6,72	23,04	15,64	19,32	12,92	F
Family Workers	10,26	55,80	0,74	3,41	3,36	6,72	2,84	6,29	2,44	6,48	F
Employees	27,68	23,19	90,42	91,70	73,17	86,55	73,92	77,08	78,04	79,83	F
Others	0,47	0,00	0,09	0,21	0,35	0,00	0,20	0,99	0,19	0,77	F
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
SPAIN											
	AGRICULTURE		INDUSTRY		CONSTRUCTION		SERVICES		TOTAL		F
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Employers	45,24	33,02	9,78	6,91	17,74	5,11	22,04	12,96	20,93	13,77	F
Family Workers	8,58	32,32	0,95	3,37	1,34	5,84	2,45	6,53	2,62	8,44	F
Employees	45,83	34,56	89,06	89,43	80,72	89,05	75,23	80,12	76,19	77,45	F
Others	0,34	0,09	0,21	0,30	0,20	0,00	0,29	0,39	0,26	0,34	F
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

Source: Own elaboration from the Encuesta de Población Activa, 2^o trimestre (INE) 1991.

7. WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Organised women's groups at local, neighbourhood and town level emerged at the end of the 70s. These movements have been losing members during the last few years. There are still a number of women's groups which maintain a strong leadership such as women from some large districts of Barcelona (Sants district and some districts from the metropolitan area and specially the industrial belt, as Sabadell, Cerdanyola, Hospitalet, Santa Coloma, and so on), and the very dynamic women's groups of the extreme left (Marxist or Trotskyist: "Eix Violeta", "Mari Bruixes"). All these are grouped by the Feminist Coordinator ("Coordinadora Feminista") set up in Barcelona city centre ("K La Dona"), which coordinates general campaigns, such as 8th March or concrete events concerning more recent matters. Nowadays the main issues of the campaigns are the reform of the Abortion Law and the fight against sexual harassment. In spite of the fact that abortion is an old vindication, it is a problem area. On the other hand, one should mention the recent groups established ("Grup de Dones Contra el V Centenari") by different women's organisations supporting Latin American countries (Nicaragua, Chile) against the fifth Centenary of American discovery.

The groups mentioned above co-exist with other women's groups committed to "professional issues, such as health, education and legislation. At the University level there are different groups organising seminars and promoting the integration of gender studies within the educational and research spheres.

Concerning women's participation in the Trade Unions, it has been institutionalised by the establishment of the Women's Secretariat, which counts on the most women's concern sectors. However, it is still very difficult to influence general trade unions policies. Another aspect to be mentioned concern the political parties, which have agreed on 25% of women's representation in the directive body (the socialist party, PSOE, and one of the communist PCE) independently of their representation.

Important groups have also been organised at the enterprise level, where women have informed workers about the situation of labour

discrimination. The fights of female workers against Jaegger, post sector or Jorba Preciados enterprises due to wage discriminations are good examples. In all these three cases women were paid much less money for the same work. The attendance perks (Jaegger) or the clothes perks were unfairly used as a means to justify wage differentials between the sexes. These objections have been supported by the Trade Unions and they have succeeded.

8. NATIONAL AND LOCAL POLICY FOR EQUALITY

The end of the franquist period started with the dictator's death on November 20th 1975. In April (1976), a law abolished former regulations, according to which married women had to get their husband's agreement before accepting a job. The new law stated that any woman, no matter what her civil status might be, could undertake work of any kind and exercise the corresponding rights under the same conditions as men. A little later, the 1978 democratic Constitution established equality of rights and duties between men and women as well as the equality of children born either inside or outside of marriage. The same year, the State government initiated laws, the objective of which was to eliminate discrimination among individuals and to guarantee individual liberties such as:

- July 1978: Depenalisation of contraception and creation of Family Planning Centers by the Health and Consumption Ministry.
- July 1981: Law regulating divorce and legal separations.
- October 1981: Basic laws which stipulate that employment will have to be based on the principle of equal opportunities without sex discrimination.
- October 1983: Creation of the state Women's Institute set up in Madrid.
- July 1985: Depenalisation of abortion, during the first 16 weeks of gestation and in one of three cases: eugenic, ethical or therapeutic.
- September 1987: Agreement of the Council of Ministers on the first Plan for equal opportunities for women.

In some aspects, the Spanish law is more advanced than the European Community norms; for instance in the case of maternity leave, the European Community is presently discussing whether it should be 14 weeks. In Spain the March 1989 law in contrast foresees 16 weeks and also includes the possibility of paternal leave for the last 4 weeks if both are working and the mother would not run any risk to her health. Equally, it allows them to ask for a reduction in daily working hours - with proportional wage reduction until the child reaches six years of age. It also establishes the opportunity to have leave for a period up

to three years. This case will guarantee them a place at work only during the first year. A new law on abortion, a historical claim indeed, is one of the subjects to be dealt in the near future.

Women's Plan for Equal Opportunities for 1988-1990 establishes the basis for equality policy, which will be coordinated by the different Ministries of the Central Spanish Government. The plan foresees six areas of action:

1. Juridical equality,
2. Education and culture,
3. Employment and work relations,
4. Health,
5. International cooperation and
6. Associations.

Concrete goals and the means to achieve each of them will be worked out. The professional education, the employment and social security respond to the contents of the Action Plan 1986-1990, the purpose of which was equal opportunities for women in the European Community. The package of concrete action goals of the Equality Plan of the Central Government is centered on the spheres of employment-labour relations and Juridical equality. These goals make up more than 60% of the actions. From the point of view of the programme's philosophy positive aspects might be pointed out taking into an account indirect discrimination or the purpose of involving men in some sort of equality measures. But contrary to this, and above all concerning employment, there is no clear social policy for all women. They focus on the needs of the most disfavoured women of those in difficult situations (unskilled women, long-term unemployed, agricultural workers, etc.). In this sense the existing actions of the Social Services Department - liaison required to link women to the labour market - are not enough. A good example is the limited importance given to the daycare centres. There is just one action in this respect, which intends setting up daycare centres for the female workers within the Public Administration. At the end of last year, after that Plan had reached its expiration date, evaluation done by the Woman's Institute was highly positive: 114 measures out of the initial 122 had been carried out, legal equality between men and women had become a fact even if it is far from being real, everyday equality. Employment is part of the mosaic that most clearly reflects what is

still to be done to obtain real equality, not just in the legal sense. The governments of various Spanish autonomous communities, after the creation of the Women's Institute - under the Socialist Government - approved the creation of departments that would take care of women's equality and liberty. There are seven Autonomous Communities, of the total number of 17 Autonomous Communities in Spanish State, with institutions specially oriented towards women. In the case of Catalonia, the "Convergencia i Unió " conservative and nationalist Government approved on January 29, 1987 the creation of an Interdepartmental Commission for the Promotion of Women. This Commission has worked out a Plan of Action aimed at all Equal Opportunities for Women (1989-1992). Although the Plan follows the European Community Directives, it is on the whole more protectionist and conservative than the one elaborated by the Central Government. This is quite clear if we look at the spheres of actions where the plan focuses on:

1. Equal consideration of the legal aspects for women and men (11 actions),
2. Protective measures for women against the limit situations (4 actions),
3. Family and maternity protection (4 actions),
4. Education (5 actions),
5. Social recognition of equalitarian values (9 actions),
6. Promotion of woman's participation in the social sphere (1 action).

As we can see, there is no concrete package of measures in employment and labour relations but a scattered one through sections 2,3 and 5. The inadequate structure of the programme together with the frequent imprecisely defined suggestions give more pragmatism to the Plan. The result is that it looks like a simple proposal of good intention. As for improving women's participation in the labour market the suggestion of reducing daily working hours independently of the sex of the worker guarantees the compatibility between children's daycare and labour activity. Whether this measure would be positive in a climate of equality (as a short-term strategy and during an inequality situation) is questionable. It could make women's discrimination worse by leaving them as a second category of workers due to the fact that the little

time devoted to the professional sphere causes lack of competitiveness. The treatment done to the point of the daycare centres as a way of promoting women's participation in the labour market is also incomprehensive.

To sum up, The Equality Plan consisted of a clear intention of avoiding and reporting inequality between the sexes - not only formally but in reality - it is not far from the "women's protection" philosophy, rather than being based on the real claim for women's rights.

In this section we will make some remarks about the **Third Programme** of the Community on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men. It focuses on employment issues especially the less-favoured category of workers, as in the two preceding programmes. Hence there is, in a certain way, a continuity of policy. The main goal is the promotion of women's full participation in the labour market, as well as the re-evaluation of their contribution to economic and social life. Three concrete goals are stated:

- **Development and implementation of the juridical framework.** This is a very important goal since it tries to deal not only with direct discrimination, but also to indirect, subtler mechanisms than the written law. The programme acknowledges that there is indirect discrimination in the definition of equal salary for equal work. Therefore the suggestion is to clarify some concepts - used for the evaluation and professional classification of workers - which are used by the Social Security to undervalue women's contribution. The huge need to enforce implementation of the Law is underlined in cases such as salary discrimination, directly as well as indirectly.

- **Women's integration in the labour market.** This goal will be mainly achieved through the **NOW** initiative, examined below. We note that the part on employment issues has lower aims compared to the legislative part. It has not taken into account the subtle discriminations set out above. This is the most interesting part - from our point of view - since it considers that in order for women to reach integration in the production sphere, compromise between family and professional life is a basic problem. Therefore women as well as men would benefit from this measure. Equally, development of the daycare centres throughout the whole territory is suggested. However, the Commission has transferred the whole responsibility to the Member States of the EC. Other measures include the promotion of research on women's condition within the labour market, the diffusion of the re-integration measures already implemented by other countries, the continuation of the IRIS and ILE actions and the diffusion of legislation and practice of women and men sharing family responsibilities.

- **Improvement of women's situation within society, developed along three lines:**

1. A campaign on the importance of equal opportunities for women and men to increase public awareness and diffusion of information,
2. Women's image within mass media and
3. Women's participation in the decision-making process.

We consider the integration of the Third Plan within the general framework policies a positive action. It is basically important since it makes clear there is no one concrete point to combat inequality. The mechanisms through which discrimination is exercised are intertwined with all spheres of social life. Hence the policy cannot be limited to one specific field. The last remark is about the little emphasis given to the need for men to change and to share responsibility for children and daily household tasks.

The NOW initiative is undertaken through the Third Community Programme for Equal Opportunities for Women and it is basically based on the promotion of employment and professional training for women (2nd aim). Only the second aim is coordinated by the structural funds. The others are underlined simply as recommendations to the Member States and the same happens with the two concrete goals from the Third Plan set out above. There are two main goals:

1. Contribution to women's re-evaluation as well as qualifications and the change of women's enterprise mentality concerning cooperatives and businesses creation and
2. Re-insertion of women involved in informal work or simply unemployed.

At the same time, there are other concrete goals:

- **Financial support to undertake small enterprises or women's cooperatives.** This will be done through training courses and the advice service to facilitate the access to existing structures related to the handicraft or PYME activities. Economic support can come from the Community network for the Local Employment Initiatives (LEI). This point is a bit disappointing to us, now that the initiative is primarily aimed at the less-developed regions (therefore Catalonia would be left out) and will only

reinforce the development of enterprises and cooperatives at local level (social services).

According to a study undertaken by Women's Institute (1988-89) the tendency of increasing numbers of female employers and self-employed has not stopped. Nevertheless there are problems related to the lack of managerial training. Private enterprise is based on five basic activities: business, hotels, farm cultivation, dressmaking and aesthetics, education, hairdressing, sanitary and food. They must aim for other more competitive, economic sectors. Most of the women's enterprises are not employment creators and quite a lot of them are self-employed.

- **Guide measures, professional training, employment support and advice service to professional re-insertion.** This is aimed at less-favoured groups: unskilled young people, long-term unemployed women and women in precarious work. On this point Catalonia is a preference region. Professional training programmes follow a philosophy purely and simply to assist policies, but the priority is still given to less favoured groups not just women as a whole. In this sense, the policy looks like the mythical idea where better training would lead to a better situation, when this is a basic condition but it is far from being unique. It is evident whether we compare the differential unemployment rates among the university students of both sexes. The worse position of women is found not only in their professional career, but in the discriminatory structure of the labour market itself. On the other hand if we wish to reach greater levels of women's participation in the labour market, equalling that of men, concrete policy measures should be taken according to characteristics of specific groups of women. Women's position within the particular labour market is very important for the future integration of the less favoured women, since women already integrated in the labour market would determine women's own perspectives. When a rich network of women participate in the labour market, it plays a legitimate role for the future female workers.

- **Complementary measures focussed on childcare and technical assistance.** There are other specific measures highlighted in this section:

1. Development of infrastructure of childcare centres. It is necessary to increase the number of daycare centres (basically throughout industrial centres), support daycare for women joining training courses, and greater supply of training courses for the education of daycare staff,
2. Measures of technical assistance, supporting the creation of transnational networks, experience exchanges, etc.

Once again we feel a bit disappointed about the first complementary measure, in the sense that it is restricted to the less developed regions and especially to programmes which combine infrastructure with professional training. Therefore Catalonia would again be left out. But what is more important: support for daycare development is understood to be a tool to secure attendance by the less favoured women to training courses. However, our region needs daycare centres not only for the less favoured women, but for all women, so that the ones already working can keep on with their activities or at least they will not face handicaps, working in unequal conditions. Another point open to discussion is whether daycare centres should be located at the place of residence or at the workplace. We would tend to suggest the place of residence, so that both parents could make use of the services.

REGIONAL REPORT

LISBON AND TAGUS VALLEY

PORTUGAL

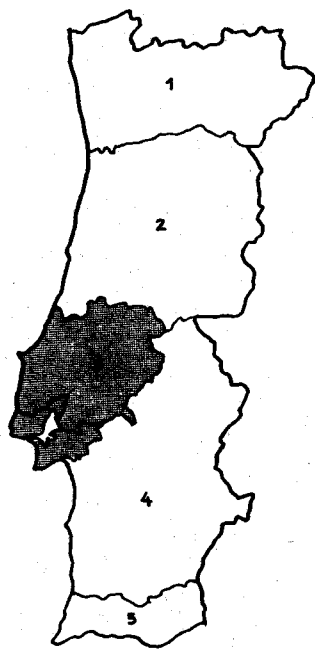
by

Isabel Margarida ANDRÉ

Cristina FERREIRA

Maria Emília ARROZ

August 1991



1. Norte
2. Centro
3. Lisboa e Vale do Tejo
4. Alentejo
5. Algarve
6. Acores
7. Madeira

1. REGIONAL PRODUCTIVE STRUCTURE

The Atlantic Ocean and the Tagus explain a great part of the development in the Region and in the City since the advent of the nation (12th Century). The location of Lisbon is privileged, not only in the national context but also in the international. In the national context Lisbon is the most favoured port located in the large Tagus estuary which has enabled it to function as the political capital since the Middle Ages. The centralization of the political power which has characterized Portugal throughout the centuries promoted the early and significant development of Lisbon, which was one of the most important cities of Europe during the World Discoveries. In the international context, Lisbon is an important connection from Europe to America and Africa. The history of Lisbon overpasses the aim of this report, however it is important to note the main recent trends.

The colonial empire, maintained until 1974, had important consequences in recent national and regional development: Lisbon was not only the political capital of a small European country, but also the capital of a large empire for five centuries. Until the sixties the Portuguese economy was mainly based in colonial exploitation and the region of Lisbon was the main centre of that system. The national bourgeoisie, mainly concerned with colonial commerce and with the latifundia located in the South (Alentejo) lived in Lisbon and dominated the political power supporting the dictatorship of Salazar. The Catholic Church was the ideological support of that system.

During the sixties significant developments occurred. In 1961 the Colonial War began, progressively weakening the political system. The economy was also affected mainly due to the rapid increase of war costs. In that context the standard of living of the rural population (the majority) fell and migration became unavoidable. A great part of the population from the countryside migrated mainly to France and also to the region of Lisbon. At this time the explosive demographic increase of the region occurred, beginning the suburbanization process. The south of the region (Peninsula of Setubal) received people mainly from the south of Portugal (Alentejo) and in the north of the region the migrants coming from the Centre and North of Portugal (Tras-os-Montes

and Beira Interior) settled. During the sixties important national economic groups, connecting industrial and financial capital, were developed in direct relation to multinational enterprises. Industrialization promoted by those groups and also by direct foreign investments defined the main trends of the new human geography of Portugal producing important changes in the economic and geographical organization of the region of Lisbon where population and industrial investment were concentrated.

In the seventies, the Democratic Revolution introduced quite different trends in Portuguese society. Independence of the colonies was one of the most important consequences, inducing the return of about 500,000 Portuguese citizens. The majority stayed in the region of Lisbon, at least initially. State intervention became much more extended, not only in the social sphere but also in the economy. This process induced an important growth of the public administration; however, the geographical concentration of public services in Lisbon was, in general, maintained. The economy also suffered deep changes. The main national economic groups were nationalized. Consequently, the majority of the industrial enterprises located in the region of Lisbon became included in the Public Sector. The same happened with the financial sector also concentrated in Lisbon. During a short period after the Revolution that economic process allowed significant salary increases in the region. Nevertheless, by the end of the seventies, a regional industry crisis began as a result of incorrect management processes and also induced by right-wing policies which promoted the re-privatisation of those enterprises.

The spread of the private sector of economy and the European Integration were the most relevant processes occurring in the eighties. After a crisis period in the region of Lisbon, especially painful in the south (Peninsula of Setubal) where salary cuts were made over a long period, the regional economic growth was reestablished in the eighties. The old economic groups were in part reconstituted and new groups were established. The re-privatisation of several public enterprises, including some banks and insurance companies, promoted the spread of those groups. Foreign investment was also largely extended, mainly in the region of Lisbon; an increase in Spanish investment was particularly

significant. European Integration reinforced the economic process mainly through the Economic Programmes for Portuguese industry and agriculture; foreign investment was also favoured.

In the social sphere European Integration promoted important improvements in social services and equipment. Education and vocational training seemed to be the most favoured sectors. Otherwise, the political influence of Lisbon increased with the European Integration - frequent relations between Member States favoured the Portuguese Capital. This situation promoted the spread of high level services in Lisbon.

1.1. Geographical profile of the region

The region of Lisbon and Tagus Valley (map 1) is a recent administrative regional unit, mainly with planning functions and includes the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon and two adjacent rural regions: the West (North of Lisbon District and South of Leiria District) and the Ribatejo (Santarem District). The region has 11,926 Km², 13.4% of the national surface, and about 3.5 millions of inhabitants, 35% of the national population.

The tertiary activities are predominant - they represent 60% of regional employment and 64% of the added value. The industrial sector has been weakening and represents nowadays about 30% of the regional employment and 32% of the added value. In 1986, employment and added value percentage distribution by industrial branches, was the following:

	<u>Employment</u>	<u>Added Value</u>
Food	15.4	23.2
Textiles	11.7	7.2
Wood	5.0	2.2
Paper	10.0	12.2
Chemicals	14.4	20.6
Non-metallic products	9.2	8.1
Metallurgy	4.1	3.6
Metalomechanics	30.0	22.7
Others	0.2	0.2

Agriculture is an important activity in the West and Ribatejo, favoured by the proximity of the great consumption market of Lisbon. The main produce in both areas is wine, horticulture and fruit. The average holding size is 3.4 Ha in the West and 5.5 Ha in the Ribatejo there are some large, modern farms.

As far as social structure is concerned the region of Lisbon presents deep contrasts which are reflected in spatial organization. The upper class has been moving from the city to the western municipalities near Lisbon (Oeiras, Cascais), however some quarters inside the city maintain upper class population, mainly elder inhabitants. In the last years some traditional central quarters of the city have been more and more chosen by upper/middle class young people which favoured urban rehabilitation processes. The lower groups of middle class (mainly with clerical occupations) form the majority of the suburban population. However, the suburbs of Lisbon are socially differentiated, the eastern and southern municipalities are poorer and a significant part of their population are industrial workers. The poorest population, including the African immigrants, live in slums or clandestine houses inside the city or near its boundaries. Outside the metropolitan area social discrimination has no significant geographical expression.

The political and electoral behaviour is also differentiated inside the region. In the municipal elections the Communist Party is strong, mainly in the southern municipalities where the left-wing movement was important even during the dictatorship. In the national elections the Socialist Party and the Social-Democratic Party are the main electoral choices.

2. POPULATION

During the 20th Century, the Portuguese population shows a considerable increase, doubling between 1900 and 1989 (from more or less 5 million to 10 million inhabitants). However, in the last 30 years the demographic growth has not been regular (see table 1.1.). During the sixties, the general growth trend was reversed. Emigration to Europe, namely France, explains part of the population decrease. During the seventies population increased as a result of two main factors: a) the economic world crisis reduced the emigration flows and promoted the emigrants return to Portugal; b) the return of about 500,000 Portuguese citizens (1974/75) from Africa, as a consequence of the independence of Portuguese colonies. During the eighties population growth was moderate.

2.1. Demographic evolution and regional inequalities

The region and the city of Lisbon does not reflect the national demographic trends (see table 1.1.). The economic development of Portugal emphasised increasing regional inequalities, mainly since the sixties. After a long period of economic stagnancy (characterized mainly by low family incomes, incipient industrial development, low productivity rates in agriculture which employed the majority of workers) a period of industrial development began in the sixties.

As a consequence there was an increase of the tertiary sector promoting deep regional inequalities. The contrast between the rural areas and the littoral became more and more pronounced. Rural agriculture remained the main economic activity but the mechanization in some areas, or the underdevelopment in other regions obliged a great part of the population to move to France, Germany and to the littoral of Portugal mainly to the region of Lisbon. The region of Lisbon concentrated more and more on the new factories, the financial sector and the public administration.

Those reasons justified the demographic growth registered in the region of Lisbon during the sixties (+11%) while all the other regions were losing their population - every day the trains arrived in Lisbon full of

workers! During the seventies the region of Lisbon also registered a strong population increase due to the settlement of people returning from the ex-colonies.

2.2. Male and female population

The different evolution of male and female population reflects, on one hand, the different longevity of each one and, otherwise, their unequal geographical mobility. In general, we can see (table 2.1.) that during the period of stronger emigration (the sixties) population decrease, at the national level, affected men overall. In the same period, in the region of Lisbon women registered a higher increase than men. We can conclude that men migrated mainly to foreign countries and women migrated mainly to national urban areas, namely the Lisbon area.

This trend was modified in the seventies with the return of a greater proportion of men from European countries and from ex-colonies. In the eighties, in the region of Lisbon the number of women increased more than men's, while the evolution at the national level was the opposite. This trend perhaps reflects once again the different geographical mobility of men and women.

2.3. Age structure

The age structure of Portuguese population is becoming older (see table 2.2.). This is a result of an higher longevity (related with improvements in health services and nourishment practices) and, on the other hand, it is a consequence of the lower birth rate (due to birth control, new family patterns and women's employment). The older population percentage is similar at the national and at the regional level but is higher in the city of Lisbon where the difference between men and women, related to longevity, is particularly significant. This happens because young families are forced to move to suburban areas due to the high cost of housing in the inner city. The children's group is larger at the national level than in the region. Family planning and contraception are more prevalent in urban and suburban areas where the catholic practice is weaker.

2.4. Main Socio-demographic trends

The development of Portugal in the last decades and the consequent urbanization process promoted relevant social and cultural changes reflected in some demographic indicators (see table 2.4.). The infant mortality rate was particularly high in the sixties reflecting the national underdevelopment in the European context. The decrease of this rate in the seventies and especially in the eighties is remarkable. However, until the eighties the regional and mainly the urban situation related with infant mortality was clearly favoured when compared with the national context. Pregnancy care, medical assistance during birth as well as infant care was much more effective in the urban regions and mainly in Lisbon where access to social services was easier. On the other hand, the average educational level of the population favoured those practices. In the eighties the situation of the city of Lisbon changed and it registered the highest levels of infant mortality. This is certainly a result of immigration - the poorest population, mainly from Cape-Vert, lived in slums inside the city where health care was clearly inadequate.

Since 1960 the total fertility rate has been decreasing at the national level but presents a relative stability in the region of Lisbon, being more and more uniform all over the country. We can even observe that between 1960 and 1970 the total fertility rate increased in the region of Lisbon and in the city. This can be explained by the migrations during the sixties: the rural population arriving in the region had different practices of family planning and contraception. However, in the eighties the regional fertility rate became very low. The increasing percentage of employed women, the problems related with housing in urban and suburban areas, the increasing cost of children's education and, in addition, the cultural changes in attitudes to women's professional careers explain the increasing number of families with no children or with just one child in the Lisbon area. The process is similar in all urban areas of developed countries.

The percentage of civil marriages as well as the increase in divorce rates reflect, better than anything, the urban culture. In fact, the region of Lisbon and in particular the city itself, until nowadays, has

much higher standards than the whole country. The traditional cultural practices and the social pressure are clearly weaker in urban areas. On the other hand, the liberation and economic independence of women, in urban areas, has led to more divorce. It is important to note that the explosive increase in the divorce rate between 1970 and 1981 was a direct result of the political changes occurring in the seventies, namely the abolishment of the law which forbade divorce for catholic marriages. However, the consequences of that legal change were more significant in the region of Lisbon than at national level.

The marriage rate increased in the sixties but has decreased since 1970. The sixties meant the end of a period of traditional social practices. Among non-catholic, lower social classes, namely among industrial workers of the region of Lisbon cohabitation was frequent. In other words, the percentage of unmarried women was relevant in the context of extended families - they were the "aunts". Since the seventies the situation has been changing rapidly. The fall in the marriage rate reflects the same social and cultural trends, as does divorce. The traditional family in the region of Lisbon, namely in the urban area, seems to be in crisis and cohabitation is far more frequent, mainly among middle class couples. Cohabitation is also usual amongst divorced persons.

The data concerning births outside marriage are directly related with the evolution and changes in marriage patterns. In the sixties births outside marriage were a social problem, they meant an unmarried mother, a marginal and helpless woman. Nowadays, in the region of Lisbon (not in northern rural areas) these births are the result of cohabitation and their percentage is significant, they represent 22% in the region of Lisbon and 29% in the city.

Table 2.1.

Population by sex, 1960-1989

		1960	1970	1981	1989(*)
PORTUGAL	MF	8889392	8611205	9833014	10337000
	M	4254416	4089165	4737715	4994100
	F	4634976	4522040	5095299	5342900
REGION	MF	2276418	2532394	3261578	3427900
	M	1090036	1202505	1571422	1646400
	F	1186382	1329889	1690156	1781500
LISBON	MF	802230	760150	807937	
	M	361694	338620	370248	
	F	440536	421530	437689	

Variation (%)

		1960/70	1970/81	1981/89
PORTUGAL	MF	-3.13	14.19	5.13
	M	-3.88	15.86	5.41
	F	-2.44	12.68	4.86
REGION	MF	11.24	28.79	5.10
	M	10.32	30.68	4.77
	F	12.10	27.09	5.40
LISBON	MF	-5.25	6.29	-
	M	-6.38	9.34	-
	F	-4.31	3.83	-

Sources: INE, Census 1960, 1970, 1981.

(*) INE, Employment Survey, 1989.

Table 2.2.
Population by sex and age groups, 1960-1989.

1960		0-14	%	15-64	%	> 64	%	TOTAL
PORTUGAL	MF	2591955	29.2	5588868	62.9	708569	8.0	8889392
	M	1319474	31.0	2654457	62.4	280485	6.6	4254416
	F	1272481	27.5	2934411	63.3	428084	9.2	4634976
REGION	MF	522829	23.0	1564853	68.8	188736	8.3	2275418
	M	265624	24.4	751543	68.9	72869	6.7	1090036
	F	257205	21.7	813310	68.6	115867	9.8	1186382
LISBON	MF	144249	18.0	583093	72.7	74888	9.3	802230
	M	72794	20.1	264052	73.0	24848	6.9	361694
	F	71455	16.2	319041	72.4	50040	11.4	440536

1970		0-14	%	15-64	%	> 64	%	TOTAL
PORTUGAL	MF	2451850	28.5	5326515	61.9	832840	9.7	8611205
	M	1245480	30.5	2511140	61.4	332545	8.1	4089165
	F	1206370	26.7	2815375	62.3	500295	11.1	4522040
REGION	MF	598219	23.6	1695670	67.0	238505	9.4	2532394
	M	303945	25.3	807030	67.1	91530	7.6	1202505
	F	294274	22.1	888640	66.8	146975	11.1	1329889
LISBON	MF	152000	20.0	521265	68.6	86885	11.4	760150
	M	76120	22.5	233400	68.9	29100	8.6	338620
	F	75880	18.0	287865	68.3	57785	13.7	421530

1981		0-14	%	15-64	%	> 64	%	TOTAL
PORTUGAL	MF	2854793	29.0	5906696	60.1	1071525	10.9	9833014
	M	1439213	30.4	2863516	60.4	434986	9.2	4737715
	F	1415580	27.8	3043180	59.7	636539	12.5	5095299
REGION	MF	759904	23.3	2156584	66.1	345090	10.6	3261578
	M	388566	24.7	1047961	66.7	134895	8.6	1571422
	F	371338	22.0	1108623	65.6	210195	12.4	1690156
LISBON	MF	153020	18.9	539397	66.8	115520	14.3	807937
	M	77946	21.1	252763	68.3	39539	10.7	370248
	F	75074	17.2	286634	65.5	75981	17.4	437689

1989 (*)		0-14	%	15-64	%	> 64	%	TOTAL
PORTUGAL	MF	2160200	20.9	6818700	66.0	1358100	13.1	10337000
	M	1110200	22.2	3328800	66.7	555100	11.1	4994100
	F	1050000	19.7	3489900	65.3	803000	15.0	5342900
REGION	MF	644900	18.8	2333700	68.1	449300	13.1	3427900
	M	334900	20.3	1132500	68.8	179000	10.9	1646400
	F	310000	17.4	1201200	67.4	270300	15.2	1781500

Sources: INE, Census 1960, 1970, 1981.
(*) INE, Employment Survey, 1989.

Table 2.3.

Urban and rural population in the region, 1960-1989.

	1960	1970	1981	1989(*)
Urban Population	1799151	2095785	2784895	2990600
Rural Population	477267	436609	476683	486000

Variation (%)

	1960-70	1970-81	1981-89
Urban Population	16.5	32.9	7.4
Rural Population	-8.5	9.2	2.0

Sources: INE, Census 1960, 1970, 1981.

(*) INE, Employment Survey, 1989.

Table 2.4.

Demographic Indicators

	PORTUGAL	REGION	LISBON
Infant Mortality (0/00)			
1960	77.5	63.2	45.6
1970	58.0	37.8	34.1
1981	21.8	17.5	20.9
1989	12.2	9.2	14.9
Total Fertility Rate (1)			
1960	2.9	1.7	1.5
1970	2.7	2.0	2.0
1981	2.1	1.8	1.8
1989	1.7	1.5	-
Natural Births (%)			
1960	9.5	16.6	17.3
1970	7.2	11.9	12.0
1981	9.5	14.9	19.3
1989	14.5	21.9	28.6
Marriage Rate (2)			
1960	3.1	2.8	3.0
1970	3.9	3.7	4.4
1981	3.2	2.7	3.3
1989	2.9	2.5	-
Civil Marriages (%)			
1960	9.2	25.8	36.3
1970	24.5	31.6	38.8
1981	26.0	49.1	56.8
1989	27.7	45.4	47.4
Divorce Rate (3)			
1960	1.1	3.1	6.1
1970	0.6	1.7	3.3
1981	8.7	19.0	44.7
1989	13.2	21.3	35.3

(1) Average number of children per woman 15-49 years old.

(2) Number of marriages/number of women 15-49 years old (%).

(3) Number of divorces/number of marriages (%).

Sources: INE, Demographic Statistics, 1960, 1970, 1981, 1989;
 Census, 1960, 1970, 1981; Employment Survey, 1989.

3. FAMILY STRUCTURES

In this chapter we intend to point out the most important characteristics of regional family structures, including special references about the city of Lisbon. The data presented in the tables and also some qualitative information (which aids comprehension of the quantitative elements) will support our analyses.

The average size of the household has been reduced (table 3.1.) in recent decades in the whole country as well as in region of Lisbon and in the city. This phenomenon is related to the lower birthrate, the increase of women's employment and also to new cultural values. As far as the number of family members is concerned, in 1981 households with two, three or four people were predominant in the region and also in the city as well as in the country (see table 3.2). But we notice that the percentage of families with just one member is greater in the city than in the region. This phenomenon can be related to the effect of ageing of the population which lives in the urban centre and also with the preference of young unmarried people to live alone in the historic quarters. On the other hand, families with more than five members are less common in the city and in the region than in the rest of the country. In fact, large families are much more frequent in rural than in urban areas. However, we find large and extended families in the poor areas of the region mainly among immigrants (especially from Cape-Vert).

In the last few decades the average marrying age in the region has risen, as has the age of women giving birth for the first time. This situation is normal overall in urban and suburban areas and in middle and upper classes, phenomena which are in part explained by the growth of the number of women involved in professional careers. In rural as well as in industrial areas of the region, marriages take place earlier because of cultural and economic constraints. The data presented in table 3.3. reflect this situation. Another important feature to note is that the number of multi-nuclear families has not decreased as expected in a context where the tendency for family nuclearization became relevant. In fact, in 1981 the families with two or more nuclei

represented 6% of the total; this could be related to economic constraints on house-buying which compels young couples to live with their parents.

3.1. Housing Conditions and Domestic Equipment

Concerning the variable house size we can conclude that the number of rooms per house is less in the region than at the national level. In fact, there is an increasing tendency to build flats with a smaller surface area in the region and mainly in the city. This is certainly due to the increasing land and housing prices in urban and suburban areas. The latter also explains the higher number of slums and clandestine houses in suburban municipalities.

Although average house size is smaller in the region the families who live there have, in general, better housing conditions - this urban characteristic does not mean a reduction in domestic unpaid work but reflects its higher productivity, indispensable to the urban and suburban way of life. In fact, most of the items considered (see table 3.4.) show a significant percentage of households with several kinds of domestic equipment. The relatively low percentages of households with garage and deep freezers are explained respectively by urban housing typologies and by food consumption practices.

3.2. Divisions of Labour (and Power) in the Family

In the region of Lisbon, as almost everywhere, the majority of tasks related with family - domestic work, daily shopping, childcare, care for the elderly, etc. are hard, unpaid, stressful - and performed by women! A survey made in 1987 by the National Department of Family gave us some regional data about this issue which allows us to complement qualitative empirical information (see table 3.5.). It is important to note the following main aspects:

- Concerning the main family options and decisions (such as budget management, holiday organization and children's education) the joint role of the couple is predominant, although women's role is sometimes more important than men's (e.g. management of the budget).

- Women's role is very important insofar as children's affairs are concerned: dealing with school affairs, going with children to the doctor, staying with children when they are ill, helping children with homework.
- Men's role is only more important than women's in family administrative affairs. In fact, this can be related to dealing with administrative affairs at work.

It is difficult to generalise family structures and practices in this regional context where cultural and social situations are so diversified. However, there are some features that seem to characterize the regional context generally:

- Upper and middle class families still frequently employ domestic workers.
- Family help, mainly from mothers and mothers-in-law, to young couples is very frequent, namely in respect to childcare.
- Cultural attitudes concerning the tasks of men and women in the household have changed greatly since the seventies. Machismo attitudes became progressively condemned, especially in urban areas. This was particularly important in the area of children's education - "boys began to enter in the kitchen!".
- Men's participation in domestic tasks is becoming more frequent amongst young couples, mainly in middle-class families where women have a professional career but also in other social groups. For example, in the traditional industrial areas (Peninsula of Setúbal) it is not unusual to see young fathers waiting for their children in the kindergartens. However, men's participation in domestic work covers overall administrative tasks, do-it-yourself work and the weekly shopping in big supermarkets.

Table 3.1.

Average size of households, 1970 and 1981

	1970	1981
PORTUGAL	4.09	3.78
REGION	3.73	3.55
LISBON	3.90	3.72

Table 3.2.

Families according the number of members, 1981 (%)

	1	2	3	4	5	>= 6
PORTUGAL	13.0	23.5	22.9	20.0	10.0	10.6
REGION	14.4	24.6	25.8	21.4	8.3	5.4
LISBON	23.5	25.3	22.1	16.6	7.3	5.3

Table 3.3.

Types of family in the region, 1981

	number	%
NO HOUSEHOLD	177388	17.1
1 HOUSEHOLD	799282	76.9
COUPLE WITHOUT CHILDREN	256605	24.7
COUPLE WITH CHILDREN	534737	51.5
MOTHER OR FATHER WITH CHILDREN	7940	0.8
2 OR MORE HOUSEHOLDS	62255	6.0

Source: INE, Census, 1981.

Table 3.4.

Housing conditions, 1990

	PORTUGAL	REGION
No OF ROOMS	1-2	5.5
	3	12.4
	>4	82.1
SURFACE	<20M ²	1.8
	20-29	5.2
	30-39	9.3
	40-59	25.0
	60-79	22.1
	>80	36.6
WITH:		
KITCHEN	98.0	98.3
ELECTRICITY	98.5	99.3
PLUMBED IN WATER	88.6	92.6
TOILET	81.6	91.0
TOILET WITH BATH	78.0	88.5
GARAGE	18.6	9.9
LIFT	9.6	20.1
TELEPHONE	46.9	63.4
REFRIGERATOR	91.6	99.8
DEEP FREEZER	34.4	33.1
TV SET	91.3	94.2
VACUUM CLEANER	50.4	70.3
WASHING-MACHINE	54.4	72.4
DISHWASHER	7.6	11.4
VIDEO	25.4	35.6
PERSONAL COMPUTER	5.0	8.3

Source: INE, Comfort Indicators, 1990.

Table 3.5.

Divisions of labour (and power) in the family, 1987.

	GREAT LISBON %	PORTUGAL %
WHO MANAGES THE FAMILY BUDGET		
WOMAN	20	21
MAN	8	7
COUPLE	72	72
WHO DECIDES THE MAIN FAMILY OPTIONS		
WOMAN	4	4
MAN	8	6
COUPLE	88	90
WHO ORGANIZES HOLIDAYS		
WOMAN	7	4
MAN	14	11
COUPLE	79	85
WHO DEALS WITH CHILDREN'S SCHOOL AFFAIRS		
WOMAN	45	38
MAN	8	9
COUPLE	36	37
OTHER PERSONS	9	15
NO ANSWER	2	1
WHO GOES WITH CHILDREN TO THE DOCTOR		
WOMAN	70	65
MAN	3	2
COUPLE	26	33
OTHER PERSONS	1	-
WHO PUNISHES CHILDREN		
WOMAN	26	23
MAN	2	4
COUPLE	65	62
OTHER PERSONS	5	9
NO ANSWER	2	2

WHO STAYS WITH CHILDREN WHEN THEY ARE ILL

WOMAN	80	83
MAN	1	1
COUPLE	16	13
OTHER PERSONS	2	3
NO ANSWER	1	-

WHO DEALS WITH FAMILY ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS

WOMAN	26	20
MAN	47	52
COUPLE	26	26
OTHER PERSONS	1	1
NO ANSWER	-	1

WHO DECIDES ABOUT CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

WOMAN	8	7
MAN	2	2
COUPLE	90	91

WHO HELPS CHILDREN WITH HOMEWORK

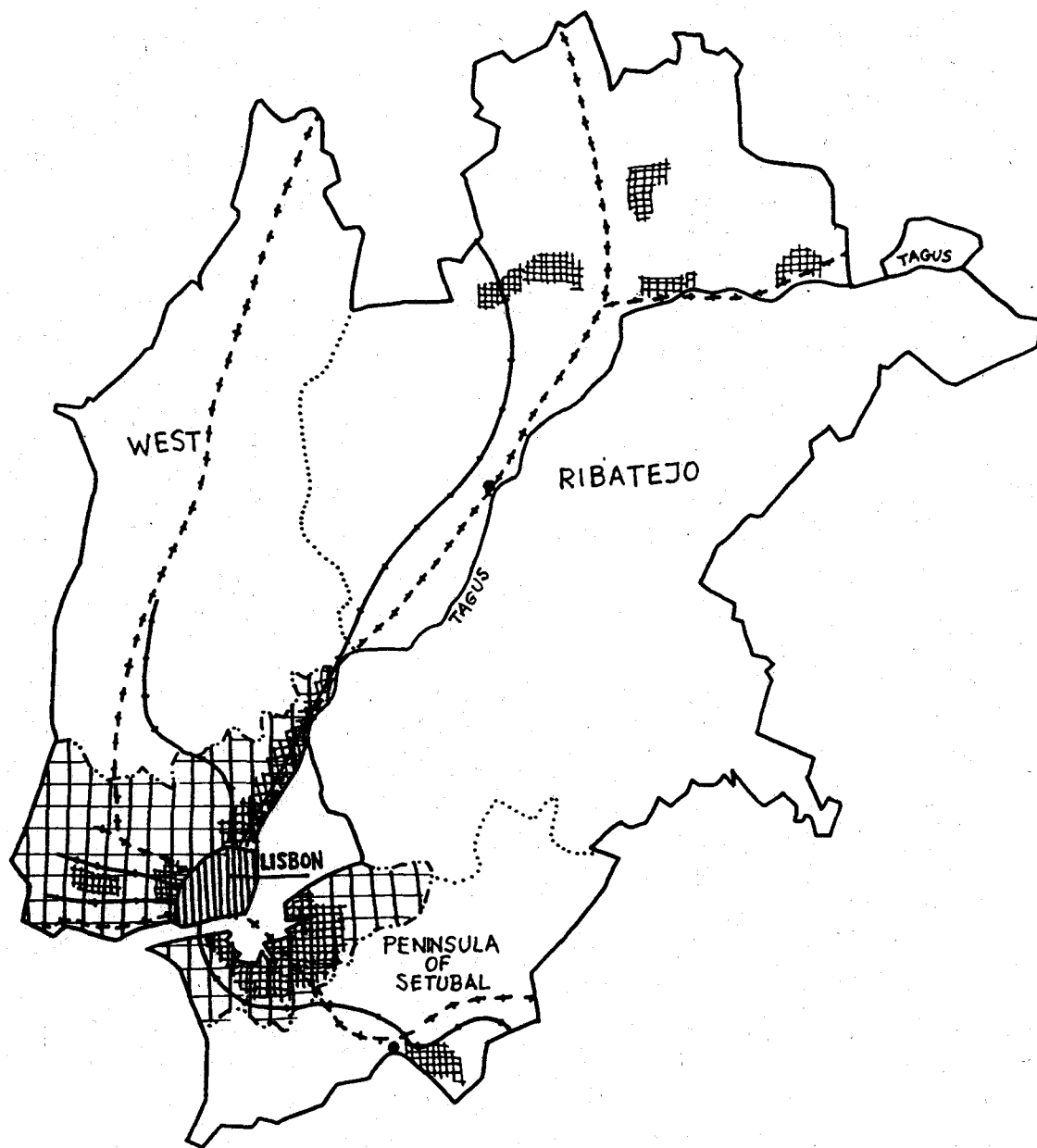
NOBODY	28	30
FATHER	5	8
MOTHER	28	24
FATHER AND MOTHER	25	22
OTHER SITUATION	14	16

WHO PLANS THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN

WOMAN	4	3
MAN	1	1
COUPLE	89	87
NOBODY	6	9

Source: MESS, Family Official Department, 1987.

THE REGION OF LISBON AND TAGUS VALLEY



MAP 1

—————> MOTORWAYS
- - - - - RAILWAYS



SUBURBAN AREA



MAIN INDUSTRIAL AREAS

4. SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURES

Before the advent of the Democratic Revolution public social facilities were underdeveloped and highly concentrated in the largest urban centres. But, with the political decentralization and the rise of effective municipal power in the seventies, small towns and rural areas became better equipped in relation to the social infrastructure. However the role of the Catholic Church in social organization has always been relevant even now, mainly in the fields of health and care of children and the elderly. We can even say that during the Dictatorship the Church often replaced the State in those issues.

4.1. Childcare

Public services for small children are not enough to cover the demand, particularly those for babies. Private or cooperative nurseries, nannies and grandmothers are the main "institutions" taking care of babies. The situation of kindergartens is a little better, however the region of Lisbon shows unfavourable standards as we can see in table 4.1. In this regard rural areas have better conditions because demand is lower and municipalities have been making great efforts to solve the problems not only by building nurseries but also by providing children's transportation.

The demographic increase in the region and mainly in the suburban areas has not been followed by a corresponding increase of services related to childcare in spite the growing number of private kindergartens often with unsatisfactory conditions. In those suburban areas, where family networks are weak, employed women must apply for nannies who frequently have an excessive number of children to care for and are not trained sufficiently in childcare. In public primary schools the situation is satisfactory even in terms of geographical distribution. The municipalities are obliged to provide transportation when the distance between home and school justifies it. This is quite frequent in the rural areas of the region. The main problem with public primary schools is in respect to the school schedules. In fact, several units in the region work in shifts (morning and afternoon) which is an important problem for employed women in urban and suburban areas where there is

little family aid. In those situations the appeal of private primary schools, with flexible schedules, is strong, it involves large expenses but solves the problem.

4.2 Care for the Elderly

We did not find readily-available data about care for the elderly. However it is known that in the region of Lisbon the majority of aged persons stay in their own homes and are helped by their families, especially women, or neighbours. In new urban and suburban areas old people's life is harder because family's or neighbours' help is rarer, although there is often resistance from elderly people to leave their own homes. Public equipment for care of the elderly is very limited and usually in bad condition. There are some very expensive private institutions, but it is very difficult to find a place. The role of the Catholic Church in care for the elderly is important, not only through a remarkable number of caring centres but also through domestic support. The role of regional left-wing municipalities in this subject is also remarkable mainly in rural and industrial areas.

4.3. Health Services

Although the regional public health services are not good enough, mainly in their organizational functions, the region of Lisbon figures reasonably in the national context (see table 4.2.A):

- 63% of main hospitals (central level), with every type of medical specialities and advanced technological means of diagnosis, are located in the region;
- 40% of national private hospitals are also located in the region;
- 46% of the public hospital doctors are in the region.

Despite the high covering level of public health services in the region (see table 4.2.B), the constraints related to bureaucracy and the difficulties in obtaining a medical consultation, particularly specialists, force a great proportion of the population to consult private doctors, very numerous in the region but also very expensive.

One main problem with central level hospitals in the region is related to their high occupation level. That is explained by their geographical threshold: they receive patients from all over the country. Emergency services are also a problem in those hospitals since primary care centres do not cover the needs because they show great constraints on schedules and diagnostic equipment.

Government health policies in recent years have been quite disadvantageous for lower social groups: a lot of grants have been curtailed, mainly for medicines. Those liberal policies promoted significantly the private health sector which is far more accessible in the region of Lisbon.

Table 4.1.

Percentage of children in kindergartens, 1987/88

AGE	3	4	5	TOTAL	CHILDREN PER TEACHER	CHILDREN IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS
PORTUGAL						
number	12612	20503	27075	60190	12.1	
%	13.8	20.5	25.2	20.0		68.9
REGION						
number	2122	3331	4135	9588	7.2	
%	12.7	17.7	20.7	17.1		43.6

Source: INE, Education Statistics, 1988.

Table 4.2.A.

Health facilities, 1989

	PORTUGAL	REGION
PUBLIC HOSPITALS:		
.Central level	38	24
.Regional level	76	13
.Others	40	17
.TOTAL	154	54
PRIVATE HOSPITALS:		
.With profit goals	40	16
.Without profit goals	45	18
.TOTAL	85	34
PUBLIC HEALTH CENTRES:		
.First level	382	94
.Second level	2026	426
.TOTAL	2408	520
PRIMARY CARE CENTRES:		
.Public	188	96
.Private without profit goals	129	57
.TOTAL	317	153

Number of Beds, doctors and caring personnel

	PORTUGAL	REGION
PUBLIC HOSPITALS:		
Beds	36460	13866
Doctors	13439	6153
Caring personnel	24181	10743
PRIVATE HOSPITALS:		
Beds	7568	2879
Doctors	1241	603
Caring personnel	2131	1229
PUBLIC HEALTH CENTRES:		
Beds	3643	501
Doctors	8787	3376
Caring personnel	6435	1999
PRIMARY CARE CENTRES:		
Doctors	1489	1019
Caring personnel	691	432

Table 4.2.B

Health facilities indicators, 1989

	PORTUGAL	REGION
NUMBER OF INHABITANTS		
Per Hospital	43251	38953
Per Public Health Centre	4293	6592
Per Primary Care Centre	32609	22405
Per Hospital Bed	235	205
Per Hospital Doctor	707	507
Per Public Health Centres Doctor	1006	780
Per Hospital Caring Personnel	393	260
NUMBER OF BEDS		
Per Public Hospital	237	257
Per Private Hospital	89	85
NUMBER OF DOCTORS		
Per Public Hospital	87	114
Per Private Hospital	15	18
Per Public Health Centre	4	7
Per Primary Care Centre	5	7
NUMBER OF CARING PERSONNEL		
Per Public Hospital	157	199
Per Private Hospital	25	36
Per Public Health Centre	3	4
Per Primary Care Centre	2	3

Source: INE, Health Statistics, 1989.

5. EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

5.1. Education

Education has been one of the main means for women's liberation. Although women in the region of Lisbon had always have a freer access to education than in the other regions, due to the geographical concentration of educational services in and around Lisbon, the situation was radically changed after 1974. It's important to point out that before the Democratic Revolution, the majority of primary and secondary public schools were single-sex schools. The democratic governments extended basic education to all social groups which favoured mainly women; nowadays we can verify two important features:

- girls, especially from lower classes, have better scholar results in the secondary schools than boys; this is very frequent in the poor quarters of suburban municipalities;
- the majority of students of Lisbon Universities are women, even in courses which were traditionally for men, such as law, engineering and economics.

However, the relevant changes introduced by the democratic educational policies were not enough to reach European levels; nevertheless the regional situation is relatively good in the national context (see table 5.1.1). Women present an unfavoured situation, mainly because illiteracy is much higher among them than men. In spite of the present situation, the figures presented in the table 4.1.2. suggest best prospectives for the future. The younger groups of women attain a higher educational level much higher than the older groups. We can define three different educational situations according to age:

- Illiteracy deeply affects women of more than 50 years old.
- The group of women aged 35-44 years registers a basic educational level which can be explained by the political and economic national situation during the sixties: one of the consequences of the colonial war was the recruitment of women for the labour market which indirectly forced the authorities to promote women's education. In that period several secondary schools were built in the region of Lisbon, specially in suburban areas, with a peculiarity: boys and girls shared the same classrooms.

- The educational level of the youngest group already reflects the results of the Revolution: about one third of young women reach secondary level.

5.2. Vocational Training

Vocational training has been, in recent years, an important means to potentiate economic and social development. European Integration was decisive in the training of manual skills, mainly through Community Funds intended aimed at this issue.

National policies on vocational training are directly related to Community programmes and we will observe them in point 8 of this report. Public vocational training is centralized in the Institute for Employment and Vocational Training (Ministry of Employment) which administers two types of vocational training centres: the first type is directly managed by the Institute and the second one is jointly managed by the Institute and by other institutions, such as economic associations, unions, cooperatives, etc.. Those centres are relatively concentrated in the region of Lisbon, nevertheless trainees can attend centres outside their region of residence according the courses they choose.

	Portugal	Region
First type centres	22	9
Second type centres	26	14

In 1989, the number of trainees was:

	Portugal	Region (residents)
Man	10808	4221
Women	5710	2366

In the Region of Lisbon, the number of trainees (in absolute and relative terms) has been increasing, mainly in the suburban areas. There are several reasons why vocational training frequency has been so significant in the region, namely:

- a. the great number and diversity of vocational training opportunities offered by the public and private institutions. This is especially important for women because their potential geographical mobility is limited.
- b. the majority of public vocational training centres are located in the region: there are 23 centres in the region and 48 all over the country. Many of the courses in the regional centres are related to occupations in the service sector which are the most attractive to women.
- c. in general, the businesses of Lisbon, particularly foreign and big national companies, are more advanced in management and technological processes. As such, they pay more attention to and invest regularly in their employees' vocational training.
- d. the concentration of economic and social services in the region, especially educational and health services where women are the majority, also justifies the importance of vocational training because these activities need skilled and up-to-date workers who can follow very rapid changes in labour processes.

According to the data of the Employment Survey (INE, 1989) covering every kind of vocational training, women have been more involved than men in vocational training schemes at national level but especially in the region of Lisbon. Women constitute the majority in vocational training schemes developed by private institutions and in the work places. In our opinion, this is the key condition for women's massive integration into the regular labour market and mainly for the diversification of occupational status occurring in the last few years. In the region of Lisbon 4.4% of employed women attended vocational training schemes in 1989. This acquisition of skills has been particularly significant for young women (see table 5.2.1.).

Primary training is the main reason highlighted by trainees to justify the frequency of vocational training courses, being more important for women than for men (table 5.2.2.). This presupposes that vocational training actions are frequented overall by young women looking for their first job. Vocational training among employed women has been relevant in the sector of services and particularly in economic services (see table 5.2.3.). The situation in agriculture and industry is not satisfactory

because it is known that the majority of women working in these sectors are unskilled workers. A sample of young trainees in public centres 1989 (22% of the total of trainees were 15-24 years old) gives us more information about the characteristics of vocational training in the region. This data, presented in tables 5.2.4. / 5.2.6., allows us to conclude that:

- a. women prefer courses related to economic and social services. Computing, catering and textiles are also popular choices.
- b. the educational level of young women trainees is higher than that of men. This suggests that vocational training may be a complement of formal education for women but a replacement for men; another explanation concerns the difficulties encountered by young women seeking jobs
- c. the reasons given by trainees for seeking vocational training confirm those hypotheses: "to get a better job" is an answer more frequent among men; women want a better training more than men; "to be paid during the course" is also more important for women than for men.

Table 5.1.1.
Educational level (% population of 12 or more years old), 1989.

	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
ILLITERATES	8.8	17.6	6.5	13.3
BASIC LEVEL	82.8	73.1	78.9	73.6
SECONDARY LEVEL	4.9	4.7	8.4	7.3
MEDIUM COURSES	0.7	2.4	1.0	2.6
UNIVERSITY LEVEL	2.8	2.1	5.2	3.3
TOTAL (thousands)	4638.0	4626.2	1408.2	1567.6

Table 5.1.2.
Female educational level by age (% of each group), 1989

PORTUGAL	AGE GROUPS				
	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	>64
ILLITERATES	1.4	2.7	17.7	32.9	52.8
BASIC LEVEL	77.8	85.1	75.4	62.9	44.6
SECONDARY	10.1	4.0	1.8	1.2	0.9
MEDIUM COURSES	4.7	4.3	3.2	1.8	1.2
UNIV. LEVEL	6.0	4.0	1.9	1.2	0.6
TOTAL POP. (Thousands)	631.1	658.4	642.1	607.9	804.6

REGION	AGE GROUPS				
	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	>64
ILLITERATES	1.1	1.8	13.3	26.0	40.5
BASIC LEVEL	70.8	82.0	77.4	67.7	54.8
SECONDARY	15.4	5.8	3.0	2.5	1.6
MEDIUM COURSES	3.9	4.7	3.2	2.1	1.8
UNIV. LEVEL	8.7	5.6	3.0	1.8	1.3
TOTAL POP. (Thousands)	211.8	255.6	246.7	216.6	270.9

Source: INE, Employment Survey, 1989.

Table 5.2.1.
Vocational Training per Age Group (% of persons involved in vocational training actions), 1989.

	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
15-19	3.0	4.0	3.8	5.7
20-24	10.9	14.1	16.8	21.5
25-29	4.4	5.2	7.0	8.7
30-34	1.7	1.6	2.8	2.9
35-39	1.5	1.0	2.6	1.8
40-49	0.5	0.4	1.0	0.7
50-64	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
TOTAL	2.6	2.9	3.8	4.4

Table 5.2.2.
Vocational Training Aims, 1989 (% of the total)

	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
Primary Training	52.6	55.1	48.6	53.2
Skill Improvement	17.1	12.8	22.8	16.7
Professional Re-conversion	8.5	6.3	8.5	6.7
Other Reason	21.9	25.4	20.0	23.4

Table 5.2.3.

Vocational Training per Trainees Economic Activity, 1989
(employed trainees, % of workers)

	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
Agriculture	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4
Industry	0.7	0.9	1.3	2.1
Commerce/Hotellery	0.8	1.0	1.4	2.5
Economic Services	3.3	5.2	4.3	6.4
Public Administration	2.0	3.2	2.5	4.6
Social and Personal Serv.	3.2	2.8	5.3	4.1

Source: INE, Employment Survey, 1989.

Table 5.2.4.
Trainees by courses (%)

	M	F
Textiles	0.5	6.6
Social Serv.	0.3	21.9
Economic Serv.	9.5	33.3
Hotellery	1.6	6.0
Metallurgy	4.5	0.6
Wood Manufacturing	1.9	0.0
Computing	5.3	9.8
Electricity	10.3	0.6
Commerce	4.2	9.3
Pottery	3.4	4.9
Building	27.7	4.9
Auto Services	24.5	0.0
Cooking	1.3	1.1
Agriculture	5.0	1.1

Table 5.2.5.
Trainees Educational Level (% of total)

	M	F
Basic Level I	4.5	2.2
Basic Level II	27.3	12.0
Secondary Level I	27.0	20.7
Secondary Level II	17.5	16.9
Secondary Level III	21.7	38.6
Professional Course	1.1	0.0
Technical Course	0.5	1.6
Medium Course	0.0	1.1
University Level	0.5	7.1

Table 5.2.6.
Reasons to look for training

	M	F
To get a better training	56.1	62.0
To get a better job	15.8	8.6
To work in a similar job	6.3	1.6
To get an official certificate	1.8	2.7
To be paid during the course	1.1	6.4
Personal interest	11.8	9.6
Familiar or friends suggestion	2.6	0.5
Suggestion of a prof. orient. adviser	0.8	1.1
To get two jobs	1.6	3.7
Others	2.4	3.7

Source: Institute for Employment and Vocational Training, non published data, 1989.

6. EMPLOYMENT

Commerce and services employ the majority of workers in the region of Lisbon. However, we can see (table 6.1.) that employment concentration in the tertiary activities concerns the female population overall.

The function of Lisbon as political capital of Portugal explains the importance of services which have grown considerably in the last two decades. In the seventies, public administration and social services were deeply incremented as an indirect result of the revolution: left-wing governments established a "welfare state" and promoted the increase in social services, mainly in health and education. Those processes were very important in terms of employment: through them, the ex-colonials (more than 500,000) were integrated into the labour force in spite of the general economic crisis and they also largely promoted women's employment. In the beginning of the eighties, the region of Lisbon suffered a deep economic crisis, mainly in the industrial sector which had been nationalized in the seventies. The consequences for employment were very harsh: unemployment soared, affecting mainly women, real incomes decreased and salary cuts were quite frequent over a long period of time. This crisis was overcome but employment in industry continued to decline. With the European Integration (1986), Lisbon, as the Portuguese capital, regained its importance. The political and economic relations with the European Community favoured the region, promoting the location of new and modern services, (for example in the telecommunications and cultural fields), attracting foreign investment, developing the financial sector, etc. In this context employment increased and working conditions improved. However, it is not evident that recent regional economic development favours men's and women's employment equally. Women's work is really devaluated: unemployment affects them first, salaries are lower, temporary contracts are more frequent, getting their first job is much more difficult...

The information contained in tables 6.1. - 6.7 allow us to formulate some objective conclusions about the latest situation of women's employment in the region:

Unemployment affects women much more than men, particularly in the youngest groups. We can see (table 6.1.) that among active young women, more than 50% are unemployed which reflects a great number of unstable jobs (temporary contracts, undeclared work...) and, apart from that, the difficulty in obtaining a first job.

Women's activity rate is lower at the regional level. However the data presented in table 6.2. allows us to verify that the main regional specificity about women's activity concerns the distribution by age: the youngest women present a low activity rate mainly because they continue their studies for a longer period than men; adult women (30-49 years old) have a high activity rate; older women leave the labour market earlier.

Employed women's educational level is relatively high in the region compared to men or to the national situation (table 6.3.). There are two factors which can explain this situation:

- a. the concentration of public and private educational facilities in the region have made access to technical and professional schools and to university easier;
- b. the difficulty of finding a first job in a metropolitan area where personal and family networks are weak, indirectly prolongates the school period.

Women's employment in the region is concentrated more than men's in the tertiary activities (table 6.4.): commerce, public administration and social and personal services are the main women's activities. The item "other services" includes 19% of women's employment and, although we cannot analyse those services, we presume that a great part is paid domestic work which is quite prolific in the region of Lisbon where middle and upper class families employ very lowly-paid domestic workers (about 2 ECUs per hour). With the recent diffusion in the region of shopping centres and big supermarkets, where salaries are low and employment is unstable, commerce is becoming an activity which requires women employees, mainly young single women who can support long working hours (most of these establishments close at 11-12 p.m.).

Women's employment in industry has decreased in the last few decades as a consequence of new technological processes but it is still important in textiles, food and chemicals. In recent years, many new electronic factories employing a great number of women have been located in the region. Agriculture is not very important in the regional labour market as a whole. However, this activity remains important in some areas (West and Ribatejo) where one finds developed farms. Compared with national standards, women's employment is not as important at the regional level, precisely because agricultural production in the region has capitalist characteristics and high incomes which allow men to remain in agriculture.

Women's professional status in the region is quite different in each sector: scientific and technical occupations are relevant in the tertiary activities (the number of doctors and teachers is significant) and have little impression in industry and agriculture, although this occupational category is more important at the regional level than in the national context. Clerical occupations represent about 20% of women's employment in industry. This reflects the regional development of this sector which employs a great part of workers in tasks related to management, organizational and research functions.

Women's occupational status (table 6.6.) highlights a particular factor in the region: women employers are a very small proportion. This situation is usual everywhere, however it is noticeable in the region of Lisbon, where a complex economic structure is disadvantageous for women's enterprise initiatives. Women's self-employment is very important in agriculture but is less common in industry and services. In industry this type of employment is more relevant in the region than at national level which can be explained by the importance of women's self-employment in small food and clothing units. Salary levels in the region are higher than at the national level (table 6.7.). However regional differences between men and women are significant mainly in the lowest salary levels. The data concerning salary levels per age groups show significant differences: more than 30% of oldest and also of the youngest women are included in the lowest salary level and inequality between men and women is remarkable in those age groups. Older women are deeply affected by a lack of professional training and by an

insufficient educational level; young women are more skilled but the constraints they experience to get a job force them to accept bad working conditions and low salaries.

6.1. Atypical employment

The informal and non-official characteristics of most types of atypical work make access to quantitative data concerning these activities difficult. However some empirical information is available which allows us to point out some relevant features:

Part-time employment

Part-time employment is not very significant in the region nor in the country. This is partly because it means a "part-payment" (reduced salary) which is incompatible with low family income levels. Otherwise, labour legal regulations do not promote this type of contract and employers have no advantages related to taxes and social security payments. Part-time women's employment seems to be relevant just for domestic employees and represents a constraint rather than a personal choice.

Temporary contracts

Temporary contracts are the most common type of atypical employment in the region of Lisbon. The liberalization promoted by governmental labour policies during the last few years resulted in a considerable employment precariousness which affected women overall. About 24% of women in the region have temporary contracts, mainly in agriculture and commerce (see table 6.8.). This situation is traditional in agriculture but not in commerce or services and we note that even in public administration, 12% of women have temporary contracts as opposed to 6% of men.

In general, temporary contracts are not a transitory situation for training, since the main reason pointed out by women to justify their temporary contract is the impossibility of finding a permanent job. Only 7% said that they were apprentices.

Seasonal employment

Seasonal employment is significant in the rural areas of the region not only in agriculture but also in agro-industry. This type of women's employment is very frequent in Tagus Valley, where the main crops are vines and tomatoes and where many industrial units producing tomatoes and other horticultural crops are located.

Self-employment

As we noted below, self-employment is significant in the region, not only in agriculture but also in industry and services (see table 6.6.). In industry it is certainly related to the food and clothing sectors. In commerce, women's self-employment in the region seems to be on the increase as a result of the growing number of shopping centres containing very small units.

Unpaid family work and children's work

Unpaid family work has always been very important in agriculture. However, in the region of Lisbon as well as at the national level, this type of work is also important in industrial small units and in commerce (see table 6.6.) and involves mainly women and children. In fact, the real figures concerning unpaid family work are certainly higher than those presented in the table because it is known that, in general, families do not declare children's work. Children's employment is forbidden until 14 years old, although the "official" regional activity rate (INE, Employment Survey 1989) of children of 10-14 years is 2.5% for boys and 1.7% for girls (see table 6.2.). Among immigrant families, mainly from Cape-Vert, children's covert paid work is probably significant as is prostitution. However, the problems related to children's work are not as serious in the region of Lisbon as they are in other regions of the country, namely in the textile areas of the Northwest.

Multiple Jobs

In the region of Lisbon multiple jobs are more usual than at the national level, being more frequent among men than among women, who have well-known time constraints. However, about 5% of employed women in the region have a second job (see table 6.9.). This is particularly important in agriculture but it is also significant in economic and social services. Multiple jobs are frequent among very skilled workers, such as economists, lawyers or doctors; most of the time they have a job in the public sector and another in the private.

Table 6.1.

Employment and Underemployment- General Indicators, 1989

	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT (1000)	2688.8	1924.4	903	626.3
ACTIVITY RATE	54.6	36.8	54.9	35.2
RATIO OF EMPLOYMENT working age pop. (15-64)	80.5	58.4	76.2	50.6
% I SECTOR	14.5	22.7	6.9	7.3
% II SECTOR	40.7	25.2	37.2	18.5
% III SECTOR	44.7	52.0	55.9	74.2
TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT	203.4	334.8	92.4	164.7
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE total pop.	4.0	6.2	5.6	9.3
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE active pop.	7.0	15.4	9.7	23.0
% UNEMPLOYMENT LOOKING 1st JOB (total unempl.)	28.2	36.0	23.6	26.5
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE 15-24 (pop. 15-24)	10.7	21.0	16.3	25.7
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE 15-24 (active pop. 15-24)	17.4	37.2	29.7	52.7
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE 15-24 (total unemployment)	48.1	51.5	48.2	41.9
% UNEMPLOYMENT LOOKING 1st JOB 15-24 (total unempl. 15-24)	44.3	48.4	41.4	46.7

Source: INE, Employment Survey, 1989.

Table 6.2.
Employment per age group, 1989 (% of active population)

	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
10-14	5.2	6.0	2.5	1.7
15-19	46.5	34.0	35.3	18.8
20-24	67.6	60.9	59.4	52.7
25-29	91.5	69.7	89.0	66.4
30-39	94.4	69.1	94.8	72.0
40-49	93.0	61.8	94.2	63.2
50-59	79.6	43.3	78.4	40.0
60-64	55.1	25.1	52.4	19.4
> 64	19.4	7.6	20.4	6.1

Source: INE, Employment Survey, 1989

Table 6.3.
Educational level of employed population (% of total employed population), 1989

	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
ILLITERATES	6.1	8.6	4.0	5.3
BASIC LEVEL	82.6	75.8	78.2	72.2
SECONDARY LEVEL	5.6	5.9	8.9	9.8
MEDIUM COURSES	1.0	4.9	1.3	5.0
UNIVERSITY LEVEL	4.2	4.4	7.1	7.1
TOTAL (thousands)	2691.6	1927.3	905.6	628.1

Source: INE, Employment Survey, 1989.

Table 6.4.

Employment by Economic Branches (% of total employment), 1989

	PORTUGAL			REGION		
	M	F	% F (F/MF)	M	F	% F (F/MF)
Agriculture	14.7	22.6	53.0	6.9	7.3	42.6
Mining	1.9	0.2	7.0	0.2	0.1	21.7
Food	3.1	2.8	40.0	3.4	3.4	41.0
Textile	5.1	14.6	67.6	1.1	4.9	75.8
Wood And Paper	5.5	1.5	17.1	4.5	2.1	25.2
Chemics	3.9	2.8	34.2	5.2	4.1	35.2
Metallurgy	7.8	2.2	17.3	10.0	2.8	16.4
Other Manuf.	0.8	0.5	30.4	0.6	0.4	33.3
Building	13.3	0.5	2.8	12.2	0.7	4.1
Elect. Gas Water	1.4	0.2	10.7	1.2	0.3	15.4
Commerce	11.5	11.8	43.0	13.9	15.1	43.3
Rest. Hotels	2.8	4.2	52.3	3.6	5.1	49.3
Transp. Commun.	5.4	1.6	18.1	8.9	3.4	21.3
Banks Assur.	4.4	3.0	33.3	6.9	5.3	34.9
Public Admin.	8.1	6.0	35.3	11.1	10.6	40.1
Education	2.1	9.5	77.1	2.4	10.2	74.7
Health	1.3	4.3	70.4	1.3	5.1	73.4
Other Serv.	6.9	11.6	55.4	6.7	19.2	66.8

Source: INE, Employment Survey, 1989.

Table 6.5.

Professional Status, 1989

AGRICULTURE	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
Scient./Technical	0.4	0.0	1.6	1.9
Managerial	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Clerical	0.4	0.2	1.3	0.8
Sale Workers	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2
Pers./Domest. Serv.	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2
Agric. Workers	97.2	99.4	92.8	93.1
Industry Workers	1.6	0.2	3.7	3.8

INDUSTRY	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
Scient./technical	3.8	1.9	6.3	3.8
Managerial	4.4	2.4	3.4	1.6
Clerical	6.1	13.1	8.6	20.5
Sale Workers	2.8	2.7	3.8	4.2
Pers./domest. Serv	1.1	4.1	1.3	6.9
Agric. Workers	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.4
Industry Workers	81.4	75.7	76.3	62.7

SERVICES	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
Scient./technical	13.2	21.1	15.5	19.5
Managerial	2.5	0.6	2.6	0.9
Clerical	19.9	25.3	22.0	27.4
Sale Workers	22.2	17.7	19.1	15.6
Pers./domest. Serv.	13.8	33.0	14.3	32.7
Agric. Workers	0.9	0.2	0.6	0.4
Industry Workers	27.5	2.1	25.9	3.6

Source: INE, Employment Survey, 1989.

Table 6.6.

Occupational Status, 1989

AGRICULTURE	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
EMPLOYERS	2.3	0.8	3.3	0.4
SELF-EMPLOYED	65.8	73.3	64.4	48.8
EMPLOYEES	19.6	11.1	27.3	36.7
FAMILY WORKERS	11.3	14.6	5.1	14.1
COOPERATIVE WORKERS	1.0	0.2	0.0	0.0

INDUSTRY	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
EMPLOYERS	5.6	2.1	4.5	1.9
SELF-EMPLOYED	8.2	7.2	8.3	9.4
EMPLOYEES	85.0	89.3	86.4	86.9
FAMILY WORKERS	1.1	1.4	0.5	1.6
COOPERATIVE WORKERS	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.3

SERVICES	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
EMPLOYERS	7.3	2.8	6.6	2.4
SELF-EMPLOYED	15.8	13.3	12.0	9.6
EMPLOYEES	75.5	81.2	80.1	85.3
FAMILY WORKERS	1.3	2.6	1.1	2.7
COOPERATIVE WORKERS	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1

Source: INE, Employment Survey, 1989.

Table 6.7.
Salary Levels (% of the total employees), 1989

		HIGH		MEDIUM HIGH		MEDIUM LOW		LOW	
		PORT.	REGION	PORT.	REGION	PORT.	REGION	PORT.	REGION
TOTAL	M	15.44	24.40	20.93	25.87	49.32	41.37	14.30	8.36
	F	12.18	16.34	13.48	17.35	40.56	36.35	33.78	29.96
AGE GROUPS									
20-29	M	6.35	10.97	14.00	21.04	64.25	58.45	15.41	9.53
	F	4.97	7.29	12.02	16.48	48.73	45.65	34.29	30.57
30-49	M	11.76	30.57	31.78	32.16	52.52	35.61	3.95	1.67
	F	10.28	20.53	19.00	20.22	45.80	35.83	24.93	23.41
50 e +	M	20.83	30.67	22.60	24.38	48.64	40.14	7.93	4.81
	F	18.54	21.44	9.59	14.24	32.40	28.79	39.47	35.53

Source: INE, Employment Survey, 1989.

Table 6.8.

Types of contract (% of employed population)

	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
PERMANENT CONTRACT	82.8	77.6	81.6	76.3
TEMPORARY CONTRACT	17.2	22.4	18.4	23.7

Reasons for the temporary contract (% of total temp. contr.)

APPRENTICE IN TRAINING	1.2	1.3	1.1	2.3
APPRENTICE AT EXPERIENCE	11.6	14.4	6.0	7.1
DIDN'T GET ANOTHER CONTRACT	73.4	73.9	82.6	76.9
OTHER REASON	13.8	10.4	10.3	13.7

Temporary contracts per economic activity in the region, 1989.

	REGION	
	M	F
AGRICULTURE	20.5	61.6
INDUSTRY	24.0	27.8
COMMERCE/HOTELLERY	22.5	33.5
ECONOMIC SERVICES	9.4	15.1
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	5.9	11.6
SOCIAL AND PERSONAL SERV.	21.0	19.9

Source: INE, Employment Survey, 1989

Table 6.9.

Employed population with secondary job per main economic activity, 1989 (% of workers)

	PORTUGAL		REGION	
	M	F	M	F
AGRICULTURE	22.8	5.4	56.3	22.4
INDUSTRY	1.5	1.1	2.2	1.6
COMMERCE/HOTELLERY	4.0	2.0	4.6	2.7
ECONOMIC SERVICES	6.1	4.6	7.6	5.8
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	1.3	0.6	1.4	0.3
SOCIAL AND PERSONAL SERV.	9.7	3.3	12.9	5.3
TOTAL	6.7	2.9	9.0	4.9

Source: INE, Employment Survey, 1989.

7. WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Feminist movements have no strong tradition in Portugal. In the beginning of the century, with the advent of the Republican System (1910) some feminist movements emerged, following in general the aims of English suffragettes. However, the lifespan of these movements was very short because, in the twenties and especially in the thirties, the Dictatorship suppressed feminist groups and organizations and many others with progressive aims. During the government of Salazar, and until the seventies, women's social rights were very restricted and inequality between men and women became the norm. Women were seen as mothers and housewives only. After 1974, with the Democratic Revolution, women's social rights were really extended and formal gender equality was guaranteed by the Constitution (1976) and through a lot of political measures (see point 8.). However, during the revolutionary period, feminism was relatively devaluated and all social issues were integrated into the political parties' aims.

Since 1977 there has been a governmental institution dealing with women's life conditions - the Commission for Equality and Women's Rights. The main tasks of that Commission are:

- to promote Women's Studies in Portugal;
- to develop projects related to training;
- to produce and publicize documentation and information (mainly about family law, social security, vocational and professional guidance, work and employment, education, family planning, sexual harassment, etc.)
- legal issues;
- co-operation with other national institutions.

The Commission has two services available to the public:

- Free legal information service (in Lisbon and Oporto);
- Documentation Centre.

Although political parties are no longer so important in the social life as they were in the past, feminist groups and organizations have not become more active. However some women's organizations have appeared since 1974, most of them based in Lisbon but with national aims. The

majority of these organizations are not independent. Most of them are related with political parties, religious movements, unions or professional associations. We noted the following women's associations based in the region of Lisbon:

- 4 organizations directly related to the main political parties;
- 3 organizations related to religious movements;
- 4 organizations related to unions and professional associations;
- 5 independent organizations are represented in the Consultive Council of the Commission for Equality and Women's Rights as Non-Governmental Women's Organizations. In 1990 the National Budget granted a fund to the Consultive Council to support the activities of these organizations which enabled them to increase their activities especially in the fields of culture and training.

8. NATIONAL POLICIES

Until 1974 women's rights were minimal. Law established real discrimination between genders, namely husbands and wives rights, political and electoral rights, labour regulations, etc. In fact, gender discrimination was an important ideological basis of the dictatorship. School books, for example, reflected precisely that ideology: women were always portrayed as good mothers and tender housewives; the world of paid labour, as well as the social or political sphere were just for men. That was the national context. However, in the region of Lisbon, and mainly among urban middle class young people, some changes occurred in women's liberation at the end of the sixties. Those changes concerning social practices were allowed by a certain softening of political repression but, otherwise, were influenced by European cultural and social events. With the Democratic Revolution gender discrimination became socially condemned and family and social practices changed significantly. Political power and law were forced to follow that tendency and all political parties included women's liberation in their programmes.

According to a publication of the Commission for Equality and Women's Rights (Portugal, Status of Women, 1991), the most relevant features related to women's rights since the establishment of democracy in 1974 were the following:

1974

- Three laws allowed women access to magistracy, to the diplomatic service and to all posts in local administration.
- Electoral restrictions based on sex were abolished.

1975

- Alteration of the Concordat (official agreement between Vatican and Portuguese State established in 1940) to allow civil divorce for Catholic marriages.

1976

- The husband's right to open wife's correspondence was abolished.
- 90-day maternity licence was approved.

- Family planning clinics were opened, as part of the Public Health Services.
- New Constitution was adopted, establishing equality between men and women in all fields.

1977

- Institutionalization of the Commission on the Status of Women, attached to the Prime Minister's Office.

1978

- The Revised Civil Code is adopted according to the new Family Law. The wife acquired equal status, losing her former dependence on the husband. The term "head of family" disappeared. Since then family affairs are managed by both spouses, but for everyday matters either of them can make a decision. Either spouse can use the name of the other or retain his or her own.

1979

- Equality between men and women in work and employment was guaranteed by law.
- The Commission for Equality in Work and Employment, attached to the Ministry of Labour, was set up to promote the application of legal regulations.
- First woman Prime Minister: Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo.

1981

- The Law regulating advertising prohibited the use of female image as an object, as well as any discrimination based on sex.
- A new Nationality Law provided equal treatment for both sexes and for children born in and out of wedlock.

1983

- The New Penal Code was adopted introducing significant changes and innovations with regard to violence between husband and wife or against minors. Prostitution is no longer penalised, while those who encourage or facilitate it or exploit the earnings of a prostitute are punished.

1984

- Illicitness in some cases of voluntary interruption of pregnancy is excluded by law.

1987

- Women can do military service, on a voluntary basis, under certain conditions.

1988

- The rights of Women's Organizations are established by law.

1990

- The new Advertising Code only forbade advertising which offended human dignity (the prohibition of the use of the female image as an object disappeared).

1991

- The Commission on the Status of Women was renamed (Commission for Equality and Women's Rights) and its influence was extended.

9.1. E.C. Second Action Programme for Equal Opportunities

The measures implemented according to the Programme extended nationally. We will summarise these measures and the actions which took place in the region.

Legislative measures

- Unemployment social security legal regulations (1989);
- Vocational Training - 2 Operational Programmes were approved (1989) concerning specifically women: 1) adult women unemployed for a long period; 2) young women looking for their first job.

Education

The Education System Legal Regulation has assured, explicitly, the equality of opportunities between men and women. An agreement between the Ministry of Education and the Commission on the Status of Women was established to promote training and sensitizing actions assuring the equality of opportunities. Those actions concerned education workers including teachers and clerical employers. The didactic materials and curriculums were also evaluated and reformulated. In the region of Lisbon, the Education High School of Setubal developed a teacher's training project, named "Education for Equality".

Seminars organised in the region Lisbon

- "Equal Opportunities in Education and Vocational Training" (1988, Commission on the Status of Women in collaboration with the EC Commission).
- "Women and Higher Education, Scientific Research and New Technologies in Portugal" (1986, Commission on the Status of Women in collaboration with the National Office for Research/JNICT).

- "Women, Cultural Identity and National Defense" (1989, Commission on the Status of Women in collaboration with the Institute for National Defense and the Ministry of Defense).

Vocational Training and Employment

In order to promote the diversification of women's professional choices some campaigns were organized. Two booklets about technical jobs and vocational training opportunities were distributed nationally.

The Office for Technological, Artistic and Professional Education was founded to promote, among other objectives, the diversification of women's professional choices.

The Institute for Employment and Vocational Training founded the Women's Employment Nucleus. A data basis has been implemented concerned with women's employment initiatives. An information system about those initiatives has been also developed.

The Institute for Employment and Vocational Training financed the enterprises which promoted women's training and employment in traditional men's jobs.

Regional initiatives:

The Commission on the Status of Women organized vocational training courses (gardening, electricity, auto-mechanics) for young women living in the poor quarters of Lisbon .

The Institute for Employment and Vocational Training organized vocational training courses (industrial plumbing and electricity systems) for unemployed young women living in the region of Lisbon .

The Institute for Employment and Vocational Training developed an experimental programme on building, for 30 young women living in a poor quarter of Lisbon trying to promote Local Employment Initiatives. This Programme had the contribution of the municipality of Lisbon (urban rehabilitation).

Seminars organised in the Lisbon region

"Women Farmers" (1987, Commission on the Status of Women in collaboration with the EC Commission).

"Women and Employment in Portugal" (1987, Commission on the Status of Women in collaboration with Non-governmental Women's Organizations).

"Sexual Harassment in the Work Place" (1989, Commission on the Status of Women in collaboration with Non-governmental Women's Organizations).

"Women and the Labour Market - What Vocational Training?" (1989, Commission on the Status of Women in collaboration with the Institute for Employment and Vocational Training/IRIS)

IRIS Network

In 1991 there were 9 Portuguese projects included in the IRIS network. Four of them belong to the region of Lisbon. We include a small summary of each regional project referring to its type, main goals, institution, location and entry date in IRIS.

1 - Women Trainers on Vocational Training

Aim: preparing women with different kinds of jobs to work as trainers in regional training centres.

Location: Lisbon

Institution: Institute for Employment and Vocational Training.

Entry in Iris: 1988.

2 - Women Training for Enterprises Foundation

Aim: preparing women to found enterprises related to handicrafts, tourism, commerce and catering.

Location: Lisbon.

Institution: Institute for Employment and Vocational Training.

Entry in Iris: 1988.

3 - Cape-Vert Women (marginal group)

Aim: preparing women to found domestic service enterprises.

Location: Lisbon (Cova da Moura Quarter).

Institution: "Moínho da Juventude" Association.

Entry in Iris: 1989.

4 - Portuguese in Europe: Old Knowledge, New Perspectives

Aim: preparing women to found new enterprises in the drapery and embroidery sectors.

Location: Lisbon.

Institution: National Institute for Emigration and Portuguese Communities Support

Entry in Iris: 1990.

The Institute for Employment and Vocational Training is making great efforts to promote the Iris Network, including mailing information to different types of institutions, such as:

- regional centres of vocational training;
- local and regional development associations;
- private vocational training institutes;
- non-governmental women's organizations;
- municipalities.

LEI Network (Local Employment Initiatives)

In Portugal, the Institute for Employment and Vocational Training is responsible for the management of the LEI Network. The main activities developed through this network are:

- Diffusion of useful information to support local employment initiatives; in this field the role of the Regional Centres of Employment and Vocational Training is very important;
- Technical assistance to women's employment initiatives;
- Organization of a Seminar about "Women and Employment Initiatives" in 1988.

- Evaluation process of women's local employment initiatives in 1988 which includes research and a meeting to promote exchange of experiences between women.

Nowadays, there are 16 local employment initiatives in effect in the region of Lisbon.

ECONOMIC SECTORS	REGION OF LISBON	PORTUGAL
Agriculture	-	2
Food	-	1
Textiles	2	11
Clothing	1	7
Pottery	1	3
Other Industries	2	3
Restaurants		
Hotels	-	5
Commerce	-	2
Services		
to enterprises	1	2
Services		
to society	7	14
Domestic		
Services	2	2
TOTAL	16	52

9.2. European Social Fund

In Portugal there are two main Operational Programmes (PO) directly related with women employment and training. These programmes aim to promote equal opportunities at the labour market and also to improve women's participation in active life and professional status.

PO 8 - Long Time Unemployed Adult Women (over 25 years old)

- Target 1 Professional and social promotion of women belonging to marginal groups (such as ethnic minorities).
- Target 2 To promote labour market integration of women who left their job for family reasons.
- Target 3 To expand the diversity of women's professional choices.
- Target 4 To promote the foundation of women's enterprises .

PO 13 - Unemployed Young Women

- Target 1 To favour the transition between school and the labour market.
- Target 2 To promote the labour market integration of young women belonging to marginal groups.
- Target 3 To expand the diversity of professional choices for women.
- Target 4 To promote women's enterprises foundation.

Executed or In Execution Projects in the Region of Lisbon

PROMOTING INSTITUTION	OP	TYPE OF TRAINING
Association of teachers and friends of children from Casal de Figueira	8	Primary Training Training on Children Caring

Movement for Portuguese Women's Emancipation	8	Primary Training Training on Management
Youth Cultural Association "Moínho da Juventude"	8	Primary Training Training on Needlework and Domestic Services
Unions Federation (UGT)	13	General Training Training on Management
Fishing Vocational Training Centre	8 13	General Training Training on Enterprise Foundation
Institute for Employment and Vocational Training	8	Training on Enterprises Foundation

NOW

In Portugal the organization of the Community initiative NOW is within the scope of the Institute for Employment and Vocational Training. According to the main aims of the initiative the following measures were defined :

1. Vocational training and actions supporting integration (this measure has a national scope but favours the textile sector).
 - 1.1. Vocational training for women's enterprises initiatives (the rural areas and the poor suburban municipalities are favoured).
 - 1.2. Vocational training for integration in the regular labour market.
 - 1.3. Training for trainers, development agents and equality advisers.
 - 1.4. Childcare worker training.
 - 1.5. Performance of childcare services.

2. Services Implementation.

2.1. Information services concerning women's enterprise initiatives.

2.2. Implementation of childcare services.

3. Technical Assistance (Programme support and management).

Until May 1991 40 projects concerning the region of Lisbon were presented : 4 have a national scope and 19 concern the region of Lisbon. National projects were presented by the Institute for Employment and Vocational Training and concern the training of trainers, vocational training of the unemployed and the promotion of professional choice diversification. The regional projects concern:

- Vocational Training:

- . Course programmes and guides;
- . Trainers' network;
- . Training in handicrafts;
- . Education Agents' training;
- . Childcare workers' training;
- . Vocational training of women living in poor urban areas.

- Teaching adults to read and write.

- Support to professional integration and re-integration.

- Enterprises initiatives.

- Childcare.

The regional projects were presented by the following institutions:

- Official Institutions (3 projects);
- Women's Organizations (3);
- Social Associations (4);
- Economic Associations (1);
- High Schools (1);
- Unions (2);
- Enterprises (4);
- Individuals (1).

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