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Degree and structures of women's labour market integration: the case of Bologna, Italy

Flows: Impact of local welfare systems on female labour force participation and social cohesion

FLOWS Working Paper

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About the FLOWS project:

The FLOWS project has been funded under the EU FP7 program, grant Agreement no: 266806. The project started January 1 2011 and ended April 30 2014.

The FLOWS project analyses the causes and effects of women's labour market integration, which is an issue that represents a major challenge for the European Union and its member states, and is supposedly also a precondition for the sustainability of the European social model. The overall aim is to analyse (1) how local welfare systems support women's labour market participation, as well as (2) the extent to which (and under which conditions) female labour market integration has contributed to the strengthening social cohesion. The project focuses on how public and private welfare services such as care and lifelong learning intended to support women's labour market integration have been designed; on how women of different classes, qualifications, ethnicities, and geographical locations have grasped and made use of such policies, and on how the increase in women's labour market integration has affected structures of inequality and social cohesion.

The study is based on in-depth analysis of eleven cities, i.e. one city in eleven different countries. The cities/countries are: Brno/Czech Republic, Aalborg/Denmark, Tartu/Estonia, Jyväskylä/Finland, Nantes/France, Hamburg/Germany, Székesfehérvár/Hungary, Dublin/Ireland, Bologna/Italy, Terrassa/Spain, and Leeds/UK.

The FLOWS project is composed by 6 academic work packages:

WP 1: Degree and structures of women's labour market integration

WP 2: Local production systems

WP 3: The local welfare system

WP 4: Local policy formation/local political actors

WP 5: Survey questionnaire

WP 6: Women's decision making

WP 7: Social structures: cohesion or cleavages and segregation

This working paper series reports work conducted in the seven work packages.

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1. Introducing Bologna

Bologna (pop: 377.220) is situated in the north-eastern part of Italy and in the Bologna area (3702,5 km² and 60 towns) live 984.342 people. The city itself is the seventh largest in Italy (source: Eurostat Urban Audit, 2008), with an increasing growing rate (+0,74 from 2005) mostly due to the regularization of irregular migrant population (in 2003 and in 2009) (source: ISTAT, 2011). Bologna has been traditionally the symbol of good governance, opportunity for both women and men and, last but not least, the symbolic city for the liberal movements and parties. It's a locality that has built its capabilities of governance in a climate of collaboration and trust with the civil society, in which women have always played politically, economically and socially a major role since the first appearance of workers' and farmers' cooperatives to the feminists movement of '70, which were very active in Bologna since the beginning of XXI century (Palazzi, 1997).

In 2009, the majority of the population in the area was employed in services sector (67,87%), but there is still a relevant quote from manufacturing sector covering about the 30,77% of the working force: mostly, women concentrate in service sectors, while men in the manufacturing (Flaquer et al, 2014). The production systems of this part of Italy is very particular and scholars have called it "*third Italy model*" (Bagnasco, 1977): its main characteristics are local networks of small firms, specialization in craft-based industry, a localization mostly in middle-size cities with the support of a strong local political subculture. The urban dimension is strategic in the success of this model: "third Italy" regions are rich of cities with a small or a medium size, which are the most suitable places for trade activity, craft works, good professional schools. The political and economic elite is recognized and have good reputation, thanks to personal links, favoured by the middle size urban scale: this urban structure makes also labour and territorial mobility easier than in big towns.

All these characteristics are peculiar of Bologna. That's why the city flourished not only thanks to its economic production system, but also thanks to the vitality of its landscape of many movements and associations, which allow local and bottom-up participation to society. The strong presence of university's students coming from outside complete the picture of a city which has always been traditionally open to difference and able to use its different components of the civil society to innovate social policies and to become a trend-setter for the whole country. Bologna has thus a peculiar state in the model of "third Italy" because of the path-leading role of its university: founded in 1088, it actually welcome 84.316 students from all over Italy, Europe and the world.

Last, but not least, political institutions in town and region had traditionally paid a great attention to gender equality. After the WWII, the city and its area has traditionally been ruled by the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and after 1989 by the parties which were its heirs (PDS, PRC and its following denominations: Democratici di Sinistra, Pd – Democratic Party, Comunisti Italiani, Sinistra e Libertà). The current political situation is critical: now the city has a new mayor Virginio Merola elected the 14th May 2011 after more than a year of commissioning. The absence of political guide in the last years has eroded the trust in institutions and the reconstruction of the traditional fertile relationship between civil society and municipal government will be the first challenge for this city

and the new mayor in next years: citizens are waiting to start a period of renovation, which is needed both economically and socially. The long-lasting political hegemony of the Communist Party and later of the left coalition has thus strongly promoted and supported an approach to gender equality. In fact, Bologna has been the first city in whole Italy to create a public system for daycare of children in the '60s funded by the municipality. The Bologna system became the standard for the subsequent national regulation which has been made in late '70s.

Now the city is living a problematic period, started in late '90s when its capacity to create a collaborative climate of trust with civil society has been reduced and worsened by the political disengagement of citizens and the financial crisis of 2009, whose consequences were particularly intense for the economic landscape of Bologna. In fact, the traditional excellences of local production systems, like automotive and fashion, are suffering a stagnation after the difficulties of 2009 and the recent cuts from national governments put in question the sustainability of the welfare system of Bologna. Nevertheless, Bologna is still one of the richest city in Italy: the county of Bologna is third in the rank, just after Milano e Bolzano with a net income of 33.275,8€ in average compared to 25.237,2€ at national level. Despite all, it suffered a -4,7% variation during period 2008-2009 and unemployment has grown fast in the last year: consistent with Italy, the consequences of the financial crisis of 2009 are still evident both in the indicators of labour market and in the general economic indicators (Camera di Commercio, 2011).

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In conclusion, the profile of Bologna makes it one of the best choice for the aims of FLOWS:

- Bologna and its governance has always been historically sensible to the women's needs and it has been a laboratory for experiments in social and family policy;
- Size and patterns of women's labour market integration are one of the most favourable in Italy but not free from its peculiar problems (quality of female work above all);
- Thanks to recent economic and political crisis Bologna is going to be a laboratory for the implementation of new social policies to face the situation and the risk of stagnation and decline implied by the long commissioning.

The choice of Bologna will allow thus to enlighten *best practices* for women integration in labour market in Italy, studying them in one the most favourable context, but still characterized by difficulties and problems.

2. Size and patterns of women's labour market integration

The participation to labour market rate for both women and men in the Bologna area is outstanding: in 2010, even if it has been a critic period of crisis for the whole Italy, men had an activity rate of 78,7% and women 66,9%, making Bologna one of the best area in Italy in terms of female labour market integration. In Bologna, the actual unemployment rate is 4,09% for men and 5,97% for women, even if we must underline that there has been a negative variation with 2008 before crisis, which has been stronger for women (from 2,48% to 5,97%). The peculiarity of Bologna must be seen also in its gender gap: the area of Bologna has a gender gap in the participation to labour market rate of 11,8% (the lower in whole Italy) and the area reached the objective of European Council in 2004 (60% of women participating to labour market), while for example in the southern part of Italy, many regions are still below 40%.

Nevertheless, there isn't an equal participation to labour market: working time patterns and quality of integration are different between men and women, as for example precarious and non-standard jobs mostly affects women and young people (Fullin, 2004). These facts question the quality of jobs available for women, since there are active mechanisms of women's exclusion even in a favourable context such as Bologna.

In the following paragraphs, I'll show the principal evidences that emerge from the tables compiled following the WP1 template as approved by the FLOWS research units. As our main source, please consider the Labour Force Survey (2009) conducted by ISTAT (Italian Statistic Institute): whenever we make references to other sources it will be indicated. Every table will be commented with a focus on three different element:

- What are the peculiarity of women's labour market integration's patterns in Bologna;
- What are the main differences in pattern between women and men;
- What are the difference compared to the national level.

1. Employment and labour force participation of people in the working age

Consistent with national and European trends, the number of working women in Bologna started to grow in the context of a steady transformation of economies from 1971 (Addabbo, 1997), which progressively bring western societies into post-industrial societies: feminisation of labour market is consider to be one of the most important factors that allow scholars to define our societies as post-industrial societies, together with tertiarisation (Crouch, 1999). However, compared to the rest of

Europe, Italy has still one of the lowest female participation rate to the labour market, mostly due to the difficulties of southern region affected by high percentage of undeclared work, unemployment and very often discouragement (Addabbo, 1997). As already mentioned in the introduction, women in Bologna, on the contrary, has traditionally been quite active compared to the national level: between the '70s and '80s women make their massive entrance in the labour market; the trend continued also in the subsequent decades and progressively the gender gap in activity rate has been reduced with the integration of women in service sectors. Italian women, in fact, are traditionally employed in service sector and Bologna isn't an exception (Flaquer et al, 2014).

The pattern of women's employment concentrates into the central years of a women's life (from 25 to 54), the most important period both for the career's achievements and the construction of a family: it's important to underline that at every age's class women are less employed and less active than men, but this difference in Bologna is less compared to national level. Moreover, Bologna has a higher rate of women involved in the labour market both in employment and participation rate, which is about 20% more in the central years of career compared to the rest of Italy. The difference in participation is mostly due to women with children, who are more employed in Bologna compared to the national level: this might be explained with the traditional attention of local governance towards working mothers, especially with the institution of a wide network of daycare for children under 3 years old.

Table 1 – Employment and labour force participation rate by women's age groups in city and in country, 2009

	From 15 to 24	From 25 to 39	From 40 to 54	From 55 to 64
Employment in Bologna	20,7	78,9	82,3	31,0
Labour force participation in Bologna	24,6	84,0	83,9	31,0
Employment in Italy	17,0	59,4	58,8	25,4
Labour force participation in Italy	23,9	66,7	62,5	26,1

Source: ISTAT Survey on Labour Force, 2009

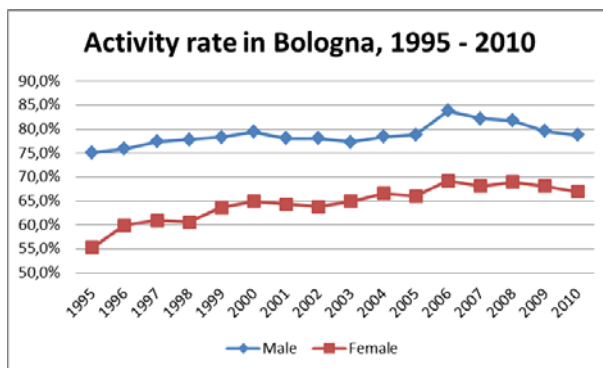


Figure 2 - Activity rate per gender in Bologna, 1995 - 2010

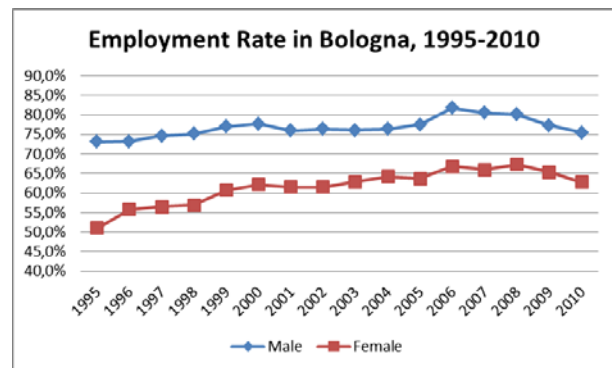


Figure 3 - Employment rate per gender in Bologna, 1995 - 2010

Anyway, the differences between male and female in the activity rate is decreasing in the city: as you might see from the graphs the long-period trend established in late '70s is progressively mitigating the

gender gap in the activity rate, with the only exception of last year in which the consequences of financial crisis has been worse for women than men in terms of unemployment's rate. Nevertheless, what prevents women from being fully employed in their central years of life is care duties: in Italy, the gender gap in unpaid work is more than the gap we observe in the labour market and the gender difference in terms of non-paid hours is still high and stable¹. In fact, in Italy in 2009 about 76% of domestic work has been done by women and it's a value which is just slightly less compared to 2003 which was about 77% (source: ISTAT): the value of asymmetry index between men and women goes under 70% only in the case we're considering young couples with high educational level who lives in the northern part of Italy, but it's still quite far from being equal (about 67,6%) (ISTAT, 2010).

To summarize, women live in the years between 25 and 54 what we can call a functional overload between work, family and children (Ranci, 2002). In fact, Italy as a country is one of the European locality which has the lowest female occupational rate and many women still persist in leaving the labour market at the first birth or even because they got married (Saraceno, 2003). This is a trend that persists across decades: the gender disadvantage is growing as a consequence of the recent financial crisis of 2009 and many women leave work at the birth of their first child; this fact is connected to the scarcity of childcare services and to an unequal distribution of unpaid work, which is highly gendered.

2. Working time patterns of people in working age

One traditional solution to the problem of working mothers has been the spread of part-time contracts, which allow women to have more time to spend in their care duties compared to a full time contract. In our city there is an evident increase of part-time jobs from 1995 which interested mostly women and young. Introduced in Italy only in 1984 within the law 863/84, after a decade of strong opposition by trade unions (Addabbo, 1997), the actual part-time rate of Italy is still below the European average and it reflects the lateness by which Italy has adopted and promoted this type of contract.

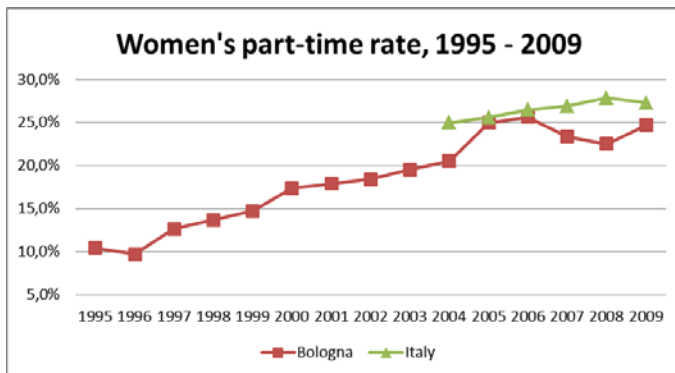


Figure 4 – Women's part-time rate in Bologna and in Italy, 1995 - 2010

¹ We will use the definition "unpaid work" because we're not able to distinguish the quote between carework and housekeeping in the database we're using for this analysis. Anyway, the study from ISTAT prove that in both case there is no equal distribution of such work within gender.

Since law 196/1997 there has been introduced incentives to increase the number of part-time jobs on the market as an explicit goal of labour policies addressing women. In fact, from 1997 Italy have witness an incremental increase of women's part-time rate which now represents about 25% of total female employment. Without being a gendered policy, in the years part-time jobs have become a strategy performed by women to reduce their trade-off between work-time and family-time; this has sometimes reduced the occupational possibilities of these women, not only just because of part-time job itself, but also because part-time jobs attract women which has already been trapped in the overload of balancing work and family (Saraceno, 2003). This might result in a sort of disadvantage for women that are employed part-time: not only because they're not able to provide the same focus in terms of working hours, but also because part-time workers are often interested by reduced chances of promotion, they're less likely to receive fringe benefits and plus they earn less compared to their full-time counterparts (Buddelmeyer, Mourre, Ward-Wrmedinger, 2005). For example, in Italy part-time workers earn 22% less than full-timers and they're highly concentrated in terms of dissimilarity index, as long as 53% of them concentrate in manual positions compared to 30% of Italian full-time employed women (Bardasi, Gornick, 2007).

Consistent with the Italian trends, the spread of part-time contracts is highly dependent by gender; in Bologna, we have 24% of women who are employed in part-time jobs compared to only 4% of men, even if at the national level the quote of part-time between women is higher (27%). If we focus specifically in all contracts that allows to work under 40 hours/week, they concern about 45% of women in Bologna and just 20% of men, similar to the national values: men are double the value of women in standard employment of 40 hours/week and overtime working. Furthermore, women are also more likely to be employed in the public sector, in which the normal full-time contract is 36 hours/week and this might explain why women are more represented in the category between half-time and full-time. In general, women are not only less employed at full-time but have also less propensity to work over-time compared to men.

Table 5 – Working time patterns by gender in city and in country, 2009

	Full-time (40h)	Half-time (20h)	Between half-time and full-time	Less than half-time	More than full-time
<i>in Bologna</i>					
Male	44,51	0,93	19,92	11,16	23,48
Female	27,60	4,67	40,96	16,54	10,24
<i>in Italy</i>					
Male	39,97	1,91	21,44	11,02	25,66
Female	23,96	7,28	36,75	20,91	11,10

Source: ISTAT Survey on Labour Force, 2009

The gender differences in working time patterns is something that might be affecting the gender pay gap in Italy, which is still highly unequal between men and women: in fact, despite the higher educational level of women, in 2007 men earned 59,4% more than women consistent with national trends, irrespective of being employed or not (Comune di Bologna, 2009). This difference can be

explained not only by gender discrimination but also by the women's pattern of labour market integration: part-time jobs and less extra-hours (10,24% of women compared to 23,48% of men) compared to men reduce female salaries. Moreover, women are less likely than men to participate to labour market and they might participate less because they expect to earn less than their male counterparts.

Furthermore, the higher quote of unpaid work which is performed by women decrease the time they spend in paid work and also reduce the range of occupation they can reasonably access in terms of distance between home/work and in terms of working hours, thus making them the ideal addressees for part-time jobs. Care duties and the presence of young children might also expose them to the risk of being seeing as unreliable workers by the employers (Saraceno, 2003).

Table 6 – Temporary employment rate on total employment by gender in Bologna, 2009

	From 15 to 24	From 25 to 39	From 40 to 54	From 55 to 64
Male temporary rate	41,0%	7,1%	4,7%	0,0%
Female temporary rate	68,2%	11,2%	4,9%	1,4%

Source: ISTAT Survey on Labour Force, 2009

In fact, the increase in female employment doesn't say anything about the quality of female jobs, which are usually part-time, temporary and unstable occupations. Females and young people in Italy are more concerned by the problem of precariousness (Fullin, 2004; Pruna, 2007): as you can see from table above, females are constantly more employed than men in temporary jobs, even if those type of jobs tends to concentrate among the youngest for both sexes. This is a change in the patterns of employment which have involved an entire generation in Italy and which might lead to even stronger disparities between generations and gender.

To understand the importance of this phenomenon, we must add few words on a particular occupational condition which is peculiar of Italy and represents one of the most vulnerable condition in the labour market: para-subordinate jobs, that have intermediate characteristics between dependent jobs and self-employment. Regulated by law in 1997 and in 2003, they regards every worker which is involved in a project of work, which is temporary by definition: they don't have any tie in terms of time and places to perform their professional activities like the self-employed workers, but workers still are dependent by a firm or an institution. These contracts are spread especially in advanced services sectors and in all levels of education even university; as it has been underlined by scholar in the past years (see Fullin, 2004), they affects mostly females (about 60% of para-subordinate). Many of the so called para-subordinate jobs involve people working less than 40 hours/week and this situation might explain the constant growth of part-time job since 1995, year in which they started to spread around Italy.

To conclude, the precariousness that women live very often goes together with low salaries, less autonomy and reduced chance of a professional career, which puts in question more in general the quality of work that female can access (Pruna, 2007).

3. Main activity of people in working age who are not in formal employment

In this section, the aim is to understand the profile of inactive people in Bologna and in Italy, especially looking at the 30% of women that are still outside the labour market. First of all, unemployment is a phenomenon which affects women more than men and the consequences of the financial crisis of 2009 have confirmed such interpretation. Anyway, the situation in Bologna is better compared to the rest of Italy, both for women and for men: Bologna has an unemployment rate which is half of the national value and it has been under the line of frictional level of unemployment except for the last two years after the crisis of 2009, whose consequences has been worse for women.

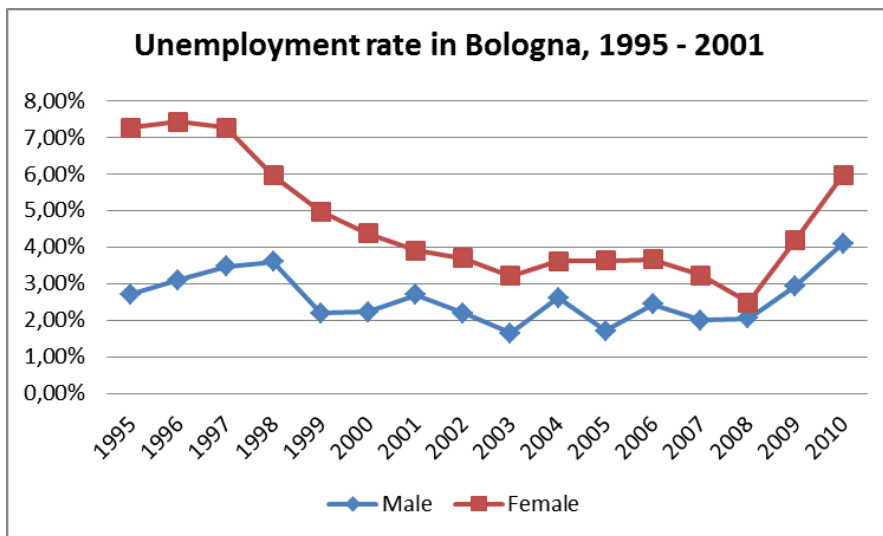


Figure 7 – Unemployment rate per gender in Bologna, 1995 - 2010

Apart from the unemployed people, who are still active on the labour market, there are three most main reason for female inactivity in Bologna: school, housework (including childcare) and retirement. For what it concerns retired people, which are about 5% of the total population between 15 and 64 years old, there is no evidence of a gender differentiation in this group, neither difference with the national value.

Consistent with men, the percentage of women still involved in education is about 11% and it's a value which is just slightly under the national average (12,51%): on the contrary, compared to men, women are more numerous in the highest educational level such as college, university and even PhD course in which they double the presence of their male counterparts. In general, female have higher educational level, better achievements and more will in improve their skills, which can be showed by the higher propensity to be involved in further training (5,43% compared to 4,72%). In the last decade, as a general trend in Italy we have witness a constant and general increase in educational level, a progressive specialization and a reduced horizontal segregation for women: even if it persists as a problem in Italy, compared to 20 years ago female are increasing both in “male” faculties (i.e. engineer and science) and in “male” professions (Gherardi, Poggio, 2003).

As expected the most important reason which explain the gender gap in participation to labour market is related to care and housework which involved about 13% of women compared to just 0,34% of men. Even if the value noted in city is sensibly lower than the national value (where it involves about 27% of women), inactivity for care reasons is still highly affected by gender, more than any other inactivity reason. This is due to the fact that Italy has a welfare system defined by scholar as “familialist” (Esping-Andersen, 1999) in which many of the care duties are demanded to women: housekeeping, long-term care of elderly and children’s care. As long as the State doesn’t intervene in sustain directly women who are involved in such duties, with an exception for maternity and parental leave², most of women must take care of their dependents by their own selves and this fact explain most of the gender difference in the quote of women involved in stay at home for care, because it’s widely consider to be a “women’s duty” in the general Italian culture. As a partial confirm of this, in the European Value Survey of 2000 Italy was one of the European countries in which the rate of agreement to the sentence “a young children is likely to suffer if her/his mother works” has the highest accord (about 80% of sample) (Saraceno, 2005).

Most of women are helped in children’s care by the precedent generation: grandmothers are now the most important relief valve for the care overload of mothers, while for dependent elderly it’s now increasingly growing the presence of migrant care-worker. In this moment, being women and migrant is now the worst condition in Italy because of a strong social and working segregation: the discrimination against migrants, who are literally trapped in secondary jobs on market, is even worst against females, who are often employed by family as care-worker and have no life and no contacts outside their job which takes up most of their time (badly paid and quite often in undeclared work condition with no contributory records).

4. Main activity of women by age of the youngest child³

As already noted, being a mother has consequences on the labour market integration and sometimes it can be a disadvantage for those willing to participate more in the labour market. In 2009, about 22,4% of women in working age has interrupted their job (temporary or definitely) after a birth, a marriage or any other type of familiar reason compared to just 2,9% of men; among mothers, the percentage of women who has interrupt at least once their job for family reason is about 30% (ISTAT, 2011). In fact, the birth of a child in Italy has a strong effect on female participation to labour market: looking at national level women with children under 2 years old are employed only at 20%, a quote that is slightly increasing when the youngest child is growing. This is something related to strong territorial differentiations between regions; for example, one child from Emilia-Romagna has 10 times more chance to have a place in the nursery school than a child from the southern region of Italy (Ministero del Lavoro, 2006).

In general, welfare state system is high differentiated in terms of the different employment’s contract of the mother: maternity leaves are mandatory for dependent permanent workers (5 months mandatory at 80% of salary, plus 9 months which are optional at 30% of salary), while a different

² Maternity leave is an obligatory period of absence from work, which lasts 5 months just before and just after the birth of the child; it’s paid 80% of the current salary or income (with some differences depending on occupational status and employment’s contract). Parental leave is a right granted to dependent workers which may take up to 6 months of leave during the first 8 years of the child to take care of any necessity of care.

³ All data in this table will be commented at NUTS 2 level (Emilia-Romagna) in order to preserve the representativity of data, which is not guaranteed at NUTS 3 level.

system of leaves is available for temporary workers and self-employed workers (usually, the state pays just for the first 5 mandatory months, but it changes according to the occupational status of the mother). There are also familiar grants but they're valid only for dependent workers. The high number of interruption might be related to the scarcity of services, to the precariousness which doesn't protect young mother from losing their job when they start their pregnancy and the "prejudice" of employee towards mothers with young children (Flaquer et al, 2014).

The comparison between national and city level grounds empirically one of the reason by which Bologna is a best practice in Italy: the disadvantage of being mother in Bologna is more or less comparable to the rest of European Union. Apparently there is an inversion of trend: women with youngest child are more employed than the women with older child, something that must be explained by the fact that young women have better educational achievement and probably more investments into labour market than older females. But this due also to what can be interpreted as a spurious effect of the age of mothers, which is the real casual effect on women's propensity to participate to labour market.

Actually, in Italy the average age at first children is about 30 years old and it's increasing: in Bologna the average age of mother was about 30,7 years old in 1991 and in 2010 is increased to 33 years old (Comune di Bologna, 2011), while the average age at the first birth is about 30,4 years in 2008 (for Italian mothers the mother's age at first delivery is 31,6, while migrants mother have their first child at 26,5) (Regione Emilia-Romagna, 2009). So, in our analysis, we focus on the age cohort of 25-39 and 40-54 years old, keeping in mind that these two cohorts see the more presence of mothers.

Table 8 – Employment rate of mothers by age of the youngest children in Emilia-Romagna, 2009

Age of employed mother	No children	From 0 to 2	From 3 to 5	From 6 to 10	From 11 to 15
25-39	84,3%	73,8%	78,1%	80,0%	81,9%
40-54	79,2%			77,0%	75,9%

Source: ISTAT Survey on Labour Force, 2009

As you can notice from the table, the effect of children's age is relevant only in the first cohort and, as expected, women with young children have a lower propensity to work respect the mothers with older child (we considered only children under 6 years for the second cohort). The effect of age of youngest children is irrelevant in the second cohort, because its effect is spurious and completely absorbed by the causal effect of mother's age (even if being mother do has an effect, if we compare to women who has no children at all). Our argument is that the age of mother has in general a stronger effect on their propensity to work, except in 25-39 years old cohort in which the age of youngest child intervene in the causal relation, reducing the occupational rate of mothers. Though the situation in Bologna is much better compared to the rest of Italy, it still persists a gap between mothers and non-mothers in terms of employment.

Furthermore, one explanation of the difference between the women from Emilia Romagna and the rest of Italy must be found in the percentage of women who is inactive due to housework and, in this case, childcare. In fact, we have a quote of about 15% of women in the area of our interest, just slightly higher than the value measured within the total population of women between 15 and 64 years old,

while in Italy women with very young children are inactive in the 30% of cases compared to an average value of 26%.

Table 9 – Rate of housewives by age of the youngest children in Emilia Romagna and in Italy, 2009

	Emilia Romagna	Italy
No children	13,7	24,5
From 0 to 2	16,0	28,2
From 3 to 5	14,9	27,8
From 6 to 10	14,3	25,8
From 11 to 15	12,8	24,6
From 16 to 25	13,1	23,0
Upper than 25	16,6	25,4
Total	14,6	26,0

Source: ISTAT Survey on Labour Force, 2009

Bologna is the first city in whole Italy that had implemented a public system of day-care for children under 3 years old and it's still one of the best network in the entire country. Additionally, the region Emilia-Romagna is the region that has the most wide percentage of children in childcare services: the regional network in 2000 was able to host 18,3% of potential users which correspond to a total of 17.110 children. For example, southern regions varies between 1,9% of Calabria to the 6,4% of Sardinia. In 2003, the percentage of children hosted in daycare in Emilia-Romagna has grown to 23,9% for 25.518 children in total (Ministero del Lavoro, 2006). If we consider only the public structures which are available on the territory, in 2007 the region had the highest rate of available places on potential users (19,3%) and 481 children on 1000 children in total has access to welfare services for the babyhood, which is quite higher than any other region in Italy that has an average of 212 children (source: Regione Emilia-Romagna).

In conclusion, even if women with children are still more disadvantaged both compared to women without children and to men, the situation of women in Bologna is better than the national level, in which women are highly suffering the presence of children and the phenomenon of unemployment. This is something that might be explained by the presence of strongest networks of services for young children and local welfare supports for families.

5. Main activity of people by age group⁴

As already introduced, working patterns by age follows a structure which is similar both in Italy and in Bologna, even Bologna has higher rate whatever is the indicator we consider (i.e. participation to

⁴ Gender gap is calculated here as a rate between female rate over male rate.

labour market or employment total). Actually, the pattern is similar also between gender, even if men are always more employed than women for every age group.

Table 10 – Gender gap (female/male) employment and labour force participation rate by age groups in city and in country, 2009

	From 15 to 24	From 25 to 39	From 40 to 54	From 55 to 64
Employment in Bologna	0,95	0,82	0,89	0,69
Labour force participation in Bologna	1,01	0,86	0,88	0,65
Employment in Italy	0,65	0,73	0,67	0,28
Labour force participation in Italy	0,70	0,76	0,68	0,35

Source: ISTAT Survey on Labour Force, 2009

Gender differences in labour market participation and employment starts from age 25 and grow within generation. This is something that can be explain with the higher gender gap in unpaid work for care and housework that has always characterized Italy. Anyway, the gender gap in Bologna is lower than the rest of Italy, a situation put in evidence by a stronger disparity at national level especially for older women.

Men and women concentrate in schools in the youngest cohorts and only a minority of young between 15 and 24 years old is active on the labour market. Regarding education, the situation is specular: women are always more than men at every educational level and at every age, even if we consider further training and education with the only exception of internship, which is often use in Italy as a way to employ young persons since it allows a sensible saving in taxes on labour. Women are thus more educated and usually they take less in completing the same educational and vocational training, but they're less employed and less appealing on the labour market, as proved by the higher female unemployment and inactivity rate. The difference between gender in participation to labour market is easily explained by looking at the rate of housework: women stay at home more than men and since in Italy there is no welfare state programme to sustain they're situation, so they're often dependent on men's income.

Table 11 – Gender gap (female/male) in education and further training by age groups in city and in country, 2009

	From 15 to 24	From 25 to 39	From 40 to 54	From 55 to 64
Education total in Bologna	1,00	1,60		
Further training in Bologna	1,73	1,21	1,14	0,66
Education total in Italy	1,13	1,18		
Further training in Italy	1,11	1,12	1,14	1,10

Source: ISTAT Survey on Labour Force, 2009

The gender gap rate in stay at home here speaks for itself and clearly underline a situation in which gender and age are structuring the inequalities system of Italy. Older female are sustaining with their unpaid work within families what the state abdicates to do in the past years: when we're speaking of a familialist welfare state system (Esping-Andersen), we're telling a story of stronger disparities in opportunities between men and women in Italy, even if it's mitigated (but not cancelled) in a city as Bologna, where the welfare state has strongly promoted in the past a system of public childcare to sustain the labour market participation of women.

Table 12 – Gender gap (female/male) in stay at home without welfare state programme by age groups in city and in country, 2009

	From 15 to 24	From 25 to 39	From 40 to 54	From 55 to 64
Stay at home in Bologna	83,0	20,1	69,7	27,4
Stay at home in Italy	32,6	128,8	145,4	85,3

Source: ISTAT Survey on Labour Force, 2009

6. Main activity of people by educational achievement

As already anticipated in the previous paragraph, women have in general a higher educational achievement compared to men, something which is valid both in Bologna and in Italy. What is more problematic is that their better educational performance seems not to transpose in an equal participation to the labour market. Analysing our population by educational achievement and gender allow to say something more about this problem and maybe it will help in finding how patterns of integration to the labour market are influenced by the educational achievement.

Table 13 – Employment and participation to labour market rate by gender and educational achievement in city, 2009

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3.2	Level 3.1	Level 4-5
Women					
Employment total in Bologna	24,72%	57,83%	74,69%	71,69%	77,34%
Labour force participation in Bologna	25,99%	59,20%	78,83%	75,62%	80,19%
Men					
Employment total in Bologna	55,94%	66,72%	92,55%	79,48%	92,71%
Labour force participation in Bologna	60,08%	69,42%	92,55%	82,19%	92,71 %
Gender gap⁵					
Employment total in Bologna	0,44	0,87	0,81	0,90	0,83
Labour force participation in Bologna	0,43	0,85	0,85	0,92	0,86

⁵ Gender gap is calculated here as a rate between female rate over male rate.

Source: ISTAT Survey on Labour Force, 2009

First of all, we must notice that in Italy education counts: women and men with better educational achievement are more employed and more active compared to those with lower achievements. Participation to labour market and employment grows linearly with the increasing of educational achievement, as it was easy to foresee. The pattern is similar to which we already noticed in age groups: men are more employed than women at every educational achievement, but it seems that the difference inter-groups are less compared to what we observe on women.

In fact, the difference between level 1 to level 4-5 in participation to labour market among women is more than 50 percentage points (54,2) while for men it's only about 32 points. This effect might be explained by the different generation and the age of person: we are aware that young people in general have a better educational level compared to the older workers. This is only partially true: education act as a spurious effect only on men, but it still intervenes in favouring the employment whatever is the age. On the contrary, even if we control across generation we put in evidence that the education has an effect for female both in promoting participation to labour market and employment.

Taking care of gender gap, we might highlight that the highest gender gap is seen in the lowest level of education and that the biggest disadvantage is suffered by women who have already scarcity in their human capital. Unexpectedly, high educational level doesn't mean a more equal presence on the labour market: for level 4-5 we have an increase in gender gap, which is higher than what we notice in the other educational levels in which the differences between men and women are less evident. Thus, a better educational achievement allow women to be more active on the labour market compared to men, but it doesn't prevent them from unemployment: while men with highest educational achievement are fully employed, women experience unemployment at every level, even at the highest.

What is more interesting is looking at what happens in the rate of women that choose to stay at home by their educational achievement. As easily expected, the percentage of housewives with high educational achievement is lower than the level 1's females, something which is valid both for Bologna and Italy even if the problem in Italy is quite deeper than what we notice in Bologna. Furthermore, having a better educational achievement prevents women from interrupting their presence on the labour market: in fact, only 16,7% of graduated women has at least once interrupt their job for family's reason compared to the 40,3% of the women with low educational achievements (ISTAT, 2011).

Table 14 – Women's stay at home by educational achievement in city and in country, 2009

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3.2	Level 3.1	Level 4-5
Stay at home in Bologna	30,11%	15,46%	12,57%	6,78%	3,85%
Stay at home in Italy	57,61%	32,75%	22,98%	15,69%	6,36%

Source: ISTAT Survey on Labour Force, 2009

This might be explained referring to different factors, the most important of them are income and culture: first of all, women with a lower level of education can't afford to pay on the market the care services they need to be available to participate to the public life as worker. In fact, as long as they are likely to be integrated into the labour market in the secondary segment, they will experience low salaries, temporary jobs and scarce opportunities of career; a situation that makes their opportunity cost of being employed higher than the more educated females. On the contrary, as it's already been

underlined in this report, it's taken for granted that women take care of housekeeping and care, which is proved by the gender disparities in unpaid work, which are deeper than the gender disparities in the labour market.

7. Main activity of people with youngest child under 6 years and by parental status⁶

In this section, I will focus on mothers and father with young children, focusing in particular on the condition of lone parenthood. As already underlined before, most of care duty in Italy are entrusted to families, which are usually active as the first actor of the Italian welfare system. Actually, lone families are growing (they were about 2.000.000 millions in Italy in 2003⁷) and they are mostly composed by female (83,9%), because of an higher probability for women to be widowed and because in general after a separation or a divorce Italian legislation usually women tend to have the custody of children. Looking at the age of the children, we have 297.000 households with children under 8 years old and 392.000 between 9 and 18 years old (ISTAT, 2005).

As first impression lone mothers are more active on the labour market and are less likely to stay at home; nevertheless, in Bologna they are constantly more employed and less at home than the national level: lone mother in Bologna doesn't even suffer from gender gap if we compare with their male counterparts. Unfortunately, this doesn't mean that gender doesn't count. Lone mother get involved in the labour market, because they have to in order to be able to sustain the costs of growing up a child alone and due also to the fact that usually transfers from father are not enough. Moreover, lone mothers benefits from being alone in terms of unpaid hours spent in housekeeping and usually they spend less hours (about 5,12 hours) compared to their counterparts (6,44 hours), so they can use more time in paid work (6,52 hours instead of 6,14) (ISTAT, 2005). Anyway, we must not forget that lone mothers that are inactive on the market are extremely fragile and one of the most vulnerable figure for poverty (ISTAT, 2005).

Table 15 – Employment and labour force participation rate by gender and parental status in city and in country, 2009

	Lone Mothers	Mothers in couple	Lone fathers	Fathers in couple
Employment in Emilia-Romagna	70,02	62,52	71,71	82,33
Labor force participation in Emilia-Romagna	75,10	65,90	78,43	84,42
Employment in country	55,70	46,45	68,00	75,26
Labor force participation in country	62,29	51,06	74,54	79,73

⁶ All data in this table will be commented at NUTS 2 level (Emilia-Romagna) in order to preserve the representativity of data, which is not guaranteed at NUTS 3 level.

⁷ In this survey, ISTAT has considered every parent with a cohabiting son/daughter not married without putting a limit on the age of children (ISTAT, 2005).

At country level the quota of women that stays at home is bigger than in Emilia Romagna (14,24% vs. 6,40%); anyway both percentages are less compared to women in couple which stay at home in the 17,62% of cases in Emilia Romagna and in 30,64% in Italy. This result can be interpreted in two ways: first of all, women in Bologna are supported by local welfare system (like for example the more diffuse network of care for children under 3 years old), but there might be also different cultural models that support women in the participation to labour market and their activation in the public life.

8. Main activity of people by ethnic group⁸

Italy became a country of immigration just in recent years and differently from what happened in Northern European countries this process has been really fast and penetrating. Together with Greece, Portugal and Spain, the transformation from country of emigrations into country of immigrations happened after the traditional guest countries of northern Europe adopted more restrictive laws on international migration. The first year in which the repatriations has been less than the immigration was year 1974, but Italy hasn't even provided a law to regulate the phenomenon until 1986, where there was the first intervention of the State on the argument. Migrants had to wait until 1998 to have the first organic law on immigrations which has been updated and restricted in 2002 during the second government Berlusconi and worsened by the last intervention on the subject with the introduction of the so call crime of undeclared migration in 2009⁹.

This situation of incertitude has determined the growing of immigration in Italy as a spontaneous and unregulated phenomenon, in which individual migrants have arrived in the country attracted by the easiness of entrance and the chance that undeclared economy has given them (Zanfrini, 2004). For these reasons, Italy hasn't experienced the construction of a single strong ethnic community, but the diffusions of a multitude of little communities, often populated by undeclared migrants (which is estimated to be 30% of the total migrant community). Moreover, since it's not an historically country of permanence Italy is facing the problem of second generations only now, while we have a strong influence of Italians by nationality which came back to Italy in the past years after having born abroad (i.e. we can remember the repatriations after the Argentinian crisis of decade 2000).

Because of the complexity of this scenario, it has been hard f to calculate data about ethnic communities and their labour force participation. As long as it was suggested by WP1 guidelines, only data about the ethnic majority (share out among Italians by birth and Italians by nationality) and the other minorities have been provided, chosen on the basis of the largest communities in Bologna. The same data were provided for Italy as a comparison, even if they were not the strongest communities at the national level. Since migration is a really complex argument and it requires a specifically oriented analysis, I will just provide a brief analysis of differences between occupational rate within the most spread communities in Emilia Romagna. Please be aware that these data must only be taken as indication of scenario, because of their unreliability.

⁸ All data in this table will be commented at NUTS 2 level (Emilia-Romagna) in order to preserve the representativity of data, which is not guaranteed at NUTS 3 level.

⁹ For more information, see: L. 943/1986 "Legge Martelli", D.Lgs 286/1998, "Legge Turco-Napolitano", Legge 189/2002, "Legge Bossi-Fini" and Legge 94/2009 "Pacchetto Sicurezza".

The three main migrant community (Romania, Albania and Marocco) represents together only 4% of the total population in Bologna, while last data on migrations says that migrants represents about 12% of the city: to give an idea, the city of Bologna had 66.561 regular migrants in 2009 and Romanians, the strongest community, has only 5.796 persons that became visible only after the entrance of this country into EU community¹⁰. For example, the share of this ethnic groups in the working age population is always under 2%.

Moreover, there is a strong working specialization that characterizes some of the communities, whose migratory chain has established in the past a “control” over certain occupations which in Italy are reserved to migrants. Considering just the female work, for example, eastern Europe country like Ukraine and, partially, Romania, has specialized in care-working, hired by families as a support on long-term care of non-sufficient elderly, while far-east migrants (Filipinos, above all) give support in housekeeping. In fact, this trend has characterized the whole southern Europe, as long as the familialistic model is not any longer sustainable within families on their own. The long-term care is now provided by female migrants, which replace the unpaid care by native women (Bettio, Simonazzi, Villa, 2009).

The occupational rate and participation to labour market of migrants women differ sensibly between nationality following the cultural patterns of the nations of origins. Especially Romanian women has found good opportunity in employment as care-worker, which is one of the sector that experienced a strong expansion in the last years. Albanians and Moroccans women, on the contrary, are usually migrated in Italy thanks to family reunions, in which the leading migrant was the husband. For both of this communities, in fact, men represents the majority (about 59% for Moroccans and 56% for Albanias), while Romanians are more equally distributed on the region (49% men compared to 51% women). Anyway since this results have been calculated on low numbers, they have no real statistical significance: as long as they correspond on what key informants has told to Italian research team in WP2 investigations they can be kept as indicative data of a more general trend.

Table 16 – Employment and labour force participation rate by gender and nationality in Emilia Romagna, 2009

	Italians by birth	Italians by nationality	Romania	Albania	Marocco
Women					
Employment total in Bologna	62,26%	62,16%	68,17%	46,51%	21,55%
Labour force participation in Bologna	65,36%	65,04%	76,14%	55,06%	26,25%
Men					
Employment total in Bologna	74,92%	75,11%	81,79%	71,49%	80,72%
Labour force participation in Bologna	77,78%	77,98%	85,91%	82,05%	89,96%

Source: ISTAT Survey on Labour Force, 2009

In conclusion, the fact that Romanians women are more employed than Moroccans and Albanians doesn't mean that they have a better integration. As it was put in evidence by key-informants

¹⁰ Romania wasn't the strong community before 2007, because the major part of its members were undeclared migrants.

interviews, the type of occupation in which usually female migrants are employed highly segregated them into families and puts in question their chance both of professional career and social integration. Moreover, it constitutes often a waste of their human capital because in Italy there is an high occupational segregation of migrants into the secondary segment of the labour market (Zanfrini, 2004).

9. Net salary of employed women/men

As it's already been said in the introduction, in Italy there is a persistent gap in salary between men and women. The vertical segregation of women, one of the main reasons behind it, is still high in most of the sectors we have considered for the analysis.

As it can be noticed in the graphs, female are overrepresented in the lowest classes of net income, while men are always more than female in the higher classes of income. In fact, women earn mostly around 1000€ while men distribute themselves between 1000€ and 2000€. There is no evidence of a different pattern among Italy and Bologna within gender in terms of net salary of dependent workers.

Figure 18 – Full-time net salary per gender in Bologna, 2009

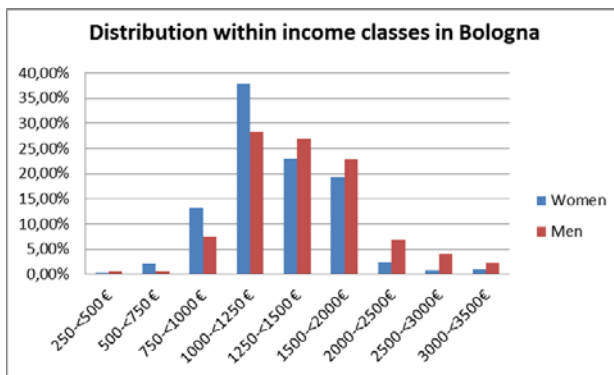


Figure 17 – Full-time net salary per gender in Italy, 2009

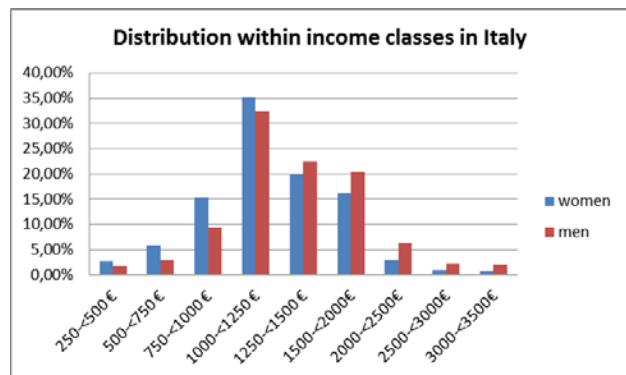


Figure 19 – Female part-time net salary in Bologna and in Italy, 2009

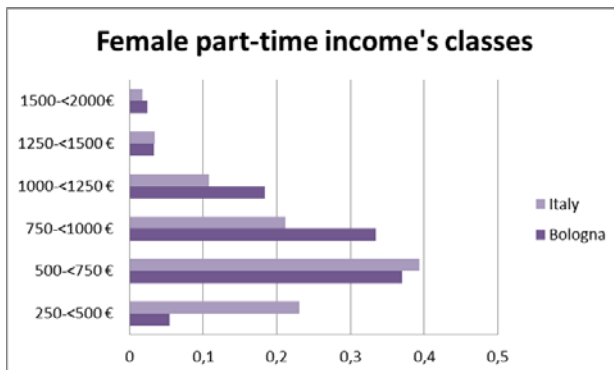
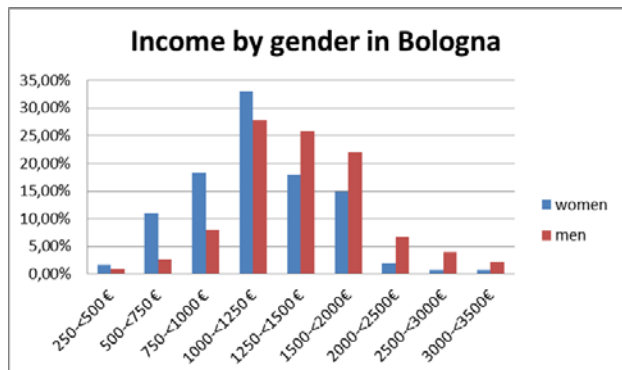


Figure 20 – Net salary per gender in Bologna, 2009



In general people from Bologna are richer compared to what happens in the rest of the country thanks to a lower concentration of women in the lowest classes of salary. In fact, if we consider only female working part-time's net income we can put in evidence that female living in Bologna are more represented in higher income classes than their counterparts in country. Nevertheless, the gender gap we notice between men and women doesn't simply depend on gender but it is also influenced by the gendered distribution within part-time jobs, as we have already underlined. Comparing men and women regardless their different patterns in working hours shows quite well how female tends to concentrate more often than men in the lowest classes of income.

3. Some conclusive remarks

I will try to summarize here the most important elements that emerged from our analysis on the size and patterns of women's labour market integration in Bologna and in the rest of Italy. First of all, we have to say that in Bologna we noticed a stronger integration of women into the labour market compared to the rest of Italy, in which women are more inactive especially for family and care reasons. However, this result must be taken as problematic: in fact, we must not forget that Italy as a country included also the situation of the southern part of Italy which is strongly different to northern part, in which Bologna is situated. As many scholars have already underlined (see for example Bagnasco, 1977), south Italy differs from the rest not only because of different performances in terms of economic performances and a more difficult labour market, but also for a culture in which women have always been assigned to housekeeping and care, more than what happened in northern part of Italy, i.e. due to a more gendered distribution in unpaid work within families (ISTAT, 2010). The fact that we have found such differences between Bologna and the rest of Italy doesn't mean that we would have found the same gap between Bologna and northern part of Italy in which Bologna is situated.

Despite this clarification, we must put in evidence some characteristics which we have underlined in the patterns of women integration in Bologna. Analysing the dynamic transformation of the patterns, we must put in evidence that there is a constant increase of the female presence in the labour market, partially due to better educational achievements of female and a growing rate of part-time jobs; we might hope in a progressive reduction of gender gap in participation to labour market. Women actually are more active on the labour market especially in the central years of their life, which are the crucial years also for the reproduction. This usually determines a strangulation of women, which are living an overload between housekeeping, care and work without the help of their men, since the distribution of unpaid work is quite unequal between men and women, a difference which seems to be stable across years and generations. The unequal distribution of unpaid work reduces chances for women to be active on the labour market and might be interpreted as a consequence of the familism of the culture and the welfare state system. This situation is slightly less unequal in Bologna than the rest of Italy in which the share of staying at home is higher. In fact, the cohorts between 25 and 39 experience the highest gender gap in labour market participation and the strongest presence of women staying at home.

In general, women with children are less active than women without children but not in Bologna, because the disadvantage in terms of care duties is less thanks to a stronger network of services provided by the local welfare system. Nevertheless, it's true that women with children have more difficulties in finding a job and this might be explained by the effort they put in care; moreover, it's even more difficult for them to come back in the labour market after having had an interruption because of a birth. Even if the situation in Bologna is more positive compared to the rest of Italy, we must be aware that it might change in the future, as long as we're in a moment in which the local welfare system is not expanding, but reducing. Anyway, even if it's true that having younger children determines a slight disadvantage, most of the propensity to labour market is explained by age and cohort: older females are less likely to be active than their younger counterparts. Lone mothers are in general more active than their equivalents in couple, because they need to have their salary to sustain the family but also because they have a lesser commitment in terms of housekeeping. In the case

they're inactive or unemployed, lone mothers are extremely vulnerable and might experience risk of poverty.

A better educational level, however, helps women in being more active on the labour market, even if we control by age and generation (since younger women are more educated than older one). Nevertheless, this is something that doesn't prevent them from being unemployed or underemployed on the market: in fact, men with the highest educational achievement are fully employed, while women experience unemployment at every educational level. On the contrary, the worst situation is actually being woman and migrant: women migrants are usually integrated into labour market as care-worker, a situation that presents a strong social segregation. Migrants, in general, are usually participating into Italian labour market in the secondary segment, without any regards of the possible human capital's wasting that this might imply. Quite often, women belonging to certain communities such as Northern Africans, are usually inactive due to family reasons.

Last but not least, the analysis of gender gap in wages puts in evidence that even in a quite favourable situation for women as it's in Bologna, there is still a strong gender gap between men and women, which questions the quality of occupation in town,. The issue of the quality of female's work is not only a local matter of Bologna, but it interests in general the patterns of female's labour market integration in Italy. The crisis didn't helped in plugging the gap, but on the contrary it has deepened: all the structural phenomena which interests the female occupation, like vertical and horizontal segregation, precariousness of jobs and difficulties in balancing between families and work, have worsened as a consequence of crisis and shortage of public investments and political attention to the problem of female weak integration in the labour market (ISTAT, 2011).

In conclusion, even if being a women in Bologna might help in favouring a wider participation to labour market, there is no evidence that the quality of female work is effectively guaranteed. Most of the problem cannot be solved within the labour market as long as the weaker participation to labour market is explained by the gendered differentiation in unpaid work made by women outside the labour market. Even the local welfare system of Bologna, which is based on a strong network of childcare services, is not able completely to fulfil the requests of women, which live a situation of overload between work, childcare, housekeeping in the central years of life and long-term care of elderly after their 50s. Women entrusted female migrants for the elderly care, de facto creating a secondary segment of care-work market in which migrants offer their work at affordable prices even for medium and low-medium classes. For children, this is more complicated: many women decide not to have children or to postpone as much as they can the birth of their first child, determining the phenomenon of low fertility rate between Italian females; other choose to acquire services on the market, but it's not affordable for the lowest classes, while public childcare offer is highly differentiated by regions in terms of availability and costs. Therefore, the problem of gender gap in participation to labour market is not only related to employment, but it interweaves with familiar organization, gendered roles in families and outside families, but it also is influenced by the public grants and services offered by the local provisions of welfare. In this sense, Bologna offers in theory a more favourable environment because of a wider network of childcare services, a rooted culture of female activation in the labour market and higher educational achievements compared to the rest of Italy. At the end, a more equilibrated environment between local production system, gender culture and local welfare state has been able to create in Bologna a better integration to labour market but it's not enough to solve completely the gender gap (especially in terms of quality of work), which is often determined outside the labour market and in the unequal distribution in the unpaid work.

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