

# **TIME, WORK AND GENDER IN SPAIN**

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## **1. Introduction**

In this paper we want to explore two related topics: the change in women participation in Labour Market and the transformation of worktime organisation. There are important movements in both fields and there are many interrelations between them. The form that will take these transformations will have important consequences for the evolution of women position in society, for the quality of their lives and for society in general. In section two we discuss some basic questions about time and its incidence in people's lives. In section three we analyze the important changes in culture and work of women in last decades. In section four we study the transformations in management of worktime and their incidence on women situation.. Finally, we advanced some provisional conclusions

## **2. The question of time**

Neo-classical Economics considers time as an homogeneous magnitude, what allows mainstream economists to reduce time analysis to a mere quantitative question. This is, for instance, the case of standard labour market analysis that usually is centred to study the number of hours supplied by employees and demanded by employers, without interest of the characteristics of time organisation. Scholar presentations of these theories only discuss an election between working time and leisure time, despite in recent years there have been increasing recognition of the role of non-mercantile work. Important contributions to the study of time developed by sociologists and., specially, feminist social scientists have small influence on economic thinking: the majority of models are only concerned in the individual determination of the quantity of hours devoted to market work, domestic work and leisure, without interest in the study of the social process that influence this election. The adequacy to consider time as an homogeneous, and completely interchangeable, magnitude is never been discussed

Reductionism in the analysis of time can be useful when we are also concerned in the study of limited objectives (for instance, the determination of the number of hours of mercantile work) but can also drive to undervaluation of some relevant questions that powerfully influence the quality of life of many people. Current transformations of production and work increase the relevance to discuss these questions.

In people's real life, time is not homogeneous and hours have different quality that make impossible, or at least undesirable, to consider them as perfectly interchangeable. There are two basic reason for this heterogeneity of time:

In one hand, there are questions related with natural cycles and animal configuration of human beings. Seasonal cycles and climatic changes influence many economic activities, not only in agriculture also in building or tourism. There have been important technological development oriented to provide homogeneous environmental conditions, independent of season and the moment of the day (electrical lighting, heating systems, air conditioning, greenhouses etc.). Despite these innovations has been quite successful they do not eliminate

completely natural determinants on human activities. There are also particular rhythms on human activity and, despite there are important variations created by particular social conventions and national cultures, it is possible to identify in each country regular patterns of meals, night rest etc. that are, partly, responses to structural needs of humans (something that is clear in the case of babes and ill persons).

In the other hand, there are limitations derived from the social character of many human activities. Activities that have only sense if they are developed simultaneously by several people. These limitations can be found in many ambits of social life. In production they are present in all activities that require direct co-operation : from prehistorically hunting of big animals to modern sophisticated spectacles, or ensambling chains, there is a huge set of processes that require the simultaneous confluence of several, or many, people in order to obtain a successful performance. Activities that can be disrupted if each worker select their own timing of work. This can be the reason that explains the limited development of flexible working-day (the possibility that employees select their own pattern of beginning and finishing their daily and weekly work), usually confined to administrative activities that do not require face-to-face co-operation. It is also obvious the necessity of confluence in the activities of people care, those that are predominant in the space of domestic and community labour. In this the confluence of people ( person who cares and person who is cared) is usually required in specific hours, depending on "natural" and social needs of people.

The necessity of confluence is also strongly present in the case of non-productive activities like educational activities, institutional and social participation ( participation in public associations, political parties, unions etc.), family and friendship meetings .... All of those activities imply strong personal interaction. The need of interaction is also clear in the consumption of mercantile entertainment ( cinema, sport meetings, concerts) , a field that conventional economists presumes that only depends of individual decisions: many of these activities are possible (in financial and social terms) if many people decide to participate. By this reason these events tends to conform to particular time-patterns. By the same reason people who do not have free time in these particular hours can not satisfy their "preferences".

In other sense, can also take care that some activities can be performed simultaneously, depending on the context that they are realised. For instance the time used to transport to workplace allows different alternatives depending on the system of transport used. Several care activities can be realised simultaneously if they occur in an adequate space...

The set of actions of each person, him or her possibility to obtain a satisfactory form of life, is limited by different time constrains. One of them is the quantity of time available outside the workingtime for wage. This amount of time must be devoted, partly, to realise productive non market activities and to take care of his or her relatives ( the quantity of time devoted to these activities is influenced by the size and structure of the family- age composition-, by his or her monetary income relative to the costs of market goods and services, by public provisions, by social norms, etc.) and partly can be used in the

satisfaction of self interests. Other constraints are produced by the specific time configuration of the different spheres of action. In this sense, the particular configuration of the workingtime has a crucial influence on the capacity to attain different personal needs and objectives.

The diversity of personal aims and needs, the multiplicity of organisations that intervene in social life (firms, families, public institutions, social organisations ...) make impossible a perfect co-ordination of all activities that satisfies the demands of each person or organisation. Each organisation tends to adapt its activity to the particular demands that influence its activity. It is clear that the form of these adjustments can translate in more or less egalitarian solutions, it can allow more or less people to attain a most satisfactory organisation of their life. In the same form that monetary income derived of mercantile activities produces different endowments to satisfy necessities through the market, the quantity and shape of the worktime creates differences in order to satisfy needs that require time (and confluence with other people). It is obvious that inequalities in the availability of time are not limited to market. The distribution of time devoted to domestic production and activities is influenced by gender institutions and their influence on the behaviours of men and women. But current changes in market organisations open new questions about inequalities in the use of time.

### **3. Labour force participation, domestic work and education: a new generation of women**

Gender division of labour has been one partial form to solve the difficult equilibrium between two labour fields. Full compartmentalisation of tasks between men and women, that has predominated in Southern Europe, provided one partial solution by means to allocate people of different sex to a different space of activity. But this type of solution opened many problems that feminist critics has made clear. Different roles are not the effect of a free choice, according to personal preferences, but they are imposed to individuals, specially to women, by the action of several institutions that shape a system of male domination: family, State, church... Furthermore, different labour roles reinforce radical inequalities between men and women by the fact that the system of social rights is based in wage labour what excludes and marginates women of many rights and spaces of social participation. For instance, whereas in wage-labourers has developed a social and union action that has obtained the bargaining the length of worktime ( and its reduction based in productivity gains and an appropriate correlation of social forces) domestic labour has not experienced a similar process and women in domestic work have not obtained a social limitation of their worktime.

Despite these problems, the combination of traditional family (man in labour market, women as housewife) and the fordist system of production provides a model of harmonisation of times, at least for people with moderate and high incomes. But last two decades has experienced important changes, both in market production and in family, that provoke new problems in the social management of time.

One of the main features of the new situation is the massive arrival of women to the wage labour market. But, before to analyse this mutation, we need to made some comments. First, women has ever participated in the labour market, but many of them were young women that were expelled (sometimes by effect of legal pressures, others voluntarily) when they married or had the first kid. They were traditionally a cheap and docile labour force, easy to replace by the new cohorts of young women. Second, there were a "hard core" of adult women that remained in labour market, that experienced a "double working day" or that obtained the support of family networks (fundamentally mothers and mothers-in-law) in order to carry their presence in two spaces. Some of the traditional women jobs in Spain allowed the articulation of the two fields like market production at home (mainly clothing, knitwear..) and domestic services (mainly as part-time in the case of married women).. Both activities are, possibly, undervalued in official statistics, despite in last years the former are clearly diminishing (related with the emigration of clothing production to Third World countries) and the later experience the arrival of migrant women who displace domestic ones.(Duran 1972) Third, there were, finally a reduced group of single women whose presence in labour market do not have the same implications in terms of domestic labour.

Nevertheless, the family model "male breadwinner" which existed in Spain during Franco dictatorship, has been modified in the last two decades of democratic governments; although, not as a result of institutional, politics or organisational changes that appointed in that direction, but basically due to women's decisions effects. The concept of mother/housewife is still maintained by the institutions and society in general. This fact is reflected in the short importance given to specifics politics that would contribute to a new time and work organisation, in which women and men could participate in the same conditions at both activities. The absence of synchronisation between work and school timetables, the short public supply of "caring" services, etc, it's still requiring someone (a woman) at house to organise and solve dependants problems. That is to say, the state and the society still take family (women) as the basic institution for people attention and security. Compatibility between both kind of work is not recognised as a social problem (nor of life quality), and so women themselves and in an individual way must seek for the solution if they wish to find a job.

However, despite the cultural and social immobilisation in the appointed aspect, women have performed an spectacular change which has repercute in both familiar and market ambit. These processes initiated by women, who nowadays have approximately between 45 and 50 year old, have been incorporated to the youngest women culture, which it has caused a generation overlapping between women population sectors with very different life itineraries.

Even it's difficult to establish an aged division, the truth is that the fast change experimented by women's new generations in Spain has become to a nowadays co-existence between female populations sectors whose life experience are radically different, what it's remarked in the evolution of labour force participation rate, domestic work performance, educational levels and birth-rates. The most important result of these transformations has been the replacement of the most traditional patriarchal family model with very determined roles by

sex, by a new model that tends to get consolidated: men keep their role but the figure of housewife tends to disappear, what doesn't mean that women quit from their caring and management home function, but now they have a double role: women are also at the labour market.

First, let's see the labour activity changes. The activity rates has divergent tendencies according to sex between 1964 and 1998 (table 1a and 1b2 ). While male rate decreases (from 84 % in 1964 to 62,7 % in 1998) due to the extension of educational period and the advancement of retirement age, female activity rate increases during "development", has a little decrease in crisis years and it's increasing softly since 1980. Anyway, the female rate is still very low compared to male rate (37.6% and 62.7% respectively in 1998) and compared to most of European countries.

If we compare activity rates by age, male rates have been decreasing since 1964 in all age groups, especially in young people and old people over 55 by appointed reasons above, but the traditional stable behaviour remains during the middle of work age. Female activity rate has followed a different evolution (table 1a). There has been an important decrease of these rates of young people due to a greater dedication to studies (27 % between 1974 and 1998), the rate remains relatively stable in ages between 20 and 24 and it has an important raise between 25 and 44, it's still raising at next age section until 55 years old section, where a decrease starts. This important variation (in absolute terms female working population between 1977 and 1997 increase in 2,694 million) in women's central aged participation is a reflect of the arrival to the labour market of new generations that maintain a different attitude in respect of labour market. The longitudinal study of the different cohorts is the prove to this affirmation. As far as it's concerned with marital status, the activity rate of single women remains relatively stable, but married women's activity rate increases a lot, being the more important changes between 25 and 39 year old (21 % between 1980 and 1998). The significant increase in married women activity rate is not due to a new incorporation to the labour market of married women, but single women do not quit from work when they get married (Cebrian et. al, 1997). This last appoint remarks again the difference behaviour patterns between the different women's generations.

Female activity rate is very related with study levels. Women's access to education has been increasing during the last 20 years, and nowadays it exists a similar proportion with male in all educational levels ( tables 2a and 2b). In 1998, we can observe how percentage in primary, medium and high levels (finished studies) in both sex are the same, although it's a little higher in male. However, in our opinion, the most important thing is to analyse it by ages. The sharpest differences in favour of men are from the age of 45 on words. In the earlier group, from 16 to 29 and from 30 to 44 -we mean, new generations- in 1998 women are above in all study levels to men, especially in high levels, this fact did not occur in 1982. These data show the radical transformation of most younger women collective, although there are qualitative differences in relation to sex specialisation, this is on the decrease, though at a slower face.

In women's participation in the labour force, educational level is absolutely determining: with the raise of educational level female activity rate increases arriving to a equality in high extreme with male rate. It's interesting to assert that women in ages below 40 years old that have as maximum primary studies, maintain a labour market integration pattern very equal to the women in 1964, so, this population group would be more similar to 1964 women (Garrido 1993 ).Therefore, women labour market behaviour with low studies level would have changed very little, however, women with a university degree have a behaviour very similar to men: more resistance to quit from labour market and more continuos and regular activity cycle. The presence of children at home, as it was expected, is a brake to women labour market participation, although between 1981 and 1995 in houses with 1, 2 or more sons, female activity rate increases in more than 100%.

Consequently, in the last twenty years there are opposite tendencies to earlier years: women younger than 29 work increasingly less and study more, and women up to the age of 44 quit less their jobs, all this, makes us think about a more continuous work participation due to a higher educational level and to women's wish to stay in labour market after getting married.

Nevertheless, unfortunately the increasing incorporation of women to labour market has become mainly in unemployment, this has been a currently majority female phenomenon. Between 1974 and 1985, male unemployment increases spectacularly due to economic recession and decreases slowly since then to 1998 (table 3b). Anyway, the difference between 1974 and 1998 is an increase of 13,3%. However female unemployment increases in 25 % (table 3a) having a higher number of women in 1998 ( 1,7 million) than unemployment men ( 1,5 million ), that represent 27% and 14,9% rates respectively.

Unemployment is essentially a young and women phenomenon. In particular, in women it remains from 1984 at very high rates until 24 years old. However, in groups between 25 and 44 the increase has also been important and it has remained in rates higher than 25% for all ages, what again indicates the more remarkable women's wish -for most of them this is the most complex moment of their work lives where traditionally women quit labour market- to be working although difficulties.

Related to occupation, we 'd like to remark that this decreases mainly between young people (from 16 to 20 years old) is due to the raise of teenager's unemployment. If we compare single and married women occupation, in 1976 in all ages single women have work three more times than married women, although from 1990 this reference it remains for women older than 45 years old but decreases for younger women, becoming to less than double the relation from single to married women. The main cause is the increase in proportion of working married women, what again remarks the hypothesis that married women quit less from labour market.

In spite of their increase incorporation to labour market, women do not resign to housework because they give a value that capitalist patriarchal society – that transform everything to prices or monetary value – does not want to recognise. This work implies affective social relationships hardly detachable of its own activity, it generates solidarity

loops and it builds a complex net of human relations which supports the rest of society in any way. This new situation is reflected, in one hand, in the drastic reduction of "full time house wife" that EPA collects as "labores del hogar" (housewife) – tend that is remarked in younger women – and on the other hand, as it shows several inquest about "time use ", time dedicated to unpaid work is still majority women's time.

In table 4 it can be observed how housewife without a job have been decreasing in the last years: in 1978 women under the heading "housewife" represented 54,1% of all women and in 1998 that percentage fell to 32,1%. These proportions are very modified if there are considered by age. According to data in table 5, in all age sections the proportion of housework has been reduce in the last twenty years, but the reduction rate is decreasing with age. The younger age section, affected by the putt off of the age to get married, it's the section that has the greatest decrease (about 80 %). But following groups, where most of women are married, show important decreases too (50% and 60 % approximately).

This means that women not identified themselves with the old work division by gender and feel as potential labour workers. Reasons to this change are complex and they stand out of our study, although it's possible that the educative system expansion (in which women have got a greater success than men ) has powerfully contributed to encourage equitable demands that are expressed in work aspirations. Definitively, new generations of women identify less themselves as "housewife", study more and get incorporated raisingly to labour market. However, this has not been achieved more equitable distribution between sex of domestic work: the role of men at home – although it has softly increase and it refers to very specific tasks – it remains as a simple "help" and not as the acknowledgement of shared responsibility.

### **3.1 Women and "conciliation" of "housework"**

Behaviour and cultural changes performed by women in the last decades have not had the corresponding echo in the rest of society. Therefore, women confronted almost alone to the problem of "conciliate" time and work, have done like "adjustment variable" between the rigidity of both spheres: human needs (biological and relationship) and organisational and productive needs of companies, with important costs in life quality, especially for them.

This "conciliation" process has required women to develop different ways of individual resistance, several adaptation and chooses that are related to the decrease of domestic work, the organisation of caring activities and with specific ways to integrate themselves at labour market. This process has also been affected by changes not as a result of transformations in women's behaviour patterns, but due to structural variations effects.

The different strategies to reduce domestic work have mainly been behaviour changes and women's own decisions. One of these strategies is related to family structure, where without any doubt the most significant fact has been the fertility fall (table 6). Nowadays, fertility rate is at historical minimum of 1,14 child by each women, far from replacement rate.

Although fertility decrease has been general, it has been proportionally much more significant in women between 20 and 29 (Instituto de la Mujer, 1994).

However, despite this new situation has greatly decreased activities of caring children, the important increase of life expectancy is moving the problem to old people that require more and more cares and attentions, aspect that we will talk forward.

In the other hand, the increase of divorce rate (from 4,69 divorces for 100 marriages in 1981 to 12,84 in 1991) in the middle class it has resulted mainly in an increase of female lone parent families (from 1981 to 1991 lone parent families increase a 36,4 % in which 88% are lead by a woman). As several studies (Saraceno 1987, Fougeyrollas – Scheweel 1998) show, the absence of father in lone parent families represent a reduction of domestic work to women, opposite to what happens with men that win time while living in couple.

A second way of reducing domestic work has come by the real decrease of some parts of this job, essentially due to the technological development and the high work intensity (as a result of doing two tasks at a time) of women. Referring to the first, it has been important the use of machines, the purchase of goods more specialised in market ( although in general the quality of feeding has decreased) and the changes in "consume habits". Although, as Fougeyrollas – Schwebel asserts "this "socialisation" of domestic work modifies its content but it doesn't reduce however the dependency relations in which it bases". Anyway, it is recommended some remarks as regards to this home work decrease. First, the aspects remarked affect with more intensity to women who have a better purchasing power (middle and high classes) that can get more goods and services in market and secondly, the greatest rigidity of housework is related with caring and personal aspects.

Referring to high work intensity, it's an important issue to which it is paying attention recently (Floro 1995a, 1995b). It's very related with the simultaneous performance of activities and its repercussion in welfare. This situation affects especially to employed women and, in this group, in an special way to women with low income, arriving to extreme situations when it's carried on simultaneously unpaid and paid work (at home). It's a question, in which today we lack of enough information and that requires urgently more theoretic and empirical (studies of use of time) research.

To analyse the evolution of housework time we do not have periodic inquest at a state level. The only inquest that has been started – at the moment, every five years (1993 & 1998 ) – is the "Inquest of Budget Time" of Vasco Institute of Statistics ( Eustat). It's an inquest performed in the geographic ambit of Pais Vasco, to 5040 families, including family inquest, individual inquest and a diary answered by 16 or older family members. Data at table 7 are referred to this Eustat inquest and to the inquest about "Use of Time and the Use of Mass Media in Spain" carried out by CIS in 1987 ordered by "Radio Television Española". It's national scope inquest with a sample size of 6400 units. Despite all difficulties that behaves comparing data from inquests carried out in different scopes and samples, we use it to have references before 1993.

Data show at men's case, that the social average time of paid work decreases from 1987 to 1993 and afterwards it remains stable. Considering the reduction of male working population, this would mean an increase of paid work time by participant. If we observe the average time by participant between 1993 and 1998, this raise from 7h.40m. to 7h.45m. Social average time in caring and domestic work is increasing, although it's still far to be like from female participation in this activity. A qualitative analysis would show that male participation in unpaid work is segmented, basically increasing in "shopping " and/or "children caring". However, tasks as "old people or ill people caring" or "domestic work" in the traditional meaning (ironing, sewing, etc) remain as pure female activities.

In women case, market work time decreases first and increases afterwards. If we consider that the more reliable data to compare are the last two, marked work time would be increasing by the raise of female working population as by the real raise of number of worked hours. In fact, the averaged paid work time for female participant increases from 5h.58m in 1993 to 6h.25m. in 1998. This greater labour market female participation comes added – as we were commenting before – with a decrease, basically as a result of their decisions, of housework. Anyway, the decrease of housework time is more important in occupied female population. Data from Eustat inquests from 1993 to 1998 certificate it: in 1993 women at the labour market used 2h.55m in home tasks, and housewife, 5h.55m. The same population groups in 1998 were using 2h.25m. and 5h.28m. We have to remark, furthermore the big differences ( the double time of housework), the decrease in time proportionally bigger of working women. However, the differences between male participation in domestic work are still quite big, what allow to assert that women labour market participation does not affect her work at home. Qualitative studies show that there are not important differences between habits in housewives and women who have an employment at the labour market.

With the data we have it's difficult to analyse the changes in time dedicated to caring due to it's an activity that if it's done at home normally it's done at the same time as cooking, cleaning, etc ... and this last activity is normally the one that inquests get as main activity. It's a characteristic case of intensification of time. Furthermore, in women's role, activities with children -as going to the park- normally are considered as "leisure time" and not as caring time. For example, according to the Inquest of Budget of Time in 1993 the average daily time dedicated to babies (younger than 1 year old) by participant was 1h.09m. for men and 2h.45m. for women. This means that babies are cared by their parents only for 3h.45m. This data could perhaps correspond to labour days for employed mothers, but not for Saturdays or Sundays or even less for unemployed women.

The second aspect referred to "conciliation" is related with caring work organisation. This, obviously, is very related with social politics and public services supply. Related with childhood, public services supply is 2% for children between 0 to 3 (one of the lowest in Europe) and a 84% for children between 3 to 6, being obligatory school from 6 years old. The big development from 1975 at education services in public school for children older to 3 years old is an answer to education interests more than measures to help parents (mothers, mainly) to be able to take care of their professional and family responsibilities (Valiente

1997). From 4 years old school schedule is 5 hours daily with more than 3 months of holidays per year, what makes really difficult to compatibilice with most of working days. Furthermore, services given to children between 6 and 10 years old in out school hours are practically null. All this appoints clearly that family (women) are the main and almost the only childhood caring responsible. In Spain it is also very important the role of big families (basically, grandmothers take care of children when their mothers go to work) and unusual collaborations (friends and neighbours) combined with child care girls and "kangaroos" when family income allows them to take hand to market service. However, this does not always mean a real possibility nor neither necessary a quality caring service. Generally, women do complicated combinations to solve this problem . The result is aged people not well enough caring and children remaining a lot of time alone at home. The overlay answer to this problem by politicians is that women have to go back home, not accepting it as a social problem, but as a private women's problem.

Related to old people, the common tendency in several nearer countries of an older population, gives us important questions about the evolution of caring demands of this age group. The Spanish population older than 65 have increased from 8,2% in 1960 to 16,3% in 1998, and right now it's above 6,4 millions. The group of 80 and above has been experimenting an spectacular increase. From 1970 to 1990 this group has been doubled from half million to more than 1,1 million people and it is believed that this number will increase above 2 people million ( 5% population) in 2010 ( CES, Memoria 1998). Now then, the public caring service to old people is not enough to settle old people needs. During the beginnings of this decade only the 3% old people older than 65 year old were living in residencies, with 165.000 vacancies. In 1993 the caring public services had offer approximately 10.000 plazas having 23.500 demands, in 1996 the difference between supply and demand remains the same proportion although many authonom communities take power in this aspect. All researches agree that the "caring activities" of people comes basically from family. Perez – Diaz et al.(1998) says that caring activities carries on by the family in 1993 where the 73% of cares given to aged people. But we'll add that family participation isn't the same for each person, this task is mainly done by partners in a 18% (especially women due to the longer life expectancy) and daughters in a 35%. The participation of sons is just a 5%, even less than the participation of no family people.

It's also very important caring between daughters, sons and parents. Help given to daughters and sons is normal in a 35% of parents, and it's more often on parents who live with them (44%). Help given by young people to their parents is much more often than the opposite. This help is composed of housework and people's hygiene often given by women ( Perez – Diaz, et al.1998).

In conclusion, domestic work and specially "caring work" is not defined inside the couple relationship, but in women's net as a social group. The interchange of this activities take place between women (family, friends, neighbours) or by public institutions (if they exist) or private institutions (depending on the income level).

To conclude, children and aged people attention are basically done by a women's net –an historical net- built to come up between human needs and capitalist production demands, due to there are not enough public quality services and a social organisation looking for the wellbeing.

### 3.2 Changes in jobs structure

By the side of productive structure (the demand of labour in conventional terms) there are two main changes. On one side there are the changes of labour management in general, and in production in particular. Changes like flexible production, just in time and the developing of continuous activity (visible in the enlargement of operating time in many services, the introduction of weekend production in factories etc.). These changes also include a trend towards more personalised labour relations and the introduction of new methods of personal performance evaluation that specially affect on employees in primary labour market sectors.

On the other hand, the growth of service jobs, specially important for women's employment., and the consequent transformation of timing of activities in order to satisfy the particular needs of many services. Unlike manufacturing, where production and consumption are separated in time, in pure services production and consumption are a simultaneous activities (a difference forbidden in standard neo-classical economics that usually mistakes consumption for buying). Many services activities are dominated by particular times (discussed in section two) and generate highly varied forms of time adjustments: from activities related with time of meals since the stacionality of tourism, including the concentration on retailing in some days of the week (usually Fridays and Saturdays), there are a high range of time fluctuations in the rhythm of service activities. Some of them can be absorbed by productive organisation by the acceptance of fluctuations in the intensity of work (an extreme case can be found in fireman services) but the aim of profitability (related with a high intensity of work) and the mere need to avoid collapses in the peaks of high "demand" drive firms to search new formulas of labour contracts and use of time. In fact, these tendencies there are not exclusive of services because the introduction of new techniques of communication and the establishment of a new correlation between retailing and manufacturing diminishes the interest for developing a regular planned production and creates to manufacturing firms some of the same time pressures typical of service ones: reduction of stocks and quick response to demand changes imply that firms undergo increased fluctuations in their activity depending on factors that they do not control.

The consequence of these two transformations translates in strong pressures, by the part of firms, oriented to change the timing of jobs, at least in two directions: a) to fragment and to diversify the timing of their jobs, introducing a diversified set of time conditions: part-time jobs, weekend jobs, new turns etc., b) the introduction of a flexible worktime model, in the sense that the length of the workday (or workweek) can change through the year depending on production needs.

When both transformations, the massive arrival of women to the labour market and the change in the structure of jobs, are taken together is easy to believe that is opening a new

source of stress for women's life. The origin of these stress is both the length of effective labour worktime- including work in labour market, time of commuting and work in domestic and community activities- and the proper configuration of market worktime. In this section we have analysed the different responses of these pressures in the field of domestic labour, with the evidence that does not happen neither a radical redistribution of work between men and women nor a massive public provision of services. In next section we discuss in most detail the changes in labour market in order to see if these changes have compensated the increased stress on women's life.

#### **4 Changes in management of worktime in Spain**

In this section we analyse current changes in the length and organisation of worktime in order to see their impact on women life. Basically we centred in three questions: the evolution of the length of worktime, the growth of part-time employment and the new agreements of worktime flexibility.

##### **4.1 Length of worktime**

The length of worktime has an important influence over people's life conditions because determines the number of hours available for domestic production, leisure, social participation and so on. In fact, the time devoted to mercantile labour must include the time of commuting between home and the job centre. This later times depends on distance between the two sites and the configuration of worktime. A compact workday (with small pause for meals) reduces time of commuting face split shifts jobs (usual in Spain in clerical jobs- exception banking and large firms- and retailing). Unfortunately there are not studies about changes in the transformation of workday configuration, There are also the incidence of overtime that not ever is a result of workers free election (depending on their individual preferences) because there are the influence of factors like employer's pressures over particular employees . This is the case for temporary employees, employees in small firms and also in primary jobs where overtime plays some role in the policy of internal promotion (like in baking where unpaid overtime constitutes an endemic fact). There are not detailed studies in this topic, despite it constitutes a permanent point of debate between unions and employers.

Analysing available data it is possible to see some clear trends in the evolution of working day. First, there are not any vigorous tendency towards a reduction of worktime. According to the last Labour Force Survey, the mean workweek (including 11% of part-time employees) is around 38 hours. In 1982 the maximum workweek was fixed in 40 hours. It takes some years to apply the law and there has not been strong pressures enhancing new cuts. In fact, other official sources detect increases in the effective workweek ( Labour Conjuncture Survey) and the number of hours bargained in labour agreements ( Labour Agreements Statistics) since 1995. (Table 9) The increase of effective workweek can be explained by the growth of overtime in an expansionary economic conjuncture. The increase of bargained workweek can be explained by a composition effect : despite there are a trend to bargain small cuts or workweek in many individual

agreements, is growing the proportion of jobs with relatively high workweeks generating the increase of the mean. The increase of the length of bargained worktime is then an indicator that changes in employment structure are oriented towards fields where employees are weak, (CCOO, 1998) This is the case for the loss of employment in large firms (that usually have firm's collective agreements or, at least, improvements over the industry agreement) and the growth of employment in subcontracted firms or in new industries. It is doubtful that worktime will reduce sharply in next years face the occupational changes in one hand and the direct opposition of Government and Employers Organisations to a legal reduction of the worktime, in the other. In fact, only regional Governments have developed some incentives to reduction of the worktime, but they have very small results, both in worktime reduction and job creation. Unions get on well with the reduction of worktime, but they are not disposed to mobilise employees in order to impose a new law and in practice they are more oriented to bargain at plant level, by means of change reduction of hours and job creation for more flexibility in the configuration of worktime. The problem with this strategy is that only rules in large firms (and have, as we see, new problems for women) and many times Unions do not have capacity to control their effective application. (Prieto y Ramos 1999)

A second aspect to remark is the existence of important differences in worktime among sectors, according to the particular equilibrium of forces between employers and employees in each area of bargaining and the particular organizational pressures of each field of activity (Table 10). Globally women work less hours than men, but this is in great measure due to the incidence of part-time. There are important differences among women themselves, Women employed in retailing are (like men) those who work more hours. If we take in consideration the proportion of part-timers, it is easy to believe that many women in this sector working more than the legal maximum of 40 hours, something that it is easy to be in many supermarket chains that open uninterruptedly from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m., six days per week. On the opposite side women employed in teaching have the lowest worktime of all the labour force (teachers in primary and secondary levels have near three months of holidays). These figures indicate that not only are there important differences in worktime among women but these differences are also associated with other items, particularly time. Different groups of women face different time pressures and, probably, those who have few money to satisfy their needs, have also less time.

There is also evidence of the incidence of the conditions of women working in particular times. Summarised in Table 11. As we can see many women do not work in a compact workday, what in many cases suppose that they must increase the number of travels and the free hours are not even the most interesting. They are also evidence of high proportion of work in Saturdays and Sundays, specially for services employees that have the worst worktime configuration.

#### **4.2 Part-time employment**

Part-time employment has been in last years a recurrent topic on debates about employment in general and women employment in particular. Partly, because the percentage of part-time

employment in Spain is lower than in other European countries and there are expectations about the potential growth of this type of jobs. Partly, because sexist ideologies underlying the ideas of many economists and politicians in power consider part-time as an acceptable model of employment for women (as second file jobs for second file people) and as a form to compatibilize labour markets activities with the traditional women activities in family. This later aspect is evident in the Labour Reform of 1994 (proposed by Socialist Party with the support of right and nationalist parties) where part-time was developed as a model of very cheap contract (in the Spanish debate "waste-contract): for people working less than 14 hours per week there are not Social Security rights, not holiday rights and so on (including no-motherhood rights, surpassingly in a model of contract clearly presented as a contract for women). Perhaps policy-makers are confident that this contract would allow the emergence of marginal (underground) employment and reduce the figures of women unemployment. Five years before its approval, it is clear, included by their former proponents that it is a real "waste contract" and have approved a new reform, that include new rights to part-timers in 1998.

Despite its low level, face other European countries, part-time employment has growth notably in the last years in Spain. (Table 12a and 12b) Figures indicate that this growth is more linked with demand factors (the type and needs of firms) than with supply factors, as we have discussed in section two. Part-time employment is basically a phenomenon of women employment in private services. There are typical employment of "secondary market" with low wages and low prospective of promotion (70% of part-time jobs are also temporary jobs) and many of them are open to many abuses, as the debate of the last reform shows: from the use of part-time contract in order to avoid the payment of Social Security contributions, to a more usual lengthening of worktime introducing one particular type of overtime. This is one of the reasons why new regulation (agreed by Conservative Government with unions, but with the opposition of Employers) includes a lot of mechanisms oriented to control the worktime. There are doubts about the efficacy of the new law face the opposition of managers, the predominance of small firms and the low influence of Unions in areas where part-time is more developed.(Table 13)

According to the opinions of part-timers themselves, there are doubts about the goodness of this type of employment. As we can see in table 14 the preference for this type of employment do not appear as the main reason for doing it. Even if we consider that women in part time "by familiar needs" have decided freely, the proportion of vocational part-timers seems to be very low. Both, men and women, coincide that the main reasons to be in part-time employment are the characteristics of job (a clear "demand" aspect) and the miss of wholeday employment. It is symptomatic that those two reasons are even more important for wage-earners, people who must to adapt their work to employer's demand. Underlying this evaluation can be cultural values that continue to present "normal" employment as a fundamental personal aim. But it can also been due to the specific traits of part-time jobs: low income, low social prestige, low rights, uncertainty... It must to be note the low level of public part-time jobs in the activities usually filled by women with high education levels. The development of part-time in Spain seems to combines aspects of gender and class, open new lines of differentiation among the jobs of different groups of women (it is possible that

the demand from services developed in part-time jobs comes from families in which there are women working full-time in education, health, public services, "advanced services"...) and among the jobs of women and men of low working class.

It is also possible that the low esteem for these jobs were due to the problems of compatibilization with other activities. We come back to the discussion of section two. Depending of its profile a part-time workingday can be different consequences. Sometimes., if the workday is in hours of low activity in the domestic and social spheres, part-time can contribute to a successful adequation of mercantile work-time with other activities. This is for instance the case of domestic services (usually cleaning and washing) , a traditional activity of working class women in Spain. But the value of part-time changes if the part-time jobs are in the same hours of more intense domestic or social activities like the hour of meals or the weekends, precisely the hours in which part-time is more demanded in sectors like restaurants, retail, leisure etc-. Or when firms , searching for increase the intensity of work, change the profile of hours and forces a higher number of travels . There are no research in this field but there many voices (mainly from unionists) that make necessary to work in this line. In sum, the reality of new part-time jobs in services can generate new problems in the management of time on women, mainly of low class, in order to achieve an acceptable model of life.

#### **4.3 New tendencies in time flexibility**

In last years there has been developed new patterns in the timing of work. Sometimes these changes has been imposed unilaterally by firms, specially to new employees , who are usually hired on temporary contracts and they are unable to resist managers'claims.

Other times flexibility has been bargained. A recent report from the Economic and Social Council (C.E.S.) evaluates that 20% of all collectives agreements include some clause of time flexibility. The figure can seems low but must be discussed attaining the conditions of collective bargaining. There are different levels of agreements: firm agreements, usually in large and medium firms, industry national agreements ( only in few industries, like chemistry and building) and industry provincial agreements. The later include a complex set of situations from agreements which cover a large number of employees and firms (like the metal industry agreement in some provinces) since vary specific industries ( like ready-mix products, bakeries,...). Industry agreements, specially provincial ones, have a different meaning that firms agreements, due the characteristics of the bargainers and the presence of unions. Firm agreements are a clear mechanism of regulation of labour relations. Each part, managers and unionist, has clear what wins and what grants and has some capacity to evaluate and control the application of the agreement. This is not the case in other agreements. Neither the representatives of employers nor the unionists have clear connections with the firms and the workers that represent and the control of the agreements is very difficult to develop in a world dominated by plants of less of 50 employees. The management of work organisation is in the hands of each firm. (and , by this reason, industry agreements uses to have less items than firms agreements). At the collective agreements

level, the most significant changes are in the firm agreements, meanwhile small firms are usually more flexible due the importance of personal relations in them.

There are some visible tendencies in new agreements. First, an increase of the length of available hours to firms, something crucial for services firms who consider that service (and profitability) increases with more opening hours. This is the case in banking, trying to obtain afternoon opening ( traditional opening is from 8,30 a.m. to 2 p.m. from Monday to Saturday) and this is specially the case of retail. In this case great retail chains has imposed an extensive opening (from 8 a.m. to 9 or 10 p.m. , six days per week plus Saturday opening in some special weeks) based in a docile labour due the extension of flexible labour contracts and the dispersion of people in many centres (or in franchises which recreate a type of "familiar business"). Second, the introduction of a variable workweek through the year, by which firms obtain the capacity to adapt the burden of work according to stational changes in demand. The most usual system is the introduction of work in weekend (for a determinate numbers of weekends at year) but there are others like a variable workday (less usual, due the difficulty to organise turns) or simply increasing firm's disposability in the determination of holidays ( one part of holidays coincides with periods of low activity). A variety of solutions that increase the autonomy of firms in the regulation of times of work and live. Third, the introduction of variable contracts, contracts that can be stopped immediately when activity falls ( agreements of this type have been agreed both in manufacturing firms- like Michelin tyres- and service ones- like Port Aventura, an entertainment park).

These agreements are developing without a debate on social costs and implications of changes in the use of time. There are some evidences that these innovations give raise to an enlargement of worktime due the difficulty to control the compensation of hours of work included in many systems of time flexibility. Most generally, time flexibility implies that people do not have full capacity of control and management of the "free time!" when firms can change quickly (as is typical in fast food and retail part-time jobs or when car firms decide that a part of holidays will be in may) the shape of workday. There are not evaluation of hidden costs, of negative externalities supported by people in flexible jobs. Partly by the social supremacy of neoliberal ideology and its insistent claim on competitiveness, a supremacy that has been easy to achieve in a country with high unemployment and with recent experience of massive job destruction and massive foreign trade deficits. Partly because Unions policy, that usual moves for selective aims, are dominated by defensive strategies. Many times, flexibility is accepted in exchange for non-traumatic redundancies or, in the best cases, in exchange of transformation of temporary contracts on permanent ones (that is today a priority in unions's policies). Partly, also, because the introduction of flexibility uses gender cultures in order to gain acceptance. For instance, Saturday work in manufacturing, is easy to be accepted for adult men who perceive Saturday as a domestic work day (a day for buying) : some of them prefer to work for money that to participate in domestic tasks. In this sense, time flexibility not only makes more difficult to plan and to organise private life but can also be a new element of women's discrimination in specific jobs, due they are seen by employers as less plastic that men, who give priority to labour market claims over all other activities. There are not

evidence that the new time flexibility allows people, and specially women. to arrange market work, domestic work and social life because they are designed from the point of view and interest of employers and firms, without a close evaluation of social costs and benefits.

## **5. Conclusions**

Our first conclusion is related with the lack of good statistics that we have in Spain. The main labour market statistics (EPA) doesn't include an analysis of hours of domestic work, neither a deep analysis of hours of market work. So it is very difficult to research about the real time that people are working, specially women, and the distribution of working hours along day or week. In conclusion, we cannot know how working time is really affecting quality of life.

Second, the debate on worktime open a new perspective in labour market segmentation. Differences in the use of time between jobs seems to be increasing and these differences strongly affects the capabilities of people to self-manage their lives. These differences are clearly related with lines of sector, type of employer and social position and reinforce inequalities in other items of labour conditions (pay, social prestige, stability, promotion). This consideration also affects the particular combination of gender and class lines that seems to intervene in labour markets and generates a very complex social structure..

Third, the combination of both new forms of work organisation, particularly flexible time organisation, and the massive arrival of women to labour market generate new problems to people, and specifically to women, in the management on time for care, relation, social participation and so on. Some researches reflect these problems with the increase of the percentage of people, mainly women in middle ages, who consider that they do not have enough time for themselves (Ne.lo et al, 1998). Changes in women participation and in production have not been associated with changes in domestic division of labour and in the provision of collective services. Social and economic policy needs to develop on some clear directions: the evaluation of hidden costs of the new productive paradigm and its real operation, the search by new institutional arrangements (public policies, work organisation) designed to adequately match market and private spheres and the search of a new gender division of work.

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**Table 8 Women at work by sectors (in thousand people)**

Sector	All	Wage-earners	Growth 1995-98
All	4.618	3,671	514
Retail, wholesale	918	583	104
Manufacturing	551	478	33
Health	502	479	79
Education	490	468	68
Services to firms	396	337	86
Hotels, restaurants	346	223	22
Domestic services	312	227	14

Agriculture	300	100	40
Public administration	296	296	21
Personal & Social Serv	227	156	30
Transport & Communic	118	110	9
Financial	103	97	6
Building	45	37	3
Utilities	6	6	- 3
Fishery	6	1	+ 0,5
Minery	4	4	+1

*Source Labour Force Survey*

**Table 9 Evolution of worktime (number of hours)**

Year	workweek <sup>1</sup>	effective yearly worktime <sup>2</sup>		bargained worktime <sup>3</sup>
		full time	part-time	
1982	42,3	n.a	n.a,	1,877,3
1991	38,4	1.741,4	897,6	1.768,3
1994	38,9	1,735,4	925,2	1.763,5
1997	38,8	1,767,8	942,0	1,768,5

source

1 Labour Force Survey

2 Labour Conjuncture Surveys

3 Collective agreement Statistics

**Table 10 Workweek by industries (number of hours)**

Industry	Workweek	
	Total	Women
Fishery	57,1	37,1
Agriculture	40,7	38,7
Hotels, restaurants	40,4	37,5 *
Transport & Comm	40,3	36,9
Retail, comnerxe	39,6	37,5 *
Building	39,9	36,1
Manufacturing	39,6	38,1
Banking, finance	38,7	36,4
Minery	38,6	37,6
Utilities	38,5	35,2
Health	37,5	37,0 *
Public Admin.	37,5	36,0
Personal Services	37,3	35,2 *
Services to Firms	36,5	33,8 *
Education, Res.	32,5	32,0 *
Domestic Serv.	27,6	25,5 *

source. Labour Force Survey, 1998

\* indicates a high degree (higher than mean) of feminization

The figures include part-timers

**Table 11** Special time conditions of women's jobs  
(in % of total labourforce)

Professional Group	Saturday	Sunday	Night	Shift Work	Change Turns
All	42,6	18,0	4,5	50,3	5,3
Professionals	20,8	13,0	9,8	47,4	6,6
Clerical	24,7	5,9	2,5	45,7	6,4
Service employees	75,4	31,2	13,6	52,6	9,3
Manufacturing	12,9	3,6	5,2	54,7	9,9
Unskilled	36,4	17,2	2,5	50,0	4,4

Source Labour Force Survey 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter 1998

**Table 12a** Evolution of part-time (in % of total employment)  
according to Labour force Statistics

Year	Labour Force	Wage earners		
		All	Women	Women Private
1987	5,8	4,8	12,8	15,8
1993	6,1	5,6	13,1	16,6
1998	8,1	8,7	17,5	17,6

**Table 12b** Evolution of part-time (in% of total employment) by sector

year	Total	Manufacturing	Construction	Services
1990	4,0	1,3	1,9	6,5
1997	11,2	3,8	3,6	15,7

source: Labour Conjunction Survey



<b>1964</b>	39,1	43,9	26,5	20,1	22,3	13,1	22,9
<b>1974</b>	46,9	57,8	35,7	27,7	28,9	14,6	29,0
<b>1984</b>	34,3	56,4	52,3	33,5	25,9	9,8	27,7
<b>1994</b>	23,8	58,8	70,9	59,0	38,5	8,1	35,8
<b>1998</b>	19,6	55,1	74,3	62,6	43,4	8,3	37,6

Source: EPA, first and second trimester

**TABLE 1b**

**ACTIVITY RATE EVOLUTION BY AGE GROUPS. MEN**

	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-44</b>	<b>45-54</b>	<b>55 y +</b>	<b>All</b>
<b>1964</b>	72,8	85,7	96,4	98,3	96,2	61,4	84,0
<b>1974</b>	59,0	82,7	94,0	98,0	95,2	51,4	78,4
<b>1984</b>	46,0	66,6	93,4	96,4	90,9	38,3	69,3
<b>1994</b>	27,9	65,5	89,2	95,0	90,6	25,4	62,7
<b>1998</b>	26,8	61,7	88,0	95,1	90,4	25,4	62,7

Source: EPA, first and second trimester

**TABLE 2a**

**EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY AGE GROUPS. WOMEN**

(Percentage from total)

	<b>16-29</b>			<b>30-44</b>			<b>45-59</b>			<b>60 y +</b>			<b>All</b>		
	<b>82</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>98</b>
<b>Illiterate</b>	1,1	0,6	0,4	4,4	1,6	0,7	11,5	7,0	3,5	23,5	16,9	13,2	10,3	6,9	4,9
<b>Without studies</b>	2,6	1,6	1,0	12,0	7,4	4,0	20,5	21,9	15,2	29,6	35,1	34,7	16,2	17,0	14,6

<b>Primary studies</b>	34,9	11,3	6,6	64,1	42,9	25,9	60,9	54,5	50,5	42,9	41,5	43,4	49,8	36,5	31,3
<b>Secondary studies</b>	53,5	76,8	69,3	13,2	36,3	51,8	4,8	11,7	22,8	2,3	4,2	6,4	19,1	31,9	38,7
<b>Before high studies</b>	5,5	4,9	8,7	4,3	6,7	8,7	1,8	3,3	5,3	1,3	1,8	1,8	3,2	4,7	6,0
<b>High studies</b>	2,5	4,8	6,2	2,0	5,3	8,4	0,5	1,5	2,7	0,4	0,5	0,4	1,3	2,9	4,3

Source: Women Institute (1994) and EPA, first trimester

**TABLA 2b**

**EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY AGE GROUPS. MEN**

(Percentage from total)

	16-29			30-44			45-59			60 y +			Total		
	82	92	98	82	92	98	82	92	98	82	92	98	82	92	98
<b>Illiterate</b>	0,9	0,7	0,4	2,2	1,1	0,8	5,3	3,4	1,5	9,8	8,2	5,5	4,2	3,2	2,0
<b>Without studies</b>	2,2	1,6	1,2	9,4	5,9	3,4	18,3	19,3	11,9	29,0	32,8	31,0	13,6	13,9	11,4
<b>Primary studies</b>	36,0	14,5	9,8	61,3	39,9	24,8	63,2	52,9	47,7	51,4	46,4	47,1	52,0	36,5	30,9
<b>Secondary studies</b>	54,0	75,2	78,9	17,3	40,2	56,2	8,0	16,2	26,7	5,2	7,6	10,5	23,6	37,1	45,1
<b>Before high studies</b>	4,2	4,5	5,5	5,1	5,3	5,6	2,2	4,1	5,7	1,7	2,2	2,4	3,4	4,0	4,8
<b>High studies</b>	2,7	3,5	4,1	4,8	7,5	8,9	3,0	4,2	5,9	2,8	2,9	3,1	3,3	4,5	5,4

Source: Women Institute (1994) and EPA, first trimester

**TABLA 3ª**

**UNEMPLOYMENT RATES EVOLUTION BY AGE GROUPS. WOMEN**

	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-44	45-54	55 y +	Total
<b>1964</b>	2,4	2,2	1,9	1,1	1,2	0,6	1,5
<b>1974</b>	7,7	4,0	2,6	1,5	1,6	0,4	3,0

<b>1984</b>	60,3	47,0	27,2	12,5	6,5	4,7	25,0
<b>1994</b>	57,8	48,2	38,1	27,5	20,5	18,9	31,7
<b>1998</b>	55,6	41,8	31,2	24,3	17,5	7,8	27,0

Source: EPA, second and first trimester

**TABLE 3b**

**UNEMPLOYMENT RATES EVOLUTION BY AGE GROUPS. MEN**

	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-44</b>	<b>45-54</b>	<b>55 y +</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>1964</b>	4,8	3,0	2,0	1,6	1,5	1,6	2,1
<b>1974</b>	8,7	4,5	2,5	1,5	1,7	1,8	2,7
<b>1984</b>	55,9	41,6	24,8	13,3	11,9	11,9	20,3
<b>1994</b>	49,2	36,1	26,1	14,9	11,4	12,6	19,2
<b>1998</b>	41,2	28,2	20,1	12,2	8,9	9,2	14,9

Source: EPA, first and second trimester

**TABLA 4**

**WOMEN CALLED “HOUSEWIFE” EVOLUTION (millions)**

	<b>1978</b>	<b>1987</b>	<b>1998</b>
<b>Women &gt; 16 años</b>	14,243*	15,1	16,8
<b>Inactive</b>	10,4 (73,0)	10,3 (68,2)	10,5 (62,5)
<b>Pensioner</b>	1,3 (9,1)	2,4 (15,9)	3,0 (17,9)
<b>“Housewife”</b>	7,7 (54,1)	6,5 (43,0)	5,4 (32,1)

Source: EPA, first and second trimester

\* Women > 14 years old

**TABLE 5**

**WOMEN CALLED “HOUSEWIFE” EVOLUTION BY AGE GROUPS**

(Percentage from total)

	1978	1987	1998
16-24	3,8	2,4	0,7
25-34	9,3	6,3	3,7
35-44	10,2	8,9	5,9
45-54	11,8	9,2	7,3
55 y +	18,7	15,6	14,5

Source: EPA, first and second trimester

**TABLE 6**

**FERTILITY RATE EVOLUTION<sup>1</sup>**

1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1985	1990	1998
4,14	3,63	2,97	2,46	2,76	2,86	2,32	1,56	1,33	1,14

Source: Poal 1993, Garrido 1993 e INE

**TABLE 7**

**DAILY SOCIAL TIME AVERAGE OF DIFFERENT WORKS BY SEX: 1987, 1993, 1998** (hours and minutes)

	MEN			WOMEN	
	1987	1993	1998	1987	1993
<b>1998</b>					
<b>Market work</b>	3:50	3:27	3:27	1:30	1:15
1:43					
<b>Housework</b>	0:42	1:15	1:24	5:04	4:44
4:03					

<sup>1</sup> Tasa de fecundidad de un año es el número medio de hijas(os) nacidos vivos(os) que tendría una mujer a lo largo de su vida si se le aplicara la tasa de fecundidad por edad de ese año durante sus años fértiles.