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Diffused Industrialization in Thessaloniki: From Expansion to Crisis*

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Spatially diffused production has been on the agenda for a long time now, since the term *industrializzazione diffusa* was first coined. It was meant to describe the decentralization of production of large, vertically integrated companies and/or the rapid development of a dense network of small and medium-size enterprises (SMEs) in and around urban areas, interconnected by an equally dense network of subcontracting relations, including home-working. Much of the dominant debate has until now centred around diffused industrialization as a strategy to counter the 'crisis of fordism' through flexible production processes; hence the emphasis on technological innovation and fragmentation of production, shifts from large factories and production lines to specialized SMEs, casualization of labour and the concomitant break-up of shopfloor organizing.

It would seem that not much needs to be added to further our understanding of such processes. And, to some extent, the debate on diffused industrialization and its association with flexible specialization has come to a dead end, mainly due to the questions asked in that context. However, in this paper we will present yet another 'case' of diffused industrialization, that of Thessaloniki. Many features of flexibility can be readily observed in the development of its local productive system. But fast and low-cost adaptation to fluctuations in demand and the operation of dense and complex subcontracting networks cannot, by themselves, lead to explanations in the context of postfordism and flexibility. They bear a resemblance to some of its 'defensive' forms but do not follow from a condition of fordist rigidity in organization and regulation of production.¹

Based on the findings of our research in Thessaloniki,² our aim is on the one hand to present a case which is worth studying in itself as a less-discussed type of 'successful' capitalist restructuring, and on the other to shift the emphasis to a different set of issues

*An earlier version of this paper was presented at the International Seminar on Undeveloped Cities and Regions Facing the New European Order, Lemnos Island, Greece, September 1991. It is based on a research project carried out by the authors between 1989 and 1991 for the Organization of Planning and the Environment of Thessaloniki, entitled *Diffused industrialization in Thessaloniki and its impact on urban growth*, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, 1991 (4 volumes, in Greek). We thank the Lemnos Seminar participants, and also the anonymous referees, for their comments.

1. Particularly helpful here is the categorization provided by Leborgne and Lipietz (1988). Note also the summary critique on flexible specialization by Amin and Robins (1990) and by Leborgne and Lipietz (1990). For southern Europe see Hadjimichalis and Papamichos (1990).
2. The survey was conducted in 1989-90 and includes: (a) 15 interviews with large firms in different sectors using splitting-in (or internal) subcontracting; (b) 140 questionnaires in a representative sample of firms from the Registry of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Thessaloniki which were identified as putting out or taking subcontracts; (c) 46 in-depth interviews with home/workers; (d) interviews with representatives of local institutions. In the municipality of Sykies a more detailed survey was organized, including (e) a full mapping of industrial activity (308 firms); (f) a random sample of households, to investigate the extent of home-working; and (g) 28 interviews with home/workers.

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and questions from those which have been at the core of the dominant debate. In doing so, we will first criticize what we see as a deradicalized approach to diffused industrialization. Secondly, we will illustrate the mode of operation of Thessaloniki's local productive system. Thirdly, an attempt will be made to describe the particular local social compromise among capital, organized labour and the state/local authorities, which, we believe, lies at the foundation of the whole system. Finally, some comments will be made on its emerging crisis, followed by some tentative conclusions.

The dark side of ... Paradise

During the past decade the literature of diffused industrialization and industrial districts (two distinct although often homologous social entities) seem to have reached a polarization, constantly reproducing itself. On one side stand those 'optimist' proponents who talk with enthusiasm about localized flexible production systems replacing fordist rigidity in different and often non-comparable places. On the other, 'critical' proponents argue against the flex-spec/high-tech paradigm and the end of fordism, addressing questions of globalization, corporate networks and the limitations of the SMEs' success.³

For dominant development theory this debate proved beneficial, as it gave theoretical status to empirical observations of 'local' development 'from below' (Maillat, 1991; Garofoli, 1991). Scholars and practitioners overemphasized endogenous and self-reliant characteristics in these processes, arguing for strong local initiatives to replace 'old, bad, from above' mobile and state-owned capital interventions (Vasquez-Barquero, 1990). Very schematically, we can identify two main approaches with a more or less clear political dissociation between them. First, a neo-liberal development view, because these cases are simultaneously spontaneous, export-led and flexible in production and labour relations; niche-finding in marketing; familial in organization; and petty-entrepreneurial in character. Second, a left-wing development view, which appreciates many of the previous neo-liberal points but also emphasizes a Proudhonian vision of successful craft production in SMEs providing jobs in non-hierarchical artisan groups. These SMEs are viewed as more democratic in their organization *vis-à-vis* large monopoly capital, as they cooperate in dense local networks, enjoying local institutional support and, in some cases, regulatory policies introduced by 'red' local authorities, as in Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany.

Contributions to this debate of course vary in emphasis and scope — to which a schematic reference inevitably does injustice. But what is striking is the almost absolute silence on the negative effects of this kind of capitalist development. It may sound obvious and banal to open these issues again, but these days we hear and read more about flexibility, networking, technical and social innovations and successful places, and less about men, women, children and foreign migrant workers, and even less about poor working and environmental conditions.

The example of the Third Italy is perhaps the most prominent and illustrative. In the growing literature there is an abundance of books, articles and conference papers on successful SMEs operating in an innovative milieu, but very little on the poor pay and working conditions of thousands of women homeworkers. There is a wide appreciation of progressive (left-wing) regional industrial policies in Emilia-Romagna, but little discussion of the lack of control and regulation of working conditions in firms with less than 20 workers. There is meticulous study of the local capacity to innovate, but scarce reference to *lavoro nero* and tax evasion, which in many places accounts for 20–28% of the profits of an 'innovative', flexible SME. Finally, a lot of attention is paid to the efficiency of diffused industrialization in placing design items in the world market, but there is very little

3. For a current summary of the debate see the papers by Amin and Thrift (1991), Cooke and Morgan (1991), Leborgne (1991) and Storper (1991) presented at the Lemnos International Seminar, September 1991.

analysis of the environmental destruction, pollution and urban problems generated by this policy.

While initial sociological research on *industrializzazione diffusa* in Italy during the 1970s was paying attention to these issues (see, for example, Magnaghi, 1973; Magnaghi and Pereli, 1978), modern radical geography (mainly in its Anglo-American version) shifted the emphasis to research on growth. Where formerly capitalist development was seen as a zero-sum game, now, particularly in the flex-spec/high-tech literature, there is less interest in the losers and more in the conditions for success.

It is probably fair to say that during the early phases of radical geography some positive aspects of market organization, competition and, above all, place-specific socio-cultural characteristics were underestimated. But the early, almost exclusive emphasis upon the negative effects of competition is now replaced by an equally exclusive shift to fetishizing everything that looks postfordist, postmodern, flexible, small-scale or whatever (see also Sayer, 1991).

To overcome this profound deradicalization of radical geography, a balance is needed between efforts to take seriously the economic, technical and institutional characteristics of diffused production, and efforts to reintroduce a critical view based on class, gender, ethnic and place specificities. In our view, one way to work along these lines is to rethink the old concept of *local social compromise*, which is necessary in order to put to work capital, labour and the state/local authorities. Within an expanding and uneven world capitalist market, industrial production involves the activities of many local and regional networks of large and small enterprises. This global/local relation is shaped in important ways by actions of and conflicts between a variety of social actors — from nation-states and social classes to gender, ethnic and local communities.

Applying this general analytical framework to Thessaloniki, we will look into those 'grey areas' of rigid inflexibilities concerned with the deterioration of the terms and conditions of work and those involved in it. For, contrary to images of postfordist core-workers in jobs created through technological innovation, in Thessaloniki — as in many other parts of southern Europe — various forms of 'atypical employment' are the norm (Meulders and Plasman, 1989); technological innovation is not easily accessible to the vast majority of very small firms involved in diffused production; labour organization does not reach the majority of workers in subcontracting networks, who thus have minimal negotiating power; the state and administrative institutions are present more by their tolerance than by their positive intervention.

Such 'local specificities', some of which are discussed below, point to the need to study the structural characteristics of the local productive system with its global determinations and the ways in which it affects capitalist development in a specific geographical area.

Thessaloniki: the urban tissue as a locus for industrial production

The area of Thessaloniki — what we will be referring to as Greater Thessaloniki — is the second largest urban area in Greece, with a population of 970,000 in 1991, distributed in 25 municipalities among which is the municipality of Thessaloniki itself. It also constitutes the second largest concentration of industrial activity in the country, with manufacturing a decisive parameter in urban development. This sector employed 47% of the active population in the mid-1980s, when the figure for Greater Athens was 38% and for Greece as a whole 29% (NSS, 1984).

According to the 1984 census of industrial and commercial establishments, compared to the country as a whole, Greater Thessaloniki showed a significant increase in manufacturing establishments and employment in the following sectors: tobacco, textiles, clothing and footwear, furniture, machinery and petroleum products. Within Greater Thessaloniki,

sectoral specialization is significantly differentiated. As one would expect, sectors such as beverages, textiles, basic metals, petroleum and chemical industries are to be found mainly in peripheral municipalities. Light industry such as clothing, footwear, furniture, printing, leather and furs is concentrated in municipalities closer to the centre and in the centre itself.

Of interest is the small increase in employment in the central area of Greater Thessaloniki during 1978–84 (annual increase 0.50%–1.10%), a phenomenon which runs counter to the prevailing decrease in employment in large cities (including Athens and other European cities: see Leontidou, 1990).

Industrial activity is even more important than official figures indicate, since it includes the unofficial but significant (in volume, value and employment) part of production that is carried out in small, usually unregistered, workshops and in homes. This 'hidden' industrial activity accounts to a large extent for the dynamism observed not only in Greater Thessaloniki but in northern Greece in general since the mid-1970s (Papayannakis *et al.*, 1986; Hadjimichalis and Vaiou, 1990).

An exact quantitative evaluation of this activity is by definition impossible and changes almost daily, in line with the needs of the market. Nevertheless, the Labour Centre of Thessaloniki and the Association of Exporting Manufacturers of Northern Greece estimate for Greater Thessaloniki (and we include these figures with reservations) that in 1989, in addition to the 23,000 'official' workers in clothing and knitwear, another 20,000–35,000 worked 'secretly' at home and in small workshops. The home work undertaken in Greater Thessaloniki — apart from the traditional clothing, knitwear, footwear and garment embroidery — includes food packing, wooden furniture components, construction of metal and plastic furniture components, bags and belts, leather jackets, artificial flowers, small gifts and toys, setting of precious stones in jewellery, assembly of TV games, assembly of electrical equipment for houses and industry, assembly of elevator mechanisms and inscriptions on metal and rubber stamps.

In our survey, 49.3% of firms were never registered in NSS surveys. This may be accepted as 'normal', since those are not really censuses, but rather sample surveys of establishments. However, the qualitative features of never-registered firms (small size, labour-intensive branches, location etc.) permit the hypothesis that a significant part of industrial activity in Greater Thessaloniki is in any case unrecorded. In some branches where convincing data were available from other sources, the number of establishments was up to 78% higher than the figures provided by the NSS.⁴

The great majority of the firms in our sample (60%) are small (<9 persons) and almost half were founded after 1981. Proportionally, the newest (after 1981) and smallest correspond to clothing, garment embroidery, furs, leather bags, gifts and food packing. The largest and oldest companies in the sample are concentrated in furniture, textiles, machinery, transport, dyeing and finishing, printing and tobacco processing. The technology used can be classified as low to average in terms of modernization. Of the firms surveyed, 54% have not changed their machinery during the last five years, while 35 out of 140 use some form of automation in production, regardless of the size of firm.

A closer analysis of SMEs' characteristics in Greater Thessaloniki leads to the following classification:

- (a) Firms which produce the same product or the same component and put out (capacity subcontracting) 50–65% of the less innovative and more labour-intensive parts of production (see also Holmes, 1986). These firms operate in loose networks, dependent on foreign 'parent' firms, and are characterized by defensive and imitative strategies.

4. Data were available from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Thessaloniki. For food industries it was 49% higher than NSS figures, for clothing and knitwear 22%, for wooden furniture 39%, for metal components 10%, for furs 78%, for construction of bodies for lorries 6%, and for toys, ceramics and gifts 62%.

Decisions about the types and quantities of products are taken by parent firms in 40% of cases, while only 4 out of 140 firms surveyed declared that such decisions are taken by specially trained staff. The majority of SMEs in Greater Thessaloniki fall into this category, mainly in sectors like clothing, knitwear, electrical appliances, leather, tobacco, small gifts and toys.

- (b) Firms which produce and exchange complementary items and have a strong territorial integration in denser networks. In these firms, some form of technology transfer takes place among subsectors with continuous improvement of labour productivity. Specialization subcontracting predominates and 44% of companies put out less than 20% of their production. They are relatively independent and follow an extensive development path. The minority of firms, mainly in the areas of special clothing, shoes, machinery, metal products and food, belong in this category.

We may notice the absence of system areas, the most advanced and innovative networks of SMEs, with complex technical and social internal interactions, which are the *sine qua non* of known Italian industrial districts (see Brusco, 1982; Garofoli, 1983).

In Thessaloniki the number of subcontracts varies according to the branch and size of the 'parent' firm. Most capacity subcontracting firms use 4–10 subcontractors, while specialization subcontracting firms use 3 or 4. The number of subcontractors in both types increases in proportion to the size of firm in terms of employment, volume of output and economic importance, as well as with its technological profile. For example, firms in our sample with more than 150 workers and medium-level technology had more than 30 subcontractors. The largest number was found in the Hellenic Vehicle Industry (ELVO, previously Stayer), which has 250 subcontractors throughout Greece, 110 of them in Central Macedonia. Finally, in all branches and firms, regardless of size, where subcontracting is a permanent choice, the part of production put out or internally split increased steadily throughout the 1980s. As a result, the numbers of those working for subcontractors or at home are similar to, or exceed, those officially registered by firms. The ratio lies between 1 employee working for the parent firm per 0.7 working for subcontractors, to 1 per 2.7.

The branches which have developed in Thessaloniki are characterized by few and/or weak internal economies of scale. They rely on a flexible local labour market and many personal contacts. The productive process is diffused through subcontracting networks which in turn multiply the interconnections between firms and give rise to new geographical relations. The higher the cost of these interconnections, the greater the tendency of firms to concentrate in parts of the city. Geographical proximity seems to act as security — particularly for the smaller firms — against the uncertainties of the market and the daily problems which arise in production, information, distribution and recruitment.

For branches for which we had sufficient data on the organization of their system of production, the networks identified were remarkably dense and diffused throughout the city. Figure 1 shows the diffused pattern of clothing and knitwear firms with more than five employees that put out work. There is an impressive concentration of these units in the city centre, a real 'garment district' around Vardaris Square (615 firms or 61.7% of all firms of this subsector in Greater Thessaloniki). This figure does not show small workshops and homeworkers who undertake subcontracting. A conservative estimate of these workshops is 3–6,000 units, while in one municipality (Sykies) close to the town centre, detailed field research revealed that in a remarkably high 10% of households one or more members did piecework at home.

Similar figures were produced for a number of branches for which relatively complete data could be obtained. Figure 2 shows cast-iron firms and companies making bodies for lorries, which belong to specific networks and undertake or put out subcontracts. The differences in choice of location are obvious, compared with Figure 1. Finally, Figures 3 and 4 show in detail, respectively, the diffusion throughout the city of subcontracting units (and some home-workers) and the stages of production which are put out, for a

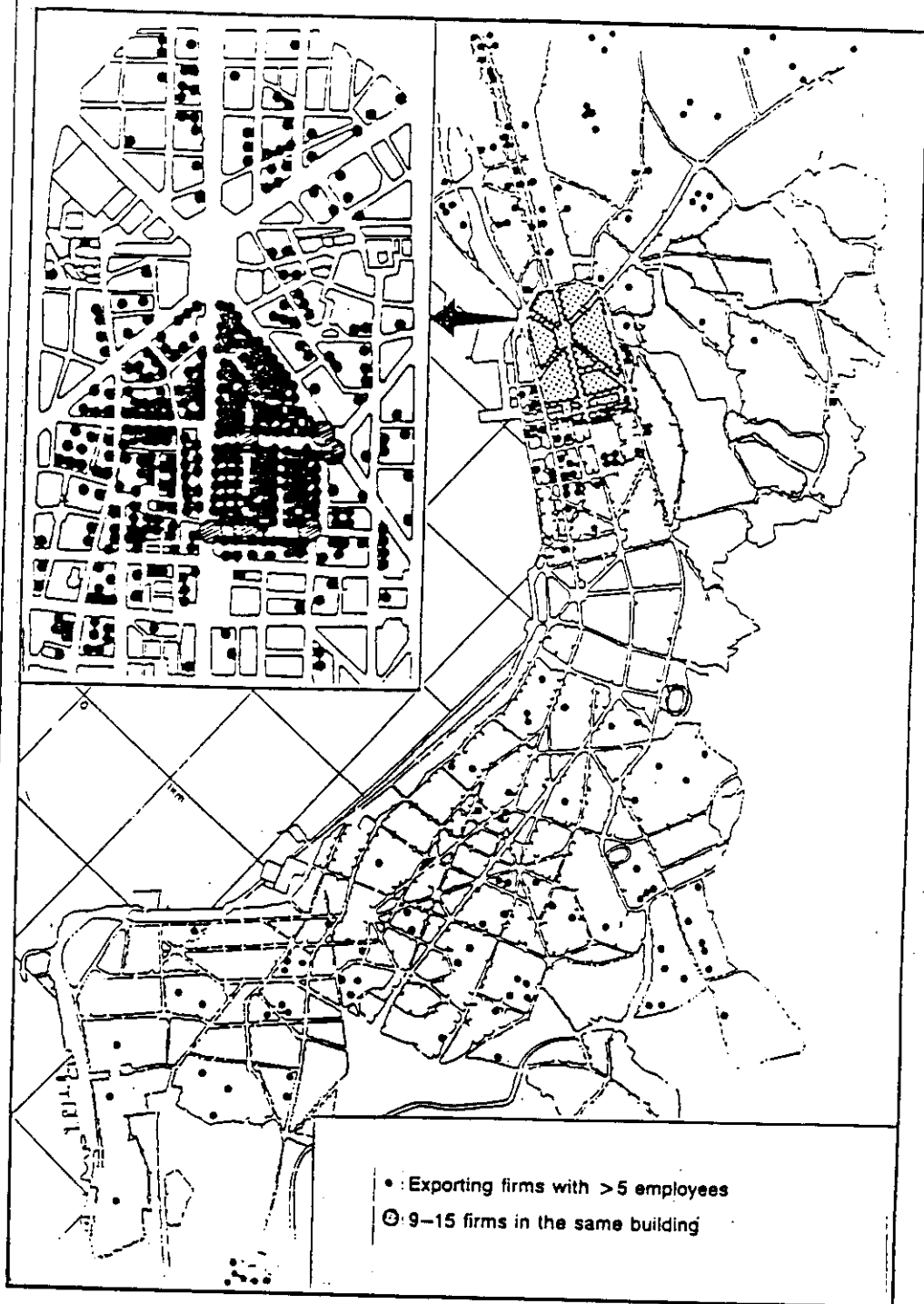


Figure 1 Geographical distribution of 'parent' firms and subcontractors in clothing and knitwear

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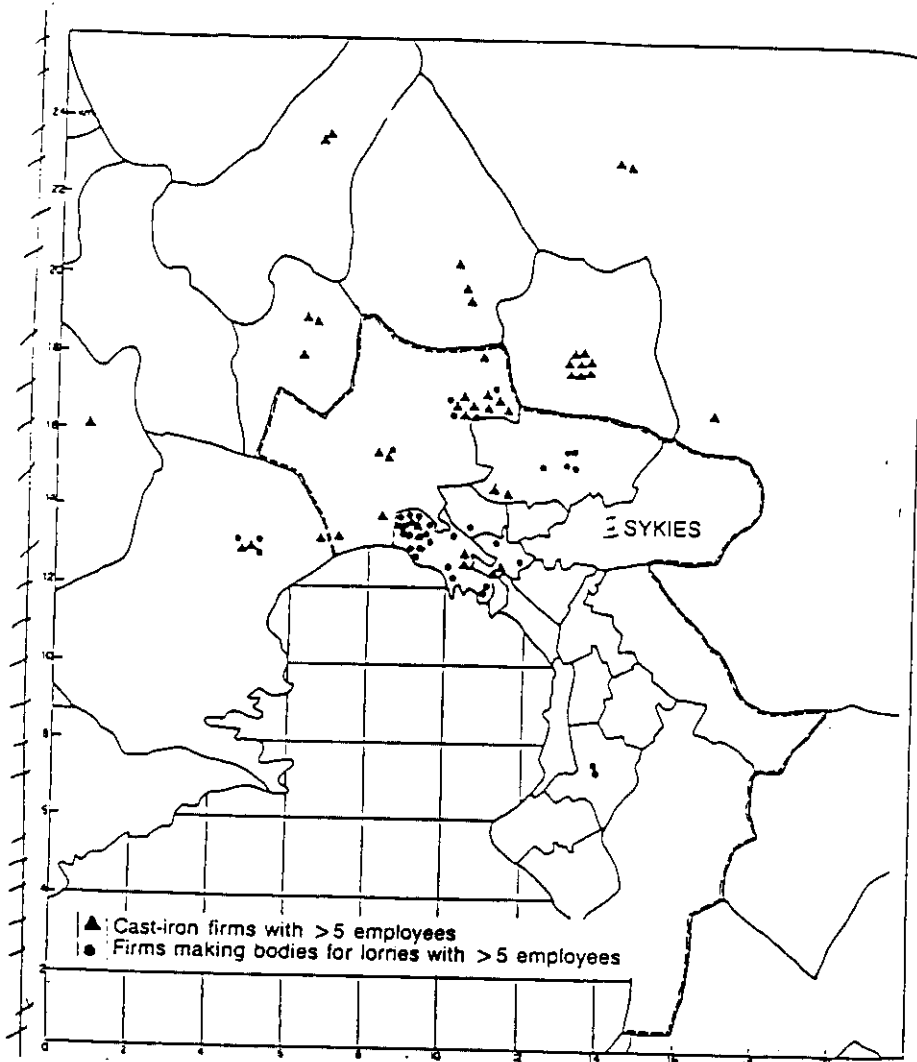


Figure 2 Geographical distribution of 'parent' firms and subcontractors in cast iron and making bodies for lorries

footwear firm located in a peripheral municipality. We may notice that while the firm is located 15 km out of town, 40% of its production takes place within the urban area.

The denser and more highly developed these networks of horizontal and vertical decentralization and of business and personal contacts, the greater the dynamism of urban development. This holds particularly true for medium-sized cities in southern Europe like Thessaloniki, where there are no administrative functions of nationwide importance, nor are they metropolises in an international or European network of great cities. Urban space is still a locus of industrial production. It is created by and in turn recreates the conditions of reproduction of one or more local productive systems.⁵

5. For the initiation of these ideas see Bagnasco (1977; 1988) and Garofoli (1983). For an elaboration in large metropolises see Scott (1988). For other cases in Greece see the special issue of *Synchrone Themata*, edited by Tsilenis and Hadjimichalis (1991).

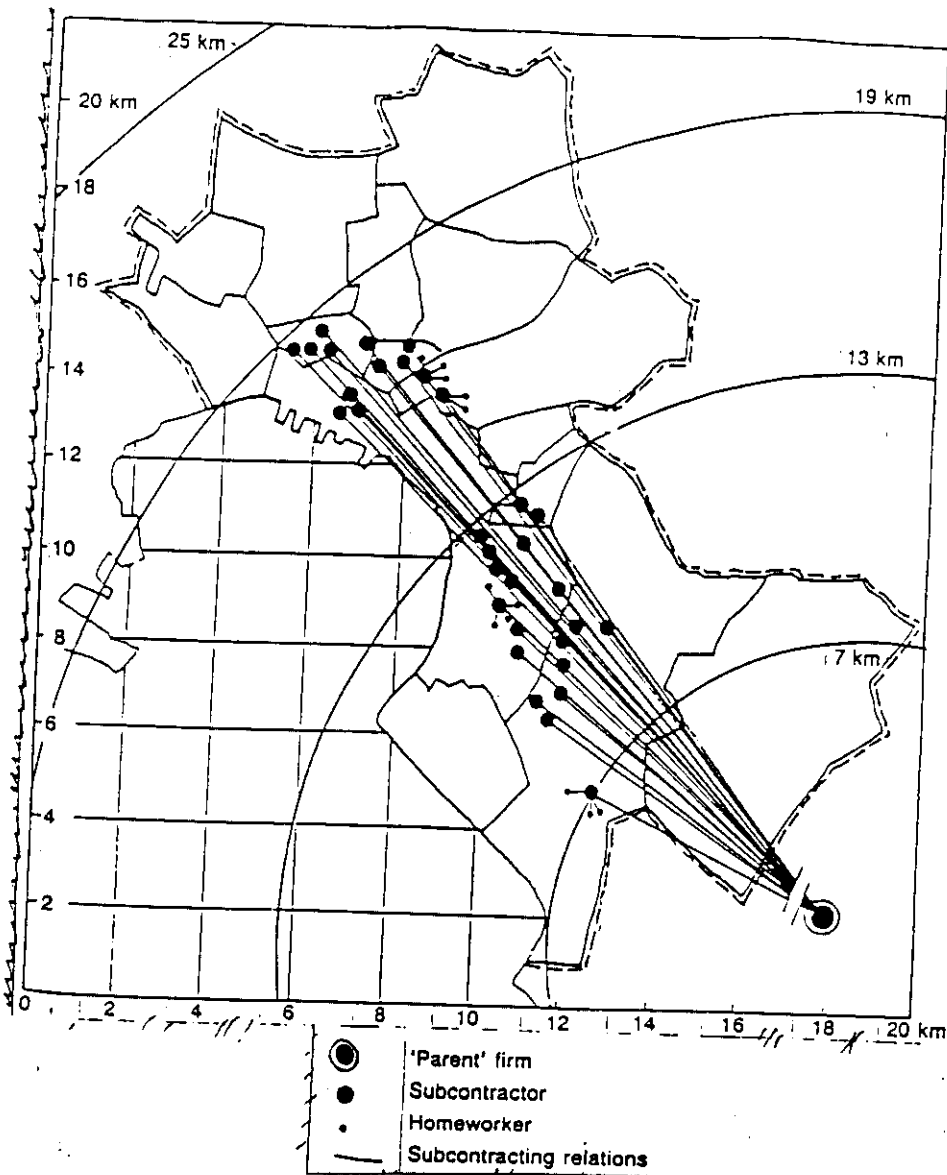


Figure 3 Shoemaking firm: the geographical distribution of subcontracting in Greater Thessaloniki

In Figure 5 we have tried to describe the contact network of such a system for clothing and knitwear firms for which we had sufficient information. Social actors include productive units (exporting 'parent' firms, subcontractors and trade mediating firms — *impanatori*), firm servicing, public services and institutions, employers' associations and labour unions. Productive units in such a system have well-developed connections with suppliers of materials needed for production and with manufacturers of intermediate products. They create a demand for services and organize distribution networks. This activity affects local employment as well as private and public incomes. Geographical distances which define such a system are very small, in order to increase the opportunities for personal contacts at a low cost. For example, the central area in Figure 1 — which contains 61.7% of clothing and knitwear firms in Greater Thessaloniki

| Stages of production | Location | % of output |
|---|--|--------------------------------|
| Model design | Factory in Thermi | 100% |
| Estimate of needs in quality & quantity of supplies | Factory in Thermi | 100% |
| Purchase of supplies | Macedonia — Thraki Abroad | 30% 70% |
| Tracing of shoe parts | Factory in Thermi | 100% |
| Leather cutting | Factory in Thermi | 100% |
| Lining cutting | Factory in Thermi | 100% |
| Sewing and gluing of shoe parts | 35 workshops out of the factory in various neighbourhoods of G.Th. | 100% |
| Knitting | (see Figure 3) | (35% of output) |
| Forming and assembly | Factory in Thermi | |
| Heels | | |
| Decorations | Factory in Thermi 12 workshops in various neighbourhoods of G.Th. | 40% 60% (5% of output) |
| Finishing | Factory in Thermi | 100% |
| Packing | Factory in Thermi | 100% |
| Distribution | Factory in Thermi | 100% |
| | | 40% of total output is put out |

Figure 4 Shoemaking firm: stages of production

→ is only 1000 by 800 m large and nearly all the basic services in Figure 5 are found within this area.

In addition, the majority of subcontractors lie within 7 or 8 km of their 'parent' firm, while the average distance of small workshops from firms in our survey is 4.5 km. Lastly, piece-work is put out to home/workers within a radius of no more than 1 km. In fact, 'proximity to place of residence' (of the owner and the workers) is the most common reason given in our survey for the choice of location — reaching the same frequency as low cost of land or rent at the time of installation. All these contribute to the complexity of land use and the maintenance of daily liveliness in the city, but at the same time they reproduce unacceptable labour relations and conditions of work in workshops and homes.

Thus a hierarchy of spaces is created which follows the hierarchy of qualitative and temporal needs of production. At one level the world market incorporates various national economies and regions in which parent firms operate. These may themselves be large-scale subcontractors for larger firms abroad. At a second level, that of a particular city or region, a network of subcontractors may develop which undertakes parts of the production of the larger firm. Lastly, at a third level, that of the neighbourhood and the home, individual piece-workers work at home on work put out by small workshops. Thus, households in the various neighbourhoods of a city like Thessaloniki work as parallel, independent and isolated workers, as the last link in the production process of a 'global factory' (Fuentes and Ehrenreich, 1984).

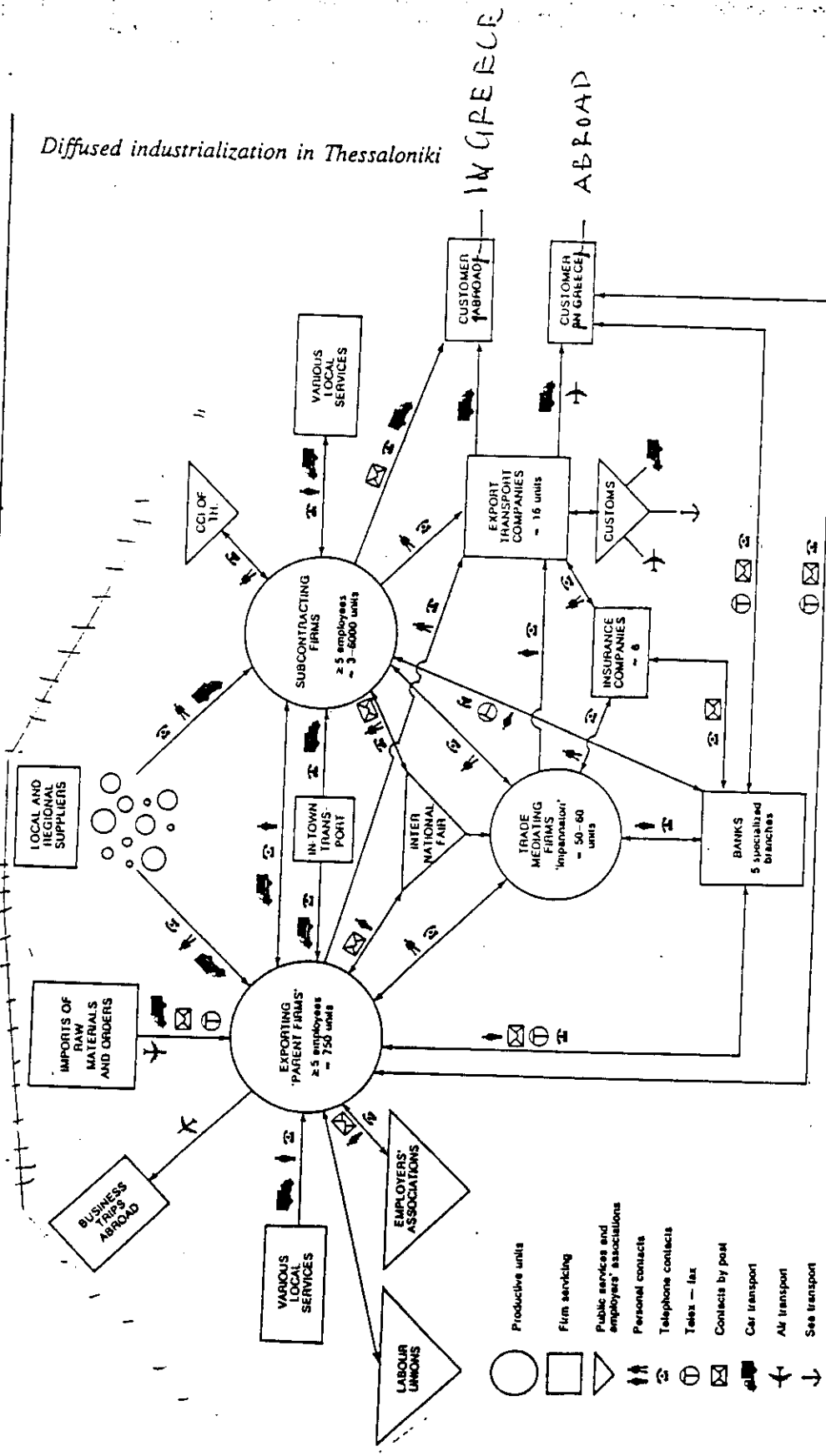


Figure 5 Clothing and knitwear: the local productive system

The foundations of the system: a local social compromise

Putting work out to subcontractors or to individuals and diffusion of these units throughout the city has had positive effects (though often only conjunctural) on the firms and on the economic life of the city. This success, however, carries a significant social cost for the workers and an environmental cost for the entire city. The whole system and its success so far is based on a historically and geographically specific local social compromise among capital, organized labour and the state, leading to irregular, uncontrolled labour relations, to ever worse working conditions and exploitation of workers (mainly women) and to many illegal or semi-illegal practices.

During the 1970s and 1980s, there was a continuous growth in industrial investment and employment induced by expanding domestic and foreign markets (mainly EC) in all sectors, particularly in food, clothing, footwear, leather products, oil and chemicals, machinery, cars and electrical equipment. Industrial investment was financed more by profits of local firms and less by incentives to capital, as is the case in other parts of northern Greece (Kalogirou *et al.*, 1989). EC protectionist quotas against non-EC countries favoured Greater Thessaloniki, which — due to its productive specialization and good geographical connections — was able to export 'just-in-time', low-cost, quality products to European markets.⁶ Industrial productivity rose but wages did not follow and remain among the lowest in the EC (Rylmon, 1990). An important part of the flexible strategies of firms has to do with illegal or semi-illegal practices, such as evading taxation and social security payments, not declaring production, breaking noise or pollution regulations, operating without a permit, violating safety and health standards, and using labour without contracts. In order to avoid inspections by the authorities, many firms have relocated several times within Greater Thessaloniki, even in some cases changing the name of the firm.

The irregularity of employment (and correspondingly of income) leads many workers to seek second or third jobs to cover slump periods and to mobilize the whole family to fulfil orders during peak periods. Through this process a workforce is formed, available at any moment and obliged to accept unfavourable to unacceptable working conditions. Diffused industrialization depends to a large extent on this workforce and in turn perpetuates the need for its existence.

Conditions of work and labour relations, insurance, security and level of pay differ significantly among branches and between firms included in the classification given above. Very small family firms use unpaid family labour, which in practical terms means women, on a permanent basis. Such work is rarely declared and recorded ('assisting and unpaid members' in NSS surveys) and is even more rarely associated with pay, insurance and the status of a working person. In labour-intensive sectors, wages are low, working conditions bad, employment insecure and many practices are of doubtful legality. For example, 32% of these firms operate in small, dark, damp basements without a permit for running an industrial workshop. In exporting firms — which are the most dynamic — conditions are even worse, as they face competition from third world countries with even lower wages. The increased pressures are passed on to the workers, mainly women, in the form of salary derogations, very short delivery times, refusal to pay social security contributions and general irregularity of labour relations.

Deterioration of working conditions is not the same in all branches and depends on the type of subcontracting. In firms which put out specialization subcontracts (category (b) above), working conditions are better and workers in the shops are unionized and look

6. In Greater Thessaloniki, firms in clothing, leather products and electrical equipment were able to respond on a weekly basis to orders from England, Germany and Holland. Fast and secure service provided by the firms in Thessaloniki was — according to their foreign partners — more important than the lower prices they could obtain in Yugoslavia, Turkey or Egypt. In fact, transport to central Europe through Yugoslavia was carried out by specialized transport firms in 5–7 hours by lorries ~~or cargo planes~~.

after their interests. It is notable that in these instances a predominantly male workforce is employed. Here we have cases (in transport, steel and beverages) where the parent firm dictates particular conditions to subcontractors, thus indirectly influencing labour relations for the better. As one would expect, home-workers face the most serious problems. It is worth noting again that the majority of such workers are women. According to their responses in our depth interviews, they started doing piece-work at home 'temporarily', in order to help the family and cover pressing needs. However, since new consumer needs arise continuously, they continue to work, sometimes to an advanced age.

Organized labour, that is, branch or plant unions and the Labour Centre of Thessaloniki, have adopted quite controversial attitudes towards the phenomena discussed above. Union membership and, more so, union leadership, are predominantly male and composed of those who work in factories rather than at home. Some of the workers in factories regularly take extra work on piece-rate agreements which is done by their wives and daughters at home; the latter remain 'housewives' even when they perform the same tasks as male workers in factories.⁷

In some 'female' branches, mainly clothing and toys, awareness has increased and efforts at least to map home-workers have been made in the last five years. The initiative came from women union members in collaboration with local chapters of women's organizations. The Labour Centre of Thessaloniki was involved in the effort, but in most branches vague impressions still predominate about the existence and extent of hidden labour and subcontracting networks.⁸ In branches where 'splitting-in' predominates (e.g. steel, cement, oil, chemicals), unions have accepted subcontracting and black labour within factories, after some initial reactions and mobilizations. 'Core' workers with regular contracts thus retained their privileged position, while piece-workers started to perform the dirtiest and heaviest tasks. In other branches where there is a tradition of high union militancy (e.g. food, beverages, tobacco, construction), and in some large textile and clothing firms, there have been lengthy strikes against 'putting out' and 'splitting-in' management strategies — which ended in most cases with the defeat of the unions.

Overall, organized labour has reacted sporadically or has passively accepted such strategies. Although they are not the prime negotiators with employers and the state, they have not managed to incorporate more than a small fraction of those involved in local production. The majority of those involved in subcontracting networks are not registered in unions and have no voice in negotiations. They are to a great extent left out of the social compromise which takes for granted their existence and their willingness to accept the worst working conditions.

The state and local authorities have so far accepted, or at least not opposed, the practices of employers and petty entrepreneurs by not 'actively' enforcing existing laws, on the premise that firms contribute to local prosperity and provide a significant number of jobs. At the same time (and especially during PASOK's time in office, from 1981 to 1989), many special policies and incentives were initiated to help and promote SMEs, as medium-sized 'local capitalism' was idealized *vis-à-vis* monopoly international capital (PASOK, 1985). Access to these incentives proved a complex and lengthy process and political affiliations became more important than social or economic ones. Thus, political clientelism and party-patronage systems found favourable ground in the context of broader regulatory mechanisms.

The example of recent legislative reforms and their enforcement is indicative of the attitudes of the state. Based on pressures from unions arguing that home-working is a

7. According to the president of the shoemakers' union, shoemakers working in factories 'take home additional work to be done by housewives'. Housewives do the most delicate part of sewing together the upper part of the shoe and the decorations on it, and end up working on a full-time schedule during peak periods. Although they do the same work as 'shoemakers' in factories, women home-workers remain 'housewives'.
8. The unions of metal workers and tobacco workers believe that there is no subcontracting in these branches.

special form of dependent employment and taking into account a considerable popular electoral basis, legislation was passed in 1986 which required that those who do piecework at home be insured through the National Social Welfare (IKA). The law has hardly ever been applied, however. It was met with strong, well-organized resistance by employers and with reservations by workers. In contrast, a recent clause in the 'development bill' (July 1990) introduced by Nea Demokratia (the Rightist party in government) is already being taken advantage of. This law contains sections which legalize common informal business practices and give a legal status to an already existing flexible labour market. The most important new regulations concern part-time work, the right of firms to work on a 24-hour basis seven days a week, and the introduction of flexible working hours.

These regulations, along with the absence of enforcement, indicate a 'conspiracy of silence' around the workings of diffused industrialization, especially with regard to its bleakest aspects concerning irregular — and highly exploitative — labour relations. This social compromise, in which workers who are actually involved have no part in its negotiation, proved very effective in Greater Thessaloniki up to the end of the 1980s.

An emerging crisis

By the end of the 1980s, some signs of malfunctioning of this local productive system could already be observed, coinciding with a change of government (from PASOK to Nea Demokratia), both national and local. One may not yet speak of a crisis as such; but if current developments persist, their negative effects will be more than evident, especially after 1992. The local social compromise, upon which diffused industrialization has so far relied, is threatened by slow but steady changes in three major conditions: macro-economic, environmental/geographical and social, combining global tendencies with local specificities.

From a *macroeconomic* point of view, the performance of the Greek economy has been the poorest in the EC, with very low increase in GDP, industrial investment and productivity, and high inflation and debt. These conditions affect the position of Greater Thessaloniki in the IDL as a semi-peripheral industrial city which has managed to accumulate enough benefits for local capital and to offer a significant number of jobs. Now, more than before, a great part of surplus has to be reserved for debt servicing. This, in combination with low productivity, means little room for wage increase and social benefits for workers, both nationally and locally (see also Leborgne and Lipietz, 1990).

Furthermore, Greater Thessaloniki specializes in labour-intensive, low-wage sectors which have recently been badly hit by international competition and diminishing domestic and European demand. By the end of the 1980s, these sectors showed a decrease in productivity, despite intensification of work. To these difficulties one has to add the coming end of EC protectionist quotas and the opening of eastern European labour markets, which are likely to attract many contracts previously directed towards southern Europe. Many Greek firms have already started to relocate all or part of their productive activities to other parts of northern Greece, while the most advanced ones in clothing, footwear and electrical equipment are now subcontracting up to 30% of their production to firms in southern Bulgaria, Sofia, southern Yugoslavia and Belgrade. Civil war in Yugoslavia, however, and the prospect of its extension towards Skopje, have eliminated subcontracting relations and at the same time seriously blocked export roads towards central Europe. Thus, the combination of neo-taylorism with informalization plus geographical location and local skills — once the 'comparative advantage' of the area — is becoming its major problem.

From an *environmental/geographical* point of view, important changes have occurred since the mid-1980s. The almost free locational choices of SMEs within the urban tissue have been restricted by the introduction of regulations for pollution, noise and land use

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control. These measures, however inadequate they may be in terms of their enforcement, have changed previous degrees of freedom. In addition, a dramatic increase in land values has limited the opportunities of firms to find cheap urban space (to rent or buy), especially in basements or high-rise peripheral blocks. The same is true for the old part of the central area which faces pressures to change from low-price, wholesale and/or manufacturing use to postmodern, pedestrianized, boutique/bank/restaurant culture.

Moreover, the urban infrastructure, which was at the edge of efficiency, has almost collapsed with the intensification and diversification of land use. Traffic jams are a daily routine, along with scarce parking and/or loading space, inadequate telephone and telecommunication networks and almost total dependence on surface transport to the EC through Yugoslavia (except for bulky products transported by sea), which recent developments there have made highly risky and uncertain for the future.

Locational limitations and infrastructural inefficiency, along with the extension of subcontracting networks to villages outside Greater Thessaloniki, have increased travel times and more generally the cost of operation of many SMEs. Of 140 in our sample, 80 transport their products (to other firms or to markets) once or twice a week, mainly by car, while most of the workers have longer travel times than before to work. To this we have to add the dramatic increase in housing cost (construction, buying or rent) and the decrease of opportunities for semi-squatting in the urban periphery. All these developments contribute to an increase in the cost of labour power reproduction and consequently of wages.

Finally, from a *social* point of view, in the context of a deepening social division of labour, a number of changes have started to be evident, gradually undermining the foundations of diffused industrialization in Greater Thessaloniki. As we have already underlined, much of the system's successful, albeit defensive, operation was due to the 'comparative advantage' of cheap and non-unionized labour. The existence of such labour is closely linked with the structure and ideology of the family. In the context of this institution, men and women have been drawn in different ways into subcontracting networks and informal work, and have come to accept the conditions of over-exploitation associated with them.

For male workers, acceptance of low wages and poor working conditions is part of multiple employment (and income) patterns, in both formal and informal jobs. For women workers, work for low pay and in poor conditions, at home, in workshops or in family businesses is considered — sometimes by women themselves — as a temporary or occasional occupation, as a form of 'assistance to the family'. Their participation in production is conflated with, and often seen as an extension of, family duties and loyalties, even though it is an income-generating activity. In the case of homeworking in particular, this type of paid work is thought to be beneficial for women at certain stages in their life-cycle when they have to 'combine' it with family obligations which remain their responsibility. Working informally in different types of atypical employment — becoming cheap and non-unionized labour — does not earn women the status and benefits of working persons; at the same time, it delegates control of their labour power not only to employers but to the family as well — where power relations are not threatened (Vaiou *et al.*, 1991).

However, slow but important changes have been occurring in women's attitudes towards work and life, thereby gradually modifying familial ideology and the actual structure of families and reducing both women's and men's opportunities and willingness to accept the present practices of firms. Falling fertility rates and fewer children lead to shorter periods in women's life-cycles during which they have difficulties in 'going out' to work. Younger women are less obliged and less eager to accept the 'choice' of home-working. It is no coincidence that the majority of home/workers are middle-aged, often divorced, with children and other dependents. 18

Throughout the 1980s, an active women's movement along with EC directives brought the issue of equality of opportunities between men and women to the fore and led to important

legislative reform. Even though the implementation of legislation has been much slower than its adoption, the debate has contributed to raise awareness. For the first time in 1985, one of the women's organizations started a campaign concerning conditions of work of women home-workers, and subsequently certain branch unions and Labour Centres (among them that of Thessaloniki) have started to consider taking action *vis-à-vis* employers and trying to recruit union members among the multitude of non-unionized workers.

Any way out?

Emerging changes in the macroeconomic, geographical/environmental and social conditions that we have briefly summarized threaten the local social compromise upon which the dynamism and success of Thessaloniki have relied. On the one hand, difficulties for firms are already apparent and the negative symptoms can be observed in many sectors. On the other, some of the flexibilities of the urban labour market are gradually being modified. However, this is happening at a highly controversial juncture when high unemployment at home and even lower wages in eastern Europe counter the prospect of formal regulation in the Single Market and workers' resistance to informalization and to poorer working conditions.

Responses of firms, workers and the state — and hence a new social compromise — are far from evident, unless one is willing to subscribe to a cynical optimism about the system's flexible features. Sectoral adjustments which form the basis of EC and national policies do not seem adequate for a highly sophisticated urban productive system whose successful operation relies on lack of rigidity and regulation. Idealizing the success of 'endogenous development', 'socialization of the market' or the 'creation of local employment' — to mention only three development policies currently promoted by the EC — fails to take into account the conditions under which employment is offered/undertaken and the social and environmental cost of such development.

In this respect, prospects in the Single Market are highly controversial. EC policies to improve workers' access to the labour market (through, for example, training programmes), to secure equal opportunities of employment between men and women, to harmonize insurance policies and conditions of work, are countered by policies supporting local initiatives for SMEs in which a deterioration in work (in all its aspects) as part of dominant defensive strategies, is a cornerstone for survival. The very small firms involved in diffused industrialization cannot easily take advantage of the positive effects of an enlarged market. The national and local state that can manage resources and promote regulatory policies — an integral part of the EC philosophy — jeopardize the workings of a system based on tolerance and absence of regulation.

Problems of adjustment and required transformations for survival are by no means unique to Thessaloniki and coincide with findings on diffused industrial production in other large cities such as New York and Los Angeles (Scott, 1988; Storper and Christopherson, 1985), London (GLC, 1985), Milan (Garofoli, 1983) and Naples (Pugliese *et al.*, 1976). What perhaps differentiates Greater Thessaloniki from other known cases is a more extended and denser network of less advanced SMEs which, on the whole, are very efficient in distributing profits to the few, while the majority — mainly women — remain poorly paid. 18

To what extent adjustments are possible both to the demands of a changing international division of labour and to the needs of local workers, men and women, is an open question for Thessaloniki as for other parts of southern Europe with similar characteristics. A different social compromise would be required among local firms, workers involved in local production and the state and its local institutions. This compromise would have to combine macro-regulation and some form of macro-planning for firms and the labour market with micro-territorial regulation, none of which may be left either to the free market (as the

majority of neo-liberals in the EC would argue), or to the rigid control of the state or local authorities.

For the moment, leftist political forces in Greece are unwilling to take an initiative, remaining broadly unaware of, and insensitive to, the workings of local productive systems like that of Thessaloniki. To the extent that they touch upon such issues, they concentrate on two dead-end directions: arguing against closure of any firm in order to 'protect employment', but not challenging the conditions under which it is offered; and arguing for EC policies and programmes as an opportunity for local development. As in the past, action is left to those men and women who struggle with difficulties on a day-to-day basis and to those unions and entrepreneurs who see the challenge of new times. Their astonishing optimism and their past success leave at least room for hope.

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19

Female activity, fertility and family policy in France

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ABSTRACT

“Female activity, fertility and family policy in France”

Do the French women prowesses ? The birthrate in France is one of the highest in the European Community and French mothers are more often economically active than most of their European counterparts. To explain the French specificity of women's activity and fertility, we focus on the interactions between the familial and professional spheres.

We hypothesize that the extent of the different actions put in place in France to aid couples to reconcile their family obligations with their professional lives influence the range of possibilities and strategies that women, in particular, can try to elaborate in order to be both mothers and "active".

Nevertheless, the extent and the level of assistance offered to families do not only determine the objective possibilities available to mothers for achieving their aspirations; they also contribute to the legitimisation of those aspirations for the mothers themselves. According to our hypothesis, the French family policy emanates from a cultural and ideological universe which plays a part in creating a favorable "climate" for mothers who wish to participate in economic life. However, this policy is itself the expression of the dominant value systems. One might say that the content and nature of this policy set in favor of families, on the one hand, and women's expectations on the other hand, adjust to fit each other in a coherent and interactive system. In France, family policy has progressively integrated the model of "the working mother". In fact, since the Second World War, successive French governments have developed concerted social policies designed to enable women to engage in full-time employment while also raising a family. At the same time, the women's rights movement does seem to have had an impact on attitudes at an official level.

So, it can be argued that fertility level is maintained in France while simultaneously working women are most often employed full-time because they have material and psychological support from the society and its institutions.

Female activity, fertility and family policy in France

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In France, since the beginning of the sixties, there has been a dramatic increase in the female labour force participation. The female participation rate is one of the most important in Europe (with Denmark and U.K). France is also a country with birth rate which is amongst the highest in Europe. In European terms, the fertility rate in France appears to have been maintained at a fairly high level due, in part, to measures introduced by the government to compensate for the cost of raising a family and to help couples combine family life with employment (see appendices 1, 2, 3, 4).

Moreover, gender equality and the reconcilability of work and family life are high on European political agendas. However, the ways in which the labour market, family life and public policy fit together varies from country to country. France and West Germany, for example, represent two extremes in terms of public policy towards working mothers (Fagnani, 1992). Therefore, I would like to focus on the following issues : the interactions between public policy on the family, the cultural context, professional attitudes and the behavior of women in France. First of all, because of the multiple interactions between the familial and professional spheres, it appears indispensable to adopt a unified approach towards reproductive behavior and women's behavior concerning professional employment. Some comparisons will be made between West Germany (the former Federal Republic of Germany) and some Mediterranean countries.

Although the birthrate is now higher in France than in West Germany and in the Mediterranean countries, French mothers are more often economically active than their German and Mediterranean counterparts. We hypothesized that the extent of the different actions put in place to aid couples to reconcile their family obligations with their professional lives influence the range of possibilities and strategies that women, in particular, can try to elaborate in order to be both mothers and "active". As a matter of fact, even if we reject the premise that mothers should be primarily responsible for the care of young children, we must also acknowledge current reality : in practice, even in dual-earner households, mothers, in each European country, continue to carry the major share of responsibility for children and their care. As numerous studies show, fathers mostly assume

a subsidiary role as helper and assistant. This gendered division of family work is a major contributory factor to the inequality experienced by women in income, employment, and other areas of public activity; it also contributes to the anxiety, guilt, fatigue, and other stresses experienced by many employed mothers.

Nevertheless, the extent and the level of assistance offered to families do not only determine the objective possibilities available to mothers for achieving their aspirations, they also contribute *to the legitimisation of those aspirations* for the mothers themselves. According to our hypothesis, these policies emanate from a cultural and ideological universe which plays a part in creating a more or less favorable "climate" (and more or less guilt-inducing) for mothers who wish to participate in economic life. However, these policies are themselves the expression of the dominant value systems. One might say that the content and nature of the different policies set in favor of families, on the one hand, and women's expectations on the other hand, adjust to fit each other in a coherent and interactive system. Thus, while in West Germany, for example, family policy confirms and reinforces the antagonism between maternity and employment, so, in France, family policy (following the Swedish and Danish examples) integrates the model of "the working mother". In fact, since the period between the two World Wars, successive French governments have developed concerted social policies designed to enable women to engage in full-time employment while also raising a family.

First, I shall present a few data on fertility rates and female working patterns in France and I shall especially focus on a comparison between France and West Germany.

I. French women have more children than German and Mediterranean women

The fertility rate in both France and West Germany has decreased since 1964 as it has in the other European countries. Respectively, the period index of total fertility has declined from 2.83 to 1.78 and from 2.51 to 1.41 from 1965 to 1990. (Figures 1). However, the French fertility rate is still higher than the West German and Southern countries rates (Figures 2 and 3).

West Germany differs from France in particular by its *higher rate of infertile couples* (for marriages performed between 1970 and 1974, for example, 19% have no children. This proportion has doubled since the beginning of the century.). Germany also has a higher proportion of couples with only one child, while families with three or more children are quite uncommon (Bertram, 1991, Rallu, Blum, 1991, Stutzer, Schwartz, 1991). For example, for women born in 1955, 20% are childless in West Germany, compared with only 9% in France, while 17% of German women have 3 or more children compared to 32% in France (Figure 4).

As numerous studies have demonstrated, there is no direct causal relationship between the fertility decline and the increasing labour force participation of women. Although the fertility level is higher in France than in West Germany, French mothers are more often economically active than German mothers, as we shall now see.

II. Female working patterns in France : most of the French women want to be both mothers and economically active

1. Since the beginning of the 1960's, female labour participation rates have increased regularly in both countries and in the Southern countries, but starting from different levels and according to different characteristics (Barrère-Maurisson, Marchand, 1990). The expansion of the female workforce in Europe has taken place almost exclusively through an increasing utilization of the labour potential represented by married women. In France, from 1968 to 1990, the number of women having a job has increased by 36% compared to only 2% for men. During this period, the proportion of women in the working population increased from 34.7% to 42.4% (Marchand, 1993). The female participation to the workforce in France is one of the highest in Europe, with Denmark (45.4%) and U.K (43.1%) (31.3% in Spain, 34.1% in Italy and 35% in Greece).

For women aged 14 or more, 46 % are now employed in France compared to 28% in 1961. Activity rate for women aged between 25 and 49 is much higher in France than in the other countries (74% in France compared to 67% in West Germany, 35% in Greece, 32% in Spain, 35% in Italy and 47% in Portugal) (Table 1).

In each country, the age of the women, the number of the children, the age of the youngest child, the level of education, the social status are all discriminating factors of the female activity rate. However, for women with

children, strong disparities between France, West Germany and the Southern countries can be observed (Table 1): French mothers are more often economically active than their German and Mediterranean counterparts, irrespective of the number of children and age of the youngest child. Figure also illustrates this phenomenon : irrespective of the number of children, the rate of participation in the workforce of German mothers is lower than that of French mothers aged between 26 and 39 years. Furthermore, although the activity rate declines by 18 points between German mothers with one child and those with two children, in France this rate only declines by 13 points.

2. French mothers work part-time less often than German mothers

In France and in the former West Germany, a variety of legislative and fiscal measures have favored the development of part-time employment to help mothers reconcile their professional and family lives. Nevertheless, *reliance upon this type of employment is much more frequent among married German women than among their French counterparts.* (46.9% compared to 27.8 % in 1989). Among active women aged 25 to 44 years old, who have one or two children, 59.5% in Germany, compared to only 25.7% in France, combine employment and caregiving by working part-time. Among women with three or more children, these percentages are 50.4% and 36.8% respectively for the two countries (Kempeneers, Lelièvre, 1991) (1).

The effects on work of motherhood and raising children are less detrimental in France than in West Germany : French mothers have more continuous employment patterns than do German mothers (Kempeneers, Lelièvre, 1991): for example, during the preschool period of the first child, 64% of German women stopped working compared to only 41% of French women (and respectively, 18% and 47% worked full time). Comparisons of the place of women in the educational systems in the two countries show that French women have established a stronger position in higher education. Subsequently, they demonstrate a greater degree of attachment to a career by more often pursuing an uninterrupted work history.

These results suggest that French women of recent generations have adopted innovative attitudes towards work more rapidly than have German women, in a break with the model of behavior influencing their mothers.

III. The differences between France and West Germany : a complex bundle of explanatory factors

In order to try to explain these differences, we must take into account both the cultural context and family policies, especially those measures geared at reconciling family and work roles. All of these measures are tightly inter-related.

1. Value systems and cultural differences ; the strong influence of "modernist" values in France

The attitudes and behavior of women in regards to employment and to the family are strongly linked to value systems proper to their couples and who underlie the strategies which the two spouses elaborate (in interaction) in these domains. From this point of view, the results of some surveys provide illuminating insights : First, a survey of political and social values (n=13,000) conducted in 1991 by the "Times Mirror Center for People and the Press" (1991) in France, West Germany, and in other European countries, revealed that sharp cultural cleavages persist between these countries.

- A French-German split developed when Europeans were asked whether they preferred a family situation where the husband worked while the wife stayed home to take care of the house and children, or a family situation where both had jobs and shared responsibility for the home and children. 64% of the French, 67% of the Spanish, 62% of the Italians, 59% of the Greeks, opted for the "both at work" scenario, compared to only 54% of Germans (Figure).

- Another survey was conducted in 1987, by "Eurobaromètre" (1990) : respondents were asked which of the following three arrangements corresponded most closely to their idea of a family.

- A family in which both husband and wife have equally absorbing work, and in which the household tasks and looking after the children are shared equally between husband and wife (Egalitarian Option).

- A family in which the wife's work is less absorbing than the husband's, and in which she takes on more of the household tasks and looking after the children (Middle Option).

- A family in which the husband only works and the wife runs the home (Homemaker/Breadwinner Option).

In France, only 22% of women surveyed supported the traditional option (Homemaker/Breadwinner Option) compared with 34% of German women (and 29% of German men). 48% of the French women but only 27% of German women (and 25% of German men) supported an egalitarian division of labour. In West Germany, the proportions of men and women preferring the traditional Homemaker/Breadwinner model is greater than the proportion preferring the equal roles model. However, in both countries, women opted more often than men for the egalitarian option.

Additionally, in West Germany, in comparison to France, considerable social pressure is still experienced by mothers to devote themselves to the education of their young children (Bertram, 1991). Public opinion willingly associates the image of the mother "superwoman" with the image of a "bad mother" (the "Rabenmutter" or "mother-crow" is one who "abandons her children to others") (Ludwig, 1991). In order to overcome these obstacles and to remain in the labor market, a mother with a child of less than three years must demonstrate an unbreakable determination. German public opinion upholds that theory that "a young child needs his mother with him at all times" and that any separation is traumatic for the child. Both the Catholic and Protestant churches - who play an important role in the social and economic life of the country - contribute to this process of laying guilt upon working mothers, as do numerous child educators and pediatricians (Ludwig, 1991, Meier, 1991).

On the contrary, in France, the early socialisation of young children is not only admitted, but socially valued. As we have demonstrated in previous research (Fagnani, Meunier, 1992), well educated women, for example, feel that they must rise to the challenge by excelling not only in their employment but also in their family roles by demonstrating their ability to manage the two areas of their lives without sacrificing either one to the other. At the same time, women in France are supported and encouraged by the State in their efforts to combine family and professional life. To some extent, this intervention can be construed as recognition of their contribution to the community both as mothers and as workers. This has not been the case in West Germany and the UK where there is some ambivalence about the increased participation of mothers in the labour market.

I would like, now, to focus on certain aspects of family policies which undoubtedly have a significant influence upon the mothers' concrete opportunities for work outside the home. Whether or not the intention is to explicitly influence women's patterns of employment, family policy is not neutral in its impact and can be an important consideration for mothers in determining the feasibility and desirability of pursuing an employment career.

2. The normative model of family reality in France

Demographic issue is an important underlying concern in family policy in France. However, policy makers understand that a policy discouraging women from working will not necessarily raise the birthrate. They are aware that financial incentives in the form of child allowances or paid maternity leave are not sufficient to encourage women to have more children without adversely affecting their economic activity. Therefore, French policy makers make the explicit assumption that women want to be able to work while also being able to raise children. One policy objective is thus to create choice by making a range of options feasible (see Appendices 1, 2, 3 and 4).

In West Germany, by contrast, the assumption is that women should and do want to stay at home to look after young children. Therefore, within the European context, France and West Germany offer examples of the two ends of the spectrum for childcare provision, which is one of the most important measures geared at reconciling family and professional life.

- France (like Belgium and Denmark) is amongst the European countries with the most generous provisions for childcare (Table). Immediately following the Second World War, the French government set up "crèches" in an attempt to attract women into the workforce at a time of acute labour shortage (Norvez, 1990). By contrast, in West Germany, there is a dramatic shortage of childcare facilities (Table). In West Germany, 3% of children under three years old are cared for in public creches and less than 40% of 3 years old children attend a nurseryschool, compared to 20% and more than 90% respectively in France.

German kindergartens (which are not part of the educational system and 60% of which are managed by the Churches), are often only opened in

the morning. Finally, for children aged 3 to 6 years old, 60% are cared for by local governmental structures in Germany (4 to 6 hours per day) compared to 95% in France (8 hours a day). In France, extensive public provision has also been made for care both before and after school hours and an important network has also developed throughout the country of registered childcare workers (babysitters), closely supervised by local authorities. Parents who decide to set up their own *creche parentale* (playgroups) are also eligible to receive subsidies.

Recent legislation making it possible to deduct a higher proportion of childminding expenses from taxable income has provided a financial incentive for parents to engage childcare services. An allowance (subsidy for child care in the home) of 2,000 francs per month is given to working mothers towards the cost of having a child looked after in their own home by an approved childcare worker ("assistante maternelle agréée par la DDASS") until the child reaches three years of age. The allowance is intended to cover the childcare worker's social insurance contributions.

In Germany (Schultheis et al., 1991), numerous educators, pediatricians and psychologists denounce the so-called "evils" of the creche on the well-being of children, and in doing so, blame mothers who work. Often working in liaison with catholic associations and Christian Democrat groups, they militate actively in favor of the suppression of such centers in the Länder of the former German Democratic Republic (Meier, 1991).

As far as parental leave and career interruption are concerned, France is one of the EC countries with the most generous arrangement. Both men and women are legally entitled to take parental leave for three years for each child at the end of maternity leave, on the condition that the employee concerned has been with an employer for at least one year (2). The period of leave can be alternated between parents. Since 1985, as part of governmental policy to encourage families to have a third child, parents with three or more children were paid flat rate benefits during parental leave (at 2,671 francs a month in 1992). Since 1984, leave can be taken part-time, in which case benefits are reduced proportionally. However, parents are only eligible for this paid parental leave if they have worked for at least two years within the ten years preceding the birth. After parental leave, an employee must be reinstated without reduction in pay in the same or similar position, and is eligible for retraining with pay.

By contrast, in West Germany, a paid parental leave is granted even for the first child. It is not necessary to have ever worked, contrary to French practice. (This leave is paid for 18 months, and starting in 1993 for 2 years, but after the child's seventh month certain restrictions are set). In France, paid parental leave is only granted for the third and subsequent children and only until the youngest child has reached the age of three. The concept behind the establishment of German paid parental leave is different from that of the APE in France. In Germany, leave is considered as a maternal salary (although fathers may also request it) granted to mothers even if they have never worked, while in France, leave is offered as a "time-out" in the professional life of mothers with three children.

Nevertheless, in France as in Germany, the so-called "women-friendly initiatives" life careers pauses, job sharing, and flexible working patterns may make working mothers' lives easier. However, these measures may actually reduce the number of women who choose to fight their way to the top of the career ladder. In France, for example, for the majority of working women, flexibility at work has meant poor job security, as a recent study has demonstrated (Maruani, Nicole, 1989). Most of the women who work part-time are underqualified and badly paid. This phenomenon maintains and reinforces the gender discriminations in the labour market.

Conclusion : The role played by the state in shaping the family-employment relationship should not be underestimated. In French family policy, priority is given to enabling mothers to be in the workforce. But policy and legislative measures have a symbolic component also : French mothers feel that their economic activity is recognized as being legitimate. At the same time, the women's rights movement does seem to have had an impact on attitudes at an official level, as testified by the number of ministerial appointments in the area of women's rights and welfare and family policy.

Momentum has developed since the 1970s amongst French women, which any government would have difficulty in reversing. So, it can be argued that family size is maintained in France while simultaneously working women are most often employed full-time because they have material and psychological support from the society and its institutions. French women may leave the labour market if they are planning to have a large family and choose to devote themselves to a "family career", but they

are not being "forced to stop" because they cannot manage to combine work and a family.

In West Germany, by contrast, (where social policy has not been conceived with the object of providing the conditions needed so that women can combine employment with family life) the most obvious "choice" for the majority of couples is either for both husband and wife to work full time and not to have children, or, if they decide to have some, for the woman to stop working temporarily or change to part-time hours at least until the children are old enough to manage by themselves.

The German example suggests that by discouraging mothers from working, public authorities participate in the maintenance of the low German birth rate. All the same, it is true, that the ideological conceptions that underlie actions in this domaine correspond more or less to the dominant principles in German public opinion concerning the role of mothers.

Thus, examination of this system of interactions does shed light on both the behavior of mothers and the significance of governmental policies on families.

NOTES

(1) Unlike the national surveys which tend to set minimum and/or maximum hours worked, the EC Labour Force Surveys use no such definition, although a distinction is made between occasional (seasonal) and principal (regular) employment. In these biennial surveys the respondent is expected to use his/her own judgement on whether they are employed part-time or full-time. In France and in West Germany, part-time women workers are heavily concentrated in the service sector (respectively 82.1% and 77.1%) (LFS 1989, Eurostat).

(2) Although policy statements in France and in Germany stress that the opportunity to take parental or family leave, to work part time or job share is available to both men and women, it is extremely rare for a man to become a househusband or for him to request time off to care for sick children. Men (and often also their wives) are reluctant to make such a request, not only as a result of social pressures, but because they don't want family problems to interfere with their work commitments.

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A P P E N D I X 1

Measures aimed at reducing the cost of infant care for families

1°) The "Allowance for Child Care in the Home" (*Allocation de Garde d'Enfant à Domicile*) (AGED), introduced at the end of 1986 (during the period of "Cohabitation") is paid to households that employ a person in the home to look after at least one child under 3 years when both parents (or the single parent) have outside employment. The AGED is paid without regard to family income until the child's third birthday. Only one allowance is payable if there is more than one child under 3. The amount of the AGED is equal to the social insurance contributions of the employee and employer paid for the employment of one (or more) child care worker, up to a maximum of 2,000 francs a month (about 607 DM). The AGED can be combined with a half-rate APE (paid parental leave) when a parent returns to part-time work between the child's second and third birthdays. However, only very well-off families can benefit from this because the others cannot afford to employ household help (2).

2°) Since 1977 approved mother's helpers, the second kind of official child care arrangement, have enjoyed a special legal status that entitles them to a fixed minimum wage (two hours at the basic minimum wage, per child and per day), social insurance and paid holidays. They must be approved by the maternal and child protection services on the advice of a board consisting of medical and social workers and are monitored after approval by visits from a doctor, a child care specialist, or a midwife who represents the board. The mother's helper is paid directly by the parents at an individually determined rate. AFEAMA (*Aide à la Famille pour l'emploi d'une Assistante Maternelle agréée*), an allowance (3) geared at helping the families who adopt an individual day care: the financial cost for the family of the employer's social security contributions (about 628 francs per month for a full time) is paid directly by the CAF to the URSSAF. A financial contribution is also given to the family: 519 francs (about 158 DM) per month for a child under 3 and 312 F (about 95 DM) for a child aged between 3 and 6 (introduced in 1992). This allowance was created to legitimize the previously clandestine mother's helper. As recently as 1977, 90 percent of the mother's helpers were not affiliated with the social security system.

3°) Tax Deductibility of the Costs of Looking after Young Children.

Until 1987 the costs of care for young children were deductible from employment income up to a limit of 10,000 francs per child. In 1988 this deduction was replaced by a reduction in the amount of tax equal to 25 percent of the actual cost of care, up to a limit (1992) of 15,000 francs per child, with a maximum reduction of 3,750 francs. The child care expenditure involved must be for children who are under 6 at the beginning of the tax year and are cared for either at home or elsewhere by qualified caregivers or in a day nursery. Married taxpayers must prove either that both are working full time or that one is working full time and the other half time. The names and addresses of those providing the care must be supplied.

(1) Daily price for the parents who have the higher income and live in the Paris region is : about 135 F for households with two children and 157 F for those with only one child (1993).

(2) It was initially forecast in 1986 that there were 150,000 potential recipients of this allowance. These estimates were later substantially reduced. There were only 12.000 recipients in 1991. The total amount of AGED represent, in 1991, 279 millions of Francs (about 85 millions of DM).

(3) In 1991, 115,000 families benefitted from this measure which represent a total amount of 688 millions of Francs (about 209 millions of DM).

APPENDIX 2

Child care facilities in France

Public provision for infant care has always been regarded as an ongoing and normal service. To ease the serious shortage of child care facilities, a policy of investment in and equipment of child care services has been developed over several years, initially through the so-called *contrats-crèches* and later, the *contrats-enfance*.

Day nurseries (*crèches*) (1) are partially financed by the municipal authorities, while approved mother's helpers are entirely paid for by the parents.

A number of other types of public or family day care facilities have sprung up:

- *Mini-crèches* : Public day nurseries located in apartments, houses, or facilities used for social services and taking only 12 or 15 children (compared with 54 in the traditional day nurseries).

- *Crèches parentales* : Public day nurseries organized and run by a cooperative association of parents who take turns looking after the children in premises equipped for the purpose and in the presence of a professionally qualified person.

- *Crèches familiales* : Developing since 1971 and at a faster rate than the public day nurseries because of their lesser cost, these services organize and monitor child care by mother's helpers, paid centrally and monitored by qualified state infant care personnel.

- *Haltes-garderies* : Permanent establishments that provide occasional child care for children under 6. They were originally intended for children of nonworking mothers; now they are used by women who work part time, as well as by full-time workers who need to supplement another form of child care.

These types of day nurseries receive support for their operating expenses. This aid, known as *prestation de services* (provision of services), was created in 1970 and has become a form of family assistance since it reduces parental fees. To use American terminology, it subsidizes supply.

A P P E N D I X 3

Parental Education leave scheme

Parental Education leave was instituted in 1977.

Conditions :

- To have been employed for at least one year at the time of the child's birth or adoption
- Any rank order of the child

Eligible persons :

- Working mother or father, including successively, at any time from the expiration of maternity leave to the child's third birthday.

Duration : 3 years (part-time possible between 16 and 32 hours per week)

An employer of fewer than 100 employees may refuse to grant leave if, after obtaining the opinion of the *comité d'entreprise* (a worker-management committee) or the staff labor representatives, he or she considers that it could detract from proper functioning of the firm.

- During child rearing leave, employees continue to be entitled to work-related social benefits. Half the period of the leave is credited to length of service for various social benefits computations. The length of service counted for retirement benefits is increased by the length of the parental education leave taken by the mother (or by the father if the mother is unable to benefit from it).

Protection against dismissal

After returning to work, training opportunities ("Code du travail")

A P P E N D I X 4

Paid Parental Leave (APE, Erziehungsgeld)

Established in 1985 and modified in 1986, the APE is intended to provide partial compensation for the loss of income connected with an interruption of paid employment on the part of one of the two parents on the birth or adoption of a third or subsequent child. The APE is paid until the youngest child reaches three years of age so long as a parent completely stops working. However, for one year preceding the child's third birthday, the APE can be paid at half-rate if the parent either returns to work part time or enters a course of paid vocational training. Only one APE can be paid per family, and this allowance cannot be combined with the APJE, the daily maternity or sickness indemnities, or unemployment benefits. Recipients of the APE continue to be entitled to family allowances* and can belong at no charge to the old age insurance system when the family's resources are below a certain ceiling.

Duration : 3 years

Rank order : a third or subsequent child

Previous work requirement : Yes, two years at least during the 10 years before the child's birth

Means-tested : no

Amount per month : 2,871 francs (half-rate=1,436 francs) in 1992

* Family allowances for 3 children : 1,470 francs (increase for each child aged between 10 and 15 = 181 francs , increase for each child over 15 = 322 francs)

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT AND DAILY LIFE:
A FOCUS ON SOUTHERN EUROPE

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WOMEN'S WORK AND EVERYDAY LIFE
IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

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As the "landmark date" - 1992 - approached, it became ever more widely acknowledged that the economic benefits of a Single European Market will be quite unequally distributed among regions and social groups within the Community. Against such "malfunctioning" of the European philosophy special policies are promoted along with the restructuring, since 1989, of the European Structural Funds.

The Action Programmes for Equality of Opportunities form part of such policies focusing on prospects and problems that European integration presents for women. The programmes touch upon quite broad and far-reaching aspects of women's lives, like education and training, access to employment, division of family and paid work responsibilities, social security and insurance, relation with new technologies, as well as the evolution of attitudes on those matters. However, the basic areas of action are limited to promoting a legislative framework for equality on the one hand and supporting training schemes for women on the other.

These ways of intervention maintain a partial focus on women-as-workers, leaving out of the scope of policy all other aspects of daily life and inequality of opportunities. Moreover, they are based on assumptions about employment that are pertinent for some groups of women but do not form part of the experience of work of many others: formal wage employment that can be regulated by laws for equality, social security and fringe benefits. Especially in Southern European countries women work under very different conditions and relations that differentiate significantly the effectiveness of EC, as well as national or sectoral, policies.

In this paper I discuss some of the issues involved in the approach of women-as-workers for women in Southern Europe, in the context of spatially differentiated experiences and meanings of development. The paper is based on a research project partially financed by the Equal Opportunities Unit of the EC (*).

1. Two preliminary remarks

In order to examine the prospects of a Single Market for women in Southern Europe it is necessary to discuss two concepts that have, to a great extent, determined the conceptual and methodological approach of our research: the meaning and content of "women's work" and the "importance of place" in shaping conditions of work and everyday life.

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 and homeworking.

In statistical surveys, as well as in most research and policy making, "work" is identified with "money-earning work" or, more narrowly defined, wage-earning work, performed at specific workplaces, primarily by men-breadwinners. Unpaid labour, usually performed at home and by women, does not produce visible, i.e. measurable, surplus that can be realised and appropriated in the market; it is socially de-valued, thereby contributing to the de-valuation of its bearers: women who engage in those activities.

Such a dichotomy of human labour into paid and unpaid work, labour expended in or out of the home, at distinct times and places, presupposes an implicit or explicit acceptance of a gender division of labour whereby each side of the dichotomy corresponds to one gender. However, gender divisions of labour along those lines are a poor description of women's (and men's) experiences of work. At different times and places women have taken paid work outside the home and this is particularly the case in recent years in all EC countries; a varying part of unpaid/reproductive labour has been undertaken by the state or made available in the market; parts of the production process have become or remained home-based, drawing on previous social and spatial divisions of labour.

It is by now widely documented and commented upon that in sectors of work where both women and men work for wages, women are typically lower paid, defined as less skilled, low in the hierarchy of authority and in relatively poor conditions of work (see for example Alexander, 1980; Amsden, 1980; Phillips, Taylor, 1980; WGSG, 1984). However, in traditional industries as well as in new sectors the types of jobs done by women and men are not usually the same. Women concentrate in few traditional branches of industry and in some categories of employment in the services with relatively disadvantaged conditions of work and pay.

Women's confinement in certain sectors, in insecure jobs, in low pay and poor conditions is not entirely a matter of training, access to education and level of skills. It is also heavily dependent on the relation between home and paid work. For most women scheduling their workday and "choice" of paid employment coexists with the strain of scheduling work in and around school

hours, the hours when stores are open and services available or the hours when men-breadwinners come and go from work (for a detailed discussion see Vaiou, Stratigaki, 1989).

Shifting the boundary between what is purely privatised domestic labour and publicly provided or available services releases a largely female workforce and makes it available for "productive labour". Along with gender divisions of labour within households, it determines the possibilities of individual members to enter or not the labour market. In this context, definitions of work are not restricted to official - registered employment but have to include all forms of labour, under whatever conditions and relations it is performed.

Combinations of different types and relations of labour 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 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 location of jobs and provision of public services, such as education, health, welfare, etc (see for example Urry, 1981). 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 familial 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.

Place-specific features underline the importance of difference at a micro-level of reference at which people's lives and struggles take place (mackenzie, 1989). 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 in their area of residence, since their integration in the labour market is conditioned by the time and the labour they spend around home life, tied to specific places.

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.

2. Women's work in four regions of Southern Europe

In the light of the preliminary remarks, our research focused on one region in each Southern European country: Anatoliki Makedonia in Greece, Marche in Italy, Catalunya in Spain, Lisboa e vale do Tejo in Portugal. These regions present differences among themselves, as well as with regard to EC performance on a number of indices. Such differences are explained, at least in part, by the different development histories and conditions of their integration in the International Division of Labour. The latter, however, are touched upon only indirectly, through the discussion of women's working and daily lives which the paper aims to highlight. In this context, the four regions offer an opportunity to study the effects of the Single Market on (different groups of) women of the South in different places and contexts of socio-economic development and to trace convergence as well as divergence among them.

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 GDP per capita, unemployment, sectoral shares in employment, women's participation rate, etc. Thus it offers a basis for comparisons for the other three regions' performance. Catalunya is a high unemployment industrial region with a share of industrial employment around 45%. The area of Lisboa is a growing urban area with 62% of total employment in the services. In Anatoliki Makedonia agriculture is still quite significant, with a share in employment around 46%, while a fast growth in industrial employment can be observed since the mid-1970s.

In the study areas, as in the EC as a whole, an important feature of the last decades is the growing participation of women in the labour market. In the four regions under study women's activity rate has reached 37-40% in the mid-1980s. The highest figure is observed in Anatoliki Makedonia, connected with women's participation in agricultural production, and the lowest in the Marche. 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, mainly in the services where 67% of women's employment concentrates (Meulders et al. 1992). In Southern European countries increasing

participation rates of women are connected with growth of self-employment and expansion of public services (education, health, administration), where short hours work as a partial substitute for part time.

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 relatively low (Conroy Jackson, 1989). As the example of Lisboa indicates, women do not seem to be integrated in the new modern services (telecom or cultural) with improved working conditions and career prospects.

Catalunya 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 service sector is even more pronounced in the urban area of Lisboa, where 74% of economically active women work in the expanding public/social services. On the other hand Anatoliki Makedonia, unlike the other regions and Greece as a whole, women's employment in the services is very low (27% of economically active women). It is also underestimated, since they are involved in informal jobs, mainly in tourism.

Employment in commerce means basically employment in very small units (with <2 employees), self-employment or work in family shops. Women's work in this context takes again 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 - when the season is over, women become "housewives" or engage in agricultural work.

Industry in the EC is much less feminised than the services, with one in four jobs held by a woman. Women, however, concentrate in a small number of branches where they are over 45% of the workforce: clothing, textiles, footwear, toys & sports goods, cotton industry, photographic & cinemat. labs, jewellery, cocoa-chocolate & sugar confection, pharmaceutical products (Conroy Jackson, 1989). Practically all of those branches face technical and administrative barriers and six of them are the lowest cost branches of industry. Moreover, some are branches with a high concentration in specific regions and metropolitan 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.

The problem is more pronounced in some parts of the study

areas whose industrial structure is based on few of those branches, especially textiles, clothing, footwear and leather and food. Decline and/or restructuring in those branches account for much of the unemployment observed (for example in Catalunya) as well as for transformations in the structure and the terms of employment (for example a shift towards informal work and temporary contracts).

In all four study areas, except Anatoliki Makedonia, women's employment in industry has been decreasing, along with the decreasing importance of those branches. This is particularly the case in Catalunya where the crisis of textile industries accounts for much of the female job loss. In the region of Lisboa e. vale do Tejo a growing electronics industry has attracted a large number of women in the last decade. On the other hand many women in Anatoliki Makedonia still work in some completely feminised parts of the traditional tobacco processing, while 82% of the industrial workforce concentrates in three branches: food, non-metallic minerals and clothing.

Industrial activity in feminised branches is based on small and medium enterprises (average size <10 employees per unit) in clothing and footwear and much bigger firms in food industries. Large clothing firms in Anatoliki Makedonia work on orders by large European companies and, in turn, subcontract to smaller units and to homeworkers. This mode of operation 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 ("homeworkers" become "housewives" when there are no commissions).

As it is to be expected, agriculture interests a small proportion of women in the region of Lisboa and in Catalunya, dominated as they are by major urban centres (around 7% and 2% of economically active women respectively). The same is true in the Marche where employment in agriculture fell from 60% in 1951 to 11% in 1989. The rural sector is quite important in Anatoliki Makedonia, with 46% of economically active population and 56% of economically active women in this sector. Women's involvement in agriculture is more important than the statistical figures indicate, especially in family farming which predominates in most parts of the study areas.

Family labour is not always evident in employment statistics, since quite often women are not listed at all. They are often listed as self-employed or employers when men hold another job outside agriculture as well (usually in the public sector). This has to do more with bureaucratic and taxation transactions than with any real delegation of control over the farm to women. Family labour and women's participation is most widespread in the traditional crops, mainly Mediterranean

products (vine, olives and citrus) and tobacco. Women are involved in the most labour intensive, manual tasks. Their presence diminishes when mechanised processes predominate. They are also highly represented in seasonal wage labour, along with minorities and foreign migrants.

In the study areas, however, different as they may be, measurement and evaluation of women's work is heavily underestimated since a lot of that work lies out of the realm of "wage labour" and of activity that would classify women as "working persons": agricultural work in family farms, family helpers in small businesses, industrial homeworking, informal and/or temporary work in tourism, industry or personal services, irregular work in the public sector are some areas of activity which employ a primarily female workforce. All that bulk of "atypical" - and largely unrecorded - work is quite heterogeneous, sector-specific in its forms and place-specific in its concentration. It is spreading, particularly in Southern Europe, in the context of general trends towards de-regulation of employment, which affect primarily women: according to the Council of Europe (1989), in Southern Europe, women are 80-90% of the estimated 1.5 million homeworkers (see also Meulders, Plasman, 1989).

The exact extent of atypical employment is impossible to assess and relevant data have to be treated cautiously, especially with regard to "informal activities" which are by definition unrecorded. Irregular work in the public sector (postal and telephone service, public education, local administration) and subcontracting of personal services are important in Lisboa and in the Marche. In that region industrial homeworking, thriving in the 1970s, has become less frequent and more regulated since (Vinay, 1985). In Catalunya and in Anatoliki Makedonia, informal work is related to the clothing industry and putting out to women homeworkers, as a means of coping with international competition in this branch. In Anatoliki Makedonia 55-65% of women work without contracts. (Recio et al, 1988; Hadjimichalis, Vaiou, 1990 a&b)

The proliferation of family farming and of small family firms especially in tourism open a significant area of women's un-recorded - and sometimes non-remunerated - work. In addition, many women registered as housewives (non labour force) engage in a multitude of economic activities the year round. 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 that of a multiple job holder.

Women's concentration in informal/"atypical" jobs is by no means a matter of choice. It is, to a great extent, due to the

lack of alternatives (full-time, regular jobs), and also due to the lack of accessible and affordable social infrastructure that would enable them to look for such alternatives. Women's increasing participation in money-earning labour, both registered and unregistered, has not been matched by a corresponding development of such infrastructure. Caring and domestic labour in all of Southern Europe remains "women's work". It is time and energy consuming, discourages venture into the labour market and certainly determines the conditions under which this is possible.

Child care for under fives still covers a small proportion of the children in that age group while time schedules are often not adapted to working hours. Mothers of young children are then forced out of the labour market - with non-participation rates over 60%. Several studies in different EC countries indicate that having a second child or more greatly affects women's possibilities to work outside the home. In the study areas a large proportion of women start to work at home or take temporary jobs when they have small children, in order to retain an income that is crucial to household survival and "combine" it with caring responsibilities.

Working hours of state schools are still based on the assumption that mothers are constantly available to take children to and from school and look after (or before) class, during mid-day breaks or long holidays. Thus schools are open 8:00 or 9:00 to 13:00 in Italy and Spain and work in shifts in Greece and Portugal (CREW, McLoone, O'Leary, 1989), irrespective of mothers (or parents?) working hours. Other services (eg health, shopping, banking) also operate on the same assumption, thereby creating the need of a full-time housewife in each household.

As women have to cope with all the burden of caring and domestic labour (in their extended definition that includes, for example, making services and facilities available to different members of household or complementing poor or inexistent public services) they are tied to their area of residence. Working hours for a paid job or the journey time and itinerary to it are an important consideration when they have to be combined with school hours, looking after an elderly relative or the hours when shops or banks are open and services available.

Pressures on women are sometimes stronger in rural areas where schools or health clinics or even commercial facilities may be located in a village or town other than their home one, public transport is irregular and access to a private car limited. But, in a different way, they are also strong in urban areas where facilities and services are usually inadequate for the numbers of people they are meant to serve. Some of those pressures are accommodated within (new forms of) extended families. Older women

more often than not cater for the services that are poor or unavailable. Trying to combine paid work and family life brings about a whole network of mutual obligations and dependence among women of different ages, as men remain in their vast majority uninvolved.

3. Prospects in a Single Market

The brief presentation of women's work in four different types of regions in Southern Europe highlight some of the most important features of that work, and the difference that place makes on it. Broadly summarising, women in the study areas work in declining and crisis-ridden branches of industry; they hold the majority of low status and low paid jobs in the services; they work in small family businesses in different sectors, quite often unpaid; they are the majority of informal workers with no security or insurance; they bear the burden of caring and domestic labour with little assistance from men and poor social infrastructures; when they want to combine caring and child-rearing with a work trajectory they have to rely heavily on - and limit the time and activity of - other women members of their (extended) families. Under such circumstances, it is not women's exclusion that will be the problem in the years after 1992, but rather the unfavourable terms under which they are likely to be integrated in the unified Europe-to-be.

EC philosophy and policy-making for unification are based on completely different experiences of work and conditions of everyday life. The prospective benefits for dynamic branches of production and firms, formal labour market regulation, adequate services, free moving workers are relevant for men in developed regions of the European North. But they overlook the multiple meanings and content that work has for different groups of women in the South; or how tied women are to particular places and therefore hardly able to move freely and claim the benefits of a Single Market at the point of maximum return.

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 have an impact only on jobs in the formal labour market. Paid employment in the study areas, and in Southern Europe in general, includes industrial homeworking, informal, seasonal or temporary work in services (especially tourism) and in agriculture, work in family businesses. These particular types of "atypical" employment, where workers are mostly women, certainly lie out of the reach of labour legislation and regulatory directives. In a general tendency towards labour flexibilisation and declining state control mechanisms, the importance of legislative reform to the advantage of workers remains limited, at least for women in different parts of Southern Europe.

Invisibility of women's particular experiences and contributions - in official statistics and most reports based on them - is linked to and perpetuates the myth that what women do is less important. Although significant steps have been made in this respect, definitions of "problems" in need for solution often have little to do with the lives of women in the South. An example of this is the use of the term "atypical", in EC documents and policy recommendations, to characterise any kind of employment that does not conform to a Northern European, male, "regular" pattern of formal, full-time work (see for example Meulders, Plasman, 1989). This latter type of paid work, however, is part of the experience of a minority of women in the South - which raises questions about the validity of such distinctions and the policies to regulate employment.

Whereas the success of the Single Market depends on the establishment of intra-community mobility, of workers as well as goods and capital, women's working and daily lives are tied to particular places. Studying the prospects of unified Europe on women, even on women-as-workers, then necessarily means studying differences, variance and specificity of place. This is a knife-edge path between studying local processes and the global determinants of those processes. But the resources committed to "mapping" women's lives along those lines remain limited, broadly corresponding to the importance accorded to the issue in the global project of European integration.

The United Nations quote from 1980 is perhaps too well known but still worth quoting: "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" (cited in Seager, Olson, 1986, p.101). 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 responsibility. They have a smaller share of the pie, even when the pie is larger and the standards of living higher. However, women are coping, changing, increasingly coming out of the shadows, organising and fighting against tokenism and marginalisation. Awareness of the problems and prospects in a Single Market, of things being potentially worse and better, is both a result and an initiative for those struggles that go beyond any landmark date.

(*) The research project "Women of the South in European Integration: Problems and Prospects" was undertaken by Dina Vaiou, Zoe Georgiou and Maria Stratigaki of DIOTIMA Centre for Research on Women's Issues, in collaboration with Paola Vinay, Gabriella Melchiorre (Italy), Montse Solsona, Letizia Suarez, Rocio Trevino (Spain), and Isabel Margarida Andre, Christina Ferreira, Maria Emilia Arroiz (Portugal).

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PROSPECTA

Cooperativa di ricerche statistiche e sociali a r.l.

**Women and work: from the "informal" flexibility
to the new organization of time. The case of Italy.**

by Paola Vinay

As well known the industrial development in Italy has been characterized by a wide diffusion of small and medium sized industries and by a wide interplay between industrial and agricultural activities. This is particularly true for the regions of Central and North-Eastern Italy, the so called "third Italy". I shall focus my attention on this area because the industrial model there developed and its relative stability has stimulated, since the mid seventies, the interest of a number of social scientists to the point that some Italian and foreign economists have proposed this model for the developing countries (Fuà, 1983) or as a real alternative to mass production (Piore and Sable, 1984). However the main processes concerning women and work cannot be considered peculiar of this part of Italy, but are occurring in the rest of the country as well.

These regions, that in 1951 were mainly agricultural, have known in the last 30-35 years an accelerated rate of industrialization mostly in direction 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 size of the industrial unit is less than 10 employees. This type of "dispersed" industrialization has been fostered by a number of political, economic, social and cultural conditions.

However, what is important to underline in this context is the implications for women's work of this type of development in order to better analyse afterwards the relevance of the changes now occurring. Among the more relevant social conditions for our analysis I shall recall the persistence of the "extended family" and the strong hierarchy of roles within the family. In the sixties and seventies, this kind of family has allowed its members to undertake an etherogeneous cluster of activities for raising money and producing goods and services which would otherwise be acquired in the market. The hierarchy of roles within it has allowed males in the central age brackets to be employed in the formal economy, and has demanded to women, children, young and old people the work in the "informal" economy - both for the market and for family consumption and reproduction (Paci, 1980; Vinay 1985). In other words, this type of family has favored the labour flexibility necessary for the good functioning of the "dispersed" economy and of the small firm.

A research made in 1975-76 in a region of the so called "third Italy" on a sample of 650 families has underlined the importance in the "dispersed economy" of the various forms of utilization of the family labour force in: informal activities for the market (irregular work, occasional work,

piece work at home, moon-lighting etc.), in housework activities for family consumption (kitchen-garden, poultry breeding, manufacture of agricultural products and of clothes etc.) and in the production of services for the family (house keeping work, care work, etc.).

This research has underlined, in particular, that the involvement of the family members in the various informal activities considered, differed according to the family life cycle and that the presence in the family of pre-school age children had an important influence over the organization of the family labour-force and caused the exit of the wife-mother from the formal labour market to enter the informal one. Moreover, both the informal activities for the market and the inhouse work activities for family consumption were undertaken mainly by women. (For example: black work interested less than 8% of male "bread winners", but over 40% of "wives" and of "daughters").

Women, therefore, resulted to be the chief support of the local productive and reproductive system. In fact, they accepted to move in and out of the formal labour market according to the needs of flexibility imposed by the local economy and by the family life cycle constituting an important labour reserve for "black" piece work at home.

In other words, the research suggested that the heterogeneous cluster of activities in which families were involved were functional to guarantee the labour flexibility so important for the local economy and for the micro

enterprise. However, the forms of utilization of the family labour force in this "informal" economy were due mainly to the sexist division of work roles (Vinay, 1985). The female participation to the labour market, therefore, was deeply conditioned both by the needs of the family and by the particular industrial development. In the last 15 years, however, also in this area of Italy as well as in the rest of the country, important changes have occurred in the structure of the family and in the attitude of women toward paid work.

The historical analysis of data show (see table 1) a tendency toward a less numerous family, while divorce rates, illegitimate children and civil marriages are increasing. Moreover, the data show a tendency toward a sharp reduction in marriage rates, in birthrates and in fertility and total fertility rates. The total fertility rate, for instance, decreased in Italy from a mean number of children per woman aged 15-49 of 2.4 in 1961 to 1.3 in 1987 (and in the region studied from 2.0 to 1.2) and is now among the lowest in Europe. These data suggest that women today, albeit not renouncing to maternity, choose to control the time of reproduction and the number of children.

Another relevant change is the access of women to higher education. This has totally neutralized the previous gender differences in this field. If we consider the age bracket 25-29 years -i.e. relatively young people who should have finished their formal education- we find that the percentage of females with a secondary education and also

with a university degree is definitely higher than that of males (see table 2). This means that among the younger generations not only the historical disadvantage for women has completely vanished, but that a higher share of females reach today higher education as compared to males. Education, indeed, is seen by women as the main route to emancipation and to finding a good job. (It is important to remark, however that this longer schooling of women can also be related to the fact that young males have more chances of finding a job than young females).

This higher level of education reached by women, together with the reduction of the fertility-natality rates, contribute to let emerge their changing attitude toward work. Indeed, the data on the female component of the labour market show a sharp increase in the female activity and employment rates. However, female unemployment in Italy (also in the "third Italy") is still very high. As a matter of fact the female unemployment rate in our country is more than double than the male one and in our region is three times as high (see table 3).

It is interesting to note, moreover, that in spite of the high level of unemployment, today women remain in the labour market and that this is true not only for the younger women, but also for those in the central age brackets and with school age children. As a matter of fact a research made in three cities of our region on women with children in primary school showed activity rates between 75 and 80%

(Vicarelli, 1991). If we analyse the specific activity and unemployment rates for age brackets (see table 4), indeed, we can see that for 1989 the female unemployment rate is always at least double than the male one, but persists relatively high also in the middle age brackets, that is when the reproduction activities are particularly involving. Moreover, although there is a clear divarication between male and female activity rates starting from the age bracket 25-29, today the female activity rate remains over 70% untill 40 years of age and over 60% between 40 and 50 years.

Graphic n°1 shows the difference between the male and female activity rates according to specific age brackets for 1975 and 1989. It shows that also in our region of Central Italy, as well for the country as a whole (see Aburrà, 1989) the curve showing the female participation to the labour market, albeit having quite lower values with respect to the male ones, is step by step taking the shape typical of the male participation to the labour market, while until 1975 it had a sharp fall after the age bracket 20-29.

These data show that, contrary to what happened in the past, today women remain on the labour market in spite of the high rates of unemployment; that is, they are not discouraged by the selectivity of the demand favouring men, and are not willing to give up their professional career and their economic independency.

A new cultural model is now emerging, therefore, in the regions with a "dispersed economy" as well as in the rest of

the country, with respect to women attitude toward family and work. In the sixties and seventies, as we have seen, women were deeply conditioned by the needs of the local labour market and of the family life cycle. In the cultural attitude of women, than, the needs of the family appeared to have priority with respect to work. The prevailing cultural model with respect to women and work was a "family priority" model.

Now, on the contrary, among the younger generations is clearly emerging a new cultural model: women are not willing anymore to give up their professional career and their economic authonomy. However, this does not imply the choice of priority of work with respect to family. Indeed, the originality of their new attitude lies precisely in the fact that they don't want to choose between work and family. Women will not renounce to either one, but they want the society to aknowledge equal dignity to the work for the market and to caring work for the family. Therefore, women today have toward work a "plural model" according to which self-fulfillment does not result only from professional activities, but also from commitment in the other important dimensions of life. This cultural model differs considerably from the typical male "mono-cultural model" according to which self-fulfillment result mainly from professional career (Manghi, 1987).

This non-choice of the modern woman between family and work and, therefore, her "double presence" in the work for

the family and for the market means a limited participation in public life and, for many of them, an almost complete lack of free time. The new cultural model of women, indeed, has not been accompanied by a change in society as a whole with respect to equal opportunities in the access to labour market, to the acknowledgement of the social value of care work and with respect to an equal division among the sexes of housework.

As a matter of fact, there is no doubt that, in spite of the increase in employment rates, unpaid housework and care work is still done mainly by women. A research recently done in our region, for instance, has shown that women with school age children, no matter what is their professional role, devote a mean number of 3-4 hours per day to their children and 4-5 hours per day to housework; the research has shown, moreover, that the redistribution among sexes of this unpaid work is well far from being acquired (Vicarelli, 1991).

On the other hand, -in spite of the increase in the demand for caring services consequent to higher rates of aged and non self-sufficient people- the Italian State very often chooses to provide financial assistance to families rather than social services. Indeed, in our country not only social expenditure per capita is relatively low, but within it the share of monetary transfers to families in 1988 was about 43% (Paci, 1991).

Since several years, moreover, in order to cut welfare expenditures, the government has reduced the national funds

devolved to municipalities for social and welfare services. Due to the lack of a clear and definite national policy, the geographic distribution and the quality of social services in Italy differs greatly from region to region and -even within the same region- from one municipality to the other. Therefore, the diffusion of social services and infrastructures for children, elderly and non self-sufficient people is very diversified depending on the budget of the municipality, on the type of political administration. The majority of social and health services - as well as of schools- are concentrated in the larger municipalities, while they are totally absent in the smaller ones, particularly in the inner mountain areas.

Two examples will make the point: in 1989, only one fifth of the municipalities of our region had a nursery, while only 3% of those with less than 5.000 inhabitants had one. The overall coverage for children in nursery age (<3) was less than 9% and for every hundred registred children, 46 were in the waiting list to enter nurseries (David, 1991). A research on handicapped people showed that the care work needed by these disadvantaged citizens is guaranteed almost exclusively by the family (i.e. by the women wife-mother-sister) public home care services being totally unavailable (Vinay, 1990).

There is no doubt that all this has heavy consequences also over female professional career compared to the male one. The need for time leads women toward the choice of

occupations with time schedules compatible with the "double presence" and compels some of them to accept "atypical" forms of employment such as seasonal, casual, "irregular" and part-time employment. Although in Italy part-time contracts have definitely lower rates than the other EEC countries (only 3.4% of all employment in 1988), this type of employment involves mainly women in the central age brackets when "double presence" problems are more pressing. A recent research (Bugari, 1991) showed that the majority of women employed with a part-time contract was compelled to this choice by her family duties.

As far as employment in the underground economy is concerned -which was so important in the sixties and seventies for the "diffused" economy- no statistical data are available for recent years. The overcoming of some of the conditions which had favoured it in the sixties and seventies, the decrease in the industrial home working and its legal regulation result in a decrease in "irregular" work as a whole. However, it is known that "irregular" work it is still relatively frequent in personal services (paid house keeping, baby sitting), in retail trade, in tourism and restoration and in small industrial firms, mainly in the clothing industry. It is interesting to recall, on this matter, that between 15 and 18% of mothers of school age children interviewed in 1991 in three towns of central Italy held a job without any contract or not registred as authonomous work (Vicarelli, 1991).

The continuous need for time of women, moreover, leads

them not to be available for the extension of the work schedule and for overtime work; on the contrary it leads them to be in favour of the reduction of the daily work schedule and to forms of individual flexibility (Bugari, 1991).

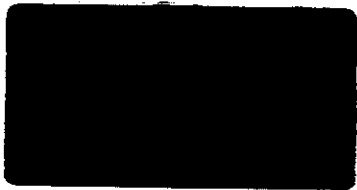
In short, although the access to higher education and the emerging of new professions have favoured female employment and have opened to women new prospects, the majority of them are still employed in the lower functional levels -the less professionalized and worst paid ones-, and the higher one climbs the professional hierarchy the lower is the proportion of women (Materazzi, 1991). Moreover, in the majority of "female" jobs the career possibilities are quite limited. Both in the public and in the private sector, finally, it is possible to reach the higher functional levels only if one is ready to give full availability in terms of work time.

The consequence of this "horizontal" and "vertical" segregation of female employment -as was shown by a recent study of the unions (Altieri-Schifani, 1991) is a sharp wage difference among the sexes in all economic branches (being in 1987 the average wages for women only 76% of the average wage for men). For those women, moreover, that are still compelled by the conditions of the labour market and by the family needs to accept part-time or temporary jobs, or jobs not guaranteed by collective bargaining the wage levels are by no means noticeably lower and the measure of inequality

among sexes reaches a considerable social relevance.

It becomes, therefore, clear the contradiction between the changed cultural model of women and the persisting of old discrimination in society. The conquest of equality in education and the desire of women to live all the dimensions of life are in contradiction with the lack of equal opportunities on the labour market and, more generally, with the prevailing traditional model founded on priority of work for the market and on the sexual division of work roles.

For this reason it is essential today to involve the whole society in the cultural change started by women. From this point of view it seems quite relevant the debate recently fuelled in Italy on the reorganization of time schedules of work and of daily life. This debate is centered on the following issues: 1) first of all the change of the historical priority of the time of work over the other dimensions of life and the reduction for all workers of the time of work -which could encourage equal career opportunities and reduce unemployment. 2) Secondly, the acknowledgement of the social value of caring work within the family and its equal division among the sexes, in view of a full and equal participation to all dimensions of life. 3) Third, a policy of social services and of time schedules of public and private services in the city -so that they be compatible with the work schedules. 4) Finally, a policy of social services intended to give more autonomy to non self-sufficient citizens (children, elderly, ill, handicapped people).



be willing anymore to give up their professional career and economic independency, even though their will to enter the labour market does not always find adequate answers.

In the past the "dispersed" economy favoured the work of women, albeit it was a marginal and precarious work: indeed, still linked to a model of family priority, they accepted the casual, irregular jobs necessary to the flexibility of the economy. Today this type of flexibility is less important. Women have acquired equal opportunities in education and access to the formal labour market. They have developed a "plural" model which gives value both to family and work.

In these new conditions flexibility must be "organized". It cannot be as informal as it was in the '60s and '70s. This is the reason why it has become so important today in Italy, for the women's movement, but also for many unions and political parties, consciously to intervene on the reorganization of the time of work, on the time schedules of the services and of the city. The debate is still at its beginning, but it must be rapidly brought about in order to meet the needs of every day life organization and to guarantee equal opportunities among the sexes with respect both to work opportunities and to the participation to all the other dimensions of life -family, culture, political and social commitment and time per sé- whose unequal distribution is sinonimous of injustice, and, in the end, interferes also with complete self-fulfilment of both sexes.

Table 1

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

(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.

Table 2

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 n° 3 - Activity and unemployment rates by sex on total population. Italy and Marche. 1975, 1989, 1990, 1991. Percent distribution of the labour forces and specific indicators for married women. Italia and Marche 1989.

| | ACTIVITY RATE | | | | UNEMPLOYMENT RATE | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|------|------|-------|-------------------|--------|------|-------|
| | 1975 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991* | 1975 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991* |
| ITALY | | | | | | | | |
| MF | 35.7 | 42.0 | 42.0 | 42.5 | 3.3 | 12.0 | 11.0 | 10.9 |
| M | 52.7 | 54.5 | 54.4 | 54.9 | 2.8 | 8.1 | 7.3 | 7.5 |
| F | 19.7 | 30.2 | 30.3 | 30.7 | 4.6 | 18.7 | 17.1 | 16.8 |
| MARCHE | | | | | | | | |
| MF | 40.9 | 45.5 | 44.8 | 44.8 | 2.3 | 7.5 | 6.6 | 6.7 |
| M | 55.2 | 54.5 | 54.9 | 55.8 | 1.6 | 4.4 | 3.7 | 4.1 |
| F | 27.4 | 36.0 | 35.4 | 34.6 | 3.6 | 11.9 | 10.9 | 11.1 |
| - 1989- | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | ITALIA | MARCHE | | |
| % DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOUR FORCES | | | | | | | | |
| Total labour forces | | | | | 100.0 | 100.0 | | |
| % Male labour forces | | | | | 63.1 | 59.5 | | |
| % Female labour forces | | | | | 36.9 | 40.5 | | |
| % Married female labour forces | | | | | 22.1 | 26.9 | | |
| SPECIFIC ACTIVITY RATE MARRIED WOMEN | | | | | 35.8 | ** | | |
| " UNEMPLOYMENT " " " " | | | | | 12.4 | 8.1 | | |

Source: ISTAT Rilevazioni Forze di lavoro, Media annuale; Le Regioni in Cifre edizione 1991; Regione Marche, Forze di Lavoro, Media 1989, ORML n° 14. Our processing.

* For 1991 the source is "Foglio di informazioni ISTAT", 11-02-1992".

** At the regional level the specific activity rate for married women is not available.

Table n° 4 - Specific activity, employment and unemployment rates by sex and age brackets. Marche 1989.

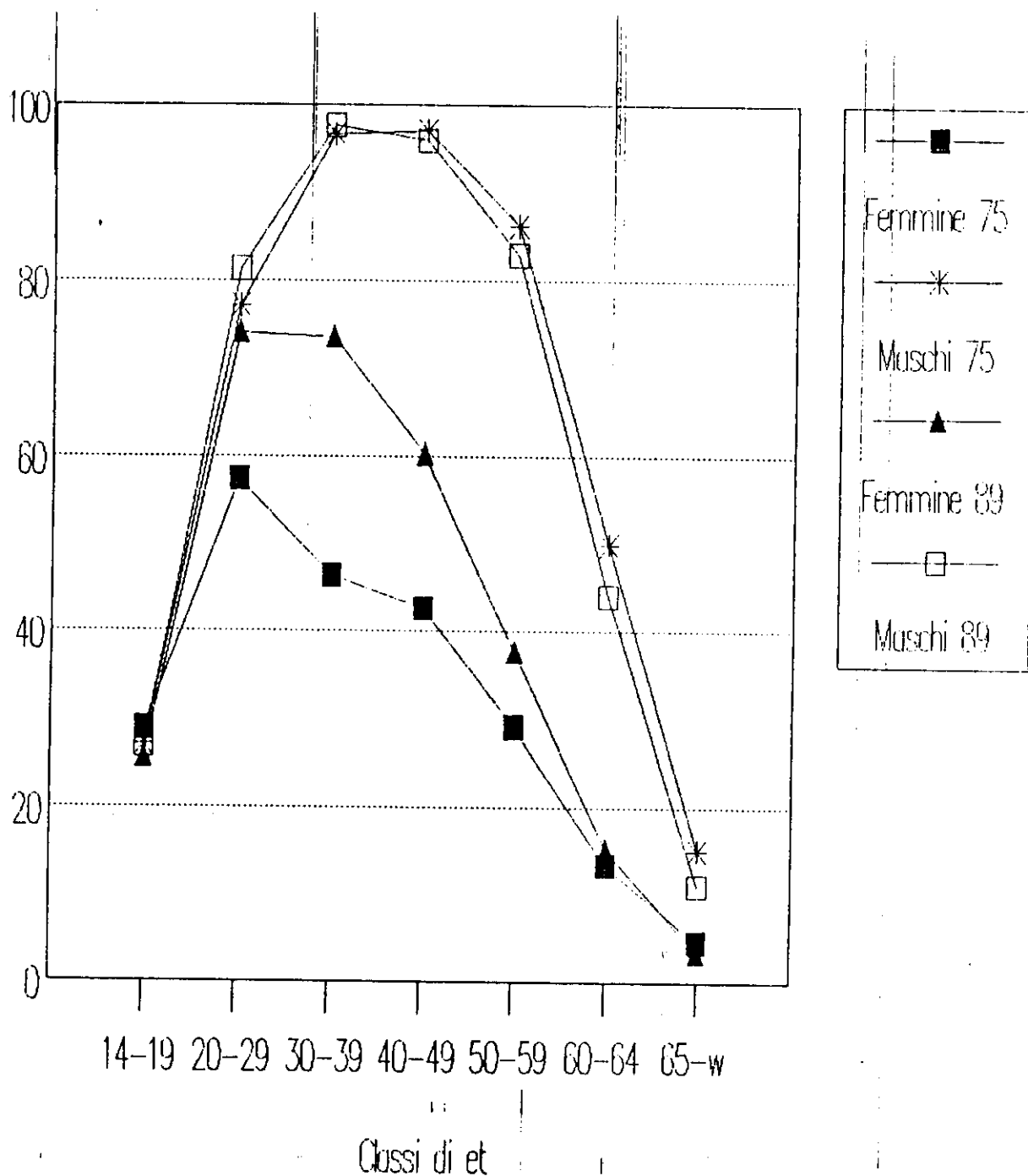
| AGE GROUPS | ACTIVITY RATE | | EMPLOYMENT RATE | | UNEMPLOYMENT RATE | |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 14-19 | 27.0 | 25.7 | 23.0 | 18.0 | 15.1 | 30.0 |
| 20-24 | 71.7 | 71.0 | 60.4 | 53.8 | 15.8 | 24.2 |
| 25-29 | 90.7 | 77.1 | 80.1 | 62.0 | 7.3 | 19.6 |
| 20-29 | 81.3 | 74.1 | 72.3 | 57.9 | 11.0 | 21.8 |
| 30-39 | 97.6 | 73.6 | 94.8 | 66.9 | 2.9 | 9.2 |
| 40-49 | 95.9 | 60.2 | 94.2 | 56.8 | 1.8 | 5.5 |
| 50-59 | 82.9 | 37.6 | 81.3 | 36.7 | 1.9 | 2.5 |
| 14-59 | 81.2 | 57.0 | 77.3 | 50.0 | 4.8 | 12.4 |
| 60-64 | 44.0 | 15.2 | 43.6 | 15.0 | 1.0 | 1.4 |
| 14-64 | 77.6 | 52.8 | 74.0 | 46.5 | 4.5 | 12.0 |
| 65 w | 11.0 | 3.3 | 10.9 | 3.3 | -- | -- |
| TOT.>14 | 65.2 | 41.7 | 62.3 | 36.7 | 4.4 | 11.9 |

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

Graf.1 - Tassi di attivita' specifici

Specific activity Rates
by age and sex.

per eta' e sesso. MARCHE 1975,1989



GRAPH. n° 1 - ITALY - 1972 and 1986.

Employment RATES for MALE (Fig A)
and for Females (Fig B).

FIGURA A
MASCHI: TASSI D'OCCUPAZIONE PER ETA: 1972-1986

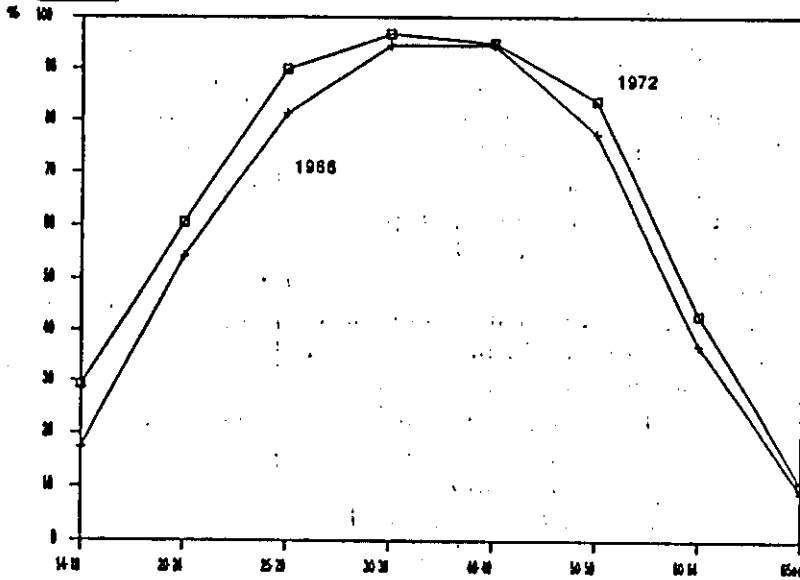
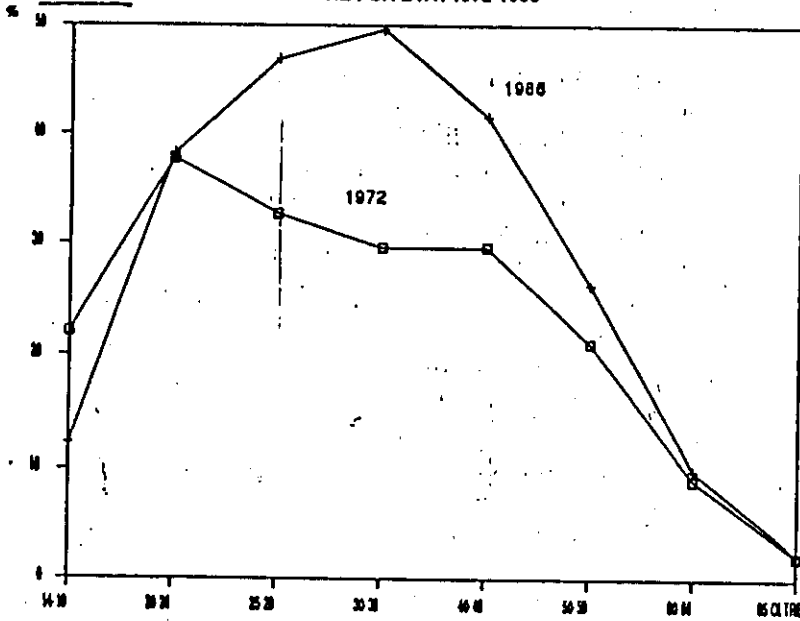


FIGURA B
FEMMINE: TASSI D'OCCUPAZIONE PER ETA: 1972-1986



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