

**The future of the welfare state: paths of social policy innovation
between constraints and opportunities**

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**The transformation in the labour market and the impact on the households.
The work family structure in the Mediterranean case**

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During last decades in the European countries some relevant changes happened inside different national socio economic context. These changes put in crisis different sectors of the social structure and increase the area of inequalities. The pillars that supported Western societies – work, household, and welfare – entered a period of crisis, placing in difficulty not only the weakest extremes of the population, but also those such as the middle classes situated in safe conditions.

The crisis that has hit the “salary-based society” as described by Castel (1995, 2004) and the shift from a “labour society” to the “risk-society” can be considered as the starting point to understand the new forms of social inequalities (Beck, 1998, Taylor Gooby, 2002).

The increasing diffusion of flexible labour contracts has been critical for those welfare systems soundly built on salary-employment and thus largely based on employment-related social benefits (such as the Italian one). At the same time European countries experienced important demographics transformations, in particular with respect to the increasing quota of the elderly people, the evolution of the models of transition to adulthood and the consequent transformation of the household structure. These changes have been responsible for the growth in the uncertainty and instability of employees. It must be highlighted how the above-mentioned reforms have determined an increase in the proportion of “atypical” work, all too often characterised by deep instability.

In this complex and diversified context, in some countries some of the traditional inequalities related to the labour market have worsened, especially for women and older workers, who lost stable jobs. The recent global economic crisis strengthened these issues and put in evidence some relevant questions.

The recent global crisis increased the number of the unemployed and re-oriented the public debate from the “unstable employment” to “the massive return of unemployment”. The debate around the issue of unemployment had lost centre stage since the '70. But what will happen when the crisis will end and the economy will begin to grow again? We can expect a decrease in unemployment and a possible return to the use of flexible working to promote economic recovery.

But if the debate on unstable work halts before governments have developed adequate social security measures, what will be the social cost for employees and their families?

For this reason it is important to develop the analysis of the relationship between changes in the labour market and the effects on people and their families.

This paper intends to analyse some of these issues, stressing the strategic role played by the household. In particular it focuses on the relation between work condition and household structure as a frame for the understanding of the evolution of new forms of inequality. Moreover, it proposes an analytical frame to investigate this relation. Southern European countries, where, for political and cultural reasons, the role of the family is important and strategic (Naldini, 2003, 2002, Jurado Guerrero and Naldini, 1996) and the labour market has specific characteristics, represent an area of strategic interest for studying these issues.

In this paper we used the concept of “social vulnerability” as a frame to understand the effects of the changes on households and to understand the possible exposure of the new form of inequalities. (Ranci 2004, 2009).

The EU-SILC data set is the source to analyze the different configuration of the work-family models

This paper presents a part of a project that resumes more than tree years of work. In particular this paper put the focus on the analytical scheme to analyse the relation between household structure and job condition.¹

Why Southern Europe?

What is the rationale for choosing Southern Europe, and specifically Italy and Spain, as exemplary cases? In the last few years, the similarities between the Italian and the Spanish cases have been largely discussed, in both public and scientific debate. Numerous analyses have shown, under various points of views, the distinctive features of the two countries (Salvati, 2003; Naldini, 2003, Jurado Guerrero and Naldini, 1996, Quadri Curzio and Miceli, 2007, Migliavacca, 2008). What emerges is a mix of elements that, at the same time, bring near and separate the two countries. The contrast is made important and stimulating precisely by this tension between similarities and differences relative to central elements for social analysis such as family, work and policy. The elements which bring close the two countries typically refer to the cultural and political centrality of the family, mainly with regards to the role assumed by the model of the “strong” Mediterranean family and by the consequent similarity which bring near the respective systems of national welfare (Reher, 1998, 1998a, Micheli, 2006, Esping-Andersen, 1990 1999; Ferrera, 1998, 2005; Naldini, 2003, Jurado Guerrero and Naldini, 1996.). Other similarities can be found from the political-institutional point of view - with regard to the transition to democracy experienced by both countries – and in the respective models of economic development, which similarly evolved from strongly agricultural to industrial, to post-industrial (Guy, 1999, Bosco, 2005, Salvati, 2003).

These similarities are balanced by important differences, such as the different features of the respective national labour markets.

One last element well representing this mix is relative to the territorial features of both countries. Italy and Spain historically feature, more prominently than other European contexts, a strong internal territorial unevenness (cultural, social and economical). On this respect, Italy features a analytic tradition (Bagnasco, 1977; Paci 1992, Mingione, 1991), which individuates territorial areas geographically recognized and, when no contiguous, easily recognizable. Spain, on the other hand, features no such tradition, or at least not so formalized.

Under all perspectives, Italy and Spain appear having experienced similar processes but with different timings, resulting in dynamics that at times bring the two countries near (such as welfare models) and at times separate them (such as the dynamics of labour market). The theme of similarities in welfare systems is certainly the more firmly rooted in social sciences, and that sparking the more lively debate (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999, 2002; Castles 1995; Ferrera, 1996 ,2000, 2005). While the jury is still out on the debate, it certainly brought to the forefront elements defining the specificity of the Mediterranean model. On the one hand, from a quantitative perspective, the countries belonging to the Mediterranean area record some of the lowest spending for social welfare among EU members (Ireland excluded), and areas of welfare are vexed from a historical backwardness (Busilacchi, 2006). On the other hand, a limited offer of public healthcare services determine an increase of responsibility for families, in a context featuring a low impact of family policies and a limited recourse to the market (Liebfried, 1993; Ferrera, 1996; Naldini, 2003; Saraceno, 2003). Within this context, the care of the subjects more in need of healthcare is traditionally delegated to the family, also due to the low participation of the female gender to the labour market. The development of social services appears limited compared with the overall EU situation, further signaling remarkable geographical differences (Da Roit and Sabatinelli, 2005).

While family and welfare define the main axis of the similarities between Italy and Spain, one element differentiating the two is the different structure of the labour market, in particular with respect to the diffusion of flexible work, which in 2006 involved in Spain 30% of the working population against the 13% in Italy.

The two countries are simultaneously brought near and separated by a number of factors, which make them an interesting comparative case. However, only a few sociological analyses took on comparing the two countries

¹ This paper analyses the relation between work condition and family structure in Italy and Spain, and the evolution of social vulnerability in Europe, by combining issues from two different research projects (based on ECHP data) .

(Naldini, 2003). Studying two countries sharing a common root in the centrality of the family institution but featuring a vastly different evolution and structure of labour market could prove fruitful for understanding the relationships between the two elements. Moreover, the different chronology of events (in particular with respect to the introduction of flexible work) can help to understand future sceneries which may occur if the growth of flexible work in Italy increases dramatically, like it did in Spain.

For these reasons, a cross-reading of the two themes more prominently involved in this condition of similarity/difference appears as a stimulating challenge, useful for understanding the evolution of the phenomena under examination.

Reading the work-family relationship

One of the basic questions regarding the spread of new forms of employment regards the consequences they have on the life of the individuals and their primary social contexts. A possible route is to look at the primary socioeconomic context in which the individual finds himself, that is, the family. The family (used in the sense of the household) influences and directs behaviours and individual choices, also with regard to employment. As Esping-Andersen stresses, the family is primary among social institutions; it is a decision-making player, and, in that it is an institution, it models the behaviour, expectations, and desires of the individuals. As a subject of decisions, the family is a player that participates in the daily life of the society (Esping-Andersen, 1999).

Looking at work through the family does not simply mean observing it as an "economic place" in which the monetary fruit of the work of the individuals converges in order to satisfy the family's consumption requirements, but it also means observing it as a place in which the different working and professional conditions intertwine. It means reading the possible presence of precariousness and instability in a form aggregated with the family's other working realities, and understanding the impact of vulnerability and instability on family systems.

The centrality of the family dimension also emerges with regard to the analytical and strategic importance that welfare systems take on in analyses of this type.

The family is thus the place where working-professional and working-familial needs meet and measure against each other. The concept of work family system, introduced by Pleck (Pleck, 1977), put the evidence on the complexity of these topics. Plecks define the work family system like a complex interlacing between working dimensions and families organizations. The ample debate on dual presence, on healthcare work and more generally on the role of women in the workplace has broadly analyzed these themes (Saraceno, 2003; Allen and Barker, 1976; Villa, 2007). It seems therefore clear that the family is a strategic place in which to analyze the effects of possible employment instability determined by the presence of atypical forms of work.

An operation of this kind makes it possible to understand which is the "injurious potential" linked to the experience of a lack of stability in employment, and consequently allows us to identify when conditions of precariousness and instability define strong profiles or weak ones.

For this reason it is necessary to keep in mind the double value tied to occupational precariousness and instability. If on the one hand there are workers, and consequently families, penalized by conditions of precariousness and instability, on the other there are individuals and families who are not penalized by this condition, or even, in certain cases, who manage to transform this state into an advantageous condition.

This aspect is central because it refers to the reflections developed earlier regarding the possibility for workers to manage their own professionalism in relation to the demands of the market. Considering atypical situations only in their negative connotations runs the risk of producing partial and confused analyses, particularly when we wish to interpret the impacts and effects of the presence of precariousness and instability.

Among the various elements that define precariousness and instability, there is the issue of it being a "transverse" phenomenon, in the sense that it affects different population groups. If in the model of the wage society unemployment largely concerned the lower classes, an element characterizing the modern forms of lack of stability is that it does not affect only those with low levels of education and few professional skills belonging chiefly to the most disadvantaged classes, but rather, it also concerns individuals belonging to the

middle classes with higher levels of education. It does not strictly affect young people who, failing to find stable employment, are forced to collect different jobs, but also affects adults who have left the labour market and find themselves experiencing this condition in a labour market with characteristics different from those of the past.

Many researchers have highlighted these questions in different forms. However, it is necessary to translate these questions into empirical terms. It is necessary to use the family as a unit of analysis, providing for the construction of different types that make it possible to keep together the classical elements of labour market analysis with the elements belonging to the analysis of families.

Usually, the family is used as a variable intervening in both positive and negative ways (the family as protection, the family as constraint). Alternatively, it is used in terms of analysis regarding the comparison between family responsibilities and participation in the labour market, especially in literature about women's participation in the labour market.

Beginning with these basic contributions, we must attempt an analysis beginning precisely from the family, understood as social unit of united subjects, who with their different positions relate to the world of work. Through this perspective we have a chance to place all the actors in the family: those who play an active role (the workers, the labour force), those who previously played an active role (pensioners, retirees), and those who will play such a role in the future (young people not yet working). To these we then add people who do not fall into these categories, but "use" the work of the other family components (those who by choice or condition will never relate with the labour market). From the methodological point of view, we must use the family as the social object to which the properties we intend to study refer. We must use the family as a unit of analysis and survey. This already occurs, for example, in the case of the labour market with regard to surveys on the labour force, but we must go further. We must integrate detailed occupational information with information on the different aspects of the family systems in order to identify the family-work models that allow for a crossover interpretation of the phenomenon.

From “workers” to “work family” models

The need to produce analyses that highlighting the structural characteristics of an increasingly complicated context, put the researcher to address the need to identify alternative routes for the study of the social phenomena. The problem, if indeed there is one, is thus once again conceptual in nature. We need to bring together concepts usually handled with distinct strategies onto the same level of analysis. Starting to the third wave of the EU-SILC database and using the information about the status in employment we can define an indicator that shifts the focus on the different level of the work stability/instability and split the workers in two groups in terms of stability/instability. After this operation we can compose the different work-family models starting to the different work conditions of the household member.

Using the social vulnerability concept as a frame for understanding these issues, we can assume that many of the new forms of inequality range along the employment stability-instability continuum. The indicators (called instability index) can then be used to identify the “vulnerabilizing” potential of different employment situations. For this reason this indicator must not be intended as an indicator of work vulnerability (an unstable worker is not necessarily a vulnerable one) but a means to discriminate among conditions so that exposure to different vulnerability dynamics can be evaluated.

Stability – by which is meant the guaranteed continuity of employment (and therefore of income) – is a discriminatory dimension in keeping with the consolidated tradition of socio-economic studies on labour flexibility (Reyneri, 2005). From this perspective, contract typology can be considered as a first indicator of the extent to which employment continuity is guaranteed, although the complexity of national labour-market regulatory systems should be borne in mind. The contractual dimension is therefore one of the main elements in the operationalisation of the concept of stability/instability (particularly with regard to forms of dependent employment), but is not the only one. Indeed, since this analysis also seeks to verify the concept of stability with reference to self-employment (where contractual information is obviously not available), we consider

other indicators like the “working time”. Starting to these considerations, in this paper we use information from the EUSILC database to develop a set of indicators to construct an index of job stability/instability. The indicators used to made the stability/instability index are the following: statements by the interviewees concerning their main work activity; typologies of contract of employed respondents (which allows to discriminate between those on open-ended contracts with guaranteed continuity of employment and those on fixed-term contracts, or similar, and therefore without job security); and the number of hours worked in a week (which makes it possible to specify stability/instability in cases (for example for the self-employment) where contractual are not available). This latter information is fundamental, for the south European countries (but not only) where self-employment has a high incidence in overall employment and where it is necessary to identify differences with respect to the concept of stability.²

But what is it that makes work unstable? The main feature of stability is the temporal continuity dimension of employment, and therefore also of income. With regard to dependent employment, we consider as stable all workers with a permanent contract. On the same criterion, we consider as unstable all workers that have a different type of the fixed-term contracts. Part-time work is consequently considered stable if it exhibits the characteristics of a stable job and unstable when it does not. Regarding the self-employed, in absence of contractual information we used a different definition. Whilst in the literature and in European directives (Reyneri, 2005; Arum and Müller, 2004; Barbieri, 1999, 2001; Eurostat Labour Force Survey 2002; Bologna and Fumagalli, 1997), self-employment is often treated as an undifferentiated whole, here we identify the self-employed according to their position along the stability/instability continuum.

We used the number of hours worked per week as an indirect proxy for the degree of work continuity (OECD, 2000). In this analysis we used a threshold which discriminates between the stable self-employed and the unstable self-employed. This threshold has been fixed (after different hypothesis that considered the national specificities) at 30 hours a week. After this we considered as stable all the self-employed that worked 30 hours or more per week; and considered as unstable all those who declared that they worked fewer than 30 hours a week.

Table 1 shows the work conditions in Italy and Spain and figure 1 shows the comparison with other European countries where the characteristics of the south European countries are evident (low level of stability and higher level of instability and unemployment).

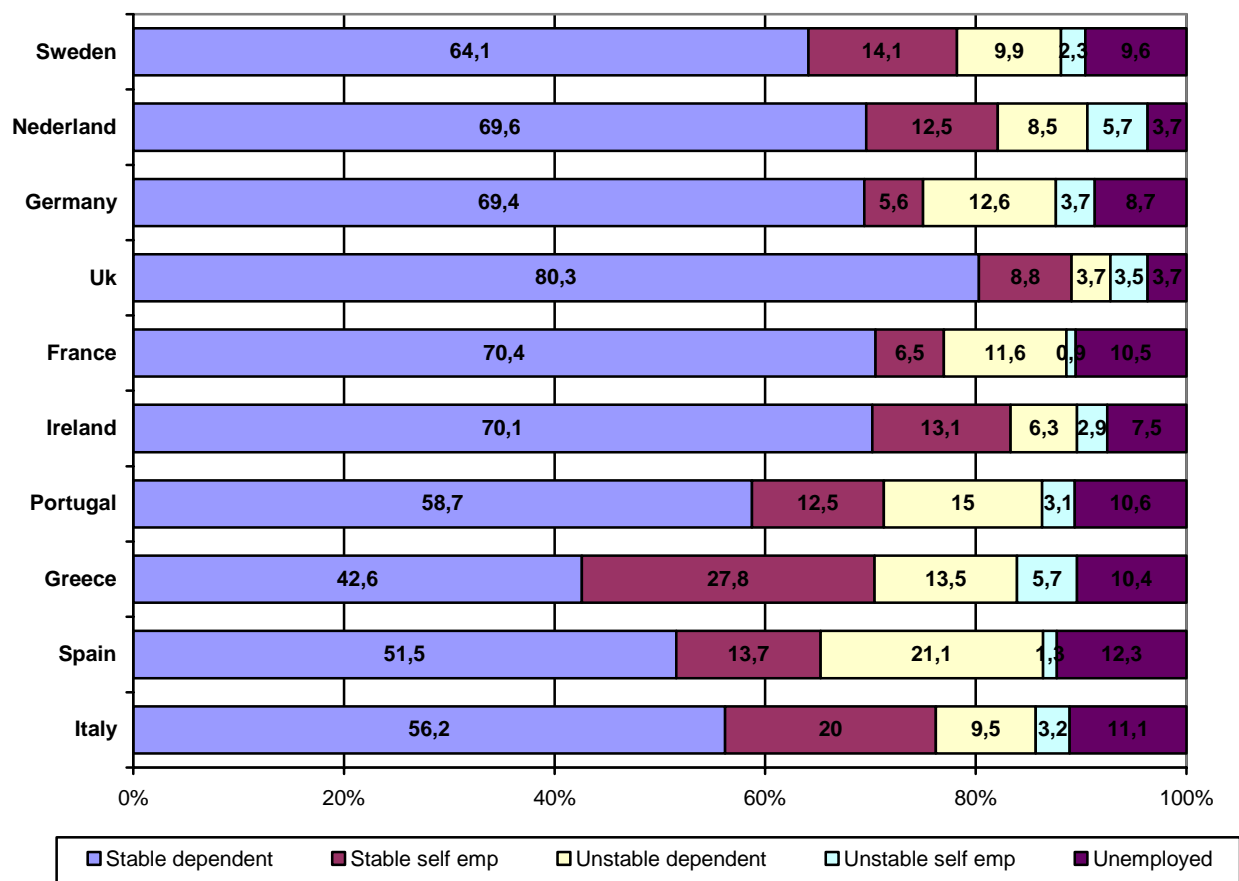
Tab 1. Work conditions in Italy and Spain. Year 2006. (%value)

	Spain	Italy
Stable dependent	51,5	56,2
Stable self emp	13,7	20,0
Unstable dependent	21,1	9,5
Unstable self emp	1,3	3,2
Unemployed	12,3	11,1
Totale	100,0	100,0

Source: Our elaborations on EU-SILC data

² For preliminary discussion of these issues and a first version of the stability index see M. Migliavacca (2008), *Famiglie e lavoro. Trasformazioni ed equilibri nell'Europa mediterranea*, Bruno Mondadori and M.Migliavacca (2009), *The instability index*, in Migliavacca M. and Fellini I. (2009) *Unstable Employment in Western Europe: Exploring the Individual and Household Dimensions*, ed. by Ranci C., Social Vulnerability in Europe The New Configuration of Social Risks, Palgrave Macmillan.

Fig 1. Work conditions in some European countries. Year 2006. (%value)



Source: Our elaborations on EU-SILC data

Before to aggregate the information about every single household member to made the work family models is necessary understands something about the different works profiles. Tables 2 and 3 shows some information about the structures of the different work profile.

Tab 2 Work conditions by sex. Italy and Spain 2006. (% value).

	Men	Women	Total
% unstable (unstable/employed)	21,4	31,6	25,6
Employment rate	58,6	37,0	47,3
Unemployed rate	9,3	16,3	12,3
<hr/>			
% unstable (unstable/employed)	10,9	19,3	14,3
Employment rate	54,9	33,9	43,9
Unemployed rate	9,3	13,6	11,1

Source: Our elaborations on EU-SILC data

Tab 3 Work conditions by age. Italy and Spain 2006. (% value).

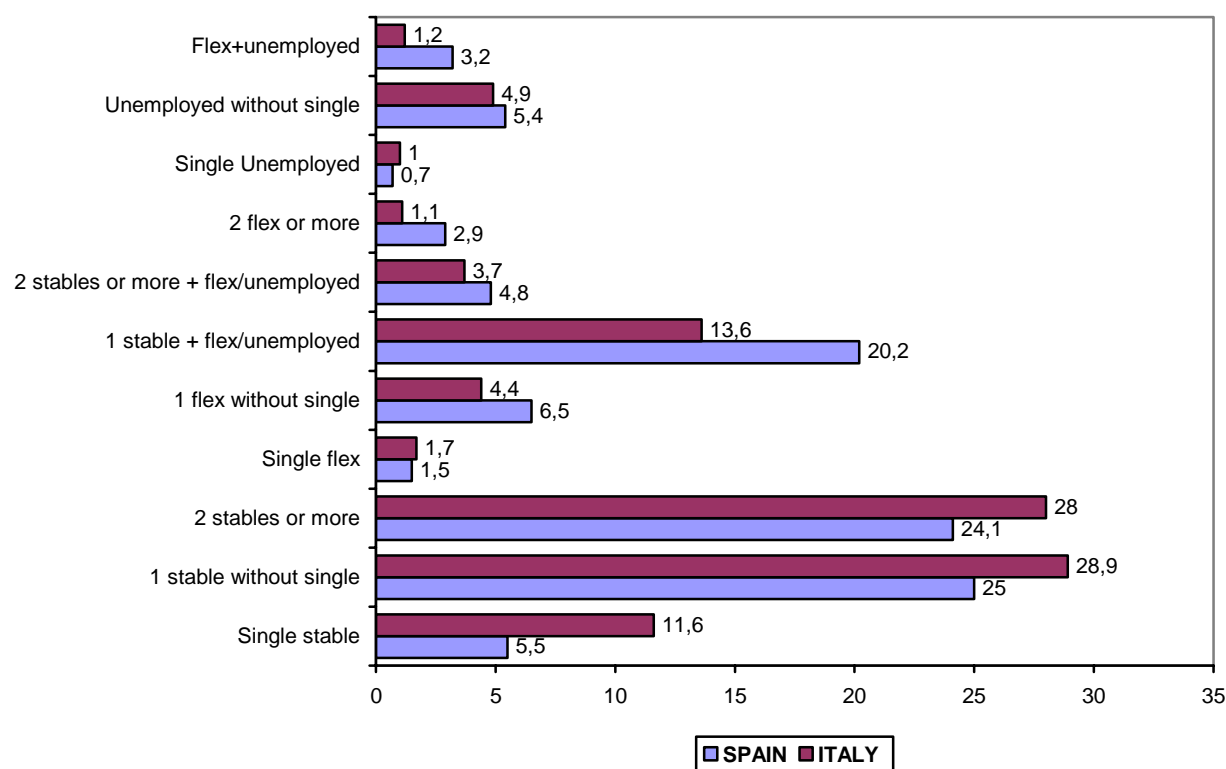
		16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	>76	Total
SPAIN	Stable dependent	5,9	25,2	31,3	26,1	11,1	0,3	0,0	100,0
	Stable self employed	2,5	17,8	30,0	28,4	19,5	1,5	0,2	100,0
	Unstable dependent	23,1	35,3	24,0	13,1	4,5	0,0		100,0
	Unstable self employed	3,0	13,5	30,5	27,0	24,0	1,5	0,5	100,0
	Unemployed	20,0	26,3	22,6	16,7	13,7	0,6	0,1	100,0
	Totale	10,8	26,3	28,5	22,5	11,4	0,5	0,1	100,0
ITALY	Stable dependent	6,4	24,6	32,7	27,9	8,0	0,3	0,0	100,0
	Stable self employed	3,1	21,9	31,6	25,4	14,2	3,2	0,5	100,0
	Unstable dependent	21,0	32,7	25,6	15,8	4,7	0,2	0,0	100,0
	Unstable self employed	3,7	21,6	30,7	20,2	16,3	5,8	1,7	100,0
	Unemployed	27,3	32,6	21,3	13,7	4,9	0,2	0,0	100,0
	Totale	9,3	25,6	30,5	24,4	8,8	1,0	0,2	100,0

Source: Our elaborations on EU-SILC data

But how are families distributed according to the different employment situations of their members? To answer this question we recomposed households on the basis of the employment situations of their members, and then recombined the different work situations to be found within a households – the states of stability, instability and unemployment. The different compositions of these three states define the work-family models and identify the fundamental step to analyze the relation between family dimension and work dimension.

The growth of employment has affected the European countries in different ways since the 1990s. It has consolidated, at continental level, the number of families composed of only stable workers (which represent about one-third of households with at least one member in employment), and it has reduced the number of families with only unstable workers. The proportion of families comprising both stable and unstable workers – although it has undergone some important changes, as we shall see later – has remained almost unchanged. To gain better understanding of the specific features of the different family models, we distinguished families by also taking account of the number of members in employment. This process allowed definition of a more detailed family/work typology with which to capture differences and similarities. In detail thus isolated were families consisting of only stable workers; families comprising both stable workers and unstable and/or unemployed workers; families with only unstable workers (alone or with unemployed members) and families composed of only unemployed workers. Families consisting of single persons are considered in isolation. It is worth noting the high level of instability inside the Spanish households even if the differences between Italy and Spain are less evident in household data than in the individual ones. See figure 2.

Fig 2. Work family models. Italy and Spain. Year 2006. (%value)



Source: Our elaborations on EU-SILC data

Table 4 shows some differences between the principals work family models made by ECHP dataset (year 2001) and the work family models made by EUSILC data (year 2006)³. Table 5 show the regional distribution of the work family models in Italy and Spain. This table put in evidence some important differences inside the two countries.

Tab 4. Work family models. Italy and Spain. Year 2006EUSILC 2001 ECHP. (%value)

		1 stable	2 stables	1 stable + flex/unemployed	2 stables + flex/unemployed	2 flex	1 flex	Only unstable	Flex + unemployed	only unemployed	Total
EUSILC 2006	SPAGNA	30,6	24,1	20,2	4,8	2,9	8,0	11,0	3,2	6,2	100,0
ECHP 2001	SPAGNA	30,5	21,1	18,1	7,3			14,0	3,0	5,9	100,0
	<i>Diff 06-01</i>	<i>0,1</i>	<i>3,0</i>	<i>2,1</i>	<i>-2,5</i>			<i>-3,0</i>	<i>0,2</i>	<i>0,3</i>	<i>0,0</i>
EUSILC 2007	ITALIA	40,4	28,0	13,6	3,7	1,1	6,1	7,2	1,2	5,9	100,0
ECHP 2001	ITALIA	37,2	31	13,2	5,8			5,7	2	5,1	100,0
	<i>Diff 06-01</i>	<i>3,2</i>	<i>-3,0</i>	<i>0,4</i>	<i>-2,1</i>			<i>1,5</i>	<i>-0,8</i>	<i>0,8</i>	<i>0,0</i>

Source: Our elaborations on EU-SILC data

³ This comparison have some “technical” problems (in order to the different source of data) but is interesting because put in evidence the evolution of the different work family models.

Tab 5. Share of work family models by macro-region (value %) year 2006

	Single stable	1 stable without single	2 stables or more	Single flex	1 flex without single	1 stable + flex/unemployed	2 stables or more + flex/unemployed	2 flex or more	Single Unemployed	Unemployed without single	Flex + unemployed	Total
Spain North west	4,9%	26,0%	23,1%	1,5%	6,2%	19,8%	5,2%	1,9%	1,2%	6,8%	3,5%	100,0%
Spain North est	7,6%	28,2%	25,8%	1,8%	5,2%	19,3%	5,1%	1,9%	,6%	3,2%	1,3%	100,0%
Spain Madrid	9,0%	24,1%	29,2%	,8%	4,5%	20,4%	3,3%	3,5%	,4%	3,1%	1,6%	100,0%
Spain Centre	4,7%	27,0%	22,1%	1,2%	6,5%	20,7%	4,4%	3,0%	,8%	5,9%	3,5%	100,0%
Spain Est	6,6%	23,5%	31,1%	1,6%	4,6%	18,8%	5,5%	2,8%	,6%	3,5%	1,4%	100,0%
Spain South	2,3%	23,5%	17,2%	1,5%	10,3%	21,6%	4,0%	4,5%	,6%	8,2%	6,4%	100,0%
Spain Canarias	5,1%	20,5%	16,1%	1,5%	9,3%	24,2%	5,1%	3,1%	1,1%	7,7%	6,4%	100,0%
Italy North west	15,6%	29,7%	32,6%	1,5%	3,3%	10,1%	2,9%	,8%	,7%	2,3%	,5%	100,0%
Italy North est	12,9%	27,5%	34,1%	1,7%	3,5%	11,7%	4,3%	,7%	,7%	2,5%	,4%	100,0%
Italy centre	11,6%	28,5%	30,0%	2,0%	4,1%	13,2%	4,1%	1,5%	,7%	3,5%	,8%	100,0%
Italy South	7,1%	30,3%	18,1%	1,3%	5,7%	18,9%	3,4%	1,5%	1,5%	9,4%	2,8%	100,0%
Italy Islands	7,4%	28,5%	15,3%	2,1%	7,5%	17,4%	3,3%	1,4%	2,5%	12,2%	2,5%	100,0%

Source: Our elaborations on EU-SILC data

Table 6 shows the relation between work family models and the different type of households.

Tab 6. Work family models by household structure. Italy and Spain. Year 2006. (% value).

		Single	Couple no dependent children	Other households without dependent children	Single parent	Couple with dependent child	Other households with dependent children	Other	Total
SPAIN	Single stable	100,0							100,0
	1 stable without single		23,5	17,3	7,1	44,7	5,8	1,6	100,0
	2 stables or more		18,7	17,4		51,7	11,9	0,3	100,0
	Single flex	100,0							100,0
	1 flex without single		22,2	29,3	10,1	28,6	8,0	1,7	100,0
	1 stable + flex/unemployed		17,5	22,9	0,5	39,9	18,5	0,7	100,0
	2 stables or more + flex/unemployed			58,8		2,4	38,8		100,0
	2 flex or more		27,6	17,1	1,2	35,8	18,3		100,0
	Single Unemployed	100,0							100,0
	unemployed without single		30,9	22,8	9,1	25,2	11,4	0,6	100,0
	Flex + unemployed		12,4	26,1	0,7	36,4	24,4		100,0
	Total	7,7	18,3	20,5	3,1	37,3	12,4	0,8	100,0
ITALY	Single stable	100,0							100,0
	1 stable without single		25,8	19,1	8,9	41,6	4,6		100,0
	2 stables or more		19,7	18,8	0,1	50,3	11,1		100,0
	Single flex	100,0							100,0
	1 flex without single		27,6	27,7	11,7	27,7	5,3		100,0
	1 stable + flex/unemployed		16,0	23,3	0,7	43,4	16,6		100,0
	2 stables or more + flex/unemployed			52,8		5,9	41,3		100,0
	2 flex or more		20,5	21,7	0,6	43,5	13,7		100,0
	Single Unemployed	100,0							100,0
	unemployed without single		25,1	35,3	5,6	22,7	11,3		100,0
	Flex + unemployed		9,4	32,4	1,8	34,7	21,8		100,0
	Total	14,3	17,9	19,5	3,5	35,4	9,4		100,0

Source: Our elaborations on EU-SILC data

After this first step we can analyze every single work-family models if we put the focus on the number of the different job positions. In this way we can study the difference between single and dual earner families (Blossfeld H.P., Drobnič S.2001, Villa 2004) . Beyond identifying the family as a unit of analysis, we must identify a *frame* within which to understand the structure of work-family models. We must identify an analytical model that takes into account the multidimensional complexity of the phenomenon.

STABILITY AREA	
Households stable 1 Bread winner	Households with only 1 stable member
Households stable Dual earner	Households with 2 or more stable members
UNSTABILITY AREA	
Households Flex 1 Brad winner	Households with 1 unstable member + 1 or more unemployed
Households Flex Dual earner	Households with 2 unstable member + 1 or more unemployed
MIX AREA	
Households Mix 1 Bread winner	Households with 1 stable member + unstable or unemployed members
Households Mix dual earner	Households with 2 stable members or more + unstable or unemployed members
UNEMPLOYED AREA	
Households unemployed	Only unemployed members

But which is the distribution of the different national cases? Table 6 shows the data for the Italian and Spanish case .

Tab 6. Work family models (single and dual earner). Italy and Spain. Year 2006. (%value)

	SPAIN	ITALY
STABILITY AREA		
Households stable 1 Bread winner	27,1	33,7
Households stable Dual earner	26,1	32,6
UNSTABILITY AREA		
Households Flex 1 Brad winner	10,0	6,3
Households Flex Dual earner	3,7	1,5
MIX AREA		
Households Mix 1 Bread winner	21,9	15,9
Households Mix dual earner	5,2	4,3
UNEMPLOYED AREA		
	5,9	5,7
Total	100,0	100,0

Source: Our elaborations on EU-SILC data

Conclusion

In concluding this paper, it appears useful to bring to light two main questions - a first one relative to the Italy/Spain comparison, and a second one relative to the joint analysis model of the family/work relationship. In the last few years, the public debate strongly insisted on the similarity between Italy and Spain (Quadrio Curzio, Miceli, 2007), which social sciences remarked from a scientific point of view. The similarity in the respective welfare systems would be determined by a common strong familistic drive (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999, 2002, Ferrera, 2005, Naldini, 2003).

From the analysis, the two countries appear as having several points in common but remaining nonetheless vastly different (Salvati, 2003). This difference appears confirmed by the joint study of the two main factors which define at the same time the closeness (family) and the distance (labour market structure), which at times lead to unexpected outcomes.

It is in the joint analysis of family and work dimensions where interesting differences appear. In particular, interesting questions have been raised by the analysis of models of family where each unit features a single working member, typical of a cultural matrix still strongly tied to a traditional, gendered separation of roles, and those featuring two working members, typical expression of a new perspective on family organization.

A first question is relative to the role played in the two contexts by figures who are historically weak with respect to the labour market, i.e. women and young people. Faced with a massive overall growth of employment, especially in Spain, a decrease of discrimination against these figures could be expected, but did not happen. Spanish women – whose participation in the labour market recorded in the last decade a growth rate which doubled the EU average – are still strongly discriminated, with respect to position (males still far outnumber females in terms of steady occupations) and wages (with wide deltas between male and female averages). Italy shows a slightly better situation, especially in terms of salaries, although gender inequalities are still deeply rooted.

In this situation, young people continue to be at disadvantage. While youth unemployment (although still high in both Spain and Italy) decreased, there remains a significant quota of unstable work involving the younger age segments. The Italian situation, under this point of view, is more discriminating than the Spanish one, where the weight of instability also rests on the more adult age segments. While unstable work may facilitate the entrance to the labour market, often, under certain conditions, an entrapment in this condition may happen, thus rendering difficult for younger generation to plan and invest in their future.

The second question emerging from the analysis is relative to the permanence, in particular in Spain, of strongly traditional family models, even though the last few years have been marked by signs of change, determined by the emergence of new forms of cohabitation.

In the last few years, media largely discussed the role played by Spain in the emergence and recognition of new forms of family cohabitation which were already well-affirmed in many other parts of Europe. The most interesting element in all of this is the alleged breakup with a strong traditionalist cultural matrix, which held as unthinkable such a recognizing. It is true that Spain did give a lot of attention to the forms of cohabitation which had been historically opposed, such as unmarried couples, acknowledging their elementary rights even in the face of a still limited numerical presence. However, the analysis of the relationship between family and work shows the permanence of a model of family organization still strongly tied to the traditional family model. The analysis of the characters of single and double participation models, shows how the “male breadwinner” model is still deep-seated in Spain, more so than in Italy. This is true for all the various family combinations, but above all for those with a single, typically male, steadily employed member. While In Italy the analysis shows a regression of this model, in favor of the double participation model, Spain records a significant growth, confirming what has already been said about the permanent segregation of women and young.

In closing, it appears important to return briefly on the theoretical and analytical centrality of the relationship between family and work, as a useful tool for understanding both a) the effect of the ongoing transformation on the lives of people, and b) the form and structure of the new forms of inequality. Various analyses highlighted how family and work have been invested by deep structural changes and how, at the same time, the interpretative structures used for their study have changed as well (Migliavacca, 2008).

What is the added value of this analysis with respect to these studies? Family and work are dimensions that, for their nature, have different reference points in both their defining meanings and practices. While work mostly refers to the economic sphere, family refers to the sphere of relationship and intimacy. It is the life of people, the social dimension of daily life, that makes these two elements structurally intertwined. We have seen how, usually, sociological analysis ends up on focusing on just one of these two dimensions, holding the other as a mere intervening variable to explain some events, states and dynamics. Specifically, the cultural and conceptual references used to analyze the two themes are traditionally distant, drawing from vastly different interpretational paradigms. While it must be acknowledged that the different approaches did find common terrains for confrontation, they never produced a common analytical framework.

Welfare studies represent an attempt in this direction; however, their approach focuses on questions that, while holding family and work as central dimensions, eventually reduces them to mere intervening variables.

In this paper, we proposed a joint reading of the two dimension, drawing on the various approaches to offer an analytical instrument that avoids privileging a dimension over the other, and instead offers an univocal perspective from where to look the transformation involving work and family. The definition of the work-family typology goes in this direction, and the empirical evidence emerged from the comparison between Italy and Spain highlights some of the many potentialities of this approach. In fact, analyzing individually the transformations in family and those in work, the Spanish context may appear as less traditionalist and more emancipated than the Italian one. However, the joint reading of the family and work dimensions partly disavow this interpretation, and shows how Spain is characterized by a stronger tie to a traditional matrix than Italy's.

Another possibility offered by the joint reading of family and work is that of allowing the interaction between dimensions which are usually selectively analyzed by individual approaches. For example, between the economic dimension, typically ignored by family studies (which privilege a more cultural approach), and the housing or relational dimensions, typically neglected by work studies. This kind of cross-reading is also essential for a correct use of the concept of social vulnerability, which cannot prescind from a family-oriented analysis of the employment condition – precisely the dimension this work focused on.

These are just a few examples of explicative potentialities of the joint reading of the family and work dimensions. What this reading loses in terms of detail in the analysis of the specificities of employment conditions and family structures, it makes up with a uncommon interpretative potential.

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