

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT POLICY IN ITALY, 2000-2006

by

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*PhD Candidate*

2019



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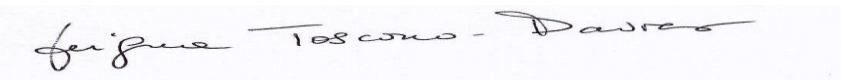
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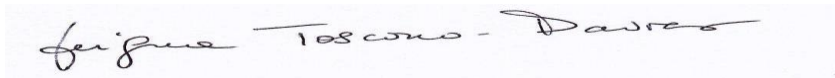
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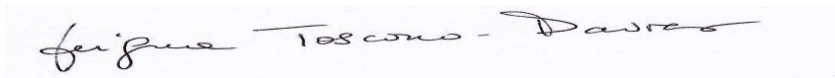
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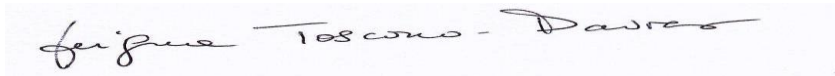
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## **Dedication**

To the one I love most, my daughter Emily. To her and other little women like her, I wish a bright future as Mum and working person. Just remember little stars, you only fail when you stop trying...

## **Acknowledges**

A doctoral journey is never an easy one, mine was particularly difficult being a working Mum and probably I would have stopped trying without the support of my husband Paul, my family and supervisors (Dr Mark Donovan and Professor Peter Dorey). To them, my gratitude for believing in me when I did not. Without them, this thesis would have not been written.

## ABSTRACT

The thesis investigates the development of women's employment policy in Italy in the decade 1996-2006 with specific focus on the European Structural Fund Programme (ESF) 2000-2006. The Italian case is considered in a comparative perspective. Therefore, albeit the research is centred on a single-country study, Italy is identified as a welfare state that belongs to the Mediterranean type, according to the relevant literature. The case study focuses on the different experiences of Basilicata and Apulia in creating public policy promoting female employment, as revealed by the evaluation of their different experiences in the 2000-2006 (ESF) programme and the subsequent 2007-2008 twinning project which resulted from this.

The case study examines a specific policy activity in Italy, the 2005 Voucher Grant Scheme of the Basilicata Region, in comparison with the experience of the Apulia Region. In fact, the Basilicata Scheme won the "EU Best Practice Model" award. The thesis investigates whether, using the concept of 'policy' as defined by Colebatch, policy was developed in the Basilicata Voucher Grant Scheme whereas policy was not developed in Apulia's similarly intended scheme.

Colebatch argues that for policy to be constituted as policy in practice, rather than as the mere idea of it, it must have three "attributes" and "distinctive elements". These attributes are: a) *authority*, b) *expertise* and c) *order*. Their respective distinctive elements are: a) *hierarchy*, b) *instrumentality* and c) *coherence*. When these criteria are met, then a chosen government course of action can be framed as a process generating policy. The thesis demonstrates that these criteria were met in the Basilicata Region, but not in Apulia. The thesis thereby also probes and confirms the value of Colebatch's constructivist theory of public policy.

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

#### **Aim**

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the topic of this research, the research background, aim and objectives, the rationale for the study, the research strategy and design.

#### **1.1 Research topic**

The thesis investigates the development of women's employment policy in Italy in a European context (EU15) during the European Structural Fund (ESF) Programme 2000-2006. The Italian case is considered in a comparative perspective, therefore, although the research is centred on a single-country study, Italy is identified as a sub-type of the larger welfare state family, that is the Mediterranean (Hantrais, 2007), as the literature suggested.

The case study consists of two sub-units of analysis, two Italian regions Basilicata and Apulia - their experience in developing public policy promoting female employment. The contrast is revealed to us through the evaluations of their differing experiences in the ESF Programme 2000-2006 and the subsequent 2007-2008 AGIRE<sup>1</sup> twinning project which resulted from it. The twinning Basilicata - Apulia was one of the six mini-pilots of the larger AGIRE POR Project<sup>2</sup>, coordinated by the Department of Equal Opportunities.

The overall objective of the 2007-2008 multi-region, AGIRE POR project, as stated in the General Proposal, was to transfer good practice models amongst the Italian regions in the Objective 1 zone and thereby to transfer knowledge (e.g. policy tools, procedures) from one region to another. The research takes the stance that this approach mirrored the Open

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<sup>1</sup> A.G.I.R.E Attivazione Gemellaggi Internalizzazione Regionale Esperienze di Successo. (Twinning to X regional best practices)

<sup>2</sup> POR = Piani Operativi Regionali (Operational Regional Plans) part of the European Structural Funds Programme 2000-2006.

Method of Coordination<sup>3</sup>, a method used at the EU level a form of soft law, originally created in the 1990s as part of employment policy and the Luxembourg process. The OMC was defined as an instrument of the Lisbon strategy (2000) based on identifying objectives to be achieved, measuring instruments and benchmarking ( e.g. comparison of EU performance and exchange of best practice).

The case study examines a specific policy activity in Italy, the 2005 Voucher Grant Scheme of the Basilicata Region, in comparison with the experience of the Apulia Region, as the Basilicata Voucher Grant Scheme in 2005, won the Award "EU Best Practice Model. The thesis investigates whether, using the concept of 'policy' as defined by Colebatch, policy was developed in the Basilicata Voucher Grant Scheme whereas it was not created in Apulia.

Colebatch argues that for policy to be constituted as policy in practice, rather than as the mere idea of it, it must have three "attributes" and "distinctive elements". The scholar regards as "attributes" of policy the following three matters: a) *authority*, b) *expertise* and c) *order*. He regards three further features as respectively "distinctive elements": a) *hierarchy*, b) *instrumentality* and c) *coherence*. When these criteria are effectively met, then a chosen government course of action can be framed as a process generating policy (Colebatch, 1998 *passim*). The thesis demonstrate that these criteria were met in the Basilicata Region as per Colebatch's theory of public policy. The thesis thereby also probes and confirms the value of the scholar's theory of public policy.

## 1.2 Research background

Chapter 2 and 3 contextualizes women's employment policy in Europe and Italy and combines the narrative on the history of women's employment policy with quantitative historical data on female employment, so as to describe not only the policy issues but also the performance of the Italian female labour market in a European context (EU15).

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<sup>3</sup> [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/open\\_method\\_coordination.html](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/open_method_coordination.html)

The Italian case has been considered in a comparative perspective as a sub-type of Mediterranean welfare state - and as one of the most advanced post-industrial democracies. The narrative on women's employment policy suggests that gender equality was an issue in such Mediterranean countries; in fact, most studies have found that these countries are designed around a model of a male breadwinner and a dependent wife. And empirical data show the considerable distance that Italy needs to cover to meet the European Employment Strategy (EES) objectives.

From 1997 to 2000, there were several factors which led to an increased focus on employment policy and gender equality. At the Luxembourg summit in 1997, Equal Opportunities was included as one of the four pillars of the employment guidelines to be followed by the Member States in drawing up the National Action Plans. In 1999, the guidelines included a requirement for gender mainstreaming to be included in all aspects of European employment policy and at the Lisbon Summit in 2000 a specific target for women's employment rate was adopted (60% by 2010) and a dedicated economic resource to meet this target, the European Structural Fund (ESF).

The narrative on women's employment policy in Europe makes substantial reference to the work of the EGGE (Expert Group on Gender and Employment), which was set up in the 1990s under the European Commission's fourth action programme on equal opportunities for women and men in the European Union .

The Group comprises independent academic experts with longstanding experience of working in the field of equal opportunities and employment; and its coordination is carried out within the European Work and Employment Research Centre at Manchester School of Management, UMIST, under the direction of Professor Jill Rubery. The group provided the necessary expert advice, research and policy evaluation to assist the Commission's Equal Opportunities Unit located in DG Employment.



The main tasks of this expert Group was to provide an evaluation from a gender perspective of the National Action Plans (NAPs) on employment produced by the Member States and to investigate thematic areas related to gender and employment.

In 1998, the EGGE early work categorically identified six issues as the causes hampering women's access to the labour market at the European level (specifically: taxation, scarcity of part-time work, job segregation, childcare, retirement policies and the wage gap).

In 2000, the EGGE published the evaluation of the 2000 NAPs for Employment and the 2000 Gender Impact Assessments (GIA) of the EU(15) Member States. These two reports contextualized the Italian situation, which was described in detail in the 2000 Italian NAP and GIA. These highlighted the failure of the Italian government to integrate gender issues in all policies during 1997-1999 and the objective of the Italian government of including concrete measures to foster female participation in the labour market. One of these objectives was the inclusion of gender mainstreaming in the ESF 2000-2006 funded projects coordinated by the Department of Equal Opportunities

Chapter 3 outlined the historical narrative on working women's rights (Ballestrero, 1979) and discusses female employment by significant political eras, the Liberalism, the Fascism, the First and Second Republic.

Data on female employment rates were collated from the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) and the National Research Institute for vocational education, training and social policies (ISFOL)<sup>4</sup> to highlight geographical differences (Northern/Southern regions).

Chapter 2 and 3 also identifies the creation, during the Prodi I government in 1996, of a specific gender institution: the Department of Equal Opportunities, which worked closely with

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<sup>4</sup> On 1st December 2016, ISFOL became INAPP ( Istituto Nazionale per Analisi delle Politiche Pubbliche/National Institute for the Analysis of Public Policy).

<http://www.isfol.it/primo-piano/il-30-novembre-presentazione-inapp>

the Italian regions on gender equality policies and coordinated the AGIRE POR twinning projects 2007-2008 as part of the ESF Programme 2000-2006.

### 1.3 Research rationale

In the years of the First Italian Republic, as the narrative on women's employment policy suggests, working women's issues were part of the ideological debate. The approach taken by Italian policy-makers to problem-solving appears not to have been *active* but *re-active*, as changes were initiated at the international level and filtered down to national (central government) and sub-national levels (regions and councils) of governance in Italy. This constituted the main output of legislation, for instance equal pay and anti-discrimination ( in the workplace) laws.

In the years of the Second Republic, remarkable changes occurred - as the narrative on women's employment policies points out- at national and international level. In the 1990s Italy switched from particracy to a two-party system, the European Community stepped away from the centralisation of policy-making by opening the dialogue to the social parts and by creating - as part of employment policy and the Luxembourg process - the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) which was defined as an instrument of the Lisbon Strategy (2000). The OMC does not result in EU legislation, but is a method of soft governance which aims to enhance cooperation amongst the Member States and to spread best practice and inform policy development.

By looking at these two different scenarios in Italy and Europe, a first (simple but controversial) matter stems from them: "What is policy?" a question, as previously stated, much debated in the literature about public policy. The conclusion is that there is no single straightforward definition, because the response varies depending on the theoretical paradigm adopted.

If we look at the Italian policy style in the First Italian Republic through Richardson's lens (Richardson et al. 1982), one could argue that legislation could be assimilated to policy if by policy is meant the government's course of actions to find solutions to problems. However considering the changes occurred in the Second Italian Republic, can policy be a static concept, an expression of domestic political goodwill, with low stakeholder engagement - as much of the literature suggests- because decisions are made at elite-level, and thus with no consultation, and with very little consideration of the claims from the bottom. The thesis argues that there is a different way of looking at policy and therefore welcomes Colebatch's framework, which conceives policy to be a concept in "use," shared and understood by the various participants in the policy-making process.

As Heclo (1972, p.84) argues - referring to the literature on policy definition - the term policy is not a precise and self-evident term. This is contrary to Parsons' claim that "policy is one term on which there seems to be a certain amount of definitional agreement" (Parsons, 1995 p.13). Sharing Heclo's opinion, we believe that an approach to the definition of policy must be provided. Our initial question must therefore be re-phrased: "What is framed as policy in this research, and why?" so as to minimize confusion.

The thesis argues that the term policy does not have a single meaning as per Colebatch's framework of policy. Colebatch tries to clarify the way in which the term is used and to illuminate the nature of different usages. Colebatch asks whether practitioners (who see much of their work related to policy) use the term in the same way as academic observers. He asks what policy means without assuming that it always has the same meaning in all contexts and therefore the thesis argues that the meaning of policy is context-bound.

Paraphrasing Moses and Knutsen, constructivists emphasize the role that the surrounding community plays on the way we perceive and understand the world around us, However, they disagree markedly about the nature of the influence. Some (such as Giddens, and

Barudel) seek to capture it through the concept of structure , others (for example Gadamer and Bourdieu) see this influence in terms of strategic or (re) constitutive acts (2007, p.187).

- **Colebatch constructivist approach and its relevance to the thesis.**

Colebatch explains that there is an ambiguity in the concept of policy, a tension between choice and structure (Colebatch, 2009, p.17). By choice, Colebatch means the policy can be seen as the creation of authorised leaders but on the other hand Colebatch argues the decision could have had its origin in practice and a policy decision could be only the beginning of the policy process.

Colebatch therefore explains that policy must not be understood simply as "officially proclaimed goals" but also in terms of the way the activity among a wide range of participants is patterned. He also notes that there is a tension between agency and structure, People act (agency) but, according to Colebatch, their actions are significant only in the context of a set of relationships (structure) and as Giddens (1984, cited by Colebatch, 2009) argued, Colebatch restates that we need to see agency and structure as mutually constituting one another. Structure, Colebatch's continues, indicates an appropriate way to act: when people act that way, people their actions reproduces the structures (Colebatch, 2009 p. 17).

The thesis looks at the relationships between choice, agency and structure within the two Italian Regions in the context of Colebatch's theory of policy, and how their governance (an appropriate way of act, a structure) arrangements produced different policy outcomes in specific spatial and temporal dimensions.

Colebatch also explained that one of the most important elements of structuring in policy are specialized form of organisations , when issues are recognized as matters of public concern, organisations tend to emerge within government to deal with it. This body tend to become "the voice of that interest within the government".

As regard to women's employment policy the thesis identified that Italy created a newly gender specific organisation, the Department of Equal Opportunities which was the voice of women's interests within the Italian government as the finding of the elites interviews reported in chapter 5. The thesis discussed how agencies (the Department of Equal Opportunities, the Italian governments, the regions) acted in a context of a set of relationships, the multilevel governance (structure). The multilevel governance approach provides the reader with an understanding of the interaction of different levels of governance (EU-National-Regional) in the vertical dimension (the authoritative choice's account of policy), as well as the relationships between the participants in the horizontal dimensions (the structured interaction's account of policy). Their choices were discussed by providing the views of privileged observers and by analysing government's documentation.

This approach was chosen to this research project because the narrative on women's employment in Italy (as the narrative identifies) outlined that approaches to this research topic have been quantitative rather than qualitative. The thesis therefore intends to take what Colebatch defines as "the social construction perspective" (Colebatch, 2009 p.5) which sees policy as something that has to be constructed and sustained by the participants in the circumstances in which they have some degree of choice.

#### **1.4 Research aim and objectives**

The main research aim is to investigate if Italy developed women's employment policy in the Second Italian Republic. However, the main research question refines the investigation to the ESF 2000-2006 because - as narrative on working women's issues suggested referring to the 2000 Italian NAP - a newly gender specific oriented institution (DPO) would coordinate the inclusion of gender mainstreaming policy in the positive actions to foster female employment.

The main research question therefore is "**whether or not Italy developed women's employment policy during the ESF 2000-2006**". This main research question contains the key elements of the project, its spatial dimension (**Italy in EU15**), its topical dimension

**(women's employment)**, its conceptual dimension (**policy**) and its temporal dimension ( **ESF 2000-2006**).

The topical, temporal and spatial dimensions set the boundaries of the project, its context which defines *what* the research investigated, *when* and *where*; whereas the conceptual dimension explains the intellectual rationale of the research project and how the investigation was undertaken. All these dimensions are considered from an holistic perspective as the policy cycle is seen as continuous and not sequential and in line with a constructivist approach it is embedded in the social phenomena contextualizing it.

The main topic (women's employment policy) was investigated in a specific spatial and temporal dimensions - as previously mentioned, two Southern Italian Regions, Basilicata and Apulia during the ESF 2000-2006 by referring to Rose's Framework (Rose, 1993) on policy learning. The conceptualisation of the topic (policy in relation to women's employment) is investigated through the lens of Colebatch's framework on policy and constructivism theory.

### **1.5 The main research question and the logic behind consequent sub-questions.**

This main research question is originated from the literature reviews undertaken on employment policy in Italy and in Europe (EU15), highlighting the poor performance of the Southern European Member States' labour markets in the past decades (1900-2000). A deeper review of the Italian case has highlighted how weaknesses in the fragmented Italian labour market have been affecting its performance. It was therefore decided to investigate more deeply one of these specific weaknesses: the low female access rate - not least because of the great emphasis that the European Union has placed on female employment

Since 1997 female employment has been one of the main themes of the European Employment Strategy (EES), and consequently of the Lisbon strategy on employment due to

the different socio-economic development and political identity of the Italian regions identified in the narrative on women's employment policy, the thesis analyses the performance of the female labour market on a geographical and geo-political basis. The finding of the narrative on women's employment in Italy indicates that the relationship between women and work appears to be a complex one.

Italian women, more than men, suffer from the lack of flexibility in the labour market, and struggle to reconcile work and female life, especially after childbirth. They struggle not only because of the structure of the Italian labour market, but also due to the widespread belief that "women with young children should stay at home and look after them instead of working" (Pruna, 2007, p. 11). This is not surprising at all in a society based on the strong breadwinner model.<sup>5</sup>

**Women accessing the labour market also experience both vertical and horizontal segregation.**

➤ Vertical segregation

In Italy, vertical segregation is high, even in those increasing cases where women are more educated than men. For example, in the education sector, women provide 75% of the teaching staff, but only 40% of management. Therefore quantitative data show that Italy is the country in the European Union with the lowest percentage of women in management. Most of the time, women choose jobs that don't have career progression, such as private practice (solicitors, psychologists, business consultants) and self-employed occupations (dressmakers, hairdressers, confectioners), only achieving better pay with far more

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<sup>5</sup>The *strong breadwinner model* is typical of the Southern European countries (Italy, Greece and Spain) (Moreno- Minguéz, 2005, *passim*). It is designed around a model of a male breadwinner and a dependent wife (Rubery et al. 1999, p.119 ). In these countries the taxation system tends to be household based. Welfare benefits give high rights to the spouse, and access to benefits may be dependent on aggregate household income. Childcare is encouraged through unpaid parental leave (Rubery et al. 1999, p. 119).

experience. They also opt for “short” career progression jobs, such as teaching, which offer better opportunities to reconcile work and family life (Pruna, 2007 *passim*).

➤ Horizontal segregation

In Italy, women are still in jobs that have historically been considered for decades “female dominated jobs” such as teachers, nurses, psychologists, interpreters, secretaries, chefs, waitresses and beauticians. It is only fairly recently that women have accessed some male dominated jobs. For instance, women have been in the legal profession since 1919, especially as judges, in the medical profession since 1911, especially as children’s doctors and anaesthetists, whilst, since 1963, there are female architects, and female engineers since 1908 - when women could finally access the *Politecnico di Torino* (the best School of Engineering in Italy). Women are also employed as welfare officers, domestic helpers, teachers and business consultants; but some occupations, like bricklayers and carpenters, plumbers, electricians and blacksmiths, are male dominated jobs - and they likely will be for a long time (Pruna, 2007, pp. 74-77).

The narrative on the Italian case has also highlighted a significant change at the institutional level, namely the creation of a gender specific institution in 1996, the Department of Equal Opportunities, by the Prodi I government (1996-1998). We consider the significance of its creation, and its role in domestic policy in the wider European context as an interesting development to follow. In fact, whilst its institutional design was inspired by socio-economic and political contingencies (nationally and internationally), as explained in Chapter 5, its objectives comprise the main themes on equality between men and women, including employment, which is the focus of this thesis. Consequently, analysis of the Department’s role in multilevel governance, undertaken using Colebatch’s policy framework, is central to the examination of the research sub-questions identified in the next section.

As previously stated, the research project focuses on a first (simple but controversial) question, " what is it policy" or to be clearer "what is framed as policy in this research and



why?" so as to avoid confusion. The research focuses on public policy but, as Parsons points out, the meaning of these two terms (public and policy) changes depending on the historical context. as confirmed by the literature on public policy definition, which is extensive, and goes a long way back (Parsons, 1995 p.14).

It is only since the 1950s - since Lerner and Lasswell (1965) published their volume on "policy sciences" in the United States - that policy has been regarded as a distinct field in the social sciences – one that deals with the process of policy-making in society (Parsons, 1995, p.18). Lasswell introduced the idea of the policy process as evolving through stages. This thesis makes use of this perspective, but through the innovative lens of the Australian scholar, Colebatch, to look at the development of women's employment policy during the European Structural Fund 2000-2006. Colebatch takes what it is called the social construction of policy.

Colebatch's theorisation of the policy process could be seen as a constructivist one, based on the cycle model of two scholars - Bridgman and Davis (2000) - pioneers in the study of policy in Australia. These scholars' model is drawn from Lasswell's stagist approach (1965), according to which the/a policy process consists of a chain of interlocking steps, which Colebatch identifies as goal setting, policy decision, policy implementation and policy evaluation (Colebatch, 1998 p.50). Colebatch progresses from the rigidity of Laswell's stagist or sequential model to a more dynamic model by taking into account the context embedding the social phenomena. His perspective of public policy analysis has a similarly innovative quality as scholars like Wayne Parsons (1995) and Peter John (1998) - who consider the context in which the policy process takes place. Parsons and John , as Colebatch, consider the policy cycle being continuous rather than sequential and they both take a multiple perspectives approach to the analysis of public policy.

This thesis argues that Colebatch's framework takes a social construction perspective to the conceptualisation of policy and so of this policy cycle. In fact, Colebatch distinguishes between established ways of thinking about policy and an alternative perspective which he proposes, and which challenges "the meaning and significance of the old ways" (Colebatch, 2006, p. 5).

Colebatch conceives of "policy" as having been typically understood (by others) as the government's chosen course of action to 'problem recognition', but he suggests an interpretative approach to this definition, because he insists on regarding it as a "concept in use" and not merely as an unproblematic, descriptive term (Colebatch, 1998, p. 13). By 'concept in use' the scholar means that definitions of any policy will express values explaining and validating actions by those making the definitions. Thus, to understand practitioners' behaviours, observers must consider the (inevitably multiple) values embedded in the policy as a "concept in use". Its nature is therefore dynamic, since it is a social construct resulting from the interaction of the participants in the policy process (which itself is dynamic). Therefore, such social construction is described by the Australian scholar as a "particular way of understanding the world" (Colebatch, 1998, p.128). This thesis is rooted in whether "a" particular way of understanding the world was established with regard to female employment policy in Italy in the period 2000-2006 in the experience of two Italian regions (Basilicata and Apulia).

As previously stated, this thesis shares Hecló's (1972, p.84) perspective that policy is not a self-evident term, and, as Colebatch clearly understood, regards policy as a chameleonic term. According to Colebatch, the specific definition (understanding) of any actual policy, in the real world, will be a 'resultant' (a social construct) which can be analysed in terms of how and from what its "attributes" and "distinctive elements" were constituted. Colebatch regards as "attributes" of policy the following three matters: *authority*, *expertise* and *order*. He regards three further features as "distinctive elements": *hierarchy*, *instrumentality* and

*coherence*. When these criteria are effectively met, then a government's chosen course of action can be framed as a process generating policy.

This thesis therefore argues that when these criteria are met, policy is formulated/created and implemented; when they are not met, policy is not created/formulated and implemented. The thesis briefly examines how female employment policy has been perceived through six decades (1900-2000) to provide a context making its constructed nature over time apparent. It has then investigated the development of women's employment policy in Italy in the decade 1996-2006, with specific focus on the European Structural Fund Programme (ESF) 2000-2006. The approach taken is constructivist as phenomena (such as policy) are seen as a social construction whose explanation requires to understand the attitudes and approaches of the participants to the policy process's perspective and to interpret the data collected.

Women's policy development has therefore been investigated by referring to the findings of elite interviews, where the participants to the policy process provided their perspectives of policy development by describing the role that the Department of Equal Opportunities had in developing women's employment policy at multi-level governance.

The thesis then interpreted secondary data (the ESF projects documentation) in the context acquired by the analysis of the primary data.

Colebatch's theory, generated from the study of the policy process in Australia, is applied by this thesis in the wider perspective of the multilevel governance approach in the context of European Integration. In the late 1990s, at the international level of governance the EU acknowledged the low performance of the female labour market as an issue for Member States. The EU therefore included female employment and equality in the European Employment Strategy (EES) that was launched in Lisbon in 2000 after consultation with social partners and civil society. The European Council asked the Member States to draw up multiannual programmes (MAPs) for employment and to provide the Commission with reports on their implementation.

The Member States put female employment and equality on their agendas, and they embodied the Lisbon targets on female employment into their National Action Plans (NAPs), setting out a strategy by means of which they would adapt their employment and gender policies to the EU principles and standards. The Member States' national level was monitored and outcomes evaluated (at the sub-national, specifically regional) level of governance, by employing benchmarking and best practices e.g. the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), in line with the specific objectives and processes identified in their national and regional operational plans.

Scholars argue that the "EU attempted to produce a multi-area strategy cutting across a range of domains that affect employment, such as taxation, unemployment, education and gender policies" (Trubek et al. 2001, *passim*). The combination of employment policy and gender policy in relation to working women's issues is a significant aspect of the thesis's research area. The application of Colebatch's interpretative approach to the concept of policy facilitates the analysis of the complexity of the policy process regarding women's participation in the labour force, especially the interaction of the key participants in the policy process, and the implications of that complexity for policy development in this field.

The multilevel governance approach is, as previously stated, essential in order to provide the reader with an understanding of the interaction of different levels of governance (EU-National-Regional) in the vertical dimension (the authoritative choice's account of policy), as well as the relationships between the participants in the horizontal dimensions ( the structured interaction's account of policy)..

The narrative on working women's issues suggests that in the First Republic, Italy produced only sporadic pieces of legislation and a plethora of non-governmental equality bodies. In practice, through the 1950s-70s, working women's issues were part of the ideological debate rather than a policy field in itself. Not all of the attributes of policy were, in fact, in place; Italy still lacked an effective authority, mobilised expertise and a well-understood order. Female

employment appears to be part of the wider issue of employment; no authority existed to lead on this theme until the creation of the Department of Equal Opportunities in 1996.

Colebatch's conceptualisation of policy is here applied to the Italian case to investigate the possible development in Italy of women's employment policy in the Second Republic. The probable existence of policy can be determined by identifying its attributes, and is distinctively in line with Colebatch's theory. Accordingly, each of the three attributes and distinctive elements are now explained in turn

Colebatch explicates that:

i) Authority is one of three attributes of policy. And by authority Colebatch means "Ministers, Cabinet, legislatures and specialist officials acting on their behalf through formal and informal procedures" (Colebatch 1998, p. 90). Quoting Colebatch: "These figures cascade down (policy) through the organisation via the principle of hierarchy" (Colebatch, 1998, p.7). Hierarchy is the distinctive element of authority. In the multilevel governance approach, the tiers of governance consist of the EU/ Member States/Regions. So these specific tiers will be probed in this research, being the authorities of multilevel governance.

ii) Expertise is the second attribute of policy, and by it Colebatch means "knowledge, both of the problem area and the things that might be done about it" (Colebatch, 1998, p.7). Instrumentality is the distinctive element of expertise which can be identified with a new institution - the Department of Equal Opportunities - which consisted of specialist expertise on a variety of women's issues (for instance, employment issues, as explained in Chapter 3.). A body of experts can be considered, as explained in Chapter 7,8,9 - the case study - the team created in the Basilicata Region in the European Structural Fund Programme 2000-2006. This body of experts designed and disseminated divulged a specific policy tool - the Voucher Grant Scheme - which in 2005 won the Award "EU Best Practice Model". Instead, no body of expertise was present in the Apulia Region.

The research probes whether or not these bodies of expertise were embedded in the national/sub-national authorities (the Italian government, specifically in the Presidency of the Council of the Ministers and the gender related institution in the regional administration of Basilicata), and so were authorities in themselves as policy co-ordinators of the Regions.

iii) Order is the third and final attribute of policy according to Colebatch. By it, he means “the shared understanding about how the participants will act in particular circumstances” (Colebatch, 1998 p. 91). Coherence is the distinctive element of order, so the harmonisation of the existing scattered legislation (specifically the Consolidation Act 2001) might be considered an important instrument in creating such an order. However, it is not necessarily sufficient. Related policy activities (specifically the activities of two regions’ policy initiatives in relation to the reconciliation of work and family life) at the regional level might then be examples/consequences of this order being implemented or not implemented in practice. The analysis of the Act and a case study of women’s employment policy delivery/evaluation by two different regions in chapter six thus probes whether, and if so to what extent, such an order was established, if policy was implemented and so delivered, and which outcomes were generated.

Thus, in order to answer the main research question (**whether or not Italy developed women’s employment policy during ESF 2000-2006**), three research sub-questions must be investigated:

- i) Was the significance of developing equality and labour policy (e.g the European Employment Strategy) cascaded down through the tiers of multilevel governance by the authorities?
- ii) Was a relevant body of experts created in the women’s policy field? i.e. was the DPO and/or any other body: a) a body of experts? and b) relevant?
- iii) Was an order (specifically the harmonized legislation and policy activity) created in the women’s employment field, or at least some part/s of it?

To answer these three research sub-questions, the research describes the role played by: 1) the authorities: the EU, the Prodi I and Berlusconi II and III governments, the Regions, and subsequently, 2) the body of experts within the Department of Equal Opportunities and the Basilicata Region. Critically, the thesis then explores whether or not a common and shared understanding of issues related to women's employment policy, i.e. an 'order', was created. In this regard, the research focuses on the reconciliation of work and family life. Here, it begins by describing the contents of the Consolidation Act 2001, which resulted from the inter-governmental work undertaken by the Department of Equal Opportunities. The Consolidation Act 2001 was chosen here, as it collates in a single piece of legislation all the previous scattered pieces of provisions slotted in different laws on employment equalizing working women to working men.

Literature on "perfect implementation" emphasizes the key importance of policy being subordinated in a hierarchy understanding and sharing/accepting the objectives of policy. Policy objectives must be fully understood and accepted by "street-level bureaucrats" (Lipsky 2010) who Pressman and Wildavsky's regards not as passive implementers in a simplistic top-down view of the policy process but active participants in the policy process (Dorey 2014, p. 242).

A case study approach was taken so as to explore whether or not EU legislation and policies and the Consolidation Act 2001 - which the thesis recognizes being an important step towards the creation of an order - were effectively cascaded down to women's employment policy participants to create a shared understanding amongst them. The A.G.I.R.E Project 2007-2008 is a European funded initiative intended to promote the sharing of information, expertise and good practice on gender related issues.

The project's main goal (as previously explained) is to construct a shared understanding and to extend the creation of a new policy 'order' throughout the country. The thesis looks at a particular policy activity - "The Voucher" 2005 Grant Scheme - which compares the

experiences of two regions undertaking a initiative themed on the “reconciliation of work and family life”. Positive/negative outcomes provide evidence of the construction, or not, of a shared understanding based on the popularization of ordered knowledge (specifically the EU policies and legislation and the Consolidation Act 2001).

### 1.6 Research Strategy

The research strategy takes a hybrid approach to the investigation of the research question. A deductive approach generated hypotheses from a theory (specifically Colebatch’s framework) to probe these hypotheses, data were collected, and their findings analysed. Then the hypotheses were confirmed or rejected within a methodological framework that included the possible revision of the theory (Bryman 2004, p. 9). However, the finding of qualitative elite interviews enriched existing factual knowledge by offering the personal perspectives of privileged observers on the set of phenomena investigated in line with constructivist theory,

Thus, the narrative introduces the research topic. The main research question was formulated from the findings of the narrative on women’s employment policy. Subsequently, research sub-questions were generated and then hypotheses. The hypotheses are tested according to the chosen theory employed in chapters 7-8-9 (the case study chapters). The analytical-cum-descriptive chapters (4,5,6) comprise the data collection, and contextualize the case study. The analysis of the case study leads us to the analysis of the findings (chapter 10), and so to the confirmation, adaptation or rejection of the main hypothesis.

Colebatch’s framework, as previously stated in the thesis, is rooted in a constructivist, interpretative approach (adopting ontological and epistemological positions). In the investigation of the main research question of this thesis, policy is considered as a social construct which results from the nature and extent of the interaction of the intended participants in the policy process. It is conceived by Colebatch as a “*concept in use by a wide range of participants to public life*” (Colebatch, 1998, ix). The policy process,



specifically the possible development of women's employment policy, is considered as a social phenomenon to be investigated during a specific date span, specifically the decade 1996-2006, with particular focus on the ESF Programme 2000-2006, with regard to a specific project (the AGIRE POR Project 2007-2008) in a specific country – Italy, placed in a comparative context (EU15). In short, the thesis is a case study.

The chosen methodology – that of the case study research design - offers the opportunity to study an instance of a phenomenon in detail, understood as being significant in terms of the problems and the theoretical issues that are investigated (Denscombe, 2007, p.40). Mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative) were employed in the multilevel design of the research; quantitative data are dominant at the comparative, EU, level, and qualitative data at the national (Italy) and regional (Basilicata and Apulia) levels (Denscombe, 2007, 115). Quantitative data used in the research project consist of both nominal data (to place things into categories, such as gender, nationality, etc.); interval data (to rank and scale categories, such as in calendar years) to statistically describe phenomena, ordinal data (which typically measure non-numeric concepts like satisfaction, happiness, discomfort and ratio data which give the ultimate-order, interval values.

Quantitative data are presented in tables and charts in the narrative on women's employment policy, because tables are very useful to group and compare nominal data and charts (e.g. stacked bar charts, histograms and pie charts) and for showing the proportion of factors that make up the total (Denscombe 2007, p.275). Both types of data are useful in terms of comparative analysis in a European and national context.

Qualitative data consists of the narrative analysis of documents (for instance government publications) and of the findings of semi-structured interviews, specifically elite interviews (Corbetta, 2003, *passim*). The sample of interviewees is small, but it can be considered significant for the purpose of the research, because the respondents were serving in the DPO at the time the (fairly small) office was created, and because most of them still

cooperate with or work for the institution. The size of the sample has not been a specific choice but rather the result of the difficulty of reaching more officials due to the high turnover of staff in senior management and, in a few instances, the lack of cooperation.

Elite interviews were undertaken with people who cooperated with the Department of Equal Opportunities between 1996 and 2006. Their perspectives, as participants to the policy process, enriched existing knowledge on how and why the Department of Equal Opportunities was created, what role it had at multilevel governance and how it coordinated the ESF funding granted to the regions.

The sample consisted of:

**i. four senior civil servants:**

- **Giovanna Indiretto** who worked for the Department since its creation and when she was interviewed she was still cooperating with the Department in her role of equal opportunity coordinator at the Institute for Development and Vocational Training of Workers<sup>6</sup>. Her interview shed light on the institution's formation, its role, its relationship with pre-existing equality bodies. In addition, the interview discussed the cultural context of Italian working women in the 2000s.
- **Alberto De Stefano** who worked for the Department since its creation in different positions and he also cooperated with the Commission for Equal Opportunities. When he was interviewed was currently Head of the Office of the Director General and Director of the Crèche, known as "Huey, Dewey and Louie". His interview provided information on the creation of the new institution, its relationship with the

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<sup>6</sup> In Italian at the time of the interviews, the institute was called ISFOL (Istituto pubblico di Ricerca sui temi delle politiche sociali e del lavoro). On 1st December 2016, ISFOL became INAPP (Istituto Nazionale per Analisi delle Politiche Pubbliche/National Institute for the Analysis of Public Policy).

<http://www.isfol.it/primo-piano/il-30-novembre-presentazione-inapp>

Commission for Equal Opportunities and the role of the department at multilevel governance.

- **Clara Collarile** who worked for the Department since its creation and held the position of Director General for the Division for Economic and Social Interventions. She retired a few years before she was interviewed. Her Interview discussed the use of the European Structural Funds, the working relationships that the department had at multilevel governance, at European level with the DG Employment, Social Affairs, and Equal Opportunities in Brussels, with the Ministry of Labour and at sub-national level with the twenty-one Italian regions.
- **Stefano La Porta** who was Deputy Head of Ministerial staff between 2001- 2004 and Head of Ministerial staff in 2005. Stefano Laporta outlined the relationship that the Department of Equal Opportunities had with the Committee for Equal Opportunities part of the Ministry of Labour and other pre-existing equality bodies

## ii. two experts

- **Suor Marcella Farina** who was professor of Theology at the Papal University “Auxilium” and a member of Commission for Equal Opportunities since 1997. Her interview provided information on the role of the Commission for Equal Opportunities and its relationship with the Department of Equal Opportunities.
- **Laura Ronchetti** who worked in the Legislative Office from 1998 to 2001 and at the time of the interview was a reserach for the Italian National Reserach Council<sup>7</sup>. Her interview discussed the institution’s formation and its role at multilevel governance.

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<sup>7</sup> In Italian Consiglio Nazionale di Ricerca (CNR)

<https://www.cnr.it/>

#### iv. and a former Minister of Equal Opportunities

- Laura Balbo, who was Minister between 1998- 2000, under the left wing D'Alema government (I and II). Her interview provided information on the institution's formation, the relationship with the Commission for Equal Opportunities and the Ministry of Labour.

These respondents were identified by consulting the Italian Civil Service Year Book (Guida Azzurra) which helped to reconstruct the hierarchical structures of the Department of Equal Opportunities. Their roles were clarified by retrieving departmental archived webpages by using the Wayback Machine<sup>8</sup> internet Archive. The respondents were interviewed during summer 2009 in Rome. interviews were tape-recorded in tandem with note-taking. The bilingual (Italian and English) versions of the transcript and interviews' audio in Italian (converted in Media player files) have been enclosed as Annex A.

Elite interviews have proven to be an effective methodological tool to learn from privileged observers about their perceptions of issues and significant events - for instance the creation of the department and its portal La Rete Project, where information about the AGIRE POR 2007-2008 are hosted. Interviewees also identified key documents, for instance government publications, in the public domain, which could then be retrieved online. Most of the department's internal documentation is still confidential and therefore inaccessible to the public, according to the Italian legislation. Elite interviews were also significant in understanding the role that the Department of Equal Opportunities played at multi-level governance as regard women's employment policy development and therefore the findings contributed to cast light on our first sub-question about the formulation and cascading down of policy.

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<sup>8</sup> <https://archive.org/web/>

Source availability was taken into account to ensure the feasibility of the project; data mostly were retrieved on-line or from the Cardiff Library service. The validity of the sources has been considered based on three key elements, authenticity, credibility and representativeness (Denscombe 2007, p. 233). Therefore only information retrieved from reliable sources were considered, for instance well-established journals (e.g. *Politics, Modern Italy, and West European Politics*) databases (e.g. Informaworld, European Source online, Swetwise,) government websites (e.g. UN, EU, and Italian government departments, regions and municipalities websites) and research institute (e.g. ISFOL, ISTAT, UMIST)

Limitations occur for all studies; in this case we could not access beneficiaries data of the ESF Programme 2000-2006. Data set are normally published on the Regions' website from 2007 onwards. In fact, the ESF Regulation(2007-2013) made compulsory the transparency of beneficiaries data for Member States and their publication on-line as part of the Open data governmental project to be compliant with the digitalisation of public service, as the ESF Regulations (2000-2006) only recommended Member States to exchange good practices. However, elite interview were a useful tool to understand the dynamic of the case studies in relation to women's policy development.

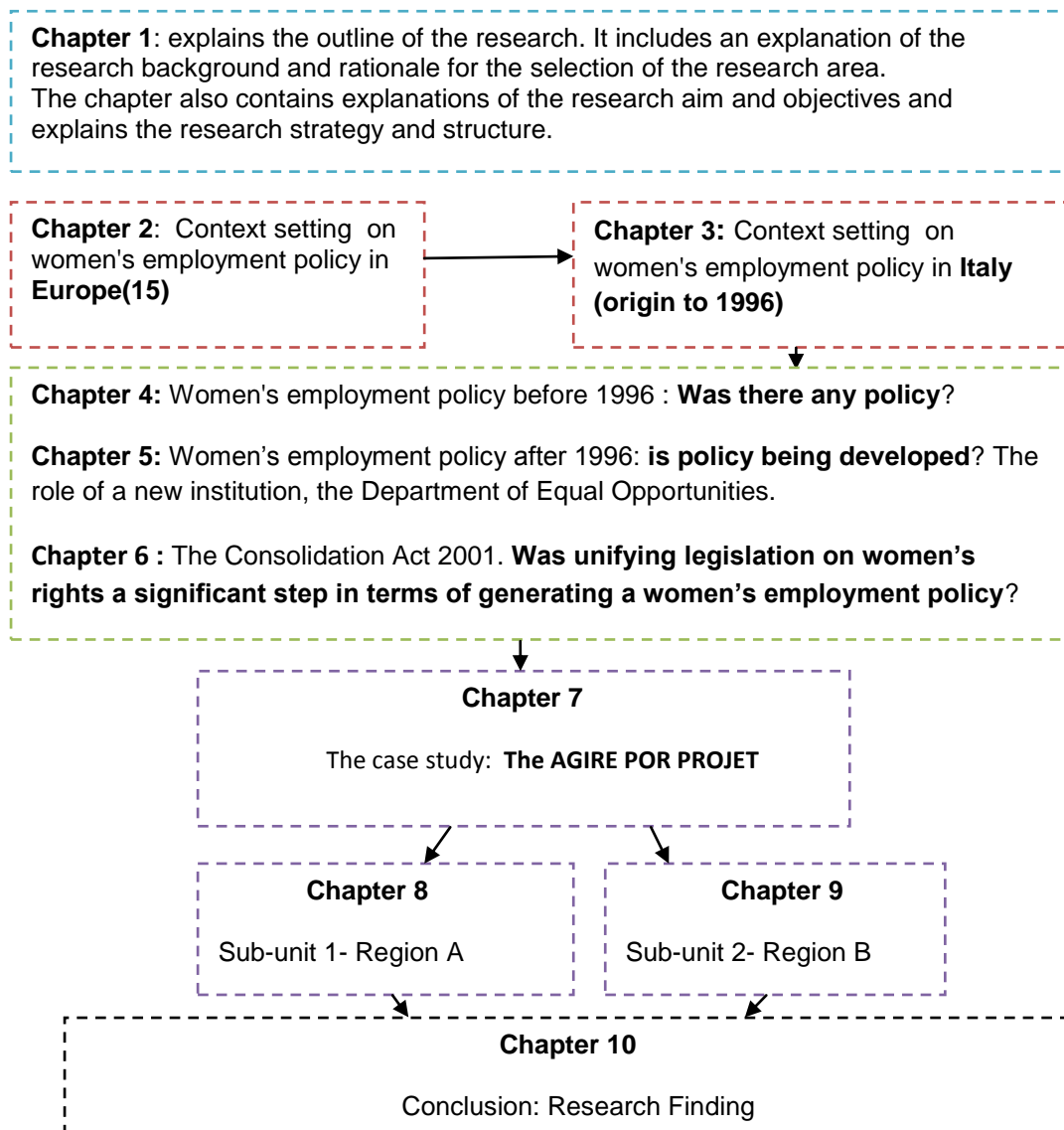
## **7. Research Structure**

The thesis structure is framed around the sub-questions that need to be probed in order to answer the main research question. The thesis structure consists of an introductory chapter (1), two contextualising chapters (2,3); three descriptive-cum-analytical "lead in" chapters (4,5,6); a core the case study (7,8.9); and a lead out analytical chapter (10). Chapter 4 and 5 addresses the first research sub-question: "Was the significance of developing equality and labour policy (e.g the European Employment Strategy) cascaded down through the tiers of multilevel governance by the authorities?". Chapter 6 addresses the second reasearch sub-question: "Was a relevant body of experts created in the women's policy field? i.e. was the DPO and/or any other body: a) a body of experts? and b) relevant?" and chapter 8 and 9

addresses the third research sub-question: "Was an order (specifically the harmonized legislation and policy activity) created in the women's employment field, or at least some part/s of it?".

The diagram in the next page describes in detail the structure of the thesis

Diagram. 1 **Structure of the thesis**



## **Conclusions**

This chapter introduced the topic of the research, the research background and objectives, the rationale for the study and the research strategy. Its primary aim is to set the scene for the study and to explain the importance of the research.

Next chapter examines the topical dimension of the study: women's employment policy. The chapter (2) covers the narrative on women's employment in Europe (15) to provide the context for women's employment policy in Italy (chapter 3).

## **Chapter 2**

### **Context Setting**

#### **Women's Employment Policy in Europe.**

#### **Aim**

The aim of this chapter is to explore the literature on women's employment in Europe (15) and to provide the context for women's employment policy in Italy (chapter 3).

#### **Structure**

The narrative on women's employment policy in Europe provides:

- i) an outline of the correlation of welfare systems and socio-cultural models with women's employment policy - included here to identify cross-national differences in the Members States' societies;
- ii) the analysis of the socio-economic changes which affected the female labour market in Europe in the last decades – included here to define the socio-economic context that influenced the development of women's employment policy across Europe;
- iii) the identification of the main issues in women's employment policy arising in Europe and the broad policy stances of the Member States on those issues and
- iv) a glance over the approach taken by the European Union on gender and equalities issues from the Treaty of Rome (1975) to the Social Charter of Fundamental Rights (2004) to summarize the European Union's stance on working women's rights.



The narrative on working women's issues makes substantial reference to the work of the EGGE (Expert Group on Gender and Employment), which was set up in the 1990s under the European Commission's fourth action programme on equal opportunities for women and men in the European Union – intended to provide the necessary expert advice, research and policy evaluation to assist the Commission's Equal Opportunities Unit located in DG Employment. The group comprises independent academic experts with longstanding experience of working in the field of equal opportunities and employment. And its coordination is carried out within the European Work and Employment Research Centre at Manchester School of Management, UMIST, under the direction of Professor Jill Rubery.

The EGGE (Rubery et al., 1998) has categorically identified six issues as the causes hampering women's access to the labour market at the European level (specifically: taxation, scarcity of part-time work, job segregation, childcare, retirement policies and the wage gap). In the literature review, these issues have been examined at the Italian level by referring to the work of scholars outlining the historical narrative on working women's rights (Ballestrero, 1979) and describing the situation prevailing during the past four decades (Pruna, 2007). Data on female employment rates have been collated from the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) to highlight geographical differences (Northern/Southern regions). The literature review also identified the creation, during the Prodi I government in 1996 of a specific gender institution: the Department of Equal Opportunities.

## **2.1. An outline of the correlation of welfare systems and socio-cultural models with women's employment policy.**

### **➤ Welfare Systems and Member States**

Before delineating the EU Member States' welfare systems, some background information needs to be included on the various theoretical models that exist for welfare systems. "In the 1950s, models emanating from the USA distinguished between residual welfare - where needs were met by markets or families (...), and an institutional model offering universal,

rights-based (...) welfare. The residual model was exemplified by the USA and the institutional model by the Scandinavian countries” (Hantrais, 2007, p. 300). In the 1980s, in a context of floating economies - whereby exchange-rate regimes allow currencies’ values to fluctuate in response to foreign-exchange market mechanisms, scientists began to look for new models of welfare systems. And in the early 1990s, a Scandinavian theorist - Esping-Andersen - developed a series of indices to measure the performance of the social security systems in 18 OECD countries (Hantrais, 2007, p. 303). The author’s classification of welfare systems “can teach us a lot about the complex relationships between the state, the market, and the family, considered the three cornerstones of the welfare edifice” (Flaquer, 2000).

Based on the Esping-Andersen theory, Hantrais’s re-classification of the welfare systems in Europe reflects the actual hybrid scenario:

a) The **conservative-corporate model** corresponds to the welfare systems in the EEC Founder Member States (Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands), because they are work-based and social insurance principled.

b) The **social-democratic model** corresponds to the countries that joined the Union in the 1970s (Denmark, Ireland, UK, Finland and Sweden) - even though it can be argued that the UK moved closer to the (neo)-liberal model (typical of the Anglo-American countries) after Thatcherism.

The Southern European welfare states (Greece, Portugal, and Spain - which joined in the 1980s) do not fit any of the three models. We can consider this group as a Southern European model. They rely heavily on self-provision by family members (Hantrais, 2007, p.300). And it is only in the last decade that they have become a “specific subject for academic interest” (Rodhes, 1997, Flaquer, 2000 *passim*).

This research grouped the 15 members states (EU15) into the three groups

a) **Group 1:** Corporatist insurance-based

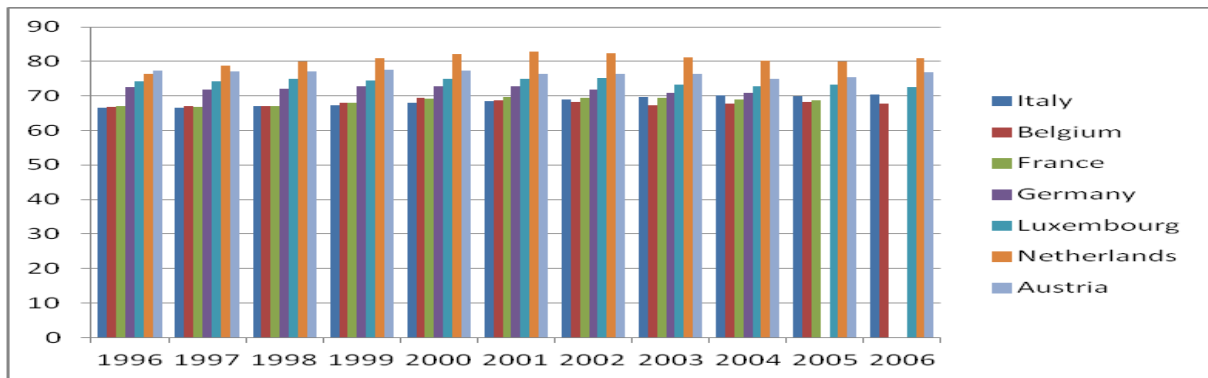
b) **Group 2 :** Social Democratic - general taxation-based and;

c) **Group 3:** Southern European - self-providing for family members.

The figures below show female employment rates from 1996 - 2006.

**Group 1 Corporatist, insurance- based**

**Figure 1 Data 1996- 2006 female employment rates**



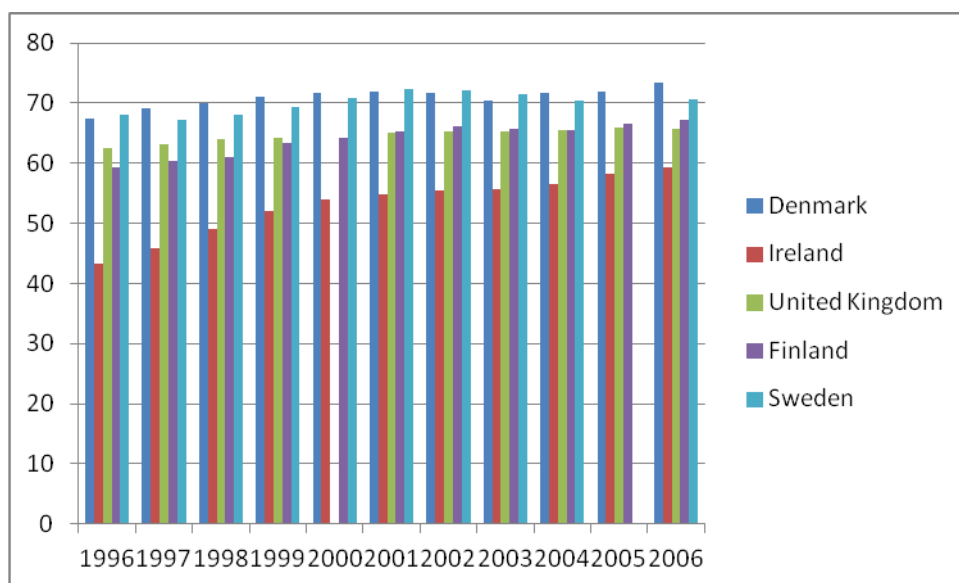
**Table 1 Data 1996-2006 female employment rates**

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Italy	66.7	66.5	67	67.3	68	68.5	69.1	69.6	70.1	69.9	70.5
Belgium	66.9	67.1	67	68.1	69.5	68.8	68.3	67.3	67.9	68.3	67.9
France	67	66.9	67	68	69.2	69.7	69.5	69.4	68.9	68.8	68.5
Germany	72.6	71.9	72	72.8	72.9	72.8	71.8	70.9	70.8	71.3	72.8
Luxembourg	74.3	74.3	75	74.5	75	75	75.1	73.3	72.8	73.3	72.6
Netherlands	76.5	78.8	80	80.9	82.1	82.8	82.4	81.1	80.2	79.9	80.9
Austria	77.3	77.1	77	77.6	77.3	76.4	76.4	76.4	74.9	75.4	76.9

Data Eurostat

## Group 2 Social Democratic - general taxation based

**Figure 2 Social Democratic - female employment rates**



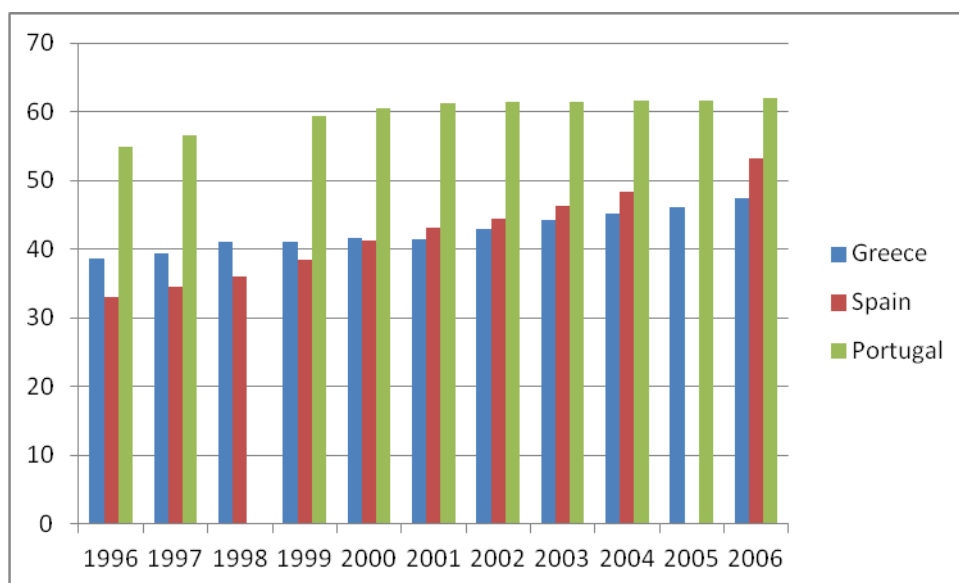
**Table 2 Data 1996-2006 female employment rates**

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Denmark	67.4	69.1	70	71.1	71.6	72	71.7	70.5	71.6	71.9	73.4
Ireland	43.2	45.9	49	52	53.9	54.9	55.4	55.7	56.5	58.3	59.3
United Kingdom	62.5	63.1	64	64.2	64.7	65	65.2	65.3	65.6	65.9	65.8
Finland	59.4	60.3	61	63.4	64.2	65.4	66.2	65.7	65.6	66.5	67.3
Sweden	68.1	67.2	68	69.4	70.9	72.3	72.2	71.5	70.5	70.4	70.7

Data Eurostat

### Group 3 Southern European- self-providing of families' members

**Figure 3 Data 1996-2006 female employment rates**



**Table 3 Data 1996-2006 female employment rates**

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Greece	38.7	39.3	41	41	41.7	41.5	42.9	44.3	45.2	46.1	47.4
Spain	33.1	34.6	36	38.5	41.3	43.1	44.4	46.3	48.3	51.2	53.2
Portugal	54.9	56.5	58.2	59.4	60.5	61.3	61.4	61.4	61.7	61.7	62

Data Eurostat

Looking at these figures, it seems that female employment rates in Western Europe are not strongly influenced by the welfare systems, as it clearly appears that Austria and Denmark have essentially the same employment rates, even though they belong to different welfare systems. Other examples that can be cited are Ireland and Portugal, France and the UK and Greece and Italy. As a result, the data lead us to the conclusion the welfare system seems not to have a strong impact on women's employment policy, therefore we might need to take

into consideration another relevant element such as the “gender culture” of each of these States.

➤ **Culture systems and Member States**

The first point that needs to be clarified is the meaning of the expression “gender culture”. Many authors (Pfau-Effinger, 2004; Rubery et al. 1999) describe by this expression the policy of welfare state institutions and culture systems that influence the female labour market. Pfau-Effinger outlines two types of sociological approaches to studying cross-national difference in various societies (Pfau-Effinger, 2004, p.14-32); the “structuralism” (or institutionalism) that deals with the influence of the social institutions on the gendered division of labour, and the “idealistic”, according to which theory the comparison of societies are best explained by the influence of cultural systems. The author also expounds a third approach - which treats the two approaches as a coherent unit. This is the patriarchal-theoretical approach - which I will follow in my own analysis.

In Western Europe **five** gender-cultural models can be identified (Pfau-Effinger, 2004, p. 56):

1. **a family based economy** (men and women, both work and contribute to the family economy);
2. **housewife model of the (male) breadwinner** (men work; women are responsible for household and childcare and are financially dependent);
3. the **(female) part-time carer model of the (male) breadwinner family** (women work full time, apart from the period of active motherhood - after which they return to work);
4. **the dual breadwinner/institutional care model** (men and women both work full time, but they are considered as individuals) and;
5. **the dual breadwinner/dual carer model** (men and women both work with equal responsibility for the household)

The difference between model 1 and 5 must be noted, model 1 is based on men and women as 1 unit (the family) whereas model 5 is based on men and women as 2 units (individuals).

These models can be simply sub-grouped into **three** trends in Western Europe (Rubery et al. 1999, p. 119);

1. ***The strong breadwinner model*** - that includes the first two models - is typical of the Southern European countries (Italy, Greece and Spain) (Moreno- Minguéz, 2005, *passim*) that are designed around a model of a male breadwinner and a dependent wife (Rubery et al. 1999, p.119 ). In these countries the taxation system tends to be household based; welfare benefits give high rights to the spouse, and access to benefits may be dependent on aggregate household income. Childcare is encouraged through unpaid parental leave (Rubery et al. 1999, p. 119).
2. ***A modified male breadwinner model*** - that includes the second and third model - is typical of France and the UK, combining household taxation with childcare provision and taxation, with means-tested benefits and some childcare provision (Rubery et al. 1999)
3. ***A weak male breadwinner model*** - that includes the fourth and fifth model - is typical of the Nordic countries (Pfau-Effinger, 2004, p. 58; Rubery, et al. 1999) where both adults work and are looking for work and taxation and benefits are more related to the individual.

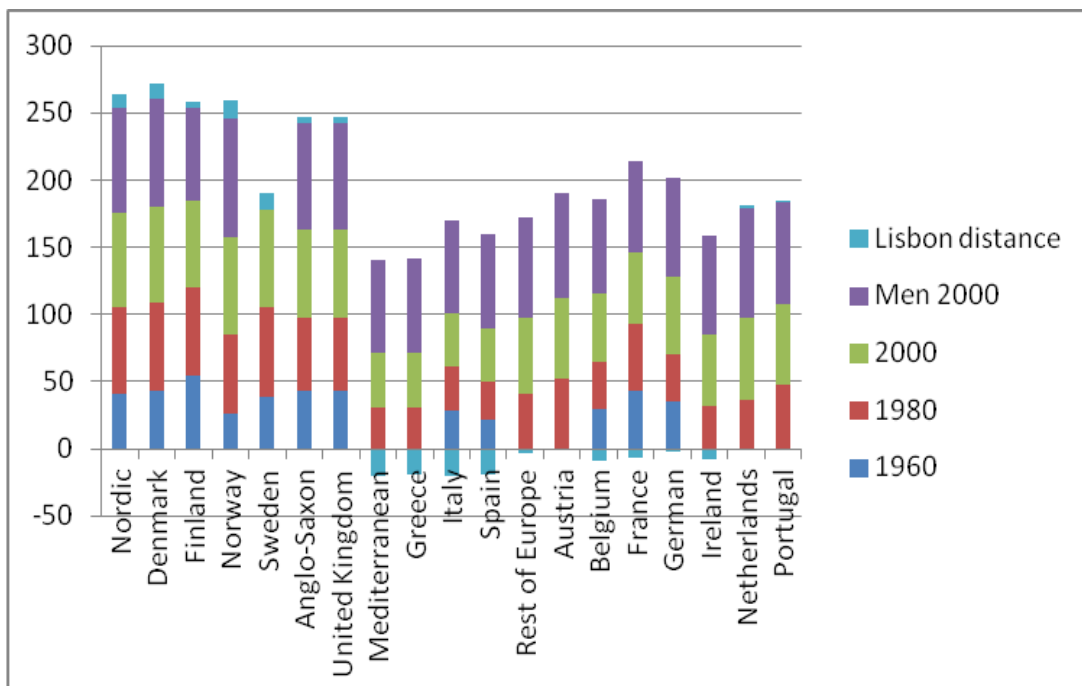
The research identified three models which are useful to achieving a better understanding of female employment rates across Europe. I will therefore re-group the EU member States (I refer to EU 15) into **four** groups, based on the similarities in their economies, welfare states and gender culture:

1. **Mediterranean** (Spain, Italy and Greece),
2. **Nordic** (Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark)

3. **Anglo-Saxon** (United Kingdom)
4. **The rest of Europe** (France, Austria, Belgium, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands and Portugal).

This classification helps to have a general overview of the women's employment situation in Europe. The table below on female employment rates outlines the actual situation of these countries since 1960, and the distance that they need to cover to meet the Lisbon objectives (Pissaders et al., 2005, p. 13). As we can observe, there is a clear difference between these groups. The data outline the difficult situation surrounding the Mediterranean countries and Belgium, France and Ireland. On the other hand, the percentages of the Nordic countries are good

**Figure 4 Female employment rates, 1960-2000 persons aged 15 to 64 years.**





**Table 4 Female employment rates, 1960-2000 persons aged 15 to 64 years.**

	1960	1980	2000	Men 2000	Lisbon distance
<b>Nordic</b>	<b>40.5</b>	64.3	70.3	78.6	10.3
Denmark	42.7	66.2	71.2	80.4	11.2
Finland	54.9	65	64.3	69.7	4.3
Norway	26.1	58.4	73.4	88.1	13.4
Sweden	38.1	67.6	72.1	.	12.1
<b>Anglo-Saxon</b>	<b>43.1</b>	54.5	65.2	79.3	5.2
United Kingdom	43.1	54.5	65.2	79.3	5.2
<b>Mediterranean</b>		30.8	40.1	69.7	-19.9
Greece		30.7	40.4	70.2	-19.6
Italy	28.1	33.2	39.7	68.5	-20.3
Spain	21	28.4	40.3	70.3	-19.7
<b>Rest of Europe</b>		41	56.6	74.4	-3.4
Austria		52.4	59.3	78.1	-0.7
Belgium	29.6	35	51.1	69.8	-8.9
France	42.9	50	53.1	68.1	-6.9
German	35	34.8	58.1	73.5	-1.9
Ireland		32.2	52.2	74	-7.8
Netherlands		35.7	62.1	81.1	2.1
Portugal		47.1	60.1	75.9	0.1

**Note:** Lisbon distance is the percentage difference between the female employment rate in 2000 and 60 per cent.

Source OECD 2000 (Boeri et al., 2005)

## **2.2 The socio-economic changes which influenced the female labour market in Europe over the last decades.**

Despite the difference among countries and/or categories of countries, the data in the above table evidence the increasing percentage of women in employment during recent years. This growth has been reported by the International Labour Organisation (ILO). According to the *Global Employment trends for Women Brief, 2007* “the growing proportion of women in the labour force and the narrowing gap between male and female participation rates have been one of the most striking labour markets trends of recent times” (ILO, *Brief, March 2007*). In order to understand this increase, the key socio-economic factors that have brought about such striking labour markets trends need to be identified and explained.

### **Social change**

#### **a) Changes in gender roles**

One key factor can be identified as driving the changes in gender role in the labour market: The rise of the service economy in all industrialised economies following the downturn in manufacturing industry since the 1960s, is the factor most closely associated with the rise of women’s employment. In fact, the trend has been for women to move from unpaid work (performing household chores and childcare) to the paid labour market. Crouch identified the following specific reasons:

1. the automation of the kitchen and the growth of electrical domestic appliances that made household chores easier.
2. the changes in family sizes. In fact, women were more and more inclined to have fewer children. Therefore there was a considerable reduction in the quantity of childcare needed.
3. the growth of part-time jobs in some countries - such as the Netherlands and the UK.
4. the help received from other family members as family obligations, such as grandmothers helping with childcare.

5. the help received from other people (often other women) in carrying out domestic tasks. (Crouch, 2007, pp. 226-228)

Crouch also identified the kind of jobs in the service economy that were and still are taken by women. These jobs are often in the community and social services sector: women are nurses, teachers, and care workers. But women also work in food preparation, distributive services (food outlets and shops), as cleaners and childminders (in the last two categories often paid informally by the women who employ them). However, the change in gender roles in the labour market differs depending on the country; growth was more significant in the Nordic countries and the UK, and less considerable in the Catholic ones (such as Italy and Spain) where family obligations remained very strong (Crouch, 2007).

#### **b) Changes in family patterns**

Over the last two generations, many women have not opted for the standard route whereby they complete education, get married and have children (Iacovou and Berthoud, 2001).

Furthermore, ethnic and religious backgrounds play an important role in the changes to women's lifestyles. According to Iacovou and Berthoud, Northern/Protestant Europe is very different from Southern/Catholic Europe. For example, in 1973 in Britain, two-thirds of all women in their late twenties were formally married and had children. But in 1997, just a third took this route. Instead, in Spain, Portugal and Greece, women were used to living (and they still do) with their parents until they get married. And they have children soon after marriage (Iacovou and Berthoud, 2001). This insight is also shared by Moreno-Minguez - who pinpoints the influence of the changes in family patterns on female employment. In fact, the scholar states that, "in some European countries, fundamentally in the social democratic welfare regimes, the growing economic independence achieved by women in the decade of the seventies was favoured on one hand by the transformation of family financial models and, on the other hand, by the transformation of traditional divisions of family tasks" (Moreno-Minguez, 2005, p. 3).

As a result, Moreno-Minguez asserts that in the Northern European countries, women easily access the labour market because of the decline of the traditional, patriarchal family model (Moreno-Minguez, 2005, *ibidem*). As the scholar mentions, in these countries, the nuclear family model prevails more and more, whereas in the Southern European countries, women are still cooped up in the traditional, patriarchal family model (the so called extended family model), principally being mothers and wives before workers.

Economists praise the Northern/Protestant model, whereas sociologists describe it as a disaster. So, where is the truth? I personally believe that the best solution is in the reconciliation of work and family life - as the combined EU Member States stressed in the European Councils at Essen and Cannes - where they promoted the *Mainstream Gender Equality* that provides for the reconciliation of working and family life not only for women, but also for men (Kenner, 2003, p. 332).

#### **d) Inward and intra-EU migration**

Inward and intra-EU migration also played a key role in the growth of women in the labour force. In fact, “contrary to the popular belief and academic literature, women constitute half of all EU migrants; in many European Member States women actually dominate European migration flows” (Ackers 1996, pp. 324). The table below confirms that women have constituted over half of all international migrants inward and intra Europe since at least 1990, and constituted only fractionally below that (47.7% in 1970 & 1975) at the lowest, in the period 1960-2005.

### ***e) Inward migration***

Immigrant women often tend to join their husband under a 'family reunification' policy, but also they immigrate alone, both as skilled workers under special visa regimes (such as the blue card immigration scheme) and as low-skilled workers in sectors of the economy where there is a shortage of labour. "It is to be noted that an important number of immigrant women domestic workers are undocumented and therefore are in extremely precarious situations, vulnerable to exploitation and violence, without worker's legal rights and without access to social rights and healthcare" (Position Papers, EWL, 2002).

### ***f) Intra-EU migration***

The rates of migration among women have increased especially in the 1990s after the establishment of the Single European Market (SEA).

#### **➤ Economic changes**

### **a) The European Monetary Union**

"In January 1985 the Commission proposed realizing the objectives of a market without internal frontiers by the end of 1992. The detailed measures for the removal of physical, technical and fiscal barriers were set out in a White Paper, which specified the precise programme, timetable and methods for creating a unified economic area in which persons, goods, services and capital would be able to move freely. This objective was embodied in December 1985 in the Single European Act. The Single European Act marked the first significant revision of the Treaty of Rome. It introduced important changes in the Community's strategy for advancing the integration process" (Delors, J. 1989, p.9) . "The SEA was a clear example of functional spill over" (Carsten Strøby, 2003, p. 85). and "in adopting the Single Act, the Member States of the Community confirmed the objective of progressive realization of economic and monetary union" (Delors, J. 1989, p.3)

The Member States had attempted to launch EMU since the late 1960s without great success. The SEA outlined the importance of the convergence and economic criteria, causing the EMU idea to be revamped in 1988, during the Hanover Council. In its first stage, beginning in the 1990s, EMU aimed to achieve the convergence of the economies of the Member States and adopt a single currency.

In 1993, the SEA was entered into force. Its main objective was the implementation of the four freedoms (services, people, capital and goods). This was implied, in 1994, in the so-called second stage of EMU - the creation of a European Monetary Institute (EMI) that also prepared the grounds for the third stage of EMU - when the *Euro system* was completed: a single currency (euro) was adopted, a European Central Bank (ECB) created to manage this single currency in the “Euro zone”, and a Stability and Growth Pact established.

The Stability and Growth pact aimed, by introducing budgetary discipline, to reconstruct Member State economies and to increase employment in the Single European Market. The pact aimed to boost employment, particularly female employment.

### **b) Female employment growth**

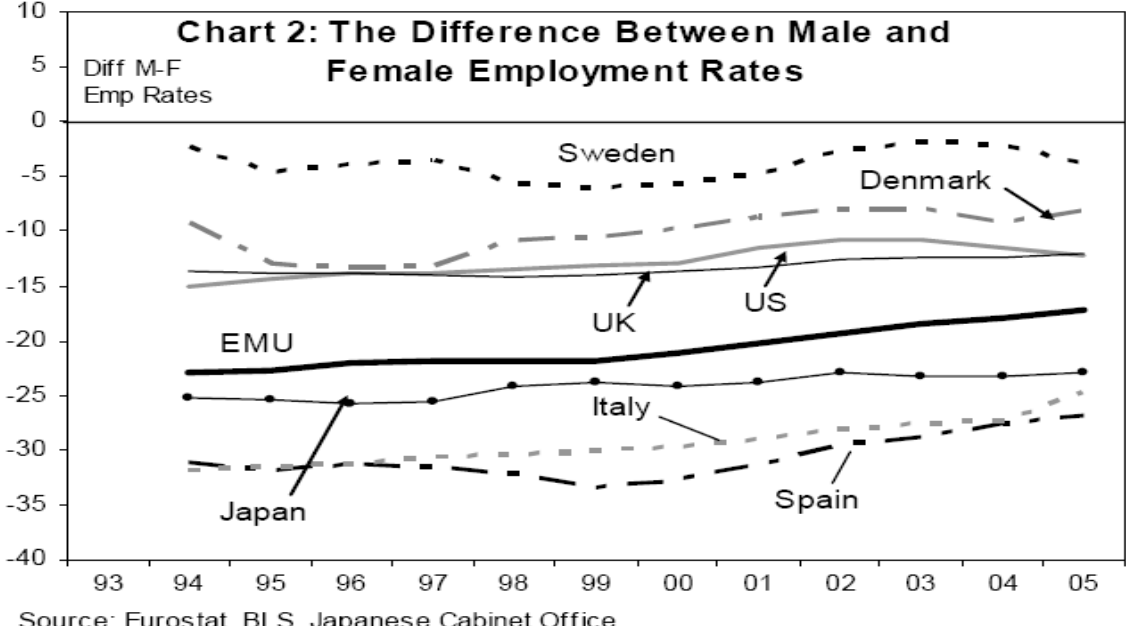
The EMU created a Euro system to support and strengthen the single European market. Employment growth was one of the stated benefits of EMU and a big share of total employment growth was indeed female employment growth.

### **c) The EMU and the growth of female employment: narrowing the gap between men and women.**

“Encouraging more women into the labour force was the biggest single-driver of the Euro zone’s labour market success in the last 10 years (...), closing the gap between male and female employment, was a huge implication for the global economy, boosting US GDP by as much as 9%, Euro zone GDP by 13% and Japanese GDP by 16%” (Daly, 2007, p. 3)

In his paper, Daly explains that gender inequality is one of the main causes, in many European countries, of unemployment. While total employment in the Euro zone is lower than in US, UK and Scandinavia, “this gap becomes a gulf when female employment rates are considered in isolation” (Daly, 2007, p. 4)

**Figure 5** The Difference Between Male and Female Employment Rtes.



Source Daly, 2007

So, while the creation of a Single European Market began to cure the rigidity of the labour market in Europe, some Mediterranean countries, such as Italy and Spain, still have a long way to go. But, is the rigidity of the labour market the only factor that hampers female employment in reaching male employment rates? No; there are other issues that affect female employment.

### **2.3. The identification of the main issues surrounding women's employment policy arising in Europe, and the broad policy stances of the Member States regarding those issues.**

In order to identify the causes hampering female participation in the European labour market, I will refer to the research undertaken by a Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market during the European Commission's Third Action Programme on Equal Opportunities between women and men (1991-1995) (Rubery et al. 1999), and to the work of the Expert Group on Gender and Employment set up under the European Commission's Fourth Action Programme on Equal Opportunities for women and men in the European Union (1998-2004) (Manchester Business School website).

The research undertaken by the Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market outlined the six following issues affecting female participation to the European labour market:

1. taxation
2. retirement policies
3. scarcity of part-time work
4. job segregation
5. childcare
6. wage gap

#### **1. Taxation**

Since the 1970s, some progress has been made on removing tax distortions that discourage female participation (Lopes, 2007, p. 8). But, how is income tax on married couples calculated in most OECD countries? "The calculation of income tax is determined by three factors: the selection of the tax unit (individual or the household), the definition of taxable income (earnings minus tax allowances and reductions) and the structures of the tax rates" (Rubery



*et. al.*, 1998, p. 39). The tax unit can be regarded as constituted by an individual or household. The system of household taxation aggregates the earnings of the married couple to calculate the household bills, the second income is generally that of the wife, and this means that the taxation on this second income begins at the highest marginal tax rate. Even in the variant, Rubery explains, of income splitting - when the aggregate income is divided equally in two - the lower income is taxed more. Instead, in the system in which the tax unit is individual-based, the tax rates are the same even considering a married couple. Rubery comes to the conclusion that women should not be taxed more, and therefore 'penalized', because they are married. Therefore, he suggests, a gender neutral taxation system should consider women as an "individual tax unit" (Rubery *et. al.*, 1998,). At the moment, the average tax rate on the second earner in the OECD countries is 1.4 times higher than on the first earner.

## **2. Retirement policies**

Retirement policies also impeded female employment, because many European countries - such as Germany, Italy and the UK - had a lower statutory retirement age for women than for men. However, these countries reformed their pension systems in 2009 and 2010. There is therefore not a discrepancy any more.

In the mid 1990s, the various Member States - in order to meet the convergence criteria - cut back on their public sector expenditures, instead developing many active labour market policies, reforming the welfare system. Pension reforms were one of these developments, and women's rights began to be taken into account.

## **3. Part-time work**

In the mid-1990s, "time was a key gender issue both in the work place and in the home. (...) the different patterns of time use of men and women meant that they offered a different kind of flexibility in the labour market" (Rubery *et al.* 1999, p.251). Especially for women, flexibility on working time has always been a big issue, as women have been struggling to balance work

and family life. EMU has contributed to the proliferation of a more flexible labour market – one that increased part-time work in many countries before and after the implementation of EMU.

#### 4. **Childcare**

Childcare is one of the main factors that hamper women to be active in the labour market. See the employment rates of women and men with and without children.

In the EU, childcare subsidies and parental leave are the specific policies aiming to help women with childcare responsibility to enter the labour market (Daly, 2007, p.7).

##### ▪ Childcare Subsidies

Childcare subsidies help to encourage women to return to work, but unconditional childcare benefits have the effect of rendering women relatively inactive. In the EU, childcare subsidies are relatively lower than in the Southern European countries such as Spain (0.4%), but higher in Sweden (1.9%) and Denmark (2.7%), where female employment rates are above the European average.

##### ▪ Parental leave

Parental leave encourages women to be active in the labour market, because they are entitled to time off after childbirth, and they can return later without losing the same job.

#### 5. **Occupational segregation.**

Nowadays, most societies make a distinction between men and women referring to the work they perform and in terms of paid employment, this is called *occupational segregation*. “It is important not to confuse **occupational segregation** (which refers to those processes by which individuals or groups holding particular jobs are kept apart, so that there is little effective competition between them) with labour-market segmentation (the term usually applied to the differentiation of labour-markets into discrete firm-specific segments, each offering different

career rewards, conditions of employment, and so forth)” (Dictionary of Sociology, 1998). Another distinction needing to be made is that between “**vertical job segregation**, by which (say) male or white employees are concentrated in the higher-status and better-paid positions, from **horizontal job segregation** (where the different sexes or ethnic groups work in different types of occupation — men are engineers, women typists, and so on)” (Dictionary of Sociology, 1998). Occupational segregation is still high in the EU; even after the mid 1990s, the situation only slightly improved. Women often remain in temporary or atypical jobs - especially in Southern Europe (Boeri, et al. 2005, p. 39)

- Horizontal job segregation

The OECD reports evidence of gender discrimination regarding the jobs held by women. Many women are also in “irregular” or “atypical” jobs such as part-time, temporary, fixed-term and casual jobs (Boeri et. al, 2005, p. 39). Moreover, it seems that there are types of jobs in which the sex of the employee plays a key role in them being hired.

Women are also increasingly appearing in traditionally-male-dominated areas, such as politics.

## 6. Wage gap

The wage gap between men and women is still a sad reality all across Europe. “On average, women are paid an hourly wage equal to 84 per cent of men’s wage” (Boeri et al., 2005, p. 67).

Why are women less well paid than men if they perform the same jobs? One of the main reasons is highlighted in *The Report on Equality between men and women 2006*, produced by the European Commission. The Report highlights that women struggle to balance work and family life so they are often forced to leave the labour market. When they re-enter it, they have less experience than men, so they are paid less than men for the same position. The

European Commission encouraged the Member States to make efforts to eliminate work-life balance tensions, and the stereotypes, gender-based pay and evaluation systems that continue to hold women back in the job market, resulting in them being paid less than their male colleagues.

The Expert Group on Gender and Employment (EGGE) has assessed the National Action Plans for Employment from a Gender Perspective (EGGE, 2003) reporting to the European Commission the actions taken by the Member States to promote gender equality in order to boost female employment. The table below presents a brief summary by country.

The following table shows the assessment of the NAPs from a gender perspectives, not only highlights the situation by country but also contextualize the Italian case.

Italy has not had a clear strategy to boost female employment. Everything that occurred as a result of market forces, and not of specific employment policy. There is a commitment to achieving women’s employment targets. But the only specific policy implemented has been reforms to part-time work, making the market more flexible. Retirement policies and flexi-security remain outstanding issues.

**Table 5 Assessment of Employment from a Gender Perspective (NAPs 2003)**

Country	Assessment of Employment from a Gender Perspective (NAPs 2003)
<b>Belgium</b>	Belgium created the <b>Institute for Equality between Women</b> to protect working women’s rights. The Institute also collaborates with European partners to manage the portal site “ <b>equalpaytools</b> ”. “ <b>Project EVA</b> ” aims to provide the social partners with the tools they need for including the concept of equal opportunity between women and men in the job classification and evaluation systems. Targeted training aims to boost female employment. It involves launching different projects, such as <b>Diane</b> and <b>Electronica</b> . Parental leave has been extended. Female childcare workers now benefit from social security. New measures against discrimination in

	recruitment have been adopted.
<b>Denmark</b>	The government of Denmark promoted the share of female managers at all levels of management. The social partners, the <b>Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (the LO)</b> and the <b>Danish Employers' Confederation (DA)</b> have been working on equal pay issues. Since 2002, the maternity leave scheme has been more flexible, and the coverage of childcare provision relatively high. Married women are encouraged to take up work through financial incentives
<b>Germany</b>	Germany has not adopted relevant measures, and gender issues are not really addressed in terms of the availability / attractiveness of jobs. The labour market deregulation strategy will negatively affect female participation (offering more mini-jobs than part-time jobs, less pension provisions for older women and less integration in labour market programmes. The new means-testing scheme will disadvantage married women in terms of receiving subsidies and social assistance.
<b>Greece</b>	Greece has promoted its gender-oriented policy so as to boost female employment. But there is still a lack of programmes promoting female entrepreneurship. Some initiatives to reconcile work and families life, such as “ <b>daylongschool</b> ” and kindergartens, have failed to meet initial expectations.
<b>Spain</b>	Spain has not put in place any institutional mechanisms to enhance female participation in the labour market. The budget for gender policy remains very small.
<b>France</b>	France has promoted training and education for women. An increase of 10% has been recorded in the share of young women taking technical and vocational qualifications. Many measures has been adopted to narrow the gender pay gap, but without any success. In order to reconcile working and family life, parental leave has been improved, extending the Parental Childcare Allowance to parents of first children for six months. It is still difficult for women to find a job after this allowance has been rescinded.

<b>Ireland</b>	Ireland has adopted some measures to boost female employment, such as taxation reforms and minimum wage policy. But some changes to the Labour Market Schemes have actually disadvantaged women. And only a small amount of the available resources have been allocated to gender issues. The Childcare Programme has been a successful initiative in terms of boosting female employment.
<b>Luxembourg</b>	Luxembourg focused on gender wage equality, involving women in the decision making process and reducing occupational segregation through targeted training.
<b>Netherlands</b>	The Netherlands has developed general guidelines rather than specific measures. There is an improvement on some issues - such as the gender gap and childcare, but a more focused strategy is needed.
<b>Austria</b>	Austria involved equality bodies in the implementation of the NAP (Ministry of Health and Women and Women's representatives of the Lander). Austria attempted to enhance childcare benefits with some initiatives, but it didn't develop any specific measure.
<b>Portugal</b>	Portugal has no specific gender equalities strategy.
<b>Finland</b>	Finland has relatively few outstanding issues in terms of gender equality. Achieving fixed-term employment contracts and the gender pay gap are the two big problems that women are still facing.
<b>Sweden</b>	Like Finland, Sweden has relatively few outstanding issues. The wage gap is very small, and the Equal Opportunities Ombudsmen (JAMO) is working to reduce unlawful discrimination. Other policies have enhanced parental leave and childcare.
<b>UK</b>	The UK has a flexible labour market - one that boosts female employment. But the gender pay gap and part-time pay gap are still issues. The key policies of the New Deal and tax credit/make work pay are addressed through the unit of the household.

This has served the objective of reducing the number of benefits claimants - particularly those who are potential breadwinners. Lone parents are the main group of women whose plight is addressed by government policy
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Source EGGE, 2003

## **2.4 A glance at the approach of the European Union on gender and equality issues since the Treaty of Rome to the Social Charter of the EU Constitution – included here to summarize the European Union stance on working women’s rights.**

The EGGE’s work highlights the growing interest in gender equality across Europe. Workers’ rights have been on the agenda of European policy makers since the Charter of Social Rights was adopted. The Charter was in line with “the preamble to the EEC Treaty that included amongst its objectives "the economic and social progress" of the Member States and "the constant improvement of the living and working conditions of their peoples" (EU website). In fact, the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights for Workers encompasses the principles on which European employment laws should have been based. These principles are freedom of movement; employment and remuneration; improvement of living and working conditions; social protection; freedom of association and collective bargaining; vocational training; information, consultation and participation of workers; health protection and safety in the workplace; protection of children and adolescents; elderly persons; disabled persons and equal treatment for men and women.

### **The long road to equality between men and women in the EU**

#### **a). The six Equality programmes of the EU.**

The EU has affirmed the principle of equal opportunities between men and women in its equality action programmes - which can be summarized as follows (EU website):

- The **First Community** programme on the Promotion of Equal Opportunities for Women (1982-1995)

The EU took note of the need for legal measures to protect women's rights.

- The **Second Medium-Term** Community Programme for Women (1986-1990)

The programme focused on the implementation of many directives in the Member States, and drew attention to women's rights in many fields - such as training, family and working life and local development.

- The **Third Medium-Term** Community Action Programme on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men (1991-1995)

This programme proposed a more global view of women's problems

- The Fourth **Medium-Term** Community Action Programme on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men (1996-2000)

This programme focused on the principle of *mainstreaming* - offering models and strategies to integrate equal opportunities into the Member States' policies.

- The **Fifth Community** Action Programme on Equal Opportunities (2001-2006)

The programme's objectives were to promote gender equality, including challenging direct and indirect gender discrimination and multiple discriminations against women. It aimed to encourage more actors, at a national level, to become involved in the process of promoting gender equality.

- **The Road map** for Equality between women and men (2006-2010)



The road map was based on six priorities: equal economic independence for women and men, the reconciliation of private and professional life, equal representation in decision-making, the elimination of gender stereotypes, the promotion of gender equality in external and development policies.

## **b) Milestones in women's rights legislation**

In terms of legislation, we can positively remark that, over the last 30 years, since the dawning of the EU, in many Treaties, gender equality has been fostered, producing legislation to protect women's rights and foster gender equality. There are five key themes (EU website):

- **Equal treatment in employment and occupation**

Article 141 (1) of the EC Treaty established the principle of equal pay for male and women for equal work or work of equal value. And article 141(3) provides the legal basis for the EU legislation for equal pay. Many Directives have been passed, most notably Directives 75/117, 86/378 and 96/97 to implement equal pay and social security schemes. Equal Treatment has been adopted with Directive 76/207 (amended by the recent Directive 2002/73), as well as equal access to employment, self-employment and occupation, including working conditions and vocational training. To consolidate these directives, the Commission proposed a Recast Directive in 2004.

- **Pregnant women and Parental Leave**

Directive 92/85/EEC protected the health and safety of pregnant workers and workers breastfeeding. It covers maternity leave as well and discrimination in the work place. The minimum requirements on parental leave (for women and men) have been set out in the Directive 96/34.

- **Equal treatment in statutory social security**

Directive 7/7 establishes discrimination on the grounds of sex in statutory social security.

- Equal treatment in self-employed and assisting spouses

Directive 86/613 aims to eliminate discrimination on grounds of sex when setting up a business or activity, forming a company or providing a social security scheme for spouses of a self-employed person.

- Equal treatment in accessing in goods and services

Article 13(1) of the EC is the legal basis to combat discrimination based on sex in the field of employment. Directive 2004/113/EC implemented equal treatment regarding access and supply of goods and services. By 'services', the EU means housing, banking and insurance.

### **c) Changes in the EU institutions for fostering Gender Equality**

The following institutional bodies were created for fostering gender Equality in the EU and Member States (EU website).

- Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women

The Commission Decision 82/43/EEC of 9th December 1981 established an Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men. The aim of the Committee was to help the Commission create and implement measures on gender equality.

- Gender balance within the committees and expert groups set up by the Commission

During the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing), the EU committed itself to a strong policy of gender mainstreaming for women and men in all Community actions and policies.

- The European Institute on Gender Equality

The Regulation (EC) 1922/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 20th December 2006 established a European Institute for Gender Equality. Its aim is to collect and disseminate information on gender equality and promote the dialogue at European Level, raising public awareness accordingly.

## **Conclusions**

This chapter explored the literature on women's employment in Europe (15) to provide the context for women's employment policy in Italy (chapter 3). Based on the work of the EGGE (Expert Group on Gender and Employment) identified six issues (taxation, scarcity of part-time work, job segregation, childcare, retirement policy and the wage gap) as the causes hampering women's access to the labour market at European level. These issues will be explored at Italian level by referring to the work of scholars outlining the historical narrative on working women's rights (Ballestrero, 1979) and describing the situation prevailing during the past four decades (Puna, 2007).

## **Chapter 3**

### **Context setting**

#### **Women's Employment Policy in Italy**

##### **Aim**

The aim of this chapter is to explore the narrative on women's employment policy in Italy.

This chapter outlines the milestones in women's employment policy in Italy from the origins of the latter to the present, benchmarking it by decades. In reviewing women's employment situation in Italy, We will base my analysis on Colebatch's theory (Colebatch, 1998, p.10), which asserts that, in defining policy, we should identify who does what and why; therefore I will identify the main social actors involved in the policy-making process and their achievements. We will give a brief overview of the role of the institutions and ideas invested in the development of women's employment policy in Italy.

##### **Structure**

The chapter consists of five parts:

- i) the origin of women's employment policy under the period of liberalism; ii) the years of the post first world war period and Fascism;
- iii) the years of the Republic (from the 1950s to the 1980s);
- iv) the years of remarkable changes in the national institutions and of innovative European targets (the 1990s and 2000s); and
- v) an overview of the current situation of female employment in Italy from 1996 to 2006.

#### **3.1. The origin of women's employment policy in Italy under the period of liberalism**

Law 242/1902 - introduced by Paolo Carcano (*Ministro delle Finanze (Chancellor of Exchequer)* in the Zanardelli Government) – pertaining to women’s employment and motherhood - is the first tangible evidence of Italian social legislation that protects the rights of the working woman.

In fact, the law prohibits the employment of women in ‘underground’ jobs, reduced maximum working hours from fifteen to twelve, attempted to prevent the exploitation of underage female labour, and introduced maternity leave for the first time. Italian women could have up to four weeks maternity leave after giving birth.

However, they had no rights to retain their monthly wage during this period nor to be reinstated in their job after completion of maternity leave. The law also prescribed that factories with at least fifty female workers had to guarantee the possibility of breast-feeding, by either allocating a convenient place or allowing female workers to leave the factories for small breaks. This law was the best solution that the government could offer to the Socialist Party in opposition and to the influential cotton magnates, and was enabled by the intervention of the influential *Ministro degli Interni (Home Affairs Minister)* Giovanni Giolitti (Ballestrero, 1979, p. 28).

The Socialist Party pressed the government to protect the working class; in fact, the proletarian protest was strong. The Railwaymen’s strike risked paralysed the country, and forced the government to open up dialogue with the social parties. Besides, the cotton magnates fostered the protection of female labour because this constituted the main workforce of the principal competing business firms: the small-medium sized factories and therefore the only way they could maintain their monopoly in the market.

A few years later, during the third Giolitti government, Law 416/1907 banned women from night work (but did not fully implement the 1906 ILO Berne Convention that regulated the night work). During the Luzzatti government, Law 520/1910 created a *cassa maternita (maternity fund)* to pay benefits to the working woman during maternity leave (Ballestrero,

1979, p. 27). These laws were a small step forward in terms of women's employment policy, but Law n.1176/1919 - known as the Sacchi law (for Sacchi was Ministro di Grazia e Giustizia e Culti - *Home Secretary*- in the Orlando government) was a real achievement for the emancipation of Italian women, as the law decreed the abolition of the *consensus maritale* (husband's permission) for access to any kind of profession in the labour market. Liberalism supported the working woman and recognised her role in the labour market.

### **3.2. The harsh winter of women's employment policy: the post first world war period and Fascism**

The post first world war period brought a cold blast for women's employment policy. In fact, the female employment rate drastically decreased during this time. It was 40.1% in 1881, 26.7% in 1921 and only 18.5% in 1931 (De Grand, 1976, p. 948).

The rise to power of the Fascists produced "two contrasting types of legislation: protective and expulsive" (Ballestrero, 1979). The R.D.L (Royal decree) n.1347/1934 protected the rights of working women who are mothers. Thus it extended the maternity leave period to a month before childbirth and six weeks after, guaranteeing the reinstatement of the working woman to her previous job, two daily breaks for breastfeeding until the baby was a year old, and obliging the employer to allocate a room in factories for breastfeeding where more than fifty women were employed.

On the other hand, Fascism was not roses all the way for female workers. Fascist ideology undermined the role of women in society; therefore gender discrimination and job segregation were strong. In fact, women were expelled from the civil service (Law 221/1934). And even before this law, a considerable amount of female administrative staff, who had been recruited during the war to tide over the emergency services, had already been dismissed (Royal Decree 1923 n.153, n.2276, 24450).

Women were also banned from the role of headmaster in comprehensive schools, from teaching positions in the lycées, and in such subject areas as History, Philosophy, the

Humanities and Economics (Royal Decree 1926, n.2480). The Royal Decree 1514/1938 also made it difficult for women to find a job; the decree stated that the recruitment of women should cover only 10% of the total workforce. Moreover, women had to retire with “the minimum length of service” and be replaced within three years of retirement by men (Ballestrero, 1979, *passim*).

### 3.3 The mild spring of women’s employment policy: the Republic.

#### ➤ The 1950s and the 1960s

The defeat of Fascism and the proclamation of the Republic were a turning point in terms of women’s employment policy. In fact, article 37 paragraph I of the Italian Constitution ruled that “*working women are entitled to the same rights as men, and equal pay for equal work. The working conditions have to enable working women to fulfil their domestic duties and ensure the mother and the baby an appropriate and special protection*”.

The Left wing parties (PCI and PSI) and a part of the Christian Democratic Party (known as *Professorini* (*Professors*)) pressed to protect the domestic role of women, and the PCI encouraged communist women to build channels of communication with Catholic mothers during the first *Working women’s Conference* (1954).

The role of the women’s networks was vital to push the government towards the protection of women rights. Above all, equal pay dominated political debate during the 1950s and the 1960s, and an agreement was reached with the passing of Law n.556/1964 (Ballestrero, 1979, p.116). Equality was not fully achieved, but the Trade Unions and Trade Union confederation (CGIL, ACLI, CISL, UIL) considered the law a first considerable step forward. It is important to highlight the Unions’ key role in the equal pay negotiations.

From the 1950s, Italy switched from the top-down model of policy-making typical of Fascism to open dialogue with the various social partners, in which the Trade Unions’ role became more and more defining. Moreover, in these two decades, the upturn of the economy in all

the European markets boosted employment, bringing the achievement of the Keynesian model of the welfare state to Italy in the 1970s (Ferrera, 1999, *passim*).

➤ **The 1970s and the 1980s.**

The 1970s were the years of the Christian Democratic Party in government (the years of the Leone, Rumor, Colombo, Andreotti and Moro governments). Many laws were produced, such as Laws n. 1204/1971, n. 1044/1971, n.877/1973 and Law 903/1977; they were the outcome of the ongoing negotiations between the Trade Unions and these governments regarding women's issues.

Law 1204/1971 protected home-working women who up to then were ignored by existing legislation. Equal pay and maternity leave were secured for them with this law. Law 1044/1971 regulated the creation of free nursery schools by region. Law n. 877/1973 tried to solve the off-the-book work mainly based on female workforce.

Law 877/1973 improved the previous regulations in terms of equal pay for equal work, and covered a new category: the self-employed working woman (Ballestrero, 1979, *passim*). In the 1970s in Italy, the female employment rate was very low compared to European female employment rates. This would remain a steadfast element in the Italian model of the labour market (Ferrera, 1999, p. 19).

The Italian political scenario swiftly changed at the end of 1978; the *compromesso storico* (*historical compromise*) between the Christian Democratic Party (DC) and the Left Wing Party (PCI) came to an end. The 1980s were mainly the years of the centre-left alliance of the *Pentapartito* (five-party coalition government: DC, PSI, PSDI, PRI, PLI) and the isolation of the Communist Party (PCI).

The 1980s were also, as previously mentioned in my literature review on Italian employment policy, the "muddy years" (*anni di fango*) using the famous words of one of the most renowned Italian journalist Indro Montanelli. In fact, the P2 scandal shows how corrupt Italian society was, involving as it did politicians, entrepreneurs and journalists. There was a drop in employment as the big industry was in crisis, the continuous strikes of the working class



pressed the government and the Trade Unions (especially the CGIL that was really intransigent) seeking to find a solution to boost employment.

In terms of women's employment policy, in 1984, the creation of the *Commissione Nazionale per le pari opportunità fra uomini e donne presso la Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri* (The National Committee for equal opportunities between men and women, reporting to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers) was significant. The Committee was composed of thirty women belonging to different women's networks. The aim of the Committee was to eliminate the vertical and horizontal job segregation still well-rooted in the Italian labour market.

#### **3.4. The balmy Indian summer of women's employment policy: time of changes, new national institutions and new European targets.**

The 1990s-2000s brought the balmy air of a late summer for women's employment policy. In fact, in the 1990s, the party system regenerated itself. The Communist party PCI changed its name to the PDS and then to the DS (left wing Democrats), and it entered government in the centre-left coalition of Romano Prodi. In all, it was the largest coalition partner in three successive governments, 1996-2001.

The 1990s brought many changes in governmental institutions at national and sub-national level. At national level, this period saw the creation of the *Ministero delle pari opportunità* (Ministry of Equal Opportunities), the *Dipartimento delle pari opportunità* (Department of Equal Opportunities), the *Comitato Nazionale per la parità* presso il Ministero del Lavoro (National Committee for Equality at the Ministry for Employment) the *Comitato per l'imprenditoria femminile presso il Ministero dell'Industria* (Committee for female entrepreneurs at the Ministry of Industry).

At sub-national level, there was the *Commissioni di parità* (the Committees for Equal Opportunity). Therefore, women's rights were not only more on the agenda of the policy-makers; also, women had become more involved in the policy-making process. In many of these new institutions, women from different backgrounds were present, such as women's

networks and Trade Unions. Women also became more present in political life thanks to Laws 157/1999 and 533/1993. The other legislation that was produced was intended to regulate female entrepreneurs (Law n.215/1992) night work (Law n.532/1999) and the Teleworking (Law n.70/1999).

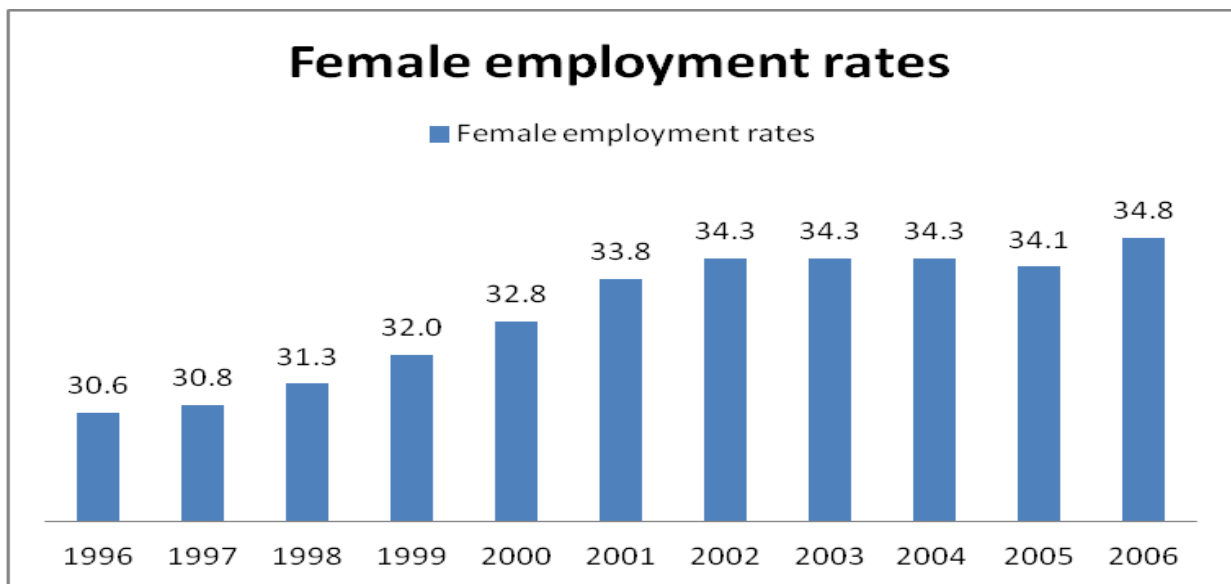
In the 2000s, the European Employment Strategy re-launched women's employment policy, setting new challenging targets to be achieved among the Member States by 2010. In Italy, the political scenario changed again, the centre-right returning to power with the Berlusconi governments of 2001-06. These governments focused on labour market reform, which were explained in the White book of Maroni (Minister of Labour in the second and third of Berlusconi's governments).

The White book aimed to raise the employment rates and create better jobs, according to the criteria of the European Employment Strategy (EES). To boost female employment in Europe and to make it easier for women to access the labour market was one of the main targets of the EES. In fact, the legislation produced by the government was intended to give women better and equal opportunities in the workplace - in line with the Lisbon Strategy. Equal pay for equal work (Law 198/2006), was the one of the important piece of legislation on the agenda of this government.

➤ **The female employment situation in Italy from 1996-2006**

Female employment grew between 1996 and 2006 from 30.6% to 34.8% (see graph below), according to the Italian Institute of National Statistic. (Istat).

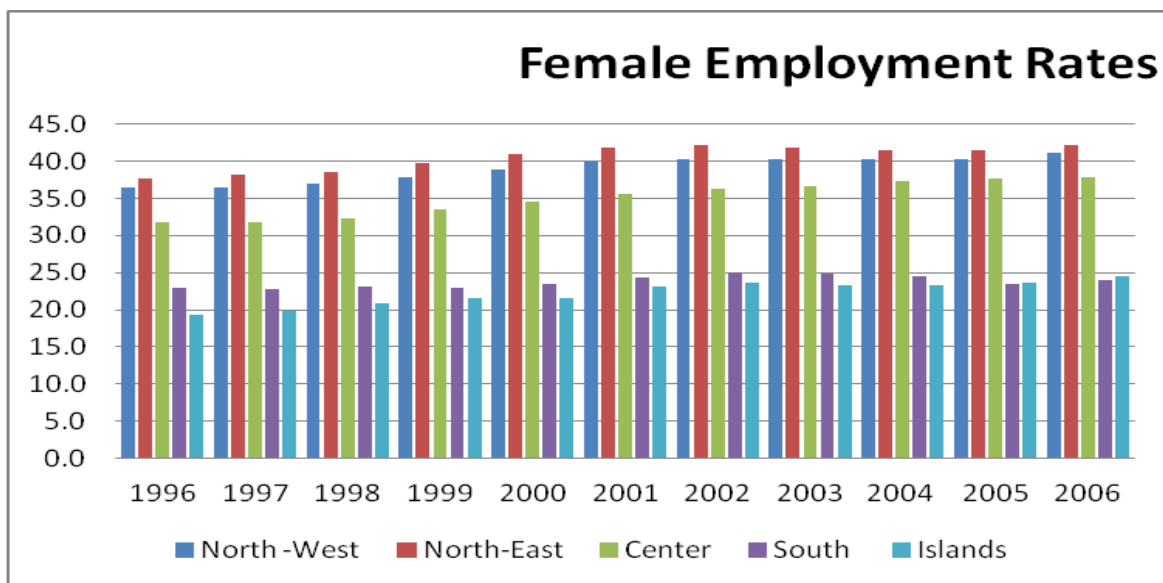
**Figure 6 Female employment rates**



Data Source. ISTAT (Tavole Storiche)

Turning to regional variation in female employment

**Figure 7 Female Employment rates (regional variation)**



**Table 6 Female Employment rates 1996-2006 (regional variation)**

	North -West	North-East	Center	South	Islands
1996	36.4	37.6	31.7	22.9	19.3
1997	36.4	38.2	31.8	22.8	19.9
1998	37.0	38.6	32.3	23.2	20.9
1999	37.9	39.7	33.5	23.0	21.5
2000	38.8	40.9	34.5	23.5	21.5
2001	39.9	41.8	35.6	24.3	23.1
2002	40.2	42.2	36.3	25.0	23.6
2003	40.3	41.9	36.6	24.8	23.3
2004	40.3	41.4	37.4	24.5	23.3
2005	40.2	41.4	37.7	23.4	23.7
2006	41.1	42.1	37.9	24.0	24.6

Data Source: Istat (Tavole Storiche)

One finds that growth is mostly concentrated in the North and in the Centre of Italy with a growth of 4.7% in NW, 4.5% in NE, 6.20% in the Centre and 5.6% in the islands, but only 1.1% in the South.

Even with this growth, the Italian female employment rate is quite low compared to other European countries according to Istat. Italy's female employment rate was 34.3% in 2002, lower than Spain's (44%) and Greece's (42.7%), and miles away from Sweden's (72.5%) and Denmark's (72.6%).

➤ **Women at work.**

The relationship between women and work in Italy seems to be a difficult one. In fact Italian women, more than men, suffer for the lack of flexibility in the labour market, and struggle to reconcile work and female life, especially after childbirth. They struggle not only because of the structure of the Italian labour market, but also due to the widespread belief that "women with young children should stay at home and look after them instead of working" (Pruna, 2007,

p. 11). This is not surprising at all in a society based on the breadwinner model which is typical of the Southern European countries (Italy, Greece and Spain) (Moreno-Minguez, 2005, *passim*) that are designed around a model of a male breadwinner and a dependent wife (Rubery et al. 1999, p.119) .

Women accessing the labour market also experience vertical and/or horizontal segregation.

➤ Vertical segregation

In Italy, vertical segregation is high, even if women are increasingly more educated than men. For example, in the education sector, women provide 75% of the teaching staff but only 40% of the management. Italy is the country in the European Union with the lowest percentage of women in management

Most of the time, women choose jobs that do not have career progression - such as in private practice (as solicitors, psychologists, business consultants) and self-employed occupations (as dressmakers, hairdressers, confectioners), but only achieve better pay with more experience. They also opt for “short” career progression jobs, such as teaching - that offer better opportunities to reconcile work and family life (Pruna, 2007, *passim*).

➤ Horizontal segregation

In Italy, many women are still in jobs that have been considered for decades as “female dominant jobs” - such as teachers, nurses, psychologists, interpreters, secretaries, chefs, waitresses and beauticians. It is only fairly recently that women have accessed some of the male dominated jobs. In fact, women have been in the legal profession since 1919, especially as judges; in the medical profession since 1911, especially as children’s doctors and anaesthetists.

Since 1963 there have been female architects, and there have been female engineers since 1908, when they could finally access the *Politecnico di Torino* (the best School of Engineering in Italy). Women are also welfare officers, domestic helps, teachers and business consultants. Some other jobs, like bricklayers and carpenters, plumbers,

electricians, blacksmiths remain male dominant jobs and they will likely remain so for a long time (Pruna , 2007. pp. 74-77).

## **Conclusions**

This chapter outlined the milestones in women's employment policy in Italy from the origins of the latter to the present, benchmarking it by decades. The chapter identified main social actors involved in the policy-making process and their achievements and gave an overview of the role of the institutions and ideas invested in the development of women's employment policy in Italy. The next chapter (4) will explore policy-making in Italy before 1996, during "balmy Indian summer of women's employment policy" when new national institutions and new European targets were set up.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Women's employment policy before 1996: Was there any policy?**

#### **Aim**

The aim of this chapter is to discuss in more detail than the contextualising chapters on women's employment policy in Italy the situation affecting Italian working women in the First Republic (1946-1994) and in the years of political change towards a bipolar party system (1992-1994).

#### **Structure**

This is the first lead in, descriptive-cum-analytical chapter tracing women's employment policy in Italy. The domestic political, economic and socio-cultural factors will each be considered, in order to establish that the issue of working women was part of the ideological debate, though it was not yet a policy field in itself.

The chapter provides:

- i) an analytical description of the main political events and sociological phenomena taking place in the First Republic (1946-1994) – designed to identify the flow of ideas, which contributed to the inclusion of working women's rights and issues on the policy-makers' agenda. This part also includes an outline of the legislation passed in relation to working women's rights as part of the broad political debate in the interplay of the political parties - the so called 'Women's Question'. The narrative will review the literature (Schioppa, 1976; Tisio, 1976; Ballestrero, 1979; Bianchi, 1981; and Iannuzzi, 1990).
- ii) an analytical description of the transition - which began in early 1992, to the second Republic (1994 - ), it illustrates the creation of many equality bodies in the 1990s.

#### 4.1 Women's employment policy in the years of the First Italian Republic

The narrative on working women's issues provides the reader with a description of the historical and political events and social phenomena taking place in the data span 1945-1995. Isabella Rauti, a senior civil servant with an outstanding experience in the field of the equal opportunities, whose last appointment was as Head of the Department of Equal Opportunities.

Limitations occur in all studies, we were unable to interview Isabella Rauti, the research therefore refers to her interesting academic work (*Percorsi di Parità*) in which the data span 1945-1995 was broken down into three periods: 1945-1960; 1960-1980; and 1980-1995. The thesis refers to Rauti's categorisation of the issues facing working women by identifying a distinctive element for each period. Therefore she traces back firstly when women acquired the right to work, when this right was protected and when equality was institutionalised.

These steps have been explored in terms of the multilevel governance that realises them, consisting of three tiers (international, national and sub-national) (Rauti, 2005). The first - period (1945-1960) is distinguished by the beginning of the debate on female employment issues. The debate resulted in gender equality in the workplace being recognized as a right in the international and national constitutional charters. The second sub-period (1960-1980) is distinguished by the protection of gender equality in the workplace in the legislation produced and the third period (1980-1995) by the institutionalisation of gender equality at work via the proliferation of gender oriented bodies and institutions.

The main events portraying life in the First Republic are described from a political perspective, and therefore the key facts are reported as historical evidence, which significance has been explained in terms of political life. Domestic political life is framed in the wider context of the international events which led to a raised awareness on women issues in the international community. The years of the First Republic (1945-1995) are presented in terms of Rauti's three sub-periods.



➤ **Period 1- 1945-1960 Gender equality at work – the acquisition of a right**

In this period gender equality at work became a right recognized under the newly-drafted Italian Constitution, which identified a precise requirement of the policy process and therefore a specific future policy outcome. This period could be described as the time when the debate on women's issues became more intense in multi level governance, under the leading role of the United Nations. Rauti's work spells out the growing interest of the United Nations on women's issues, and how those issues became part of governments' agendas in the international community.

The meso-policy analysis focuses on problem recognition and agenda setting in this period by introducing the relationship between (the) pre-decisional dimension of policy-making and the post-decisional context (Parsons, 1995, p.82). In simple words, this period explores how, if and when the international community recognized women's issues as being overlooked, and therefore how and when they became part of the governments' agenda-setting, particularly in Italy. This pre-decisional dimension leads to the remaining two periods exploring when, why and by whom legislation was produced at the different levels of governance, and whether or not in the Italian case legislation could be assimilated to policy.

➤ **The foundation of the United Nations: the new international community**

The foundation of the United Nations in 1945 as legal successor of the League of Nations marked the end of a political era and established a new international community which aimed to ensure peace and security by building up cooperative relationships amongst the victors and the vanquished of the War World II. Also because of the transition from the **totalitarianism** of the Nazis and Fascists to the pluralism of the democracies across Europe, human rights were a priority for the international community.

In fact, Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations lists in its fundamental principles "the respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race,

sex, language, or religion” (United Nation website)) and gender equality is firstly included. Therefore, women’s issue were considered by the international community, which promoted the establishment of the Commission on the Status of the Women (CSW) in 1946, as a sub-committee of the Economic and Social Council, a full-fledged Commission dedicated to ensuring women’s equality and to promoting women’s rights (Rauti, 2005, p. 42). The first committee meeting took place in Lake Success in New York. 15 representatives from different countries attended, but no Italian representative was present. After that, gender equality was included in many significant documents, promoted by the United Nations spokesperson for the international community for instance in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), in the Convention of the Political Rights of Women (1951) and in many international conventions. The drafting of these conventions was led by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), created by the League of Nations and empowered by the United Nations, promoting equal pay and protection of working mothers’ rights (Rauti, ibidem).

➤ **The domestic community: new party system and women’s role**

The birth of the Republic politically marks the downfall of the Fascist party and the origin of a new party system; in fact, the establishment of a multiparty system marks the transition to a democratic, pluralist party system from an **authoritarian and monolithic one**. The monarchic regime’s downfall came following the institutional referendum on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1946, and so the exile of the last King of Italy - Umberto II of Savoy - can be considered the main event marking the end of the Italian Kingdom (1861-1946) and the beginning of the democratisation of the Italian state, specifically the proclamation of the Italian Republic on 18<sup>th</sup> June 1946 and subsequently the election of a Constituent Assembly to draft the Italian Constitution, which was ratified on 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1947. According to historians classification the “First” Italian Republic covers precisely the time span 1948-1994 and consists of 11 legislatures mainly made of coalition governments

The metamorphosis of the Italian state led to the re-generation of the party system, an imperfect bipartism (Galli, 1966, cited in Cotta et al. 2008) or more precisely “a polarized multipartyism” (Sartori, 1976, cited in Cotta et al. 2008) dominated by two political parties: the Christian Democrats (DC) and the Italian Communist Party (PCI). In fact, in the years of the First Republic, the Christian Democracy party was the largest in the Italian Parliament. It governed in a coalition with the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), after 1963 the Italian Republican Party (PRI) and the Italian Democratic Socialist Party (PSDI), whereas the Communist Party is the main opposition party.

The Christian Democrat party’s ideological grounds are rooted in Christian social principles; the party was pro-Western oriented, and followed in the footsteps of the Italian Popular Party (PPI), an anti system party eclipsed by Fascism. By contrast, the Italian Communist Party was a Marxist-Leninist splinter group of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), ideologically close to the Soviet Union’s regime. They were both active in the Italian resistance and then, after the liberation of the country, members of the Constituent Assembly and of the Committee that drafted the Italian Constitution.

➤ **The newly born Constitution and Gender Equality: equal pay, the role of the family and job segregation.**

There was a female presence in the Constituent Assembly; 21 women elected - 4% of the total - and some of them were also part of the drafting Committee - women from different political parties, for instance the Catholics Maria Federici and Maria Guidi Cingolani, the anti-fascist Angelina Merlin, the young socialists Adele Bei, Teresa Mattei and Nilde Iotti. Therefore the Italian Constitution was the beginning of female participation to political life (Galoppini, 1980, passim). Women were therefore part of the political debate discussing their own rights. The Women’s Question was structured around gender equality (Article 3), equal pay and the role of the family (Article 37) and job segregation (Article 51). Each of them will be explained in turn:

### **Articles 3 and 37**

Article 3 states the equality between women and men. This is an important step in women's emancipation, as the intent of the article is to equalize women and men. Article 37 of the Italian Constitution must be read in conjunction with Article 3 (Schioppa, 1977, p. 61) "*All citizens have equal social dignity and are equal before the law, without distinction of sex, race, language, religion, political opinion, personal and social conditions. It is the duty of the Republic to remove those obstacles of an economic or social nature which constrain the freedom and equality of citizens, thereby impeding the full development of the human person and the effective participation of all workers in the political, economic and social organisation of the country.*".

Article 3 is a prelude to the recognition of working women that appears in Article 37. In fact, the text of the article instates working women's rights to equal pay treatment, reconciliation of work and family life and protection of maternity rights: "*Working women are entitled to equal rights and, for comparable jobs, equal pay as men. Working conditions must allow women to fulfil their essential role in the family and ensure appropriate protection for the mother and child. The law establishes the minimum age for paid labour. The Republic protects the work of minors by means of special provisions, and guarantees them the right to equal pay for equal work.*" Ballestrero argues that the wording of the text appears to be a compromise set amongst the main political parties as the Christian Democracy and the Italian Communist Party. This is why, he suggests, it agreed to equal pay and women's family role being the focus of the document.

The Christian-democratic ideology framed the idea of women being mothers, the nucleus of the Italian family (influenced mainly by catholic and bourgeois values). This concept was reinstated in the speech given by Pope Pio XII at the first UDI (Italian Democratic Women's Union) Convention. By contrast, the Italian Communist Party aspired to protecting a)

women's non-domestic work - in line with the Marxist ideology of productivity; as well as b) women's family role, for the reason that family remained such a significant value in Italian society at that time - even in the secular (Ballestrero, 1979, passim).

### **Article 51 Job segregation**

Another hot topic of the political debate was women's job segregation and therefore their access to the career path of their choosing. During the Fascism period, under Law n. 1176 (July 17, 1919), women were allowed to hold only certain public offices: *"to have the same rights as men, to exercise all professions and to cover all public service,"* except for *"those that involve judicial authorities, or the exercise of political rights or power, or that relate to the military defence of the state"*. The Law is contradictory because the entitlement to the same rights as men is restricted by denying access to certain professions related to the key functions of the government. The discriminatory element of Law n.1176 was nullified by Article 51 of the Italian Constitution, which states:

*"Any citizen of either sex is eligible for public offices and elected positions on equal terms, according to the conditions established by law. To this end, the Republic shall adopt specific measures to promote equal opportunities between women and men. The law may grant Italians who are not resident in the Republic the same rights as citizens for the purposes of access to public offices and elected positions. Whoever is elected to a public function is entitled to the time needed to perform that function and to retain a previously held job."*

The Constitutional debate on article 51 was controversial; the text of the article was approved only because female representatives within the Constituent Assembly fought for its approval and were supported by liberal representatives of different parties against the opposition of the conservatives (Galoppini, 1980, pp. 158-164). As a result, this first sub-period can be considered a significant time for women's emancipation. In fact, women, after being banished from political life by Fascism, became members of the main political parties (DC and PCI) - which actively welcomed women's participation in political life. This provided

women with the opportunity to become advocates in the political debate concerning their rights, and ensured that problems related to working conditions were recognised by the main political parties. Nevertheless, it should be noted that women were considered “mothers rather than individuals” by all three ideologies: Fascism, Social Christianity and Communism. And these three ideologies were embedded in the same political party culture. The upshot was the protection of working mothers rather than of working women.

Therefore the legislation passed in this period spelled out the acknowledgment of the constitutional rights, specifically the right to work (Law 264/1958 and Law 339/1958), the right to equal pay (Law 741/1956) and to right to maternity (Law 860/1950 and 986/1950). Nevertheless, no policy practice implementing these principles was ever really established.

➤ **Period 2 - 1960-1980 – Legislative protection against discrimination in the workplace.**

It was only in the sub-period 1960-1980 that women’s claims to be considered as individuals seem to have taken root. And the legislation passed during that period is focussed not on the acknowledgment but on protection of the rights to avoid discrimination. In fact, gender equality is the linchpin of international and domestic neo-feminist movements in the wider context of women’s emancipation – traceable to the 1968 protest.

The Italian neo-feminist thinkers (for instance Elvira Banotti, Francesca Garavini, Carla Accardi, Carla Lonzi e Luisa Muraro) argued that women’s role in society was being constrained by the demands of a bourgeois culture. The modernisation of women’s identity was framed not only by the concept of sex but also by gender leads to the re-thinking of women’s role in society - to their being considered not only as working mothers but also as working persons. The transition from the first to the second sub-period marks the differentiated role of women as advocates of their own rights. It can be argued that in the first part of the first sub-period female members of the Constituent Assembly acted as an insider advocacy group by participating in the drafting of the Italian Constitution, etc (at the heart of

the political debate), whereas in the second sub-period feminist movements acted as an outsider advocacy group, with the intent of influencing public opinion and petitioning the government to recognize their claims. Because of the dynamic of Italian political life in this sub-period, it is difficult to establish whether or not feminist movements actively contributed to domestic agenda setting. But this possibility cannot be dismissed without dedicated research.

At the international level, the emergence of feminist movements in the United States and Europe led to the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (1967) as a bill of rights for women, which has to be considered along with the ratification of two significant human rights documents: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) and the Protocol to the Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials (1976) (Rauti, 2005, p.205).

As Rauti suggests, 1975 was a significant year for women's rights; the United Nations declared it as International Women's Year (IWY) along with the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985). In the summer, the first United Nations World Conference on Women took place in Mexico City to discuss strategies and plan of action for the development of women. These events were followed up in the second United Nations World Conference on Women in Copenhagen in 1980. The key points of the first conference were i) gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination; ii) the integration and full participation of women in development; and iii) the increased contribution of women to the strengthening of world peace.

The first conference produced a World Plan of Action offering guidelines for governments and the international community to follow for the next 10 years to achieve the three key points set by the United Nations. The main areas of women's development were: equal access for women to resources such as education, employment opportunities, political participation, health services, housing, nutrition and family planning. The conferences can be

considered as a watershed which enabled the international and domestic communities to recognize women's issues and include them in the setting of agendas. The United Nations World Women's Conferences, the World Plans of Actions and their follow-ups was significant for the establishment of the Department of Equal Opportunities, and the setting of its operational objectives. This relationship is explored in Chapter 5.

According to Alberto De Stefano: "The Minister of Equal Opportunities was appointed as a positive action to the Beijing Global Axis Plan after the objectives of the World Conference, as the previous international conferences of the United Nations, were to strengthen the plans and strategies of these institutions at the highest level of governance" ( Interview with Alberto De Stefano, 2009)

Also in 1975, the European Community became active in this policy domain. In fact, compulsory legislation for the Member States was passed to protect equal pay and equal treatment at the workplace for working women (Directives 75/117 and 77/20). But, although the principle was established, Italy's implementation was delayed, as these directives were adopted only in the 1990s.

At domestic level, protective legislation against women's discrimination in the workplace was introduced. Some legislation was mainly the result of the negotiation of two powerful lobby groups: the trade unions and employers (Ballestrero, 1979 p. 129). Some can be considered a response to the 1975 and 1977 European Community Directives (Galoppini, 1980, p. 261; Rauti 2005, p.46). In Italy, equal pay negotiation is a long-standing issue, for which the main Italian Trade Union confederations (CGIL, CISL, UIL) have jointly been fighting on behalf of workers since the early 1950s. Agreements were reached with employers in 1960 (Industrial sector) and in 1964 (in the Agriculture sector). Unfortunately, employers were too hostile to fully comply with the agreements; they argued women are less productive and less qualified than men (Ballestrero, 1979, p.138).



In this period, paraphrasing Ballestrero, women's employability was difficult to sustain – even though protective laws against discrimination were passed during this period - for instance Law 7/1963, prohibiting the dismissal of married women; Law 1204/1971, prohibiting the dismissal of working mothers; Law 903/1977, enforcing equal treatment, in line with the European Community Directives above-mentioned.

At the beginning of the VII legislature (1976), the parliamentary debate on equal treatment seems to have been intense, with female Members of Parliament from different political parties submitting bills to abolish discrimination against women, specifically one from the Independent Left (Tullia Caretoni); one from the Socialist Party (Maria Magnani Noya); four from the Christian Democratic Party (Tina Anselmi, Amelia Casadei, Vittoria Quarenghi and Ernesta Belussi); five from the Communist Party (Adriana Seroni, Maura Vaglia, Francesca Lodolini); two from the Social Democratic Party (Massari, Romita); and one from the MSI (Roberti) (Galoppini, 1980, p. 261).

It can be argued that, as in the sub-period 1945-1960, female MPs, whose representation had increased, acted as an insider advocacy group for the promotion of working women's rights. Also, we shouldn't underestimate one of the favourable circumstances that existed for them. As Galoppini observes, having a woman (Tina Anselmi) as Minister of Labour in 1976 was a very positive influence.

One could argue from the analysis of the input and output of the Italian governance system that the international community steered it into a new flow of ideas on working women's issues generated at an international level of governance. Informants have referred to this time span (1960-80) as a "magic moment", because of the leading role of the United Nations, whose strategic objectives and legislation initiated changes that were translated into national legislation by the Italian government. Thus the approach taken by Italian policy-makers to problem-solving appears not to be *active* but *re-active*, as changes were initiated at the international level and fed down to national (central government) and sub-national levels (regions and councils) of governance in Italy, resulting in the main output of legislation. Scholars have considered the re-active approach to policy-making as one of the

policy-styles of Western Europe, typical of weak states which reach conflict over goals, with the result of compromised solutions (Richardson et al. 1982).

If one could consider legislating as the Italian policy-style vis-a-vis problem-solving, could one then conclude that legislation can be assimilated to policy? This question brings back the original question explored at the beginning of the chapter – a question stemming from Colebatch's work: what can be framed as policy in this research, and why? There is no single straight-forward answer, because the response varies depending on the theoretical paradigm we refer to. The research looks at policy through the lens of Colebatch's theory of public policy. Colebatch sees policy as a concept in "use", shared and understood by the various participants in the policy-making process.

Instead, if we look at policy style through Richardson's lens, one could argue that legislation could be assimilated to policy if by policy is meant the government's course of actions to find solutions to problems. But Colebatch provides an innovative approach to policy - as its being not merely considered the government's "course of actions", but a concept in use - whose nature is dynamic, embedding practitioners' understanding of the world. In the Italian case, governmental output (legislation) appears to be scattered and static, an expression of domestic political goodwill, with low stakeholder engagement - because decisions were made at the top, with no consultation, and with very little consideration of the claims from the bottom.

It appears therefore that the government output (legislation) was based on apparently sound ideas which, paraphrasing Pressman and Wildavsky, encountered difficulties in practical application. As the scholars state, a policy's value must be measured not only in terms of its appeal but also in light of its implementability (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984, xv). in Italy, legislation was the only governmental output.

In fact, the narrative describes this time span as an era of *party government*, where decisions were made to meet the manifesto commitments of the main political party in

government (the DC Christian Democrats) who dominated Italian political life and controlled policy-making (Cotta, 1996, *passim*). The Italian state was weak and unable to generate consistent solutions to problems, due to political instability. In fact, “the distinctive characteristics of the Italian response to current international problems of political economy (...) was marked by an increasing diversity of approach over time and in particular fields, against the background of the DC dominance of the state” (Furlong, 1984 p.153).

On the other hand, if one is willing to assimilate legislation to policy, Lowi’s theoretical framework (Lowi, 1972) suggests that Italy produced primarily distributive policies during this period. Lowi’s theoretical model is based on a two-dimensional table, with the dimensions indicating the likelihood of government applying its coercive power (immediate or remote) and the target of its coercion (the individual or the environment). The model generates four policy types: distributive (the likelihood of remote coercion being applied to individuals); regulatory (the likelihood of its being immediately applied to individuals); redistributive (the likelihood of its being immediately applied through the environment); and constituent (the likelihood of its being remotely applied through the environment) (Smith, K.B. 2002).

The rationale behind the choice of assimilating legislation to distributive policy lays the groundwork for the phenomenon of an Italian politics aimed at mass consensus and trapped in patronage (Cotta, 1996, *passim*). Legislation could be considered as the political tool generated by utilitarian politics – which, at this time, span the tools the weak Italian state could have used to manipulate the masses through political symbolism (Edelman, 1964).

If we look at the Italian government output (legislation) through the lens of Colebatch’s theory of public policy, we can affirm that the reason why policy was not created was that the decisions made by the authority (hierarchy) were not shared and understood by the participants in the policy-making process.

➤ **Period 3 1980-1995: Institutionalisation of gender equality**

The narrative on women's employment policy has already singled out the creation of specific gender-oriented institutions during this sub-period. To understand the rationale behind the proliferation of equality bodies at the domestic level, we have to understand the consistent leading role of the United Nations and the progressively–more-proactive role of the European Community on women's rights at international level. Rauti (Rauti, 2005) emphasises the significance of both a) the third United Nations Women's World Conference (1985) in Nairobi, in its recognition of the importance of women's participation for global development; and b) of the 1993 Vienna Convention, establishing the equalization of women and men's human rights. Rauti also suggests that the European Community, as described in the contextualising chapters, was proactive in encouraging the Member States in taking affirmative action to promote women's rights. The most significant EC step in this sub-period was Recommendation 84/0635, promoting positive action for women, specifically recommending the Member States to enable working women to have equal access to jobs by promoting initiatives to ensure a women-friendly working environment.

At the national level, the Italian government's response was Law 125/1991 on positive action to equalize women and men. In fact, as discrimination in the work place is a recurrent issue, the institution of the equality counsellor in the workplace (whose job title in Italian is in the feminine form, *consigliera di parità*), was intended to safeguard the right to fair treatment for working women against any form of discrimination. Most of the equality counsellors are women; Rauti herself began her career as an equality counsellor and therefore as a civil servant in the Ministry of Labour in the 1990s. The role is significant, as the equality counsellors have long functioned as women's link with the government and industry. In 1992, Law 125/1991 was extended to female entrepreneurs. In 1994, the Committee for Female Entrepreneurs was established in the Ministry of Industry. The Committee consists mostly of women, and this suggests that women are still advocates of their rights inside and outside the political environment.

In this sub-period, the Italian government's response to the international community's input was not only legislation but the creation of a new, gender-oriented institution whose significance is explored in Chapter 5.

#### **4.2 The transition to the Second Italian Republic.**

This part focuses on i) the changes in the domestic political system and ii) the relationship between the domestic (Italian) and the immediate international (European) system.

The description of the main socio-economic and political events takes into account endogenous and exogenous factors, as sketched in the contextualising chapter 2, which may or may not be related to such changes. This section briefly enriches the literature review, which describes the complex Italian political scenario, by detailing the transition to the Second Republic through an analytical lens.

On this point, the main reference has been made to the work of Cotta and Verzichelli (Cotta et al. 2007), established scholars of the Italian political system. They have been chosen here because of their informative and descriptive approach, which aims at enabling the reader to understand this period of change. Cotta and Verzichelli identify three main distinguishing themes (ditto, passim):

- i) the changing equilibrium between the centre and the periphery;
- ii) the great divide between the governing parties and the oppositions; and, last but not least:
- iii) Europeanization vs resistance to change.

These three themes are related to long-term changes, respectively: the transition from centralism to regionalism, from an authoritarian to a democratic political system and from a defeated country of World War 2 to a partner of the Atlantic alliance and European Integration.

The Italian transition to the Second Republic has been described by Gianfranco Pasquino as 'long, complex and indefinite' (Cedroni, 2010, p. 30). This was a time during which reforms were related not only to the institutional sphere (reform of the public administration) but also

to the political (reform of the party system) and socio-economic environment (responding to pressure to comply with European Monetary policy). A description of each of the reforms in each sphere is given in turn below.

i) The reform of the public administration.

Before getting into the heart of the changes brought by the 1990s reform of the Italian public administration, some background information must be provided to the reader – in order to contextualize the reform and to extend a better understanding of the new model and legacies the reform brought about (Cotta et al. 2007, *passim*).

Historically, the foundation of the public administration can be traced back to the 1853 reform (Cavour Law 1853 in Piedmont) which was the model extended to the entire country when Italy was proclaimed a unitary state in 1861.

The reform reflected the centralization of the State, and revolved around two main themes: i) a highly structured bureaucratic model of ministries (instead of a more flexible government based on government agencies); ii) a top-down approach in the design of the departmental structure - since the political head of each unit (the Minister) headed its administrative summit. This top-down approach became even more centralized during the authoritarian regime of the Fascists, during which the main themes were i) *dirigisme* ii) state intervention in the economy; and iii) social assistance. Financial management of public money was a prerogative of the centralized state established in Cavour's times, when the Treasury department was established, whilst in Mussolini's time the decentralized accounting offices were unified in a general accounting office (Ragioneria di Stato).

Did the First Republic, along with the democratization of the country, bring some fresh air to this static system? Scholars have largely agreed that the public administrative system didn't really change, therefore that the transition to the First Republic should be considered an adaptation rather than a transformation. The main theme of such adaptation was the creation of a state holdings system characterized by the growth of the so called

“autonomous administrations”, which were slightly independent from the state. Nevertheless, the state strengthened its role as entrepreneur in the economic sphere.

As a result, during the 1990s, as the work of Cotta and Verzichelli reports, scholars shared the opinion that the Italian public administration had become too complex. The Italian Civil Service workforce’s numbers were incredibly high; personnel rosters were male dominated, favouring those with a generalist-legal background; progression was based on length of service rather than ability; and mobility within branches was rare. Productivity was low because of the influence of trade unions and lack of technical expertise. But above all, the main problem of the public administration was patronage (*clientelismo*), which saw the main political parties worm their way into the public administration – which itself became, especially at local government level, increasingly fragmented.

The wind of changes was blowing already in the 1970s and in the 1980s, by which time state expenditures had already become a hot topic on the agenda of every government holding office. But it was only in the 1990s that the yearned-for transformation took place. Academia contributed with their variety of expertise and problem-solving suggestions. And also, a significant input was given, according to the authors, by two main constraints (which were arguably opportunities). These were: i) the process of devolution to regional and local government, and ii) the adaptation of the Italian model to the European model of public administration.

The transformation of the public administration has been summarised by Cotta and Verzichelli in five themes: i) structural changes to the central administration; ii) reform of procedures and functions; iii) a new system of administrative control based on efficiency and quality, iv) the ownership of the departments over their budgets; and v) the reform of employment.

The modernization of the public administration also focussed on the professionalism of its personnel, which had a more dynamic background, a variety of expertise and more career progression opportunities, thus increasing measurements of mobility and knowledge transfer.

ii) The reform of the political party system

The reform of the political party system can be considered, even by the experts of the subject, as a 'jigsaw', because of the complex nature of the Italian party system. Therefore, the description of the changes will be simple (but not simplistic) and focussed on the turnover in political leadership, so as to pinpoint the main political leaders.

Their relationship with Europe will be explored in Chapter 5, when we will consider whether or not Europe was an opportunity or a constraint (or both), in the implementation of party manifestos. As previously identified in this chapter, the transition from authoritarianism to democracy led to the re-generation of the party system, with an imperfect bipartism (Galli, 1966, cited in Verzichelli, 2008) or more precisely "a polarized multipartyism" (Sartori, 1976, cited in Verzichelli, 2008) dominated by two political parties: the Christian Democrats (DC) and the Italian Communist Party (PCI).

At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, (Cotta et al. 2007, *passim*), many factors led to the transformation of the party system. For instance, the fall of the Berlin Wall contributed to the diminution of the Communist spectre and the antagonism it brought to political life. The two dominant parties - the DC and the PCI - lost their identity and so too the support of the voters. For instance, in the Northern regions, a new party - the Northern League - which merged the Venetian and Lombard League, challenged the main mass party - the DC - which thus became stronger in the south before all but collapsing entirely in 1993.

In the meantime, an ambitious entrepreneur, Silvio Berlusconi, supported by the socialists (mainly by Bettino Craxi, whose political leadership ended miserably in exile in Tunisia after one of the biggest bribe trials taking place in Italy: the *Tangentopoli*) had created a



nationwide media empire. He then entered the world of politics by establishing a new political movement - Forza Italia - whose political identity could be defined as chameleonic. Berlusconi's main party allies were the Northern League in the North and Alleanza Nazionale (heir to the Fascist nostalgia party, the MSI) in the South.

The main theme of the political crisis of the early 1990s is therefore the collapse of the party system because of the collapse (and subsequent transformation) of the old parties, along with the creation of new smaller ones. The party system briefly (in 1994) became articulated around three poles: i) the left (mainly post-Communist); ii) the centre (following on from the Democratic party plus a new small democratic party: the party of Segni party; iii) the right (Forza Italia, the Northern League, Alleanza Nazionale and the CCD - a small party inheriting the traditions of the Democratic party) but competition rapidly became bipolar between the centre right and centre left coalitions. In the new political scenario the DC and PCI were no more. Their demise marks the end of a political era. They were replaced by new political parties, notably Forza Italia and the Northern League, and successor parties to the DC and PCI, the People's Party (PPI) and Democrats of the Left (PDS) respectively, which merged to become the Democratic Party in 2007-08. Also one must note the change in political leadership - from the so-called "untouchable" socialists and democrats (for instance Craxi and De Mita) to new political leaders (Berlusconi and Bossi) and the technocrats (Amato and Prodi).

iii) Italy vs Europe: pressure to comply with EU Monetary policy.

As Cotta and Verzichelli report (Cotta et al. 2007, p.30), in the 1980s, Europe was a positive symbol in Italy – a symbol which inspired the consent of the mass and the elites. As many European countries experienced a period of budgetary constraint, so Italy in the 1990s saw a strict control of the state expenditure via the Treasury, to re-align its monetary policy to that of Europe. Among the economic tools employed were privatization, implementation of a State pension policy and employment reforms, the last of these being a thorn in the side of successive Italian governments holding office at that time. The contextualising chapter 2 ,

have described the complex employment situation and specifically that facing female employment; Chapter 3 will extend such description by focussing on some of the choices made by Italian governments to overcome the employment gender gap and thus boost employment. Chapter 4 will also explore whether or not the European pressure was a constraint or an opportunity, or both, for the Italian government at domestic level.

## **Conclusions**

This chapter described in more detail than the contextualising chapters on women's employment policy in Italy the situation affecting Italian working women in the First Republic (1946-1994) and in the years of political change towards a bipolar party system (1992-1994). The chapter introduces the debate on " what is policy?" and concludes the Italian government output (legislation) before 1996 cannot be considered policy as per Colebatch's theory of public policy and women's employment policy was therefore not developed in Italy before 1996.

As previously stated, before 1996 the Italian, governmental output (legislation) appears to be an expression of domestic political goodwill, with low stakeholder engagement instead of a dynamic concept embedding practitioners understanding of the world. Decisions were made at the top, with no consultation, and with very little consideration of the claims from the bottom.

The next chapter (5) will explore " what is policy ?" after 1996, when the European targets on employment were set up by the European employment Strategy in 1997 and in Italy a new institution (the Department of Equal Opportunities) began to be, paraphrasing Colebatch the "the voice of that interest within the government" (Colebatch, 2009 p. 18), specifically in this instance women's interests.

## Chapter 5

### Women's employment policy after 1996: is policy being developed?

#### The role of a new institution, the Department of Equal Opportunities.

##### Aim

The aim of this chapter is to explore the role of a new institution, the Department of Equal Opportunities in the policy-making process.

##### Structure

This is the second lead in, descriptive-cum-analytical chapter. This chapter consists of two parts:

- i) the description of the establishment of the Department of Equal Opportunities and an outline of its evolving structure and role:
- ii) the identification of the different ways in which European integration has been understood with regard to Italian domestic policy: as both constraint and/or opportunity.

This chapter refers back to Colebatch's policy definition (introduced in Chapter 1) of policy as being a "concept in use" and not merely a descriptive term, the social construct resulting from the interaction of the participants in the policy process" (Colebatch, 1998, p.128). The meta policy analysis (Parsons, 1995) therefore undertaken in this chapter provides an overview of the participants in the policy process and the social construct in which they interact, to probe the main research question: "whether or not Italy developed a women's employment policy during 2000-2006" as we learnt from Colebatch's policy definition that policy is "the particular way of the participants of understanding the world". But how can the 'participants' be identified in this case?

Colebatch recognizes three attributes (*authority, expertise and order*) and related distinctive elements (*hierarchy, instrumentality and coherence*) to identify policy and therefore the

participants in the policy process (Colebatch, 1998, p. 16). As the thesis research design describes in Chapter 1, the author explicates that:

Colebatch explicates that:

i) Authority is one of three attributes of policy. And by 'authority', Colebatch means "Ministers, Cabinet, legislatures and specialist officials acting on their behalf through formal and informal procedures" (Colebatch 1998, p. 90). Quoting Colebatch: "These figures cascade down (policy) through the organisation via the principle of hierarchy" (Colebatch, 1998, p.7). Hierarchy is the distinctive element of authority. In the multilevel governance approach, the tiers of governance consist of the EU/ Member States/Regions. So these entities, being the authorities of multilevel governance, will be probed specifically in this research.

ii) Expertise is the second attribute of policy, and by it Colebatch means "knowledge, both of the problem area and the things that might be done about it" (Colebatch, 1998, p.7). Instrumentality is the distinctive element of expertise, which can be identified with a new institution, the Department of Equal Opportunities. This institution comprised specialist experts on a variety of women's issues. This 'body of experts' can be considered, as explained in Chapter 6 - the case study – to be the team created in the Basilicata Region in the European Structural Fund Programme 2000-2006. This body of experts designed and divulgated a specific policy tool - the Voucher Grant Scheme - which in 2005 won the Award: "EU Best Practice Model".

The research probes whether or not these bodies of expertise were embedded in the national/sub-national authorities (the Italian government, specifically in the Presidency of the Council of the Ministers and the gender related institution in the regional administration of Basilicata) and therefore whether or not they were authorities in their own right as policy coordinators of the Regions.

iii) Order is the third and final attribute of policy according to Colebatch. By it, he means “the shared understanding about how the participants will act in particular circumstances” (Colebatch, 1998 p. 91). Coherence is the distinctive element of order, so the harmonisation of the existing scattered legislation (specifically the Consolidation Act 2001) might be considered an important instrument in creating such an order. However, it is not necessarily considered sufficient.

Related policy activities (specifically the activities of two regions’ policy initiatives in relation to reconciliation of work and family life) at the regional level might then be examples/consequences of this order being implemented or not implemented in practice. That is why in Chapter 5 the analysis of the Act, and a case study of women’s employment policy delivery/evaluation by two different regions in chapter 6, probes whether, and if so to what extent, such an order was established, if policy was implemented and so delivered, and which outcomes were generated.

Thus, it can be inferred from Colebatch’s theory that there are three directions in which we can probe further into the issue of policy development. These will help us answer the main research question:

1. Was the significance of developing equality and labour policy (e.g. the European Employment Strategy) ‘cascaded down’ to lower levels of governance by Italy’s governmental authorities?
2. Was a relevant body of experts created in the women’s policy field? i.e. was the DPO and/or the Regional administration, or a part of it: a) a body of experts?, and b) relevant?
3. Was an order (specifically, harmonized legislation and policy activity) created in the women’s employment field, or at least some part/s of it?

## 5.1 The creation of the Department of Equal Opportunities

This section discusses the establishment of the Department of Equal Opportunities and outlines its evolving structure. This investigation into the establishment of the Department of Equal Opportunities is based on qualitative data, specifically document analysis and elite interviews. Our research leads us to the conclusion that the rationale behind its creation appears to be linked to the working papers of the UN Women's Conference in Beijing, 1995; the Italian National Action Plan (NAP) 1996 and the Decree establishing the Minister of Equal Opportunities in 1996 and the Department in 1997.

A description of the evolving structure of the department has been traced by gathering qualitative data (the Italian Civil Service Year Book – Guida Azzurra - and web archives). This structure describes the expertise within the institution, and it was used to plan the elite interviews.

### ➤ **The Beijing Platform for Action and the Italian response.**

Elite interviews indicated that the appointment of a Minister (without Portfolio) for Equal Opportunities and therefore, a year later, the creation of the Department of Equal Opportunities, was the response of the left wing Prodi I government to the recommendations of the Platform for Action set by the United Nations Third World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995.

In fact , Alberto De Stefano: " The Minister of Equal Opportunities was appointed as a positive action to the Beijing Global Axis Plan after the objectives of the World Conference, as the previous international conferences of the United Nations, were to strengthen the plans and strategies of these institutions at the highest level of governance.

After the government of Beijing, the Italian Government implemented this recommendation and created for the first time this new ministry, and a year later, the position of the

Minister, and year after the department which was part of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

When there was the last reform of the Council of Ministers, which as we know it is the maximum organ of the public administration in Italy, equal opportunities and the department were considered among the pillars of this reorganization and if absurdly could happen that the government in office would not appoint a Minister of Equal Opportunities, the department (as part of the Presidency of the Council of the Ministers) will still have its activity" (Interview with Alberto De Stefano, 2009). Laura Ronchetti reported fairly the same: "I believe that it cannot be underestimated the importance of the 1995 UN conference on women in Beijing. The conference identified the elements to achieve the objectives of the platform of action, and perhaps the two things, they can be split in some way, but I have to tell the truth, and I think it's really like that, in the creation of the minister of equal opportunities and then of the department according to the decree establishing the institutions (...) with delegation to the minister, referring to the platform of Beijing, I believe that in reality at the time the reason of this great success, was this conference" (Interview with Laura Ronchetti, 2009)

However, it was not only the United Nations identified as being the bearer of new ideas; but also the European Union, with its gender mainstreaming policies, created a favourable, - even a "magic" cultural climate, in actual fact Laura Balbo said that " I am quite convinced about that , for example, as in many other things, what I call the echo of Europe, in a sense that it does not matter that there are precise directives , there was something in the air that could not be ignored and then it was important on international conferences and etc and these things are important more in the immediately after Prodi government, and who created the department was a gentleman who had been in Europe and he knew what to do and that he also understood Europe's influence and the need to involve Italy in this kind of attention" (Interview with Laura Balbo, 2009).

The influence of Feminism and feminist movements on the creation of the Department of Equal Opportunities was controversial as respondents' opinions were contrasting. Suor Marcella Farina said that: " Each of us came from a certain vision of the world of women, for example from trade unions, women entrepreneurs, obviously they had everything brought along, as the various policies drew on various resources and came to flow in debates that took place in various initiatives to solve problems.

There was therefore a need for a body, which could streamline the resources and it would follow the initiatives so that we could be more efficient, or we are not autonomous so that there is a more pluralist vision in the female world.

Of course I said, we have an experience, even in the world of religious life of this type. In the 1500s and in the 160s0 (when it begins the modernisation of social organizations) it is introduced into the world of religious life, a type of organization that preached the rationality, the efficiency and the organization, as it was related to poor people, illiterate according to these three criteria, and obviously however in the organization a lot poor people beneficiaries these works came from the outside, so obviously having an organisation where heterogeneity was a sort of safeguard" (Interview with Sur Marcella Farina, 2009).

Instead, Laura Balbo's opinion was different as she said that: " no, I don't, I believe female movements and also the debate determined and marked a growing awareness and attention but not directly on this institutional relapse because feminism was much more theoretical, then certainly there was a component in the unions, in the party of women keen on gender policies according to a feminist way because then we cannot use" (Interview with Laura Balbo, 2009).



As a result, it appeared that the two main drivers of the formation of the new institution were the Beijing United Nations Conference and the European policies on gender mainstreaming. These are investigative leads probed respectively in Sections 1 and 2 of this chapter.

The data gathered as a result of the elite interviews constitutes the rationale behind the strategic choice of analysing the content of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the Italian response, the National Action Plan for implementing the Beijing Platform for Action (NAP 1996) presented in New York in March 1996 prior to the Decree of the President of the Council of Minister [DPCM] of July 12, 1996, creating a new institutional role: the Minister (without Portfolio) for Equal Opportunities. The Italian NAP was implemented a year later - in March 1997 - at which point the Directive PCM of March 27, 1997 also specified the main objectives of the Department of Equal Opportunities.

The Beijing Platform for Action set not only the 12 strategic objectives and recommended governmental actions (schedules IV) but also the institutional (schedule V) and financial arrangements (schedule VI) to be put in place by the Member States for the implementation of the plan through multilevel governance. The research focuses on the recommendations and actions in relation to objective F (Women & the Economy) as relevant in terms of women's employment policy.<sup>9</sup>

The Italian National Action Plan for implementing the Beijing Platform for Action not only emphasises gender equality as a priority on the government agenda: *"Promoting equal opportunities and women's rights has been a priority for the new Italian government from the moment it took office. A first sign of this was the appointment, for the first time in Italian history, of a Minister for Equal Opportunities Ms Anna Finocchiaro"*.

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<sup>9</sup>(A) Women and poverty (B) Education and training of women (C) Women and health (D) Violence against women (E) Women and armed conflict (F) Women and the economy (G) Women in power and decision-making (H) Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women (I) Human rights of women (J) Women and the media (K) Women and the environment (L) The girl child

It also details the actions to be taken as a response to the UN recommendations in regards to employment. The Italian NAP focuses specifically on women's skills and entrepreneurship, which is established in Agenda 2000 as one of the four pillars of the European Employment Strategy. The Italian government's commitment aims to "promote and value" women's skills and entrepreneurship by supporting incentives for job-creation activities, promoting self-employment and therefore small businesses, monitoring women's access to European Structural Funds and promoting initiatives aimed at fully utilising these funding channels. It also offers support measures for project planning, launching policies to re-organise the use of time. These actions were encompassed in the Directive PCM of March 27, 1997. In fact, the Directive objectives are:

1. Facilitate women's equal access to resources, employment, markets and trade (*Strategic objective F.2*). The actions to take focused on (i) promoting female entrepreneurial activity; (ii) setting quality standards and; (ii) monitoring women's access to structural funds.
2. Eliminate occupational segregation and all forms of employment discrimination (*Strategic objective F.5*). The action to take focused on (i) monitoring female unemployment; (ii) providing financial support for boosting female employment; (iii) providing links between training and the job market, demanding the facilitation of female inclusion; (iv) monitoring pilot schemes aiming at fighting the black economy.

Promote harmonization of work and family responsibilities for women and men (*Strategic objective F.6*). The action to take focused on (i) improving working time regulations to facilitate the reconciliation of work and family life; (ii) becoming aligned with EC regulations; (iii) regulating parental leave; (iv) enhancing women's care work; (v) facilitating access to public and private companies.

➤ **The new institution: design and remit.**

The elite interviews conducted for this research indicated that, further to the reorganisation of the Presidency of the Council the Ministers in the late 1990s, the Prodi I government decided to base the Department of Equal Opportunities inside the Presidency so that the new institution would have carried out its activity even if, in case of a government reshuffle, a Minister of Equal Opportunities had not been appointed.

Therefore, its strategic location would guarantee institutional continuity on gender equality issues. Informants reported that the institutionalisation of gender equality - and indeed the appointment of a Minister for Equal Opportunities and the creation of its office - had strengthened the significance of gender equality on the policy-makers agenda. They suggested that the institution was designed to promote gender equality by ensuring that it was taken into consideration in both policy development and implementation at national and sub-national levels of governance.

Alberto di Stefano reported that: "In addition to the international work, the national law Prodi - Finocchiaro, which was the Italian governments document implementing Beijing's recommendations, aimed to enable gender policies for the public administration. The Department coordinated the public administrations and gender policies to promote women's rights, for example their presence in decision-making areas, and regarding gender statistics and employment" (Interview with Alberto De Stefano, 2009).

This confirmed that at the beginning the remit of the institution was clearly stated in its establishing decree containing the strategic objectives set by the Platform for Action, as section 1.1 of this chapter has previously described. Documentary evidence and elite interview suggested that, as time went by, the institution's remit broadened as it inherited competencies from other government departments - for instance the Ministry for Family. Suor Marcella Farina said that: " when the Ministry of Family was abolished the department inherited its competencies in order to protect this group of women during maternity and

working women for example by creating a nursery in the department" (Interview with Suor Marcella Farina, 2009)

The Department of Equal Opportunities also benefitted of the expertise of pre-existing equalities bodies - such as the Commission for Equal Opportunities, that was brought into the department in 2004 as Suor Marcella Farina reported that: " the Commission had a good working relationship with the department (...) meetings were held according to the requirements of the Minister and of the Minister's practical advice (...) in fact we went both to the UN, to the meetings of the European Commission to discuss female policies, and on the criteria of mainstreaming and empowerment, so much work has been done both in UN and in the European Commission" (Interview with Suor Marcella Farina, 2009).

The department had good relationship with the Committee for Female Entrepreneurs - that inherited some of the competencies of the Ministry of Industry as Stefano La Porta reported: " We can say that it had a close relationship because as you know the Minister Prestigiacomio comes from a professional business reality and therefore cared for this industry that somehow reminded her former professional experience. The task was, let's say, to be part of the activities of the committee with the aim of promoting female entrepreneurship especially in the area, excuse me, of promotion of the role of women in all business sectors " (Interview with Stefano Laporta, 2009).

The Department had also a good relationship with the Committee for Equal Opportunities inside the Ministry of Labour, in fact, the chair of Committee and the national counsellor of equal opportunities began to be jointly appointed by the department and the Ministry of Labour even though the Ministry of Labour retained its role as chair of the regional network of counsellors of equal opportunities as Alberto De Stefano pinpointed: "in our legal system, all the policies related to employment, they are coordinated by the Minister of Labour, and then by the Ministry and the Ministry of Labour is also in charge of the network of regional councillors". (Interview with Alberto De Stefano, 2009).

However, what it is significant for the research is the objectives of the Department of Equal Opportunities in relation to employment, which is spelt out in the Government Business Plan produced in 1998 by the Treasury .<sup>10 11</sup> It is also set out in the Managing Authority of the European Structural Funds in Italy for the tranche 2000-2006, covering the data span of the thesis project. The Government Business Plan explains the Departmental objectives in relation to employment. Clara Collarile said that: " when I went to the Ministry we started to participate to ESF Programme with " One hundred ideas for Development" of Barca we visited the entire county, it was a backbreaking work..." (Interview with Clara Collarile, 2009).

The plan not only refers back to the Beijing Action Plan (1995); also to the principles established by Article 2-3 of the Treaty of Amsterdam 1997 – relating to gender equality; and by the Luxembourg European Council 1997 - also known as the “Jobs Summit”, by which Member States attempted to address the grave employment crisis; and the necessity of adopting the employment title (Title IX) of the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). The summit launched the process (the so called Luxembourg process) envisaged in the employment title of the Treaty of Amsterdam before its ratification. The process coordinated (through an open method of coordination Article 128 EC) the Member States’ employment policies by producing guidelines to include in their National Employment Action Plans.

After the Cardiff European Council (1998), the informal talks of the Ministers for Equal Opportunities and Labour (Belfast and Innsbruck) and the Vienna European Council in 1998, the Italian Government (specifically the Ministry for Equal Opportunities and the Ministry of Labour) proposed amendments to the 1999 employment guidelines so that gender

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<sup>10</sup> Cento Idee per lo sviluppo, schede di programmazione 2000-2006.

<sup>11</sup> (LTD translation) Dipartimento per lo Sviluppo e la Coesione Economica parte del Ministero del Tesoro, Bilancio e Programmazione Economica 1998.

mainstreaming could be considered as a cross-cutting theme and therefore included in all the employment policies at EU and national level (Cento idee per lo sviluppo p. 261).

This is a brief summary of the Department of Equal Opportunities' business objectives in the Government Business Plan, mirroring the guidelines of Pillar IV (Equal Opportunities) of the Luxembourg Process.

1. Tackling the gender gap. Member States must reduce the gap in employment rates between men and women by implementing measures to promote equal pay (guideline 18)
2. Improving childcare provisions. Member States must put into place a family friendly policy to enable women to reconcile work and family life (guideline 19)
3. Access to the labour market. Member States must remove fiscal barriers to support active participation and professional training (guideline 20)
4. Access to Structural Funds to implement gender equality
5. Access to European Social Funds to implement employment and gender equality.

In the [1998] Government Business Plan, great emphasis was placed on access to the Structural Funds as “the first opportunity for developing a national and local policy tackling the gender gap, working conditions, professional development, working time and reconciliation of work and family life” (Cento idee per lo sviluppo, p. 263).<sup>12</sup> This is an interesting lead towards probing whether or not Europe was an opportunity or a constraint (or both) for the Member States. This is investigated further in Section 2 of this chapter.

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<sup>12</sup> (translation LTD) La nuova programmazione dei Fondi Strutturali rappresenta la prima occasione per una politica nazionale e di sviluppo locale che aggredisca il gender gap rispetto all'accesso al lavoro, alle condizioni di lavoro, di vita e di reddito, allo sviluppo professionale e di carrier, al tempo di lavoro e alla conciliazione tra vita professionale e lavorativa.

Clara Collarile reported that: " I went to the department and I was knowledgeable about the structural funds. I tried therefore to ensure the Department access to the structural funds and so the department played a role. I went there and (I must say) it was a magical moment, and I worked there and I played a part ... because I met Professor Delia La Rocca, I do not know if you will interview her, a person who was super, high calibre, and she understood the importance of the ESF Programme so when this started, equality was included everywhere.

In this respect the department played a role if you want to identify a role, in this respect the ESF 2000-2006 Programme, as you know, was famous for measure A policy field dedicated to women and then to women's employment and in Italy is the only country in which there was a 10% reserve of social fund, where it has been well spent, really and served, then the reserve and the dedicated measure, then the ad hoc resources and at the same time the gender mainstreaming that had made to put across the message ... with the ESF 2006 Programme. The regulations provided it" and she also added " we began with the Finocchiaro-Prodi directive and I went to speak with Mrs Finocchiaro, when I arrived she was not there anymore, but she understood immediately... At the time I was Deputy Director for Public Administration, I was responsible for URBAN and REG and all the EU policies of the Ministry of Labour and I understood the importance of women 's portfolio , I came from the presidency and I went back to the presidency because with the regulation ... I was involved in EU policies Community and REG 2000 regulations and ... when we were in Brussels until two o'clock at night and finally the regulations passed and we celebrated with a coffee ..." (Interview with Clara Collarile, 2009).

The Department of Equal Opportunities focused on these main objectives, as explicated in detail in the Government Business Plan, which contained targeted actions for each of them to enable the institution to achieve its primary goals.

➤ **The evolving structure and role of the new institution and its role as a body of expertise.**

The structure of the Department has been traced back to the decade 1996-2006, covering the temporal span of this thesis project. This period is itself split into two periods, mirroring the political alternation that took place within it.

**1. The years of the centre-left alliance: 1996-2000**

**2. The years of the centre-right alliance: 2001-2006.**

**1. The years of the centre-left alliance: 1996-2000**

As previously mentioned, the post of Minister for Equal Opportunities was set up by Decree of the President of the Council [DPCM] of July 12, 1996, during the Prodi I government (1996-1998). The first Minister for Equal Opportunities was Anna Finocchiaro, PDS (Party of the Leftist Democrats) – a party representative and magistrate. Aides of the Minister were Anna Maria Carloni and Franca Chiaromonte, who worked together with her at the creation of the new institution. But, who are Anna Carloni and Franca Chiaromonte? Why was their help so invaluable for the Minister?

At the time, Anna Maria Carloni was a PDS party representative with a strong interest in labour policy; she was a member of the Labour National Committee at the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (*Commissione Nazionale per il lavoro a domicilio presso il Ministero del Lavoro e della Previdenza Sociale*) in 1992, then coordinator of FILTEA-CGIL (National Head Office of the Italian Federation of Textile Workers, the Clothing Industry – the Italian General Confederation of Labour; *Direzione Nazionale Federazione Italiana Lavoratori Tessili E Abbigliamento - Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro*) from 1994 and she sat on the board of the Association of Young Entrepreneurs-IG SPA (*Società per l'Imprenditorialità Giovanile-IG SpA*) between 1997 and 2000. Because of her expertise, she



was in charge of the Employment and Training Division (*Ufficio lavoro e formazione*) within the Department of Equal Opportunities until 2000.

Franca Chiaromonte was a journalist interested in women's issues, who in 1998 created, along with Anna Maria Carloni and other exponents of the left-wing, the new organisation *EMILY Italy*. The acronym *EMILY* stands for "Early Money for Yeast (it makes the dough rise). It was so named because *EMILY Italy* was a left-wing women's movement that aimed to increase female participation in public life and especially in politics. *EMILY Italy* followed in the *EMILY list's* footsteps. Previous versions had been created in the United States (in 1985) and in Great Britain (in 1993).

Who else worked closely to the Minister? The Private office consisted of the Head of Ministerial staff (also Head of the Department) - Delia La Rocca; the Head of the Legislation office - Maria Grazia Giammarinaro; the Press Officer (also the Minister's spokesperson) - Paola Tavella; and the Personal Assistant of the Minister - Isabella Peretti.

The structure of the Department, laid down by the DPCM no.405 of October 28, 1997, consisted of two divisions: (i) The Economics and Social Assistance Office; and (ii) the Equal Opportunities Office. The first comprised the Economic and Social Policy Office and the European and International Policy Office, and the second comprised the Coordination of Equal Opportunities Bodies Office and the Scientific, Cultural and Social Projects Office. The Committee for the promotion of female entrepreneurs (D.M. 19.02.1997) was set up as a part of the Department of Equal Opportunities. The Committee aimed to revise the existing set of rules in the light of the new community legislation.

The second Minister for Equal Opportunities was Laura Balbo, PdCI (Italian Communist Party) - party representative and sociologist, in the D'Alema I and II governments (1998-2000). Senior officials serving under the previous government, were confirmed in their positions, but the Head of Ministerial Staff was Corrado Carruba. The Personal Assistant of the Minister was Adele Moroni; and the Special Adviser was Francesca Cantù, Professor of

Modern History at the University of Roma Tre. Prof. Cantù aimed at establishing a strong cooperation between the Ministry of Equal Opportunity, the Conference of the Rectors of the Italian Universities (CRUI) and the Ministry for Universities, Scientific Research and Technology, in order to introduce a gender perspective in both academic courses and in university representation. This agreement (Protocol of Entente between the Department for Equal Opportunity and the CRUI) promoted gender equality in academia (Calloni, 2006, pp.17-18).

Also, the following Research Committees were created to investigate specific issues: (i) the Interdepartmental Research Committee on women and juvenile traffic, chaired by the Minister for Equal Opportunities and the Minister for Social Solidarity (D.M. 24.02.1998); (ii) the Research Committee on constitutional issues and women's representation (D.M. 14.02.1999), chaired by Prof, Lorena Carlassare; (iii) the Research Committee on UN decisions (D.M. 08.09.1999), chaired by Chiara Ingrao; (iv) the Research Committee against female genital mutilation (D.M. 08.09.1999), chaired by Vittora Tola; (v) and the Research Committee on equal treatment for homosexuals (D.M. 20.10.1999), chaired by Franco Grillini. Also, the following the Research Groups were established: (i) the Research Group on Women's studies (D.M. 16.02.1999), chaired by Anna Lisa Tota and; (ii) the Research Group into the reform of Sport system (D.M. 18.05.1999) chaired by Cecilia D'Angelo. This constituted the epistemic community, a network of knowledge-based professionals.

The third Minister for Equal Opportunities was Katia Belillo PdCI (Italian Communist Party) party representative in the Amato II government (2000-2001) when the Department was re-organised by D.Lgs n.303/1999 and D.P.C.M on 4 August 2000. As the Department began to expand, two new divisions were created: the General Affairs, HR and Public Relations Divisions, and the Evaluation Branch. Senior officials serving under the previous government were confirmed in their positions, and they were assisted by the following officials: Luisa Menniti (Employment and Training Team), Isabella Peretti (School team), Laura Ronchetti (Legislation Team), Cecilia D'Angelo (Sports Team), Alessandra di Pietro (Communication

team) Vittoria Tola (Social Policy team). The Research Committees and Groups continued to operate.

The Secretariat for the National Committee for Equality and Equal Opportunities, set up as part of the Cabinet Office in 1990, was transferred to the Department of Equal Opportunities (Article 18, Paragraph 2, DPCM, 4 August, 2000

## **2. The years of the centre-right alliance: 2001-2006.**

The fourth Minister of Equal Opportunities was Stefania Prestigiacomo, FI ( Forza Italia) Party representative and entrepreneur in the right-wing Berlusconi II and III governments (2001-2006). Senior officials working closely with the Minister were Bruno Brattoli, Head of the Department, Prof. Mario Serio, Head of the Ministerial staff, Stefano La Porta, Deputy Head of the Ministerial staff (who became Head of the Ministerial Staff in 2006); Stefania Ciavattone, Head of the Legislation Office; Luigi Pelaggi, Head of the Technical Secretariat; Sulay Michelin, Press Officer; and Salvatore Bianca, Minister spokesperson. They were assisted by the following officials: Cinzia Grassi, Alessandra Barberi, Mario de Ioris and Michele Palma.

The Department was re-organised in 2004 by D.M. 30 September, 2004. The Public Relations Office, the Technical Secretariat for the Interdepartmental Committee on immigration and the Secretariat for Child Abuse were under the Head of Department, and the new structure comprised three divisions: The Economics and Social Assistance Office; the Equal Opportunities Office and the U.N.A.R Office (covering policies related to ethnic discrimination). Each division respectively comprised two branches: an Economic and Social Affairs office and an International and Community Affairs office; the Coordination of Equality Bodies office and the Scientific, Cultural and Social Projects office; the Tutelage of Fair Treatment office and the Research and Institutional Relations office. The Secretariat for the National Committee for Equality and Equal Opportunities was confirmed, and the Evaluation Team was also set up, consisting of experts working within biennial terms of office.

Furthermore, the National Committee for Equality and Equal Opportunities became the Committee for Equal Opportunities between men and women. And it in turn was transferred from the Cabinet Office to the Department of Equal Opportunities. The Minister - Stefania Prestigiacomo - chaired the Committee. In 2004, the Vice President was Lucia Borgia, and Anna Maria Parente was responsible for the Committee's Secretariat. The Committee was composed of 25 female commissioners with various different backgrounds. The Committee worked in five working groups (reconciliation, representation, human rights, The Network and Consolidation - Act Protocol).

Also at the time, initiatives relevant to my research were the Equal Opportunities Network Project (La Rete per le Pari Opportunita); the Micro-Crèche (MicroNido); the Workshops Project - which aimed to solve the problems encountered by the Equal Opportunities Committees; the newly-created Research Groups; and the long list of experts hired to cooperate with officials. I will give a brief outline of each of them.

- **The Equal Opportunities Network Project “La Rete”.**

La Rete was presented in Brussels on 1<sup>st</sup> June, 2004, to the High Level Group on gender mainstreaming for Structural Funds by the Economic and Social Interventions Office of the Department of Equal Opportunities, whose Director General was Clara Collarile. The High Level Group consisted of senior officials responsible for the coordination activities of the European Structural Funds (ESF) in the Member States and Candidate Countries.

At the time, the project was a pilot funded with Structural Funds, which aimed (i) to support gender mainstreaming and equal opportunities actions in the EU programming period 2000-2006; (ii) to create a comprehensive data base, accessible to both equal opportunities players and the general public; (iii) to organize all equal opportunities players so as to preserve and disseminate the know-how available locally; (iv) to disseminate, exchange and reproduce equal opportunities initiatives and good practices carried out in different territorial contexts.

The Economic and Social Initiatives Office played a key role in monitoring the use of the Structural Funds at national and sub-national level of governance, allowing the officials to deal with a wide range of stakeholders. La Rete was definitely an innovative response to the need for enhancing communication and linking together stakeholders by creating an online gateway that broke down geographical barriers. But who were the targeted end users of La Rete?

It was the players - for instance, the central, regional administrations and autonomous provinces. It was the institutional and socio-economic partnerships and the public - for instance, citizens, public or private operators, enterprises, researchers, etc. According to Smith's work, networks are a way of increasing state autonomy, as they are a mechanism for controlling and coordinating actions; they definitely provide the link between the State and society (Peter, J. 85).

The Network seems to mirror this idea, as it links the players with the public under the coordination and control of the State in the specific instance the Department of Equal Opportunities. In fact, each player has a mini-site, a website inside the network, which is divided into a public area accessible to all users and a reserved area - available only to institutional players. The website facilitates the exchange of information by promoting conferences, working groups, seminars, documentation, the exchange of working tools, good practise and specialised technical assistance within the ESF.

The Network is a very high profile project that aims to reconcile women's and families' life by maximising the use of the ESF (specifically, Objectives 1, 2, 3) and by monitoring the implementation of national (PONs) and regional (PORs) plans and community initiatives (INTERREG, LEADER, URBAN, EQUAL) within the European Cohesion Policy. Information is cascaded through different levels of governance by using a top-down model (for instance P.O.N and P.O.R.), and highlighting good practise (for instance INTERREG, LEADER, URBAN, EQUAL).

This small pilot project is now a well-established online gateway – one that is vital for the interchange of information within the policy community. This model has been recognized as an example of good practise – one that other European countries should look at.

- **The micro-crèche: “Huey, Dewey and Louie” .**

The micro-crèche is a jewel in the Crown of the Department of Equal Opportunities; in fact, it was the first implementation of Article 70 of the Financial Law 2002 - which provided for the creation of crèches in the workplace. The crèche model is very small; it can accommodate only 15 children. Officials pay monthly fees to use it, and the opening times are very flexible (from 8.00am to 8.00pm). The current Administrative Director is Rocco Alberto De Stefano.

- **The CPO Workshops Project**

The Committees for Equal Opportunities (CPOs) were established in 1986 in certain workplaces, as provided for in collective agreements. What were they? They consisted of representatives of Trade Unions and officials of various organisations and associations. They promote positive actions to ensure that gender equality measures are implemented in the workplace. The Committees held the office for four years, producing an annual report on their work.

The Project aimed at creating and monitoring workshops to discuss possible problems arising from the implementation of gender equality measures. The stakeholders involved in the project were Government Departments, Universities, Research Institutes, Local Authorities and other private administrations. The coordinator of the Project - which at that time encompassed 117 Committees - was Laura Pattumelli.

The Department of Equal Opportunities aimed at an exchange of experiences, so as to avoid a situation whereby Committees could work in silo. Also, it produced an online guide, encompassing several good practise points. The Project shares with the La Rete Project the

idea of building up a network to link up players under the monitoring of the State in the specific instance the Department of Equal Opportunities.

- **Research Groups and a long list of experts.**

The Department of Equal Opportunities created six new Research Groups in six different subject areas by Ministerial decrees: (i) Communication and the role of women (D.M. 30/04/02); (ii) Women and Sport (D.M. 18/01/02); (iii) Equal Opportunities and citizens well-being (D.M. 28/02/04); (iv) Women at work (D. M. 28/02/02); (v) Women's representation in elective assemblies (D.M. 22/01/02); and (vi) Sexuality and Social Inclusion (D.M.18/01/02). Also, it set up a long list of experts the announcement of whose completion was published in the Italian Official Gazette.

The creation of six new Research Groups stressed the intended importance of the epistemic community within the policy-decision making process. In fact, according to Haas's work, "the role of ideas brokers is crucial and without people to get ideas into policy an idea is unlikely to prove influential" (Parsons, 1995, p. 174). To put it in simple words: to bring in more experts on hot topics was the government's response to the need to find appropriate solutions for long-standing problems.

Moreover, "policy network theory assumes that ideas as well as interests bind together the groups and individuals in a policy sector. Networks would not function unless there was some agreement about what the main policy problems are and how to solve them" (P. John, p.149). Therefore, to strengthen the policy network, it was essential to identify problems and to rely on specialized advice. I will give a brief outline of the sub-topics analyzed by the research group - "Women at work" - that are the most relevant to my research. The Research Group consisted of a minimum of five to a maximum of nine experts; members were renewed every two years. The Group investigated the following matters: (i) access to work; (ii) contractual typologies; (iii) training; (iv) pay conditions; (vi) sexual harassment in

the workplace; (vii) reconciliation of work and family life; (viii) measures related to house work protection.

In addition, the Department of Equal Opportunities played an active role in the fields of paedophilia, ethnic discrimination, violence, adoption and human trafficking.

## **5.2 Europe and Italy: constraints and/or opportunities? The role played by the Department of Equal Opportunities in domestic policy.**

This section begins by referring to the argument in the literature - presenting Europe either as being a constraint or an opportunity for Italian domestic policy in the 1990s (Ferrera and Gualmini 1999, Radaelli and Franchino 2004). This narrative on women's employment policies provides an interesting context within which to consider the creation of a specific gender-oriented institution. Colebatch suggests that "policy is not only about authorized decision-making, but also about problem-solving and expertise relevant to solving the problem" (Colebatch 1998, p.18).

In the 1990s, Italy encountered EU pressure to implement gender equality policy. As Donà suggests, it created a specific body of expertise to respond to this pressure (Donà, 2004). Therefore, what could be interpreted as a constraint for Italy - by making a reference to Donà's work - could also be seen as a positive constraint - maybe an opportunity - that enabled the Italian government to take an innovative, if reactive, approach to problem-solving (Richardson, 1982).

In fact, in relation to employment policy Europe offered the precious resource of the Structural Funds (European Social Fund and European) to the Member States - thereby enhancing women's empowerment by funding specific policy activity.

The funding was given to the regions, but the department had a nationwide coordination role as both interviews with former staff members and the Decree establishing the department and the specific policy tool, the La Rete Project, demonstrate. Giovanna Indiretto said: "



let's say from the need of promoting the interventions for all kind of gender policies, because we talk about gender policies originally, then with a broader mandate, funding using EU resources what we say it is the progress made in Italy and that led to the institutionalization of gender policies through the establishment before of the minister for equal opportunities and then the department for equal opportunities. (...)", and she also added: "This outburst gave us a way to find a place to collect and that allowed to communicate very widely to the public, so one of the actions was the creation of the network and in fact the network was originally designed as a network that travelled over two platforms, and to give access to all the actors involved in associations, social partnerships and so , and an internal channel of internal communication with the public administration to intervene and give opinions, legislative acts " (Interview with Giovanna Indiretto, 2009)

The description of the coordination role of the department at the sub-national level of governance explains the department's significance as the body of expertise, in line with Colebatch's theory that a body of expertise would increase policy participation, by identifying a set of the main interlocutors to share their policy solutions (Colebatch, 1998, p.19). The description of the role played by the Department of Equal Opportunities probes Colebatch's assertion.

Furthermore, the case study of this research (Chapter 7.8.9) provides an example of a body of experts at the sub-national level of governance - a dedicated team in the Basilicata team, who designed and disseminated a specific policy tool: the 2005 Voucher Grant Scheme. The communication strategy launched by this team provides an empirical example of communication with participants in the policy process, and the description of how they have shared their experience of policy activity funded by the Structural Funding with other participants.

The first part of this section - section a - explores the relationship between Europe and Italy. This section sets out to investigate whether or not the changes brought about by the process

of European integration have been understood - with regard to Italian domestic policy - as a constraint and/or an opportunity.

The section intentionally does not cover Italian foreign policy in detail, but only provides pertinent information to enable the reader to understand the domestic scenario.

The second part of this section - section b- describes the role of the Department of Equal Opportunities at multi level governance. This part also explores whether or not Europe was: i) a constraint; ii) an opportunity; or neither of them, for the Department of Equal Opportunities specifically.

➤ **section a - Europe in Italy and/or Italy in Europe?**

The section explores briefly the concept(s) of Europeanization, and mostly aims at tracing the Europeanization of Italian politics, by referring to the work of two Italian scholars: Quaglia and Radaelli. These scholars' research design combines a top-down analysis (that is, how Italy has adapted to pressure coming from Brussels) with the bottom-up examination of how Italian policy-makers have encountered the EU - in terms of their attempts to pursue domestic policy goals (Quaglia et. al. 2004 p.1). This approach is innovative as it combines both top-down and bottom-up analyses - to probe the two alternative perspectives: i) Europe being a constraint; ii) Europe being an opportunity.

The top-down approach explores whether or not that EU pressure was a constraint, whereas the bottom-up approach explores whether attempts to pursue domestic policy goals sometimes found aspects of the EU to be an opportunity. Quaglia and Radaelli (2007) framed their research design around the data span 1996-2006, which is the precise period covered by the thesis project. The data span - both that of the scholars and the research, can be split, according to Quaglia and Radaelli's intentions, into two distinct periods: the centre-left governments (1996-2001) led by Prodi; and the centre-right government (2001-2006) led by Berlusconi. This split is significant for the research as the Europe-Italy

relationship changed, depending on the governments holding office, as the scholars reported.

➤ **Europeanization: what does this neologism mean?**

The literature on Europeanization is rich, complex and hotly debated, because old and new schools of thought continue to coexist. This section explores “how the newer approaches identify the limitation of the classic debate” (Rosamond, 2003, p. 109), and introduces the theoretical approach chosen for this research. The classic debate, paraphrasing Rosamond, is based upon the dichotomy of supranational institutions and non-state actors vs (national) states. In the mid-1950s, neo-functional theories argued that states are not the only important actors in the international scenario. The theory explores the role of supranational institutions and non-state actors (interest groups and political parties), and consequently generates three approaches:

- i) the spillover thesis;
- ii) the elite socialization thesis, and;
- iii) the supranational interest group thesis.

The spillover thesis was revived in the 1980s and 1990s (Stroby Jensen 2003, p. 81) because the processes of European integration related to the implementation of the Single European Act seemed to be in line with the spillover predicted by the neo-functionalists (ibidem, p. 90) as identified in the narrative on women's employment policies (Chapter 1).

Since the mid-1960s, intergovernmentalist theory has been prominent. It is characterized by 'State-centrism'. It is drawn from classic theories of International Relations, specifically realism and neo-realism, which see states as self-regarding actors operating in an arena of negotiation in which bargaining is considered to be a “zero-sum” game (Cini, 2003, p. 94). Both approaches within that dichotomous framework (“the classic approach”), conceive of the EU as having become institutionalised (made up of both formal and informal institutions).

In fact, the literature is rich with scholars, such as Cowels et. al. 2001; Borzel, 2004; Kurzer, 2001; Sweet, Sandholtz and Fligstein, 2001; and Olsen, 2002, who refer to Europeanization as institutionalisation from different perspectives (cited by Radaelli, 2004 *passim*). These theories lead to various new institutionalism theories (being: rational choice, historical, sociological and discursive institutionalism).

By contrast, the “newer approaches”, based on a social constructivist ontological position, conceive of the EU as a political system (Cini, 2003), and European integration as a process, and not merely as the product of inter-state bargaining. In fact, scholars such as Bache, 2003; Buller and Gamble, 2002; Goldsmith, 2003; Gualmini, 2003; Kohler-Koch and Eising, 1999; Scharpff, 1999; Winn and Harris, 2003 (cited by Radaelli, 2004 *passim*); conceive European integration as a process of governance.

There is no single definition of the term governance; the research interprets the term governance as the “rules, processes and behaviour that affect the way in which powers are exercised” (White Paper on European Governance, 2000, p. 8). By contrast, there are schools of thought contrasting governance to government, however the research welcomes the thesis that is that the term refers to how the government(s) exercises its/their powers.

As the narrative on women employment policy in Italy outlined, in the 1990s, the relationship between the EU and Member States changed. The EU, perhaps defying expectations, did not become a law-making machine, inundating the Member States with legislation to transpose into domestic law. Instead, it became a *super partes* actor: a coordinator of policy-making in the Member States. An example of this is the launching of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). Legislation ceased to be the focus of the EU governance process. The concept of policy was opened up in the White Paper on EU Governance. This paper states that “the Union must better combine different policy tools such as legislation, social dialogue, structural funding and action programmes (...) to better utilise the powers given by its citizens, and produce more effective policies” (White Paper on European Governance, 2000 p. 8). Therefore legislation is conceived as only one of the tools of policy-making.

The theoretical approach this research uses with respect to European integration is that the EU is a political system and EU integration is a process of governance. Therefore, the role of the Department of Equal Opportunities is investigated in a system of multilevel governance (MLG). This is a theory of European integration conceiving the EU as a political system across multiple levels of governance (international / sub-national and national). Why were this approach and the choice of multilevel governance chosen? As the research design outlined, in order to probe the creation of a policy in Italy in the 2000s, we first need to explain what it is meant by policy.

The theoretical approach of the thesis vis-a-vis the concept of policy is based on Colebatch's constructivist theory, according to which policy is a "concept in use" identified by its distinctive elements and attributes. Authority is one of the attributes of policy, and its distinctive element is hierarchy. Therefore, if we explore the relationship between EU Member States and then one specific Member State (Italy), then sub-state Authorities (Regions) each participating in the possible enacting of policy, we can see how the Europeanization of Italian domestic policy has been portrayed by Quaglia (2004) as an adaptation to Europe - as was previously identified in Chapter 2 (Cotta et al. 2008).

Academic orthodoxy has tended to maintain that Italy played a passive more than an active role; in fact Italy has been portrayed as a policy-taker more than a policy-maker (Fabbrini and Piattoni, 2004 p.150). This research acknowledges that, in relation to women's employment policy, Italy and the Department of Equal Opportunities may in fact have played an active role. Therefore, Italy may be regarded as a policy-maker more than a policy-taker.

In this respect, Donà offers a brighter picture of Italy, and likewise that of the Department of Equal Opportunities, in relation to gender equality policy. Her research identifies "positive signs of changes with regards to negotiating ability and credibility" (Dona, 2004 p. 185). But it could be argued that Dona's research is based on qualitative interviews conducted with the main actors involved in the policy making process. So this brighter picture could be considered to originate in their perception of the truth which, however, is not corroborated by

more objective empirical evidence. In fact, documentary analysis undertaken for this dissertation (see the departmental structure in Section 1 of this chapter) could support Dona's thesis that the "Department for Equal Opportunities developed policy expertise (...) in European equity issues" (ibidem).

➤ **Europe in Italy (the top down approach) and Italy in Europe (the bottom up approach): constraints and/or opportunities.**

In the 1990s, Italy was required to make drastic domestic changes in order to join the process of Economic and Monetary Union (Fabbrini, 2004; Radelli and Franchino, 2011; Cotta and Verzichelli, 2008; Dyson and Featherstone, 1996 and 1999). The attitudes of the various Italian governments towards Europe, in the decade 1996-2006, were contrasting. The centre-left government led by Prodi regarded Europe as a priority on two fronts: i) international, whereby Italian diplomacy worked hard to reassure other Member States and the Commission about the country being ready to meet the convergence criteria; and ii) national, whereby domestic measures were designed for adjusting fiscal and budgetary policy.

There were strong linkages between the Commission and the Italian executive and political leaders, as Prodi and Ciampi were particularly in favour of European integration. The centre-right government didn't see Europe as an arena in which to promote Italian interests, and the only important personal links were those between the Finance and Prime Ministers, and not with the Commission (Quaglia et al. 2004, *passim*). Indeed, often there was tension between Italy and Strasbourg and it is important to pinpoint the linkages with the Commission (even at the level of individual DGs), as informants have referred to those linkages as crucial in securing the Department of Equal Opportunities' access to European Structural Funds (ESF).

In the 1990s, Italy had a very difficult internal situation, as described in Section 2 of Chapter 3. One issue on the centre-left government's agenda was high unemployment rates - which needed to be improved to overcome that government's financial difficulties. These eventually

increased, thus meeting the convergence criteria. As the literature review has outlined, the Northern Regions were richer than the Southern Regions. Nevertheless, unemployment rates were high in both parts of Italy - especially in relation to women and young people. Italy was far from reaching the targets set by the Lisbon Agenda 2010, as part of the policy goals of the European Employment Strategy (EES) 1997 and 2000 - especially the pillars on gender equality and women's entrepreneurship.

On the one hand, the pressure from the EU to meet the EES targets can be considered a constraint and/or an opportunity for Italy to fulfil its international obligations. However, on the other hand, the EU can be considered as providing the opportunity to pursue domestic interests, specifically to boost employment in the regions by accessing the dedicated economic resources (European Structural Funds) available through EU legislation/policy (EES as part of the Cohesion Policy). This research explores how, in times of austerity, this financial resource could be framed as an opportunity to balance the economy - by tackling unemployment, specifically women's unemployment, in the Italian regions.

➤ **section b - The role of the Department of Equal Opportunities at multilevel governance: constraints and/or opportunities.**

Before explaining whether Europe can be seen as a constraint or an opportunity for the Department of Equal Opportunities, we need to explain its role in multilevel governance.

The first step taken by the new institution was to build up good working relationships at all levels of governance - for instance, at international level, with the United Nations and the European institutions; at national level, with other government departments; with partner organisations (e.g. ISFOL), the epistemic community (jurists, statisticians and academics); with the pre-existing equality bodies; and at sub-national level, with the twenty-one Italian regions and autonomous provinces. Each of them will be explored in turn.

At the international level, the department represented Italy at the United Nations Conference on Women in 2000 and the others that followed. In 2000, the Italian delegation consisted of

members of both the Commission of Equal Opportunities (that in the past had represented Italy on its own) and officials of the department.

In fact Suor Marcella Farina reported that: " there was a joint delegation, every time there was a delegation and international meetings on women's issues, and the government was asked and consequently the Commission" (Interview with Suor Marcella Farina, 2009)

However, it was the department's duty merely to implement the recommendations made by the Conference, and therefore the actions of the States set by the conference as Alberto De Stefano: " Firstly one must say that when it was created, the department tried to make links with the other equality organisms and I need to add that the Department's competencies overlapped the remit of the Committee for Equal Opportunities (part of the Minister of Labour ) and the Commission (part of the Presidency of the Council of the Ministers) as the Commission since 1986 was the only international body to deal with the coordination of gender policy and when the department was created , the institution's remit, almost all, was transferred to the department itself and then there were two or three years of difficulty, and then the department at that time was cautious not to create frictions with other bodies to ensure its presence at the international level, and then talking about the presence at the World Conferences on women which were held in March at the United Nations, so each year the department coordinates the preparatory work for the Conference, and also had the task of implementing and coordinating all directives from the conference" (Interview with Alberto De Stefano, 2009)

The institution also worked closely with officials in Brussels - particularly in the Department of Employment, Social Affairs, and Equal Opportunities, and in the department representing Italy at the meetings of the European Commission and the European Council. In fact Clara Collarile said that "when we were in Brussels until two o'clock at night and finally the regulations passed and we celebrated with a coffee ... these are things that they happen regularly and I remember they were there were the boxes with the internal phones directory



and we took copies with all the numbers of colleagues ... " (Interview with Clara Collarile, 2009).

At the national level, the Minister for Equal Opportunities sat in the Council of Ministers. Therefore, the department, on behalf of its Minister, jointly worked on legislation and policies with other government departments presented then in the cabinet.<sup>13</sup>

It also worked with other government departments (e.g. the Ministry of Labour; the Ministry for Family and Social Solidarity; the Ministry for Economic Development); and the pre-existing equality bodies (e.g. the Commission for Equal Opportunities; the Committees for Equal Opportunities inside the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and the Committee for Female Entrepreneurs in the Department for Equal Opportunities) as previously discussed.

The relationship with other government departments and the equality bodies was cooperative and positive but not without moments of friction, according to Laura Balbo: "the department developed a close cooperation with the Ministry of Labour, leading on labour policy" (Interviews with Laura Balbo, 2009).

The relationship with the Committee for Equal Opportunities (inside the Ministry of Labour) was a useful strategic device to build links with the regions. Because of the Department for Equal Opportunities' relationship with the Committee, the department strengthened its cooperation with the regional network of counsellors for equal opportunities, in order to make itself known to the regional public administrations and the employers in each region. Giovanna Indiretto reported that: " we were not alone, there was also the councillor of equal opportunities, who had not only the task to check women were not discriminated but also to promote policies aimed at overcoming the barriers and all those networks that have allowed to networking with women and councillors, law 151 and then the reforms of these roles , this country has endowed these bodies with equal resources in order to develop on

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<sup>13</sup> An example is Law 8/03/2000 n.53 on Parental Leave. The department jointly worked with the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry for Family and Social Solidarity.

the one hand a control, surveillance and compliance with the department and the committees of equal opportunities within the workplace, which however was compulsory in the private sector and it was much more difficult, so much so that there are not many private companies that have had difficulty and then the presence of women in the labour market. There was the need to set up an institution and therefore where the fate of a country is decided through the Council of Ministers and the appointment of female ministers and therefore there was a presence in this ministry and an influence on the ministry of finance, ministry for industrial policies in order to introduce gender policies" (Interview with Giovanna Indiretto, 2009).

Thus, at sub-national level, the Department for Equal Opportunities worked closely with the Italian regions to maximise the use of the European funding and ensure that gender equality was considered during policy development and implementation.

Clara Collarile reported: " these allocations to the Regions, we read the literature about all business sectors to see if they considered equal opportunities , unless it was possible, It was a continuous, for 6 years ... to be able to do something more. It began the internet world and I though this is something we could do, we did a series of meetings and then we tried to create a network so the regions could talk to each other, the purpose was to inform the regions of what was happening in Europe and the department, and what was also interesting for the other administrations , trying to channel the news and also to finance the actions with two different funds, to the North FERS and to the Southern FES and then with two different funds this and the other major innovation in this way with different profiles, to bring the regions aware of the system actions" (Interview with Clara Collarile, 2009).

The relationship with the Committee for Female Entrepreneurs was also cooperative, whereas the relationship with the Commission for Equal Opportunities was troubled.

The Commission was an apolitical advisory body, based in the Presidency of the Council of the Ministers. It consisted of women from different backgrounds and expertise. Unfortunately, some of the department and Commission's competencies overlapped, and

therefore the department aimed to bring in the Commission to control it. The relationship with the department deteriorated when the Commission's chair - Silvia Costa - a left wing representative who had worked quite well with the left wing Ministers of Equal Opportunities, was replaced by Marina Piazza - another left wing representative - who clashed with the newly elected right wing Minister when the Commission was assimilated into the department. Suor Marcella Farina reported that: "members of the Commission were unhappy with the decision because the equality body had lost its independence and non-political nature (...) there was a school of thoughts that believed the creation of a ministry would strengthened the commission, more representative, when there is a minister who is in the council of ministers, but for example Livia Costalcida she said that if we create a ministry, the commission will be weaker and little by little it will start to fall apart" (interview with Suor Marcella Farina, 2009).

But, she also added that, although there was some clashing, the work of the Commission was useful for the department in many areas, but especially to built up a network of stakeholders, in fact . Suor Marcella Farina said: " because it was difficult to know the contacts, because through the political women who were in the Commission we could reach say the entire country and political affiliations and try to institutionalize this relationship, not simply leave it to the mayor or town council but regulated by a statute" (Interview with Suor Marcella Farina, 2009).

#### ➤ **The institution's role in relation to female employment**

As previously stated, Clara Collarile reported: "as regards to female employment, we came up with ideas when I arrived at the department on 1st January 1999, the Department of Equal Opportunities did not have money and if you don't mind me saying, without no money ... and so ... I went to the department and I was knowledgeable about the structural funds I tried to ensure the Department access tio structural funds and so the department played a role, and I went there and I have to say that and it was a magical moment, and I worked there and I played a part ... because I met Professor Delia Professor La Rocca, I do not

know if you will interview her, a person who was super, high calibre, and she understood the importance of the ESF Programme so when this started, equality was included everywhere, in this respect the department played a role if you want to identify a role, in this respect the ESF 2000-2006 Programme, as you know, was famous for measure A, policy field dedicated to women and then to women's employment and in Italy is the only country in which there was a 10% reserve of social fund, where it has been well spent, really and served, then the reserve and the dedicated measure, then the ad hoc resources and at the same time the gender mainstreaming that had made to put across the message ... with the ESF 2006 Programme. The regulations provided it." (Interview with Clara Collarile, 2009).

Although the Ministry of Labour formally led on labour policy, the Department of Equal Opportunities played a significant role in enhancing the opportunities available to working women. Two factors were pinpointed as essential to understanding the role of the new institution. These are first, the positive European conjuncture, and therefore the dedicated European legislation and funding necessary to promote (jointly) gender empowerment and female employment.

Second, the in-house expertise of the bureaucrats, who had previously worked in other government departments on European Economic Programmes related to Cohesion Policy, specifically regional policy. The left wing Prodi I government secured Italy's participation in the Structural Funds and Cohesion Funds programme 2000-2006, part of the European regional policy. As previously mentioned, informants reported that this was in part due to the linkages that Italy had with the Commission at that time.

The funding was a significant economic tool in terms of boosting female employment. However, although it was granted to the regions, the control and coordination stayed with the State - specifically with the Department. Also, as previously mentioned the objectives of the European legislation on gender equality and employment were included in the department business plan. Therefore, the department appears to be the "missing link" between these

two policy areas. The research examines whether the legislation on gender equality and unemployment was a constraint and/or an opportunity. However, it identifies the funding as a clear opportunity. In fact it would have been hard for the DPO - which had no funding (for the department was a small Ministry without Portfolio) - to finance its activities and thereby achieve its goals.

As the activity of the department covered a wide range of initiatives. For instance, it supported the regions, each with a dedicated adviser<sup>14</sup>, to draw up projects to maximise the use of ESF funding and therefore boost female employment Clara Collarile said that : " with the Social Fund and the measure we can pay the so-called equality animator and I wrote 21 letters, this is how many regions we have in Italy, and I invited the presidents of the regions to use the position of the equality animator, in some regions this went well, in Piedmont they had a very good animator who helped the women to write the projects, connected to various departments, in some regions such as Lazio in which the Councillor responsible for employment is not the same as the public administration, so he was a coordinator, and all went well where they had a good expert, instead where there was not an expert, it did not work (Interview with Clara Collarile, 2009).

Also Laura Ronchetti said: "the department was set up under the presidency of the council, precisely on the basis of the constitution itself of the president of the council and therefore also clearly its internal organisms and have the task of forming the government, in the person of its minister and its department, and thus coordinates national policy, and in the Finocchiaro -Prodi directive this coordination activity was envisaged, also the coordination of local authorities and the network of councillors, which in fact was clearly strengthened". (Interview with Laura Ronchetti, 2009).

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<sup>12</sup> *L'animatrice di parità* that could be translated "The Equal Opportunities Champion". It is interesting to note that the noun champion is used in Italian in the feminine form ( – trice and not –tore).

The department also sensitised the public administrations and employers about equal opportunities by organising meetings and workshops to share best practice amongst the regions and to promote gender mainstreaming. Furthermore, it launched a unique pilot initiative in Europe, officially presented in Brussels in 2004: the "La Rete" Project - an online policy gateway to provide and share information with the regions, public administrations, partner organisations and various other stakeholders. It was also fed back that the Department worked closely with other government departments in different EU Members States<sup>15</sup>. In fact, Laura Ronchetti reported " : then let's look at a guide for reconciliation that we have done with other member states, work financed by the Commission in this case we can see the offices, Sweden, Austria (in the ministry of economy and labour) Denmark (Centre for Gender Equality) Finland (Equal Defender, in Social Affairs) Greece Equal Treatment and Spain Women's Institute c / o M. Labour and Portugal Equal and Employment Committee"(Interview with Laura Ronchetti, 2009).

## **Conclusions**

This chapter explained the creation and role (as an authority and a body of expertise) played by the Department of Equal Opportunities during the years of the centre-left and centre right alliance from the perspective of the respondents who were interviewed in Rome in 2009. Primary data collection were useful to understanding the policy making process in the vertical dimensions of policy (where decision are made) and in the horizontal dimensions (where negotiations take place). The debate of EU being an opportunity or constraints contextualizes the role of the new institution, provide the social construction of how problems are recognized and addressed. The next chapter (6) explore whether an ordered knowledge

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<sup>13</sup> The Member States were Portugal, Denmark, Austria, Spain, Finland, Greece and Sweden. The group is representative of different welfare systems in Europe.

per Colebatch's paradigm was created as basis for developing a shared understanding amongst the participants to the policy-making process.

## Chapter 6

### **The Consolidation Act 2001: Was unifying legislation on women's rights a significant step in terms of generating a women's employment policy?**

#### **Aim**

The aim of this chapter is to describe the significance of the Consolidation Act 2001. Its contents are described and considered - through Colebatch's analytical lens - as being one of the steps taken by the authority(ies) to create an "order".

#### **Structure**

The chapter explores why the Act should be considered only a 'step', albeit a significant step and describes the content of the Act.

#### **6.1. The Consolidation Act 2001<sup>16</sup>**

Colebatch suggests that by "order" is meant a shared understanding about how the various participants (to the policy process) will act in particular circumstances. The Consolidation Act is a robust piece of legislation encompassing previous items of legislation passed by Parliament, enforcing an order on a particular subject matter - in this case maternity and paternity rights. It would be simplistic to argue that the Act is an "order" in itself. Taking Colebatch's definition of an order into account, the author suggests that an order is not created only/merely by knowledge (for this is what the Act is: ordered knowledge on a specific subject matter), but requires also organized policy activity. Consequently the

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<sup>16</sup> Decreto Legislativo 26 marzo 2001, n. 151 "Testo unico delle disposizioni legislative in materia di tutela e sostegno della maternita' e della paternita', a norma dell'articolo 15 della legge 8 marzo 2000, n. 53" pubblicato nella *Gazzetta Ufficiale* n. 96 del 26 aprile 2001 - Supplemento Ordinario n. 93



creation of an Act can be said to satisfy only the first criterion set by Colebatch, not the second. Investigating how and to what extent the Act was shared between and understood by the various participants to create organised policy activity, could demonstrate the creation of, or failure to create, an order by the “authority” and so satisfy both of Colebatch’s criteria.

Thus, this chapter describes the creation of an ordered knowledge. And Chapter 7, 8, 9 - the case study - expounds how this knowledge became a concrete example of organised policy activity, and thereby a shared understanding amongst practitioners. The two chapters are complementary; the chapter provides a broad understanding of the provisions on maternity and paternity rights. This is because the Act is a robust piece of legislation, whereas the case study illustrated in Chapter 7, 8, 9 provides only an example that makes reference to the provisions in the Act regarding reconciliation of work and family life as targeted to support motherhood, the rights to care and training and the harmonization and coordination of the times in the city, in two Italian regions.

The possible significance of the Consolidation Act 2001 is explored in this research by taking a constructivist approach. Two variables have been considered: the independent variable: European policy and the dependent variable: domestic policy.<sup>17</sup> The second is described as ‘dependent’ because it is regarded as being influenced by the first. In this case, Europe can be considered - as debated in chapter 5 - as either a constraint or an opportunity, since Italy needed to align its gender policy to EU gender policy so as to prevent further sanctions.

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<sup>17</sup> i.e. social policy and specifically the European Employment Strategy (the EES and related treaties, Amsterdam, Lisbon and so on) and in particular two of its four main pillars: employability and gender equality. These two pillars are interdependent as the latter is combined with the first in EU legislation and policy intended to support, boost and sustain female employment. For instance, at national level of governance the Government Business Plans and related documentation produced by the Managing Authority of the Structural Funds (Ministero del Tesoro, Bilancio e della Programmazione Economica) is considered to describe the set of targets produced for 2000- 2006 tranche of ESF funding for instance, *Cento idee per lo sviluppo, schede di programmazione 200-2006, Quadri Comunitari di Sostegno (Q.C.S), Piani operativi Nazionali (P.O.N) e Regionali(P.O.R).*

Therefore it can either be argued that this was, for the centre left government (1996-2001), either a) a constraint or b) an opportunity to use EU pressure as a lever for policy change (Quaglia et al. 2004, p.2). In the 1990s in Italy, EU policy was mainly transposed through legislation, specifically norms (technical directives, principles transposed into national legislation) 'cascading' from the top downwards. EU legislation thereby became national legislation and subsequently, therefore, policy at the sub-national level of governance - as identified in the literature review.

### ➤ **The Authority**

The preamble of the Act <sup>18</sup>refers to two important triggers for the unification of so many pieces of legislation. Firstly, Article 15 of Law 53/ 00 which clearly states the intent of the legislators was to have installed the Consolidation Act within a year's time, to unify the pre-existing legislation by undertaking a sort of "spring clean" of the norms repealed and still in force. <sup>19</sup> My understanding is that the Law 53/00 encourages the legislators to produce a legislative text (Proposed Bill) which wording is consistent and simplified to ensure coherence. According to Colebatch's theory, the distinctive element of order is coherence, regarded as ordered knowledge. One could argue that the preamble seems to emphasize

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<sup>18</sup> Decreto Legislativo 26 marzo 2001, n. 151 "Testo unico delle disposizioni legislative in materia di tutela e sostegno della maternità e della paternità, a norma dell'articolo 15 della legge 8 marzo 2000, n. 53" pubblicato nella *Gazzetta Ufficiale* n. 96 del 26 aprile 2001 - Supplemento Ordinario n. 93

<sup>19</sup> Art. 15 della legge 8 marzo 2000, n. 53 1. Al fine di conferire organicità e sistematicità alle norme in materia di tutela e sostegno della maternità e della paternità, entro dodici mesi dalla data di entrata in vigore della presente legge, il Governo è delegato ad emanare un decreto legislativo recante il testo unico delle disposizioni legislative vigenti in materia, nel rispetto dei seguenti principi e criteri direttivi:

- a) puntuale individuazione del testo vigente delle norme;
- b) esplicita indicazione delle norme abrogate, anche implicitamente, da successive disposizioni;
- c) coordinamento formale del testo delle disposizioni vigenti, apportando, nei limiti di detto coordinamento, le modifiche necessarie per garantire la coerenza logica e sistematica della normativa, anche al fine di adeguare e semplificare il linguaggio normativo;
- d) esplicita indicazione delle disposizioni, non inserite nel testo unico, che restano comunque in vigore;
- e) esplicita abrogazione di tutte le rimanenti disposizioni, non richiamate, con espressa indicazione delle stesse in apposito allegato al testo unico;
- f) esplicita abrogazione delle norme secondarie incompatibili con le disposizioni legislative raccolte nel testo unico.

2. Lo schema del decreto legislativo di cui al comma 1 è deliberato dal Consiglio dei ministri ed è trasmesso, con apposita relazione cui è allegato il parere del Consiglio di Stato, alle competenti Commissioni parlamentari permanenti, che esprimono il parere entro quarantacinque giorni dall'assegnazione.

3. Entro un anno dalla data di entrata in vigore del decreto legislativo di cui al comma 1 possono essere emanate, nel rispetto dei principi e criteri direttivi di cui al medesimo comma 1 e con le modalità di cui al comma 2, disposizioni correttive del testo unico.

this criterion. However, in the preamble there is another trigger to be noted: the authority(ies) (still referring to Colebatch's theory) or better the political parties who were in government when the Proposed Bill was passed and became an Act of Parliament. Law 53/00 was passed by the centre-left Prodi II government (XV legislature), and the Proposed Bill received Presidential assent on 26 March 2001 by Carlo Azeglio Ciampi (left wing political leader). The promoters of the Bill were the President of the Council of Ministers (Giovanni Amato – independent but working in coalition with the left-wing party) and the Minister for Social Solidarity (Livia Turco – Social Democratic Party - DS). Among the supporters were the Minister for Labour and Social Security (Cesare Salvi –Social Democrats DS), the Health Minister (Umberto Veronesi – independent but also united with the left wing party), the Minister for the Public Administration Coordination (Franco Bassanini – Social Democrats – DS) and last - but very relevant to this research - the Minister for Equal Opportunities (Katia Belillo - Communist Party - PdCI).<sup>20</sup>

➤ **The ordered knowledge**

The Act consists of five sections covering different matters: I) the ban on discrimination II) health protection III) maternity leave IV) paternity leave V) parental leave. Each of these matters refers to specific articles included in 10 laws (dating back to the early '70s and '90s) passed in 10 legislatures (between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> legislatures) by governments of different political leanings. See the full list attached at table 7 below.

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<sup>20</sup> Ministero della Solidarieta Sociale, Ministero del Lavoro e la Previdenza Sociale, Ministero della Sanita, Ministero della Funzione Pubblica e Dipartimento per le pari opportunita.

**Table 7 Consolidation Act 2001**

Law 1204/1971 (Protection of working mothers)	Colombo government (V legislature) centre-left alliance
Law 903/1977 (Equal pay)	Andreotti III government (VI legislature) National Solidarity
Law 184/1983 (Adoption and Foster Care)	Fanfani V government (VIII legislature) Five-party coalition government
Law 232/1990 (Police expenditure)	Andreotti VI government (X legislature) Five-party coalition government
Law 104/1992 (Benefits, Social Inclusion and Rights for Disable People)	Andreotti VII government (X legislature) Five-party coalition government
Law 236/1993 (Measures to sustain employment)	Ciampi government (XI legislature) Technocratic government
Law 230/1995 (Transposition of Euratom Directives on nuclear power stations)	Dini government (XII legislature) Centre-right alliance
Law 564/1996 - Law 645/1996 (National Insurance Contributions)	Dini government (XII legislature) Centre-right alliance
Law 53/2000 (Measures for the support of motherhood and fatherhood, the right to care and training, and for the harmonization and coordination of times in the city)	Prodi II government (XV legislature) Centre-left alliance

➤ **The significance of the Consolidation Act.**

Was unifying legislation on women's rights a significant step in terms of generating a women's employment policy? As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the answer to this question is not straightforward, but it can be argued that the Consolidation Act 2001 was a step forward in terms of unifying the scattered existing legislation on working women's rights. The coherence and ordered knowledge of Colebatch helps to provide an analytical

description of the factors that contributed to the unification of such scattered legislation covering 10 legislatures (spanning almost 30 years and several different governments) - identifying two elements of order. In addition, this analysis, by covering the domestic political environment, pinpoints those political parties in government (such as “authorities”) who promoted and supported the Consolidation Act 2001 at the domestic level.

The analysis also singles out the phenomenon of working women’s rights long existing on the agenda of the policy-makers - and the specific decision of the Prodi II government to dust off 30 years of legislation to collate the various provisions in relation to working women’s rights, which had been slotted into different laws. Besides, the Consolidation Act 2001, as stated in the Preamble, was a joint interdepartmental work. The Department of Equal Opportunities was one of departments sitting at the drafting table, and their presence re-stated what was affirmed by informants in the elites’ interviews; there was a growing interest for women’s equality, and the department grabbed the opportunity (something which one informant defined as a “magic momentum”) to promote equal opportunities as a policy cross-cutting theme by working closely across other government departments.

Under Stefania Prestigiacomio, the fourth Minister for Equal Opportunities, the Committee for Equal Opportunities between men and women was, in effect, established. The Committee consisted of five groups, as stated in chapter 5. One of these groups worked on the Protocol of the Consolidation Act. And members of this group of experts were: Maria Elena Gallesio-Piuma Ferraro, Soroptimist International (SOROPTIMIST), Aitanga Giraldi, Trade Unions (CGIL), Benedetta Insinga Castelli, National Association of Female Electors (ANDE), Eugenia Bono, Italian Female Federation for Crafts and Professions (FIDAPA) Antonella Barlacchi (HR UOC).

## **Conclusions**

The chapter concludes that the Consolidation Act 2001 can be considered per Colebatch's theory of public policy an ordered knowledge, Chapter 5 focused on the policy making process in the vertical dimension of policy (where decision are made ) and in the horizontal dimension (where negotiations take place), Chapter 6 .explores further the vertical dimension of policy by identifying how authoritative choices are implemented for instance, the ministerial decision, the policy directive, the regulation. These instruments, paraphrasing Colebatch, set the scene for the next chapters (7, 8, and 9) which explore the horizontal dimension of policy, focussing on participants' interaction resulting an ordered knowledge becoming a shared understanding amongst the participants to the policy-making process.

## Chapter 7

### A case study: The AGIRE POR Project<sup>21</sup>; the experience of two Regions.

#### Aim

The aim of the chapter is to contextualize the case study and to describe its design.

#### Structure

The chapter explains the rationale behind the choice of the case study and it contextualizes and describes the design of the case study.

#### 7.1 Rationale behind the choice of the case study

The case study, the 2007-2008 AGIRE POR twinning Project 2007-2008 " Measures to reconcile work and family life" consists of two sub-units of analysis: the different experiences of two regions Basilicata and Apulia - in creating public policy promoting female employment. These experiences will be analysed in more details in the next chapter.

The contrast between the regions is revealed to us through the evaluations of their differing experiences in the ESF Programme 2000-2006 and the subsequent 2007-2008 AGIRE<sup>22</sup> twinning project, the case study, which resulted from it.

The twinning Basilicata - Apulia was one of the six mini-pilots of the multi-region AGIRE POR Project<sup>23</sup>, coordinated by the Department of Equal Opportunities. The overall objective

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<sup>21</sup> In Italian, the acronym A.G.I.R.E stands for "Attivazione Gemellaggi Internalizzazione Regionale Esperienze di Successo" which in English could be translated as "Internalization of regional clusters' good practices - Start Up initiatives". The choice of the acronym puns on words, as AGIRE is an action verb in Italian which means **to do**.

<sup>22</sup> A.G.I.R.E Attivazione Gemellaggi Internalizzazione Regionale Esperienze di Successo. ( Twinning to X regional best practices)

<sup>23</sup> POR = Piani Operativi Regionali (Operational Regional Plans) part of the European Structural Funds Programme 2000-2006.

of the 2007-2008 multi-region, AGIRE POR project, as stated in the General Proposal, was to transfer good practice models amongst the Italian regions in the Objective 1 zone and thereby to transfer knowledge (e.g. policy tools, procedures) from one region to another.

The research takes the stance that this approach mirrored the Open Method of Coordination<sup>24</sup>, a method used at the EU level a form of soft law, originally created in the 1990s as part of employment policy and the Luxembourg process. The OMC was defined as an instrument of the Lisbon strategy (2000) based on identifying objectives to be achieved, measuring instruments and benchmarking (e.g. comparison of EU performance and exchange of best practice).

The aim of the case study is to examine a specific policy activity undertaken in Italy - the 2005 Voucher Grant Scheme of the Basilicata Region - in comparison with the experience of the Apulia Region. The Basilicata Voucher Grant Scheme, in 2005, won the "EU Best Practice Model" Award. This was reported by the QCS Newsletter, *Sud News*, issued by the Department of Equal Opportunities (DEO) in September 2008.<sup>25</sup> The thesis investigates using the concept of 'policy' - as defined by Colebatch - that policy was created/formulated or implemented in the Basilicata Voucher Grant Scheme, while it was not formulated/created or not implemented in Apulia.

The case study examines the choices of government at different level of governance, the interplay of the stakeholders and the context in which the shared understanding is shaped and embedded.

Colebatch identifies three accounts of policy. The interaction of these three accounts of policy describes how policy is formulated and implemented. Colebatch describes a vertical dimension (where the dominant account is authoritative choice) and the horizontal dimensions

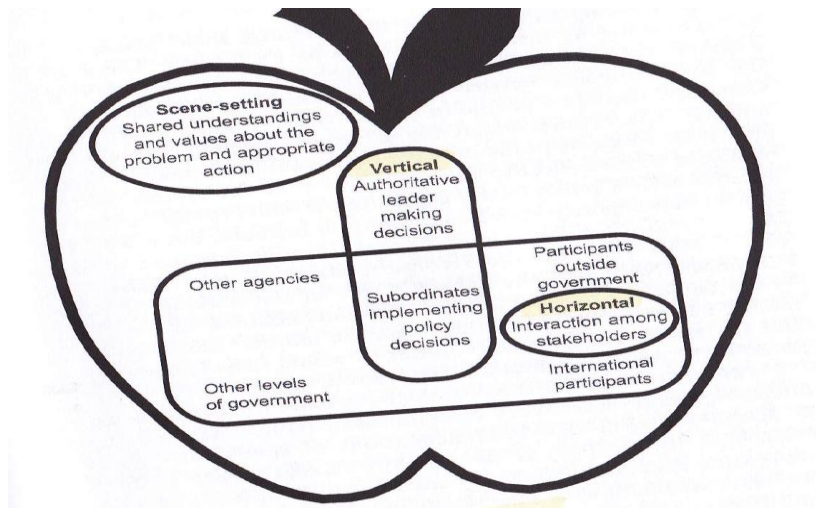
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<sup>25</sup> The Italian title Quadri Comunitari di Sostegno (QCS) is translated into English Community Support Framework (QCS), I refer to Sud news Anonymous,n, 54 September 2008, p.10



(where the dominant account is structured interaction) and the "scene-setting" dimension where the dominant account is social construction. Colebatch emphasizes that these "dimensions are not alternatives: rather, each tends to assume the others.

**Diagram 2 Three dimensions of policy practice**



Data Source Colebatch, 2009

1) policy making as deciding ( authoritative choice), this account is described as the work of the authorities exercising the will of government, the case study therefore covers the decision made by the Department of Equal Opportunities and the regional administrations.

2) policy making as negotiating (structured interaction), this account explores the interaction of the participants to the policy process in different organisations. the case study therefore looks at the interaction of the Department of Equal Opportunities, the regional administrations and beneficiaries.

3) policy making as social construction: policy making as a "collective puzzling," this account relates to policy formulation, which rests on problematization, interpreting the world in a way that makes appropriate to address particular situations in particular ways. The case study therefore looks at scene-setting, the shared understanding and values.

The thesis thereby probes and confirms the utility (or fecundity) of Colebatch's theory of public policy.

The rationale for choosing the 2007-2008 AGIRE POR twinning Project as case study stemmed from elite interviews. As previously stated, the Department of Equal Opportunities played a significant role in enhancing the opportunities of working women, in fact Giovanna Indiretto referred to "a very positive conjuncture as the regulations for structural funds were being discussed" (Interview with Giovanna Indiretto, 2009) and Clara Collarile described that time as a magic momentum, in fact she said: "I tried to ensure the Department access to structural funds and so the department played a role, and I went there and I have to say that and it was a magic momentum" (Interview with Clara Collarile, 2009).

The magic momentum/positive conjuncture consisted of key elements: the European legislation, the Dedicated Financial Fund (jointly promoting gender empowerment and female employment) and the in-house expertise of bureaucrats, who had previously worked in other government departments - as those interviewed - on European Economic Programmes related to European regional policy<sup>26</sup>.

Cara Collarile said: "I went to the department and I was knowledgeable about the structural funds, I tried to ensure the Department access to structural funds and so the department played a role (...) because I met Professor Delia La Rocca, I do not know if you will interview her, a person who was super, high calibre, and she understood the importance of the ESF Programme so when this started, equality was included everywhere, in this respect the department played a role if you want to identify a role, in this respect the ESF 2000-2006 Programme, as you know, was famous for measure A, policy field dedicated to women and then to women's employment and in Italy is the only country in which there was a 10% reserve of social fund, where it has been well spent, really and served, then the reserve and the dedicated measure, then the ad hoc resources and at the same time the

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<sup>26</sup> The respondent had previously worked for the Ministry of Labour on URBAN and INTEREGG

gender mainstreaming that had made to put across the message with the ESF 2006 Programme. The regulations provided it (Interview with Clara Collarile, 2009)

It appears that the left wing Prodi I government secured Italy's participation to the Structural Funds and Cohesion Funds programme 2000-2006, part of the European regional policy. The funding was a significant economic resource to boost female employment, but, although the funding was granted to the regions, the Department of Equal Opportunities would be responsible for the coordination at sub-national level of governance.

As regards as the Department's coordinating role, the new institution built up good working relationships at multilevel governance, specifically at European level with the DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities in Brussels, at national level with the Ministry of Labour and at sub-national level with the twenty one Italian regions. In fact Collarile said: "we had the support of Brussels ..." (Interview with Clara Collarile, 2009) and Indiretto " In addition to this favourable conjuncture people always play a role, and this is the case of Luisella Pavan-Woolfe<sup>27</sup> very keen on gender issues and that pushed a lot because the ESF Programme affected the equal opportunities by providing resources for the axis dedicated to equal opportunities" (Interview with Giovanna Indiretto, 2009).

The department also raised awareness on equal opportunities by engaging with the regions and employers, by organising meetings and workshops to share best practises amongst the regions and by launching La Rete<sup>28</sup> Project, an online hub to provide and share information with the main stakeholders.

Clara Collarile said that: "with the Social Fund and the measure we can pay the so-called equality animator and I wrote twenty-one letters, this is how many regions we have in

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<sup>27</sup> Luisa Pavan-Woolfe is a European Senior Civil Servant. She was the first Director for Equal Opportunities to be nominated by the European Commission.

<sup>28</sup> The network

Italy, and I invited the presidents of the regions to use the position of the equality animator, (...) all went well where they had a good expert, instead where there was not an expert, it did not work. (Interview with Clara Collarile, 2009).

This specific piece of information led us to explore further if and how policy was created in relation to a specific policy activity in the Italian Regions in the context of the ESF 2000-2006. As previously stated, the 2005 Voucher Grant Scheme of the Basilicata Region was chosen because it was a EU Best Practise Model of the 2007-2008 multi-region AGIRE POR Project, and the successful experience of Basilicata Region where the ESF funding were spent was compared to the experience of the Apulia region, where funding were unspent.

## **7.2 Case study context: European and Italian Cohesion Policy and the 2000-2006 ESF**

To provide an outline of the European and Italian Cohesion Policy 2000-2006, the thesis looked at the Community Support Framework (CSF) 2000-2006. This was the document approved by the European Commission, in agreement with the Member State of interest, following the evaluation, revision and approval of the Plan presented by the Member State itself.

The CSF document contained data on the starting situation, strategies, action priorities, specific objectives, financial plan, and implementing conditions of the Italian has projected / intended implementation of the EU Cohesion policy 2000-2006. Analysis of this documentary evidence made possible the contextualization of the 2007-2008 AGIRE POR project.

This contextualization follows the constructivist approach adopted by the thesis in relation to the analysis of policy. The CSF document can be seen as the social construction dimension of policy, when, paraphrasing Colebatch, the "scene is set", a shared understanding, values about the problem and appropriate actions are defined.

In Italy, the drafting process for the eventual CSF dated back to December 1998. The process was co-ordinated by the Ministry of Economics and Finance, rather than by the

Department of Equal Opportunities. The CSF's general objective was three-fold: First, to reach, within the implementation period, a development pathway for Southern Italian Regions included in the Objective 1 zone; Second, to sustain female employment growth rates at higher levels than the European Union standards; Third, to reduce social hardship. The CSF was organised into six priority axes.

The AGIRE POR project was managed by the Department of Equal Opportunities, and looked at Italy's 'Objective 1' Regions.<sup>29</sup> The case study examined the twinning of Basilicata and Apulia and specifically the EU/Italian provision for "reconciliation of work and family life" under Priority Axis III, in conjunction with the cross-cutting theme Policy Field E: "equal opportunities"

The EU economic resources dedicated to the measures envisaged by the CSF 2000-2006 were co-financed by the Community Structural Funds and national financing, both public and private. For the 2000-2006 programming period, the Community Structural Funds consisted of the European Structural Funds, which encompassed four funding sub-categories (the European Regional Development Fund; the European Social Fund; the European Agriculture Guidance Guarantee Fund; and the Financial Instrument for Fisheries Guidance).

### **Projects description:**

#### **a) The 2007 -2008 AGIRE POR multi- region project**

Analysis of the project documentation and elite interviews identified that the AGIRE POR Project was funded domestically by the Minister for Economic Development and by the Directorate General (DG) area for policies in relation to EU structural funds - as part of the National Operational Programme Technical Assistance and System Actions - NOP ATAS.<sup>30</sup>

The role of the Department of Equal Opportunities was to coordinate the twinning of

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<sup>29</sup> **Objective 1:** to promote the development and structural adjustment of regions whose development is lagging behind. The regions are Campania, Apulia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicily, Sardinia transitional support: Molise

administrations in the Objective 1 areas and to promote the exchange of good practice models between these administrations, as part of the Regional Operational Programmes (POR).

The idea of twinning was taken from the EU PHARE twinning programme, which involved co-operation activities at different levels.<sup>31</sup> The common denominator of twinning activities is that the co-operation relationship is based on an exchange between two or more countries / national administrations.

The AGIRE POR project (2007-2008) and (2007-2013) was funded through the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), which promotes economic and social cohesion by correcting the main regional imbalances found in the European Union.<sup>32</sup> Documentary evidence analysis pointed out that under the 2000-2006 programming period, the focus of ERDF was, in compliance with the strategy of sustainable development, to contribute to reducing the development gaps between EU regions.<sup>33</sup>

The ERDF supported six policy areas. The AGIRE POR project focussed on the last of these - *job equality between men and women* - which legitimated the use of this funding stream to support equality and gender mainstreaming policies in the Objective 1 regions.

The AGIRE POR project 2007-2008 consisted of six short-life twinning arrangements (where Region B is intended to learn from Region A - considered a good practice model). The successful experience of Region A (the offeror) in the Structural Fund Programme 2000-2006 was shared with Region B (the recipient) as the groundwork of the Structural Fund programme 2007-2013.

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<sup>31</sup> PHARE - The Phare programme, as a pre-accession instrument, is the main channel for the European Community's financial and technical cooperation with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEECs). In the Phare Programme, twinning primarily concerns exchange at the national level, indicating that the actors involved are primarily Government ministries and central public authorities. Twinning has been a part of the Phare programme since 1998, when the programme began to focus on the accession of the candidate countries i.e. Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia.

<sup>32</sup> As stated in the Treaty of Amsterdam (article 160)

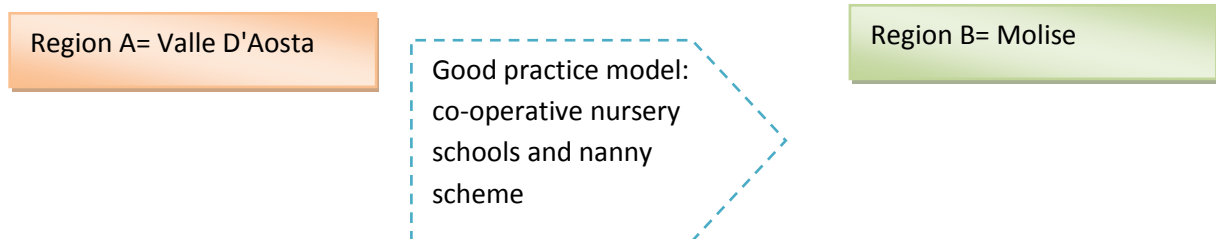
<sup>33</sup> EC Regulation No. 1783 of 1999

Four thematic areas of intervention were identified by the Department of Equal Opportunities in the Project Proposal (2006). The thesis considered these thematic areas to be the main policy drivers of each of the twinning projects. The thesis classified the six projects by referring to these four thematic areas described in the Project Proposal. As can be seen, the twinning projects did not take place simultaneously.

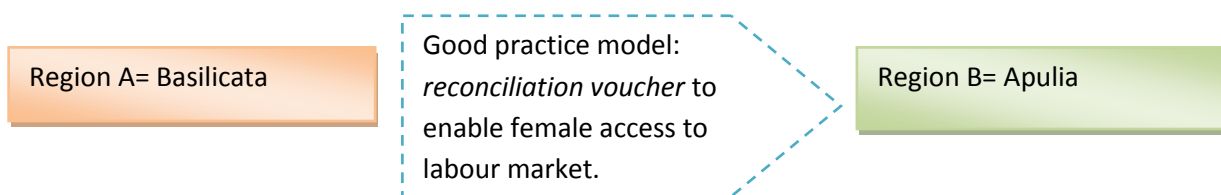
### 1. Service Quality

Poor availability of high quality service was acknowledged as being an issue in Southern Italy especially. The twinning projects aimed to disseminate good practice models focussed on enhancing the availability of services promoting job equality between men and women. The twinning took place from January to May 2008.

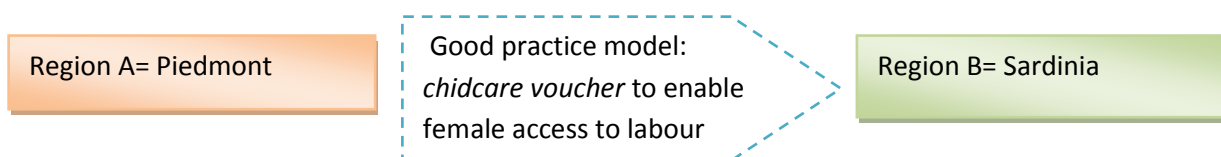
Three sets of twinning fell under this category.



The twinning took place from January to May 2008.



The project took place from July 2007 to April 2008.



The project took place from March to July 2008.

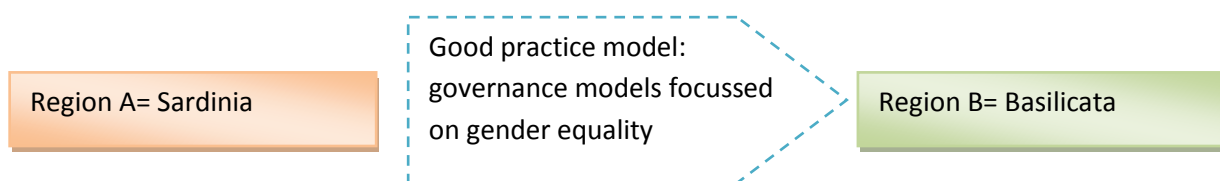
## 2. Female Entrepreneurship

Female entrepreneurship and self-employment were recognised as issues which needed to be tackled at national and local levels of governance. Here, twinning aimed to exchange good practice models focussed on improving female financial skills.

No twinning was identified in this thematic area in Italy.

## 3. Governance

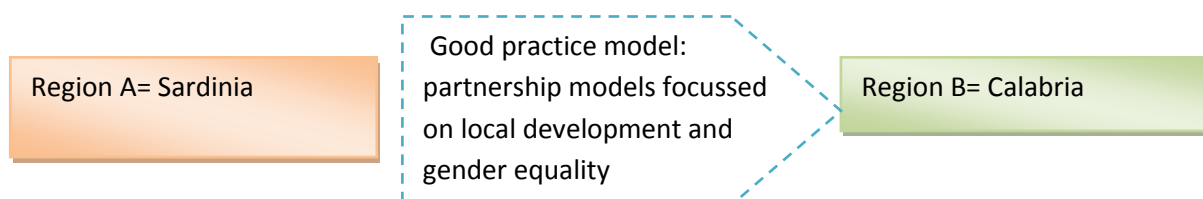
Governance at local level was identified to be an issue because of the wide range of delivery models implementing gender equality at the local level of governance. The twinning aimed to enhance governance at the local level by exchanging good practice models and thereby supporting and sustaining gender equality mainstreaming policies



The twinning took place from January to July 2007.

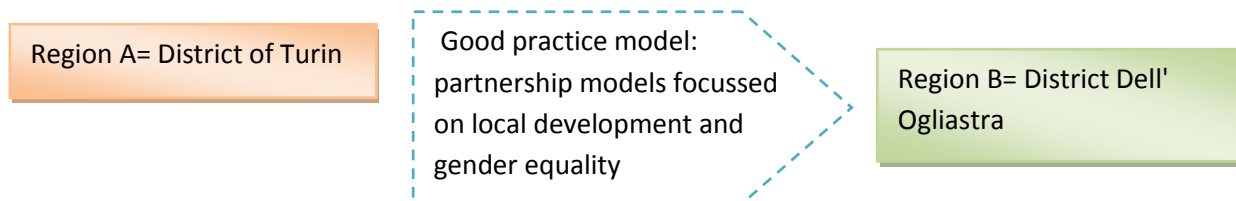
## 4. Local Development

Local Development was acknowledged as an issue in view of the upcoming Structural Funds Programme 2007-2013. Many under-developed areas were identified as regions where local development and gender equality mainstreaming policies needed to be supported and sustained.





The twinning took place from June 2007 to February 2008.



The twinning took place from December 2007 to May 2008.

Documentary evidence indicated the establishment of monitoring and evaluation systems so that Italy - as an EU Member State - could be compliant with the European Commission's audit requirements. Documentary evidence indicated that a dedicated agency, the National Italian Inspectorate for European Funding IGRUE, established by the Managing Authority, was responsible for data collection and data evaluation. IGRUE coordinated the data collection undertaken by the local administrations taking part in the 2000-06 ESF Programme. The agency established the criteria of the data collection and the methodological approach, as stated in the VISPO Guidelines, of the evaluation.

Quantitative and qualitative data were centrally collected by IGRUE. These included Key Performance Indicators (KPIs); standards of financial and procedural data; and best practice models taken from the 1994-1999 ESF Programmes. Documentary evidence also suggested that the monitoring and evaluation systems were homogeneous amongst the mini pilots taking part in the 2007-08 project, and therefore that the data were comparable.<sup>34</sup> This research did not explore either the data collection or the data evaluation phases, because the case study focuses purely on policy creation and implementation. Data are available on the Managing Authority's website.

The evaluation, as specified in the VISPO guidelines, aimed to measure the impact of the ESF Programme 2000-2006 in 5 thematic areas:

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<sup>34</sup> Monitoring system [http://www.dps.tesoro.it/qcs-eng/qcs\\_monitoring\\_system.asp](http://www.dps.tesoro.it/qcs-eng/qcs_monitoring_system.asp)

The area of intervention of the case study, presented in this chapter, relates to, the improvement of women's access to the labour market. The thesis does not cover the evaluation of the mini-pilots of the AGIRE POR project 2007-2008 themselves, and their impact on the design of the objectives of the subsequent AGIRE POR project 2007-2013.

The focus of the thesis is policy creation and implementation through the three dimensions of policy "practice" as defined by Colebatch's paradigm. The thesis only explores policy learning, as per Rose theory (Rose, 1993) to explain how one region intended to learn from another.

The thesis nevertheless contributes to the debate on policy learning in two ways: Firstly, it hypothesizes how policy learning was intended to happen. Secondly, it explores how one region attempted to learn from another in the mini-pilot during the AGIRE-POR project 2007-2008.

The thesis then looks at the policy learning of the AGIRE POR 2007-2008, which was intended to take place using the Open Method of Coordination. The use of this method makes easy the application of a simple comparative approach to policy analysis. The Department of Equal Opportunities' decision to pursue an approach, which the research interprets as mirroring the Open Method of Coordination, as explained in the introduction of this chapter, was rooted in the fact that the 2007-2008 AGIRE POR project was driven by the European legislation on gender equality, policies and economic resources of the EU/Cohesion Regional policy for the 2007-13 ESF Programme.

**b) The 2007-2008 twinning Project Basilicata - Apulia "Measures to reconcile work and family life."**

The 2007-2008 twinning Project Basilicata - Apulia " Measures to reconcile work and family life was a 9 months project managed by Basilicata and Apulia and coordinated by the Department of Equal Opportunities.

Documentary evidence described the project main objective, which was to exchange good practice in order to promote reconciliation of work and family life.

The project consisted of 3 phases:

Inception meeting held at the Department of Equal Opportunities

1) **Phase 1** - exchange of good practise (e.g. Basilicata governance model and contribution of equality organisations)

2) **Phase 2**- comparison of activities (e.g., how the voucher tool was developed and implemented)

3) **Phase 3** - wrap up Meeting and showcases of achievements

The dynamic of the twinning highlights the .structured interactions of the participants to the policy making, as per Colebatch's theory, as the policy participants recognize that much of their work take place across organisational boundaries (Colebatch, 2009 p.27)

The twinning of Region A and B, as stated in the AGIRE POR General Proposal, was aimed at transferring the experience of Region A (Basilicata) to Region B (Apulia). How did B intend to learn from A? The thesis explores these questions through the analytical lens of Rose's theory. Rose explains that policy can be learnt through time (through situations in the past that were similar) and space (e.g. financial, geographical, and ideological propinquity) (Rose, 1993, pp. 84-96).

In this specific case, the similar situations in the past are the experiences undergone by A and B during the ESF Programme 2000-2006. Moreover, the two regions are nearby/adjoining administrations and, as Rose notes, "a nearby government is the easiest place to look, assuming that its resources are also similar" (Rose, 1993, p. 96). Basilicata and Apulia have similar resources. They both boast a workforce with high employment rates,

similar financial resources (the ESF Funding 2000-2006) and the same EU and domestic policy goals, being part of the Objective 1 zone.

Region A had a centre left administration whereas Region B had a centre right administration. Even though this could be regarded as a diversity, agreed that both national government coalitions (centre right and centre left) were supportive of gender mainstreaming policy because Italian cultural identity has been historically based on the role of the family in the Italian society and thus of the women's as mother. European funding was definitely for both regions a constraint and an opportunity to create and implement female employment and gender mainstreaming policies in the regions.

How, when and what did Region A and Region B aim to learn? The research explores how to answer each of these questions in turn.

How did they learn? They learnt from themselves and from each other. Region A learnt from Region A, and Region B learnt from Region B via the 2007-2008 AGIRE POR project evaluation, which is a standard procedure of the ESF Programme at the end of any ESF Project. They also learnt from each other or, more specifically, Region B learnt from Region A, as reported in the twinning consensual agreement. Furthermore, at the moment when Region B presented its experience, Region A could have reinforced its understanding of what makes for effective policy creation during the twinning.

When they did learn? They learnt in two phases: First, via the evaluation commissioned by the Department of Equal Opportunities, which took place after the ESF Programme ended in 2006 and second, as a unit during the twinning which took place in 2007-2008. During the twinning, the Regions held eight meetings, which were coordinated by the Department of Equal Opportunities.

What did they learn? The twinning project focussed on the knowledge transfer from Region B to Region A in two areas: i) governance; and ii) case studies. For instance, Region B learnt how the 2005 Voucher Grant Scheme was designed, implemented and

communicated; how this benefitted some SMEs; and how this impacted on female employment in the Regions.

### **7.3 Case study design**

The analysis is based on desk research on relevant programme documentation, plus interviews with Senior Civil Servants on the coordinating role of the Department of Equal Opportunities.

As explained in the Introduction Chapter, only with the Regulations of Structural Funds for 2007-2013 the Member States and Operational Programmes' Managing Authorities must make available information on the use of the Funds and, in particular, to publish the lists of beneficiaries, intervention names, and amounts of public aid addressed to the projects. This was not a requirement for the ESF 2000-2006 beneficiaries (Reggi, 2012) could not be identified and interviewed.

The case study focused on the governance arrangements in the two regions, the structured actions of the agents taking part in the policy process, paraphrasing Colebatch, on how legislation was implemented and therefore policy was created by creating an ordered understanding amongst the participants to the policy process. As regard as implementation, the parameter used instead of the perspective of beneficiaries, which could not be identified, was the ability of the regions to spend the ESF funding as highlighted by Clara Collarile, who said they had meetings with the regions: "to help the regional officials, because they did not even know what gender mainstreaming was, so we got together with the equality animators, we explained to them what they had to do" (Interview with Clara Collarile, 2009). The thesis acknowledges not being able to interview beneficiaries could be seen as a limitation of the case study.

The 2007-2008 AGIRE POR twinning Project Basilicata - Apulia " Measures to reconcile work and family life" has been analysed as a single-case as which consists of two sub units

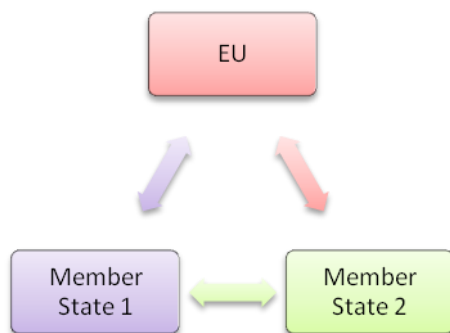
of analysis, the experience of two Italian Regions, Basilicata and Apulia. The thesis focuses on policy creation/implementation, as per Colebatch's theory, and explores policy learning as per Rose's theory in the two sub-units of analysis, Basilicata (which we refer to as Region A) and Apulia (which we refer to as Region B).

The sub-units are "significant opportunities for extensive analysis, enhancing the insights into the single case" (Yin 2003, p.44). These two sub-units of analyses were respectively in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9.

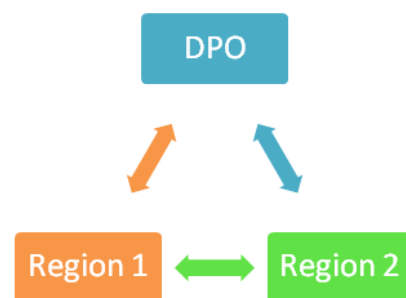
The Department of Equal Opportunities played a coordinating role in the project. The overall objective of the 2007-2008 multi-regions, AGIRE POR project, as previously stated, was to disseminate good practice models amongst the Italian regions in the Objective 1 zone and thereby to transfer knowledge (e.g. policy tools, procedures) from one region to another. The research, as previously stated, takes the stance that this approach mirrored the OMC method used at the EU level, as the figure below explains.

**Diagram 3 OMC at macro and micro level**

OMC at macro- level of governance



OMC at meso, level of governance



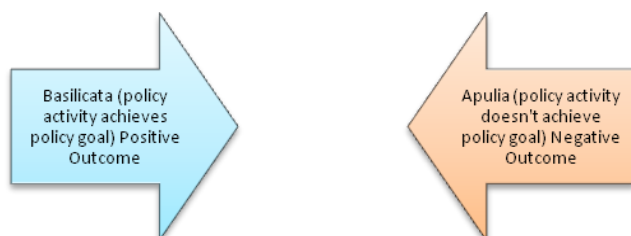
At the macro level of governance, a Member State, 2, learns from a Member State, 1, which is considered an example of good practice. Similarly, at the meso level of governance, Region 2 learns from Region 1, also considered an example of good practice.

Analysis of the AGIRE POR project documentation<sup>35</sup> identified that in the 2000-2006 ESF Programme, Basilicata (which we refer to as Region A) and Apulia (which we refer to as Region B) had:

- 1) each been working “in a silo” and
- 2) yielded different outcomes in relation to the same policy activity<sup>36</sup>



In planning the governance arrangements of the 2007-2013 Structural Funds Programme, Basilicata and Apulia worked together using the OMC method in the context of the (2007-2008) AGIRE POR project.



The experience of Basilicata (the offering region) was shared with Apulia (the beneficiary region). Apulia was thus intended to learn from the Basilicata model of good practice. The description of both regions' experiences enables the subsequent probing of Colebatch's theory that there are three attributes of policy (Colebatch, 1998, p.6), comprising:

- 1) Authority;

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<sup>35</sup> The project documentation includes: the Basilicata Project Evaluation, the Apulia Project Evaluation, twinning documentation (seminars, meetings, presentations, the project agreement and a Memorandum of Understanding between Apulia and Basilicata), and the twinning evaluation report. The list of the documentation is included as Appendix 1.

<sup>36</sup> Project Report <http://www.retepariopportunita.it/defaultdesktop.aspx?page=2736>

- 2) Expertise and;
- 3) Order.

Colebatch explains that the policy process involves the mobilization of authority/authorities (decision-makers), expertise (body of experts), and the creation of order (Colebatch, 1998, pp.90-91). This last is a shared understanding among the various participants about how they will act in particular circumstances. Description of the two regions' practices allows evaluation of whether, and the extent to which, the attributes of policy are present in each of the two regions, and therefore whether policy, as per Colebatch's definition, was created during the 2000-2006 ESF Programme. The thesis also explains the intent of transferring the positive experience of Region A to Region B during the AGIRE POR 2007-2008.

The case study hypothesizes that:

- 1) Italy/the Department of Equal Opportunities identified Basilicata as succeeding in creating public policy, and Apulia as having failed. It was on that basis that it established twinning arrangements, in order to enable genuine/effective policy creation in Apulia too, and;
- 2) the relative success and failure of the two regions can be understood in terms of Colebatch's definition of what constitutes (effective) public policy.

➤ **Policy presence/absence, as per Colebatch's theory**

Initially, this section restates the research's ontological and epistemological stances, which are interpretative and constructivist. This explains why the case study - as stated in this chapter's introduction - is context-bound (ESF 2000-2006) and also why the experiences of Region A and B are analysed through the lens of the constructivist Colebatch's conceptualisation of policy.

The section then probes that, during the 2000-2006 ESF programme, policy was created as per Colebatch's theory of public policy in Region A (Basilicata) but not in Region B (Apulia). Subsequently it explores the hypothesis that the measures taken in Basilicata that had led to



policy being successfully created there were intended to be transferred to Apulia during the AGIRE POR 2007-2008.

Colebatch's policy cycle model is based on the cycle model of two scholars - Bridgman and Davies (2000) - pioneers in the study of policy in Australia. The scholars' model is a reaction against Lasswell's stagist approach, according to which the/a policy process consists of a chain of interlocking steps, which Colebatch identifies as "goal setting, policy decision, policy implementation and policy evaluation" (Colebatch, 1998 p.50).

Colebatch's moves from the rigidity of Laswell's stages approach model (1965) to a more dynamic, post-empiricist model, by taking into account the context embedding the social phenomena. Laswell's stages approach has been subject to criticism because it oversimplifies the policy process implying that there is a clear start and end. In reality, the policy process is more like a circle: it is continuous with "new" policies as a response to perceived account of failures of existing policies.

" New" policies are also subject to constant reform or amendment and so never "end" (unless they are explicitly repelled/terminated). Colebatch's perspective of public policy analysis has similarly cutting edge aspects as that of scholars like Wayne Parsons (1995) and Peter Jones(1998) - whose work considers the context in which the policy process takes place. Parsons points out, the meaning of these two terms (public and policy) changes depending on the historical context as confirmed by the literature on public policy definition, which is extensive, and goes a long way back (Parsons, 1995 p.14).

Jones (1998) sees policy as a continuous cycle, which must be analysed in the context of different phenomena because of its complexity, for instance policy change and policy variation ( Parsons, 1995 *passim*)

Colebatch believes that policy is not made only by authorised decision making, in the vertical dimension of policy, but also by the implementation of such decisions via a shared

understanding amongst the participants to the policy process in the horizontal dimension of policy (Colebatch, 1998, p.39).

The scholar conceives of “policy” as [having been typically understood (by others) as] the government’s chosen course of action to problem recognition. However, he suggests an interpretative approach to this definition, since he insists on regarding it as a “concept in use” and not merely as an unproblematic, descriptive term (Colebatch, 1998, p. 13).

By concept in use, the scholar means that definitions of any policy will express values explaining and validating actions by those making the definitions. Thus, to understand practitioners’ behaviours, observers must consider the (inevitably multiple) values embedded in the policy as a “concept in use”. Its nature is therefore dynamic, since it is a social construct resulting from the interaction of the participants in the policy process (which itself is dynamic). The thesis is rooted in the question of whether “a” particular way of understanding the world, paraphrasing Colebatch, was established with regard to the policy created in Region A, and then transferred from Region A to region B during their twinning in the AGIRE POR 2007-2008.

This thesis shares Hecló’s (1972, p.84) statement that policy is not a self-evident term. In addition, as does Colebatch this thesis regards policy as a chameleonic term. According to Colebatch, the specific definition (understanding) of any actual policy, in the real world, will be a result (a social construct) which can be analysed in terms of how and from what its “attributes” and “distinctive elements” were constituted.

Colebatch regards as “attributes” of policy the following three matters: *authority, expertise, and order*. He regards three further features as “distinctive elements”: *hierarchy, instrumentality, and coherence*. When these criteria are effectively met then a chosen government course of action can be framed as a process generating policy.

Colebatch's theory argues that decisions are made by the authority (or authorities). He defines such decision-makers as being either a single individual (e.g. a Minister) or a

collective body (e.g. Cabinet). Decisions then are cascaded down by authority (or authorities) through the principle of hierarchy. Colebatch's theory also argues that policy implies expertise and knowledge, which are instrumental to a particular problem area, and it ends with the point that policy implies order - a shared understanding that creates systems and consistence (Colebatch, 1988, *passim*).

The research examines the extent to which and the ways in which these attributes were present in Region A and in Region B. It thus identifies both the presence/absence of effective policy creation in the two regions, and demonstrates the utility of Colebatch's conceptual framework for analysing public policy initiatives. In particular, use of Colebatch's analytical paradigm allows specification of what made policy creation successful in one case, and what led to its failure in the other.

Therefore, the aim of the analysis is:

1. to probe the presence of policy, as per Colebatch's theory, Case Study 1 - the experience of Region A) and;
2. to probe the absence of "policy," as per Colebatch's theory Case Study 2 - (the experience of B.

## **Conclusions**

This chapter explored the rationale for choosing the case study by discussing the three dimensions of policy (Colebatch 2009, p.35)

The interaction of these three accounts of policy describes how policy is created/formulated and implemented. Colebatch describes a vertical dimension (where the dominant account is authoritative choice) and therefore the chapter discussed EU, national and subnational authoritative choices; the horizontal dimensions (where the dominant account is structured interaction) and therefore the relationships/patterned activities among EU, national and subnational participants to the policy process; and the "scene-setting" dimension where the

dominant account is social construction, therefore the European, national gender policy and dedicated economic resource, the ESF Programme 2000-2006.

The chapter also discussed the policy context and the design of the case study to introduce the analysis of its sub-units (Region A and Region B).

## **Chapter 8**

### **Sub-unit 1: The experience of Basilicata**

#### **Aim**

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the experience of Region A (Basilicata) and probe the presence of policy as per Colebatch's theory.

#### **Structure**

The chapter describes in more detail the twinning of Basilicata and Apulia and it also analyses the experience of Basilicata per Colebatch's theory.

#### **8.1 The twinning - Basilicata vs Apulia**

As previously stated, the rationale behind the choice of presenting the twinning of Basilicata - Apulia as a case study lies with the fact that the Basilicata Region won the 2005 Award

"EU Best Practice Model". This was reported by the QCS Newsletter, *Sud News*, issued by the Department of Equal Opportunities in September 2008.<sup>37</sup>

The twinning was considered an interesting case to research in terms of helping us to probe the nature of policy creation and implementation as per Colebatch's theory. This is because documentary evidence analysis suggested that Basilicata experience could indeed be identified as displaying the attributes of policy as per Colebatch's paradigm.

Colebatch also explains that policy must not be understood simply as "officially proclaimed goals" but also in terms of the way, the activity among a wide range of participants is

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<sup>37</sup> The Italian title Quadri Comunitari di Sostegno (QCS) is translated into English as Community Support Framework (QCS), I refer to *Sud News* n, 54 September 2008.p.10

patterned. He also notes that there is a tension between agency and structure, People act (agency) but, according to Colebatch, their actions are significant only in the context of a set of relationships (structure) and as Giddens (1984 cited in Colebatch, 2009, p.17 ) argued, Colebatch restates that we need to see agency and structure as mutually constituting one another. Structure, Colebatch's continues, indicates an appropriate way to act: when people act that way, people their actions reproduces the structures.

The case looks at the relationships between choice, agency and structure within the two Italian Regions in the context of Colebatch's theory of policy, and how their governance (an appropriate way of act, a structure) arrangements produced different policy outcomes in specific spatial and temporal dimensions (Colebatch, 2009 *passim*)

Colebatch believes that policy is not made only by authorised decision making, in the vertical dimension of policy, but also by the implementation of such decisions via a shared understanding amongst the participants to the policy process in the horizontal dimension of policy (Colebatch, 1998, p.39).

Pressman and Wildavsky's (1973) study refers to Lipsky's theory (Lipsky, 1983) of street-level bureaucrats (sub-national policy actors implementing policy) who play a role on how policy is applied in practice and one of the criteria for successful implementation is that the policy objectives are fully understood and accepted by "street -level bureaucrats".

As Malpass and Murie have noted: "Sometimes, performance fails to much intentions, because of the objectives are no shared by those responsible for implementation, or because they are unaware of what the objectives are" (Dorey, 2014 p.251 ), Colebatch restates this by saying that policy is concerned with making organised activity stable and predictable (...) creating this sort of order can be seen as a sort of organisational control to ensure that the policy that has been created at the top is carried out through the organisation (Colebatch, 2009 p.27) .

The following paragraphs provide the description of the twinning.

The Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) , defined as "Policies and tools to support reconciliation of work and family life" – the document which underpins the twinning the Basilicata and Apulia - was signed in September 2007 by four institutions: the Authority for Gender Equality of the Basilicata Region, the Garantor for Gender Equality of the Apulia Region, the Department of Equal Opportunities and the Department for Economic Development.

The narrative on women's employment policy established that since the 2000s reconciliation of work and family life was one of the key drivers of EU policy. The lack of such reconciliation was therefore recognised to be an issue hampering women's participation in the labour market - especially in the Southern Italian Regions, where women were the main caregivers for children, the disabled, and the elderly. In both the Regions identified, therefore, the local administrations launched a small ESF Grant scheme - the voucher -, which was awarded to eligible categories: individuals and/or enterprises. The individuals who actually benefited from the voucher were women. However, the twinning project documentation specified that men (e.g. fathers if they were caregivers) were also eligible under the scheme.<sup>38</sup>

The ESF Grant Scheme covered expenditures (e.g. childcare, cleaners, transport costs) in relation to care services for children aged 0-14/15, as well as for elderly and disabled people. Both employed and unemployed individuals were the beneficiaries of the voucher (including people in training or in education).

Content analysis of documentary evidence from the 2000-06 cycle established that the voucher scheme had a positive outcome in Basilicata but not in Apulia. The question to answer, therefore, was: Why? The research examined this question in the twinning project's documentation through the lens of Colebatch's theory of policy creation. It sought to

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<sup>38</sup> Project Report <http://www.retepariopportunita.it/defaultdesktop.aspx?page=2736>

understand the reason behind Basilicata' success and Apulia's failure, asking how Apulia was expected to learn from Basilicata via the twinning process.

Before beginning the comparison of the different experiences of the two Regions, one must lay the foundations for comparison by describing the experience of both regions.

## 8.2 The experience of Region A - Basilicata

### Region Profile<sup>39</sup>

#### Map 1 - Political Map Basilicata

#### CARTINA POLITICA DELLA BASILICATA



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Basilicata ( or Lucania) is a region in the South of Italy, bordering with Campania on the West, Apulia (Puglia) on the North and East, and Calabria on the South. The region covers 10,073 km<sup>2</sup> (3889 sq. miles) and has a population of less than 600,000 inhabitants. The

<sup>39</sup> pianetabambini.it



Capital of the region is Potenza. The region is divided into two provinces: Potenza and Matera.

In the 2000s Basilicata was governed by a centre-left cabinet<sup>40</sup> and in 2001 the reform of the Italian Constitutional Law increased multi-level governance, granting to councils all the administrative functions that are not otherwise reserved to higher levels of governance. The region had high migration flow, aging population, employment and unemployment rates far above the national and European averages, and a low participation rate to the labour market of specific segments of the population - especially women and young people.

➤ **Basilicata POR 2000-2006**

Basilicata's region is one of the six eligible regions<sup>41</sup> of Objective 1 of the European Structural Funds which is the main priority of the European Union's cohesion policy.

EU promotes development and aims to narrow the gaps between the development levels of the various regions, for this reason more than two third of the Structural Funds (more than EUR 135 million) are allocated to helping areas lagging behind in their development (Objective 1) where the gross domestic product (GDP) is below 75% of the Community average.

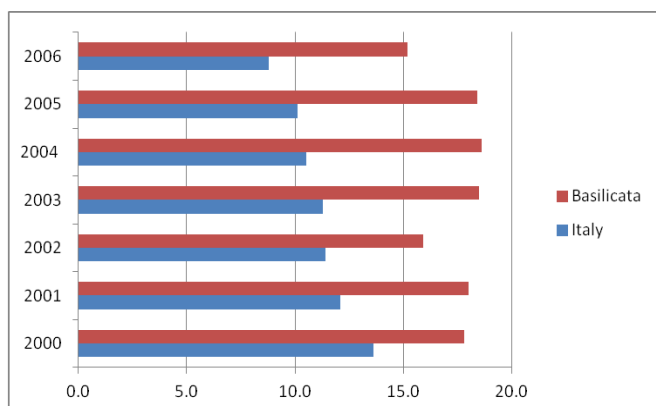
The regions in Objective 1 in Italy had common indicators of low performance, for instance low level of investment, a higher than average unemployment rate, lack of services for businesses and individuals and poor infrastructure. Female unemployment were higher than the national average as we can see in Figure 9.

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<sup>40</sup> Giunta Regionale <http://www.medinafestival.nl/393890/cartina-politica-basilicata.html>

<sup>41</sup> Campania, Apulia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicily, Sardinia

**Figure 8 Female unemployment in Basilicata 2000-2006**



**Table 8 Female unemployment in Basilicata 2000-2006**

Year	Italy	Basilicata
2000	13.6	17.8
2001	12.1	18
2002	11.4	15.9
2003	11.3	18.5
2004	10.5	18.6
2005	10.1	18.4
2006	8.8	15.2

Data Source ISTAT Serie storiche

➤ **Objectives**

The POR Basilicata 2000-2006, in regards to Axis III - Human Resources, aimed at enhancing the professional development of Human Resources and their access to the labour market in line with the guidelines of the European Employment Strategy (EES), Women were a targeted category as Equal Opportunity was included in the reform of the social system (L.328/00 - Family Assistance Law and Social Plans implementation) as support for families to enable women to reconcile work and family life through positive actions, for

instance part-time working, home working, flexible working, re-training. Apulia, as stated in the next chapter, had similar objectives.

➤ **2007-2008 AGIRE POR Project- The experience of Basilicata (Region A)**

Documentation for the twinning project makes a reference to a statement made by the Authority for Gender Equality for the Basilicata region - which acknowledged that, especially in rural areas, difficulty in the reconciliation of work and family life was an issue causing women voluntarily to leave employment. The Authority's statement describes the voucher as the possible means of using the EU funding to tackle this problem. The voucher was therefore designed as a method for the implementation of the Measure III.1.E.1 (Increasing women's participation in the labour market) and Measure III 1. C. 3 (Continuing Professional Development) of the POR Basilicata.

The Basilicata Region launched the voucher in 2003.<sup>42</sup> The voucher was a lump sum that could be spent to cover childcare and training costs. The ESF grant scheme covered childcare costs; its beneficiaries were women in the age range 30-40 with children under 12 years old, and who were educated to GCSE level or equivalent. Eighty two per cent of the beneficiaries were women seeking employment for up to 12-13 months, whilst 13% consisted of female beneficiaries seeking employment for six months.

Most of the women had taken a career break to look after their children; they aimed to re-access the labour market by retraining themselves. The monthly allowance was €150.00 on top of the attendance allowance for training courses of at least 25 hours per week.

The twinning project's documentation reported that beneficiaries considered the voucher a valuable tool for reconciling work and family life. The report also listed some shortcomings

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<sup>42</sup> Avviso Pubblico n. 03/2003- " Borsa Lavoro"

and strengths - which the thesis acknowledges. For instance, the monthly financial allowance was considered inadequate by beneficiaries, as it did not fully cover childcare costs, and because women had to rely on the support of relatives and friends in order to achieve their qualifications. On a positive note, beneficiaries reported that the voucher encouraged women who wanted to retrain to do so.

The content analysis of the twinning project's documentation identified that the 2003 experience had seen a good learning curve for the Basilicata Region, which re-launched the voucher in 2005.<sup>43</sup>

The subsequent 2005 ESF Grant Scheme can be regarded as the heart of the case study, as it was reported as being a good practice model in the monograph, *From a Female Perspective*, in Sud news in September 2005.<sup>44</sup> Beneficiaries of the voucher fell into two categories:

1. Unemployed and employed women being the main caregiver of family member(s) i) up to the age of 14 years old; ii) disabled or iii) elderly. The voucher paid for care services so that beneficiaries could attend training courses.
2. Employed women in enterprises implementing flexible working hours as per Italian law 53/2000 Article 9, to support reconciliation of work and family life.

The voucher therefore targeted not only women caring for their children but also those caring for disabled and elderly relatives. It aimed both to support them by paying for care services, and to encourage enterprises to implement the flexible working hour practices provided for by earlier legislation.

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<sup>43</sup> Avviso 05/2005 " Sostegno di conciliazione tra vita familiar e lavorativa"

<sup>44</sup> Archive page - <http://www.dps.tesoro.it/qcsnews.asp>

According to the twinning project's documentation, the 2005 voucher scheme was innovative because - unlike that launched in 2003 - it was supported by a communication campaign which employed various tools (e.g. websites, brochures and interviews with the Authority for Gender Equality for the Basilicata Region, which were released to regional television and radio programmes).

The twinning project's documentation states that the voucher communication campaign launched by the regional Authority for Gender Equality was managed by a specially created *ad hoc* team in the Authority, who targeted not only the main beneficiaries (women and enterprises) but also the wider public (e.g. staff in the local councils, the regional helpline (URP) and Job centres) to enable them to be aware of, and to understand, the voucher's content and purpose.

The team produced two different leaflets, each specific to one of the two main beneficiaries: women and enterprises. These leaflets provided a wide range of information, which the beneficiaries needed to understand in order to access the voucher (e.g. regarding the Grant requirements, the forms to be completed, etc.) For additional information, the Authority created a helpline URP.

The Authority communicated the voucher's content and purpose to the wider public by producing additional leaflets, placing adverts in local newspapers and promoting various activities on local media and television channels. All this activity was carried out in partnership with the ESF animator for equal opportunities<sup>45</sup> for the Basilicata Region and the Committee for Equal Opportunities for the Basilicata Region.

As Clara Collarile reported "the animator for equal opportunities was a person paid to write the projects, to help the services to create equal opportunities (...) then the animator had the right to participate in the monitoring committees, and to be a facilitator" (Interview with Clara Collarile, 2009). The animator was a role created by the Department for Equal Opportunities,

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<sup>45</sup> Animatrice di parità - they are advisers specifically trained on ESF Funds and gender mainstreaming Policies.

to help the Region to understand EU legislation and policy as the regions were not familiar with the gender mainstreaming policies. The animator, as per Colebatch's theory, represents the expertise to create an ordered understanding, as respondents reported, to enable the Regions to draft the PORs, to help the local administrations to understand bids, forms, supporting documentation.

Cara Collarile reported: "to help regional officials, because they did not even know what gender mainstreaming was, so we got together the animators we explained to them what they had to do, and all this to create female employment" (Interview with Clara Collarile, 2009).

➤ **Region A - Basilicata: the presence of policy**

The experience of Basilicata (the offeror) was described as being identified in the twinning evaluation report as having been a success, thus becoming a model to emulate. The thesis acknowledged this and, in the following paragraphs examines the experience of Basilicata through the analytical lens of Colebatch's theory – employed here to probe policy creation and implementation in the horizontal and vertical dimensions of policy practice. It thus clarifies, in analytical terms, why the evaluation's opinion - that that experience was successful - is correct.

The authorities participating in the Basilicata experience were the Department of Equal Opportunities; the Minister for Economic Development; and the Autorità per le politiche di genere. These authorities established a dedicated team, a body of experts. In addition, this team designed the 2005 Voucher Grant Scheme - the foundation for the creation of an order. This order was communicated to the main stakeholders (female beneficiaries, enterprises, councils, press offices, equal opportunities councillors) via a dedicated communication strategy (workshops, leaflets, seminars, media, interviews, standardised information materials) to create a shared understanding amongst the participants as to the policy process, and therefore to the end users of the policy tool.

Colebatch believes that policy is not made only by authorised decision making, in the vertical dimension of policy, but also by the implementation of such decisions via a shared understanding amongst the participants to the policy process in the horizontal dimension of policy (Colebatch, 1998, p.39).

Having looked at the Basilicata experience through the analytical lens of Colebatch (Colebatch, 1998) in the vertical and horizontal dimension of policy, the three attributes of policy and their distinctive elements, as identified by Colebatch, can be pinpointed here. This is the logical path to follow: the *Autorità per le politiche di genere* (the regional Authority for gender policies) decided to look at a policy issue (the reconciliation of work and family life). Consequently, via a body of experts (a dedicated team with specific expertise on the topic - e.g. EU policy/funding/employment issues) the Authority designed the 2005 Voucher Grant Scheme with the intention of creating a shared understanding amongst the participants (e.g. women, enterprises, council staff, animator for equal opportunities for the Basilicata Region and the Committee for Equal Opportunities for the Basilicata Region). This grant scheme can be regarded as 'ordered knowledge'. For example, the Grant Scheme presented EU policy and legislation, allocating resources against policy targets.

How did the ordered knowledge become a shared understanding? The Basilicata Region had a communication strategy, which aimed to explain and divulgate the ordered knowledge (the 2005 Voucher Grant Scheme) to those participating in the policy process. The body of experts - the dedicated team created by the Regional Authority - produced two leaflets intending to explain the voucher to the women beneficiaries of the grant and the enterprises. They also produced information materials for those staff in the councils dealing with queries from member of the public (via the helpline, etc.) Social media were also involved; the local newspapers, etc published information about the voucher. And interviews to civil servants and Equality Animator were broadcast.

As previously stated, Colebatch explains that there are two dimensions of policy - vertical and horizontal (Colebatch 1998, p.39) - both of which can independently be identified in the case of Basilicata region. In the vertical dimension, the authorised decisions are cascaded down to officials to be implemented and, paraphrasing Colebatch, this is a dimension, which stresses instrumental action, the capacity of subordinate officials to implement a decision. In the case of Basilicata, the authorities, the Department of Equal Opportunities, the Minister of Economic Development and the Autorità per le politiche di genere made the decision to allocate ESF funding to a specific policy issue: women's reconciliation of work and family life. Via a body of experts, the Regional authority created an ordered knowledge, with recourse to differing types of standardized information material.

As Colebatch explains, the horizontal dimension is concerned with the relationship that exists amongst policy participants, and with a shared understanding - amongst the policy participants in different organisations - of the decision made in the vertical dimension. In the Basilicata Region the shared understanding was created by involving the policy participants via a communication strategy which divulged standardised information and material, and via the helpline, which offered clarifications on that material.

## **Conclusions**

The chapter concluded that the experience of Basilicata was an example of policy success as the objectives were understood and communicated and so the policy was created/formulated and implemented.

The chapter showed that policy implementation needs three lenses, as per Colebatch's theory (Colebatch, 2009 pp134-135). Paraphrasing the Australian scholar, through the authoritative lens the policy worker knows to be attentive to the public statements and specific commitments which have been made and which could be taken as indicators of achievement - establishing the office, promulgating the regulations, spending the money.



The experience of Basilicata shows that a team was created, the grant was designed, and funding was spent.

Through the interaction lens, Colebatch says, the policy workers know that they are multiple participants whose cooperation is important, in the Basilicata's experience this interaction happened at national level of governance (the Department of Equal Opportunities/the region Basilicata) and at sub national level of governance (The region/the animator/the stakeholders). Through the social construction, Colebatch adds, the policy worker will see the need to create a shared understanding, which was created in Basilicata.

The next chapter will explain why Apulia was an example of policy failure.

## Chapter 9

### Sub-unit 2 : The experience of Apulia

#### Aim

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the experience of Region B (Apulia) and probe the absence of policy as per Colebatch's theory.

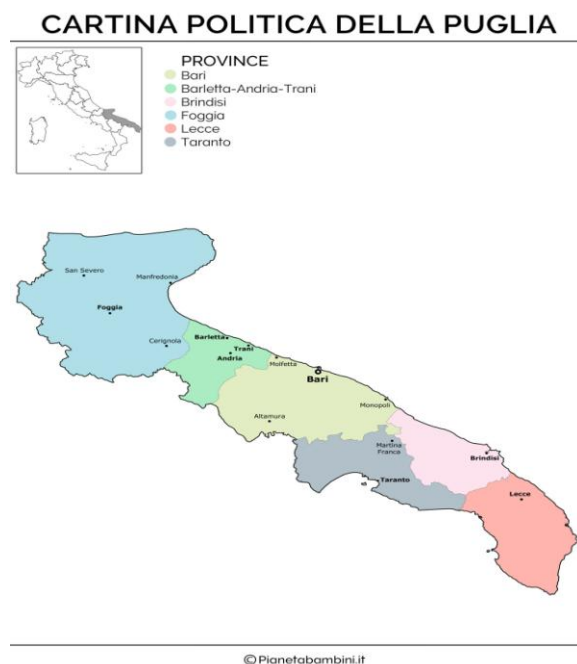
#### Structure

The chapter analyses the experience of Apulia per Colebatch's theory.

### 9.1 The experience of Region B: Apulia

#### Region Profile <sup>46</sup>

#### Map 2 Political Map Apulia



<sup>46</sup> pianetabambini.it

Apulia (in Italian: Puglia) is a region in south-eastern Italy bordering the Adriatic Sea in the east, the Ionian Sea to the southeast, and the Strait of Otranto and Gulf of Taranto in the south. Its southern portion known as Salento, a peninsula, forms a high heel on the "boot" of Italy. The region comprises 19.345 km<sup>2</sup> (7.469 square miles), and its population is about 4 million. It is bordered by the other Italian regions of Molise to the north, Campania to the west, and Basilicata to the southwest<sup>47</sup>. It neighbours Greece and Albania, across the Ionian and Adriatic Seas, respectively.

Its capital city is Bari, the other provinces are Barletta-Adria-Trani, Foggia, Lecce, Brindisi and Taranto.

By contrast to Basilicata, in the 2000s Apulia was governed by a centre-right cabinet<sup>48</sup> and as in Basilicata, the 2001 reform of the Italian Constitutional Law increased multi-level governance, granting to councils all the administrative functions that were not otherwise reserved to higher levels of governance. The region was characterised in particular by a high level of unemployment and faced some challenges for instance the poorly development of business services, a low rate of growth of intermediate industry and the predominance of family-owned small enterprises.

➤ **Apulia POR 2000-2006**

As Basilicata, Apulia's region is one of the six eligible regions<sup>49</sup> of the European Structural Funds, which is the main priority of the European Union's cohesion policy.

As the other regions in Objective 1 in Italy, Apulia had low level of investment and a higher than average unemployment rates, lack of services and poor infrastructure.

Apulia's female unemployment rates are higher than the national average

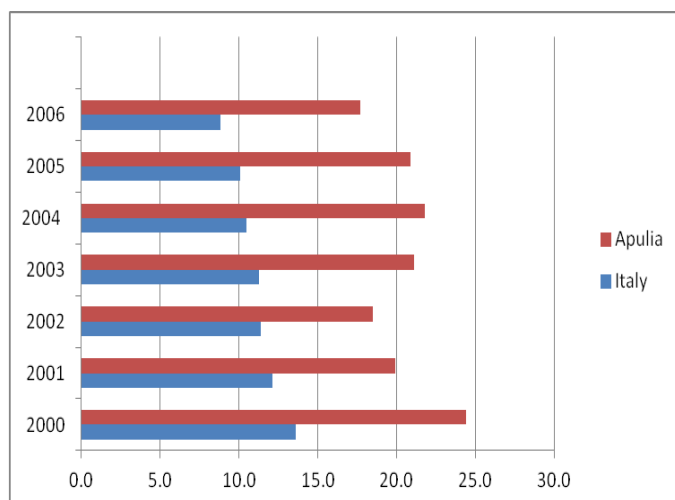
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<sup>47</sup> <https://3platform.jrc.ec.europa.eu/...puglia.pdf/6994eff3-0027-4f30-b2e2-bd10f8ea50b9>

<sup>48</sup> Giunta Regionale

<sup>49</sup> Campania, Apulia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicily, Sardinia

**Figure 9 Female Unemployment rates in Apulia 2000-2006**



**Table 9 Female Unemployment rates in Apulia 2000-2006**

Year	Italy	Apulia
2000	13.6	24.4
2001	12.1	19.9
2002	11.4	18.5
2003	11.3	21.1
2004	10.5	21.8
2005	10.1	20.9
2006	8.8	17.7

Data Source ISTAT Serie Storiche

➤ **Objectives**

The POR Apulia 2000-2006 had similar objectives to Basilicata , as a matter of fact the Region in regards to Axis III - Human Resources aimed at enhancing the professional development of resources and their access to the labour market in line with the guidelines of the European Employment Strategy (EES). Women were a targeted category and as Basilicata, Apulia focused on the measures to reconcile work and families life, for instance , part-time work, home working, flexible working and re-training.

➤ **2007-2008 AGIRE POR Project - The experience of Region B - Apulia**

As reported in the project documentation, in the Apulia Region, the voucher scheme was unsuccessful. Two grants were made available in 2006, but there were no beneficiaries. No funding was claimed.<sup>50</sup> The content of both of Apulia's grant offers was very similar to that issued in Basilicata. The first two-year grant (n.23/2006) targeted unemployed women struggling to access the labour market because of family care responsibilities. Its value fluctuated between €500 and €1,000, and it was intended to help women with care-related expenses (for instance childcare for children under 12 years old and disabled). The second grant (n.27/2006) had no equivalent in Basilicata. It targeted female entrepreneurs, and it aimed to help them to retrain. Different local trades were eligible, including agriculture, tourism, textile and the fashion industry.

A specific team was created for the voucher initiative, and it worked on the design of the voucher with the Guarantor for Gender Equality of the Apulia Region. In the Apulia region's documentation, however, there is no mention of a targeted communication campaign, unlike that for the Basilicata Region.

According to the project documentation, the main reason for the zero uptake of the voucher was the lack of understanding of the content and purpose of the voucher by potential beneficiaries and the wider public. As a consequence, only the regional capital – Bari - considered the voucher as a measure to increase women's access to the labour market. Other councils (Lecce, Brindisi, Foggia and Taranto) did not consider the voucher as part of their overall measures; they therefore overlooked it. Hence the policy "failed" at the implementation stage.

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<sup>50</sup> Avviso n. 23/2006 e Avviso n. 27/2006

➤ **Region B - Apulia: the absence of policy**

Was this path followed in Apulia? Were the three attributes of policy present there, as they were in the experience of Basilicata? As described in Section 5, in Apulia, there was a Regional Authority (Ufficio Garante di Genere) which decided to look into the same issue as had Basilicata (the reconciliation of work and family life). But there was no dedicated team (no body of experts) commissioned in Apulia as there had been in Basilicata - where imagination had been employed in designing a policy tool like the 2005 Voucher Grant Scheme (an order). Therefore, in Apulia, no communication was established with the main stakeholders; there was no communication strategy sufficient to create a shared understanding amongst the participants. The region did not have a dedicated team, a body of experts to design and divulgate the voucher, as there had been in the Basilicata Region. As a result, as reported in the twinning evaluation's report, Apulia failed to create an effective policy as it failed to implement a policy which had been created at a higher level and had been cascaded down.

The thesis therefore confirms that all three of Colebatch's requirements for successful policy creation were present in Region A, and that policy was created effectively there. It contends that not all of the requirements were present in Region B - where neither effective policy, nor indeed policy per se, were created. The thesis thus further affirms the utility of Colebatch's specification of the requirements for successful policy creation. and implementation.

## **Conclusions**

The chapter concluded that the experience of Apulia was an example of policy failure as the objectives were not understood and communicated and so the policy was not created/formulated and implemented.

Chapter 8 argued that policy implementation needs three lenses, as per Colebatch's theory (Colebatch, 2009, pp.134-135). Paraphrasing the Australian scholar, through the authoritative lens the policy worker knows to be attentive to the public statements and

specific commitments which have been made and which could be taken as indicators of achievement - establishing the office, promulgating the regulations, spending the money. The experience of Apulia shows that a team was not created, the grant was designed but the funding was spent.

In chapter 8 we said that, through the interaction lens, the policy workers know that they are multiple participants whose cooperation is important, in the Apulia's experience this interaction did not really happen at subnational level of governance (the region/the animator/the stakeholders). Through the social construction, Colebatch adds, the policy worker will see the need to create a shared understanding, which was not created in Apulia.

The next chapter will trace the intellectual journey of the research and present the research findings

## Chapter 10

### Was women's employment policy developed in Italy from 2000 to 2006?

#### The research findings (Debate and conclusion)

##### Aim

This chapter has two aims: firstly, to trace the intellectual journey of the research; and secondly, to enrich the debate on policy creation and implementation, thereby probing Colebatch's theory of public policy. These aims are achieved through the logical, simple sequence of the two sections: 1) *what, where and when*, 2) *how the research was designed and how and why* the research enables an answer to the research question.

##### Structure

The chapter describes the intellectual journey of the research, the methodology and the findings. The chapter also acknowledges the limitations of the research and concludes explaining how this doctoral project enriches the literature on "what is policy" .

#### 10.1. The intellectual journey of the research.

- **What did I explore? - The research questions and the research sub-questions - the rationale behind them.**

This section covers the topic that was studied, and in what context (*where and when*). It approaches these issues because the ontological and epistemological stances of the thesis are interpretative and constructivist. Therefore, even if the subsequent section covers the *how* and the *why* in detail, the *what* cannot simply be presented without any contextualization.



The research journey began by exploring the situation surrounding women's employment in Europe and Italy. The narrative of the literature review describes the history of women's employment policy in combination with quantitative historical data on female employment, so as to pinpoint not only the policy issues but also the performance of the Italian female labour market in a European context (EU15). This case has therefore been considered in the light of a comparative perspective, albeit a comparison centred on a single-country's study. Italy was identified as a sub-type of the larger Mediterranean type, as the literature suggests. It was also identified as one of the advanced post-industrial democracies.

The literature review suggested that gender equality was, and still is, an issue in the Mediterranean welfare states. In fact, most studies have found that Europe's Mediterranean countries have economies designed around a model of a male breadwinner and a dependent wife. Empirical data thus show the considerable distance that Italy needed to cover to meet the 1997 European Employment Strategy (EES) objectives in the then EU15.

The literature review also made substantial reference to the work of the Expert Group on Gender and Employment (EGGE), which was set up in the 1990s under the European Commission's fourth action programme on equal opportunities for women and men in the European Union. Its purpose was to provide expert advice, research and policy evaluation to assist the Commission's Equal Opportunities Unit located in the DG Employment. The group consisted of independent academic experts with long standing experience of working in the field of equal opportunities and employment. It was coordinated by the European Work and Employment Research Centre of the Manchester School of Management, UMIST, under the direction of Professor Jill Rubery. The EGGE identified six categories of issues as the causes hampering women's access to the labour market at the European level, specifically: taxation, scarcity of part-time work, job segregation, childcare, retirement policies and the wage gap (Rubery et al., 1998).

In the literature review, these issues were examined at the Italian level by referring to the work of scholars outlining the historical narrative on working women's rights (Ballestrero,

1979), and describing the situation characterising the last four decades (Pruna, 2007). Data on female employment rates were collated from the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) to highlight geographical differences (Northern/Southern regions) within Italy. The literature review also identified the creation, during the Prodi I government in 1996, of a specific gender institution: the Department of Equal Opportunities.

The findings of the literature review led to the formulation of the main research question, which is: **whether or not Italy developed women's employment policy during 2000-2006.**

The analytical logic is based on Colebatch's understanding of what policy is. The Australian scholar identifies it as a "*concept in use by a wide range of participants to public life*" (Colebatch, 1998, ix), and he moves from the rigidity of Laswell's stages approach model to a more dynamic, post-empiricist model by taking into account the context embedding the social phenomena. Moreover, his perspective of public policy analysis is cutting edge in a way comparable to scholars like Wayne Parsons (1995) and Peter Jones (1995), whose work emphasizes the context in which the policy process takes place and see policy not a sequential model but a continuous cycle. He therefore frames policy in a constructivist perspective.

Colebatch's theory argues that for policy to be constituted as policy in practice, rather than as the mere idea of it, it must have three "attributes" and "distinctive elements". The scholar regards as "attributes" of policy the following three matters: a) *authority*; b) *expertise*; and c) *order*. He regards three further features as respectively "distinctive elements": a) *hierarchy*; b) *instrumentality*; and c) *coherence*. When these criteria are met then a chosen government course of action can be framed as a process generating policy.

According to Colebatch's paradigm, decisions are made by the authority (or authorities). These decision-makers could be either a single individual (e.g. a Minister) or a collective body (e.g. a cabinet). Policy proposals, where policy is present, can be channelled by their

authority through the principle of hierarchy. Colebatch's theory also explains that policy requires expertise - knowledge which is instrumental to a particular problem area. Colebatch's theory ends with the point that policy requires order - a shared understanding which creates systems and consistency (Colebatch, 1988, p. x).

Colebatch's paradigm looks firstly at policy as a "concept in use" rather than looking at the meaning of it, and then comes back to the question of the meaning of the concept, and the relationship between the concept of policy and its practice (Colebatch, 1998, p.101). The scholar distinguishes between conceptualisation and practice. She therefore offers a two-fold perspective of policy analysis, one which focuses on *authorised choice* and the other, which is concerned with *structured interaction*.

The first is about governments making decisions, whereas the latter is about the involvement of the participants in the policy process; their understandings of the problem; and whether a single, shared understanding is created. The first perspective belongs to the vertical dimension of policy, whereas the second belongs to the horizontal dimension of policy. The research's understanding of the vertical dimension is that this perspective mirrors what the government in principle decides to do: the high level policy strategy. Meanwhile, the horizontal dimension is about what happens on the ground, where the understanding of policy is as a concept in use shared by the practitioners/stakeholders in practice (Colebatch, 1998, pp.100-109). This two-fold perspective is explored in the experience of the two regions - Apulia and Basilicata - in the ESF 2000-2006, to examine the relationship between the concept in use and its practice, between policy creation/formulation and implementation.

The main research question originated from the critical description in the literature review of the weaknesses of the fragmented Italian labour market affecting its performance. It was decided to further investigate one of these weaknesses - the low female access rate - not least because of the great emphasis that the European Union has put on female employment in the last decade. It was one of the main themes of the European Employment

Strategy (EES), launched in 1997, and consequently of the 2000-2010 Lisbon strategy on employment – which focused on innovation and the internal market, and on employment and labour market reform, by incorporating the major elements of the former European Employment Strategy (EES). It was from this time that equal opportunities between men and women, and gender mainstreaming in particular, have continued to be a significant. In fact, quantitative employment rate targets were set in 2000 - to be reached by 2010. The targets were: 70% in overall employment and 60% for women.

Because of the different socio-economic patterns of development and because of the political identities of the Italian regions identified in the literature review, the thesis analyses the performance of the female labour market on a geographical and geo-political basis. The finding of the literature review on women's employment in Italy has indicated that the relationship between women and work appears to be a complex one. Italian women, more than men, suffer from the lack of flexibility of the labour market, and they struggle to reconcile work and female life, especially after childbirth.

Thus, in order to answer the main research question: (**whether or not Italy developed women's employment policy during 2000-2006**), three research sub-questions were formulated, based on Colebatch's analytical paradigm of public policy:

4. Was the significance of developing equality and labour policy (e.g. the European Employment Strategy) cascaded down to lower levels of governance by Italy's governmental authorities?
5. Was a relevant body of experts created in the women's policy field? i.e. was the DPO and/or the Regional administration, or a part of it: a) a body of experts?; and b) relevant?
6. Was an order (specifically, a harmonized legislation and policy activity) created in the women's employment field, or at least in some part/s of it?

To answer these three research sub-questions, the research explored the role played by: 1) the authorities: for instance the EU, the Prodi I (1996-1998) setting up the Department of Equal Opportunities, the Berlusconi II and III governments (2001-2006), the Regions, and subsequently; 2) the body of experts: the Department of Equal Opportunities and the Regional administrations; and asked: 3), whether or not a common and shared understanding of issues related to women's employment policy, i.e. an 'order', was created. In this regard, the research focuses on the reconciliation of work and family life.

A case study approach was taken to examine whether policy was created in specific instances, and therefore to answer the main research question and simultaneously the three research sub-questions.

➤ **Where and when is my research conceptually located? - Time and space: 2000-2006, – Italy. The rationale behind this choice**

The case study focussed on the twinning of Basilicata and Apulia, one of the six mini-pilots of the larger pilot AGIRE POR Project, which lasted some 9 months, from July 2007 to April 2008. The case study is context-bound to the European Structural Funds Programmes 2000-2006 and 2007-2013 in Italy

The research has examined a specific policy activity in Italy - the 2005 Voucher Grant Scheme of the Basilicata Region - in comparison with Apulia's experience. The choice of examining this grant lies in the fact that, in 2005, it won the "EU Best Practice Model" award, as reported by the n.54 QCS Newsletter, *Sudnews*, issued by the Department of Equal Opportunities in September 2008.<sup>51</sup>

During the twinning process, the Department of Equal Opportunities, which launched and coordinated the AGIRE POR 2007-2008, intended that one region (Apulia) should learn from the other (Basilicata). The rationale behind such a choice was that the experience of the

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<sup>51</sup> <http://www.retepariopportunita.it/DefaultDesktop.aspx?page=2458>

latter during the ESF programme 2000-2006 was successful, as reported in the twinning evaluation report commissioned by the Department of Equal Opportunities. By contrast, the experience of the former was unsuccessful. The evaluation report focused on the experiences of the two regions and the potential policy learning via the twinning process. This potential policy learning was explored through the analytical lens of Rose's theory. Rose explains that policy can be learnt through time (through recognition of situations similar to those of the past) and space (e.g. financial, geographical and ideological propinquity) (Rose, 1993, pp. 84-96).

In this specific case, as analysed in chapter 8-9, the similar situations in the past are those experiences that Basilicata and Apulia encountered during the 2000-2006 ESF Programme. Moreover, the two regions are adjacent administrations and, quoting Rose, "a nearby government is the easiest place to look, assuming that its resources are also similar" (Rose, 1993, 96). Basilicata and Apulia have similar resources - for instance, a workforce with high employment rates, the same financial resources (the ESF Funding 2000-2006) and the same EU and domestic policy goals, being part of the Objective 1 zone.

Even if the two regions were led by two different political administrations (centre right/centre left alliance), respondents reported that both alliances were supportive of working women's issues as family values were an important element of Italian national identity and so women's as working mothers. The thesis also argues that for both administrations EU funding were an opportunities and a constrains which led to different policy outcome because of successful and unsuccessful implementation at national level of governance.

➤ **How did I explore the research question? - Methodology.**

As described in the introductory chapter (covering the research strategy), the thesis structure consists of an introductory chapter (1), literature reviews (2,3); a three descriptive-cum-analytical "lead in" chapters (4,5,6); a core the case study (7,8.9); and a lead out analytical chapter (10).

The research strategy takes a hybrid approach to the investigation of the research question. A deductive approach generated hypotheses from a theory (specifically Colebatch's framework) to probe these hypotheses, data were collected, and their findings analysed. Then the hypotheses were confirmed or rejected within a methodological framework that included the possible revision of the theory (Bryman 2004, p. 9). However, the finding of qualitative elite interviews enriched existing factual knowledge by offering the personal perspectives of privileged observers on the set of phenomena investigated in line with constructivist theory,

Thus, the narrative on women's employment policy introduces the research topic. The main research question and then main hypothesis have then been formulated from the findings of the narrative. Subsequently, research sub-questions and then research sub-hypotheses have been generated. The research questions are tested according to the chosen theory employed in Chapter 7,8,9 (the case study chapters). The analytical-cum-descriptive chapters (4,5,6) comprise the data collection, and contextualize the case study. The analysis of the case study (Chapter 7,8,9) leads us to the analysis of the findings (chapter 10), and so to the confirmation, adaptation or rejection of the main hypothesis.

Colebatch's framework, as previously stated in the thesis, is rooted in a constructivist, interpretative approach (adopting ontological and epistemological positions). In the investigation of the main research question of this thesis, policy is considered as a social construct which results from the nature and extent of the interaction of the intended participants in the policy process. It is conceived by Colebatch as a "*concept in use by a wide range of participants to public life*" (Colebatch, 1998, ix). The policy process, specifically the possible development of women's employment policy, is considered as a social phenomenon to be investigated during a specific date span, specifically the decade 1996-2006, with particular focus on the ESF Programme 2000-2006, with regard to a specific project (the AGIRE POR Project 2007-2008) in a specific country – Italy, placed in a comparative context (EU15). In short, the thesis is a case study.

The chosen methodology – that of the case study research design - offers the opportunity to study an instance of a phenomenon in detail, understood as being significant in terms of the problems and the theoretical issues that are investigated (Denscombe, 2007, p.40). Mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative) were employed in the multilevel design of the research; quantitative data are dominant at the comparative, EU, level, and qualitative data at the national (Italy) and regional (Basilicata and Apulia) levels (Denscombe, 2007, 115). Quantitative data consists of both nominal data (to place things into categories, such as gender, nationality, etc.) and interval data (to rank and scale categories, such as in calendar years) to statistically describe phenomena. Quantitative data are presented in tables and charts in the literature review, because tables are very useful to group and compare nominal data and charts (e.g. stacked bar charts, histograms and pie charts) and for showing the proportion of factors that make up the total (Denscombe 2007, p.275). Both types of data are useful in terms of comparative analysis in a European and national context.

Qualitative data consists of the narrative analysis of documents (for instance government publications) and of the findings of semi-structured interviews, specifically elite interviews (Corbetta, 2003, *passim*). The sample of interviewees is small, but it can be considered significant for the purpose of the research, because the informants were serving in the department at the time the (fairly small) office was created, and because most of them still cooperate with or work for the institution. The size of the sample has not been a specific choice but rather the result of the difficulty of reaching more officials due to the high turnover of staff in senior management and, in a few instances, the lack of cooperation.

Elite interviews have proven to be an effective methodological tool to learn from privileged observers about their perceptions of issues and significant events - for instance the creation of the department and its portal La Rete Project, where information about the AGIRE POR 2007-2008 are hosted.<sup>52</sup> Interviewees also identified key documents, for instance



government publications, in the public domain, which could then be retrieved online. Most of the department's internal documentation is still confidential and therefore inaccessible to the public, according to the Italian legislation.

The thesis could not access beneficiaries data of the ESF Programme 2000-2006 as data set are published on the Regions' website from 2007 onwards when the ESF Regulations (2007-2013) made compulsory the transparency of beneficiaries data for Member States and their publication on-line. This was part of the Open data governmental project to be compliant with the digitalisation of public service, as the ESF Regulations (2000-2006) only recommended Member States to exchange good practices (Reggi, 2012).

The thesis acknowledges this could be considered a limitation as their views could have informed the case study in addition to the elite interviewed undertaken.

The thesis refers to Colebatch's framework and argues that it takes a social construction perspective to the conceptualisation of policy and so of this policy cycle.

## **Findings and consequences**

### **➤ How and why do the findings answer the research question?**

The findings of the research provide answers to the research sub-questions and, consequently, the main research question. This section explains how and why. The section begins by looking at the main research question, "*whether or not Italy developed women's employment policy during 2000-2006*".

This question was investigated through the lens of Colebatch's theory of public policy. And the answer to this question is affirmative in terms of the experience of the Basilicata Region but not in that of the Apulia Region. The case study therefore demonstrated in the examination of the twinning of two regions - AGIRE POR 2007-2008 - that policy was created and implemented in Basilicata, while, in Apulia, policy was not created and not

implemented. If we now refer back to the three research sub-questions, we can answer each of them in turn, as the analysis of the case study confirmed.

1. Was the significance of developing equality and labour policy (e.g. the European Employment Strategy) cascaded down by the authorities through the layers of multilevel governance?

The European Union promoted gender equality and women's employment policy by developing policy and legislation. For instance, it launched the European Employment Strategy (EES) (1997); the Cohesion Policy (2000-2006) (through the Essen European Council); the five Community Action Programmes on Equal Opportunities (1982-2006); and the Road Map for Equality (2006-2010). The European Union also created a dedicated economic resource (the European Structural Fund Programmes 2000-2006 and 2007-2013) to sustain implementation of policy at national and regional levels of governance. The Italian government encompassed the EES, which was built around priority themes – listed under the four pillars of: i) employability; ii) entrepreneurship; iii) adaptability; and iv) equal opportunities as the basis of national policies (Eurofund).

Italy drew up via the National Action Plan (NAP) and, at regional level, the Regional Operational Programmes (PORs) to implement the EES roadmap guidelines. This research has examined the Community Strategic Framework (CSF) 2000-2006 and the PORs for Basilicata and Apulia 2000-2006.

At the national level of governance, the Italian government created a specific gender oriented institution, the Department of Equal Opportunities and at regional level, the local administrations also created specific gender oriented institutions. The Basilicata Region created the *Autorità per le Politiche di Genere* and the Apulia Region created the *Ufficio Garante di Genere*.

The EU, the Italian government, and the regional administrations can be regarded as the authorities, in this instance. They channelled policy through the principle of hierarchy. The first of Colebatch's three requirements for the effective creation of policy can thus be said to have been in place in both Basilicata and Apulia. This explanation answers the first research sub-question: relating to the significance of developing equality and whether labour policy was cascaded down from the EU, via the national government, to the (examined) regions.

2. Was a relevant body of experts created in the women's policy field? i.e. were the Department of Equal Opportunities and the regional administrations a) a body of experts? and b) relevant?

At the national level of governance, the Department of Equal Opportunities was indeed a body of experts, as shown by documentary evidence, such as the identification of its organisational structure (staff and divisions) in Chapter 5, describing the evolving structure of the Department of Equal Opportunities. So, what expertise did the Department have?

The first Minister for Equal Opportunities was Anna Finocchiaro, of the PDS (the Party of Leftist Democrats), working as party representative and magistrate. Close and invaluable aides to the Minister included Anna Maria Carloni and Franca Chiaromonte. The first was a PDS party representative with a strong interest in labour policy; she had been a member of the Labour National Committee at the Ministry of Labour and Social Security in 1992, and then coordinator at FILTEA-CGI. In 1994, she sat on the board of the Association of Young Entrepreneurs-IG SpA, and between 1997 and 2000 she was in charge of the Employment and Training Division within the Department of Equal Opportunities.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> FILTEA-CGIL - National Head Office of Italian Federation of Textile Workers, Clothing Industry - Italian General Confederation of Labour; *Direzione Nazionale Federazione Italiana Lavoratori Tessili E Abbigliamento - Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro*)

*Società per l'Imprenditorialità Giovanile-IG SpA- Association of Young Entrepreneurs-IG SpA*

Franca Chiaromonte was a journalist interested in women's issues, who created *EMILY Italy* in 1998, with Anna Maria Carloni and other exponents of the left-wing. The acronym *EMILY* stands for "Early Money for Yeast" (for it 'makes the dough rise'). *EMILY Italy* was a women's movement that aimed to increase female participation in public life and especially in politics. Furthermore, in 1997, a specific body of experts was set up within the newly created Department of Equal Opportunities, the Committee for the promotion of female entrepreneurs (D.M. 19.02.1997).

The second Minister for Equal Opportunities was Laura Balbo, PdCI (Party of Italian Communists), party representative and sociologist, in the D'Alema I and II governments (1998-2000). Her Special Adviser was Francesca Cantù, Professor of Modern History at the University of Roma Tre. Professor Cantù aimed at establishing a strong cooperation between the Ministry of Equal Opportunity and bodies of experts such as the Conference of the Rectors of the Italian Universities (CRUI) and the Ministry for University, Scientific Research and Technology (MURST), in order to introduce a gender perspective into university degree programmes and representative bodies. Cooperation between the CRUI, the MURST and Department of Equal Opportunities led to an agreement (the Protocol of Entente between the Department for Equal Opportunity and CRUI), which promoted gender equality in academia (Calloni, 2006, pp.17-18).

Professor Cantù also established many internal Research Committees to investigate specific issues: (i) the Interdepartmental Research Committee on Women and Juvenile Trafficking, chaired by the Minister for Equal Opportunities and the Minister for Social Solidarity (D.M. 24.02.1998); (ii) the Research Committee on Constitutional Issues and Women's Representation (D.M. 14.02.1999), chaired by Prof, Lorena Carlassare; (iii) the Research Committee on UN decisions (D.M. 08.09.1999), chaired by Chiara Ingrao; (iv) the Research Committee against Female Genital Mutilation (D.M. 08.09.1999), chaired by Vittora Tola; (v) the Research Committee on Equal Treatment for Homosexuals (D.M. 20.10.1999), chaired by Franco Grillini. The following Research Groups were also established: (i) the Research

Group on Women's studies (D.M. 16.02.1999), chaired by Anna Lisa Tota and (ii) the Research Group on the reform of the Sport system (D.M. 18.05.1999), chaired by Cecilia D'Angelo. This can be regarded as an epistemic community, a network of knowledge-based professionals.

The third Minister for Equal Opportunities was Katia Belillo PdCI, party representative in the Amato II government (2000-2001) when the Department was re-organised by D.Lgs n.303/1999 and D.P.C.M 4 August 2000. In 2000, the Secretariat for the National Committee for Equality and Equal Opportunities, set up as part of the Cabinet Office in 1990, was transferred to the Department of Equal Opportunities (Article 18, Paragraph 2, D.P.C.M. 4 August, 2000).

The fourth Minister of Equal Opportunities was Stefania Prestigiacomo, FI (Forza Italia), party representative and entrepreneur in the years of the centre-right Berlusconi II and III governments (2001-2006).

The Department was re-organised in 2004 by D.M. 30 September 2004. The Secretariat for the National Committee for Equality and Equal Opportunities was confirmed as an integral part of the Department of Equal Opportunities, and an Evaluation Team was set up, consisting of experts working to biennial terms of office.

Furthermore, the National Committee for Equality and Equal Opportunities became the Committee for Equal Opportunities between Men and Women, and was transferred to the Department of Equal Opportunities from the Cabinet Office. The Minister Prestigiacomo chaired the Committee, which was composed of 25 female commissioners from different backgrounds. The Committee worked in five working groups (reconciliation, representation, human rights, the portal La Rete and the Consolidation Act Protocol), covering different subject areas, recruiting experts from different areas (e.g. the Italian Farmers Association, Trade Unions, the Italian Local Government Association, the Italian Association of Women, the Italian Traders Association, etc.)

Tracing the evolving structure of the organisation and its expertise led to the choice of the informants for the elite interviews. The Division coordinating the AGIRE POR Project 2007-2008, consisted of senior civil servants with specific expertise in EU policy and legislation. Some were interviewed when they had already retired. Some are currently (as of 2016) still part of the Department.

At the regional level of governance, in Region A (Basilicata) a dedicated team was created for the design and communication of the voucher to the participants in the policy process, as reported in Chapter 8. The team worked with other regional experts - for instance the *consigliera di parita*. Why is this relevant? As previously stated, Colebatch explains that there are two dimensions of policy: vertical and horizontal (Colebatch 1998, p.39). This can be identified in the case of the Basilicata region. In the vertical dimension the authorised decisions were cascaded down to officials, to be implemented by them. To paraphrase Colebatch, this dimension stresses instrumental action, the capacity of subordinate officials to implement a decision. In the case of Basilicata, the authorities - the Department of Equal Opportunities; the Minister of Economic Development; and the Autorita per le politiche di genere - made the decision to allocate ESF funding to a specific policy issue: women's reconciliation of work and family life. In Basilicata, the Regional authority implemented the decision made by the authorities in the vertical dimension via a dedicated team of experts within the Region, which produced targeted and standardized information material, as described in Chapter 8.

This path was not followed by Apulia. The region did not have a dedicated team, a body of the experts to explain to the relevant stakeholders the benefits of the voucher, as had been realised in the Basilicata Region. As a result, as reported in the twinning evaluation's report, Apulia failed to create an effective policy, and the ESF funding went unclaimed. This explanation answers the second research sub-question.

3) Was an order (specifically harmonized legislation and policy activity) created in the women's employment field, or at least in some part/s of it?

At the international level of governance, the EU launched the Cohesion Policy 2000-2006 to tackle employment and gender issues in the European regions, particularly in those that were lagging behind - for instance, in the Objective 1 zone covered by the case study AGIRE POR project 2007-2008.

At the national level of governance, the Consolidation Act 2001 grouped together the scattered Italian legislation on gender quality, as stated in Chapter 5. The Act covered different matters: I) the ban on discrimination, II) health protection, III) maternity leave, IV) paternity leave, V) parental leave. Each of these matters referred back to specific articles included in 10 different laws (dating back to the early 1970s and 1990s) passed in 10 legislatures (between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> legislatures) by governments of different political leanings.

At the regional level of governance, in the AGIRE POR Project 2007-2008, Basilicata and Apulia referred to a provision in the Consolidation Act 2001, specifically Law 53/2000 in the design of the Voucher Grant scheme.<sup>54</sup> However, as previously discussed in the thesis, an order in itself is not sufficient to create policy as per Colebatch's theory of public policy. An order implies a shared understanding amongst the participants as to the policy process. This shared understanding was indeed created in Basilicata - where the content of the law became a shared understanding via the communication strategy, which disseminated the 2005 Voucher Grant Scheme - but not in Region B (Apulia). The explanation of the different experiences of the two regions therefore demonstrates how and why policy was created in Region A but not in Region B. This is because in Region A the conceptualisation of policy became, as per Colebatch's theory, practice amongst the participants in the policy process,

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<sup>54</sup> Measures for the support of motherhood and fatherhood, the right to care and training, and for the harmonization and coordination of times in the city

the end users of that policy, but this was not the case in Apulia. The successful creation of a shared understanding of the voucher scheme by the participants verifies the existence of the policy process, is a criteria for successful implementation and thus answers the third research sub-question.

After looking at these three research sub-questions, we can draw some conclusions and explain why and how they jointly enable an answer to be given to the main research question. The twinning of Regions A and B demonstrates Colebatch's theory of public policy through the very antinomy - policy creation and policy non-creation - as analysed in Chapter 6. Basilicata is an example of policy creation, whereas Apulia is an example of policy non-creation. So, if we look at the comparison of the two regions, we can see how and why Basilicata created policy and Apulia did not. They both had authorities (Department of qual Opportunities and regional authorities) making decisions (e.g. using ESF funding to boost female employment in the regions). They both sought to implement such decisions (they put into place a Voucher Grant scheme). But only in Basilicata, as per Colebatch's theory policy, did the "concept in use" become a practice. Why?

In Basilicata, the ordered knowledge (the voucher) was translated into a shared understanding, which was created amongst the participants via a targeted communication strategy. Instead, in Apulia, no targeted information material was produced and communicated to the participants to the policy process (no experts like the *consigliera di parita* or beneficiaries were consulted, and nor were women and enterprises). The media were not involved as they had been in Basilicata. No helpline to answer the questions of members of the public was created (though it had been in Basilicata) Unlike in Basilicata, the staff in the councils did not receive any information about the program. Therefore, policy was not present in the horizontal dimension in Apulia but only in the vertical dimension. In Apulia, policy was never translated into a shared understanding; it never became actual practice, and therefore the ESF funding went unclaimed.



## Conclusions

### 10.2 How & Why do the findings enrich the literature regarding the question of "what is policy?"

These findings enrich the literature on policy for two reasons. First of all, as explained in the previous paragraph, they demonstrate Colebatch's theory of public policy by analysing the antinomy "policy creation/implementation vs policy non-creation/non-implementation". This antinomy is framed in a constructivist perspective, as per Colebatch's theory of public policy - that policy is a "concept in use" – and a practice that is either achieved or not. This research took the empirical form of a context-bound case study so as to avoid abstraction. It demonstrated that, in relation to a particular policy activity, encompassing the Voucher 2005 Grant Scheme, in a specific time frame; the ESF Programme 2000-2006, in two specific politico-spatial domains (two Southern Italian regions - Basilicata and Apulia, both part of the EU's Objective 1 zone), policy was created and implemented, as per Colebatch's theory of public policy, in Basilicata but not in Apulia.

The findings of the research open up more leads that can be investigated in future. Firstly, we might ask *if* and *how* the intended policy learning between Region B and Region A in the 2007-8 pilot project produced an outcome (positive or negative). This could be explored by looking at the impact the twinning had on the governance of the Apulia Region in the subsequent ESF Programme 2007-2013.

## **ELITE INTERVIEWS** held in Rome in 2009

1. **Laura Balbo** interviewed on 5 June 2009
  2. **Clara Collarile** interviewed on 4 June 2009
  3. **Alberto De Stefano** interviewed on 12 June 2009
  4. **Suor Marcella Farina** interviewed on 6 June 2009
  5. **Giovanna Indiretto** interviewed on 8 June 2009
  6. **Stefano Laporta** interviewed on 3 June 2009
  7. **Laura Ronchetti** interviewed on 4 June 2009
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- Bilingual versions (Italian and English) of the transcript is enclosed as **Annex A**
  - Consent forms are enclosed as **Annex B**
  - Interviews' audio are enclosed as **Annex C**

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## **Annex A**

### **Bilingual versions (Italian and English) of the transcript.**

List of elite Interviews held in Rome in 2009

- Laura Balbo. Interviewed on 5 June 2009
- Clara Collarile interviewed on 4 June 2009
- Alberto De Stefano interviewed on 12 June 2009
- Suor Marcella Farina interviewed on 6 June 2009
- Giovanna Indiretto interviewed on 8 June 2009
- Stefano Laporta interviewed on 3 June 2009
- Laura Ronchetti interviewed on 4 June 2009

➤ **Laura Balbo**

### **Transcript (Italian)**

Laura Balbo: non solo quello che si può avviare poi si perde nella mia esperienza é durato un po più di due anni e di colpo la persona che é venuta dopo non ha tenuto minimamente conto perché molto spesso si usa anche così, e poi io forse avevo qualche competenza più specifica che mi occupavo di queste cose mentre la signora che é venuta dopo cadeva un po dalle nuvole era stata prima ministro agli affari regionali e quindi molto spreco e ma d'altra parte proprio perché si partiva da una situazione quasi ferma in cui qualche discorso si poteva fare ma non a livello delle istituzioni governative evidentemente dal momento che c'era un Ministero proprio una sede ed anche un minimo di visibilità perché poi quello che io ho messo molto in evidenza e me ne sono accorta, e poi l'ho fatto notare e che rispetto a ministeri più importanti e consolidati e maschili tra virgolette questo era una cosa nata all'ultimo momento di non sapere bene che cosa fosse e soprattutto non di non avere un potere reale e quindi sono stati anni di spinte e di cambiamento con le ricadute appunto soprattutto perché adesso quello che rimane più attivo sono i livelli locali molto differenziati e adesso sono molto attivi e pero tutto sommato la differenza rispetto al niente c'è

DOMANDA: Lei crede che nella creazione del dipartimento abbiano inciso più i fattori interni che i fattori esterni?

RISPOSTA: io sono proprio convinta che questo per esempio come in molte altre cose, in quello che io chiamo l'effetto eco dell'Europa, nel senso che non importa che ci siano delle direttive precise, era un clima che gira nell'aria di quelle cose che non non si possono ignorare e poi contare su convegni internazionali ed etc e queste cose contano in più quello era subito il governo Prodi, e quello che aveva istituito il dipartimento che era un signore che era stato in Europa a che sapeva muoversi e che sentiva anche il peso rispetto all'Europa di far partecipare l'Italia con questo tipo di attenzione

DOMANDA: e lei crede che il patto sociale ed il patto di natale abbiano inciso nella creazione del dopo perché si parla nel patto sociale dell'occupazione femminile e quindi può darsi che abbiano avuto forse un contesto minore nella creazione del dipartimento

RISPOSTA: no guardi veramente tutta l'occupazione femminile é un tema che in Italia é stata sollevata provato da tempo, che era evidentemente pesante ed anche qui con delle semplificazioni anche al presente perché ci sono molte più donne che lavorano di quelle a cui si fa riferimento nelle statistiche, lavorano in nero e quindi i dati sono molto parziali e nascondono dall'altro un lavoro nero, soprattutto nel mezzogiorno in settori dove si va avanti così.

DOMANDA: e Lei crede che questo binomio occupazione/pari opportunità sia stato un binomio forte, che le due cose si siano servite a vicenda é stato un binomio fortunato per creare le pari opportunità, bisogna attuare e far conoscere le politiche di genere ma c'era anche la piaga economica ed uno dei settori deboli per migliorare l'occupazione era l'occupazione femminile ?

RISPOSTA: In Italia la cosa é lunga e complicata, perché i paesi europei con più alto tasso di occupazione femminile avevano valorizzato il part-time (se così si può dire) mentre in Italia la risposta sindacale di tutta la sinistra e in fondo dal mondo delle donne era un po preconcetta ma rigida contro il part-time e quindi lavorare secondo i modelli tradizionali maschili, lo facevano per un po di anni e poi dovevano lasciare, quindi era un po rigida e pero sul piano di sventolare una bandiera, di fare una rivendicazione anche simbolica e stato molto importante, ecco se facessimo il confronto con oggi, sarebbe molto diverso perché c'è

una consapevolezza più ampia perché sono anni che si discute di conciliazione in Italia e che determinano la crisi con cui secondo me non si torna sicuramente indietro nel mondo femminile però con modalità diversificate, in parte da inventare e quindi il mondo dell'occupazione femminile è molto diversificato invece di immaginare quest'unica modalità del lavoro a tempo pieno

DOMANDA: e lei crede che i movimenti femminili abbiano inciso notevolmente nel dipartimento.

RISPOSTA: no io credo che i movimenti ed anche il dibattito abbiano determinato e segnato una crescente consapevolezza e attenzione ma non direttamente su questa ricaduta istituzionale perché il femminismo era molto più teorico, poi certo c'era la componente nel sindacato, nel partito di donne attente alle politiche di genere secondo una modalità femminista perché poi non possiamo usare

DOMANDA: nella sinistra

RISPOSTA: si c'era attenzione per queste e sicuramente per il problema dell'occupazione e quindi quasi sempre un po' indiretto senza far finta che sia da A a B, il clima molto più attento che negli anni precedenti, tutto sommato molto più favorevole senza altro con una certa rigidità che certo pesava non si poteva di colpo aspettare che un paese, e qui torniamo al confronto con i paesi nordici, di welfare sufficientemente sviluppati, forse neanche una cultura tra gli uomini assolutamente di accettazione di favorire in qualche modo, le cose poi cambiano, situazioni diverse, perché l'Emilia e la Toscana hanno fatto sempre delle politiche ...hanno fatto studi poi noi, a livello istituzionale, che un po' più burocratico e attento ai giochi di potere e poi i problemi del mezzogiorno di cui si è cercato di assumere il peso ma fa parte di una situazione complessiva per uomini e donne, pesantissima, per cui io sottolineare sempre questa diversa configurazione delle realtà ... e una situazione molto complicata

DOMANDA: e che relazione ha avuto il dipartimento con gli altri organismi di parità con il comitato e con la commissione che non venne subito portata all'interno?

RISPOSTA: no si è preferito rimanere come un organismo autonomo anche se esiste ancora adesso, noi abbiamo avuto rapporti normali ed alcune cose di coordinarle ed era paradossale che ci fosse la commissione ed il ministero, però per noi è stato possibile perché mancava in molti ambiti fare cose, i rapporti con l'università, i rapporti con lo sport, beh naturalmente il peso del ministero era molto più forte di quello della commissione

DOMANDA: questi organismi vi hanno aiutato a creare una rete

RISPOSTA: no, ma siccome il ministero era più visibile perché era nuovo etc non è che ci hanno aiutato mi sembra che ci siamo mossi su ambiti abbastanza diversi era possibile, e noi lo abbiamo utilizzato, la visibilità europea della questione, l'ultima cosa che io ho fatto e subito dopo è finito il ministero una grossa conferenza che abbiamo fatto a Napoli che si chiamava "Vivere e lavorare con le pari opportunità" in cui eravamo arrivati, perché era presente il presidente della repubblica ed il ministro del lavoro eravamo arrivati a siglare un accordo che da allora in poi tutte le politiche del lavoro sarebbero state fatte da un organismo congiunto del ministero del lavoro e delle pari opportunità ma poi essendo finita non se ne è mai più parlato e questo è stato un risultato importante perché le politiche del lavoro da sempre con i sindacati che le sollecitano e un grosso ministero, se si fosse proceduto con un'azione congiunta era forse la cosa più significativa

DOMANDA: nei rapporti con il ministero del lavoro?

RISPOSTA: essere sempre presenti nelle loro riunioni, iniziative and etc, imprenditoriale, dalla piccola alla grande impresa, c'era un lavoro da fare enorme, ma con l'autorevolezza del ministero del lavoro, mica potevamo andarci da soli

DOMANDA: era un piccolo dipartimento

RISPOSTA: si e poi nuovo, il Ministero del Lavoro é da sempre molto importante se si fosse fatta una azione di lungo periodo, ma tipicamente come queste cose vengono fatte cadere per tenerle bisogna crederci, non so se il ministro che aveva firmato con noi in generale nel clima che c'era, insomma io credo che si può sottolineare, proprio perché in Italia il problema dell'occupazione e un problema di vecchia data che ha sempre segnato questo paese con dei momenti buoni e con queste disuguaglianze, quindi il tema dell'occupazione femminile e sempre subordinato al tema dell'occupazione neutra che pero vuol dire maschile.

DOMANDA: ma la piattaforma di Pechino ha un'influenza notevole

RISPOSTA: no, no, in generale ha determinato Pechino nel 95 il dipartimento nel 97 quindi certo a livello internazionale generale e stata una fase importante rispetto a cui altre cose internazionali sono state visibili, per cui mi sembra che abbiamo fatto a New York due anni dopo (2000) io sono andata non ricordo in quale veste europea pero era gia molto meno visibile ed autorevole di quella che era stata la conferenza di Pechino, pero da sottolineare come si rischia facilmente di perdere peso, la situazione favorevole internazionale favorevole, anni generalizzati va abbastanza, ma adesso vedremo se anche qui con la crisi non si perde l'attenzione specifica anche per politiche innovative, non si tratta solo di occupazione femminile e basta si tratta di modalità diverse per gli uomini e per le donne, noi dobbiamo capire che si apre una fase importante ed interessantissima

DOMANDA: e fu difficile per il dipartimento lavorare con altri ministeri, entità territoriali

RISPOSTA: insomma a livello di etichette si faceva, ma a livello di risultati, ecco perché appunto e stato troppo breve il periodo...anche perché le pratiche burocratiche dei ministeri italiani sono pesanti riuscire ad andare ad un incontro, un tavolo comune per carità ma poi riuscire a capire se ...uno dei problemi era se si riesce a realizzare quello che viene promesso e proposto., dire per molti aspetti dell'amministrazione pubblica italiana, vediamo molto spesso obiettivi, ma poi non succede anche le procedure parlamentari per fare una legge lunghissima, in qualche modo non era un tema prioritario, in mezzo c' e stata la guerra del Kosovo, come sempre interferiscono molti altri problemi e va e viene sulla scena e sull'attenzione

DOMANDA: ma si sono rafforzati i contatti con gli organismi di parità, hanno avuto un ruolo importante

RISPOSTA: si credo, in certe zone più che altre dove ci sono figure attive ormai anche per tutti i cambiamenti che stanno avvenendo soprattutto in Italia il livello delle regioni o di alcuni comuni particolarmente grandi e molto importante, mi aspetterei iniziative parlamentari e del governo invece ci si muove tra l'altro della realtà locale, in alcuni casi molto importante, e con una certa autorevolezza, il quadro vada riassunto e molto diversificato e sarebbe buono che la dove ci sono delle realtà molto avanzate queste avrebbe delle ricadute esterne, o qualcosa che si chiama nel dibattito europeo regionalizzazione sembra che il mondo si fermi intorno questi spazi che hanno il potere amministrativo, caratteristiche omogenee a livello locali che a volte confinano con altre regioni, c'e un rischio di sterilizzazione generale che riguarda anche questo problema

DOMANDA: pero ieri parlavo con la dottoressa Collarile e raccontava del progetto la rete e di tutto il lavoro che é stato fatto negli anni in cui lei é stat ministra ed é stata un lavoro di sensibilizzazione delle amministrazioni locali e soprattutto di europeizzare le amministrazioni, come dice lei, facendo seminari, buone pratiche i cui frutti poi si sono visti

nel 2004 quando é stata lanciata e c'era un grande lavoro dietro che era stato quello del progetto la rete abbia un po sensibilizzato.

RISPOSTA: ma certamente il fatto che dentro ci fosse alcune persone molto attive e molto convinte sicuramente che fosse un'occasione che valesse la pena, io mi ricordo al ministero persone di grandissima passione che adesso una che era particolarmente brava é diventata una giurista altre hanno fatto la carriera politiche o elette al parlamento, quindi passioni individuali e di gruppo a livello del ministero e poi certamente ramificazioni di questo tipo ed io credo che percepisco ancora donne che hanno vissuto quegli anni un pó il cambio di generazione che per me é molto importante ed ero capisco quel tipo di obiettivi, quel tipo di politiche in un contesto e come le donne piú giovani possano capirlo e come si possa dare a loro piú voce, in realtà si parla con persone di quella fase e generazione e quindi manca la rivendicazione del loro punto di vista che é diversa, lì io credo che ci sia un'interruzione e se si riesca mi sembra difficile, perché ci sono donne giovani, adesso non voglio andare fuori tema, donne attive, nell'università, nelle associazioni di base femminili, c' é un grosso capitale umano da utilizzare ma in questo momento non é facile il riconoscimento ed é un peccato perché sicuramente, anche in alcune situazioni del mezzogiorno, che conosco e ci vado spesso perché mi interessa molto ci sono situazioni molto positive ed un po invisibili a livello di dibattito politico nazionale,

DOMANDA: ma non solo nel suo ministero ci sono stati gruppi di lavoro e di ricerca e questo é stato comunque un elemento, portare i tecnici, gli esperti che hanno contribuito notevolmente nell'elaborazione delle politiche

RISPOSTA: si, si metta che anche se fosse durato di piú non solo la riflessione ed i suggerimenti per esempio nei rapporti con l'università ancora esistono responsabili a livello di molte e non so se tutte le università, si é rafforzato non solo per merito dell'azione del ministero ma perché c'era un buon clima, a livello dell'ISTAT, per la rivelazione di genere, molto interessante, poi alcuni altri settori che noi avevamo considerato essere importanti, tra l'altro uno di questa generazione giovane, persone che allora avevano avuto 30 anni e quindi hanno portato il loro gruppo di vista, c'è stato un gruppo che poi effettivamente non é riuscito perché in Italia é difficile, per i diritti degli omosessuali, nel campo era molto importante, io allora avrei voluto, ma dicevano non possiamo , tenere conto della presenza degli immigrati, non una cosa separata, li avevamo avuto qualche contatto ma non avevamo istituito niente, insomma gli ambiti erano ...e Potevano esserci problemi i diversamente abili come si dice

DOMANDA: infatti ho letto una sua intervista in cui cambio il nome del dipartimento

RISPOSTA: si, mi sembrava che fosse giusto

DOMANDA: quindi il dipartimento ha ereditato i diritti delle donne che prima erano del ministero della famiglia e della solidarietà sociale, ha aperto un po gli orizzonti poi, nasce come politiche di genere per le donne e poi...

RISPOSTA: non so se il ministero, ma nel dibattito é importante non parlare solo delle donne come se ne l mondo non ci fosse piú altro e poi che non si può dire donne e considerare le varie fasi nel ciclo di vita, conciliazione e occupazione, insomma riguarda una fascia d'età che é quella adulta, di donne che sono fuori dal mondo del lavoro, questa complessivamente della società in generale che spesso é nascosta dalle statistiche io ce l'ho con gli economisti uomini che dicono nord/sud certo é complicato, perché mano a mano che si introducono questi elementi di diversificazioni ed il peso degli immigrati una quantità di persone di provenienze diverse in settori che sono piú da vent'anni o sono appena arrivati, secondo me le scienze sociali ci danno la visione di un mondo diversificato, pluralista e molto interessante che hanno importanza, si cerca di avere due o tre riferimenti e poi ci si accorge che le cadute interiori sbagliano, un salto europea ed una società europea ,

prendiamo gli emigrati, delle donne immigrate, non si può pensare all'Europa come solo fatta dai vari stati, bisogna pensarla ad un livello diverso , culturale e politico altrimenti le politiche settoriali per persone che prevedono strategie diversificate da quando in Europa é diventata più cospicua la presenza degli emigrati dall'Europa dell'EST anche la questione cambia tutto perché cinesi, africani e invece questa presenza é stata difficilmente inserita, bisognerebbe ragionare in termini complicati.

DOMANDA: gli economisti guardano alle statistiche mentre i sociologi pensano L'Italia é fondata sulla famiglia nucleare, quindi nella 'attuazione delle politiche di genere era anche il ruolo della famiglia nucleare che era necessario proteggere, infatti io guardavo il testo legislativo dei congedi parentali che insomma é un testo eccellente che si fa carico dei principi dell'occupazione.

RISPOSTA: lei riesce a sentire c'è un rumore (qualcuno trascina delle sedie ... alzo, con grande imbarazzo, il tono di voce)

DOMANDA: testo che sembra racchiudere i principi del tratto di Lisbona, é stato creato con il Ministero del Lavoro, perché il ministero aveva un'attenzione particolare alle politiche per l'occupazione femminile come settore a rischio, debole o dicevamo il dopo e servito a sensibilizzare presso il ML

RISPOSTA: si era creato una collaborazione con un particolare settore, non ricordo, non con il Ministero del Lavoro perché é un enorme cosa, e quindi aveva avuto dei rapporti diretti e questo ha avuto un peso e sottolineerei il peso delle politiche europee se no di congedi parentali non se ne parlava ed invece in quel momento anche se la normativa italiana é un po' strettina, non é che si modifica molto il ruolo del padre e adesso si cerca di aumentare il periodo e almeno se ne discute che mi sembra assolutamente sensato il fatto e che la famiglia anche nel periodo in cui noi abbiamo lavorato e molto forte, perché nella cultura italiana (Turco era alla famiglia) famiglia e un concetto forte, noi abbiamo la famiglia come anche famiglia di fatto, hanno figli, no, famiglie atipiche, famiglie con il peso delle persone anziane, per esempio quando noi eravamo lì poco visibile una questione forte il problema delle persone anziani il flusso delle badanti altrimenti non é concepibile come avrebbe fatto il sistema italiano , insistiamo sui bambini,

LTD perché c'era una carenza di asili nidi

RISPOSTA: si, il carico sulle donne era doppio, si delineava la presenza di persone che vivono 20/30 anni dopo la pensione le donne essendo state casalinghe o lavoratrici in senso parziale hanno un ruolo, competenze, e aiutano, può essere molto faticoso, ma questa é stata la situazione italiana, che vengono sfruttate e pagate poco, non perché siano famiglie crudeli, ma sono anche persone con una professione, non hanno risorse, se vanno in famiglia di classe media può essere un po' meglio, anche se ci sono ottimi rapporti e non tutto va visto in questa chiave di vittime, ci sono state innumerevoli casi positivi ma anche situazioni pesantissime

LTD questo testo di legge fu importante

RISPOSTA: un segnale

DOMANDA: pero la parità della coppia é innovativa, la legge sulla maternità si fa risalire al 1971, un grande interesse, la donna lavoratrice e la donna madre con progetti per aiutare le donne, quindi avete raggiunto obiettivi importanti

RISPOSTA: senta io non voglio minimizzare ma dipende anche se in quegli anni guardavamo la dibattito generale questi temi facevano notizia, un giorno poteva anche esserci un titolo sul giornale ma in realtà nel consiglio dei ministri assolutamente...marginali, io ho dei ricordi anche pesanti di portare un po' di attenzione e questi se ne ..



DOMANDA: e stato difficile far sentire la sua voce perché c'erano problemi molto più importanti in quegli anni

RISPOSTA: si conosciuti come più importanti anche se l'occupazione femminile è importante non solo per le donne i ma anche per gli uomini, era un dato europeo non inventato a Lisbona, solo che da un lato quelli più urgenti, la guerra nel Kosovo, politiche di bilancio e di economia e poi ci sono state allora le politiche della sicurezza poi, queste cose mi sembra oggi si parli paradossalmente soprattutto in termini della violenza alle donne che e un problema ma non e certo il modo in cui noi vogliamo fare

DOMANDA: quindi senza la pressione europea il dibattito probabilmente non avrebbe avuto...

RISPOSTA: la pressione europea era anche fondamentale per esempi, e per averla inventato non si sarebbe fatta un'istituzione nuova a cui e stato dato un certo riconoscimento, quindi certi omenti di convegno, certi momenti legislativi mediatico che certo serve e quindi quello e fondamentale e lo sara nei prossimi anni la questione del perché in Italia sia un po più difficile quello che e successo nei paesi nordici, li c'era una tradizione di paesi più piccoli in cui era più facile.

DOMANDA: come Svezia, Danimarca?

RISPOSTA: si anche le dimensioni contano e poi c'e il fatto che da noi poi ciò che la chiesa cattolica impone insomma la famiglia e quindi la donna vista li dentro insomma è un peso per fare dei discorsi di cambiamento del ruolo della donna

DOMANDA: è un problema relativo ai paesi del mediterraneo la Grecia e Cipro

RISPOSTA: pero in Italia e molto forte l'immediato intervento di dieci anni fa, sulle coppie omosessuali solo attraverso certe forze politiche che vennero raggiunte dirette e indirette e per dire quello e il caso più forte, l'eutanasia e il miracolo fu in Italia una legislazione sull'aborto così avanzata

DOMANDA: cambiare l'identità culturale il fenomeno sociologico ha avuto un grande impatto, per esempio i congedi parentali, non molti uomini ne usufruirono, non tanto per la questione economica ma per il ruolo che l'uomo aveva all'interno della famiglia quindi il contesto sociale ha avuto un impatto determinante secondo lei?

RISPOSTA: in Italia quello che si è visto dopo dai dati e che pochissimi pochi l'hanno potuto prendere e il rientro nell'impresa e nel mondo di lavoro li colpezzava per questo tipo di scelta poi io non ho conosciuto situazioni particolari, il problema e di una cultura del mondo del lavoro che non era... e non e che i sindacati in Italia pesa anche questo, cosa che sta cambiando, pero non era che gli uomini non capissero nel 2000 era difficile, il problema, perché io guardi pochi giorni fa ad un convegno bisogna interrogarsi come stanno cambiando a conseguenza della crisi anche i giovani maschi, una dell'associazione delle storiche, tu ti illudi perché gli uomini ritornano agli stereotipi non lo so.. il cambiamneto non e facile da noi facciamo sempre riferimento ai paesi nordici, come no, ma non saprei se dovessi descrivere gli anni scorsi sicuramente alcuni scossoni sono eventi dall'Europa e dal dibattito internazionale pero se si siano radicati vedremo

DOMANDA: ma mentre gli economisti credono che i paesi nordici sono più sviluppati i sociologi non condividono perché il prezzo che hanno pagato il Nord Europa è la fine della famiglia e molto più difficile avere una famiglia, avere instabilità

RISPOSTA: i dati dimostrano convivenze, separazioni crescono, non credo che ci sia una forte differenza poi a livello di linguaggio e pratiche può sembrare, credo ognuno sceglie nella vita non secondo dei livelli tradizionali capiscono che si può fare una scelta e cambiare

idea ragionevolmente, alcuni dicono che i più giovani non sanno cosa faranno...ma a me interessa molto questo dato se ricordiamo la famiglia tradizionale italiana anche 50 anni fa non era ideale, ne per donne e uomini, ed il fatto che in un tempo relativamente breve le donne adulte definiscono il loro ruolo e vita in termini diversi, questo è utilissimo, appunto guardare ai paesi del nord, la Francia e lasciare che queste politiche entrassero anche da noi e credo anche che questo ha avuto molta importanza.

DOMANDA: un'ultima domanda e non voglio trattenerla, lei crede che Emily abbia influito con il dipartimento delle pari opportunità visto che alcuni esponenti di Emily hanno collaborato all'inizio con il dipartimento, è stato determinante sentirle visto che il governo di Prodi ha chiesto in maniera intelligente a chiesto alle donne quali erano i problemi delle donne per capire cosa fare, ha chiamato esperti la Carloni per ciò che riguarda il lavoro, è stato influente?

RISPOSTA: no guardi influente queste parole erano tentativi di cominciare a capire, certamente il gruppo di Emily che studiava erano attive, impegnate e ci credevano molto, è stato utile e poi appunto il fatto stesso che risultati ne abbiamo avuto, il grosso congresso di Napoli, Bassolino era venuto era venuto in modo molto ufficiale, quando ci ha chiamato l'ufficio del presidente della repubblica era un grande riconoscimento, convegno internazionale con molti esperti, certo quello è stato un momento alto e purtroppo subito dopo è finito tutto e da lì poteva, se ci fosse stata maggiore continuità, perché su quella base andavamo anche noi...

### **English Translation**

LB: not only what you can start then you lose in my experience, if would have lasted a little bit more than two years and suddenly the person who came later did not even take in account because very often this is what happens, and then maybe I had some more specific competence that I dealt with these things while the lady who came later had her head in the clouds.

Before I was minister for regional affairs and therefore it was a waste because it started from a situation almost steady in which some dialogue could have began but not at the level of governmental institutions, evidently since there was a Ministry and a location and also a minimum of visibility because then what I have very much highlighted and I have noticed, and then I pointed out that compared to the most important and consolidated ministries and masculine in quotes this was a thing created at the last moment not to know what it was and above all not to have no real power and therefore there were years of change with repercussions just because now what is still most active are the local levels very differentiated and now they are very active and all in all the difference compared to nothing there is...

QUESTION: Do you believe that in the creation of the department internal factors were more significant than external factors?

ANSWER: I am quite convinced about that, for example, as in many other things, what I call the echo of Europe, in a sense that it does not matter that there are precise directives, there was something in the air that could not be ignored and then it was important on international conferences and etc and these things are important more in the immediately after Prodi government, and who created the department was a gentleman who had been in Europe and he knew what to do and that he also understood Europe's influence and the need to involve Italy in this kind of attention

QUESTION: and do you believe that the social pact and the Christmas pact impacted in the creation of the department as the social pact refers to female employment and so it could be it had a minor role in the creation of the department.

ANSWER: not really look. women employment is an issue raised in Italy for a long time, which was obviously serious and again with simplifications as there are many more women working than those to which reference is made in the statistics, they work in the black economy and therefore the data are very partial and hide an undeclared job, especially in the south in areas where it goes on like this.

QUESTION: do you believe that the combination employment and equal opportunities was strong, do you think that they benefitted from each other and it was a lucky combination to create equal opportunities and to disseminate gender equality policy to improve employment and female employment?

ANSWER: In Italy, the matter is long and complicated, because the European countries with the highest rate of female employment valued part-time (if you can say so) while in Italy the unions' response of the left-wing and basically of the world of women were a bit preconceived but rigid against part-time and then working according to traditional male models, they did it for a few years and then they had to give up, so it was a bit stiff and however when we needed to wave a flag, to claim even symbolically and this was very important, here if we were to compare it with today, it would be very different because there is a wider awareness because we have been discussing reconciliation for years in Italy and resulted in a crisis from which we cannot come back in the world of women, a world very diversified - in part to be reinvented and so the world of female employment is diverse instead of thinking one way of working - full time

QUESTION: and do you believe female movements influenced a lot the department.

ANSWER: no, I don't, I believe female movements and also the debate determined and marked a growing awareness and attention but not directly on this institutional relapse because feminism was much more theoretical, then certainly there was a component in the unions, in the party of women keen on gender policies according to a feminist way because then we cannot use

QUESTION: in the left-wing party

ANSWER: there was attention for these and certainly for the problem of employment and therefore almost always a little indirect without pretending that it is from A to B, the environment much more attentive than in previous years, all in all much more favourable with no other with a certain rigidity that certainly burdened you could not suddenly wait for a country, and here we return to the comparison with the Nordic countries, of sufficiently developed welfare, perhaps not even a culture among men absolutely accepting to favour in a way, things then change, different situations, because Emilia and Tuscany have always had policies ... have undertaken studies then we, at the institutional level, a little more bureaucratic and attentive to the games of power and then the problems of the South for which we tried to be responsible as part of an overall situation for men and women, very serious, so I would always emphasize this different configuration of reality ... and a very complicated

QUESTION: and what relationship did the department have with the other equality bodies for instance with the committee and with the commission which was not immediately incorporated (in the department)?

ANSWER: no we preferred to remain as an autonomous body even if it still exists now, we have had normal relationships and some matters to coordinate and it was paradoxical that there was the commission and the ministry, but for us it was possible because we were missing so many things in many areas, relationships with the university, relations with sport, well, of course, the influence of the ministry was much more than the commission

QUESTION: did these organisms help the department to create a network

ANSWER: no, but because the ministry was more visible as it was new etc and not that they helped us it seems to me that we have moved on quite different areas it was possible, and we have used it, the European visibility of women's issues, the last thing I did and immediately after my mandate was a big conference we did in Naples called "Living and working with equal opportunities" in which we went, because the president of the republic was there and the minister of labour, we were so close to sign an agreement that from then on all labour policies would be made by a joint body consisting of the ministry of labour and equal opportunities but then when the conference finished we never spoke again about that and this would have been an important outcome because the policies of the work always with the unions that urge them and a big ministry, if we had proceeded with a joint action perhaps matter could have been most significant

QUESTION: in relationship with the Ministry of Labour?

ANSWER: we were always present in their meetings, initiatives and etc, entrepreneurial, from small to big business, there was a huge work to do, but with the authority of the Ministry of Labour, we could not go there alone

QUESTION: was a small department

ANSWER: Yes, it was and then it was new, the Ministry of Labour is always very important if you had a long-term action, but typically as these things are dropped to keep them going you must believe in them. I do not know if the minister who signed with us in that general atmosphere, in short, I believe that it can be underlined, precisely because in Italy the problem of employment is a longstanding problem that has always marked this country with good moments and with these unevenness, so the issue of female employment and always subordinated to the theme of neutral employment which, however, means masculine

QUESTION: but did the Beijing platform had a noticeable influence.

ANSWER: no, no, generally speaking Beijing in 1995 and the department in 1997 were determinant so certainly at the international level it was an important stage compared to other international matters, so it seems to me that we did in New York two years later (2000) I went, I do not remember in which European role, but it was already much less visible and authoritative than at the time of the Beijing conference, but we must highlight how easily you risk to have no influence, favourable international situation, generalized years is enough, but now we will see if even with the crisis we could lose interest in innovative policies, it is not just about female employment and it is just different ways for men and women, we must understand that an important and interesting phase opens up

QUESTION: and it was difficult for the department to create with other ministries, territorial entities

ANSWER: in terms of etiquette we did, but at the level of results, that is why it was too short the period ... also because the bureaucratic process of Italian ministries are difficult to be able to go to a meeting, a common round table but then be able to understand if ... one of the problems was if you can achieve what is promised and proposed., say for many aspects of the Italian public administration, we see very often goals, but then also parliamentary procedures to make a law very long, in some there was not a priority theme, in the middle there is the war of Kosovo, as always many other problems interfere and come and go from the focus of the attention.

QUESTION: Did the contact the department strengthen with the equality bodies played an important role?

ANSWER: Yes, I think so in some areas more than others where there are people active now also for all the changes that are happening especially in Italy the level of the regions or

some very large and important, I would expect parliamentary and government initiatives instead we move away from local reality, sometimes very important, and with a certain authority, the situation should be summarized and very diversified and it would be good that where there are very advanced realities these would have external repercussions, or something that it is called in the European debate regionalization seems that the world stops around these spaces that have administrative power, homogeneous characteristic at local level that sometimes border with other regions, there is a risk of general sectorization that also concerns this problem

QUESTION: but yesterday I spoke with Dr Collarile and she told me about the project The Network and all the work that was done in the years you were minister. It was a project to raise awareness in local administrations and especially to Europeanize administrations, as you say, organising seminars, good practices, and outcomes were then seen in 2004 when he Network was launched and there was a great work behind sensitized by The Network.

ANSWER: but certainly the fact that inside there were some very active people and very convinced that it was an opportunity that was worth it, I remember the ministry people of great passion and now one that was particularly good and become a lawyer others have done the political career or being elected in parliament, then individual and group passions at the level of the ministry and then certainly ramifications of this type and I believe that I still sense women who have lived those years a little change of generation that for me it is very important and I was able to understand that kind of objectives, that kind of policies in a context and how younger women can understand it and how we can give them more voice, actually we talk to people of that phase and generation and therefore they don't support their asks, it is different, I believe that there is an interruption and if I feel it is difficult, because there are young women, now I do not want to go off on a tangent, active women, in the university, in women's basic associations, there is a big human capital to use but at this moment it is not easy recognition and it's a shame because certainly, even in some situations in the south, I know and I go there often because I am very interested there are very positive situations and a little invisible level of national political debate,

QUESTION: but not only in his ministry there have been working groups and researchers and this was ever a problem to bring experts who have contributed greatly in the formulation of the policies

ANSWER: yes, I must say that even if it had lasted longer not only the reflection and suggestions for example in relation to the university there are still responsible at the level of many and I do not know if all the universities, and the relationship was strengthened not only because of the ministry but also because there was a good environment, at the level of the ISTAT, for data collection on gender equality, very interested then some other sectors that we had considered to be important, among others one of this young generation, people who then they had 30 years and then they brought their vision, there was a group that then effectively failed, because in Italy is difficult, for the rights of homosexuals, this was very important, I would have supported , but they said we cannot, to take into account of immigrants, not a separate matter, we had some contact but we had not set up anything, in short, the areas were ... and there could be problems as they say "diversely able"

QUESTION: in fact I read an interview in which the name of the department changes

ANSWER: that is right

QUESTION As regards to women's rights, the department inherited the remit who was previously of the ministry of family and social solidarity, opened up a little horizons then, created as gender policies for women and then ...

ANSWER: I do not know if the ministry, but in the debate it is important not to talk only about women as if there were anything else in the world and then you cannot say women and do not consider the various stages of the life cycle, reconciliation and employment, in short, it concerns an age group that is adult, women who are outside the working world, this generalization of society often is hidden by statistics I discuss it with the male economists who say north / south certain and complicated because as we introduce these elements of diversification and the influence of immigrants a number of people from different backgrounds in business areas in which they worked for more than twenty years or have just entered, in my opinion the social sciences give us the vision of a world diversified, pluralist and very interesting which matters, we try to have two or three references and then we realize that the internal falls are wrong, a European jump and a European society, we take the immigrants, and immigrant women, you cannot think of Europe as only made by the various member states, you have to think about it at a different level, cultural and political otherwise sector policies for people who have diversified strategies since in Europe become more conspicuous the presence of immigrants from Eastern Europe also the question changes everything because Chinese, African and instead this presence was difficultly to capture, we should think in complicated terms.

QUESTION: the economists look at the statistics while the sociologists think of Italy as based on the nuclear family, so in the implementation of gender policies which was also the role of the nuclear family that was necessary to protect, in fact I looked at the legislative text of parental leave that in short, it is an excellent tense that include the principles of employment

ANSWER: you can hear there is a noise (someone is dragging the chairs ... I raise, with great embarrassment, the tone of voice)

QUESTION: the text that seems to incorporate the principles of the Treaty of Lisbon, and was created with the Ministry of Labour because the Minister of Labour had special interest in women's employment policies being a sector at risk, and as we were say, the department supported this with the Ministry of Labour

ANSWER: There was a cooperation with a particular sector, I do not remember, not with ML because it is a huge matter, and therefore had direct relationship and this had an influence and I would underline the influence of European policies if not parental leave if they were discussing it, even if the Italian rules and a little tight, it is not that much changes the role of the father and now we try to increase the period and at least it is debated that it seems to me absolutely sensible and that the family also in the period in which we worked and very strong, because in Italian culture (Turco was at the Ministry for Family) family and a strong idea, we have family as well as factual family, have children, no, atypical families, families with the care of elderly people, for example when we were hardly visible a strong issue was the problem of elderly people, the flow of carers otherwise not conceivable as the Italian system would have done, we insist on children,

QUESTION: because there was a shortage of nursery

ANSWER: yes, the responsibility for women was double, it was becoming apparent the presence of people who live 20/30 years after retirement after having been housewives or partial workers have a role, skills, and help, it can be very tiring, but this is the Italian situation, who are exploited and not well-paid paid, not because they are cruel families, but they are also people with a profession, they do not have resources, if they go to the middle class family can be a little better, even if there are excellent relationships and not everything should be seen as they are victims, there have been many positive stories but also very difficult situations

QUESTION: this text of law was important

ANSWER: a signal

QUESTION: but equality in the couple is innovative, the maternity law goes back to 1971, a great interest, the working women and mothers with projects to help women, so you have achieved important goals

ANSWER: I feel I do not want to minimize but it depends even if in those years we looked at the general debate, these issues were news, one day there could also be a title in the newspaper but actually in the council of ministers absolutely ... marginal, I also have difficult memories to bring a little attention and these are ..

QUESTION: it was difficult to make your voice heard because there were much more important problems in those years

ANSWER: known as more important even if the female employment is important not only for women but also for men, it was a European fact not invented in Lisbon, only that on the one hand the most urgent, the war in Kosovo, policies budget and economy then there were security policies then, these things seem to me today we speak paradoxically especially in terms of violence to women that is a problem but certainly not the way we want to do

QUESTION: hence without the European pressures the department probably would not have...

ANSWER: European pressure was also fundamental for example, and we would not have made a new institution to which a certain recognition was given, then certain conference, certain media legislative moments that certainly were useful and therefore the fundamental one and it will be in the next few years the question of why in Italy is a little more difficult what happened in the Nordic countries, there was a tradition of smaller countries in which it was easier.

QUESTION: like Sweden, Denmark

ANSWER: it is also the size and then there is the fact that we have what the Catholic Church imposes the family in short, and then women seen in this context in short and a burden to talk about changes.

QUESTION: is this problem related to the Mediterranean countries, Greece and Cyprus...

ANSWER: however, in Italy is very strong the immediate intervention of ten years ago, on homosexual couples only through certain political parties were reached directly and indirectly and to mention the strongest case, euthanasia and miracle was in Italian one legislation on abortion thus advanced

QUESTION: to change the cultural identity, the sociological phenomenon had a great impact, for example parental leave, not many men benefit of it, not so much for the economic issue but for the role that man had within the family therefore the context has a decisive impact on the department?

ANSWER: in Italy what we saw after the data was that very few were able to take it and the return to work and the working world condemned for this type of choice then I did not know any particular situations, the problem is a culture of the labour market that was not ... and it is, but in Italy the trade unions influence this, which is changing, but it does not mean that men did not understand it was difficult in 2000s, because I look t it a few days during a conference, we must question how they are changing as a result of the crisis also young men, one of the association of historians, you delude yourself because men go back to the stereotype I do not know .. Change is not easy for us we always refer to Nordic countries, why not, but I do not know if I had to describe the past few years, surely, some big

jolts have come from Europe and from the international debate, but if they are rooted, we will see

QUESTION: but while economists believe that the Nordic countries are more developed sociologists do not share this opinion because the price Northern Europe paid is the end of the family, so it is much more difficult to have a family, have instability

ANSWER: data show people living together, separations grow, I do not think there is a big difference then at the level of language and process may seem, I think everyone chooses in life not according to traditional levels, people understand that they can make a choice and change their mind reasonably, some of them say that the younger ones do not know what they will do ... but I am very interested in this fact if we remember the traditional Italian family even 50 years ago it was not ideal, for women and men, and the fact that in a relatively short time adult women define their role and life in different terms, this is very useful, just look at the countries of the north, France and let these policies also come to us and I also believe that this has been very important.

QUESTION: my last question from and I do not want to keep you busy, do you believe that Emily had an influence on the equal opportunities division, as some of Emily's members collaborated at the beginning with the department, and it was crucial to hear them as Prodi's government cleverly asked women what were the problems of women to understand what to do, called the Ms Carloni experts for what concerns work, and was this influential?

ANSWER: no look influential these words were tentative to begin to understand , certainly the group of Emily who were studying were active, committed and believed in it a lot, and it was useful and then the fact that we have had, the large congress of Naples, Bassolino came in a very official way, when he called us the office of the president of the republic was a great recognition, international conference with many experts, certainly that was a high moment and unfortunately soon after finished and after that and from there we could, if there had been more continuity, because on that basis we were going too



**Clara Collarile**

➤ **Transcript (Italian)**

DOMANDA: Siccome il Dipartimento delle pari opportunità è davvero interessante per la sua creazione e per il suo possibile impatto sull'occupazione quello che ...

RISPOSTA: intervieni : tutto questo impatto sull' occupazione non credo l'abbia avuto, ero io la responsabile. Tutto questo impatto, dica lei, se lei lo valuta così io sono contenta, ma il Ministero del Lavoro ...

DOMANDA: sull'occupazione femminile

RISPOSTA: noi davamo delle idee, ispiravamo, quando io sono arrivata al dipartimento il primo gennaio del 1999, il dipartimento delle pari opportunità non aveva quello che si dice un soldo, e se lei mi permette, come si dice in buona lingua italiana, senza soldi non... e quindi... io sono andata al dipartimento ed avendo la conoscenza dei fondi strutturali ho cercato di fare in modo che il Dipartimento entrasse nel ruolo dei fondi strutturali ed è lì che il dipartimento ha svolto un ruolo, ed io ci sono andata e devo dire che è stato un momento magico , intanto ci sono andata io che ho avuto il mio peso, e perché lì ho trovato una professoressa Delia La Rocca, non so se intervisterà anche lei, una persona che era super, di grandissima levatura, e che ha capito l'importanza della programmazione così quando partiva la programmazione, inserendo in tutto la questione pari opportunità, in questo senso è stato giocato un ruolo., se lei vuole vedere il ruolo, nel senso che la programmazione 2000-2006 che come lei sa, questa famosa misura A, policy fillet (?I assume is field), dedicata alle donne e quindi all'occupazione femminile ed in Italia era l'unico paese in cui c'era una riserva del 10% di fondo sociale, laddove è stato speso bene, veramente è servito, quindi la riserva e la misura dedicata, quindi le risorse ad hoc e al tempo stesso il mainstreaming di genere che aveva fatto passare il messaggio... con la programmazione dei Fondi Strutturali della 2006 I regolamenti lo prevedevano.

DOMANDA: ecco perché i fondi strutturali sono inseriti nella Finocchiaro-prodi sono gli obiettivi strategici ...

RISPOSTA: si comincia con la direttiva Finocchiaro-Prodi e per questo la Finocchiaro, io avevo parlato, sono andata per parlare con la Finocchiaro, quando sono arrivata la Finocchiaro non era più lì, ma lei ha capito subito. Io all'epoca ero vice capo gabinetto ai lavori pubblici responsabile di URBAN and REG e di tutte le politiche comunitarie del ministro del lavoro ed ho capito l'importanza del portfolio delle donne, io venivo dalla presidenza e ho detto ritorno in presidenza perché con il regolamento... io avevo partecipato alle politiche comunitarie ed i regolamenti REG 2000 e ...quando siamo stati a Brussel fino alle due di notte e finalmente sono passati i regolamenti e abbiamo festeggiato con un caffè ...queste sono cose che succedono regolarmente e ricordo c'erano i pacchi degli elenchi dei telefoni interni e ce ne siamo presi una copia con tutti i numeri dei colleghi... e lì era nato lo spazio per le donne, dal regolamento bisognava passare alla programmazione non era facile , io parlai con la Finocchiaro e sono in grado di aiutare a percorrere questa strada e lei disse venga, ma io dissi vengo se mi fate Direttore Generale altrimenti non vengo (la pelle dell'orso bisogna vederla cara) e quando sono andata al Ministero abbiamo cominciato a partecipare alla programmazione con le cento idee per lo sviluppo di Barca abbiamo visitato tutt'Italia, una cosa da morire.

DOMANDA: ed è così che avete pubblicizzato praticamente

RISPOSTA: eravamo pochi, ci siamo fatte tutte le riunioni in tutta Italia, guardi una cosa è stato un massacro, ci siamo letti tutto il quadro nazionale di sviluppo che andava poi in approvazione al consiglio dei ministri che poi sarebbe diventato UCS ? ma prima a monte,

ed eravamo io e Delia La Rocca a cercare di fare infilare dovunque ...”lo sviluppo urbano deve tener conto delle esigenze...” dappertutto le pari opportunità e allora il messaggio è passato

DOMANDA: e quindi questo è un po' quello che ...

RISPOSTA: e da lì si trova uno strumento economico adatto a creare occupazione femminile, quello era lo strumento economico, allora il fondo sociale la riserva, 750.000 miliardi di lire una cosa del genere per il centro-nord e 1.250.00 miliardi di lire per il Sud e questa riserva che era il 10% di tutto il fondo sociale, molto molto elevata, non è che ci era caduta dal cielo, non è stata una battaglia ma una guerra, abbiamo avuto contro tutte le regioni eccetto la Toscana, ma noi mettiamo comunque un piede, i soldi erano comunque delle regioni ed il Ministero del Lavoro ma il dipartimento aveva il potere di coordinamento, ma avevamo l'appoggio di Brussel...Amantopoulos, Clintel and Luisa Bassi e sono passati i regolamenti ed è passata la riserva, e quindi con quella riserva le regioni hanno creato occupazione femminile, ma non è solo necessario che le regioni abbiano le risorse, bisogna che le spendano, bisogna che la programmazione regionale corrisponda ...

DOMANDA: quindi è stato un lavoro enorme

RISPOSTA: non si può immaginare

DOMANDA: e quando è stata creata La rete, per la direttiva.

RISPOSTA: la direttiva era un documento di base che non centrava niente, e allora cosa succede, prima viene creato il VISPO perché c'era tutta tutta la valutazione da affrontare e i metri e gli strumenti dell'impatto ambientale stavano già e mi ricordo andai a delle riunioni del QCS e dissi come la valutate? Certi non sapevano che esistessero i regolamenti comunitari, ed il responsabile era NON CAPISCO IL NOME, io l'ho visto ultimamente, non esiste niente, perché non c'è scritto niente ragazzi? ..dieci persone... le basi giuridiche allora l'hanno scritto delle colleghe brave, e la prof.ssa Delia della Rocca, io gli davo gli inputs, ed io mi ricordo che i regolamenti, le basi giuridiche e le basi comunitarie .....per far passare cose che solo sul reparto donna ...il Ministero dell'Economia si permetteva di dare i soldi, così fece il Ministro del Lavoro, così abbiamo avuto i PON (assistenza tecnica) e i POR (azioni di sistema)...questi stanziamenti alle regioni, abbiamo letto la letteratura di tutti i settori per vedere se era stato preso in considerazione l'elemento pari opportunità, a meno dove era possibile, è stato un continuo, per 6 anni...per poter fare qualcosa in più. E comincia l'internet e quindi si vide se è una cosa che si poteva fare, abbiamo fatto una serie di riunioni e quindi abbiamo cercato creare una rete per far parlare fra loro le regioni, lo scopo qual'era quindi dire da un lato far sapere alle regioni quello che succedeva in Europa e al Dipartimento, e quello che era interessante anche per le altre amministrazioni, cercare di convogliare le notizie e anche di finanziare le azioni con due fondi diversi, al Nord FERS e al Sud FES e quindi con due fondi diversi e questa l'altra grande innovazione in questo modo con profili diversi, per portare le regioni a conoscenza delle azioni di sistema.

DOMANDA: ma è stato più difficile al Sud che al Nord?

RISPOSTA: No assolutamente, ma poi le regioni ...e la prof.ssa La Rocca ci disse e che con il Fondo sociale e la misura si possa pagare la cosiddetta animatrice di parità ed io scrissi 21 lettere, tante sono le regioni italiane, ed invitai i presidenti delle regioni ad usare la figura dell'animatrice di parità, in alcune regioni è andata bene, in Piemonte hanno avuto una bravissima animatrice che ha aiutato le donne a scrivere i progetti, a ricordato diversi assessorati, in alcune regioni come il Lazio in cui l'assessore al lavoro non è lo stesso all'amministrazione pubblica, così ha fatto un po' da raccordo, e andata bene dove hanno scelto una tecnica bene, brava si sono trovati bene invece dove hanno messo una politica

non serviva a niente, hanno messo una figura di seconda categoria, pero ad alcune regioni e servito.

DOMANDA: ma l'animatrice di parità era diversa dalla consigliera di parità?

RISPOSTA: Certo che era diversa infatti in qualche regione dove c'era la consigliera di parità aveva paura che perdesse il lavoro, infatti l'animatrice di parità era una persona pagata per scrivere i progetti, per aiutare i servizi a creare pari opportunità, a leggere i bandi, io adesso sono consigliera di parità, per l'altro supplente, ma insomma sempre consigliera di parità, per evitare le discriminazioni sul posto di lavoro, questo il é suo ruolo, e vedere se con i fondi strutturali si crea occupazione femminile e quindi aveva il diritto di partecipare ai comitati di sorveglianza, e l'animatrice é una figura di aiuto, ma di fatto non ha funzionato

DOMANDA: per aiutare quelle donne che non avevano le cognizioni per poter capire...

RISPOSTA: per aiutare i funzionari regionali, perché non sapevano nemmeno cosa fosse il mainstreaming di genere, così le animatrici le abbiamo riunite e abbiamo spiegato loro che cosa dovevano fare, e tutto questo per creare occupazione femminile, perché si facessero dei buoni bandi per esempio per l'imprenditoria femminile, e tutto questo andava nella rete, le animatrici, tutto passava nella rete, per sapere cosa facevano le varie regioni a proposito, abbiamo dato un piccolo, non così piccolo, ad ogni regione, affinché si parlassero fra loro, tutto questo e andato attraverso la rete, nella rete e andato tutto, ha visto ogni tanto cambia, ma abbiamo cominciato a mettere i bandi, che devo dire sta andando bene.

DOMANDA: ciò che é interessante e che mette in evidenza le buone pratiche

RISPOSTA: e certo, facemmo un seminario, mi pare fosse il NON CAPISCO IL NOME e ogni regione presento i famosi progetti e i vouchers che non si riuscivano a spendere, non era facile spendere questi soldi, e pure uno dei maggiori mezzi di spesa, perché la formazione e sicuramente un fatto importante, ma le donne sono formate più degli uomini, le donne non riescono ad andare a farsi il corso di aggiornamento se hanno due ragazzini piccoli, questo e lo scopo del voucher, e devo dire alcune regioni ebbero delle idee splendide, e noi facemmo un seminario sullo scambio di esperienze, e ricordo che una regione mi disse, almeno ogni 6 mesi devi farlo, ma non si e più fatto perché non avevamo la forza , dice almeno ogni sei mesi, perché ognuna espone, racconto come era fatto il progetto, come era realizzato, le difficoltà che si erano incontrato, perché le difficoltà che si incontrano sono più importanti del successo, le difficoltà sono tante, io stamattina, non c'entra niente, ma ho detto ad una funzionaria del Lazio che stava scrivendo un bando, state attente, non mettete troppi paletti, ma dottoressa, non ci potete mettere troppe regoliate, altrimenti non ci viene nessuno, Brussel vuole le fotocopie semplici, ma io ci metto autentiche, ma cosa vuol dire autentiche per lei, mi ha guardato, una brava funzionaria, vincitrice di concorso, che vuol dire autenticata la carta di identità dal notaio, allora che vuol dire, 3.000 euro e allora sa che vuol dire per poter partecipare ad una gara, quale piccola, povera imprenditrice può permetterselo, ci metta che i fogli devono essere siglati, che ci mettano un timbro, lei mi trovi la base giuridica, mi trovi la legge dove c'è scritto che per rispondere ad un bando, tutti i fogli di carta devono essere autenticati da un notaio, oppure in circoscrizione fanno la fila, ci stanno ore, si rende conto di quello che scrivete, e in regione avevano chiesto la fotocopia del documento d'identità per ogni documento che frequentavano, per ogni cristiano c'erano 8-10 fotocopie

DOMANDA: quindi facilitare

RISPOSTA: si facilitare le cose, e allora le difficoltà e ogni regione ha potuto dire qual'erano le difficoltà esempio il voucher per esempio lei chiede lo stato di famiglia, oppure mette i tetti di reddito, per esempio adesso hanno messo un bando con un tetto di 40.000 euro, in Calabria la regione più povera d'Italia, per questo hanno risposto solo le mogli degli avvocati

o dei direttori di banca, ve lo dico io, o qualcuno che si ci è messo un sindacato, non è possibile, io non l'avrei mai riempito, moduli semplici, e allora ci sono una serie di regole, che solo facendo uno scambio di esperienze, ma non uno scambio di esperienze di quattro parole, ma proprio con la discussione "tu come hai fatto" fammi vedere il tuo bando, ora io lo faccio meglio, ci metto anche quest'altro, tratto la mia realtà ma soprattutto e noi abbiamo fatto questo

DOMANDA: e questo era un po' quello che l'Europa faceva, il OMC, coordinare l'attività degli stati membri, quindi in questo senso avete europeizzato la maniera di lavorare dell'amministrazione pubblica

RISPOSTA: io ero a Brussel ogni settimana e conoscevo le regole comunitarie, la metodologia europea mi era entrata dentro, e non me ne sono neanche accorta, ed era un metodo, che adesso mi domandano, come mai quella direttiva dice così, esiste un tragitto e questo è il metodo, lo scambio di esperienza, e non si voleva penalizzare il Sud perché tutti hanno qualcosa da imparare, nessuno deve solo apprendere e nessuno deve solo insegnare

DOMANDA: così ha cercato di cambiare il modo di lavorare, ha cercato di renderlo molto più europeo

RISPOSTA: si eravamo un team molto affiatato, soprattutto prima che arrivasse la Prestigiaco, poi? Una volta entrata, lei capisce bene, tutto e ad impiantarle le cose, e tutto l'impianto è stato fatto quando c'era prima la Balbo, belillo e appunto Delia La Rocca.

DOMANDA: deve essere stata una grande soddisfazione perché il primo progetto pilota in Europa.

RISPOSTA: sì infatti, i ragazzi erano così contenti di andare a Brusell (per la presentazione del progetto) e l'importanza era appunto l'utilizzo dei due fondi il FERS al FES, perché tutti e due possono fare per le donne

DOMANDA: usare i fondi

RISPOSTA: i fondi se lei vuole, non dico ci può far tutti, ma si possono forzare, tra virgolette, entro certi limiti, con URBAN per esempio abbiamo finanziato le serre con il FERS per i giovani che uscivano dal mondo della droga e ci furono accordi con funzionari comunitari di un certo livello, era quindi l'uso del fondo strutturale un utilizzo finalizzato alla ripresa economica e risanamento urbano, ma il risanamento urbano è fatto anche di persone e vendevano tutte le piantine ed i bonsai

DOMANDA: l'educazione ad usare i fondi

RISPOSTA: sì l'educazione delle regioni ad usare i fondi

DOMANDA: la rete mirava anche a favorire la conciliazione e l'accesso evitando il burocratese

RISPOSTA: e certo, stamani ho scaricato un sacco di files, e quindi migliorare la partecipazione, le donne vengono penalizzate nell'accesso al mondo del lavoro, la donna deve provvedere alla cura dei figli infatti nella nuova direttiva si parla di aiuti alle imprese per assumere le donne, si parla dell'ottanta per cento, io non so se passera questa direttiva, ma è difficile aprire un'impresa

DOMANDA: specialmente con la pressione fiscale

RISPOSTA: le imprese come fanno a gravarsi dei costi, non lo può fare, il vouchers erano un modo

DOMANDA: che coprivano anche le donne che avevano raggiunto i trentacinque anni d'età

RISPOSTA: c'erano vouchers di diverso tipo, e si deve tirar fuori le migliori esperienze per vedere quello che si può fare anche con il fondo sociale, per aumentare l'occupazione femminile. Guardi vengono delle carissime persone...

### **English Translation**

QUESTION: the Department of Equal Opportunities is really interesting for its creation and for its possible impact on employment

ANSWER: I do not think it had an impact on employment, I was responsible. I respect your opinion, I am happy, but the Minister of Labour...

QUESTION: on female employment

ANSWER: as regards to female employment, we came up with ideas when I arrived at the department on 1st January 1999, the Department of Equal Opportunities did not have money and if you don't mind me saying, without no money ... and so ... I went to the department and I was knowledgeable about the structural funds I tried to ensure the Department access to structural funds and so the department played a role, and I went there and I have to say that and it was a magical moment, and I worked there and I played a part ... because I met Professor Delia La Rocca, I do not know if you will interview her, a person who was super, high calibre, and she understood the importance of the ESF Programme so when this started, equality was included everywhere, in this respect the department played a role if you want to identify a role, in this respect the ESF 2000-2006 Programme, as you know, was famous for measure A, policy field dedicated to women and then to women's employment and in Italy is the only country in which there was a 10% reserve of social fund, where it was well spent, really and served, then the reserve and the dedicated measure, then the ad hoc resources and at the same time the gender mainstreaming that put across the message ... with the ESF 2006 Programme. The regulations provided it.

QUESTION: that's why the structural funds are included in the Finocchiaro-Prodi they are the strategic objectives

ANSWER: we began with the Finocchiaro-Prodi directive and I went to speak with Mrs Finocchiaro, when I arrived she was not there anymore, but she understood immediately... At the time I was Deputy Director for Public Administration, I was responsible for URBAN and REG and all the EU policies of the Ministry of Labour and I understood the importance of women's portfolio, I came from the presidency and I went back to the presidency because with the regulation ... I was involved in EU policies Community and REG 2000 regulations and ... when we were in Brussels until two o'clock at night and finally the regulations passed and we celebrated with a coffee ... these are things that they happen regularly and I remember they were there were the boxes with the internal phones directory and we took copies with all the numbers of colleagues ... and so it was created an area for women from the regulation to move to the ESF Programme was not easy, I spoke with Mrs Finocchiaro and I am able help you and she said please come, but I said I will only come for the position of Director General otherwise will not come (the bear's skin must be sold dear...) and when I went to the Ministry we started to participate to ESF Programme with "One hundred ideas for Development" of Barca we visited the entire county, it was a backbreaking work...

QUESTION: and this is how the department advertised

ANSWER: we were a small team, we made all the meetings throughout Italy, look it was a backbreaking work, we read the national framework of development which then went for approval to the Council of the Ministers that would later become UCS( I dont understand ....?) but firstly Delia La Rocca and I tried to include everywhere ... "urban development must take into account the needs ..." everywhere so the message came across...

QUESTION: and so this is a bit what ...

ANSWER: and from there, we had an economic tool suitable for creating female employment, that was the economic tool, then the social fund the reserve, 750,000 billion lire more or less for the center-north and 1.25 0.00 billion lire for the South and a reserve of 10% which was on 10% of all social fund, very high, not that it was like a goodsend, but it was not just a battle but a war, we had against all the regions but Tuscany, but we insisted, funding was granted to the regions and the Ministry of Labour but the department had the power of coordination , but we had the support of Brussels ...Amantopulos, Clintel and Luisa Bassi, the regulations passed, the reserve passed and then the regions used the reserve to create female employment, but it was not only necessary the regions had the resources, they had to be able to spend and draw regional plans...

QUESTION: so it was a big piece of work...

ANSWER: you have no idea

QUESTION: and when The Network was created for the directive .

ANSWER: the directive was a basic document that has nothing to do with it, so what happened was, firstly it was created the VISPO for the evaluation, I remember I went to Community Support Frameworks meetings and say how do you evaluate? Some of them did not know that the community regulations existed, and the manager was *I don't understand the name*, I saw not long ago, there is nothing, why there is nothing guys?.. .. ten people. the legislation was drafted by capable colleagues, and Professor Delia La Rocca, I gave inputs, and I remember that the regulations, the legislation and the community legislation ..... to ensure to include women's rights ... the Ministry of Economy was allowed to give money, so did the Minister of Labour, so we had the PON (technical assistance) and the POR (system actions) ... these allocations to the Regions, we read the literature about all business sectors to see if they considered equal opportunities , unless it was possible, It was a continuous, for 6 years ... to be able to do something more. It begins the internet world and I though this is something we could do, we did a series of meetings and then we tried to create a network so the regions could talk to each other, the purpose was to inform the regions of what was happening in Europe and the department, and what was also interesting for the other administrations , trying to channel the news and also to finance the actions with two different funds, to the North FERS and to the Southern FES and then with two different funds this and the other major innovation in this way with different profiles, to bring the regions aware of the system actions.

QUESTION: where it was more difficult? in the South or in the North?

ANSWER: No, absolutely, but then the regions ... and Professor La Rocca told us and that with the Social Fund and the measure we can pay the so-called equality animator and I wrote 21 letters, this is how many regions we have in Italy, and I invited the presidents of the regions to use the position of the equality animator, in some regions this went well, in Piedmont they had a very good animator who helped the women to write the projects, connected to various departments, in some regions such as Lazio in which the Councillor responsible for employment is not the same as the public administration, so he was a coordinator, and all went well where they had a good expert, instead where there was not an expert, it did not work.

DOMANDA: but was the equality animator different from the councillor for equal opportunities?

ANSWER: Of course it was different. in fact in some regions where there was the councillor of equal opportunities, she was afraid of losing her job, in fact the equality animator was a person paid to write the projects, to help the services to create equal opportunities, I am now a councillor for equal opportunities, a substitute, but always a councillor for equal opportunities, to avoid discrimination in the workplace, this is what the role entailed, and see if the structural funds created female employment and then the equality animator had the right to participate in the monitoring committees, and to be a facilitator but I don't know if it really worked.

QUESTION: to help those women who did not have the knowledge to understand ...

ANSWER: to help regional officials, because they did not even know what gender mainstreaming was, so we got together the equality animators we explained to them what they had to do, and all this to create female employment, to make good calls for example 'female entrepreneurship, and all this went on the network, the animators, everything was on the network website, to know what the various regions were doing about it, we gave a small, not so small space, to each region, to talk to each other, all this went through the network, in the network and everything went, but we started to put the bids, which I must say are going well.

QUESTION: what is interesting (about the network) is that is a showcase for good practices.

ANSWER: certainly it is , we did a seminar, it seems to me that it was I DONT UNDERSTAND THE NAME and every region presented the famous projects and vouchers that could not be spent, it was not easy to spend this money, and also one of the major way of spending, because the training is definitely important, but women are trained more than men, women cannot attend a refresher course if they have two little boys, this is the purpose of the voucher, and I have to say some regions had some wonderful ideas, and we organised a seminar on the exchange of experiences, and I remember that a region told me, have to do it at least every 6 months, but we did no have the capacity, they say at least every six months, because each one explained, I am saying how as it was made the project, as it was realized, the difficulties that were encountered, because the difficulties that people encountered are more important than the sucess, the difficulties are many, this morning, has nothing to do with it, but an officil form Lazio told me that she was drafting a bid, be careful, do not put too many hurdles, but doctor, you cannot put too many rules, otherwise none will apply, Brussels wants simple photocopies, but I put certified, but what does it means certified for you, she looked at me, a good official, winner of a competition notice, what does mean certified, the identity card from the sollicitor, then that means, 3,000 euros and then you know what it means to be able to participate in a bid, as a small, poor entrepreneur can afford it, put the foms must be signed, put a stamp on it, you find me the legal basis, find me the law where it is written that to take part in a bidding, all the sheets of paper must be certified by a notary, or in a constituency were people queuing for hours, they must realize what they write, and in the region they asked for a photocopy of the identity document for each document they presented, for each applicant there were 8-10 photocopies.

QUESTION: therefore make easier

ANSWER: make easier things, and then the difficulties and each region could say what was difficult for example of the voucher people asked *a certificate giving details of a household and its dependents* , or put an income ceiling, for example now they have put bit with an icome ceiling of 40,000 euros, in Calabria the poorest region of Italy, this is why only the wives of lawyers or bank managers answered, I tell you, or someone who has put a union there, it is not possible, I do not I would never filled, simple forms, and then there are a number of rules, that only by exchanging experiences, but not an exchange of experiences of four words, but the discussion "how did you do" let me see your announcement, now I do it better, I also put this other, I include my experience and what we did.

QUESTION: and this was a bit what Europe did, the OMC, to coordinate the activities of the member states, so in this respect the department europeanized the way of working of the public administrations

ANSWER: I was in Brussels every week and know the EU rules, the European methodology I came in, and I have not even noticed, and it was a method, now ask me, why the directive says so, there is a way and this is the method, the exchange of experience, and we did not want to penalize the South because everyone has something to learn, anybody only has to learn and anybody only has to teach

QUESTION: so the department tried to change the way he worked, he tried to make it much more European

ANSWER: we were a team very close, especially before the Prestigiaco arrived, then when she took office, you know well, everything is to lay the groundwork, and this work was done when there was first Balbo, Belillo and Delia La Rocca,

QUESTION: it must have been a great satisfaction because the first pilot project in Europe

ANSWER: in fact, the team was so happy to go to Brussels (for the presentation of the project) and the importance was precisely the use of the two funds the FERS to the EDF, because as not could be used for women's policies.

QUESTION: to use the funds

ANSWER: funds if you want, I do not say we can do all, but you can try, in quotes, within certain limits, with URBAN for example we have financed the greenhouses with the FERS for young people who left the world of drugs and there were agreements with EU officials of a certain level, it was therefore the use of the structural funds a use for economic growth and urban regeneration, but urban regeneration and also made of people selling plants and bonsai.

QUESTION: education to the use of funds

ANSWER: definitely the education of the regions to use the funds

QUESTION: the network also aimed to enhance conciliation and access by avoiding bureaucracy

ANSWER: and sure, this morning I downloaded a lot of files, and so improve participation, women are penalized when they try to access the labour market, women must take care of children in fact in the new directive we talk about aid to businesses to hire women, we talk about eighty percent, I do not know if this directive will pass, but it is difficult to open a business

QUESTION: especially with the taxation

ANSWER: how companies have tax relief, vouchers were a way...

QUESTION: which also covered women who had reached thirty-five years of age

ANSWER: there were vouchers of different kinds, and the best experiences must be brought out to see what can be done with the social fund, to increase female employment. Look come some dear people ..



## **Alberto De Stefano**

### **➤ Transcript (Italian)**

**DOMANDA:** Come nasce il Dipartimento per le pari opportunità e che relazione ebbe con gli altri organismi di parità allora esistenti?

**RISPOSTA:** Il Dipartimento per le pari opportunità nasce nel 1997 un anno dopo l'istituzione del Ministro delle pari opportunità nel 1996, il primo incarico fu affidato nell'ambito di un governo di centro sinistra allora presieduto da Romano Prodi, all'onorevole Anna Finocchiaro. Il Ministro delle Pari Opportunità venne nominato come per diciamo azione positiva per il piano asse mondiale di Pechino, dopo la conferenza mondiale aveva gli obiettivi, come per altro c'era nelle precedenti conferenze internazionali delle Nazioni Unite, c'era appunto il rafforzamento dei piani e il preciso indirizzo di queste strutture al più alto livello.

Dopo il governo di Pechino il governo italiano adotta questa misura e viene appunto creato per la prima volta questo nuovo ministero, un anno dopo, alla figura del Ministro, un anno dopo al Ministro si affianca l'ufficio, che e la struttura tecnica, stato incardinato nella presidenza del consiglio dei ministri e tanto che quando c'è stata l'ultima riforma del consiglio dei ministri, che come sappiamo e l'organo massimo della PA in Italiana e le pari opportunità ed il dipartimento e stato considerato tra i pilastri di questa riorganizzazione e per assurdo potrebbe avvenire che il governo in carica possa non nominare un ministro delle pari opportunità, ma il dipartimento quale struttura fondata sulla presidenza del consiglio, avrà comunque una sua attività. Nel 1996 nominato il Ministro questo si affiancava a due organismi di parità già presenti nel nostro paese create nel decennio precedenti a seguito della Conferenza di Città del Messico e Copenaghen e del Comitato Pari Opportunità del Ministro del Lavoro del 1982 sia della Commissione per le pari opportunità nel 1984, incardinata anche questa nella presidenza del Consiglio, e poi c'era un altro organismo, il Ministero della Funzione Pubblica, cioè il ministero della riforma amministrativa, che avrebbe dovuto fare da cerniera per tutte le altre realtà esistenti nei ministeri italiani che si doveva occupare di tutte le politiche femminili e di genere.

La prima cosa che diciamo una volta creato il Dipartimento ha cercato di fare e di entrare in contatto con gli altri organismi e anche se va detto che esistendo il CPO al ML e la Commissione all'interno della PCM e stata tutta una fase in cui le competenze venivano a confliggere, perché la Commissione sin dal 1986 é stata l'unico organismo a livello internazionale a occuparsi di coordinamento di politiche di genere e nascendo il dipartimento, la parte istituzionale, quasi tutta, é stata trasferita al dipartimento stesso e quindi ci sono stati due o tre anni di difficoltà, e quindi il dipartimento in quel periodo si e dovuto preoccupare deve creare reazioni con altri organismi per innanzitutto garantire la nostra presenza a livello internazionale, e quindi parliamo della presenza delle conferenze mondiali sulle donne che si tengono a marzo alle Nazioni Unite, quindi ogni anno il dipartimento coordina il lavoro di preparazione alla Conferenza, ed ha anche il compito successivamente di implementare tutte le direttive dalla conferenza e commissione annuali, con appunto gli appositi provvedimenti appunto di coordinamento.

Altra azione che compie il dipartimento e quello che appunto il concetto delle pari opportunità, che fino a qualche tempo fa era fino alla fine degli anni 90 era esclusivamente di genere, dopo il 2000 si e esteso ai principi della tutela delle'essere umano in tutte le sue accezioni, quindi anche la tutela dei diritti umani e stata considerata un compito del ministro per le PO e quindi mantiene il compito periodicamente di verificare lo stato della condizione femminile nel nostro paese e per rispondere ai questionari/alle richieste che provengono dal SIDAUR e per la famiglia e stato presentato il quarto e quinto rapporto al SIDAUR ed e in

preparazione il sesto rapporto ed anche li, in collaborazione con il Ministero degli Affari Esteri tramite il suo comitato che coordina e i rapporti sulla condizione femminile nascono

DOMANDA: quindi c'era l'esigenza di essere rappresentata a livello internazionale?

RISPOSTA: Per quanto riguarda la Commissione Europea prima presso il comitato consultivo di parità e presso la commissione con i propri rappresentanti che partecipano alle riunioni per esempio abbiamo avuto una presidenza consultiva nel 2007, forse non è corretto, ma comunque, il dott. Michele Palma è stato presidente e altre presenze internazionali nella Commissione Internazionale (o nazionale?) del lavoro e del Consiglio d'Europa e per le politiche di genere e noi siamo rappresentata stabilmente. Al lavoro internazionale si aggiunge quello nazionale che si può fare risalire alla direttiva nazionale Prodi- Finocchiaro, che è stato il documento con cui il governo italiano ha assunto le linee di Pechino come dire indicate dalla risorsa di amministrazione, il dipartimento delle pari opportunità coordina le amministrazioni pubbliche e le politiche di genere e le politiche di promozione della condizione femminile della donna per esempio della loro presenza nei luoghi decisionali, e per quanto riguarda le statistiche di genere ed il lavoro, e nel nostro ordinamento diciamo che tutte le politiche che riguardano il lavoro, sono gestite dal Ministro del Lavoro, e quindi del ministero ed il Ministero del lavoro che è a capo della rete delle consigliere di parità a livello regionale.

DOMANDA: quindi il Dipartimento ebbe un impatto sulle politiche dell'occupazione femminile creando una rete

RISPOSTA: c'è stata subito un'integrazione di queste relazioni, e alle iniziative del ministero del lavoro si sono affiancate quelle del Dipartimento, per esempio il ministro delle pari opportunità firma congiuntamente al ministero del lavoro la nomina della consigliera di parità, e partecipa con i propri fondi alla ripartizione dei fondi per la consigliera di parità quindi entra nella stabilizzazione di questa rete con il ministero del lavoro e quindi l'integrazione è pressoché completa, per altro per quanto riguarda, rinnovate nel 2006 e per ciò che riguarda il governo berlusconi 2008, le competenze che erano state prese in considerazione in Italia per l'imprenditoria femminile, sono state trasferite da 4-5 anni da quello che era il Ministero dell'Industria al comitato per l'imprenditoria femminile anche questo creato negli anni 90 insieme agli altri organismi di parità creato nel 1992 che ha avuto una vita travagliata ma le cui competenze sono migrate in questo ministero, diciamo quindi si è un po' chiusa, saldata questa fase di dispersione di competenze, che ha l'efficacia dell'azione di governo.

DOMANDA: è stato difficile all'inizio cercare di farvi conoscere sul territorio perché, come dice suor Marcella nella sua intervista, la Commissione aveva molti rapporti e che quindi il dipartimento ha usato i contatti e ha cambiato il modo di lavorare della PA

RISPOSTA: assolutamente sì, perché calare tutte le politiche di genere in tutte le azioni di governo non è stato facile e si basa sulla forza del Ministro, e bisogna sottolineare che il dipartimento si è appoggiato sull'azione dello stesso ministro, che è sempre stato rinnovato sin dal 1996, quindi ha sempre avuto il suo massimo rappresentate al consiglio dei ministri, e quindi storicamente e politicamente presente in tutte le azioni del governo al massimo livello, e quindi il dipartimento, che era appunto l'articolazione amministrativa, ma all'inizio è stato proprio la figura del ministro che si è saputo imporre, i suoi interventi sono stati propulsivi.

DOMANDA: il dipartimento ha quindi ereditato le tematiche che erano proprie del ministero della famiglia, come per esempio, che è diventato poi solo ministero della solidarietà sociale e quindi avete, come con La rete avete cercato di incentivare la conciliazione che forse nell'ambito delle politiche di pari opportunità è una delle politiche che tocca di più le donne?

RISPOSTA: Si c' è un tavolo che si occupa della famiglia, ma ha ereditato quella sfera di competenza tipica che era del ministero della famiglia, relativamente alla legge n.53 relativamente ai tempi di vita e di lavoro in sostanza., i cosiddetti congedi parentali, tanto per intenderci.

DOMANDA: ed il testo di legge diciamo é uno dei primi obiettivi raggiunti dal Dipartimento ed il Dipartimento riesce ad attuare le tematiche di Amsterdam, che appunto propone la conciliazione?

RISPOSTA: esatto ed in questo momento noi come Dipartimento partecipiamo ad un tavolo in questa struttura per la famiglia proprio per l'attuazione, sta per essere approvata, parliamo di finanziamento, di azioni positive per ciò che riguarda la conciliazione che sta per essere varata nelle'ambito di questa nuova programmazione e le posso anticipare che si prevedono misure di sostegno per l'occupazione, quindi il differenziato, il part-time e di diversi progetti e ci sono anche i rapporti per i casi in cui la libera professionista va in maternità con la possibilità della sostituzione o delle'affiancamento, e anche questi sono progetti che possono essere finanziati partecipando al bando.

DOMANDA: i congedi parentali sono un'ottima legge ma purtroppo per la barriera culturale che molti padri non ne usufruirono e quindi per la barriera culturale era difficile entrare nel mondo del lavoro.

RISPOSTA: esatto e questo ancora prima al di la delle norme che ci hanno portato a livello avanzato rispetto a cui si deve fare una battaglia culturale, e quindi il dipartimento hanno fatto una campagna sul'utilizzo dei congedi, questa soglia del tempo da dedicare alla propria famiglia, l'ISTAT mi sembra che calcoli, per le donne, circa 80 minuti rispetto agli uomini, oltre al tempo di lavoro ci sono anche oltre 80 minuti che sono dedicati al tempo di cura che oggi non e , in un paese come il nostro, a bassa natalità, ad una fascia di anziani e non soltanto ai bambini, quindi diamo c' é questo schiacciamento della condizione femminile che si trova appena ha accudito i figli ad accudire gli anziani in mancanza di servizi particolari.

DOMANDA: il Dipartimento deve anche tutelare l'identità culturale delle donne essendo l'Italia un paese basato sulla famiglia nucleare, e vero che il ruolo della donna si evolve ma e anche vero che la donna deve mantenere il suo ruolo di madre e pertanto le politiche di genere dovrebbero rispettare il sistema di welfare...

RISPOSTA: certo

DOMANDA: ed il sistema di welfare é basato sulla famiglia nucleare

RISPOSTA: fra l'altro le donne hanno il compito di trasmettere i saperi, questa e una coa che viene sempre sottolineata, l'influenza delle donne, e alle donne viene affidato il compito, nel momento in cui crescono i figli, di trasmettere quelle che sono le conoscenze e cioè nel senso non nella fase di routine, ma per permettere alla fase più matura e quindi la donna hanno questo ruolo nella famiglia

DOMANDA: é stato un lavoro molto meticoloso contattare il territorio, andare nelle regioni, nelle provincie, organizzare seminari ed incontri e quindi farsi conoscere?

RISPOSTA: E stato e continua ad essere un lavoro quotidiano, diciamo che per quanto riguarda la presenza sul territorio il dipartimento instaura un rapporto con le commissarie e la PA NON CAPISCO ci sono le commissioni provinciali e così come la realtà del mondo del lavoro soprattutto nel mondo della scuola, a livello universitario più che a livello secondario, quindi esiste una rete di organismi di parità che nel dipartimento trova un punto di riferimento, una direzione di questo dipartimento e inerente al rapporto con gli altri organismi di parità e l'altro compito e quello di partecipare ai lavori regionali per l'attuazione delle

politiche quindi la presenza del dipartimento assimila la presenza sul territorio ma anche i mezzi che consentono di indirizzare le sue politiche.

DOMANDA: quindi riassumendo, per un piccolo dipartimento avete una rete di attori abbastanza ampia, avete attori internazionali, nazionale che consente di far sentire la voce delle pari opportunità nei progetti di legge che coinvolgono altri ministeri, quindi avete tutto il territorio, quindi diciamo quindi avete un gruppo ampio di attori per quanto piccolo è il dipartimento.

RISPOSTA: certo, noi destiniamo molte delle nostre risorse alla comunicazione, per esempio in quest'ultimo periodo stiamo lavorando moltissimo sulla 15/22 per ciò che riguarda la tutela della donna e sul 15/22 stiamo proprio messi per far sì per come dire, aiutare molte situazioni di donne che erano state in parte trattate ed in parte violentate, per cui noi assistenza per la tratta degli esseri umani, che qui abbiamo un numero verde che ci consente raccogliere testimonianze e denunce. Negli ultimi dieci anni abbiamo raccolto circa 60.000 telefonate, segnalazioni con editoriali diffusi in varie regioni e la linea informativa ci proviene dal numero verde presente sul territorio con una postazione centrale, e quindi abbiamo una vasta comunicazione con la gente sulla carta stampata, presenza nelle grandi manifestazioni pubbliche, nelle grandi fiere delle amministrazioni, diamo come dire la presenza

DOMANDA: va benissimo grazie mille

### **English Translation**

QUESTION: How did the Department for Equal Opportunities arise and what relationship did it have with the other existing equality bodies?

ANSWER: The Department for Equal Opportunities was founded in 1997 one year after the establishment of the Minister of Equal Opportunities in 1996, the first Minister for Equal Opportunities was Ms Anna Finocchiaro under Romano Prodi's centre-left government.

The Minister of Equal Opportunities was appointed as a positive action to the Beijing Global Axis Plan after the objectives of the World Conference, as the previous international conferences of the United Nations, were to strengthen the plans and strategies of these institutions at the highest level of governance. After the government of Beijing, the Italian Government implemented this recommendation and then created for the first time this new ministry, a year later, the position of the Minister, a year after the department, which was part of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

When there was the last reform of the Council of Ministers, which as we know it is the maximum organ of the public administration in Italy, equal opportunities and the department were considered among the pillars of this reorganization and if absurdly could happen that the government in office may not appoint a minister of equal opportunities, but the department as part of the presidency of the council, will still have its activity.

In 1996, the Minister worked with two equal opportunities bodies already present in our country in the previous decade following the Conference of Mexico City and Copenhagen and the Equal Opportunities Committee of the 1982. of the Minister of Labour and of the Commission for Equal Opportunities in 1984, also part of the Presidency of the Council of the Ministers, and then there was another body, the Ministry of Public Administration, that is the Ministry for the Administrative Reform, which should have made a link for all the other existing realities in Italian Ministries that had to deal with all women's and gender policies.

Firstly one must say that when it was created, the department tried to make links with the other equality organisms and I need to add that the Department's competencies overlapped

the remit of the Committee for Equal Opportunities (part of the Minister of Labour ) and the Commission (part of the presidency of the Council of the Ministers as the Commission since 1986 was the only international body to deal with the coordination of gender policy and when the department was created , the institution's remit, almost all, was transferred to the department itself and then there were two or three years of difficulty, and then the department at that time was cautious not to create frictions with other bodies to ensure its presence at the international level, and then talking about the presence at the World Conferences on women which were held in March at the United Nations, so each year the department coordinates the preparatory work for the Conference, and also had the task of implementing and coordinating all directives from the conference

In the 2000s, another action taken by the department was to extend the concept of equality to the protection of human beings, whereas in the 1990s equality focused merely on gender. One of the objectives of the department was to check periodically women's conditions in our country and to respond to the questionnaires / requests that comes from the SIDAUR (I could not identify the organisation) and for the family was presented on fourth and fifth report and the sixth was also published in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

QUESTION: so was there the need to be represented internationally?

ANSWER: As regards to the European Commission, in 2007 (maybe 2007) we had an advisory presidency jointly with Equal Opportunities Commission with its representatives attending meetings, perhaps it is not accurate, but in any case, Dr Michele Palma was president and other international presences in the International Commission (or national?) of the work and the Council of Europe and for gender policies and we are stably represented.

In addition to the international work, the national law Prodi - Finocchiaro, which was the Italian governments document implementing Beijing's recommendations, aimed to enable gender policies for the public administration. The Department coordinated the public administrations and gender policies to promote women's rights, for example their presence in decision-making areas, and regarding gender statistics and employment, in our legal system, all the policies related to employment, they are coordinated by the Minister of Labour, and then by the Ministry and the Ministry of Labour is also in charge of the network of regional councillors.

QUESTION: therefore the Department had an impact on women's employment policies by creating a network...

ANSWER: there was an immediate integration of these relations, and the department worked closely with the Ministry of Labour, for instance the Minister of Equal Opportunities jointly signed the appointment of the equal opportunities councillors, and participates with its own funds to the allocation of funds for the councillors so it is fully part of this network in 2006 and in the Berlusconi government in 2008.

The skills that were taken into account in Italy for women entrepreneurship, have been transferred from 4-5 years from what was the Ministry of Industry to the Committee for Women's Entrepreneurship also created this in the 90's along with other organisms of equal opportunities created 1992 which had a troubled life but whose skills are migrated in this ministry, so let's say you after the this dispersive phase of skills the government actions became effective.

QUESTION: at the beginning, was it difficult to try to make you known in the area because, as Sister Marcella says in her interview, the Commission had many reports and therefore the department used contacts and changed the way the public administration used to work?

ANSWER: yes, because to include all the gender politics in all the actions of government was not easy and the department relied on the influence of the Minister. I must emphasise that the department leaned from the action of the same minister, that since 1996 was always re-appointed, therefore the department always had its highest representative in the council of ministers, and therefore historically and politically the department was present in all the actions of the government at the highest level, and therefore the department, which was precisely the administrative structure, but at the beginning because the Minister was able to be assertive, the department's interventions were propulsive.

QUESTION: the department has therefore inherited the issues under the portfolio of the Ministry for the Family, which then became the Ministry of Social Solidarity and therefore the department, as with The Network, sought to boost reconciliation which perhaps was one of the most controversial issues affecting women?

ANSWER: There is an office that covers Family, which inherited this remit from the Ministry for Family, as regard to the law n.53 in terms of reconciliation of work and family life, so called parental leave.

QUESTION: and the law was the one of the first objectives achieved by the Department and the Department managed to implement the main themes of Amsterdam, which proposes reconciliation?

ANSWER: Exactly and at this moment we as a Department participating in a discussion about family just for the implementation, is about to be approved, we talk about funding, positive actions for reconciliation that is about to be launched and I can anticipate that this is a new programme that foresees support measures for employment, therefore differentiated system, part-time and different projects, and there are also reports for cases where the freelancer goes into maternity with the possibility of substitution or coaching, and even these are projects that can be found by participating in the call for tender.

QUESTION: parental leave is an excellent law but unfortunately because of cultural barriers many fathers did not use and therefore it was difficult to access the labour market.

ANSWER: Exactly before the legislation we need to change the culture, the department have launched a campaign on the use of annual leave, the time threshold to dedicate to my family, ISTAT seems to me that for women, it is estimated that about 80 minutes compared to men, in addition to working time there are also over 80 minutes that are dedicated to care time that today is not, in a country like our country with low birth rates and an elderly population, being not only for children, so women's move from caring to children, when they grew up, to look after the elderly for the lack of services.

QUESTION: the department must also protect the cultural identity of women since Italy is a country based on the nuclear family, and it is true that the role of women evolves but it is also true that women must maintain their role as mothers and therefore policies gender should respect the welfare system ...

ANSWER: sure

QUESTION: and the welfare system is based on the nuclear family

ANSWER: Among other things, women transmit knowledge, this is something that must always be emphasized, the influence of women, and women are entrusted with the task, when they bring up their children, to transmit knowledge, that is, in the sense not in the routine phase, but in order to allow the most mature phase and therefore the woman has this role in the family

QUESTION: Was a very meticulous job to contact the entire country, to go to the regions, to the provinces, to organize seminars and meetings and then to be known?

ANSWER: It has been and continues to being a daily job, let's say that as regards the presence on the entire country the department establishes a relationship with the commissioners and the public administration, there are the provincial commissions and the reality of the labour market, especially in schools, in Academia rather than in high school, so there is a network of organizations that in the department find a point of contact, a direction of this department and inherent to the relationship with the other equality organizations and the other task is to participate in regional policies for the implementation of the policies then the presence of the department assimilates the presence on the entire country but also the tools allowing its policies.

QUESTION: then wrapping up, for a small department, the network of actors is quite extensive, there are links with national and international actors allowing the department to hear the voice of equal opportunities in the draft law involving other ministries, so the department is present in the entire country, so let's say the department has a large group of actors even if it is a small department.

ANSWER: certainly, we allocate many of our resources to communication, for example in this last period we are working a lot on 15/22 for what concerns the protection of women and on 15/22 we are proposing to help many situations of women who had been partly mutilated and partly raped, so we assist anti-trafficking of human beings, here we have agreed on a number allowing us to collect stories and lawsuit. In the last ten years we have collected about 60.000 phone calls, reports with editorials in various regions and the information line comes from the green number available from everywhere with a central location, and therefore has a wide communication with people from the press presence in large public events, in large administrative fairs, let's say the presence..

LTD: that's fine, thank you very much

**Suor Marcella Farina**

➤ **Transcript (Italian)**

DOMANDA: Suor Marcella che parla un pó della storia della Commissione per le pari opportunità della struttura, rapporti che ebbe con il dipartimento per le pari opportunità

RISPOSTA: prima che ci fosse il ministero per le pari opportunità, c'era la commissione legata appunto alla presidenza del consiglio dei Ministri, direttamente, quindi l'indirizzo di formazione, di annotazione al presidente del consiglio, che a quel tempo era Romano Prodi, e possiamo dire che questo dava un'autorevolezza particolare alla Commissione, perché era direttamente legata al presidente del consiglio, ed era anche come sede a palazzo Chigi, al quarto piano, anche questo credo un aspetto simbolico per come dire apparteniamo a quel palazzo dove si decidono le idee politiche, le indicazioni di governo, per cui essendo la commissione composta da percentuali diverse, associazioni, sindacati, imprenditrici, donne appartenenti al mondo politico, c'era uno spaccato del mondo femminile abbastanza ampio e poi c'erano un gruppo di 5 donne appartenenti al mondo della cultura, io ero in Commissione come appunto una donna che viene dal mondo della cultura, secondo me questa formula di prendere donne che vengono dal mondo della cultura e stata una formula ampia per includere non solo persone che non appartengono al mondo politico, al mondo imprenditoriale che però rappresentavano un settore abbastanza ampio, e in questo senso rappresentavo il mondo della cultura ed il settore del mondo femminile che è il mondo delle religiose. Questa commissione aveva una vita che andava al di là della caduta o tenuta del governo, in questo senso pur cadendo il governo poteva continuare il suo servizio, e dicevamo, perché non era legata al governo, nel senso che rappresentava il

governo, ma è legata al mondo delle donne che è un mondo molto vario, e poi ad una continuità un percorso che non segue i flussi delle crisi politiche, e diciamo allora erano anche abbastanza frequenti diciamo

DOMANDA: perché lei crede si sentì la necessità di creare il dipartimento se c'era la commissione?

RISPOSTA: allora c'era una corrente che pensava dando un ministero la commissione avrebbe avuto più forza, più rappresentatività, quando c'è un ministro che sta nel consiglio dei ministri, però per esempio Livia Costalcida diceva lei che se si fa un ministero si indebolisce la commissione, ed un po' alla volta andrà in crisi

DOMANDA: e la commissione venne lasciata fuori invece di essere inglobata nel ministero?

RISPOSTA: Allora perché noi dicevamo se siamo inglobate nel ministero seguiamo le sorti del governo invece noi vogliamo essere libere

DOMANDA: ecco perché

RISPOSTA: in modo che ci sia una visibilità del mondo femminile che non è legata alle crisi che ci sono a livello politico ed anche a livello di ispiratori del mondo politico che il mondo femminile non condivide

DOMANDA: ed avevate dei rapporti di cooperazione con il ministro?

RISPOSTA: ecco il primo ministro fu Anna Finocchiaro, una donna intelligente, e Silvia Costa come presidente ci sono due donne molto rappresentative di un mondo femminile rappresentativo dei percorsi femminili, e quindi aiutare anche il mondo delle donne e qui praticamente la difficoltà di mettere insieme due menti che vedevano il mondo femminile, quindi senza altro tutta l'attenzione e cooperazione a lavorare insieme e però c'erano anche delle dialettiche perché per il ministro Anna Finocchiaro diceva secondo me la commissione non ha motivo di esistere in sé la sua funzione e quella di collaborare con il ministero, invece Silvia Costa diceva che a noi interessa che siamo alla dipendenza della presidenza del consiglio, quindi vorremmo essere autonome rispetto al ministero per avere questa funzione più ampia, rispetto al ministero e anche diciamo di libertà

DOMANDA: era apolitica diciamo

RISPOSTA: e quindi diciamo questo ministro ha questo tipo di prospettiva e ovviamente fa delle iniziative, delle attività, degli indirizzi secondo la sua visione delle donne ovviamente, e la commissione voleva avere una visione un po' più ampia rispetto a questi indirizzi e queste prospettive, anche se in molte cose si possono pensare delle convergenze, e di collaborazione e etc e quindi c'è stata l'attenzione, mi ricordo che abbiamo avuto un'audizione con il ministro Finocchiaro, c'erano anche dei momenti in cui facevamo delle riunioni insieme, per condividere le prospettive e etc, e lei diceva appunto che pensava a questo mondo femminile come un forum di associazioni femminili che si poteva contattare evitando la dispersione di risorse, energie ed unificare le forze e no

DOMANDA: c'erano dei rapporti con i movimenti femministi, che incisero...

RISPOSTA: Sì ognuno di noi veniva da una certa concezione del mondo delle donne, per esempio dai sindacati, dalle donne imprenditrici, ovviamente avevano tutto un portato dietro, come le varie politiche attingevano a varie risorse e venivano a confluire nei dibattiti che si facevano in varie iniziative sia per risolvere i problemi, quindi c'era bisogno di un organismo che razionalizza le risorse, che segua le iniziative in modo che si possa essere più efficienti, oppure lasciamo l'autonomia in modo che ci sia uno staccato più pluralista del mondo femminile, e ovviamente io dicevo, noi abbiamo un'esperienza, anche nel mondo della vita



religiosa, di questo tipo perché nel 1500 e nel 1600 quando comincia ad ammodernare le organizzazioni sociali, si innesca nel mondo della vita religiosa, un tipo di organizzazione che predicava la razionalità, l'efficienza e l'organizzazione, come si relazionava con i poveri, gli analfabeti secondo questi tre criteri, e che ovviamente però nell'organizzazione molte fasce povere destinatarie di queste opere venivano dal di fuori, quindi ovviamente avere un'organizzazione in cui ci sta anche qualche elemento di eterogeneità e sempre una salvaguardia

DOMANDA: per vedere tutti gli interessi

RISPOSTA: io dico sempre che, come nei 12 apostoli, più uno che porta sempre la novità e questo è Paolo

DOMANDA: e vero

RISPOSTA: per dire che c'è sempre questo più uno, nell'esperienza umana, che porta avanti qualcosa che magari non è organizzare ma che è innovativa che può essere un evento di sviluppo di un percorso innovativo in un'organizzazione, quindi poi è caduto il governo e c'è stato D'Alema e quindi Laura Balbo al posto di Anna Finocchiaro, e qui sarebbe da vedere, io feci questo tipo di osservazione ed il ministro mi ha sconfessato, Laura Balbo aveva ricevuto un mandato come ministro delle pari opportunità, come responsabile come colei che pone attenzione ad ogni forma di conciliazione, non solo tra uomo e donna

DOMANDA: ecco perché il nome del dipartimento cambia

RISPOSTA: questo tipo di decreto diciamo a mio parere ha indebolito le pari opportunità perché ha fatto del ministro LB il capo di questo impegno che faceva il ministro contro ogni forma di discriminazione, dando questo sguardo così complessivo ed ampio ovviamente che può contare su risorse come le iniziative, sulle difficoltà che esistono sulla donna e del lavoro e etc, non è che lo ha trascurato ma secondo me questo mandato/decreto ha indebolito la commissione.

DOMANDA: ma secondo lei che cosa ha inciso di più nella creazione del dipartimento delle pari opportunità, i fenomeni internazionali o i fenomeni interni, perché l'occupazione femminile era un problema, es. Patto sociale, patto di Natale

RISPOSTA: secondo me ci sono state pressioni esterne nel mondo politico europeo, oppure dell'ONU certamente veniva fuori dall'animo stesso della Commissione fare meglio e questo significava il ministero

DOMANDA: quindi per affrontare problemi forse più grossi

RISPOSTA: per avere un'istituzione ufficiale, anche se la presidente della commissione Silvia Costa era molto propositiva, faceva audizioni con i ministri, faceva proposte quando i ministri facevano la finanziaria, era quindi visiva, però più legata, a mio parere, alla sua persona, che nel mondo politico aveva tante conoscenze

DOMANDA: era necessario la presenza dello stato che doveva avere il ruolo di razionalizzare

RISPOSTA: sì dall'altra parte andava bene così, ma una volta che si è fatto il ministero

DOMANDA: la commissione ha passato al ministero la rete di contatti che avevate costruito

RISPOSTA: sì sicuramente, e un campo d'azione e un campo di conoscenze

DOMANDA: e avevate buoni rapporti con il dipartimento?

RISPOSTA: si , si facevano delle riunioni a seconda delle esigenze e delle possibilità del ministro e e dei consigli pratici del ministro

DOMANDA: anche se voi continuavate a rappresentare la voce del mondo femminile? E senza di voi il ministro non avrebbe conosciuto le problematiche di cui vi facevate portatrici?

RISPOSTA: Si possiamo dire si organizzavano le varie attività la commissione era presente lo e i rapporti con il Ministero del lavoro? Praticamente con Silvia si era cominciata a fare questa registrazione e questo indirizzario, diciamo le istituzioni che riguardavano le pari opportunità, quindi c'era una forma di registrazione in modo da poter contattare le persone nel mondo femminile per poter portare avanti le iniziative,

DOMANDA: e questa rete quindi l'avete poi condivisa con il ministro e così poi è nata la rete che ha fatto un uso, buon uso di ciò che voi avevate iniziato

RISPOSTA: perché era difficile conoscere i contatti, si perché attraverso le donne politiche che erano nella commissione potevamo raggiungere diciamo il territorio e delle appartenenze politiche e cercare di istituzionalizzare questo rapporto, non semplicemente lasciarlo all'opzionalità del sindaco e della giunta ma regolato da uno statuto, lo ed il comitato per le pari opportunità che tipo di relazione e che tipo di contributo diede perché era all'interno del ministro del lavoro, quindi per quanto riguarda l'occupazione... Allora certamente ciò che discutevamo all'interno della commissione veniva discusso al ministero del lavoro

DOMANDA: quindi conoscevate i problemi delle lavoratrici e quindi anche delle madri essendo problematiche del Ministro del lavoro e delle pari opportunità?

RISPOSTA: si anche se sulle ragazze madri non si poneva

DOMANDA: si ma la maternità rientrava nella sfera lavorativa?

RISPOSTA: si in modo più ampio, come attenzione alla donna che lavora

DOMANDA: perché prima c'era soltanto il comitato?

RISPOSTA: il problema è che c'era questo principio generale che veniva applicato nel particolare

DOMANDA: e le donne trovavano a quel tempo una grande difficoltà nella conciliazione e a che cosa avete lavorato per poter lavorare sulla qualità del tempo e sugli orari flessibili ?

RISPOSTA: Questi sono ambiti ed itinerari in cui va ricostruito l'applicabilità, le leggi ci sono, ma è inutile che una legislazione è molto bella ma poi a livello pratico , l'altro giorno parlavano di una legislazione sugli handicappati ed i disabili ed in Italia però quando all'attuazione pratica ?

DOMANDA: e una questione di creare la cultura

RISPOSTA: si perché le leggi ci sono , e c'era una lavoratrice madre e va tutelata come persona, diciamo la commissione ha lavorato ed aveva un legame diretto con il Ministero del Lavoro e quindi ci riunivamo oppure avevamo una dialettica con le imprenditrici se c'era un progetto come prospettiva

DOMANDA: e nella stesura del testo legislativo siete stati chiamati a contribuire

RISPOSTA: si noi abbiamo fatto anche le pubblicazioni, diverse raccolte di legislazione legate al mondo dell'occupazione femminile, fino a fare un aggiornamento del codice donna, con un aggiornamento delle ultime leggi che si sono precisate nei governi, quindi molto

attente alla legislazione legislativa perché avevamo proprio un gruppo di giuriste che si consultava con le commissarie e di esperti

DOMANDA: c'era un ufficio nel dipartimento di giuristi.

RISPOSTA: c'era il gruppo di studio che aveva delle giuriste, per cui se si voleva una competenza specifica si chiedeva e si prevedeva nella spesa della commissione, si chiedeva a quella persona

DOMANDA: avevate poi un riscontro nel territorio con le regioni, partecipavano alle vostre regioni

RISPOSTA: allora le regioni avevano le consigliere a livello regionali che partecipavano alle nostre plenarie, ma in programmi definiti, ogni tanto c'era questo tipo d'incontro tra la commissione pari opportunità a livello nazionale e le consigliere di parità in modo che la loro voce giungesse a noi e che poi potevamo vedere che tipo di iniziativa prendere

DOMANDA: e che poi avevate dei riscontri con il Dipartimento

RISPOSTA: Certamente abbiamo avuto dal '96 in poi anche molte problematiche e diciamo di tipo internazionale infatti si andava sia all'ONU, alle riunioni della Commissione Europea per discutere sulle politiche femminili, e sui criteri di mainstreaming and empowerment, così molto lavoro si è fatto sia in termini di ONU sia di Commissione Europea, ma abbiamo anche avuto dei conflitti internazionali come il Kosovo e l'Iraq e hanno interpellato noi, i talebani che hanno veramente no, l'Afganistan, tutto una politica che ha fatto internazionale sulle donne, abbiamo organizzato un treno per le donne di Kabul, quando ci fu la reazione in Algeria e ci fu Algeria mon amour, un'azione a livello internazionale che aveva focalizzato sulle donne algerine, che avevano acquisito dei diritti che ormai le donne rivedono per colpa di questi diritti per motivi politici, e quindi abbiamo prestato attenzione alle problematiche internazionali aiutato donne che erano svantaggiate con iniziative complete, facendo manifestazioni, facendo convegni, per esempio le donne nel Mediterraneo, così per le donne per la pace, vista che era esplosa la guerra nel Kosovo

DOMANDA: per coinvolgerle

RISPOSTA: sì attraverso convegni sentire la loro voce, e quindi partecipare in sede internazionale quando c'erano questi incontri, diciamo all'ONU e alla Commissione Europea

DOMANDA: e quindi diciamo questo lo facevate con il dipartimento, diciamo anche se eravate al di fuori

RISPOSTA: sì ma anche in modo autonomo, e poi magari il dipartimento aderiva alla nostra iniziativa, perché molte volte poteva capitare che noi facevamo un'iniziativa a cui il dipartimento aderiva

DOMANDA: però nel 2004 la commissione viene inclusa nel dipartimento e questo toglie un po di autonomia alla commissione

RISPOSTA: sì però il decreto era sempre quello, noi abbiamo continuato a lavorare in quella direzione, però nel 2004 non c'era ancora il dipartimento, nel 1996

DOMANDA: nel 2004 la Commissione cambia sede ed entra a far parte del dipartimento

RISPOSTA: nel 2004, sì ma lì abbiamo già il passaggio, perché abbiamo un po con Marina Piazza perché abbiamo avuto dopo di Laura Balbo Katia Belillo, e poi ancora ci sono state le votazioni

DOMANDA: Marina Piazza prendeva il posto di Silvia Costa

RISPOSTA: per cui Marina Piazza veniva da un altro mondo che non era quello politico di Silvia Costa, molto più ampio

DOMANDA: poi era un magistrato, e quindi era molto più in linea con un altro magistrato che era Anna Finocchiaro

RISPOSTA: non solo ma anche secondo me era molto attenta al teatro politico, ma si...possiamo finire quello della parte internazionale, nella guerra del Kossovo abbiamo fatto il treno per la vita, abbiamo girato tutta l'Italia ed interpellato tutte le forze del paese, e portando noi stessi direttamente solidarietà alle donne kossovere, e quando c'è stata la guerra nel Kossovo eravamo con le donne, lavoravamo con la lervolino che è andata lì nel Kossovo ed in Albania per aiutare i profughi, per poter vedere che tipo di solidarietà poter stabilire

DOMANDA: e c'era la Livia Turco alla famiglia, che era un'altra donna che capiva i problemi delle donne

RISPOSTA: sì, sì e abbiamo fatto una rete di solidarietà, che abbiamo fatto il treno delle merci a cui aderì tutto il mondo italiano, al di là delle appartenenze politiche ed ideologiche e lì era una situazione di emergenza, una guerra nel cuore dell'Europa che nessuno ha voluto, Ennio Remondino mi diceva in concreto hanno posto delle condizioni per la pace in questi paesi che hanno reso impossibile il costo della guerra, per cui abbiamo trovato una guerra in Europa senza volerlo, però abbiamo fatto l'otto marzo, un mese prima della guerra, e poi contro la guerra raccogliendo le firme

DOMANDA: quindi deduco che la Commissione era attiva a livello internazionale, aveva una voce internazionale, il dipartimento anche o...

RISPOSTA: certamente perché rappresentava il nostro paese nell'ONU

DOMANDA: e quindi il dipartimento rappresentava a livello internazionale le donne che prima non erano rappresentate avete avuto questa presenza

RISPOSTA: sì, sì, ma anche a Saraievo, le donne a Saraievo, Silvia Costa portò la sicurezza a Saraievo

DOMANDA: e quindi avete partecipato alla Conferenza del 2000 all'ONU

RISPOSTA: sì c'era una delegazione congiunta, ogni volta che c'era una delegazione e incontri internazionali sulla questione femminile, ed il governo veniva interpellato e conseguentemente la commissione

DOMANDA: quando vi trovate in questi ambienti internazionali altri Stati europei avevano l'equivalente del Dipartimento delle pari opportunità, o era un'idea italiana

RISPOSTA: allora la situazione che gli organismi appartengono a diversi mondi, sia europeo sia diciamo a livello internazionale, e più che le sigle importavano le problematiche

DOMANDA: indubbiamente, ma magari potevate trovare non so, in Francia, un interlocutore equivalente

RISPOSTA sì a volte si aveva due interlocutori invece che due, infatti noi eravamo rappresentati come se fossero un unico interlocutore anche

DOMANDA: si avevate una delegazione congiunta con il dipartimento

RISPOSTA sì, si faceva una delegazione congiunta, a volte per esempio in conferenze europee andava il ministero perché noi non potevamo andare, e si cercava di affrontare una

problematica e di convergere, finche non c'e stata la dialettica a livello politico, finche c'e stata la Prestigiaco una certa riorganizzazione della commissione

DOMANDA: l'ha riorganizzata la Commissione

RISPOSTA si ma anche i nomi che ha scelto, a fatto una certa riorganizzazione pensando che poi le elezioni, non poteva immaginare che poi potesse cadere il governo e quindi cambiare

DOMANDA: l'instabilità politica non ha giovato, ne al dipartimento ne alla Commissione

RISPOSTA la Commissione non doveva seguire questi flussi, pero...

DOMANDA: pero

RISPOSTA ecco certamente mettendo in Commissione Marina Piazza che aveva un animo più di sinistra, non era lo stesso orientamento, infatti poi la Prestigiaco

DOMANDA: si ebbe un'attenzione all'imprenditoria perché c'era l'osservatorio per l'imprenditoria femminile

RISPOSTA pero anche per esempio sulle ragazze madri, i bambini abbandonati, sulla violenza femminile, lei ha lavorato molto ed ha anche creato un nuovo organismo all'interno del Ministero

DOMANDA: quale organismo ha creato?

S RISPOSTA per il fatto delle adozioni dei bambini, lei andava spesso in Romania, con i governi, al monitoraggio in Italia e di questi bambini e così e anche emerso il problema di ragazze madri che abbandonavano i bambini nel cassonetto, così tutta la campagna di non abbandonare i bambini, un anno intero di campagna, poi io ho anche portato il materiale

DOMANDA: Grazie

RISPOSTA così anche le donne che subiscono violenze, come aiutare le donne che subiscono violenze, come proteggerle

DOMANDA: quando il Ministero della famiglia e stato abolito il dipartimento ha ereditato le sue competenze.

RISPOSTA si certo

DOMANDA: si quelle che erano le tematiche della famiglia, per cui anche i diritti umani delle donne

RISPOSTA si per poter proteggere questa fascia delle donne in maternità e delle donne lavoratrici per esempio creando un asilo nido all'interno del dipartimento

DOMANDA: quindi era un esempio di buona pratica

RISPOSTA e poi ha fatto un decreto per estendere questo tipo di esperienza in tutti i posti di lavoro

DOMANDA: che in alcuni e stato creato e che in altri no

RISPOSTA peo appunto c'era la possibilità di farlo, e poi ha lavorato nell'imprenditoria, ma anche sul mondo del diritto, di lavorare sul riordino della legislazione sulle pari opportunità, facendo una riedizione del codice donne in tutto questo ambito nuovo, lo quindi e stato

utilizzato il diritto per le pari opportunità, perché la commissione era solo una voce, poi è stato creato il dipartimento e quindi un testo legislativo

DOMANDA: e voi avete contribuito alla creazione della rete per le pari opportunità, perché grazie ai fondi strutturali e riuscito ad aumentare l'occupazione femminile?

RISPOSTA lavorando sugli obiettivi, l'informazione che noi avevamo le davamo a loro,

DOMANDA: era uno scambio

RISPOSTA anche se molto dialettico perché ovviamente perché Marina Piazza guardava a Prestigiacomò in un certo modo, adesso io non so, perché se uno ascolta Marina Piazza i problemi sono di Prestigiacomò e Prestigiacomò di Marina Piazza

DOMANDA: non c'è mai un equilibrio perfetto

RISPOSTA non c'è stata una grande collaborazione, con il ministero

DOMANDA: però l'istituzione era giovane e doveva avere il suo tempo per crescere, c'era un colloquio ed era importante che ci fosse un colloquio

RISPOSTA secondo me questa tensione ha indebolito molto la commissione, perché se ci fosse stata più collaborazione, invece...

DOMANDA: però poi la Prestigiacomò l'ha portata dentro con la Commissione, e diventa più potente?

RISPOSTA sì certo ma, durante la presidenza di Marina Piazza abbiamo avuto tensione abbastanza forti, lo perché la Commissione era comunque di grande valore, aveva donne di tante esperienze, e la funzione della Commissione era di instaurare il dialogo con le parti sociali, si e rappresentava le parti sociali, ed il mondo femminile anche non organizzato, e le istituzioni

DOMANDA: e stata varia perché c'erano dalle casalinghe, alle donne della sinistra al sindacato, per mettervi insieme, parlare e vedere i problemi, ed era un organo prezioso per il dipartimento

RISPOSTA sì certo, e Prestigiacomò cercava questo tipo di collaborazione, io personalmente ero in Commissione e mi dava tanto fastidio che qualcuno poteva andare dal ministro e dire, guarda che io sono con te e non con Marina Piazza, per creare un po di tensione, ed io avevo sempre un po di timore ad avvicinare il ministro e dire io sono in commissione lo comunque l'occupazione femminile per tanti fattori cresce bisogna...

RISPOSTA se io devo dire la mia esperienza con la Prestigiacomò che è stata una donna, al di là di quello che possono dire sulla sua persona, a me non interessa ciò che dicono, ma a me interessa ciò che sta facendo

DOMANDA: e quindi è stata un ottimo Ministro?

RISPOSTA ha lavorato moltissimo, si dava da fare, ovviamente lei sapeva molto dell'imprenditoria, e poi si è calata nelle istituzioni, sapere che ci sono delle regole, decidere come fa un'imprenditrice come fa sulla sua azienda, e ha rispettato molto questo impegno

DOMANDA: quindi secondo lei, nel cambio da una persona che veniva dal mondo politico, ideali, che erano donne della sinistra, ad un'imprenditrice un modo diverso di lavorare, pragmatico

RISPOSTA ha portato un modo più pragmatico,

DOMANDA: si vedere i problemi in maniera più pragmatica perché l'imprenditoria femminile era uno degli obiettivi della strategia di Lisbona

RISPOSTA sì, sì lei aveva anche delle donne nemiche, per cui a me ha fatto molto impressione magari lei in una conferenza faceva un certo discorso e veniva attribuito ad un altro invece che attribuirlo a lei, tu puoi essere anche contraria alla sua politica però lei ha fatto delle cose buone, perché non riconoscerle, io per molte cose dicevo guardo sempre Prestigiacomo e una donna di lavoro, che l'hanno presa di appartenenza alla destra, Forza Italia e quindi coinvolta con questo movimento politico che non era la sua persona, una donna che lavora, che sa come si organizza e che spinge in una certa direzione, l'ultima testimonianza che ha avuto, visto che lei è all'ambiente, in un convegno. La prestigiacomo una donna intelligente, io pensavo quella non capisce niente dell'ambiente, viene tutto da un altro mondo, invece si dà da fare per conoscere le problematiche

DOMANDA: e la capacità dell'imprenditore che assorbe, però io, può darsi sia un'impressione, tra l'alternanza della sinistra e della destra, le pari opportunità hanno avuto una continuità

RISPOSTA la Commissione è stata non a livello politico, e poi al di là dei cambiamenti politici, di governo etc, ci sono i funzionari, che quando amano un lavoro lo portano avanti

DOMANDA: ma c'è stata una continuità dell'identità culturale italiana che si basa sulla famiglia, che diciamo è alla base della nostra società, per cui nell'alternanza della sinistra e della destra, forse con aspetti diversi, da un mondo più politico ad un mondo più imprenditoriale, si è concentrati sulla donna per proteggere la famiglia, lei crede che il lavoro che si è fatto nel passato non si è perso, per esempio, non so se lei ha collaborato con il progetto la Rete cominciato e poi ampliato?

RISPOSTA Certo le tecniche erano molto più complicate, c'erano molte più possibilità di connettersi con altre istituzioni, rispetto a quando noi raccoglievamo gli indirizzi, uscivano le emails, mi ricordo noi eravamo collegate con l'istituto con l'email, lo quindi quella registrazione che avete fatto era

RISPOSTA un indirizzario

DOMANDA: ed è stato trasformato in uno di questi moderni database

RISPOSTA: in questo il ministero ha lavorato molto e c'è tutto un abito delle nuove tecnologie, dove il ministro Prestigiacomo ha potuto contattare, se non sbaglio c'era Stanca che era dedicato a questa parte del Ministero e infrastrutture, perché so che lui era sempre in rapporto con palazzo Chigi proprio come aggiornare tutto l'aspetto informativo

DOMANDA: quindi avete informatizzato ciò che prima era un elemento cartaceo nel 1996

RISPOSTA: sì dove si raccoglievano le informazioni

DOMANDA: e come funzionava, il ministero contattava le regioni

RISPOSTA: pure attraverso, perché ovviamente, essendo nel governo, vicino a palazzo Chigi, che abbiamo cambiato sede proprio materiale, tutta l'informazione sia attraverso il ministero dell'interno etc

DOMANDA: quindi si è ampliato perché ha lavorato sia a livello verticale ma anche a livello orizzontale

RISPOSTA: sì, sì, le iniziative sono proseguite perché abbiamo avuto bravi funzionari che le hanno fatte funzionare, stagiste che hanno lavorato con noi molto brave che hanno aggiornato anche le informazioni, gli indirizzarsi, e quindi questa fortuna

DOMANDA: e quindi lei ritiene che l'istituzione e cresciuta

RISPOSTA: si a livello istituzionale l'organismo delle pari opportunità ed il ministero senza'altro e cresciuto, a livello di consapevolezza del mondo femminile io ho un'idea un po particolare, questa mentalità questa cultura, progressivamente e entrata nella cultura italiana, secondo me ha avuto quel soggetto politico che e stata l'anima ispiratrice, siamo negli anni 80-90 , si lavorava per dare opportunità alle donne, come donne e le donne sono un soggetto politiche, si discuteva insieme, una donna che viene dal mondo laicista radicale una che viene dal mondo religioso, e si pensa che tipo di iniziative, attività per rendere gli uomini consapevoli delle pari opportunità, per togliere i gaps, per fare entrare le donne nel mondo della professionalità, della cultura e dell'università, si pensa che negli anni 80 e 90 prima e dopo Pechino si e lavorato insieme per obiettivi comuni, si snetiva quest'atmosfera politica, dopo Pechino progressivamente, secondo me questa mentalità individualistica di effeto negativo che faceva più attenzione ai diritti individuali, a preso piede, secondo me questa politica dei diritti individuali affettera i diritti umani

DOMANDA: e quindi un po l'affermarsi di diritti settoriali (pluralismo)

RISPOSTA: si io voglio avere in questo modo, questa mancanza di contenuti ha avviato le dialettiche e questo diritto di liberta per te per me va contro i diritti umani, prendiamo per esempio il diritto di aborto, per me va contro i diritti umani, e io anche al settimo mese voglio abortire, ma non c'e nessun problema, cosi per diritto, rivendicare queste liberta, che non hanno nessun fondamento quindi di fronte alla donna ed al mondo del lavoro che deve conciliare la famiglia tutti ci troviamo d'accordo donne di diversa appartenenza, dalle donne di estrema sinistra alle donne di estrema destra, IO ecco perché a quel tempo e nato il dipartimento, perché c'era un confluire di interessi che era comune ...si e che rendeva ancora possibile il dialogo

DOMANDA: che oi e diventato frammentato

RISPOSTA: si e secondo me non e tanto a livello istituzionale, ma culturale perché sempre più questa cultura dell'individuo sta entrando nella vita quotidiana

DOMANDA: forse negli anni 90 l'idea d'azione era più forte

RISPOSTA: c'era l'idea di lavorare per il bene comune, per obiettivi comuni

### **English Translation**

QUESTION: Sister Marcella who talks a little about the history of the Commission for the Equal Opportunities of the structure, relations with the Department for Equal Opportunities

ANSWER: before there was the ministry for equal opportunities, there was the commission linked to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, directly, then support for the president of the council, who at that time was Romano Prodi, and we can say that this gave particular authority to the Commission, because it was directly linked to the president of the council, and was also located at Palazzo Chigi, on the fourth floor, this too I believe a symbolic aspect, let's say, belong to that building where they decide the political ideas, the directions of government.

The commission was composed of different percentages, associations, unions, entrepreneurs, women belonging to the political world, there was a glimpse of the fairly wide world of women, and then there were a group of five women belonging the world of culture, I was in fact part of the Commission as a woman who comes from the world of culture I think this formula of taking women coming from the world of culture was a broad formula to include not only people who do not belong to the political world, but to the



business world that represent a fairly large sector, and in this sense I represented the world of culture and the sector of the female world that is the world of religious.

This commission had a life that went beyond the vicissitude of governments, in this sense, even if the government fell, it could continue its service, and we said, because it was not tied to the government, in the sense that it represented the government, but linked to the world of women that is a very varied world, and then to a continuity of a path that does not follow the flow of political crises, and we can say they were also quite frequent let's say

QUESTION: why do you think department was created if there was a commission?

ANSWER: then there was a school of thoughts that believed creating a ministry the commission would have had more strength, more representative, when there is a minister who is in the council of ministers, but for example Livia Costalcida she said that if we create a ministry, the commission will be weaker and little by little it will start to fall.

QUESTION: and the commission was left out instead of being incorporated into the ministry?

ANSWER: Then because we said if we are incorporated into the mystery we follow the fate of the government instead we want to be free

QUESTION: that's why

ANSWER: so that there is a visibility of the female world that is not tied to the crises that exist at the political level and also at the level of the inspirational people of the political world that the female world does not share

QUESTION: and did you have cooperative relations with the ministry?

ANSWER: here is the first minister was Anna Finocchiaro, an intelligent woman, and Silvia Costa as president there are two very representative women of a female world representative of the female paths, and therefore also to help the world of women and here is the difficulty of putting together two minds that saw the female world, then certainly all the attention and cooperation to work together, but there were also dialectics because for the minister Anna Finocchiaro said in my opinion the commission has no reason to exist in itself its function is to work with the ministry, however Silvia Costa said it is important for us to be under the presidency of the council of ministers so we want to be independent from the ministry to have a more comprehensive function, even say of freedom

QUESTION: it was apolitical, let us say

ANSWER: and therefore we say this minister has this kind of perspective and obviously makes initiatives, activities, guidelines according to his vision of women of course, and the commission wanted to have a view a little wider than these visions and these prospects, even if in many things we agree and cooperate etc and therefore there was attention, I remember that we had a meeting with the minister Finocchiaro, there were also other moments when we had meetings together , to share perspectives and etc, and she said precisely that she thought of this feminine world as a forum of female associations that could be contacted avoiding the dispersal of resources, energies and unify the efforts

QUESTION: there were relationships with the feminist movements, which influenced ...

ANSWER: , Each of us came from a certain vision of the world of women, for example from trade unions, women entrepreneurs, obviously they had everything brought along, as the various policies drew on various resources and came to flow in debates that took place in various initiatives to solve problems

so there was a need for a body streamlining the resources, and that it would follow the initiatives so that we could be more efficient, or we are not autonomous so that there is a more pluralist vision in the female world , and of course I said, we have an experience, even in the world of religious life, of this type because in the 1500s and in the 160s0 when it begins the modernisation of social organizations, it is introduced into the world of religious life, a type of organization that preached the rationality, the efficiency and the organization, as it was related to poor people, illiterate according to these three criteria, and that obviously however in the organization a lot poor people beneficiaries these works came from the outside, so obviously having an organisation where heterogeneity was a sort of safeguard.

QUESTION: to see all the interests

ANSWER: I always say that, as in the 12 apostles, there is one that always brings newness and this is Paul

QUESTION: it is true

ANSWER: to say that there is always someone in the human experience, that carries on something that maybe is not organized but that is innovative, this could be an event of development of an innovative path in an organization, then the government fell and there was D'Alema and then Laura Balbo instead of Anna Finocchiaro, and here it should be seen, I made this kind of observation and the minister has disavowed me, Laura Balbo received a mandate as minister of equal opportunities, as responsible as the one who pays attention to every form of reconciliation , not only between man and woman

QUESTION: that's why the name of the department changes

ANSWER: this type of decree say in my opinion has weakened the equal opportunities because he made the Minister Laura Balbo responsible for this commitment that the minister against all forms of discrimination, giving this vision so comprehensive and broad that obviously can rely on resources such as initiatives, on the difficulties that exist on women and work and etc, it did not neglect us but in my opinion this mandate / decree weakened the commission.

QUESTION: but in your opinion what mostly affected in the creation of the department of equal opportunities, international phenomena, or internal phenomena, because female employment was an issue, eg. Social pact, Christmas pact

ANSWER: In my opinion, there have been external pressures in the European political world, or the UN certainly came out of the very heart of the Commission to do better and that meant the ministry

QUESTION: therefore to address perhaps bigger issues

ANSWER: to have an official institution, even if the chairman of the commission Silvia Costa was very proactive, did meetings with ministers, made proposals when the ministers were working on the budgets, was therefore visual, but more related, in my opinion, to her person , who had so much knowledge in the political world

QUESTION: was there necessary the presence of the state to rationalize

ANSWER: on the other side was fine like that, but once the ministry was done

QUESTION: did the commission pass to the ministry the network of contacts that built?

ANSWER: definitely, and actions and knowledge

QUESTION: and did the COMMISSION have good relations with the department?

ANSWER: yes, meetings were held according to the requirements of the Minister and of the Minister's practical advice.

QUESTION: even if the COMMISSION continued to represent the voice of the female world? In addition, without the COMMISSION, the minister would not have known the issues we were supporting.

ANSWER: We can say that various activities were organized; the commission was present and had a relation with the Ministry of Labour. Practically with Silvia it started to make this registration and this directory, let's say the institutions related to gender equality, therefore it is a form of registration to contact people in the female world in order to carry out initiatives,

QUESTION: and then the commission shared this network with the department, who used well your contacts?

ANSWER: because it was difficult to know the contacts, because through the political women who were in the Commission we could reach say the entire country and political affiliations and try to institutionalize this relationship, not simply leave it to the mayor or town council but regulated by a statute, I and the COMMISSION for equal opportunities what kind of relationship and what kind of contribution gave because it was within the Minister of Labour, so with regard to employment ... Then, what we discussed in the COMMISSION was discussed in the Ministry of Labour

QUESTION: so the COMMISSION knew the problems of working women and therefore also of working mothers, these were common for the Minister of Labour and for equal opportunities?

ANSWER: yes even if the issue of single mothers was no included

QUESTION: yes but maternity was part of their work?

ANSWER: yes, broadly speaking as part of the workers' issue.

QUESTION: why was there only the COMMISSION before?

ANSWER: the problem and that there was this general principle that was applied in particular

QUESTION: and at the time women found a great difficulty to reconcile industry and what did you work to work on the quality of the time and on flexible hours?

ANSWER: These are areas and routes where the applicability is rebuilt, the laws are there, but it is useless that legislation is very beautiful but then in practice the other day I was speaking about of a law for disabled in Italy but how about implementation?

QUESTION: and a question of creating culture

ANSWER: because the laws are there, and there was a female worker and should be protected as a person, say the COMMISSION worked and had a direct link with the Ministry of Labour and then we met or we had a dialectic with the entrepreneurs if there was the prospect of a project.

QUESTION: and did you contribute to the legislative text?

ANSWER: Yes, we have also made publications, various collections of legislation related to the world of female employment; up to make an update of the women code, with an update of the latest laws that have been specified in governments, therefore very careful with the

legislation because we had a group of lawyers who consulted with the commissioners and experts

QUESTION: there was an office in the department of lawyers.

ANSWER: there was a study group that had some jurists, so if you wanted a specific competence people could ask and was forecasted in the expenditure of the COMMISSION expected, you asked that person

QUESTION: then you had a feedback in the entire country with the regions, participating in your meetings

ANSWER: then the regions had the councillors at the regional level that participated in our meetings, but in certain programs, every now and then there was this kind of meeting between the COMMISSION of Equal Opportunities and the Councillors so that their voice reached us and then we could see what kind of initiative to take.

QUESTION: and that then you had some feedback from the Department

ANSWER: Of course, we had from 1996 onwards also many topics and we say of international type in fact we went both to the UN, to the meetings of the European Commission to discuss female policies, and on the criteria of mainstreaming and empowerment, so much work has been done both in UN and in the European Commission, but we have also had international conflicts such as Kosovo and Iraq and they asked us , the Taliban who have really not, Afghanistan, policies that has made women international , we organized a train for the women of Kabul, when there was the reaction in Algeria and there was Algeria mon amour, an international action that had focused on the Algerian women, who had acquired rights that now women regressed because of these rights for political reasons, so we paid attention to the international issues, we helped women who were disadvantaged with comprehensive initiatives, organising events, conferences, for example women in the Mediterranean, so for women for peace, during the war in Kosovo

QUESTION: to involve them

ANSWER: Yes, through conferences to hear their opinions, and then participate in international events when there were these meetings, at the UN and the European Commission

QUESTION and so we say this you did with the department, let us say if you are not part of the department

ANSWER: yes, but also autonomously, and then maybe the department was part of our initiative, because often it could happen that we did an initiative to which the department took part

QUESTION: but in 2004, the COMMISSION is included in the department and this takes away some autonomy from the COMMISSION

ANSWER: but the decree was always that, we continued to work in that direction, but in 2004, there was not even the department, in 1996

QUESTION: in 2004 the COMMISSION changed location and became part of the department

ANSWER: in 2004, yes, but we already have the transition, because we have a bit with Marina Piazza because we had after Laura Balbo Katia Belillo, and then there were general elections

QUESTION: Marina Piazza took the place of Silvia Costa

ANSWER: Marina Piazza came from a different world not political as Silvia Costa, much broader

QUESTION: she was a magistrate, and therefore she was much more in line with the other magistrate Anna Finocchiaro

ANSWER: not only but she was very attentive to the political scenario, but ... we can finish the international part, in the war of Kosovo we made the train for life, we travelled all over Italy and asked everyone in the country, and bringing solidarity to the women Kosovo, and when there was the war in Kosovo we were with women, we worked with the Iervolino who went there in Kosovo and Albania to help the refugees, to be able to see what kind of solidarity can be established

QUESTION:: and there was the Livia Turco to the family, who was another woman who understood the problems of women

ANSWER: Yes , yes and we built a network of solidarity, we made the train of goods to which you adhere the whole Italian world, beyond political and ideological affiliations and it was an emergency situation, a war in the heart of Europe that no one wanted, Ennio Remondino told me in concrete terms have laid the conditions for peace in these countries that have made the cost of the war impossible, so we found a war in Europe without wanting it, but we did March 8th, a month before the war, and then against the war collecting signatures

QUESTION: Therefore, I think that the COMMISSION was active internationally, had an international voice, the department also...

ANSWER: Certainly, because it represented our country in the UN

QUESTION: and therefore, the department represented at international level women who had not previously been represented

ANSWER: Yes, yes, but also in Sarajevo, Sarajevo women, Silvia Costa had bodyguards in Sarajevo

QUESTION:: and then you participated in the 2000 UN Conference

ANSWER: there was a joint delegation, every time there was a delegation and international meetings on women's issues, and the government was asked and consequently the COMMISSION.

QUESTION: When you are in these international environments other European States had the equivalent of the Department of Equal Opportunities, or was an Italian idea

ANSWER: then the situation was that the organisms belong to different worlds, both European and let us say at international level and more than the names were significant the issues.

QUESTION: undoubtedly, but you might have found I do not know, in France, an equivalent interlocutor

ANSWER: you sometimes had two interlocutors instead of one; in fact, we were represented as if they were a single interlocutor too

QUESTION: you had a joint delegation with the department

Yes , there was a joint delegation, sometimes for example in European conferences the ministry went because we could not go, and we tried to face a problem and to agree, until there was the dialectic at the political level, until the Prestigiacomo was a certain organization of the Commission

QUESTION: the Commission was reorganized it

ANSWER: yes but also the names she chose, made a certain reorganization thinking about the elections, she could not imagine that the government could fell and so all would change.

QUESTION: political instability did help neither the COMMISSION nor the department.

ANSWER: the Commission did not have to follow these flows, but...

QUESTION: but

ANSWER: Marina Piazza was a left-wing supporter, whereas Prestigiacomo had a different view

QUESTION: was there a focus on entrepreneurship because there was an observatory for female entrepreneurship

ANSWER: but also for example on single mothers, abandoned children, on female violence, she has worked hard and has also created a new body within the Ministry

QUESTION: which organism: did you create?

ANSWER: because of the adoption of children, she often went to Romania, with governments, to monitor in Italy and these children and so and emerged the problem of single mothers who abandoned children in the dumpster, so the entire campaign not to abandon children, a whole year of countryside, then I also brought the material

QUESTION:: Thanks

ANSWER: also women victims of violence, how to help women who are victims of violence, how to protect them

QUESTION:: when the Ministry of the family was abolished the department inherited its competencies

ANSWER: yes, sure

QUESTION::Yes, those that were the issues of the family, so also the human rights of women

ANSWER: in order to protect this group of women during maternity and working women for example by creating a nursery in the department

QUESTION: was therefore an example of good practice

ANSWER: and then made a decree to extend this type of experience in all jobs

QUESTION: that in some was created and that in others not

ANSWER: in fact there was the possibility to do it, and then worked in business, but also on the world of law, to work on the reorganization of legislation on equal opportunities, making a new edition of women in this new area, so the right for equal opportunities was used, because the COMMISSION was only one voice, then the department was created and therefore a legislative text

QUESTION: and you have contributed to the creation of the network for equal opportunities, because thanks to the structural funds and managed to increase female employment?

ANSWER: working on the objectives, the information we had we gave to them,

QUESTION: was this an exchange

ANSWER: although very dialectical because obviously because Marina Piazza looked at Prestigiaco in a certain way, now I do not know, because if you do not listen to Marina Piazza the problems are of Prestigiaco and Prestigiaco of Marina Piazza

QUESTION: there is never a perfect balance

ANSWER: there was not a great collaboration with the ministry

QUESTION: but the institution was young and had to have time to grow, was there a good communicational and it was important that there was good communication

ANSWER: in my opinion this tension has weakened the COMMISSION a lot, because if there was more collaboration, instead...

QUESTION: but then the Prestigiaco brought the COMMISSION in, and becomes more powerful?

ANSWER: yes certainly but under the presidency of Marina Piazza we were still strong, the COMMISSION had a great value, we had women of many different experiences, and the COMMISSION role was setting up the dialogue with the social parts and to represent the social partners, and the female world, even non-organized, and the institutions

QUESTION: was the COMMISSION varied because there were housewives, women of the left. Of the union, to get together, talk and see the problems and it was a valuable body for the department

ANSWER: yes, and Prestigiaco was looking for this kind of collaboration, I personally was in the COMMISSION and I was annoyed that someone could go to the minister and say, look at that I am with you and not with Marina Piazza, to create a bit of tension, and I always had a bit of fear to approach the minister and say I am in COMMISSION.

QUESTION: However, the female employment for so many factors grows...

ANSWER: if I have to say my experience with the Prestigiaco that is a woman, beyond what they can say about her person, I do not care what they say, but I am interested interested in what he is doing

QUESTION: and therefore, it was an excellent Minister?

ANSWER: worked a lot, she worked hard, obviously she knew a lot about entrepreneurship, and then she went into institutions, knowing that there are rules, deciding how an entrepreneur does as she does on her company, and she respected a lot this commitment

QUESTION: so according to you, in the change from a person who came from the political world, ideals, who were women of the left, to an entrepreneur a different way of working, pragmatic

ANSWER: has brought a more pragmatic way,

QUESTION: see the problems more pragmatically because female entrepreneurship was one of the goals of the Lisbon strategy

ANSWER: yes , yes she also had some enemies (women), so I was impressed when she gave a certain speech in a conference and was attributed to someone instead of attributing it to her, people can also be against her politics but she has made good things, why not recognize them, I look for many things I said I always look at Prestigiacomo and a working woman, who took her from the right wing, Forza Italia and then involved with this political movement that was not her person, a woman who works, who knows how to organize herself and who pushes in a certain direction, the last recognition she had, given that she is at the environment, in a conference. Prestigiacomo is an intelligent woman, I thought that does not understand anything about the environment as she comes from a different world, but she works hard to understand issues.

QUESTION: and the ability of the entrepreneur who understand, however, may be just a thought, between the alternation of the left and the right, the equal opportunities have had a continuity

ANSWER: the COMMISSION was not political, and then beyond the political changes, of government, etc, there are officials, that when they like a job they carry it forward

QUESTION:: but there has been a continuity of the Italian cultural identity that is based on the family, that we say being the basis of our society, so in the alternation of the left and the right, perhaps with different aspects, from a more political world to a more entrepreneurial world, focuses on women to protect the family, do you think that the work done in the past has not been lost, for example, I do not know if you have collaborated with the project the network started and then expanded?

ANSWER: Of course technology was much more complicated, there were many more possibilities to connect with other institutions, compared to when we collected the addresses, the emails came out, I remember we were connected with the institute with the email,

QUESTION: so that recording you did was

ANSWER: a directory

QUESTION: and it was transformed into one of this modern database

ANSWER: in this respect, the ministry worked a lot and there is wide range of new technologies, where the Minister Prestigiacomo could contact, if I am not mistaken there was I don't understand the name who was allocated to this part of the Ministry and infrastructure, because I know that he was always in relationship with Palazzo Chigi just like updating all the records.

QUESTION: so you have digitalised what was previously on paper in 1996

ANSWER: where we originally gathered the information

QUESTION:: and how it worked, the ministry contacted the regions

ANSWER: also through, because obviously, being in the government, near the chigi palace, that we changed our material location, all the information is through the ministry of the interior etc

QUESTION: Did the department expand because it worked both vertically and horizontally

ANSWER: Yes, yes, initiatives were continued because we had good officials who made them work interns who worked with us very good that also updated the information, we were fortunate

QUESTION: and therefore, you believe that the institution grew



ANSWER: Yes at the institutional level the body of equal opportunities and the Ministry undoubtedly has grown, at the level of awareness of the female world I have a particular idea, this mentality, this culture, progressively became part of the Italian culture, in my opinion, it had that political subject that was the inspiring soul, we are in the years '80s-'90s, we worked to give opportunities to women, as women and women are a political subjects, we discussed together, a woman who comes from secularist, radical world and that comes from the religious world, and we thought about initiatives, activities to make men aware of equal opportunities, to remove the gaps, to let women into the world of professionalism:, culture and the university, in the '80s and '90s before and after Beijing has been working together for common goals, this political atmosphere developed, after Beijing progressively, in my opinion this individualistic mentality of negative effect that paid more attention to individual rights, in my opinion, this policy of rights identifies them and affected human rights

QUESTION: and therefore, the affirmation of sectoral rights (pluralism)

ANSWER: yes I want to have this way, this lack of content has initiated dialectics and this right of freedom for you goes against human rights, take for example the right to abortion, for me goes against human rights, and I even in the seventh month I want to abort, but there is no problem, so by right, to claim these freedoms, which have no foundation then in front of women and the labour market that must reconcile work and family life we all agree women of different belonging, from women of the extreme left to women of the extreme right, this is why at that time the department was created, because there was a confluence of interests that was common ... yes and that still made possible dialogue

QUESTION: then became fragmented

ANSWER: Yes in my opinion, it is not so much on an institutional level, but because more and more this culture of the individual is entering into daily life

QUESTION: perhaps in the '90s the idea of action was stronger

ANSWER: was the idea of working for the common good, for common goals

**Giovanna Indiretto**

➤ **Transcript (Italian)**

DOMANDA: Come nasce il Dipartimento per le pari opportunità.

RISPOSTA: Da, diciamo l'esigenza di promuovere degli interventi che fossero in grado di fornire l'indirizzo a tutti i soggetti delle politiche di genere, perché parliamo di politiche di genere originariamente, con poi una delega più ampia, utilizzando risorse risorse comunitarie i quanto diciamo i progressi che si erano fatti in Italia e che avevano portato all'istituzionalizzazione delle politiche di genere attraverso la costituzione prima del ministro per le pari opportunità e successivamente del dipartimento per le pari opportunità come avviene spesso in Italia. Di risorse per implementare le politiche delle pari opportunità e nel 1996 primi anni del 1997 ci fu una congiuntura molto positiva che era quella in cui si stavano discutendo i regolamenti per i fondi strutturali e la congiuntura fu positiva sia perché in Italia il governo Prodi aveva deciso di puntare sullo sviluppo delle politiche di genere e con una delega molto ampia la direttiva del Ministro sia perché anche si era determinata una contingenza favorevole, che in più a questa contingenza favorevole le persone hanno un'importanza sempre, ed e il caso di Luisella Pavan Woofle molto attenta alle problematiche di genere e che ha spinto molto perché la programmazione dei fondi strutturali incidesse sulle pari opportunità prevedendo delle risorse per l'asse dedicato alle

pari opportunità, il 10% delle risorse complessive, quindi queste tre congiunture favorevoli, hanno fatto in modo che il dipartimento potesse partecipare alla predisposizione di tutti i documenti di programmazione, nel quadro nazionale di sostegno, e dei programmi operativi nazionali e regionali, aiutando a scrivere questi documenti individuando gli obiettivi e le priorità e le policy su cui lavorare. Questo sfogo ha diciamo dato modo di trovare un luogo dove raccogliere e che consentisse di comunicare molto diffusamente all'opinione pubblica, quindi una delle azioni fu proprio la creazione della rete ed in effetti la rete era stata pensata originariamente come una rete che viaggiava su due binari, e che per fare accedere tutti gli attori coinvolti associazionismo, partenariato sociale etc, ed un canale interno di comunicazione interno con la pubblica amministrazione per intervenire e dare pareri su atti legislativi su cui si dava il parere generale sull'impatto su alcune iniziative di genere e da questa impostazione ci sia e un po discostate perché poi c'è stato il cambio di governo, e la politica ha un'importanza ha un impatto, indubbiamente e questo aspetto di raccordo internodelle decisioni [politiche e stato completamente saltato nel senso che che intervengono, hanno un'influenza sulle politiche di genere, non solo l'assessore alle pari opportunità ma gli assessori alle politiche sociali in quanto con le politiche di welfare, il solito mainstreaming di genere e quindi è rimasta solo questa parte diciamo e rimasta questa funzione comunicativa per la rete come portale come strumento e ancora oggi questo strumento viene implementato per la programmazione,

DOMANDA: Come è stata costruita la rete?

RISPOSTA: Diciamo che costruirla ed il passaggio non è stato indolore ed il nuovo governo ha bloccato un processo che stava allora per iniziare e questo governo ha dovuto capire cosa fossero questi fondi strutturali, questo ministero e l'amministrazione di staff di ministri vanno... per le pari opportunità, perché diciamo da una parte c'è uno stereotipo in Italia che le politiche di genere cominciano dall'altra non ci sono mai state discriminazioni, e che occuparsi di donne significa... e quindi persone che non arrivano a quel ministero consapevoli di cosa ci sia, questo è un peccato perché questo è un paese che sia dal punto di vista donne sia dal punto di vista mitico, nel senso che la politica pari opportunità e degli attori e questo paese tanto si è fatto e la cosa è lunghissima e anche dal punto di vista di donne che hanno avuto un ruolo anche nella vita generale della condizione del paese e che è stato un momento non lineare ma sicuramente efficace, saggio come se le donne fossero fondamentali per lo sviluppo del paese, quindi il dipartimento po e le politiche di genere.

DOMANDA: dunque lei crede che il binomio pari opportunità/occupazione abbia inciso sulle politiche dell'occupazione?

RISPOSTA: Guardi le politiche di genere sono un approccio per l'occupazione femminile, e hanno come scopo le risorse femminili per la costruzione dell'economia, l'economia significa libertà di scelta, significa cambiare la vita delle donne, cambiare la situazione lavorativa di quelle che sono sommerse o diciamo schiavistiche ed un elemento di emancipazione negli anni 70 e lavorare significa emanciparsi. Poi abbiamo scoperto che emanciparsi non era abbastanza e bisognava fare il salto successivo, e siamo partite diciamo, che l'accesso del mercato del mercato del lavoro, diciamo che la priorità dell'accesso al mondo del lavoro, perché negli anni dopo la guerra le donne che frequentavano gli istituti di istruzione superiore erano poche e per cambiare la cultura delle donne prima ancora di cambiare la cultura di uomini e donne, la cultura delle istituzioni, degli organismi sociali era fondamentale.

DOMANDA: quindi istituzionalizzare

RISPOSTA: quindi far in modo che le donne frequentassero i livelli di istruzione superiore, sia ad un livello in cui le donne nel quale le donne oggi vanno all'università, si laureano e si specializzano e quindi è possibile per le donne accedere al mercato del lavoro, abbiamo capito che le scelte politiche poi determinano la possibilità che le competenze delle donne vengano riconosciute nel mondo del lavoro ecco perché ricompaino le discriminazioni, ci sono state, devo dire, da quello che era la lotta delle donne che escono da percorsi statici e difficilmente riescono a trovare un'occupazione per le competenze che hanno ed il titolo di studio che posseggono, DOMANDA: come siete riuscite non solo a creare la rete ma ad arrivare nelle regioni, nelle provincia?

RISPOSTA: ma guardi non eravamo soli, c'era anche la la consigliera di parità che ha il compito da una parte di controllare che le donne non fossero discriminate e dall'altro promuovere politiche rivolte al superamento delle barriere e sono tutte quelle reti che hanno permesso di istituire tutte quelle reti con le donne e le consigliere di parità la legge 151 e successivamente le riforme di queste figure, questo paese ha dotato questi organismi di parità di risorse per poter sviluppare da una parte un controllo una sorveglianza e di conseguenza il dipartimento e i comitati delle pari opportunità all'interno dei luoghi di lavoro, che però nel pubblico era obbligatorio ma nel privato era molto più difficile, tanto è vero che non sono molte le aziende private che hanno incontrato difficoltà e poi ? la presenza delle donne nel mercato del lavoro, c'era bisogno di costituire un presidio istituzionale e quindi lì dove si decidono le sorti di un paese attraverso il Consiglio dei ministri e la nomina di ministri donne e quindi c'era una presenza in questo ministero e influenzare il ministero delle finanze, ministero delle politiche industriali per poter introdurre le politiche di genere.

DOMANDA: e quindi si sono incrementate le relazioni istituzionali con le altre amministrazioni statali?

RISPOSTA: e con la direttiva comunitaria che vedeva per la prima volta in Italia l'assoluta ? sulle risorse regionali perché prima la programmazione comunitaria era accentrata a livello nazionale e quindi era importante dare le risorse alle regioni e i programmi operativi nazionali avevano il compito di accompagnare i progetti più importanti e allora e quando hanno ricevuto le risorse, quote del fondo sociale delle regioni e quindi i programmi nazionali sono pensati in funzione delle regioni per offrire azioni e interventi alle regioni e così che nasce un programma operativo dell'asse per creare azioni di sistema che possano funzionare.

DOMANDA: e così l'occupazione femminile cresce?

RISPOSTA: guardi l'occupazione femminile cresce in tutto il paese, l'occupazione femminile cresce nel Nord e nel centro con qualche percentuale minore e non cresce, come avrebbe dovuto crescere, nel mezzogiorno essendo le problematiche di genere non inserite in tutte le politiche.

DOMANDA: lei crede che nel ruolo del dipartimento incide molto la legislazione europea e quindi la pressione europea, in particolare il trattato di Amsterdam, incide sulla politica italiana e spinge a concentrarsi sulle politiche di genere per curare il problema dell'occupazione e quindi il problema femminile essendo questo uno dei settori più deboli?

RISPOSTA: Incide molto che il governo sia espressione di forze politiche europee, e fondamentale e quindi il consolidamento delle politiche di genere non sono al di fuori della sfera d'azione del governo

DOMANDA: Molte donne che sono state ministro avevano una cultura di genere, c'era stata una cultura delle donne che cominciava

RISPOSTA: non c'era da parte delle istituzioni pubbliche e del governo del paese al partenariato sociale in senso lato dal punto di vista delle politiche di genere questo governo in particolare non e referente delle associazioni di genere, non se ne preoccupa proprio, non so se pensa che non esistano o che pensa che siano inutili ...credo che non si ponga il problema

DOMANDA: e quindi lei crede che e l'Europa che suggerisce questo metodo di coordinamento in cui si scambiano le migliori prassi e quindi avete avviato una nuova maniera di lavorare?

RISPOSTA: si sicuramente e avrebbe potuto essere di più, sento per esempio che questo portate vengono raccolte informazioni che si occupano della legislazione comunitaria in chiave di genere, le associazioni storiche che hanno sempre lavorato sulle politiche di genere inviano la comunicazione che c'e un convegno etc, pero la rete non viene offerta come portale a questi attori delle politiche di genere come confronto permanente, e quindi c'e un limite, se un contenitore...per esempio le devo dire che non avviene che il ministro delle pari opportunità deve presentare un progetto di legge, deve dare un parere su un progetto di legge e da istruzioni a tutte quelle associazioni che sono portatrici delle politiche di genere, conta, come anche degli altri membri di governo, a livello regionale, in conformità con le competenze che hanno con la riforma del titolo V della Costituzione, e scambia, raccoglie e scambia le opinioni per poter fare al meglio.

DOMANDA: quindi non consulta le amministrazioni locali?

RISPOSTA: No, ne con le amministrazioni locali e ne con il mondo delle donne organizzate e quindi non vede che la politica e uno strumento con il quale la gente possa capire, scegliere e possa come dire, partecipare attivamente allo sviluppo del paese

DOMANDA: creare questa rete interattiva, una rete nel senso digitale avete cooperato con la Commissione, avete cooperato con il Dipartimento?

RISPOSTA: no, il dipartimento era a capo di questa azione e l'ha condotta senza darla in committenza a nessun ente, per esempio questo (si riferisce all'ISFOL) e un istituto pubblico di ricerca e io sono responsabile della struttura di lavoro e della ricerca pubblica ed e una struttura che svolge azioni di sistema per conto del dipartimento, quindi invece la rete, diciamo, giustamente, nasce ed e gestita nel luogo istituzionale che si appoggia a istituzioni operative e tecniche che dipendono dall'occupazione della rete, e la rete a dimostrato nel tempo ... forse 2005 addirittura la Commissione Europea ha chiesto di presentare la rete come modello perché c'era un problema a gestire le risorse e quindi la rete e un modello di buona pratica, e quindi di offrire spunti INTERRUZIONE TELEFONO- la rete e abbastanza visitata perché ormai tutti gli organismi di parità a livello territoriale e vanno sulla rete per vedere se ci sono atti approvati, se ci sono le attività che il dipartimento svolge ma il dipartimento dovrebbe guardare di più al mondo organizzato delle donne con degli impatti

significativi delle donne nel quale sono presenti e quindi il canale più vicino alle donne sono le associazioni dove lavorano le donne e raccolgono tante donne e dove le donne sono presenti, nel mondo della formazione, nel mondo della cultura, quindi un portale vero che abbia all'interno un canale dedicato alla pubblica amministrazione alle relazioni istituzionali ed un canale normale che consulta, che ne fa un tavolo di concertazione permanente sarebbe sicuramente massimo ed il dipartimento ne avrebbe il diritto politico

DOMANDA: per la sua esperienza professionale, guardando alla situazione della donna lavoratrice negli ultimi dieci anni lei crede che le donne hanno avuto benefici dal DPO, si è creata una cultura della donna lavoratrice o lei crede che le donne lavoratrici sono ancora fortemente penalizzate?

RISPOSTA: io credo che le donne lavoratrici sono fortemente penalizzate, specialmente al Sud e che avrebbero bisogno di nuove politiche per promuovere l'accesso al lavoro bisognerebbe promuovere le donne quindi promuovendole, ma anche costruendo una serie di politiche che favoriscano l'accesso ?

DOMANDA: Così l'accesso è ancora difficile?

RISPOSTA: sì. L'accesso è ancora difficile, però diciamo si continua a pensare che non ci vogliano politiche specifiche e invece ci vogliono le politiche specifiche per i vari settori, che comunichino fra di loro e capire come le norme di sistema che non ragiona insieme all'altro pezzo di sistema può determinare un impatto negativo sulle donne, quindi come vede, deve essere obiettivo delle politiche far comprendere se una misura che viene assunta avrà una ricaduta con degli esiti negativi per le donne. Le faccio un esempio, il mercato del lavoro che è quello che ci occupiamo in primo luogo, alle donne viene negato l'accesso perché non vengono riconosciute le competenze, quindi è unghetto strutturale molto consolidato, e questo paese per il proprio sviluppo utilizza meno delle risorse umane che ha a disposizione e le risorse umane sono femminili, quelle che non vengono utilizzate, si pensano che le donne debbono lavorare soltanto in situazioni di grandi promesse e quindi soltanto quanto necessitano perché il salario delle donne viene ancora considerato accessorio a quello del marito per cui il marito è quello che lavora quello destinato alla produzione e la donna alla riproduzione all'interno della casa se poi lo stipendio dell'uomo è basso e c'è bisogno la donna va a lavorare, può lavorare poco, può fare lavori non ben retribuiti, può fare lavoro nero, può fare lavori sommersi, tanto mi serve per far la spesa oggi, non per costruire benessere per la mia famiglia, mentre il lavoro è fatto per costruire il benessere perché se uno vive in condizione di benessere vive sicuramente meglio, e quindi c'è un problema culturale, questo problema culturale diventa immediatamente diciamo fattore di arretratezza della cultura imprenditoriale del paese, l'imprenditore pensa che le donne possano andare a lavorare quando lui ne ha bisogno, che può cacciarle via quando non gli servono più, e comunque che gli bastano poche persone per lavorare piuttosto che inglobarle nell'impresa, esistono grandi imprese, come quelle ad alta tecnologia, le imprese di finanza, le imprese produttive quelle che producono merci e di scambio vero che producono benessere, i trasporti, ma in questo paese non c'è quasi più niente, c'è molto poco e allora il sistema imprenditoriale italiano si basa su piccole imprese e quindi un numero ridotto di dipendenti.

DOMANDA: e quindi le donne hanno difficoltà ad entrare

RISPOSTA: non c'è sviluppo da parte della cultura imprenditoriale

DOMANDA: e per quanto riguarda la conciliazione della donna della vita privata e della vita professionale e la legge sui congedi parentali, di cui molti uomini non hanno usufruito, lei crede che la cultura è il fattore determinante?

RISPOSTA: è un fattore culturale, alcune donne ancora credono che la loro funzione sia essere l'angolo del focolare, e anche degli uomini e quindi è un problema gravissimo quello della conciliazione, riguarda i dirigenti, perché la legge n.53 è una legge che diciamo guarda alla conciliazione come uno degli ostacoli, una morsa dello sviluppo del paese, invece la legge sarebbe una risorsa, perché ci considererebbe a riflettere sulla migliore organizzazione del lavoro, per rendere più produttivo il lavoro senza ammazzare le persone che cosa voglio dire, non è che il lavoro è produttivo perché faccio lo straordinario il lavoro è produttivo se si tiene conto degli altri problemi.

DOMANDA: l'uso del tempo?

RISPOSTA: Sì, perché sono una risorsa che può andare ogni giorno a lavorare, o improvvisamente scopri che non ci puoi andare perché hai il bambino ammalato e non sai a chi lasciarlo, quindi le politiche di conciliazione aiutano lo sviluppo anziché creare sacche di non lavoro, che tutte le politiche inerenti a tutti i settori, allora se io continuo a dire che le donne possono lavorare meno e male e quindi essere pagate di meno quindi se uno prende il congedo parentali rinuncia allo stipendio e quindi siccome gli uomini hanno lo stipendio più alto è chiaro che ci rinuncia la donna.

DOMANDA: ma comunque è anche un problema di cultura per l'uomo?

RISPOSTA: è comunque quell'uomo quando lo fa viene deriso è un problema culturale e c'è un problema di cultura della classe dirigente perché la cultura è quell'elemento che viene trasformato se le classi dirigenti si trasformano, perché sono le classi dirigenti con le loro azioni che determina le condizioni di vita delle persone, la conciliazione è un fatto molto delicato perché mette in discussione, come le posso dire, le metodologie attraverso cui si costituiscono i problemi, le relazioni economiche, le relazioni umane perché incide sulle azioni delle donne che sono a casa.

DOMANDA: e come si crea la cultura nelle istituzioni?

RISPOSTA: è difficile, molto difficile perché ci sono problemi, quando si sceglie lo sviluppo di un settore al posto di un altro si incide perché si trasferiscono risorse, si creano retaggi culturali, lo sviluppo culturale non può che non essere connesso allo sviluppo economico, sociale di un paese e quindi tutto ciò che guarda a tutti gli ambiti dell'organizzazione sociale di un paese mette in discussione i valori e sulle scelte che incidono su questi valori e il tessuto connettivo di una comunità.

DOMANDA: quindi stabilire un contatto con il territorio per portare avanti la questione femminile?

RISPOSTA: Sì, quindi che creassero una loro rete diciamo il partenariato

DOMANDA: ed avete dovuto monitorare ciò?

RISPOSTA: Adesso ci poniamo il problema con questa programmazione di monitorare e costruire insieme al territorio le azioni proprio sul territorio proprio per accrescere la capacità delle regioni, per incrementare le loro azioni sulle politiche in chiave di genere e tutte le politiche attinenti alle politiche di genere.

DOMANDA: chiaramente voi incontrate le amministrazioni locali, fate seminari?

RISPOSTA: sì, per esempio lei mi ha visto parlare con la Campania noi come ISFOL dobbiamo costruire dei modelli di intervento rivolti ai territori affinché implementino e utilizzino le risorse comunitarie, attraverso progetti diciamo che si occupano dei problemi inerenti al mercato del lavoro, del modo della formazione, abbiamo una linea di attività che fa riferimento dell'impatto delle politiche che trasferiamo a livello regionale, perché se la classe di governo non si rende conto dell'importanza di valutare l'impatto delle politiche è inutile perché non sa se ha fatto male e se ha fatto male che cosa deve cambiare, all'interno del lavoro sulla valutazione supportiamo tutte quelle regioni e provincia che vogliono sperimentare ed internalizzare il bilancio delle procedure delle politiche di genere, e poi diciamo a dare una linea per diffondere e sensibilizzare le esecuzioni del partenariato sociale ed il territorio sulle politiche di genere e quindi costruiremo dei tavoli di concertazione con il partenariato sociale e le istituzioni, con il partenariato sociale significa con tutte le organizzazioni sociali e sindacali dei lavoratori ma significa anche con organizzazioni di donne che lavorano.

DOMANDA: quindi favorite il dialogo sociale?

GI: si vogliamo favorire il dialogo sociale per costruire con loro dei percorsi sia di crescita, diciamo, sia di consapevolezza, sulle politiche di genere, sia di trasferimento di strumenti, sia a ripartire le competenze, che costruire con loro momenti di confronto concertato permanente, tutte queste sono azioni di sistema che costruiamo per il dipartimento con le risorse nazionali del programma cooperativo.

DOMANDA: e cooperate anche con l'ISTAT ed il Ministro del Lavoro?

GI: noi seguiamo per il Dipartimento tutto ciò che è preposto alla programmazione, quindi partecipiamo agli incontri annuali con la Commissione Europea, partecipiamo ai Comitati di sorveglianza delle regioni, e questo lo abbiamo fatto anche nella vecchia programmazione (2000-2006), e parliamo con il personale delle regioni, quindi oltre ad andare noi con i nostri esperti andiamo a lavorare sul territorio.

DOMANDA: Quindi il Dipartimento vi delega, ha usato e usa quest' istituzione?

RISPOSTA: ci usa come supporto, io per esempio tutto il pomeriggio vado al Dipartimento, perché si partecipa ad alcune riunioni, al lavoro del dipartimento in cui il dipartimento chiede all'ISFOL di essere presente, quindi noi svolgiamo delle attività, delle azioni sul territorio ed anche a livello nazionale, tutto ciò che abbiamo costruito, diciamo noi abbiamo un'attività molto sistemica, e diciamo ogni azione per produrre indirizzi operativi e strumenti operativi e supportata da un lavoro di ricerca, che si avvale di esperti, noi abbiamo una struttura fatta di ricercatori, come istituto di ricerca, ma abbiamo anche degli esperti esterni, perché non è sufficiente il numero di persone che abbiamo a tempo pieno nella struttura, e le tematiche di genere richiedono degli specialismi su tutte le tematiche. Lei pensi che importanza potrebbero avere per lo sviluppo di politiche occupazionali per le donne che vadano in direzione della conciliazione

DOMANDA: risolvere problemi come la tassazione dello stipendio delle donne?

RISPOSTA: Non solo, le politiche fiscali dovrebbero pensare di rendere deducibili le spese di cura, perché un'iniziativa di quel genere farebbe emergere tanto lavoro nero, e quindi entrerebbero più soldi nelle casse del fisco, consisterebbe di utilizzare una misura che non diventa un uso esclusivo perché e una misura che si riferisce ad altri man mano che i bambini crescono, consentirebbe alle donne di non fare il ragionamento, percepisco 400 euro al mese, ce ne vogliono 520 per un asilo nido, resto a casa.

DOMANDA: quindi per la mancanza di strutture la donna rinuncia all'accesso?

RISPOSTA: invece se io posso dire dal mio reddito deduco fintanto che il bambino mi va all'asilo nido, questo costo, quando il bambino va alla scuola pubblica.

DOMANDA: infatti la donna viene tassata come un'unità unica...

RISPOSTA: si e incide sui posti, e sarebbe un circolo virtuoso importante per lo sviluppo perché spingerebbe molto ad investire nei servizi e nelle strutture di cura che diventano occasioni di lavoro per altre persone.

DOMANDA: infatti altre forme di cura sono solo a carico delle donne?

RISPOSTA: si sono solo le donne che stanno a casa, che si arrabbatano e comunque diciamo non e un settore in via di sviluppo perché qual'e il privato che investe in strutture improduttive e quindi e un costo del lavoro, un costo di gestione elevato, sia il personale qualificato, sia l'allevamento del bambino, sono costi che...

DOMANDA: incidono sull'accesso delle donne

RISPOSTA: certo perché uno rinuncia a andare a lavorare lo perché la maternità e ancora un elemento penalizzante, e questo che mi porta anche a considerare che guai se noi pensassimo a politiche di welfare assistenzialistico che diamo il bonus alle donne di 400 euro i bambini per non farle andare a lavorare, perché a quel punto non cresce la cultura delle donne verso le donne...

DOMANDA: ma e una soluzione veloce per un problema che rimane..

RISPOSTA: e una soluzione di schifo! Per dirlo nel senso proprio del termine...

### **English Translation**

QUESTION: How the Department for Equal Opportunities was created ?

ANSWER: let's say from the need of promoting the interventions for all kinds of gender policies, because we talk about gender policies originally, then with a broader mandate, the resources using EU resources what we say is the progress made in Italy and that led to the institutionalization of gender policies through the establishment before of the minister for equal opportunities and then the department for equal opportunities.

Of resources to implement the policies of equal opportunities and in 1996 the first years of 1997 there was a very positive conjuncture as the regulations for structural funds were being discussed and the economic situation was positive both because in Italy the Prodi



government decided to focus on the development of gender policies and with a very broad mandate the Minister's directive and because there was a favourable conjuncture. In addition to this favourable conjuncture people always play a role, and this is the case of Luisella Pavan -Woolfe very keen on gender issues and that pushed a lot because the ESF Programme affected the equal opportunities by providing resources for the axis dedicated to equal opportunities, 10% of the total resources, then these three favourable circumstances, ensured the department could participate in the preparation of all planning documents, in the national support framework, and national and regional programs or plans, helping to write these documents identifying the objectives and priorities and policies on which work to. This outburst gave us a way to find a place to collect and that allowed to communicate very widely to the public, so one of the actions was the creation of the network and in fact the network was originally designed as a network that traveled over two platforms, and to give access to all the actors involved in associations, social partnerships and so , and an internal channel of internal communication with the public administration to intervene and give opinions legislative acts and the impact of some gender initiatives and we moved on, because of the change of government, and politics has an impact, undoubtedly, and this aspect of the connection between the political decisions was completely omitted in the sense that they intervene , have an influence on gender policies, not only the councilor for equal opportunities but the councilor for social policies as with the welfare policies , the usual gender mainstreaming and therefore and left only this part and say this function of communication for the network as a portal as a tool and again Today this tool is implemented for ESF Programme.

QUESTION: How was the network created?

ANSWER: Let's say build, it was not a painless transition and the new government blocked a process which was now about to begin and this government had to understand what the structural funds were, the ministry and the administration staff of ministers go .. for equal opportunities, because let's say, on the one hand there is a stereotype in Italy that gender policies begin on the other hand there has never been any discrimination, and that occupies rsi of women means ... and therefore people working to that ministry aware of what there is, this is a shame because this is a country that from both the point of view women and the mythical point of view, in this respect equal opportunity policies and of the actors and this country so much has been done and this is a long story but also from the point of view of women who have also played a part in the general life of the country and it was a non linear moment but certainly effective, wise as if women were fundamental to the development of the country, then the department or gender and gender policies .were too.

QUESTION: So you believe that the combination of equal opportunity / employment affected the employment policies?

ANSWER: Look, gender policies are an approach to female employment , and have as their aim the female resources for building the economy , the economy means freedom of choice, it means changing the lives of women, changing the working situation of women participating in undeclared employment or say slavery and an element of emancipation in the '70s and work means emancipation. Then we discovered that emancipation it was not enough and we had to make the next step, and we started saying, that access to the labour market , let's say that the priority of access to the labour market , because in the years after the war the women who attended the higher education were a fews and to change the culture of women

even before changing the culture of men and women , the culture of institutions, of social organisms was fundamental .

QUESTION: therefore to create an institution

ANSWER: then make sure that women were in higher education, women today go to college, graduate and specialize and so it is possible for women to access the labour market , we have understood that the political choices then determine the possibility that the skills of women are recognized in the labour market that is why there is discrimination again, I must say, women's fight when leaving static paths and they can hardly find a job because of the skills they have and the education they have.

QUESTION: how did the department manage not only to create the network but also to connect with the regions and the provinces?

ANSWER: but look we were not alone, there was also the councillor of equal opportunities who had not only the task to check women were not discriminated but also to promote policies aimed at overcoming the barriers and all those networks that have allowed to networking with women and councilors, law 151 and then the reforms of these roles , this country has endowed these bodies with equal resources in order to develop on the one hand a control, surveillance and compliance with the department and the committees of equal opportunities within the workplace, which however was compulsory in the private sector and it was much more difficult, so much so that there are not many private companies that have had difficulty and then the presence of women in the labour market, there was the need to set up an institution and therefore where the fate of a country is decided through the Council of Ministers and the appointment of female ministers and therefore there was a presence in this ministry and an influence on the ministry of finance, ministry for industrial policies in order to introduce gender policies .

QUESTION: and so did the institutional relationship increase with other administrations ?

ANSWER: and with the EU directive that saw for the first time in Italy the absolute I DONT UNDERSTAND on regional resources because first the EU planning was centralized at national level and therefore it was important to give the resources to the regions and the national operational programs had the task of accompanying the most important projects and then and when they received the resources, shares of the social fund of the regions and therefore the national programs are designed to help the regions to offer actions and interventions to the regions and so an axis program is created to create system actions that can work .

QUESTION: and so does female employment grow?

ANSWER: Look female employment grows throughout the country, female employment grows in the North and in the Center with some minor percentages and does not grow, as it should have grown , in the South as gender issues are not included in all policies .

QUESTION: Do you believe that the European legislation impact on the role of the department and therefore the European pressure, in particular the Amsterdam Treaty, affects Italian politics and pushes to focus on gender policies to tackle employment issues

and therefore female employment being this one of the weakest sectors of the labour market?

ANSWER: It is very important that the government is an expression of European political groups, and fundamental and therefore the consolidation of gender policies are not outside the sphere of action of the government

QUESTION: Many women who were minister had a gender culture, there was a culture of women that began

ANSWER: Broadly speaking there was not from public institutions and the government of the country to social partnership, from the point of view of gender policies this government in particular is not national contact point of gender organizations, it does not worry about it, I do not know if this government thinks that they do not exist or think that they are useless ... I do not think this government considers the issue.

QUESTION: and so you believe that it was Europe suggesting this method of coordination in which best practices are exchanged and therefore you have started a new way of working?

ANSWER: certainly and it could have done more, I feel for example that this portal collected information that deal with EU legislation in terms of gender, the historical associations that have always worked on gender policies send the communication that there is a conference etc, but the network is not offered as a portal to these actors of gender policies as a permanent comparison, and therefore there is a limit, if a container ... for example I have to say that it does not happen that the minister of equal opportunities must present a draft law, must give an opinion on a draft law and instructions to all associations that are supporters of gender policies, it is important, as well as other members of government, at the regional level, in accordance with the competencies under the reform of the title V of the Constitution, and exchange, collect and exchange the opinions to do its best.

QUESTION: so does it not consult local administrations?

ANSWER: No, neither with the local administrations nor with the organized world of women and therefore does not see politics as an instrument to enable people understanding, choosing and having a say, participating actively in the development of the country

QUESTION: In order to create this interactive network, a network in the digital sense you (the ISFOL) have cooperated with the Commission, have you cooperated with the Department?

ANSWER: not, the department was in charge of this action and it didnt delegate any other institution such as this (referring to ISFOL) and a public research institution, and I am responsible for the working structure and the public research and this is a working structure that performs system actions on behalf of the department, so instead the network, say, rightly, was created and managed in an institutional environment relying on operational and technical institutions depending on the occupation of the network, and the network proved this over time ... Maybe 2005 even the European Commission asked to present the network as a model because there was a problem to manage resources and then the network and a model of good practice, and then to offer ideas INTERRUPTION TELEPHONE - the network is visited enough because now all the equality organizations at national level and use the

network to see if there are adopted acts, if there are activities that the department advertises but the department should look more closely at the organized world of women with significant impact on women and therefore the closest channel to women is the associations where women work and include many women and where women are present, in the world of women. Training, in the world of culture, therefore a true portal that has inside a channel dedicated to the public administration to institutional relations and a normal channel which consults, support a permanent discussion and the department would have definitely the political rights to do so.

QUESTION: From your professional experience, looking at the situation of the working women in the last ten years, do you believe that women have benefited from the department, has a culture of the working women been created or do you believe that working women are still severely penalized?

ANSWER: I believe that female workers are strongly penalized, especially in the south and that they would need new policies to promote access to employment and we should promote women then promoting them, but also building a series of policies that promote access?

QUESTION: So access is still difficult?

ANSWER: yes, it is. Access is still difficult, but we say we continue to think that we do not want specific policies and instead we need the specific policies for the various sectors, policies that communicate with each other and understand the rules of the system that if one part of the system does not connect to another part there can be a negative impact on women, so as you can see, it must be an objective of the policies to make it clear whether a measure that is taken will have a relapse with a negative outcomes for women.

I give you an example, in the labour market, which is our focus, women are denied access because their skills are not recognized, therefore, and very consolidated structural ghetto, and this country for its development uses less human resources available and human resources are female, those that are not used, it is thought that women must work only in situations of great promises and therefore only as they need because the wages of women are still considered as accessory to that ones of the husband. The husband is the person working, being productive, when women must be focussed on reproduction inside the house if then the man's salary is low and it is necessary the woman goes to work, can work a little bit, can do jobs not well paid, can do undeclared jobs, just to do daily shopping, not to build the wellbeing for the family, while the work should be to build wellbeing because if one lives in a state of wellbeing, it certainly lives better, and therefore there is a cultural problem, this cultural problem immediately becomes a factor of backwardness of the entrepreneurial culture of the country, entrepreneurs thinks that women they can go to work when they needs them, that he can fire them when they do not need them anymore, and in any case that few people are enough to work rather than include them into the enterprise, there are big companies, such as high-tech companies, finance companies , manufacturing enterprises, transport, but in this country there is almost nothing left, there is very little and so the Italian entrepreneurial system is based on small businesses and therefore a reduced number of employees .

QUESTION: and therefore women have difficulty accessing

ANSWER: there is no improvement on the part of the entrepreneurial culture

QUESTION: and as regards to reconciliation of women's work and family life, law on parental leave, which seem not beneficial to men as they no many applied for parental leave, do you believe that culture is the determining factor?

ANSWER: this is cultural factor, some women still believe that their function is to be the "angel of the house" and also of men and therefore reconciliation is an area of serious concerns, because the law n. 53 is a law that let's say look at the reconciliation as one of the obstacles, a "stranglehold" of the development of the country, but the law would be a resource, because it would force us to reflect on better organization of work, to make the work more productive without killing people what I want to say is that work is productive because I work extra hours, work is productive if we take into account other problems .

QUESTION: the use of time?

ANSWER: Yes, because I am a resource who can go to work every day, or suddenly you can not go because you have a sick child and you do not know who to leave with, so reconciliation policies help the development rather than create pockets of non-work, that all the policies inherent in all the sectors, then if I keep saying that women can work less and bad and therefore be paid less so one in the household must apply for parental leave and sacrifice his/her salary and therefore as men have the highest salary women give up. .

QUESTION: but anyway is it a culture problem for men?

ANSWER: anyway when a man applies for parental leave and he is mocked this is a cultural problem and there is a problem of culture of the ruling class because the culture and the object that is transformed if the ruling classes are transformed, because they are the ruling classes with their actions that determine the living conditions of people, reconciliation is very sensitive topic because it puts into question, as I can tell, the methodologies building problems, economic realities, human realities because it affects the actions of housewives.

QUESTION: and how is culture created in the institutions?

ANSWER: it is difficult, very difficult because there are problems, when you choose the development of a sector in place of another is lost because you transfer resources, create cultural heritage, cultural development cannot be connected to economic and social development of a country and therefore everything that looks at all areas of a country's social organization questions the values and choices that affect these values and the community.

QUESTION: then establish a contact with the regions/provinces can improve female issues?

ANSWER: Yes, they can create their own network or say the partnership

QUESTION: and did you monitor this?

ANSWER: Now we ask ourselves the problem with this ESF Programme to monitor and to build with the regions/provinces their own actions to increase the capacity of regions to increase their actions on gender policies.

QUESTION: clearly you meet local administrations, do you do seminars?

ANSWER: yes, for example you saw me talking with Campania as ISFOL we have to build models of intervention to implement EU Funding, through projects we say that deal with the problems inherent to the labour market, the way of training , we have a list of activities referring to the impact of the policies that we transfer to the regional level, because if the ruling class does not realize the importance of evaluating the impact of policies, it is useless because it does not know what went wrong and what need to be changed, we support all those regions and provinces that want to experiment and internalize the budgeting of gender policies, and then we support them to enhance social partnership and the other administrations on gender policies and then we will build the consultation with social partnership and institutions, this means with all social organizations and labour unions but also means with organizations of working women .

QUESTION: so do you facilitate the social dialogue?

ANSWER: we want to encourage social dialogue to build with them paths of growth, say, and awareness, on gender policies, both the transfer of tools and the sharing of skills, which build with them moments of permanent concerted comparison, all these are system actions that we build for the department with the national resources of the cooperative program .

QUESTION: and also cooperate with ISTAT and the Minister of Labour?

ANSWER: we follow all the programming tasks for the Department, then we participate in the annual meetings with the European Commission, we participate in the Monitoring Committees of the regions, and this we did also in the old programming (2000-2006), and we talk with the staff of the regions, so in addition to going with our experts we go to work on the entire country.

QUESTION: So the Department delegates you, used and uses this institution ?

ANSWER: uses us as support, I for example all the afternoon I go to the Department, because I participate in some meetings, the work of the department in which the department asks ISFOL to be present, so we carry out activities, actions on the entire country, everything we have built, we say we have a very systemic activity, and we say every action to produce operational guidelines and operational tools and supported by a research work, which employs experts, we have a structure made of researchers, as a research institute, but we also have external experts, because the number of people we have full time in the structure is not sufficient, and gender issues require specialist on all subjects. think how important it could be for the development of employment policies for women's reconciliation of work and family life.

QUESTION: to solve problems such as the taxation of women's salary?

ANSWER: Not only that, fiscal policies should think about making care costs deductible, because such an initiative would bring so much undeclared work out, and then more money would go into the National Treasury, it would be to use a measure which is not exclusive because it is a measure that refers to others as children grow up, would allow women not to decide, I pay € 400 a month, we need 520 for a nursery, so I stay at home.

QUESTION: so due to the lack of services, does women give up access?

ANSWER: instead if I can tell from my income I deduce as long as the child goes to nursery, this cost, when the child goes to public school .

QUESTION: in fact, women are taxed as a single unit ...

ANSWER: this is affecting employment, and it would be a virtuous circle important for development because it would push a lot to invest in services and care facilities that become work opportunities for other people .

QUESTION: in fact other forms of care are only for women?

ANSWER: only women stay at home, who try to get a living and anyway say it is not a developing sector because which private company would invest in unproductive structures and therefore a labour cost, a high management cost, both the qualified personnel, both the upbringing of the child, are costs that ...

QUESTION: affect women's access

ANSWER: sure because they give up work because maternity is still a penalizing element, and this also makes me consider that if we cannot think about welfare policies giving women a bonus of 400 euros children for not letting them go to work, because at that point the culture of women towards women does not grow.

QUESTION: but it's a quick solution to a problem that remains ..

ANSWER: and a disgusting solution! to say in the proper sense of the word.

Stefano Laporta

➤ **Transcript (Italian)**



DOMANDA: Che rapporto ebbe il dipartimento con il comitato per le pari opportunità?

RISPOSTA: Il rapporto fu costruttivo ed improntato alla cooperazione. Avevamo appunto due realtà istituzionali diverse, noi Ministero senza portafoglio presso la presidenza del consiglio ed il comitato della parità... era un comitato di settore nell'ambito di un ministero specifico che aveva delle competenze particolari nell'ambito appunto delle realtà lavorative. Sotto questo aspetto diciamo che il Dipartimento delle pari opportunità ed l'ufficio del ministro aveva una competenza più generale e quindi il comitato pari opportunità in qualche modo si occupava degli aspetti specifici che era poi quello in qualche modo di assicurare pari opportunità all'interno del mondo del lavoro su realtà specifiche, il ministero si occupava anche in maniera più generale del tema anche con le realtà imprenditoriali e poi si occupava di diritti e pari opportunità e quindi affrontava tematiche più ampie rispetto a quella sicuramente fondamentale del lavoro.

DOMANDA: Che rapporto ebbe il ministero con gli altri organismi di parità?

RISPOSTA: Ma intanto diciamo che il rapporto fu molto stretto perché come lei sa il Ministro Prestigiacomo viene da una realtà professionale imprenditoriale e quindi aveva molto a cuore questo tipo di settore che in qualche modo richiamava la sua regressa esperienza professionale. Il compito fu quello, diciamo, di inserirci nell'attività del comitato con lo scopo di favorire le azioni di promozione dell'imprenditoria femminile soprattutto nell'ambito, scusi, promozione del ruolo della donna nell'ambito del settore imprenditoriale e per far questo uno

degli obiettivi primari fu quello di costruire una rete che nel 2001, quando cioè inizio l'esperienza di governo del ministro Prestigiacomo alle pari opportunità, non era una rete sviluppata e quindi abbiamo provato anche perché il comitato siede presso il ministero dello sviluppo economico e quindi c'era anche una doverosa relazione istituzionale con un altro ministero e abbiamo creato una sinergia che ci ha consentito di creare una rete fra i diversi attori senza però...come dire il network andava ancora completato e implementato alla fine del governo Berlusconi 2006.

**DOMANDA:** Come nasce il progetto la Rete?

**RISPOSTA:** Il progetto La Rete nasce dall'esigenza di creare un network istituzionale ma anche concreto tra realtà femminili operanti nel territorio a diverso titolo. Nasce, se non ricordo male, in attuazione di un preciso indirizzo...credo che ci fosse anche la direttiva comunitaria che prevedeva la necessità per gli stati membri di dotarsi di un sistema comunque informatico, a questo punto gli uffici del dipartimento misero in campo un progetto che sfruttando le conoscenze sino a quel momento che si erano sviluppate anche sull'azione che veniva fatta per l'utilizzo dei fondi strutturali consentisse poi appunto la creazione di questo network tra i diversi soggetti. Se non ricordo male era un progetto molto spinto dal punto di vista informatico che aveva il compito non solo di fare rete ma anche di promuovere non solo una divulgazione di conoscenza ma anche o la promozione di opportunità.

**DOMANDA:** è stato difficile l'implementazione del progetto?

**RISPOSTA:** Guardi queste cose avevano sempre un duplice ordine di difficoltà, il diverso grado di informatizzazione locale delle realtà coinvolte e a volte anche una diversa sensibilità, la promozione all'accettabilità di queste, diciamo, di questi progetti chiaramente necessitano di un supporto informatico ma anche di un supporto umano e quindi diciamo l'implementazione non è stata semplice e io che ho avuto la possibilità di stare al dipartimento fino a gennaio del 2006 stavo per terminare quell'esperienza prima di essere destinato ad un altro incarico, il progetto era ancora in una fase, diciamo, doveva essere ulteriormente implementato e sviluppato, per quello che io ricordo, poi magari quelli con cui le parlerà che hanno lavorato più a stretto contatto le potrebbero dire di differenze anche perché bene o male risaliamo a cose che sono distanti da me quasi 4 anni. Quindi le resistenze secondo me non furono, se non ricordo male, sul concetto generale che fu accolto con favore da tutti i partecipanti, quanto sulle modalità pratiche di attuazione sulle quali occorre allora fare un lavoro di armonizzazione dei diversi gradi di implementazione tecnologica di settori di formazione delle professionalità poi sui singoli territori

### **English Translation**

**QUESTION:** What relationship did the department with the Committee for Equal Opportunities?

**ANSWER:** The department had a constructive relationship with the Committee for Equal Opportunities and based on cooperation, in fact we had two different institutional realities, we were a Ministry without Portfolio in the President of the Council of the Ministers' Office and then a committee ... it was a committee with specific competencies under a specific ministry that had specific skills related to employment. From this point of view, the Department of Equal Opportunities and the Minister's office had a more general competence and therefore the Committee for Equal Opportunities dealt with the specific aspects which was then somehow to ensure equal opportunities in the labour market, the ministry also dealt generally the business and rights and equality and therefore dealt with issues broader than employment.

**QUESTION:** What type of relationship the Ministry had with the other equality organisms?



ANSWER: We can say that it had a close relationship because as you know the Minister Prestigiacomo comes from a professional business reality and therefore cared for this industry that somehow reminded her former professional experience. The task was, let's say, to be part of the activities of the committee with the aim of promoting female entrepreneurship especially in the area, excuse me, of promotion of the role of women in all business sectors and to achieve thus our primary objective was to build a network that in 2001 (when I started to work with Prestigiacomo) to develop a network. The network was not developed and we also tried because the committee was in the Ministry of Economic Development and then there was also a proper institutional relationship with another ministry and we created a synergy that allowed us to create a network between the different actors without however ... how to say the network was still completed and implemented at the end of the Berlusconi 2006 government.

QUESTION: How did La Rete arise (The Network)?

ANSWER: The project rose from the intention of creating an institutional network but also practical support for women working in the entire country. It was created, if I remember correctly, to implement a specific objective ... I think there was also the EU directive recommending the member states to digitalise their systems at this point the offices of the department launched a project that, based on existing data (collected for the structural funds) allowed the creation of this network among the various organisations.

If I remember correctly, it was a very cyber-based project that had the task not only of networking but also of promoting not only knowledge but also equal opportunities.

QUESTION: was the implementation of the project difficult?

ANSWER: As regards to difficulty, these types of projects always are twofold. There was a Different degree of local digitalisation of the realities involved and sometimes even a different awareness, the promotion of the acceptability of these, say, these projects clearly required IT support but also a human support and so let's say the implementation was not easy and I had the chance to stay in the department until January 2006 I was about to end that experience before being assigned to another job, the project was still in a phase, let's say, had to be further implemented and developed, for what I remember, then maybe those with whom you will speak that they worked more closely could say different because well or bad we go back to things that are far from me almost 4 years. So the resistances in my opinion were not, if I remember correctly, on the general concept that was welcomed by all participants, as on the practicality of the implementation as there was the need of harmonizing the different degrees of technological implementation of professional training sectors then on individual territories.

Laura Rochetti

### ➤ **Transcript (Italian)**

DOMANDA: La posizione dell'Europa negli anni 90 per le pari opportunità sia stata determinante per la creazione del dipartimento delle pari opportunità ?

RISPOSTA: sicuramente si, anche se credo che non possa sottovalutarsi l'importanza che ha avuto la conferenza ONU sulle donne di Pechino del 1995, e che ha individuato gli elementi per raggiungere gli obiettivi della piattaforma d'azione, e forse, le due cose, possono essere scisse in qualche modo, pero devo dire la verità, e credo che sia proprio così, in l'istituzione del ministro delle pari opportunità e poi del dipartimento in base al decreto istitutivo delle istituzioni e stata curata con delega normativa all'atto, con delega al ministro, in riferimento alla piattaforma di Pechino, credo che in realtà, sia stata in quel

momento fondamentale la spinta di questo grande successo, di questa conferenza, piuttosto che le politiche delle pari opportunità comunitarie, che poi sono fondamentali per i contenuti specifici delle politiche delle pari opportunità

DOMANDA: lei crede che a livello nazionale negli anni 90 il patto di natale e l'attenzione del governo per l'occupazione abbia inciso sul dipartimento delle pari opportunità e nella direttiva finocchiaro si da molta attenzione agli obiettivi strategici dell'occupazione femminile

RISPOSTA: Sicuramente anche a vedere quelle che sono le attuali statistiche mi sembra di poter dire che in effetti in qualche modo la situazione dell'occupazione femminile sia adesso meno drammatica di quanto fosse negli anni 90, dal punto di vista dei dati statistici, dal punto di vista della qualità della vita della lavoratrice forse non sono esattamente la stessa cosa, non credo che sia stata quella la ragione primaria, la presenza di una parte dedicata all'occupazione discende sempre dalla piattaforma di Pechino

DOMANDA: e lei crede che il progetto La Rete è proprio nato per monitorare l'attuazione dei fondi strutturali, per in un certo qual modo migliorare l'occupazione femminile

RISPOSTA: Sì però sono cose diverse, ma a quale rete si riferisce, la rete delle consigliere per le pari opportunità?

DOMANDA: no, la rete la testata telematica

RISPOSTA: ma quando è nata la rete?

DOMANDA: viene lanciata nel 2004

RISPOSTA: ecco purtroppo non posso rispondere ..

DOMANDA: invece per quanto riguarda gli altri organismi di pari opportunità, che rapporto ci fu con il comitato per le pari opportunità e con la commissione?

RISPOSTA: per quanto mi riguarda, in questo caso come non mai, il mio ruolo di mera osservatrice, ogni singola istituzione a ben vedere ha avuto un campo d'azione proprio, non necessariamente sovrapponibile all'istituzione, quindi tutto sta che il governo in quanto tale, per la sua posizione di predominanza in qualche modo, la forma di governo possa poi l'operato, diciamo, l'operato della commissione e del comitato, c'è da dire che per quanto riguarda il comitato, tutto sommato, l'attività del comitato sia stata fortemente, io so, che ho detto bene, che proprio dalla prima esperienza di dipartimento delle pari opportunità, dal momento della sua istituzione fino alla caduta del governo Prodi, perché dopo non ho avuto più metodo di collaborare con il dipartimento, in nessun modo e in sé è trovato modo di finanziare di nuovo i progetti per l'imprenditoria femminile e in qualche modo...e Stato un modo più attivo per il dipartimento delle pari opportunità, poi con la commissione pari opportunità anche in quella fase in cui era guidata da Silvia Costa i rapporti sono stati di collaborazione particolare quando ci fu Pechino (Pechino cinque anni dopo) la delegazione italiana ...Silvia Costa...quindi è stata un delegazione assolutamente condivisa tra dipartimento e commissione

DOMANDA: sono stati molto importanti per poter individuare la rete di persone con cui interagire con organismi di pari opportunità, il dipartimento ha avuto una funzione più di

coordinamento perché le funzioni di questi due organismi furono importanti per poter coordinare la politica e attuare gli obiettivi strategici del dipartimento?

RISPOSTA: Dunque, il dipartimento è stato istituito presso la presidenza del consiglio, proprio in base alla costituzione già di per sé il presidente del consiglio e quindi chiaramente anche i suoi organi interni e hanno il compito di formare il governo, nella persona del suo ministro e del suo dipartimento, e quindi coordina la politica nazionale, e nella direttiva F-P quest'attività di coordinamento era prevista, il coordinamento anche degli enti locali e della rete delle consigliere che infatti fu nettamente rafforzata

RISPOSTA: : ok, per cui c'era una sovrapposizione di competenze degli organismi per cui era necessario un'azione di coordinamento

RISPOSTA: sì, proprio l'idea che veniva da Pechino, perché erano due concetti empowerment and mainstreaming, con mainstreaming si voleva intendere quello che tuttora si vuole intendere... prima che le politiche di genere che vogliono mirare all'empowerment delle donne ...necessariamente dovevano assumere la funzione di attraversare tutte altre competenze, e poi l'attraversamento tocca tutte le politiche non solo quelle del lavoro?

RISPOSTA: : le direttive comunitarie e quindi la pressione europea ebbe un'incidenza nel far sì che l'Italia potesse allinearsi ad altri paesi europei?

RISPOSTA: Per quanto riguarda l'istituzione a mio giudizio ha avuto la convenzione ONU sulle donne su questo sono sicura, poi per seguire le vicende relative al trattato di amsterdam potevano essere di interesse del dipartimento visto che ha introdotto un'accezione del dipartimento di discriminazione e una normativa ben più ampia della nostra costituzione, mentre l'articolo della costituzione non è esaustivo e quindi questo articolo arricchisce tantissimo il settore relativo alle discriminazioni, ora, credo che sarebbe un po' troppo pensare ma se si vede tutta l'evoluzione dell'attuazione dell'articolo 13 ha avuto una parte attiva nelle conferenze internazionali quindi le direttive di costituzione dell'articolo 13 sono direttive molto valide ed in parte diciamo hanno avuto luce e si poteva fare un po' meglio, però come è noto le direttive non sono direttamente applicabili negli stati membri, necessitano della trasposizione degli stati membri per poter creare diritti e doveri per i cittadini del singolo stato, perché allo scadere del termine per la trasposizione, in assenza di trasposizione, se la direttiva è dettagliata può essere fatta valere nei confronti dello stato, noi, ma io sto parlando del dipartimento a cui ho fatto parte io, nel 1996, in quel periodo, ha seguito l'evoluzione però la trasposizione era successiva e non è stata come probabilmente sapete l'Italia è stata condannata per infrazione proprio per quanto riguarda la lotta alle discriminazioni, per ciò che riguarda l'idea di discriminare ed un conto è seguire la disposizione, e ci sono testi più significativi che vengono dalla legislazione comunitaria e quindi in particolare della donna che lavora, e quindi un rapporto di forza che si deve supporre non essere paritario e quindi il ribilanciamento dei rapporti di forza fra i due contendenti, non è sufficiente questo, ci sono altre forme che garantiscono la persona che garantisce la discriminazione, e quella di poter NON CHIARO sul nastro...e quindi è tuttora rimasta fuori.

DOMANDA: Il testo di legge sui congedi parentali è stato importante ?

RISPOSTA: qui sicuramente noi abbiamo avuto una parte attiva pero e stato la ministra Turco alla solidarietà sociale

DOMANDA: allora avete rapporti di grande collaborazione con il mistero della famiglia e della solidarietà sociale

RISPOSTA: si anzitutto sono detti parentali perché entrambi i genitori per un periodo di tempo ...interruzione un impiegato entra nella stanza...

DOMANDA: quindi questo testo e molto importante essendo i congedi parentali uno degli obiettivi per aiutare l'occupazione femminile, e quindi questo testo e stato prodotto in collaborazione con il ministro del lavoro, della solidarietà sociale e c'era un team di persone che hanno lavorato insieme perché c'erano diversi aspetti della legge che aveva bisogno di diverse conoscenze?

RISPOSTA: si, ma non riguarda specificamente questo provvedimento, ma e la prassi che si deve necessariamente seguire nel governo, nel senso che il governo si basa sul principio della collegialità, e quindi e normale che si debba avere concerto del mostrò che in qualche modo sia interessato al provvedimento, e assolutamente normale che sia cosi, il problema dal punto di vista del DPO e far riconoscere agli altri dicasteri di peso economico e di tradizione antica la possibilità di intervenire nella predisposizione dei provvedimenti, sicuramente nel caso della solidarietà sociale vedeva una donna alla guida e chiaro che la collaborazione e stata più proficua

DOMANDA: crede che nel dipartimento delle pari opportunità c'erano tante donne e c'era anche la tendenza in quegli anni di aumentare la presenza delle donne ed e importante la voce delle donne nel DPO, nel ministero della famiglia, le donne erano forse più a conoscenza di quelli che erano i problemi delle donne? E stato casuale il fatto di avere tante donne?

RISPOSTA: sicuramente il dipartimento é stato costruito a partire dalla rete di relazione delle donne che sono state inizialmente chiamate a come lei da Anna Finocchiaro sa a qualche modo quest'avventura perché era un ministero di azione del tutto nuova, e devo dire che il dipartimento nella sua prima...fu effettivamente costruito da tutte donne che venivano dal femminismo, tutte donne gia impegnate politicamente nella politica delle donne, non erano tecniche calate dall'alto erano le donne tra le donne più qualificate all'interno del movimento femminista o associazionismo femminile/femminista.

DOMANDA: E quindi era il movimento di Emily?

RISPOSTA: no, non era solo emily, fra l'altro emily secondo me storicamente e nato dopo l'istituzione, alcune donne del dipartimento hanno voluto costituire quest'associazione per la formazione politica delle donne era una sorta di scuola di partito, ma diciamo mirava alle giovani donne, che in Italia più che altrove la presenza delle donne nella politica istituzionale era assolutamente irrisoria DOMANDA: e quali movimenti femministi allora si possono citare

RISPOSTA: Emily io non potrei giurarla proprio ma sono abbastanza sicura che e nata dopo il dipartimento e si alcune donne di Emily che erano nel dipartimento, Chiaromonte,

DOMANDA: si, chiaromonte

RISPOSTA: le donne, adesso io non conosco la storia personale di ognuna di loro, ma sicuramente erano tutte donne che avevano alle spalle esperienza femminista ognuna nel proprio gruppo e magari nello stesso gruppo, sicuramente possono gravitare intorno alla casa internazionale delle donne, più di associazioni si parla di gruppi politici e culturali, che associazioni di terzo settore

DOMANDA: era per di più le donne in senso ampio, perché poi la parola in se , erano le donne della sinistra che volevano portare avanti i diritti delle donne?

RISPOSTA: sicuramente queste donne che hanno formato queste squadre, che parola brutta che ho detto, pero tutte le donne del DPO avevano tutte una cultura ed una pratica femminista alle spalle e tuttora in corsa e molte di queste donne a me tuttora capita di incontrarle

DOMANDA: ma queste donne sono tutte di alto livello che hanno esperienze e conoscenze dei problemi delle donne, specialmente le commissarie, spero che le commissarie abbiano avuto un ruolo importante nella commissione per le pari opportunità

RISPOSTA: pero quelle sono tutte altre cose, io no non e la stessa cosa

DOMANDA: no, non e la stessa cosa e cosa intende?

RISPOSTA: no quella e stata diciamo, intendiamoci non e solo sufficiente essere donne essere ministro per essere ministro, quando e stato istituito il dipartimento quindi la forza che venga istituito un dipartimento nasce anche dal fatto che parte delle forze del governo in Italia avesse una forte cultura ed anche delle relazioni femministe su cui contare pero io per quanto riguarda la commissione ed il comitato non posso

RISPOSTA: : va bene, ma per quanto riguarda l'occupazione femminile, che come lei certo ricorderà era un problema molto sentito dalle donne soprattutto la conciliazione per poter mantenere il loro ruolo di madri e allo stesso tempo lavoratrici

RISPOSTA: sicuramente a meta degli anni 90 l'occupazione femminile e in una situazione drammatica e soprattutto al Sud e al centro del governo Prodi ed del DPO l'attenzione e per le donne soprattutto giovani e del sud e prevede quel governo come obiettivo politico che alcune forme di flessibilizzazione andassero all'occupazione e sotto questo profilo non e che il dipartimento delle pari opportunità facesse eccezione, insomma, da questo punto di vista e un importante azione di governo, era comune a tutto il governo

DOMANDA: quindi era importante proteggere i diritti delle donne e nello stesso tempo il mercato del lavoro, quindi proteggere "troppo" le donne avrebbe inciso sulla flessibilità del mercato del lavoro e quindi non avrebbero trovato occupazione?

RISPOSTA: : l'idea era che la flessibilità in quel momento veniva concepita molto sulla precarietà, infatti si tendeva a dire "flessibilità e non precarietà" questa era un po l'idea e quindi la flessibilità come forma che aiuta un po la conciliazione tra la vita lavorativa e familiare e comunque in generale e un ragionamento sull'uso del tempo, c'e stata sempre un'accortezza e anche i congedi parentali chiamati cosi perché includono anche gliuomini

nella cura dei figli anche qui voleva essere un lavoro prettamente culturale poi ti dicono che i congedi parentali sono assolutamente sottoutilizzati soprattutto dagli uomini ...dai padri e fondamentalmente perché sussistono ancora delle fortissime sperequazioni stipendiali, perché se si pensa che gli uomini guadagnano più delle donne il congedo parentale che è pagato all'ottanta per cento nei primi tre anni di vita naturalmente è molto più penalizzante per un uomo che per una donna.

DOMANDA: Non è solo perché il welfare italiano è incentrato sulla famiglia nucleare, c'è anche questo fattore di livello economico in cui la coppia...

RISPOSTA: non credo che ci sia una differenza fra fattore culturale e fattore economico, perché il datore di lavoro decide che deve pagare di più l'uomo quindi sempre più fattore culturale e e quindi tutti i dati dimostrano che sussistono e particolarmente in Italia discrepanze salariali e voglio dire queste differenze salariali sono particolarmente forti fra le donne operai specializzati e quindi all'interno di una grande fabbrica di lavoro, ci sono sperequazioni

DOMANDA: ho capito e quindi questa legislazione diciamo voleva creare una cultura diversa ma i dati poi vedono che non è stato così, ma era sicuramente un passo avanti per l'Italia

RISPOSTA: sicuramente un passo avanti è stato tuttora ma comunque si tratta anche di essere consapevoli dei propri diritti e tutto ciò richiede normalmente avvenga di un forte movimento sindacale sul lavoro, proprio perché il datore di lavoro abbia particolare interesse a comunicare che ha diritto a prendersi il congedo parentale

DOMANDA: la divulgazione e conoscenza della legge poi è stata fatta attraverso il dpo, fu una delle attività del dipartimento di far conoscere i propri diritti attraverso una rete?

RISPOSTA: sì sicuramente questo rientrava negli obiettivi e per quanto è stato possibile è stato fatto

DOMANDA: il dipartimento quando è stato creato sembra che si fosse trovato con tanti organismi spezzettati e stato difficile per il dpo poter coordinare, individuare queste micro-reti per coordinarle e trarne vantaggi perché nel momento in cui andava attuata una politica pubblica era necessaria diramare e avere una rete che potesse comunicarla ed arrivare al fine ultimo che poi erano le donne?

RISPOSTA: allora questo è stato una delle questioni che sono state prese di petto, perché diciamo a parte le relazioni istituzionali con organismi nazionali e di cui abbiamo già parlato ed ovviamente si sono mossi nel rispetto reciproco delle competenze, però quello che il DPO era ha fatto e di creare la rete delle consigliere di parità rafforzandone il ruolo e quindi la avere consigliere

DOMANDA: l'istituzione era giovane e doveva evolversi

RISPOSTA: coordinare il lavoro delle consigliere e per fare la consigliera c'è bisogno di una formazione specifica poi come avevamo detto le istituzioni di pari opportunità devono prevedere le competenze sulla tutela, dell'intervento, come intervenire in difesa dei protetti ma soprattutto intervenire tutto sommato laddove c'era una situazione sicuramente di palese svantaggio

DOMANDA: questo è un punto di contatto che il dpo ebbe con le donne

RISPOSTA: era chiaro, perché si poteva prevedere, l'istituzione di pari opportunità ha portato poi per induzione all'istituzione a livello locale e regionale di tutti gli assessorati delle pari opportunità

DOMANDA: così è scaturita da questa istituzione?

RISPOSTA: sì ma in Italia no, c'era a livello nazionale un comitato ma per gli esecutivi regionali, locali e tutto dopo il 1996

DOMANDA: le consigliere di parità erano all'interno del Ministero del Lavoro ma portavano avanti non solo problematiche inerenti al lavoro ma anche problematiche ...

RISPOSTA: ma i RAP (non capisco l'acronimo) sono stati su tutto il territorio nazionale

DOMANDA: ma la consigliera di parità che sia all'interno del ministero del lavoro?

RISPOSTA: è stata istituita una rete di consigliere di parità coordinate dalla consigliera di parità

DOMANDA: Sì ma ciò che mi chiedevo la consigliera di parità ha lavorato molto con il dipartimento?

RISPOSTA: su questo non ho altro da aggiungere, non ho informazioni.

DOMANDA: ok, perché la rete venne potenziata dopo il 1996

RISPOSTA: questo sicuramente

DOMANDA: dopo qualche anno che questo ministero venne creato ci fu un riscontro dell'impatto che ebbe nel promuovere la politica delle donne, venne condotte delle indagini attraverso la rete delle consigliere di parità?

RISPOSTA: no, non si può dire che esiste una piena continuità ...

DOMANDA: che rapporto ci fu con il ministero del lavoro, ci furono delle riunioni?

RISPOSTA: io non ho mai partecipato, il ministero del lavoro è un ministero grosso e una politica che copre tutte le materie

DOMANDA: quindi il dipartimento aveva relazioni con tutti gli altri ministeri?

RISPOSTA: sì, ci sono state delle iniziative che erano del Dpo e c'erano sempre queste consigliere, comunque c'era l'iniziativa del Ministro tal dei tali in concerto con e c'è tutto un elenco di ministri

RISPOSTA: : non so se lei ha avuto la possibilità per quanto riguarda le relazioni con l'osservatorio per l'imprenditoria femminile

RISPOSTA: c'è stato un ciclo di finanziamenti

DOMANDA: mi scusi se questa è una domanda a cui ha già risposto, però la direttiva P-F tende ad eliminare la sperequazione ed in Italia si riflettono negli obiettivi strategici F, c'è molta attenzione del governo per l'occupazione, ma l'occupazione non è solo una protezione delle politiche di genere ma anche un elemento di preoccupazione economico per l'economia italiana quindi c'è un binomio occupazione politica di genere, sono le politiche di genere che incidono sull'occupazione, vengono usate per aumentare l'occupazione, c'è questo fattore in più, c'è una concomitanza

RISPOSTA: sicuramente non è così, questo sarebbe una visione molto ottomista e nella mia esperienza le donne hanno dovuto lottare perché si tratta di muovere soldi e dirottare da un obiettivo classico quello dell'occupazione generica da uno specifico l'occupazione femminile

DOMANDA: quindi l'elemento dominante

RISPOSTA: non è sicuro che si prende cura di prevedere misure specifiche per le donne

DOMANDA: anche se le donne erano state individuate dalla Strategia Europea dell'Occupazione come uno dei settori a rischio (Laura Ronchetti sorride)

DOMANDA: no

RISPOSTA: questa è una mia opinione

DOMANDA: sì certo parliamo di opinioni a livello personali, ma anche se c'era il Ministero del Lavoro ci voleva forse un'apposita istituzione per proteggere i diritti delle donne, un'istituzione voluta e legata per le politiche di genere in senso più ampio

RISPOSTA: guardi secondo me in questo caso le donne devono sempre lottare, la prova ne è che quando il dipartimento non ci sono donne mosse per una pratica di politica difesa per i diritti delle donne queste donne non hanno tutela, che sono battaglie dure perché si tratta di spostare soldi, allora se i soldi vengono tolti dal sud ma anche insomma sono battaglie dure...insomma sono battaglie dure

DOMANDA: ci vogliono l'interesse delle donne

RISPOSTA: sbloccare i finanziamenti affinché venga finanziata l'imprenditoria femminile significa lottare duramente, questo da quando esistono le politiche di restrizione di bilancio e questo da vent'anni

DOMANDA: come mai avviene negli anni 90, non prima non dopo, proprio perché negli anni 90 c'è più presenza femminile nella politica italiana che porta ad emergere delle politiche di genere, perché c'è un po' negli anni 80 e non molto negli anni 70.

RISPOSTA: per me questo dimostra che i vincoli comunitari, chiamiamoli così, sicuramente la spinta viene dall'Europa, per che le politiche pubbliche devono perseguire una forte impronta comunitaria non necessariamente la migliore ma l'approccio nasce dall'Europa e sicuramente questo è stata la spinta propulsiva però dal punto di vista politico in assenza delle donne che fanno valere i loro diritti ed un clima politico contrario non sarebbe avvenuto



DOMANDA: ma il dipartimento ebbe con relazioni uguali ad esempio "il dpo in Spagna, Francia"

RISPOSTA: si certo

DOMANDA: fu uno degli ultimi creati in Europa, quando venne creato negli anni 90 molti stati europei avevano un dpo?

RISPOSTA: allora vediamo (legge una pubblicazione ) e una guida per la conciliazione che abbiamo fatto con altri stati membri, lavoro finanziato dalla Commissione in questo caso possiamo vedere gli uffici, Svezia ???, Austria (nel ministero dell'economia e del lavoro) Danimarca( Centro per l'uguaglianza di genere) Finlandia (difensore di parità, all'interno degli affari sociali) Grecia parità trattamento e Spagna Istituto donna c/o M. Lavoro e Portogallo Commissione parità e occupazione

DOMANDA: così l'Italia a livello istituzionale e molto innovativa, perché negli altri paesi europei non c'è un dipartimento ma sono tra ministero lavoro e affari sociali

RISPOSTA: sì l'Italia è creativa ma non si può dire che per istituzioni specifiche esistano politiche più avanzate

DOMANDA: ma resta il fatto che a livello istituzionale l'Italia avesse il dipartimento

RISPOSTA: sì e la vera innovazione in questo caso è che per essere sganciata da qualsiasi altro ministero per essere inserita nella presidenza, così se da un lato era una forma di debolezza perché era senza portafoglio ma dal punto di vista concettuale culturale era l'unica posizione istituzionale che potesse dire intervenire a 360 gradi su tutta la posizione di governo, se invece fosse stato un dipartimento sottosegretariato all'interno di un ministero, sarebbe stata implicita una competenza specifica in quel settore per esempio, se fosse stato agli affari sociali allora voleva dire che si sarebbe dovuto occupare famiglia.

### **English Translation**

QUESTION: the stance of Europe in the '90s for equal opportunities was crucial for the creation of the department of equal opportunities?

ANSWER: yes, yes, although I believe that it cannot be underestimated the importance of the 1995 UN conference on women in Beijing, the conference identified the elements to achieve the objectives of the platform of action, and perhaps the two things, they can be split in some way, but I have to tell the truth, and I think it's really like that, in the creation of the minister of equal opportunities and then of the department according to the decree establishing the institutions and it was treated by legislative delegation to the act, with delegation to the minister, referring to the platform of Beijing, I believe that in reality at the time the reason of this great success, was this conference, rather than the policies of equal community opportunities, which are fundamental for the contents, was fundamental specific policies of equal opportunities

QUESTION: do you believe that at the national level (in the '90s the) Christmas pact and the government's interest in employment affected the gap in equal opportunities and in the Finocchiaro directive much attention was paid to the strategic objectives on female employment

ANSWER: Certainly also if we look at the current statistics I think I can say that in some ways the situation of female employment is now less dramatic than it was in the '90s, from the point of view of statistical data, from the point of view of the quality of life of the worker may not be exactly the same thing, I do not think this was the main reason, the presence of a part dedicated to employment always comes from the platform of Beijing

QUESTION and do you believe that the Network project was created to monitor the implementation of the structural funds, to some extent improve female employment

ANSWER: Yes, but there are different to which network you are referring, the network of councillors for equal opportunities?

QUESTION: no, the network the website

ANSWER: but when was launched the network?

QUESTION: 2004

ANSWER: unfortunately I cannot answer...

QUESTION: on the other hand, as regards to other bodies of equal opportunity, what was the relationship with the committee for equal opportunities and with the commission?

ANSWER: for me, in this case more than ever, my I was an observer, every single institution had its own remit, not necessarily similar to the institution, so all is that the government as such, for its position of dominance in some way, the form of government can then the work, say, the work of the commission and the committee, it must be said that as regards the committee, the committee's activities were strongly, I know, that I said well, that I took the first experience of the department of equal opportunities, from the moment of its institution until the fall of the Prodi government, because after I had no more opportunity of collaborating with the department , in no way and it has found a way to fund again the projects for female entrepreneurship and in some way ... it was a more active way for the department of equal opportunities, then with the equal opportunity committee even in that phase where it was chaired by Silvia Costa the relationships were of special collaboration when there was Beijing (five years later) the Italian delegation ... Silvia Costa ... so it was an absolutely joint delegation between the department and the commission

QUESTION: they were very important in order to identify the network of people with whom to interact with the other bodies of equal opportunities, the department had a more coordinating function because the functions of these two bodies were important in order to coordinate the policy and implement the strategic objectives of the department?

L R So, the department was set up under the presidency of the council, precisely on the basis of the constitution itself of the president of the council and therefore also clearly its internal organisms and have the task of forming the government, in the person of its minister and its department, and thus coordinates national policy, and in the Finocchiaro -Prodi directive this coordination activity was envisaged, also the coordination of local authorities and the network of councillors, which in fact was clearly strengthened

QUESTION: ok, so there was an overlapping of competencies of the bodies for which a coordination action was needed

L R it is just an idea that came from Beijing, because there were two concepts empowerment and mainstreaming, with mainstreaming we meant what we still mean ... gender policies aimed at empowering women ... therefore necessarily had to be related to all policies, not only to labour policies.

QUESTION: the EU directives and therefore the European pressure had an impact in ensuring Italy could align to other European countries?

ANSWER: Regarding the institution in my opinion I am sure the UN convention on women, on this I am sure, then following the events related to the Treaty of Amsterdam could be interesting for the department as it was introduced a broad legislation on discrimination than it was introduced in the legislation, this article of the constitution is not exhaustive and therefore this article enriches the area related to the discrimination, now, I think it would be a bit too much to think but if you see all the evolution of the implementation of Article 13 had an active part in international conferences and therefore the guidelines for establishing Article 13 are very valid directives and in part we say they were light and could be done a little better, but the directives are not directly applicable in the member states, they need the transposition of the member states in order to create rights and duties for the citizens of single state, because at the expiry of the deadline for transposition, in the absence of transposition, if the directive is detailed can be enforceable against the state, we, but I'm talking about the department that I was part of, in 1996, yes that period, has followed the evolution but the transposition was later and was not as you probably know Italy was charged for infringement in relation to fight against discrimination, as regards the idea of discriminating and follow the disposition, there are more significant texts that come from the EU legislation and therefore in particular for working women, and therefore a relationship of strength that must be supposed not to be equal and therefore the rebalancing of the balance of power between the two contenders, this is not enough, there are other forms that guarantee the person who guarantees discrimination, and that cannot not clear on the tape ... and then it has not still been included.

QUESTION: Has the legal text on parental leaves been important?

L R here certainly we had an active part but it was the minister for social solidarity (Turco).

QUESTION: then the department had a relationship of great collaboration with the ministry of the family and social solidarity

First of all, ANSWER: is called parental because both parents for a period of time ... *interrupting an employee enters the room...*

QUESTION: , therefore, this text is very important as parental leave is one of the objectives helping women's employment, and therefore this text was produced in cooperation with the minister of labour, social solidarity and there was a team of people who worked together because there were different aspects of the law that needed different knowledge/expertise?

ANSWER: yes, but it does not specifically relates to this provision, but it is a process that must be followed in government, in a sense that the government is based on the principle of collegiality, and therefore it is normal that we should have a meeting of ministers who were in a way interested in the provision, and absolutely normal that this is so, the problem from the point of view of the department is to ensure other department recognize the economic influence and ancient tradition the possibility to intervene in the preparation of measures, certainly in the case of social solidarity being minister a women the cooperation was more fruitful.

QUESTION: Do you believe that there were many women in the equal opportunities department and in those years one was inclined to increase the presence of women and it was important the voice of women in the department, in the minister of the family, women were perhaps aware of women's issues? Was it so casual to have so many women?

ANSWER: surely the department was built from the network of relationships of women who were initially called by Anna Finocchiaro a sort of a risk because it was a completely new ministry of, and I must say that the department was actually comprised of women who came

from feminism, women already politically engaged in women's politics, they were not experts appointed by the top but they were the most qualified women's in the feminist movement.

QUESTION: Emily's movement?

ANSWER: no, it was not just Emily, I think Emily was historically created after the institution, some women of the department wanted to make this association for the political education of women was a kind of ideological training, but let's say focussed to young women, that in Italy more than elsewhere the presence of women in politics institutions was absolutely insignificant

QUESTION: and what feminist movements then can be mentioned

ANSWER: Emily, I could not swear it, but I am pretty sure was created after the department and there were some women from Emily who were in the department, Chiaromonte,

QUESTION: yes, Chiaromonte

ANSWER: Women, now I do not know the personal history of each of them, but surely they were women who had a feminist experience each in their own group and perhaps in the same group, certainly were part of The International Women's House, more political and cultural groups than third sector associations.

QUESTION: Broadly speaking they were women, were the women of the left-wing party who wanted to support women's rights?

ANSWER: certainly these women who were part of these teams, what a bad word I said, but all women in the department had a culture and a feminist experience behind and sometimes I still bump into some of them.

QUESTION: but these women were all high up who have experience of knowledge of women's problems, especially the commissioners; I hope that the commissioners played an important role in the equal opportunities commission

ANSWER: but this is a different matter

QUESTION: if it is a different matter, what does it mean?

ANSWER: no they didn't need to be women to be a female minister when the department was established, the strength of the department resulted from the fact that the Italian government had a strong culture and even feminist relationships to rely on as far as I am concerned within the committee and the committee

QUESTION: it is fine, as you can recall, reconciliation of work a family life was an issue as women were struggling to maintain their role as mothers and workers at the same time

ANSWER: certainly in the mid '90s female employment was a dramatic situation and especially in the South, the Prodi's government and the department focussed on women especially young and from Southern Italy. The government's political objective was some forms of flexibility in relation to employment and in this respect the Department of Equal Opportunities was not an exception, in short, from this point of view it is an important government action, it was common to the entire government

QUESTION So it was important to protect women's rights and at the same time the labour market, so protecting "too much" women would have affected the labour market's flexibility and would therefore women's would have still been unemployed?

ANSWER:: at that time the idea was that flexibility would create a lot of precariousness, in fact we said "flexibility and not precariousness" this was a bit the idea and therefore flexibility as a tool helping reconciliation of work and family life and generally speaking on the use of time, there was always an inaccuracy and also the so-called so called because the measure included men caring for their children. also wanted to be a purely cultural work as parental leave were absolutely underutilized above all by men ... by fathers and fundamentally because there are still the very strong salary, because if we think that men earn more than women parental leave that is paid eighty percent in the first three years of life naturally and much more penalizing for a man than for a woman.

QUESTION: It is not only because the Italian welfare is focused on the nuclear family, there is also this factor of economic level in which the couple...

ANSWER: I do not think there is a difference between cultural factor and economic factor, because the employer decides that he has to pay more and therefore more and more cultural factor and therefore data show that there are particularly wage discrepancies in Italy and I want to say these wage gap are particularly strong among women skilled workers and therefore within a large company, there are inequalities

QUESTION: I understand and then this legislation let's say wanted to create a different culture but data show that this is not the case, but it was definitely a step forward for Italy.

ANSWER: Definitely this was a step forward however we need to be aware of our rights and therefore this takes place via a strong trade union movement at work, because the employer has particular interest in communicating that he is entitled to take parental leave

QUESTION: the dissemination of the law was done by the department, was one of the activities of the department to raise awareness on their rights through the Network?

ANSWER: surely this was part of the objectives and as far as possible was done

QUESTION: when the department was created seems to have so many fragmented organisms and it was difficult to coordinate and identify these micro-networks and also to benefit from them. To implement policy, the department needed a network to reach women.

ANSWER: this was one of the issue to tackle, because we say apart from the institutional relations with national bodies and we have already talked about it and obviously they act in mutual respect of their remits, but the department strengthened the network of the counsellor of equal opportunities.

QUESTION: the institution was young and had to evolve

ANSWER: to coordinate the work of the councillors and to be a councillor need specific training then as we said the institutions of equal opportunity must provide the skills/knowledge on protection, intervention, how to intervene in defence of protected categories but above all intervene all in all where there was a situation of obvious disadvantage

QUESTION: this is a point of contact that the department had with women

ANSWER: was clear, it could be foreseen, the institution of equal opportunity then led to the institution at local and regional level of all the experts of equal opportunities

QUESTION: so did it come from this institution?

ANSWER: yes, but not in Italy, there was a committee at national level but for regional, local executives and everything after 1996

QUESTION: the councillors were inside the Ministry of Labour but they supported not only problems related to work but also problems...

ANSWER: but the RAP (I do not understand the acronym) were in the entire country

QUESTION: but the councillors who is within the Ministry of Labour?

ANSWER: it was established a network of councillors coordinated by the councillors?

QUESTION: Yes, but what I was wondering was the councillors worked a lot with the department?

ANSWER: on this I have nothing else to add, I have no information.

QUESTION: ok, because The Network was upgraded after 1996

ANSWER: definitely

QUESTION: after a few years that this ministry was created, did you have any feedback on the promotion of women's policies or was any appraisal undertaken by the councillors?

ANSWER: no, we cannot say there was continuity.

QUESTION: what type of relationship the department have with the Ministry of Labour, were there any meetings?

ANSWER: I have never participated, the ministry of labour is a big ministry and its policy covers many matters.

QUESTION: So the department had relationships with all the other ministries?

ANSWER: yes, there were some initiatives of the department there were the councillors, however there was the initiative of the Minister so-and-so and there was a list of ministries.

QUESTION: I do not know if you had the opportunity to relate to the entrepreneurship observatory female

ANSWER: there was a tranche of funding.

QUESTION: Sorry if this is a question that you have answered, but the Prodi-Finocciaro directive tends to eliminate the inequality and in Italy are included in the strategic objectives F, the government focuses on employment, but employment does not only mean a protection of gender policies but also an economic issue for the Italian economy so there is a combination of employment and gender policy, some gender policies affecting employment, are used to increase employment, there is this factor in more, there is also a concomitance...

ANSWER: certainly is not so, this would be a very optimistic vision and in my experience women have had to fight because it is about moving money and hijacking from a classic goal that of generic employment from a specific female occupation

QUESTION: so the dominant factor

ANSWER: it is not sure that it takes care to provide specific measures for women

QUESTION: although women were identified by EES (European Employment Strategy) as one of the sectors at risk (Laura Ronchetti smiles)

QUESTION: no

ANSWER: this is my opinion

QUESTION: we certainly discuss personal opinions, but even if there was the Ministry of Labour maybe we wanted a special institution to protect women's rights, a desired institution linked to gender policies in the broadest sense

ANSWER: look in this case women must always fight, the proof is that when there are no women in defence of women's rights these women have no protection, these are tough battles because it is to move money, then if the money is removed from the south but also short are hard battles ... in short, they are hard battles

QUESTION: the interest of women

ANSWER: to unblock funding to fund female entrepreneurship means to fight hard, this since there are policies of budget restriction and this for twenty years

QUESTION: how come this happens in the '90s, not before not after, just because in the '90s there is more female presence in Italian politics that leRISPOSTA: to the emergence of gender policies, because there is a bit in the '80s and not much in the '70s?

ANSWER: for me this shows the constraints of the EU laws, let's call them that, surely the drive is from Europe, for which public policies must pursue a strong community imprint not necessarily the best but the approach comes from Europe and certainly this has been the propulsive incentive but from the political point of view in the absence of women supporting their rights and a political climate otherwise would not have happened

QUESTION: but the department had some similar interlocutor for instance "a department for equal opportunities in Spain or France"?

ANSWER: Yes

QUESTION: was one of the last created in Europe, when it was created in the '90s many European countries had a department for equal opportunities?

ANSWER: then let's look at a publication a guide for reconciliation that we have done with other member states, work financed by the Commission in this case we can see the offices, Sweden, Austria (in the ministry of economy and labour) Denmark (Centre for Gender Equality) Finland (Equal Defender, in Social Affairs) Greece Equal Treatment and Spain Women's Institute c / o M. Labour and Portugal Equal and Employment Committee

QUESTION: so Italy at institutional level was very innovative, because in the other European states there is no -department but there were located in the Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Social Affairs.

ANSWER: Italy is creative but we cannot say that for specific institutions there are more advanced policies

QUESTION: but is true that at the institutional level Italy had the department?

ANSWER: it is a true innovation in this case not to be under any other ministry but be under the presidency, so if on the one hand was a form of weakness because it was without portfolio but from the conceptual cultural point of view it was the only one institutional position that could say to intervene 360 degrees on the whole position of government, if instead it was a under secretariat within a ministry, would have been implicit a specific competence in that sector for example, if it was under social affairs then wanted to say that it would have to cover family ...

## **Annex B**

### **Consent forms**

List of elite Interviews held in Rome in 2009

- Laura Balbo. Interviewed on 5 June 2009
- Clara Collarile interviewed on 4 June 2009
- Alberto De Stefano interviewed on 12 June 2009
- Suor Marcella Farina interviewed on 6 June 2009
- Giovanna Indiretto interviewed on 8 June 2009
- Stefano Laporta interviewed on 3 June 2009
- Laura Ronchetti interviewed on 4 June 2009



**Research Ethics Consent Form for Confidential data**

*I understand that my participation in this project will involve answering open-ended questions on the impact of the Department of Equal Opportunity on women's employment policy. The interview will last at least 30 minutes.*

I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that I am free to ask any questions at any time. If for any reason I experience discomfort during participation in this project, I am free to withdraw.

I understand that the information provided by me will be held confidentially, such that only *recognised researchers* can trace this information back to me individually. The information will be retained for up to five years when it will be deleted/destroyed. I understand that I can ask for the information I provide to be deleted/destroyed at any time and, in accordance with the Data Protection Act, I can have access to the information at any time.

I, LAURA BALBO (NAME) consent to participate in the study conducted by *Luigina Toscano-Davies* School of European Studies, Cardiff University with the supervision of *Dr Mark Donovan*.

Signed:



Date:

05/06/09


**Research Ethics Consent Form for Confidential data**

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I,  (NAME) consent to participate in the study conducted by *Luigina Toscano-Davies* School of European Studies, Cardiff University with the supervision of *Dr Mark Donovan*.

Signed: CLARA COLLARILE

Date: 4/9/2009

Alberto De Stefano

**Research Ethics Consent Form for Confidential data**

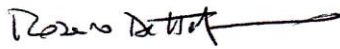
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I, ROVARIO ALBERTO DE STEFANO (NAME) consent to participate in the study conducted by *Luigina Toscano-Davies* School of European Studies, Cardiff University with the supervision of *Dr Mark Donovan*.

Signed: 

Date: 12/06/09

**Research Ethics Consent Form for Confidential data**

*I understand that my participation in this project will involve answering open-ended questions on the impact of the Department of Equal Opportunity on women's employment policy. The interview will last at least 30 minutes.*

I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that I am free to ask any questions at any time. If for any reason I experience discomfort during participation in this project, I am free to withdraw.

I understand that the information provided by me will be held confidentially, such that only *recognised researchers* can trace this information back to me individually. The information will be retained for up to five years when it will be deleted/destroyed. I understand that I can ask for the information I provide to be deleted/destroyed at any time and, in accordance with the Data Protection Act, I can have access to the information at any time.

I, FARINA MARCELLA (NAME) consent to participate in the study conducted by *Luigina Toscano-Davies* School of European Studies, Cardiff University with the supervision of *Dr Mark Donovan*.

Signed:

*Marcella Farina*

Date:

*6.6.2009*

**Research Ethics Consent Form for Confidential data**

*I understand that my participation in this project will involve answering open-ended questions on the impact of the Department of Equal Opportunity on women's employment policy. The interview will last at least 30 minutes.*

I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that I am free to ask any questions at any time. If for any reason I experience discomfort during participation in this project, I am free to withdraw.

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I, GIOVANNA INDIRETTO (NAME) consent to participate in the study conducted by *Luigina Toscano-Davies* School of European Studies, Cardiff University with the supervision of *Dr Mark Donovan*.

Signed:



Date: 2007/08/05

**Research Ethics Consent Form for Confidential data**

*I understand that my participation in this project will involve answering open-ended questions on the impact of the Department of Equal Opportunity on women's employment policy. The interview will last at least 30 minutes.*

I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that I am free to ask any questions at any time. If for any reason I experience discomfort during participation in this project, I am free to withdraw.

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I, STEFANO LAPORTA (NAME) consent to participate in the study conducted by *Luigina Toscano-Davies* School of European Studies, Cardiff University with the supervision of *Dr Mark Donovan*.

Signed: 

Date: 03-06-2009

**Research Ethics Consent Form for Confidential data**

*I understand that my participation in this project will involve answering open-ended questions on the impact of the Department of Equal Opportunity on women's employment policy. The interview will last at least 30 minutes.*

I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

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I, LAURA RONCHETTI (NAME) consent to participate in the study conducted by *Luigina Toscano-Davies* School of European Studies, Cardiff University with the supervision of *Dr Mark Donovan*.

Signed: 

Date: 4.6.2009