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**ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF LIFE:  
THE ITALIAN CASE**

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Geneva, March 1980

Johan Galtung

It is being circulated in a pre-publication form to elicit comments from readers and generate dialogue on the subject at this stage of the research.

## INTRODUCTION

The conceptual approach presented by Johan Galtung and Monica Wemegah in prospective terms is a useful tool for analysing recent Italian development.

The distinction between economic growth and development turns out to be a useful concept for analysing Italian problems. In fact, the present critical situation in Italy is not only the result of external events that have caused a standstill in economic growth, but it also depends on internal structural causes that can be connected to the disorder of a growth that, proposed to bring about development, has not done so.

Ever since the immediate post-war period, the reconstruction of Italy has coincided with economic reconstruction and quantitative expansion.<sup>1</sup> The success of economic reconstruction, instead of creating the opportunity for qualitative development research, has led the leading classes to continue the economic expansion considered as an indispensable tool for bettering the conditions of the south of Italy and for reducing unemployment.<sup>2</sup> In the 1960s, the terms of economic growth become obvious also to the leading classes<sup>3</sup> and with the entry of the socialists into government the necessity of programming the development of the country became clear.

Development is, however, reduced to an economic growth "directed" towards social aims.

In documents<sup>4</sup> social development is translated into the distribution of a bigger income quota to the social sector (more houses, hospitals, assistance, and pensions, etc., and less highways) that will result in

a greater satisfaction of present and future needs through social investment of income. But in fact the economic programming has been, without knowing it, the shield behind which the growing invasion of political interference into the economic sector has hidden. In the ten-year period 1968-1978 attention has slowly moved from the purpose (to direct economic growth towards development) to the means (to increase the public economic sector), with the result of creating a party-bureaucratic-"clientele" system that has suffocated economic growth without directing it towards social development.

The Italian experience shows the validity, also for practical purposes, of the conceptual distinction between quantitative growth and qualitative development. In fact, those who have refused the programming of societal development and the discussion on long-term objectives<sup>5</sup> considered too restrictive for individual freedom, and who have considered the "economic" programming preferable because it is empirical, partial, and limited to one instrumental sector, have contributed towards reducing the freedom of people to satisfy their own individual, elementary needs (security, welfare, the right to work), stopping growth without obtaining development, and dividing the country into political-sponging classes and classes of people who are excluded from privilege (a wage-jungle situation with great wage differences, techno-structures, etc.).

## I. DEFINITIONS

We shall now give some definitions as the basis of our hypothesis, presented later.

1. Needs are defined as the requirements that must be answered for the survival of the person or for his or her potential to develop.

Needs are hence central to the development of the entire human being which, in its turn, is related to human needs, material and non-material.

Such needs are non-hierarchical and become hierarchical in their emergence when, under the pressure of personal (temperament) or social (social character) elements, they acquire a priority. The personal elements are present in each person (anger, calm, etc.). The social elements are related to the social character, described by Eric Fromm as "the interiorized mechanism of each individual to maintain the system, the group, the nation, the culture," and as such they are related to social processes and structures.

Since the dynamics of the personal and social character elements are in constant interplay, the needs hierarchies as well are constantly dynamic and hence very difficult to foresee and forecast.

1.1. Needs are actor-dependent and structure-dependent (see Galtung and Wemegah).<sup>6</sup>

1.2. Needs are material and non-material.

1.2.1. Needs are doubly material, and can be thought of either as "starting point" or as "final tool of satisfaction." An original (or starting point) material need would be the need for rest or sleep since the human body requires this for its material survival.

As tool of satisfaction, a material need is a need which, to be satisfied, requires some material goods; for example, the need to belong to a group requires certain modes of dress, and the need for intimacy requires a house or shelter.

Among the original material needs, a distinction which emerges when we want to measure the minimum which has to be guaranteed to everybody is the difference between the primary or instinctive needs and the habitual or usual needs induced by differing cultures. To guarantee the body's survival, we need to satisfy its primary or instinctive needs (the minimum need for "body's" survival). To meet the minimum need for "human" life, we need to satisfy both primary and habitual needs (the minimum needs satisfaction for human life).

1.2.2. Non-material needs have a level of survival below which it is impossible to "survive." Giving up sense and meaning in work may lead to very serious neurosis, anomalies, etc., and these not only hamper the total development of the human being but also endanger his very survival.

Non-material needs are: (a) material needs to which we give a non-material image, e.g., nutrition as a cultural element, an element of interchange and participation; (b) non-material needs to which we give a material shape, e.g., the need to communicate through seeing, touching, etc. or the need to belong to a group through goods (the car as status symbol); (c) needs which although they pervade the entire human being involve the psychosocial and spiritual level prevalently, e.g., the need for meaning in work, the need to live with others, the need for love, the need for a sense of purpose or meaning in life, etc.

1.3. The constant dynamics of needs may be understood as the constant

flow of life through all men in all times which is Tao (this concept definition needs further development).

2. Alternatives to the dominant way of life may be understood in a two-fold way:

2.1. Alternatives emerging from a decaying society. The search for new non-material needs may be a choice of mature individuals and societies which, having acquired and consolidated material welfare in their search to run away from a decadent reality, now reach for non-material needs as substitutes for the material needs that have become rare. We could call this a phase of material explosion against non-material implosion. But in such a situation the alternatives are unforeseeable. We can only predict in the present the seeds of future alternatives.

2.2. Alternatives that emerge in a time of liminality.

3. Liminality is the anti-structure, the social dynamics, in a situation where structure is absent and where each member of society finds his global social meaning. The human collective sense in an anti-structural situation, as a liminal situation emerges with no need of spatial or temporal aid in a dynamic system, is immediate, direct, and interiorized by the individual rich in human relations and at the same time possessing a specific autonomy.

It is the time when the structures of a given period are dissolving and the new structures are not established but are there potentially. It is like the communities of M. Buber in terms of dialogue relations, and it is a time when individual and collective values can be experienced through symbols.

Liminality is formulated by Van Gennep as the rite of passage from minor structure to major structure. V. Turner shows it as a passage which is radical in symbolic terms; in this sense liminality is the repository of the entire meaning of the cultural system, which in turn

is made up of the totality of individual and collective values. It is a situation of new structures but open to structures, and it is liminal because it is between two structural situations. It is a dormant situation for preceding situations which re-emerge in the subsequent structures.

In a certain sense liminality is anti-structure as a dormant social structure, and at the same time it contains "symbolic" structures that represent the meaning of individual and collective existence.

Liminality is the time of alternatives, dormant structures, symbolic structures — this last being unconscious — which will develop in the structures of the future.

This is what we search for in alternatives.

4. By social structure we mean the ambivalence in individual and collective terms. The individual is in fact part of the collective and the collective is at the same time part of the individual, which Piaget says is the innate cognitive structure. Alternatives are in fact dormant structures, part of the entire cultural system (individual and collective) but emerging in the future in one of the alternatives. This is what we search for in alternative ways of life. Not necessarily all alternatives will develop but they are all there even if only one or some will develop. In this sense we describe alternatives also as indications of constant transformation.

5. The confusion between qualitative development and quantitative growth has been caused by the impossibility of measuring the development. Attention has therefore focused on the measuring of growth and, presuming the existence of an invariant, needs (which we presume are satisfied by goods). We obtain the measurement by repeatedly quantifying both the levels and the distribution of goods of various individuals and groups in different stages.

Development (with predominantly qualitative aspects), like growth (with



predominantly quantitative aspects), is considered "natural" and full of positive valency because it depends on physiological and genetic processes that regulate both "self-realization" (or development) and "self-expansion" (or growth). The development and growth of human animals and of well-developed communities seems to be always less regulated by "nature" and always more influenced by "culture." The ambiguity of this double influence emerges clearly in the composite nature of human needs.

We can distinguish the concept of growth (quantitative expansion) from that of development (qualitative evolution and progress). Particularly, societal growth is the quantitative expansion of a given society or community. Social growth instead is the expansion of social structures, within the community.

Societal development includes social, economic, institutional development, etc.; these are important components, representing different points of view, of the general and more comprehensive "societal development."

Social development coincides, not with the changing and quantitative growth of social structures, but with the qualitative evolution of social sensitivity or, alternatively, with the social progress of a community. Social development can also be defined as "the growing capability of recognizing and satisfying multiplicity and evolution of human needs."

## II. WORKING HYPOTHESIS

The working hypothesis will develop along two main lines, which are the same ones we intend to follow in the project itself if we are able to develop it, as we shall indicate, through actual surveys and dialogues or based on "intellectual work."

Such basic lines are actually the areas which we believe have to be stressed because they are central to the ever-changing situation in Italy and hence capable of giving a possible understanding of the future alternative ways of life which have their seeds in today's life.

We think the two areas are the ones of greatest change and may give us in the last phase of the project a wider view of the future of Italy in terms of alternative ways of life.

The chosen areas are: (1) the growing awareness and the changing social role of women, and (2) the changing conditions and situation of work of both sexes.

### 1. The growing awareness and the changing social role of women

1.1. We would like to take as a conceptual model for this part the contraposition of power understood as "the ability (and capability) to answer needs and desires in the presence of obstacles and opportunities"<sup>7</sup> and dominance as "that aspect of power which has also structural and behavioural contents," and the contraposition of social private space and social public space (meaning by these the spaces in which power or dominance or both or none of them are experienced).

Briefly we wish to state that Italy is today part of the historical movement which can be found under so many aspects and which may be described as the movement of the "external nature and the internal nature."<sup>8</sup> By external nature we mean the natural resources of the non-human environment, the habitat, the instruments of production, and the technological processes. By internal nature we mean the human structures, needs, the psychological and social terms of behaviour, and traditions as part of the socio-cultural environment. The two natures are in constant interaction, and they determine the emergence of different needs and aspirations.

We have come through a historical period when the "external nature" has been the field of dominance, but we are now living in a time when the "internal nature" is becoming more and more aware and is creating conflicts. The dynamic situation between the power and dominance of women contributes to this conflict and on this basis we can speak of "alternatives." The image of women is changing, as are their social roles, and we can see four alternative ways of life as related to the interplay of power and dominance of women.

Alternative I: Women have power in their private spaces. They have always had power in this space, and they have always had the ability to respond to the needs of children in situations of emergency (think of women in agricultural regions in the past and today giving up their food, managing the scarce nutrition resources, etc.). But they have not had dominance.

Alternative II: Women have power and dominance in the private spaces. They behave as the ones with power, and the relations in the family are such that the structure of the family reflects their dominance.

We have examples of this in the post-war years and we are seeing more and more women living alone, even acting as heads of family whether unmarried, widowed, separated, or divorced. This will increase in the future.

It is also a growing factor in women's prise de conscience of their power in the family; this is a basic alternative development in Italy that is emerging as the consequence of a feeling of insecurity among both sexes. In fact, men are feeling less and less free, and women who have had the power for so long are more ready to be dominant in the private space than men, showing that women's "passive nature" is a cultural product.

This trend towards the dominance of women in private spaces will also reinforce the structures of the families "without a father." As the psychoanalyst Laing says, the importance of the woman as the one who transmits cultural schemes makes her more dominant but also more alone, and this has consequences for the children. Actually the figure of the father who is undifferentiated and so stereotyped is weaker in such a situation unless there is a contemporary liberation of men and the non-idealization of the "mother"; both elements produce the weakening of men and children, creating reactions within the family and without it (in work and in politics, or taking the form of a stand against the equality of sexes, etc.).

Hence the trend that women dominate private spaces has twofold consequences; it will strengthen women and weaken men, or it will strengthen women as such (single or not) and strengthen men in regard to their responsibilities, even if they are non-dominant in a dynamic interplay.

Alternative III: As to power in the public spaces, women are showing their capabilities although this is the alternative which is more affected by social and cultural structures. The possibilities for women in education and in work are weak. The struggle is profound and vigorous, but women's acquisition of some rights in the workplace is very weak and the inequalities in this field seem to be constantly growing.

Women working outside the family are still very weak in motivation (they work for economic reasons, to escape maternity or the husband,

to achieve self-realization or social prestige). Of course all the personal and family problems reflected in the previous alternatives, which are not unrelated to the one described here, are also present.

We have to indicate here also the great influence of the Catholic tradition of woman as symbol. It has unintentionally or intentionally reinforced the marginalization of women, especially in the public field.

Also here we can add problems in the education and working field where marginalization of women is still present; hence, dominance is not present here. In the political field we can say there is a force moving very slowly towards greater participation, especially in the younger generations. It is linked to the growing awareness that before one can manage oneself in the family or in the political world there must be self-management in personal terms; this is very painful, hence the process has been retarded.

Alternative IV: This brings us to the next alternative where structures and behaviour come into play, and not only laws. This involves not only dominance and power of women in the public social space but the right of women to be completely human; this is where the possibilities in Italy, as already seen in the previous alternative, are extremely weak.

But we wish to affirm that in any case the moving of an ever-growing mass of women from the private to the public space and even more the growing attraction for women of the public spaces is the most important element of change in Italian society in the 1970s, even more important if you consider that only in 1948 did women win the right to vote.

1.2. The awareness of discrimination comes into play when people move together steadily and communicate and organize themselves. It was so with the slaves in Roman times, it was so in the case of the emancipation of the industrial proletariat (which was also prompted by the concentration in towns), and it is so for women concentrated in

public spaces in towns.

Women's growing awareness that they are being discriminated against is the symptom of a very deep social change whose effects will be seen in this last quarter of a century.

Structural changes which seem to reinforce this movement are (1) the development of the "tertiary sector" and services; (2) the increasing education of women; and (3) the changing of demographic structures and of the function of the family.

1.2.1. In fact, more women are employed in the "tertiary sector" than in the secondary sector. (In July 1977 in Italy, 22.7 per cent of people in employment were women, while in the tertiary sector alone it was 34.6 per cent.) We must also say that Italy, among the post-industrial societies, is the one which has the least developed tertiary sector.

The concentration in service towns of the function covered before by the enlarged family (welfare assistance, teaching, social services, etc.) also strengthens this trend.

1.2.2. The increasing education of women is not only a cultural need but one coming from the need for economic protection against the diminishing protection of the nuclear family (see alternative III). This inclines the choices of study towards fields of less involvement at the study and work level (like teaching, health, etc.) and away from a movement in the sense of clearing up sex roles. In a certain sense it reproduces women's roles as they were in the enlarged family.

But education also develops awareness, hence alternative IV may come closer.

1.2.3. Changing the family structure and demographic structure. We have analysed the changing family situation in alternatives I, II, and III. What is relevant is the diminishing number of members in the Italian family. In 1901 it was 4.5 people per family; in 1971 it was

3.35 (Piemonte 2.88, Sardinia 3.91). Also important is the decreasing number of children and the decreasing number of pregnancies that guarantee the species's continuity. In 1932 the rate of death before birth was 53.4, in 1972 it was 29.2, and it may still decrease, so less children are needed.

To this we add the declining rate of death of women during childbirth.<sup>9</sup>

Hence, there is a lengthening of life expectancy in women and an increasing number of women in proportion to the number of men.

In Italy in 1900-1901, the death rate for men was 22.5 per thousand and for women 22.2 per thousand; in 1972, it was 10.5 per thousand for men and 8.8 per thousand for women. The feminization of society is beginning for the first time in history.

In conclusion, there is the possibility that more time in the life-span of women will be spent in work outside the family; hence dominance by women may begin and reinforce alternatives III and IV.

1.3. We shall proceed in the sub-project on prospective alternative ways of life in relation to women to focus our hypothetical alternatives on the four needs of security, welfare, identity, and freedom as material and non-material needs. The different answers to such needs will be described in the four hypothetical alternative areas through either survey or dialogue (as indicated in 1.1.) or simply by studies of documents, novels, and art according to the possibilities of the project (e.g., in alternative I the need for security is answered, the need for welfare probably partially answered, the need for identity and freedom not answered at all). Of course we would very much like to be able to verify our four hypotheses through historical and qualitative data, but the studies of various documents, not necessarily academic, could also be very interesting.

## 2. The changing conditions and situations of work for both sexes

2.1. We will develop our study progressively. The future alternative conditions and situations of work will satisfy human (men's and women's) needs for security, welfare, identity, and freedom.

It seems to us that in human history the conditions and situations of work have satisfied the security need of the majority of the population (for instance, peasants). Only a minority was satisfied by the welfare output of work (for example, merchants) and also a minority had his/her "identity" need satisfied by work (for example craftsmen, artisans, and artists). An infinitesimal percentage of the population was satisfied by work in his/her need for freedom. Usually, to be free meant also to be free from work, and freedom was possible to the profiteering landlord. Such a situation is historical because it has lasted so many centuries, but it has not always and everywhere been overcome. In Italy, for example, such a situation started to be overcome in the 1920s in the northern and central parts of the country and in the 1950s in the southern part.

Alternative 1: The basic alternative conditions of work, affecting primarily the "security need,"<sup>10</sup> will range from a situation of full employment for everybody to a situation of open, mass unemployment, passing through the present situation of a bifurcate labour market. The split labour market is one of the reasons for the present Italian social crisis. The two main components of this division are both territorial and personal (seen by sex and age). The result is the "legal" labour market on one side (northern and central regions and males 25-45 years old), and the "black" labour market on the other side (southern regions, the majority of females of all ages and professions, and the majority of males 16-24 and 46-65 years old).

The possibility that work will satisfy the security need in the future will be related not only to the economic situation and to the number of working people in each age group, but it will also come from many normative interventions that redistribute the amount of work among more



people (such as the duration and distribution of work in the life-span, the organization of vacations, the duration and the number of hours and days of work, the fiscal and para-fiscal regulations which now push many women, old people, etc., out of the labour force).

Alternative II: The "welfare need" is mainly related to the working environment conditions and to the work income. For the first condition (welfare in the working environment), the hypothesis is that, physically, there will be an improvement as the workers have greater cognitive requirements and confront less and less frequently the behavioural tradition that the working place is an environment in which to suffer. What is not clear is whether or not it will be easy to improve the psychological and human ambience of the working environment if the working requirements continue to be increasing income, productivity, competition, and social climbing.

For the second condition (work income) there is a contrast between the behaviour of the majority of workers and the cognitive attitudes of the younger and better-educated workers. The first group act to obtain increasing wages for three basic reasons: as symbols of status and career success; to provide for the family, where the housewife, who does not work out of the house, has been sucked in by advertising; and to act out a traditional male way of thinking, working for work's sake because he has no other way to use his free time.

The second alternative will therefore range from: (1) greater welfare in the working environment connected to egalitarianism in work income, to (2) an increasing psychological stress in the working environment connected to an increasing careerism and diversification of income sought as a remedy and as a means to buy and pay for comfort and peace at home to compensate for the increasing tension at work.

If the second alternative should develop into case 2, the consequences will be either to limit the labour force to the most "productive" workers or to divide the labour market into "first" class workers and others. Another consequence will be more consumerism and a greater

focus on remedial and intense medical care, in spite of preventive health care. It will also result in a deeper division of roles in the family between sex and age groups and an increasing insecurity of family status, becoming mainly dependent on the husband's career.

If this second alternative should develop into case 1, the main consequences will be a more equal distribution of free time, incomes, and careers between sexes and age groups. Another consequence will be a greater equality in material consumption and more time for non-material consumption for everybody. The family profile will be different, and the labour force will more closely reflect the make-up of the population.

This study will go deeply into how the present fiscal and para-fiscal system and the regulations of work are turning this second alternative to case 2 and how the normative system must be changed in order to become the "neutral" or supporting case 1.

Alternative III. The "identity need" is mainly related to self-realization and self-expansion in work. Such self-realization is usually achieved through the intermediary of income, and rarely is self-expansion achieved through the power or dominance<sup>11</sup> that a working position may offer. The basic hypothesis of this alternative is that the majority of the new working possibilities will be in the service sector.<sup>12</sup>

The basic alternatives for identity in working life could therefore range from (1) a situation of centralization and bureaucratization of services to (2) a situation of decentralization and participation in the service sector.<sup>13</sup> The first possible result of this alternative will offer some service workers the possibility of having dominance over people. The second alternative will mainly offer workers in the services the possibility of having power. The possible different organization of the services (centralization and bureaucratization versus decentralization and participation) has important outcomes for the detection and satisfaction of all human needs as well as for

individual choices and for communication in both directions between individuals (average people) and decision-makers. The study will go deeply into how the present institutional organization, the communication system, and people's behaviour could support solutions 1 or 2 of this alternative.

Alternative IV: The "freedom need" may be satisfied by work if some conditions can be guaranteed to everybody. These conditions seem to be (1) a vocational, professional, educational system more directed to individual interests and potentialities than to sexual or social or racial roles; (2) a labour market offering full employment and types of employment differentiated by content, time, and rewards; (3) an administrative and legal organization allowing workers to have full territorial and/or professional mobility among different types of work without any loss of rights; (4) a system of vacations and duration of working time allowing elasticity and freedom in an individual's planning of the distribution of time for work, study, and leisure without any barrier to permanent adult education or any age barrier to entry into the labour market after the years of compulsory general education.

This alternative may range from (1) a fully closed and strictly non-flexible labour market to (2) an open labour market permitting individual choice and mobility. Between 1 and 2, there is a shared situation as there is nowadays in Italy between "legal workers" sheltered in privileged employment but obstructed in mobility and freedom and "black workers" having freedom and mobility without any protected employment.

The future possibility of work to allow individual freedom of choice will be related both to the economic situation and to the demographic age-curve of people at work as well as to many normative interventions that will be analysed in our research.

2.2. Some data will show the contemporary working life and problems in Italian society; these data can be used as a descriptive basis for

the alternatives indicated, such as the variation in the labour force between 1901 and 1971 (Figure 2) and the activity rates by sex and age in different years (Figures 1 and 3-7). Tables 1-5 show the distribution of Italian workers by sector and sex. In addition to the data directly connected to the working field, demographical data will also influence the alternatives for the labour market. The changing distribution of people between age groups and sex, for example, could deeply modify the labour market (Figure 8). The percentage distribution of the Italian population was, in 1901, 34.9 for the age group 0-14, 59.5 for the age group 15-64, and 6.1 from age 65 onwards. The same percentage distribution was, in 1971, 24.4 (age group 0-14), 64.3 (age group 15-65), and 11.3 (over 65).

The ratio of old people (the number of people 60 years of age and over expressed as a percentage of the number of people younger than 15 years of age) was, in 1901, 27 per cent (old men) and 28.7 per cent (old women). In 1971 the same figure for old men was 57.9 per cent and for old women 78.9 per cent.

TABLE 1. Specific Rates of Activity of the Resident Population by Sex, Qualification, Economic Activity Sector, and Age Group

Male

Age groups	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Professional work forces														
1. Agriculture														
14-29	20.4	17.6	14.8	12.8	11.7	11.7	10.8	10.4	8.7	7.7	6.7	6.4	5.8	5.4
30-49	24.9	22.3	21.8	20.5	19.0	19.5	19.0	18.7	17.2	16.8	15.4	15.3	14.5	13.7
50-64	31.2	36.7	29.5	28.4	26.9	27.1	25.3	24.6	23.2	22.2	20.4	19.8	18.2	17.3
65+	19.3	16.4	15.4	12.1	11.9	11.2	9.7	9.4	8.8	7.7	7.2	7.0	5.3	5.4
Total	24.1	22.4	20.5	18.9	17.7	17.8	16.8	16.3	15.0	14.1	12.9	12.6	11.5	10.9
2. Industry														
14-29	40.0	41.4	42.4	42.4	42.0	40.5	38.7	38.9	38.1	38.4	37.7	37.7	36.5	35.1
30-49	39.4	40.2	41.7	43.2	43.5	43.9	43.5	43.2	44.0	45.2	45.8	46.5	46.8	46.9
50-64	26.2	27.1	27.6	28.1	23.6	28.0	27.9	27.2	26.8	25.8	26.1	26.5	23.2	25.8
65+	4.2	4.1	3.7	3.6	2.5	2.7	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.6
Total	33.1	34.0	34.8	35.3	35.0	34.6	33.6	33.5	33.4	33.9	33.9	34.2	33.6	33.1
3. Other activities														
14-29	16.5	16.7	16.4	16.7	17.3	17.1	16.5	16.7	16.9	16.4	16.7	16.4	16.2	16.3
30-49	32.9	33.7	33.7	33.4	34.7	33.9	34.6	35.4	36.1	35.2	30.0	35.7	35.9	16.9
50-64	24.7	24.3	24.1	24.0	24.8	24.5	25.6	25.9	26.1	25.6	26.6	26.4	28.5	27.1
65+	6.5	6.5	6.1	5.3	5.3	4.6	4.9	4.9	4.5	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.4	3.2
Total	23.1	23.4	23.1	23.0	23.8	23.3	23.5	24.0	24.3	23.8	24.3	23.9	23.9	24.4
4. Total of work forces														
14-29	79.7	78.4	76.2	74.2	73.3	71.8	69.0	63.9	66.9	65.9	64.4	63.6	62.9	60.3
30-49	97.2	96.8	97.2	97.1	97.2	97.3	97.1	97.3	97.3	97.2	97.2	97.3	97.3	97.6
50-64	82.1	82.1	81.2	80.5	80.3	79.6	78.8	77.7	76.1	73.6	73.1	72.7	79.9	70.2
65+	30.0	29.0	25.2	21.0	19.7	18.5	16.9	16.5	15.5	13.5	12.9	12.6	10.4	10.2
Total	81.2	80.6	79.2	77.9	77.4	76.5	74.8	74.7	73.6	72.8	72.1	71.6	70.4	69.6

Source: ISTAT

TABLE 2. Specific Rates of Activity of the Resident Population by Sex, Qualification, Economic Activity Sector, and Age Group

Age groups	Female													
	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Professional work forces														
1. Agriculture														
14-29	11.2	10.1	9.8	8.1	6.9	6.2	5.6	5.2	4.6	4.2	3.5	3.4	3.0	2.8
30-49	12.2	12.3	11.7	10.7	10.7	9.5	8.8	8.7	8.4	8.3	7.5	7.7	7.1	7.1
50-64	12.1	12.2	11.5	10.7	10.2	10.0	8.7	8.6	8.3	8.0	7.1	7.2	6.4	6.3
65+	4.8	4.4	3.7	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.1	1.8	1.8	1.3	1.2	1.3	0.9	0.9
Total	11.0	10.6	10.0	8.8	8.1	7.7	6.9	6.7	6.3	6.1	5.4	5.4	4.9	4.8
2. Industry														
14-29	17.9	18.8	18.5	18.3	17.6	16.7	15.7	15.8	15.8	16.4	16.0	15.7	14.9	14.7
30-49	8.4	8.5	8.2	8.3	7.7	7.4	7.4	7.3	7.5	7.4	8.0	8.0	7.9	8.3
50-64	3.7	3.6	3.3	3.3	3.0	2.9	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.5
65+	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
Total	9.5	9.8	9.3	9.2	8.7	8.2	7.8	7.8	7.7	7.9	8.0	7.9	7.5	7.5

Source: ISTAT

TABLE 3. Married Women Working per Sector

Year	Per thousand			Percentage		
	Agri- culture	In- dustry	Other activities	Agri- culture	In- dustry	Other activities
1973	804	744	1,311	28.1	26.0	45.9
1974	807	832	1,428	26.3	27.1	46.6
1975	776	862	1,504	24.7	27.4	47.9
				Total	Total	Total
				2,859	3,067	3,142
				100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: ISTAT

TABLE 4. Assistants by Sex and Civil Status<sup>a</sup>

Year	Males	Females		Males Females	Females %	Married %
		Total	Married		Total	Females
1973	433	787	650	1,220	64.5	82.6
1974	417	811	679	1,228	66.0	83.7
1975 <sup>b</sup>	404	775	653	1,179	65.7	84.3

a) Absolute data per thousand

b) Average on survey of January, April and July

Source: ISTAT

TABLE 5. Percentage Distribution of Unemployed According to the Duration of Occupation and Divided by Sectors of Economic Activity and Study Titles

Sector of economic activities and study title	Less than 3 months	From 3 to 6 months	From 6 to 12 months	From 1 to 2 years	From 2 to 3 years	Over 3 years	Total	
							Thousands	Percentage
Triennium 1968-1970								
Agriculture	66.9	24.6	5.9	2.6	-	-	118	100.0
Industry	45.0	27.0	16.6	7.6	2.5	1.3	525	100.0
Other activities	35.3	28.7	19.3	11.0	3.0	2.7	300	100.0
Total	44.6	27.3	16.1	8.1	2.3	1.6	943	100.0
Illiterate	54.1	29.7	13.5	2.7	-	-	37	100.0
No title	52.0	25.7	12.9	6.4	1.8	1.2	171	100.0
Primary school	48.0	26.2	15.4	7.2	1.9	1.3	473	100.0
Secondary school	34.6	30.3	18.8	10.9	3.6	1.8	165	100.0
High school	27.5	28.5	22.0	12.1	4.4	5.5	91	100.0
Degree	50.0	33.3	-	16.7	-	-	6	100.0
Total	44.6	27.3	16.1	8.1	2.3	1.6	943	100.0
1972								
Agriculture	48.3	37.9	10.4	3.4	-	-	29	100.00
Industry	36.8	34.2	17.8	7.9	2.6	0.7	152	100.00
Other activities	32.1	29.6	23.4	9.9	2.5	2.5	81	100.00
Total	36.7	33.2	18.7	8.0	2.3	1.1	262	100.00
Illiterate	33.3	44.5	11.1	11.1	-	-	9	100.00
No title	42.5	35.0	17.5	5.0	-	-	40	100.00
Primary school	39.7	32.8	17.6	6.9	1.5	1.5	131	100.00
Secondary school	30.2	32.1	22.6	11.3	1.9	1.9	53	100.00
High school	28.6	28.6	21.4	10.7	10.7	-	28	100.00
Degree	-	100.0	-	-	-	-	1	100.00
Total	36.7	33.2	18.7	8.0	2.3	1.1	262	100.00

TABLE 6. Average Monthly Length of Working Hours per Worker in Industry (Average Number of Hours per Employed Worker)

Region	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
Piemonte and Valle d'Aosta	150	158	159	157	149	149	143	139
Lombardia	150	155	156	157	149	149	144	140
Trentino-Alto Adige	150	155	154	155	146	147	142	139
Veneto	147	152	152	154	148	148	141	140
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	153	152	156	153	147	149	142	139
Liguria	151	150	157	154	145	146	141	136
Emilia-Romagna	146	150	152	152	144	145	140	136
Toscana	147	148	151	150	144	144	140	136
Umbria	149	151	143	149	146	146	142	140
Marche	139	143	150	144	141	141	137	135
Lazio	152	155	155	154	150	150	144	141
Abruzzi								
Molise	138	147	141	141	140	140	132	129
Campania								
Puglia	147	143	148	147	143	143	137	134
Basilicata	155	152	151	150	145	147	143	140
Calabria	142	147	144	146	141	142	139	136
Sicilia	136	138	139	137	134	132	131	129
Sardegna	147	150	148	147	144	144	143	138
Total	147	146	146	145	145	144	139	134
Total	149	153	154	153	147	147	142	138

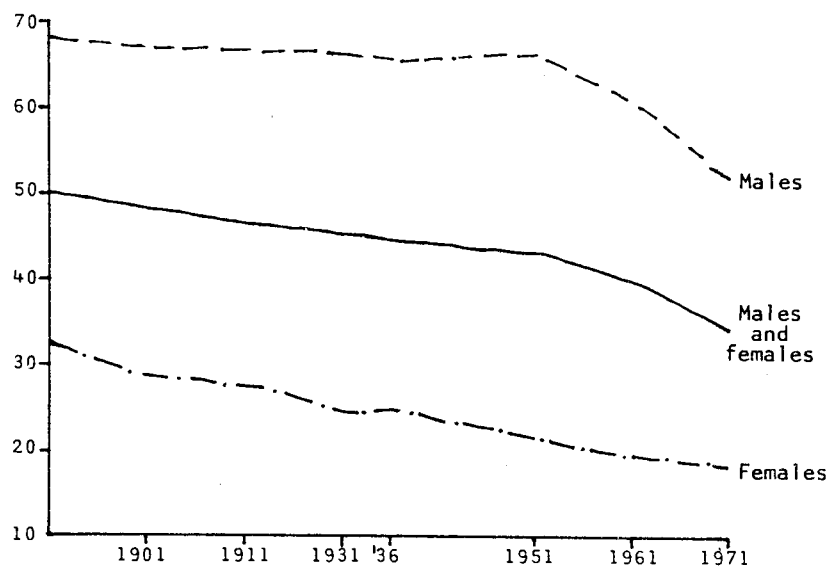


FIG. 1. Activity Rates (Active per 100 Residents)



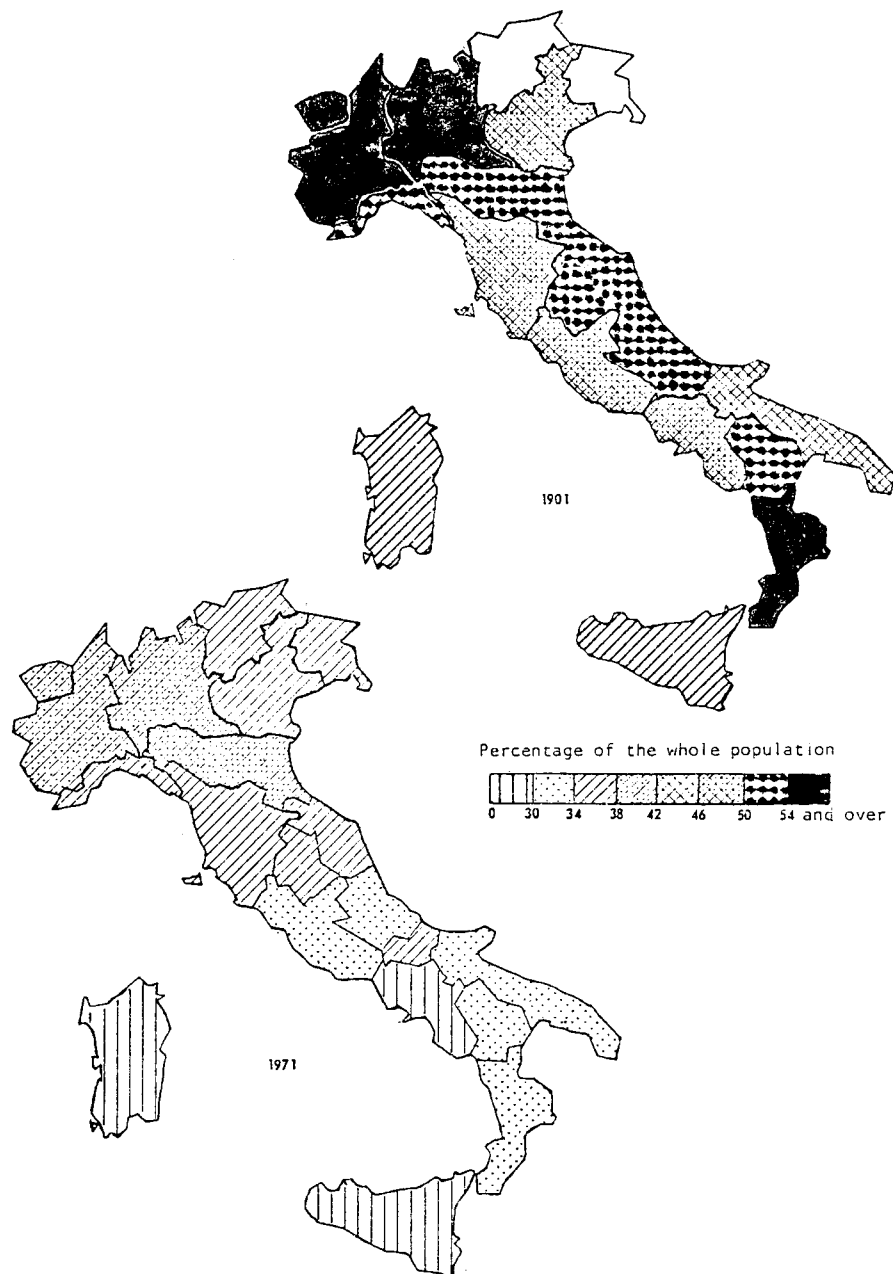


FIG. 2. Active Population

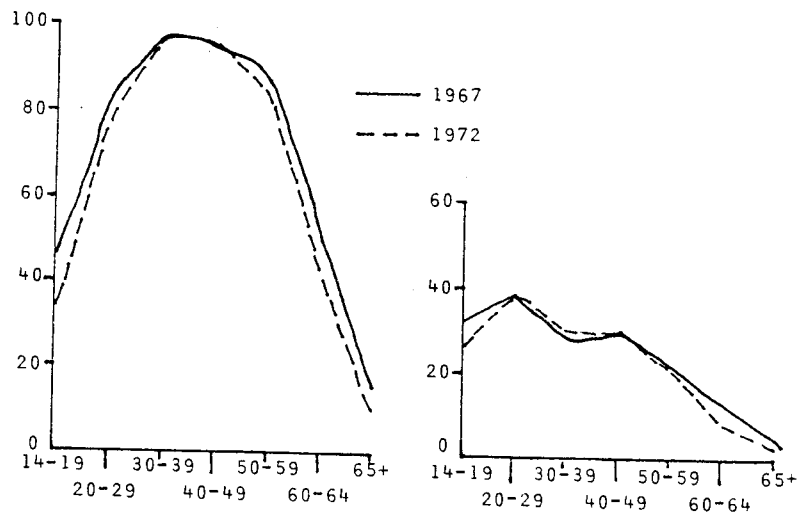


FIG. 3. Specific Rates of Activity by Sex and Age (Active per 100 Residents of the Same Sex and Age)

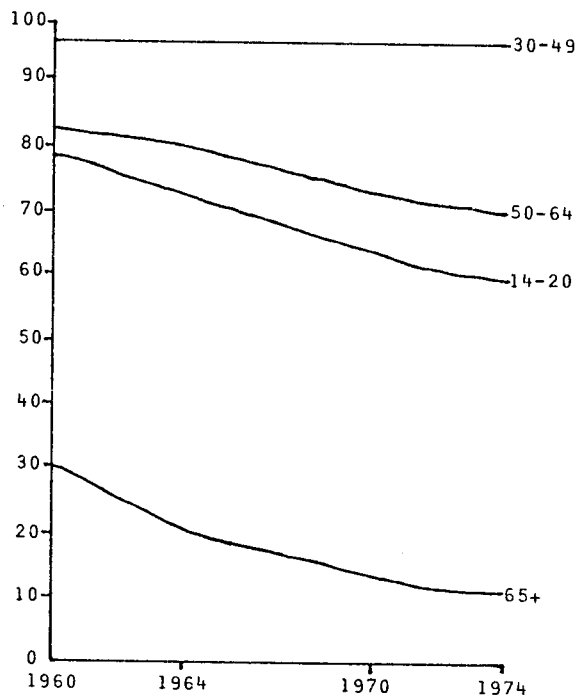


FIG. 4. Specific Rates of Activity by Sex and Age Group: Males

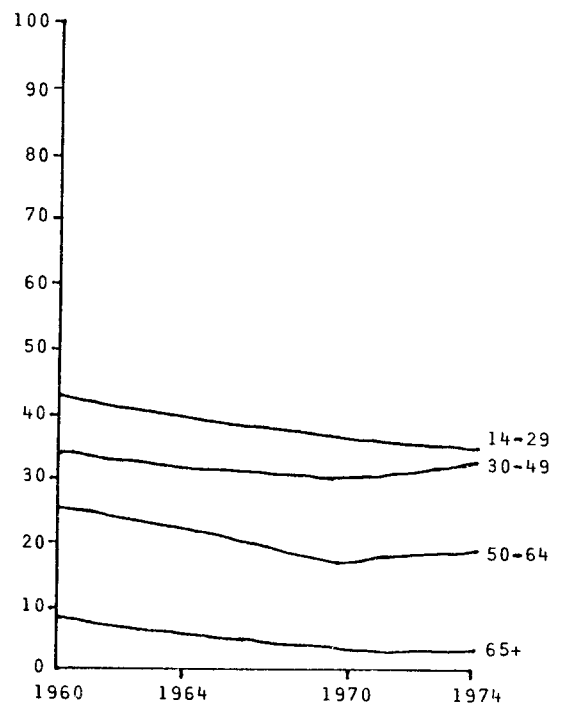


FIG. 5. Specific Rates of Activity by Sex and Age Group: Females

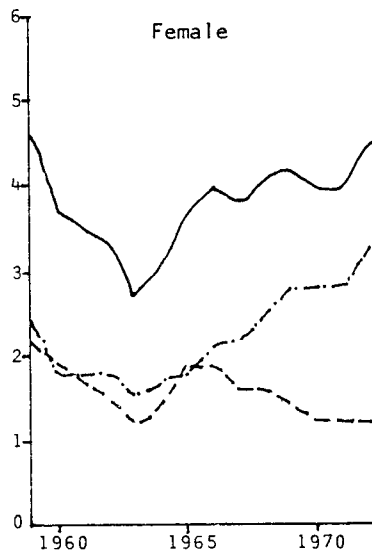
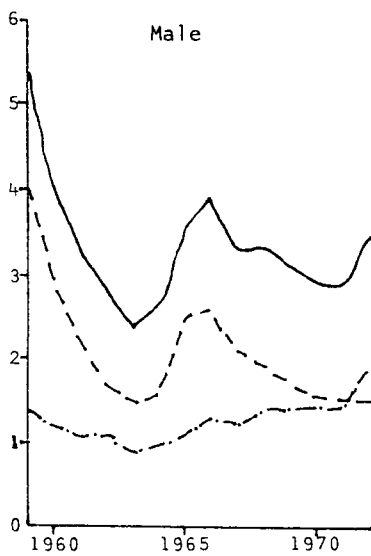
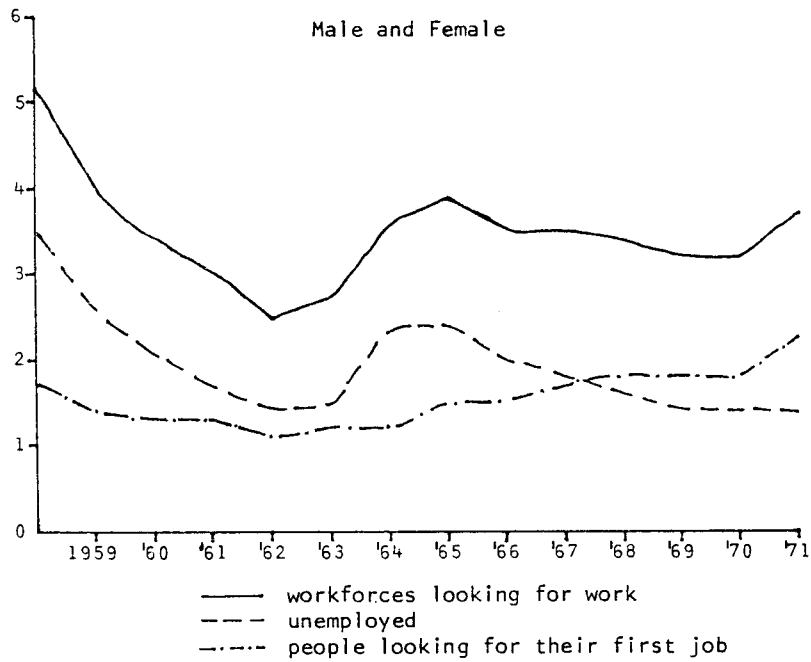


FIG. 6. Unemployment Rates by Sex (Percentage Values on All Work Forces)

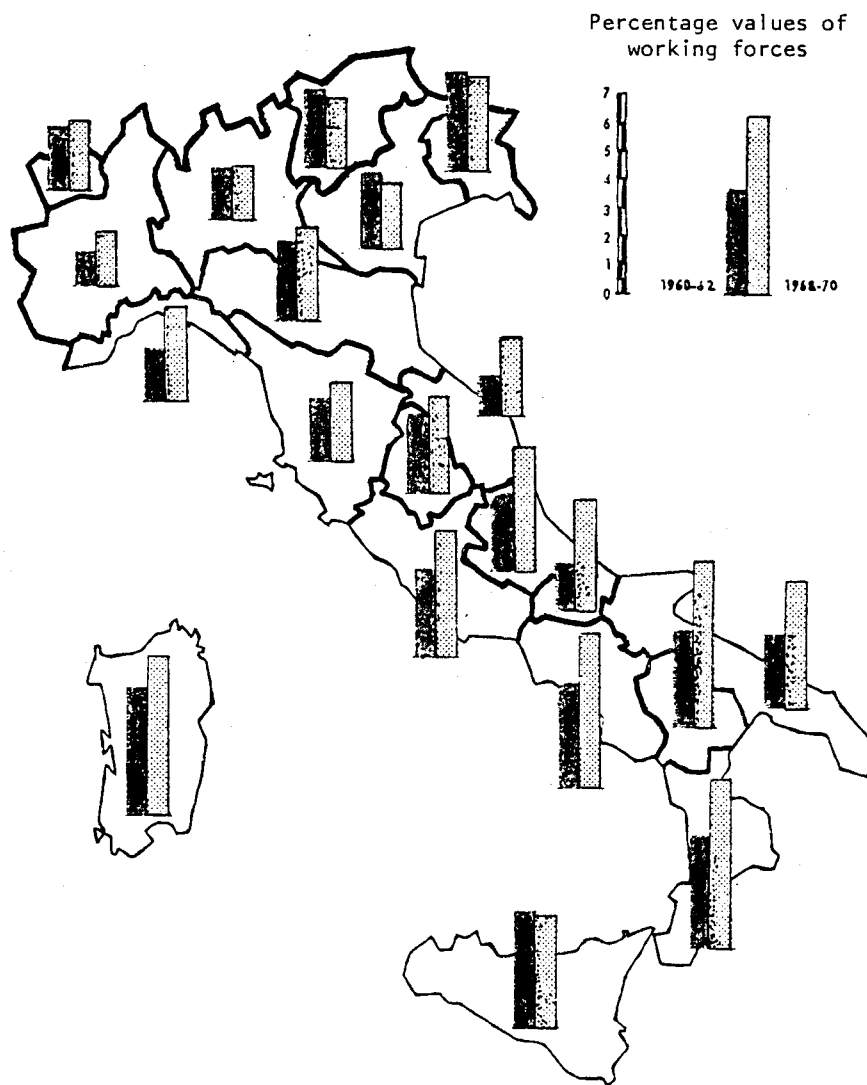


FIG. 7. Unemployment Rates

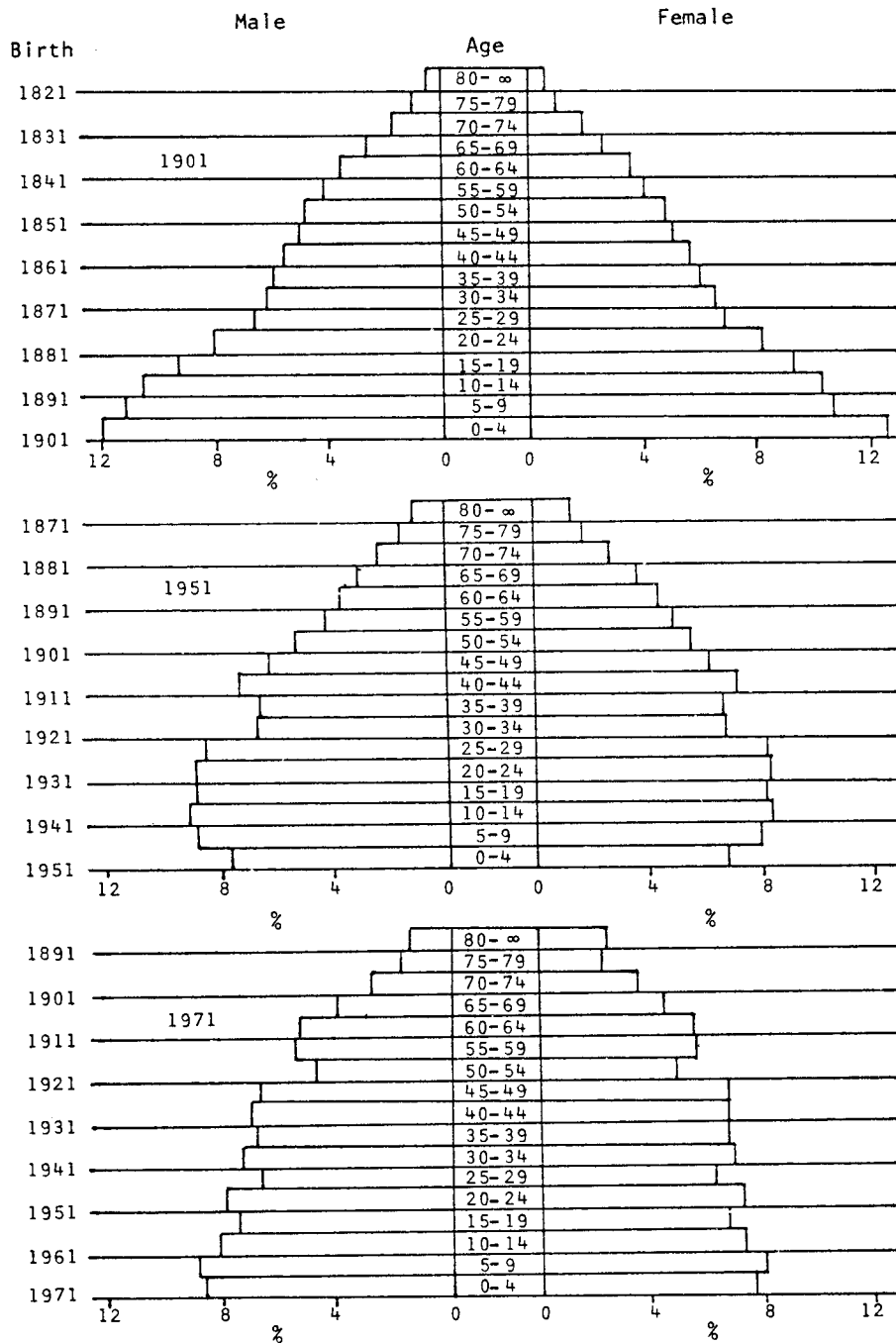


FIG. 8. Percentage Distribution by Age of Population According to Sex

## NOTES

1. See "Long-term Programme 1948 and 1949/1952 and 1953" prepared to allocate ERP help foreseen by the Marshall Plan.
2. See "Employment and Income Development Plan in the Ten-Year Period 1955-1964" presented by Vanoni, Budget Minister.
3. See the "Added Note" to the General Relation on the Economic Situation of the Country presented in 1962 by La Malfa, Budget Minister.
4. See "National Economic Programme Project 1965-1969" presented by Giolitti, Budget Minister, in 1964. Also see "National Economic Programme 1966-1970" presented by Pieraccini, Budget Minister, and passed into law in 1967.
5. For example, in Italy, the heavy criticism to the "Project '80" and the events that led the first Secretary General of Programming, Giorgio Ruffolo, to resign.
6. *Alternative Ways of Life*, 1977.
7. Elise Boulding, *The Underside of History* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1976).
8. Claudio Calvaruso in "Condizione femminile e teoria dell'evoluzione sociale per la Condizione della Donna," Rome, 1977.
9. We do not precisely know the maternal mortality rate for Italy. Maternal mortality was, in Norway, in the years 1936-1940, 2.35 (per 1,000 births) and 13.2 (per 100,000 females aged 15-49 years). Maternal mortality in Norway in the years 1971-1975 was 0.08 (per 1,000 births) and 0.6 (per 100,000 females aged 15-49). These data, taken from Table 9, page 16, in Dag Poleszynski's "Costs and Benefits of Norwegian Life Style" are good indicators of the lowering level of death of women in childbirth.
10. A security problem in working life is mainly felt in some industrial branches such as the construction industry. We hope that in the near future the number of accidents will decrease even more than in the last few years. We do not consider this problem an alternative of our future.
11. The definitions of "power" and "dominance" are given in para. 1.1.
12. See the hypothesis of the increasing tertiarization of primary and secondary sectors presented by Orio Giarini in "L'Europe devant l'age post-industriel," *Futuribles*, Autumn 1977, pp. 387-412.

13. Field research could be based on the principles of centralization versus decentralization in the specific area of health services.