

MIGRATIONS CYCLE DE VIE FAMILIAL & MARCHÉ DU TRAVAIL

sous la direction de
Dominique Barjot et Olivier Faron

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travail³. Chacune de ces trois séances a débouché sur des conclusions suggestives, qui ouvrent autant de pistes à la recherche future⁴.

MIGRATIONS ET ÉCONOMIE

A priori, les migrations constituent le phénomène démographique le plus intimement dépendant de l'économie. Elles se trouvent par conséquent à la croisée des préoccupations de recherche des historiens tant démographes qu'économistes. Cependant, trop souvent, les uns ignorent la complexité et la multiplicité des formes de mobilité ou les autres simplifient l'économie notamment en ne distinguant pas ce qui ressort des régimes et des systèmes et ce qui est du domaine du conjoncturel. Il était proposé aux participants de travailler à un niveau microéconomique ou micro-démographique sur les interactions entre les contraintes familiales et les aspirations individuelles dans la formation de la décision de migrer, et, à un niveau macroéconomique ou macro-démographique sur la dynamique des espaces. À ces deux niveaux d'analyse, il est intéressant d'identifier :

- l'impact de la conjoncture économique – courte, moyenne ou longue (malthusienne) – sur le comportement démographique en matière de migrations ;
- le rôle méconnu joué par les mouvements migratoires dans l'essor ou le déclin économique.

Ainsi que le montre Michel Oris dans son rapport, les contributions ont essentiellement porté sur l'époque contemporaine, en particulier sur le XIX^e siècle, caractéristique commune avec le troisième thème. Certes, ces contributions ont plutôt envisagé les migrations comme déterminées par l'économie et non comme déterminantes de l'économie, mais elles ont traité à la fois des causes de l'émigration, lorsqu'elle concernait les milieux ruraux, et de l'intégration des émigrés, lorsqu'elle s'intéressait aux milieux urbains. Néanmoins des études comme celles de Catherine Capron et de Jean-Louis Lenhof se sont interrogées sur le rôle de certains migrants dans la diffusion des techniques, sur

3. Le colloque a suscité un intérêt considérable : 49 communications (dont 21 pour la séance 1, 13 pour la séance 2, 15 pour la séance 3)... Le Comité scientifique a donc procédé à une sélection très stricte des communications retenues pour publication. Il a classé les papiers présentés au colloque en trois catégories : excellents papiers s'inscrivant exactement dans les problématiques du colloque ; bons papiers situés partiellement ou totalement hors des axes de réflexion proposés ; papiers d'une moindre originalité. Seules les contributions relevant de la première catégorie ont été retenues pour publication, celles correspondant à la seconde ayant été proposées le plus souvent à des revues spécialisées. À l'issue de la sélection, textes et bibliographie ont été ensuite harmonisés dans la mesure du possible.

4. Les rapports de chacune des trois séances intègrent non seulement le contenu des communications publiées, mais aussi celui des contributions non retenues pour publication.

Fernando MENDIOLA GONZALO

Family, gender and labour market in a lately industrialized city: Iruñea-Pamplona, 1840-1996

INTRODUCTION¹

The major objective of this paper is to explain the relationships among industrialization, family strategies and labour market formation during the last two centuries in a lately industrialized city, Iruñea-Pamplona, the capital of Navarre², in Basque Country.

This field of research has been a source of important discussions in social history and historical demography that will be further mentioned. Despite the different interpretations of historians, it has already been determined that the influence of industrialization of male and female employment must be explained taking into account that individuals do not live isolated, and that family, with its different meanings according to different places and times, has been the most important frame for the individuals' economic life, assigning some specific rights and duties to every member. That is why mainly we must talk about family strategies.

It is within family where we can notice the different social perceptions of the meaning of manhood and womanhood, as a variable and cultural meaning, and that is why many historians talk about gender to define and explain the different situation of men and women in a society, and also in the labour market (Scott, 1990).

Employment is not the only component of family strategies, but there is no doubt that the access to money is one of the basis of these strategies in capitalist societies. Anyway, many historians have argued

1. Contemporary History Department; Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (University of Basque Country), Leioa, Bizkaia, Spanish State. e-mail: hcbzasam lg.ehu.es

I want to thank Yolanda Arruabarrena for her help with the redaction in English of this article.

2. From now on we will use one of the two official names of the city, Iruñea and Pamplona.

that we can not think of employment as the only kind of work, because the so called «reproductive» work has been mainly out of labour market, carried out by women that do not get any salary for it (Borderías et Carrasco, 1994, pp. 15-92). So, we must point out that in this paper we are not analyzing all kind of work, but only the one that was made to obtain some money.

Well, that is our objective, but we have to mention that the study of employment has the difficulties of its appearance in official records, mainly for the women, much of it considered as stationnal, unstable, and not the main economic sustain of the family, wich has made the quantification of female employment one of the great problems that historians have to face (Hill, 1993; Pérez-Fuentes, 1993). So, we have both the need to use census data if we want to have an overall vision of female employment, and the difficulties of knowing wether those census data may be distorsionating the reality we want to research about. That is why we need to compare those quantitative and statistical informations with some other maybe not so complete, or exact, but closer to the reality, such as oral testimonies, press, literature or photographs.

In this case, we have based our research in census data, and have compared and contrasted them with other ones. We can find two different kinds of census data. On the one hand, we have the census data of 1843³, 1860, 1887, 1910 and 1930, that are the years that we have chosen for our doctorate research about family strategies in Pamplona, and whose data are based on a sample of about 4 500 individuals per year⁴. Since 1940 the data are those which have been published by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (Statistics National Institute), except for 1996, whose unpublished data have been provided by the Statistics Department of Navarrese Government.

This census data have been contrasted with some other quantitative and qualitative data. The former ones, some other statistics for 1842 and 1903, when the census could have had more problems, are the list of the Contribution of «Culto y Clero» of 1842, and the other one, the list of workers that the Commission for Social Reforms asked to the employers in 1903. The later ones are very different ones, such as the reports of the Province Commission of Social Reforms written in the last years of xixth century (Reformas Sociales, 1985, V, pp. 193-360), information about female employment in the local catholic magazine *La Avalancha*, the autobiography of a woman who lived in Pamplona (Guerendiain, 1996), who gives us very useful information about work-

3. For this year the census is a local one.

4. The exact number of individuals per sample are 4 184, 4 530, 4 860, 5 326 and 4 820 for 1843, 1860, 1887, 1910 and 1930, so that we are working with a margin for error of % 2 %.

ing class living conditions, the collection of photographs of the Council Archive of Pamplona, and the recent research of some historians⁵.

The comparison between census data and the other ones does not make us think of an important underregistration of female employment in any of the periods studied, except for the agricultural sector and the irregular jobs carried out by children that appear in the autobiography of Josefina Guerendiain⁶.

According to census data almost agricultural workers were man in Iruñea, but a lot of photographs from the last years of XIXth century show us the work of men and women in agricultural tasks in Pamplona, and in them it is very clear the presence of both men and women of all ages⁷. Besides, we have some other testimonies about the presence of women in agricultural tasks, and this is why, for the XIXth century, we have made an own estimation of female activity rates trying to adjust, somehow, this clear underregistration. So, we have considered active, and agricultural worker, the wives of married agricultural workers that appear as family heads in census.

This new estimation can be found arbitrary, because surely not all the married women would be working in agricultural tasks, and because some other family members, such as daughters, or other relatives, could be working as well, but it gives us the mean of one adult woman per agricultural family working in agriculture, and I think that this is one data that, according to the informations we have, can hardly be doubted. So, maybe we do not have a new exact activity rate, but we have a more accurate one than the provided by census without any correction, where it is unquestionable the important underregistration that appears in agricultural work.

So, we can think that the data that we have reflects quite well the general trends of female employment in Pamplona, and its relationships with family strategies. Anyway, we must declare that two important tasks are already to be done. On the one hand, if we are interested in family strategies, we must try to explain the different strategies of every social class, or the differences among the same class. As a matter of fact, this is the aim of the current doctorate research that

5. We have to point out the recent studies by IPES research group, Equipo de investigación de Ipes Elkartea (1998), the biography of the local socialist leader, Gregorio Angulo, (García-Sanz Marcotegui, 1999) and some of the articles of the compilation on women's history in Pamplona in Huarte de San Juan, 5, 1998, one of which focuses on news about women in local press during the first decades of XXth century (Elso, 1998).

6. Pupilage, another important strategy to increase the incomes of working families based on the work of married women, lost importance in Iruñea during XIXth century. While in 1786 there was a media of 0,28 lodger per home (Erdozain and Mikelarena, 1998), in 1930 the media was 0,06.

7. We can have a similar idea with the photographs by Abiatua around 1900 in some basque villages (Abaitua, 1990).

we are preparing, and that will try to explain the different strategies of families in Pamplona since 1840 to 1930⁸. On the other hand, the own testimonies of the protagonist of history is one of the best sources to understand them, and this means that the oral history about this subject, something already almost unknown in Pamplona could give us very useful information.

So, once we have explained the major objectives of this paper, we will start with a short review of the main phases of industrialization in Iruñea, so that we can understand the evolution of female employment within its economic context, after that we will study the evolution and sectorial composition of female employment and the segmentation of labour market, paying special attention to the age and civil status of men and women in labour market, because of its relationship with family strategies. In the last chapter, we will focus on the relationships between female employment and demographic behaviours, such as nuptiality and fertility, so that we can have a more complete explanation of these family strategies.

INDUSTRIALIZATION IN IRUÑEA

Industrialization in Navarra is lately phenomenon, and about this there is no doubt among historians. If we compare it within the European context, the Spanish or the Basque, Navarra has been a lately industrialized region, and it is not an exception.

During the last two decades of XIXth century the western and costern part of Basque Country, Bizkaia, experimented important changes that marked the end of the long crisis of traditional protoindustrial siderurgy and the beginning of a new phase based on heavy siderurgical industries (González Portilla, 1981). The southern regions of peninsular Basque Country, on the contrary, although the slight but important changes of the first decades of this century, remained almost completely agricultural until 1960 or 1970, when appeared important industrial centres, among them Iruñea-Pamplona. (Larrión, 1993).

Table 1: Employment sectors of active population

	1843	1887	1930	1960	1975	1996
I	15,4	8,8	3,1	2,5	2,7	1,2
II	32,8	37,0	38,8	41,4	47,9	30,0
III	51,8	54,2	58,2	56,2	49,4	68,8

Source: census data

8. This research is being carried on in the Department of Contemporary History on the University of Basque Country, and is directed by M. González Portilla.

The major objective of this paper it is not giving an accurate description of the economic evolution of Pamplona, but, however, we need to give some of the main features of this industrialization, and mark the phases in which we must understand our study. So, according mainly to the data of table 1, and to the socio-politic context we can talk about four main phases in the evolution of the city.

During the middle decades of xixth century Iruñea is yet a little and preindustrial city (Madoz, 1845), based on the service sector, with an own artisanal activity spread in little workshops and in close relationships with the agricultural surroundings, populated by 15 000 inhabitants. Although the city seems to be very similar to that of xviii century, during the first half of xixth century deep capitalist and liberal changes took place in Spanish State in uneven way, and with the obstacle of a civil war. As a result, many of the feudal laws of the Modern Age were rewoked, and the Kingdom of Nafarroa lost most of its own laws, the so called *Fueros*, becoming once province more in the Spanish State. So, this legal changes will be the basis of later economic changes that are not still visible at the moment.

After the last Carlist War, in 1876, and until 1935, Iruñea will have some important changes mostly concerned with transports – the railway –, and with the extension of the city, breaking down part of the militar walls that were asphyxiating the increasing population⁹, – 26 000 in 1887, and 42 000 in 1930 –, among the old walls. Concurrent with this great increase in construction subsector, we have to mention the apparition of some not very large factories, that, though meaningful, don't allow us to speak about a real industrialization (Los Huertos, 1991).

It is during the last ten years of the fascist rule of Franco, 1939-1975, when we can locate intense industrialization in Pamplona, with the apparition of important large factories of different subsectors, such us alimentation, chemicals, and car industry, concurrent with the population growth, – 163 000 inhabitants in 1975.

During the transition to parliamentary democracy we have to mention the tertiarization of the economy in Iruñea, losing proportional weigth the already important industrial sector. The stopage in the population growth, 166 000 inhabitants in 1996, may be deceptive if we do not take into account the development of the metropolitan area.

9. This increase is mainly due to immigration, whose main characteristics have been already studied (Mendiola, 1996), but we must take into account that immigration was permanent in Iruñea even in preindustrial times, like it was in most cities in Modern Age (de Vries, 1987).

CAPITALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION AND FEMALE EMPLOYMENT TRENDS

The debate about the impact of capitalist industrialization on women's role in society and, more specifically, on female employment has been one of the most fruitful debate within social and economical history, shifting from too theoretical statements to more empirical studies according to local and sectorial divergences, which have made possible to advance in the general discussion.

The pioneer studies that I. Pinchbeck and A. Clark wrote in the beginning of this century were almost ignored by some of the main groups of historians and sociologists. Functionalist theories told us that industrialization had brought women out from their traditional role at home to the outside world of economics and production. This optimistic point of view found echo among some of the historians who took part in the classic debate about living-standards during industrialization, both among the optimist ones, who remarked this so called entry in the world of work, and among some of the pessimistic ones, who remarked the hard conditions of women and children labour in mines and factories.

Later on, anyway, feminist historiography rescued the very useful investigations by I. Pinchbeck and A. Clark, and, above all, their emphasis about the influence of industrial capitalism in the birth and development of an ideal role of women, whose place in society was the home, far away from the masculine word of employment. Scott and Tilly's book (1978) was of great importance in the development of this theory, and these authors remarked the continuation line than linked female agricultural and protoindustrial work with women's employment in the beginning of industrialization. Female work was not something new that was born with industrialization, and, even more, they argued that in the second half of XIXth century there was a decline in female employment, something that radically changed in the second half of XXth century. So, female employment general trend could be drawn like a «U», in which the lower part of it would be the decline in female participation in labour market during the second half of the last century and the beginning of this one. Their main contribution was not only the data they brought, that had great difficulties to show clearly the «U» shape, but the utilization of gender as a useful category for historical analysis.

Once the way was opened, empirical investigations and theoretical discussions were quite numerous, and we can read synthesis of them in the useful and very complete works by Honeyman and Goodman (1991), and Hudson and Leek (1990). Research on female activity rates can be a good startpoint if we consider the problems they involve, and if we take into account the difficulties of making comparison

among countries with different statistical systems (Pott-Buter, 1993). As we can see in table 2, it is difficult to draw the same general trend for all the countries, and this, once more, make us remember the risks of too schematical theories. On the other hand, it is obvious that the main change we can appreciate is the rise in female activity rates after the II World War, although that was much more posterior for the Spanish case.

Table 2 : Female activity rates, 1787-1995

	1787-15	1841-45	1881-7	1900	1930	1950	1980	1990
Spanish st.			15,8	15,2	9,2		27	36(*)
France		25		35	37,1	30	52,5	57
United King.	46,4	41,5	32	32	34	35	58,5	65
USA				20,6	24,8	25,8	51,5	

Sources : USA : Goldin, 1986.

United Kingdom : Humphries, 1995. 1980 and 1990 : Pott-Buter, 1993.

Spanish state : Soto Carmona, 1984, p. 284. (for women aged from 11 to 70). 1980 and 1996. (García, 1997)

France : Pott-Buter, 1993.

Anyway, these numbers do not tell us anything about the impact of industrialization on women employment, because of the lack of statistical census data for the XVIIIth century. This is why it has been necessary to go to local researches in order to have a continuity of data on the subject. But, in addition to all the problems that it brings with, J. Humphries (1995) has made a very meaningful attempt to get female activity rates for the last decades of XVIIIth century in Britain, and has come to the conclusion that female employment declined in the middle of XIXth century, confirming in some way the previous theories about the «U» shaped trend of female activity rates during the last two centuries.

After making a short but necessary synthesis of the situation in some European countries, we are trying to draw the general trend of female employment in Iruñea, basing on the data of table 3, where we have made three different estimations of female participation in labour market. The first one is the standard activity rate according to the census data; for the second one we have made a little correction in order to repair the most evident case of underregistration of female employment, that of agriculture, for the years it is meaningful; and in third place, I have calculated not the activity rate but the employment rate, in the years it has been possible.

Table 3: Activity rates in Iruñea-Pamplona (aged 15 to 64)

	1843	1860	1887	1910	1930	1940	1960	1975	1986	1996
men/women	51,6	51,3	53,3	54,9	53,5	53,8	56,3	54	59,1	
men	83,4	76,1	84	88,6	87,2	86	84,4	83,2	79,7	73,9
women	29,6	32,5	30	32,1	27,8	24,1	31,4	26,8	39	47,9
women (*)	37,4	39,7	35,2							
women (**)									28	35,9

Source: census data.

(*) head family and married peasants' wives are considered as active.

(**) employed women (those who appear as unemployed are not included).

According to the table 3, there are some very quick impressions that we have to comment, although they will need further nuance. The first important feature of the general trend in standard activity rates is its relatively high stability over the two centuries, always fluctuating around the 30 % until the last rise after 1975. This general trend is not so stable if we take account of the second estimation, which shows us an important decline of the activity rate in the last years of xixth century and the beginning of xxth century, the first important moment of industrialization and proletarianization in Iruñea. At last, if we consider directly employment rates, which is ignoring the willingness of getting a job, but gives us more accurate information about real employment, we can see that female employment is lower nowadays than in the preindustrial middle of xixth century, besides the importance of the rise in the last decades.

Table 4: Percentage of women in active population, employed population and total population. Iruñea-Pamplona

	1843	1860	1887	1910	1930	1940	1960	1975	1986	1996
active p.	33,7	36,6	32,7	34,7	28,7	23,4	29,67	25,7	34,3	40,5
active p. (*)	39,3	40,7	35,6							
employed p. (**)									30,9	37,2
total pop.	56,1	55,2	55,2	57,1	54,5	52,2	52,5	51,7	53,1	52,4

Source: census data.

(*) head family and married peasants' wives are considered as active.

(**) employed women (those who appear as unemployed are not included).

If we look for more information in the table 3, we can appreciate important details, during this apparent stability. As a matter of fact, female activity rates decline clearly in some precise moments. According to the second estimation we can appreciate an important decline in the last years of xxth century, from 1910 to 1940, and from 1960 to 1975. As we have already explained, these were moments of special importance in the industrial development of the city. If we compare these rates with some other of European states, we can point out two important conclusions. On the one hand, it is obvious that preindustrial rates in Pamplona are not inferior to those of other places where industrialization is considerably more advanced. On the other hand, this parity with more industrialized countries is clearly broken in the middle years of this century, because while in most European countries we can appreciate an important rise in female activity rates, the Spanish and Basque reality is that this rise will not take place until 1980s and 1990s.

Following with this overlook, the percentage of men and women among active population in the labour market gives us some important information about the participation of women in the public and formal sector of economy, because not only the proportion of employed women among women living in the city, but also the proportion of each sex in the composition of the city population has an influence on this percentage. According to table 4, we can see three different moments in the composition of labour market. During the preindustrial years in the middle of xixth century women represented a third of the employed population, or even a 40 % if we take into account the second estimation. This percentage clearly declines during the period from 1910 to 1985, when female participation rises until the 40 % of 1996. Anyway, here we must say again that this last percentages are not so high if we consider the different impact of unemployment in men and women. So we can see that women participation in the local labour market is not higher nowadays than in preindustrial times.

As we can see in the same table 4, female participation in the composition of the city population is another factor that helps us to explain the composition of labour market. Like in most of the preindustrial european cities, in Iruñea there were more women than men in the xixth century, and these high percentages, around 55 %, will remain high until the decline of the franquist time, being 1975, the year in which we find the lower female percentage, just in the year in which industrial sector has the higher one. Anyway, even in this moment we find more women than men among the total population. So, we could say that the importance of women in preindustrial population is one of the reasons to explain the decline of women percentage in the labour market is not so fast as the decline in female activity

rates, and, even today, the women percentage in the employed population is lower than in XIXth century.

So far we have been writing about female participation in labour market comparing whole data and percentages with those of male workers, but nothing has been said about the different positions and conditions of men and women in labour market. Although the major objective of this paper is not to analyse all the components of female employment, and that is why we are not focusing on wages and other working conditions, it would be an error not to consider the sectors women worked in, so that we can find some relation between industrial development and female participation in labour market (tables 5, 6, 7, and 8).

Table 5 : Sectors of employed women

	1843(*)	1887(*)	1930	1960	1975	1996
I	22,4	15,3	0,6	0,3	0,9	0,4
II	10	13,2	18,8	24,2	25,8	10,8
III	67,6	71,5	80,7	75,5	73,3	88,8

Source : census data.

(*) head family and married peasants' wives are considered as active.

Table 6 : Subsectors of employed women

	1843(*)	1887(*)	1930	1960	1975	1996
I. agriculture and stockbreeding	22,4	15,3	0,6	0,2	0,6	0,4
I. mining	*	*	*	0,1	0,3	0,1
II. day-labourers	0,6	1,4	5,1	*	0,0	0,0
II. food industry	0,4	0,7	0,4	*	3,2	1,0
II. textiles	8,2	10,0	11,2	*	8,9	1,5
II. woodwork	*	*	*	*	0,9	0,5
II. paper	*	*	*	*	2,3	1,4
II. chemicals	*	*	*	*	2,3	1,4
II. metallurgy	0,3	0,0	0,0	*	1,3	1,3
II. machinery and capital goods	*	*	*	*	4,3	0,6
II. electrics and electronics	*	*	*	*	*	0,6
II. transport materials	*	*	*	*	*	1,3

	1843(*)	1887(*)	1930	1960	1975	1996
II. electricity and water	*	*	*	0,1	0,1	0,2
II. construction (**)	0,3	0,0	0,7	0,8	2,0	1,0
II. other ones	0,3	1,1	1,3	23,3	0,4	0,1
III. trades and hotel business	6,7	8,4	3,7	11,9	21,0	22,9
III. laundress	4,9	4,9	1,7	*	*	*
III. owners	1,9	2,7	0,4	*	*	*
III. domestic servants	53,5	45,9	49,4	*	*	*
III. transports and communications	0,1	0,0	0,0	1,0	2,1	2,4
III. finances and insurances	0,0	0,0	0,0	*	4,2	13,8
III. public administration	0,1	0,0	0,2	*	*	10,1
III. education	0,0	1,0	4,6	*	*	13,8
III. health	0,3	0,0	0,4	*	*	19,5
III. clergy	0,0	6,7	17,3	*	*	*
III. other ones	0,0	2	3,1	62,3	46,0	6,2

Source: census data.

(*) head family and married peasants' wives are considered as active.

(**) Until 1930 woodwork is included.

As many historians and economists have already pointed out, access to job has not the same difficulties for everybody, and gender, as other cultural, ethnic or other factors, will be marking seriously the proper jobs for men and women in every moment. That is why we are now analyzing sectors in which employed women worked and the percentage of women in every one, according to the main phases of industrialization before described, and comparing the example of Iruñea with some other cities that had some important common features.

Table 7: Percentage of women in every sector

	1843(*)	1887(*)	1930	1960	1975	1996
I	39,5	41,3	5,2	3,9	8,4	13,0
II	12,9	13,7	13,9	17,3	14,1	13,4
III	55,1	50,6	39,9	39,9	38,7	48,0

Source: census data.

(*) head family and married peasants' wives are considered as active.

Table 8: Percentage of women in every subsector

	1843(*)	1887(*)	1930	1960	1975	1996
I. agriculture and stockbreeding	39,5	41,3	5,2	3,4	11,0	17,3
I. mining	*	*	*	5,5	5,5	5,1
II. day-labourers	7,7	4,0	8,8	*	*	*
II. food industry	5,8	17,9	5,3	*	18,8	23,8
II. textiles	21,1	44,4	43,3	*	59,7	75,1
II. woodwork	*	*	*	*	7,2	10,5
II. paper	*	*	*	*	23,6	26,5
II. chemicals	*	*	*	*	17,1	26,6
II. metallurgy	4,9	0,0	0	*	16,7	9,4
II. machinery and capital goods	*	*	*	*	7,1	9,1
II. electrics and electronics	*	*	*	*	*	24,0
II. transport materials	*	*	*	*	*	7,2
II. electricity and water	*	*	*	2,6	23,3	17,8
II. construction (**)	2,1	0,0	2,5	2,4	4,4	6,0
II. other ones	6,3	11,3	13,2	22,6	38,5	20,5
III. trades and hotel business	37,0	44,4	12,8	25,0	43,7	45,3
III. laundress	100,0	100,0	100,0	*	*	*
III. owners	38,2	50,0	4,0	*	*	*
III. domestic servants	84,6	86,7	96,8	*	*	*
III. transports and communications	25,0	0,0	0,0	5,2	11,0	17,6
III. finances and insurances	*	*	*	*	20,6	38,3
III. public administration	2,9	0,0	3,0	*	*	42,1
III. education	0,0	41,2	71,4	*	*	60,7
III. health	10,0	0,0	9,5	*	*	72,7
III. clergy	0,0	41,0	61,4	*	*	*
III. other ones	0,0	7,8	5,7	51,3	45,2	55,6

Source: census data.

(*) head family and married peasants' wives are considered as active.

(**) Until 1930 woodwork is included.

XIXTH CENTURY CENTRAL DECADES: THE PREINDUSTRIAL CITY

As we have before pointed out, most of the important reforms that are in the basis of the implantation of capitalism took place in the Spanish state during the first half of XIXth century. Although the importance of these changes for the economic structure of the city, we must say that they do not have in the beginning and immediate reflect in a change of economic activity, and Iruñea remains as a preindustrial city.

If we want to compare the female participation in Iruñea with some other preindustrial cities, the main problem we have to take into account is the lack of fully fiable statistical sources. Anyway, several investigations have revealed the importance of female employment in preindustrial cities¹⁰, stressing the strong segmentation of labour market, which concentrates most of female jobs in domestic service, and the worse conditions of working women comparing with men.

As we can see in the table 6, half of employed women in Iruñea are working as domestic servants, a job which is involved in a process of feminization by the middle of XIXth century¹¹, if we take into account that, in the last years of XVIIIth century only 61.3 % of domestic servants were women (Mikelarena, 1994). Following within third sector, we must remark the importance of laundreness and trades.

On the other hand, we can not forget the importance women for the agricultural jobs, that can be seen in the Photography Section of the Council Archive, and has been determined by Arbaiza (1996) and Erdozain (1997) for the agricultural Basque villages, as can be readen in the following testimony:

«Wives worked more than men. When summer came, I harvested more wheat than men, I was very good at harvesting. (...). Later we threshed it with the cows¹²».

10. The shortage of statistical sources makes is difficult giving activity rates of preindustrial cities, but some attempts have been made, showing a relatively very high female activity rates, such as London, with 72 % in 1700 (Earle, 1989) or Bilbao, with 60 % in 1825 (González Portilla, 1996 and Pareja, 1997). We can find a good compilation on female work in European Medieval and Modern Age in Cavaciocchi (1989). Several authors have pointed out that the discourse of domesticity is not present in the lives of women in preindustrial towns and cities, (Earle, 1989 and Coffin, 1994), and the presence and protagonism of women in preindustrial popular protests (Thompson, 1995, pp. 375-379).

11. Rial García (1993), and Earle have determined this importance for other cities, such as Santiago, in Galicia, and London. About the hard working conditions and other characteristics of these women, we can have more in information in the research by IPES (1998), in the autobiography by Guerendiain (1996), and in the article by Cía García (1998).

12. Testimony by Dionisia Garate, a woman from Zaraitzuko Espartza, a little village in the Pyrenees, talking about life in the beginning of this century, published in the newspaper *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*, on the 13th of april, 1993. (original in Basque language)

At last, within artisanal sector, there is a 10 % of women who are working in textil jobs, appearing in the census as seamstress. About the middle of xixth century there was an only small textile factory in Pamplona (Madoz, 1854), so we must think that most of them are working in very small workshops or at home, a situation similar to the described by Earle (1989) for the xviiiith century London¹³.

RESTORATION OF MONARCHY AND SECOND REPUBLIC (1875-1939)

During the last years of the century, after the last carlist war, there are important transformations in the social and economic structure of Iruñea that we have already described. As a matter on fact, railway, some factories, and mainly the urbanistic expansion mark a new phase in the economic development of Iruñea, that will continue until 1960-70, when really takes place the intense industrialization.

During this long period female participation in labour market has first a decline and later a stable trend until 1975, in which we can not notice the influence of the social transformation that the IIInd Republic tried to develop. There is no doubt that during this hopeful and short period we can find important movements with new gender values that want to inforce women's participation in public sphere, and that were cut down by the new fascist regime that results from Civil War¹⁴, but it is not very clear if those new movements had influence on the composition of labour market during the republican years¹⁵.

So, we notice that about 1930 industrialization has already caused an important masculinization in labour market that is correlated with the even more importance of service sector as the major source of employment for women (table 6), in wich are occupied 80 % of employed women.

Although within this sector domestic service is yet the most important, we must point out some relevant changes. On the one hand we can notice the almost disappearing of laundresses, and on the other, the already explained rise of nuns, and the slight but meaningful rise in education, where almost 3/4 of workers are women in 1930.

For the artisanal sector we must point out some important changes that take place during this period. As we have already mentioned,

13. The presence and importance of women in preindustrial artisanal activities has been a polemic subject amongst historian, but it must be said that female employment in protoindustrial villages has been found to be very high. For the main contributions to the debate, see Pellegrin (1994) and Honeyman and Goodman (1991).

14. The different conceptions of gender in IIInd Republic and Civil War are explained by Nash (1989) and Bussy (1993). For other european fascist countries, see Duby and Perrot (1993).

15. Nuñez Pérez (1989) has found a reduction in female employment during the Second Republic, and in Albacete, Oliver (1996) has found some indications in order to difficult female employment.

industrialization does not encourage female employment, but we can notice a slight rise in percentage of women who work in the second sector (table 6). Nevertheless, this slight rise is not so important as the constataction that by the end of the century there are two little textile factories where more than 100 women working in¹⁶, which means an important change in the way of organizing labour. As a matter of fact, some of these textile female workers were the protagonists, in 1903, of one of the firsts industrial strikes in the town (García-Sanz, 1999). This apparition of factory system does not take with it the disappearing of home sweated labour¹⁷, and for the years of Ist World War we have an important testimony about women working at home preparing and sewing soldiers' uniforms (Guerendiain, 1996)¹⁸.

This participation of women in industrial works is not, nevertheless, predominant, and we can see that authorities and newspapers have bad opinion of it. One exemple of the domesticity discourse that was dominant about the proper place for women is this information of the Province Commission of the Institute for Social Reforms:

«Unfortunately, in the capital and in some other important towns young and single girls usually get out of their parents' home, not only as servants, – in this case they live under some kind of subjection –, but to work in some industries, as seamstresses or ironers, more because of a wish of dressing with some luxury than because of real need. The contact among them and with other young male and workers, their conversations, and the freedom they live with are not beneficial for their morality, and make them take some independent behaviours harmful for their getting used to the domestic home, and for becoming good housewives and mothers» (Reformas Sociales, 1985, V, p. 203).

This discourse about the unsuitability of female employment in factories is also argued by the director of the Tejería Mecánica de Pamplona (Mechanic Tile Factory of Pamplona), who defended that this factory did not employ women despite the major profits it would give to the investors:

«Women and girls do not usually work in the Mechanic Tile Factory, although it could be profitable for the shareholders

16. Answers of Employers in Iruñea to the questions by Province Commission of Social Reforms, in the Council Archive.

17. This interdependence between factory system and home sweated labour has been stressed by several studies on industrialization and female work (Blackburn, 1997).

18. «Without leaving home she started sewing haversacks and buttons for the soldiers' uniforms of Ist World War» (Guerendiain, 1996, p. 22).

because of the lower wage they would earn and the easiness to employ them in times of workers shortage. The reason not to employ them is the inconvenients that rise when people of both sexes work together (...) If we decided that women from this city worked in this factory, they would earn a minimum of 25 % less than men » (Reformas Sociales, 1985, V, p. 301).

This is a very meaningful testimony, because it reveals not only economical reasons on the short term were in the basis of the employers' policy. In this case, the will of disciplinating workers seems to be crucial, and in this purpose gender values are of great importance. This is not an isolated case. That kind of ideas are very spread among industrialized world, commonly shared by authorities, employers and trade unions, and help to explain why plenty of new factories that could have employed women did not do it (Jordan, 1989; de Groot et Schrover, 1995). Anyway, gender can not be seen as an immutable category that explains labour segmentation. Based on the textile example, Green (1996) and Parr (1988)¹⁹ have pointed out the different social definitions that the same work has received – suitable for women, men, children, european or african immigrants... – according to the labour-hand needs of the sector.

On the other hand, we do not know a lot about the reality of this gender values among working class, the influence of church, school, domestic visitants, or other institutions on the conformation of family strategies. We have the testimony of a laundress of the beginning of xxth century where we can notice that the job, and the incomes it took with, enable some women reject the aids of catholic domestic visitings. In the autobiography of J. Guerendiain we can read that working families did not like that kind of visitors :

« My mother, as she dared to work to get her own money, didn't need that the gossips of the hunger conference of the parish came home on Fridays. They managed to know everything about your life (...) » (Guerendiain, 1996, p. 38).

Anyway, as we have been explaining, we have multiple factors that can help to draw the main trends of family strategies and female employment in Pamplona during this phase of the industrialization.

19. About xvth century a redefinition of textiles is made in a lot of European towns, expeling women from a lot from guilds that were feminine or mixed ones in Middle Age (Honeyman y Goodman, 1991).

THE LAST YEARS OF FRANQUISM AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

As it has already been explained, from 1950, and mainly from 1960, industrialization had a new, fast and intense phase in Pamplona, but this important changes did not encourage female employment. On the contrary, while in most of Western European countries after IIInd World War female activity rates had a clear increase, in Spanish State, and also in Pamplona, this rate maintained quite stable around the levels of the beginning of franquism, and although in 1960 we can notice a slight increase, in 1975 the rate declines again.

Most of this employed women, three quarters of them, are working in the third sector, while the other quarter is employed in the industrial sector. So, we can see that this new phase of industrialization does not change the concentration of female employment in the third sector. The absence of useful data about the composition of employment within the sector makes us difficult to go beyond this general statment, because most of the women employed belong to the unconcrete category «others», where are included such different jobs as domestic servants or public administration workers. Anyway, we can think that the composition of this sector has changed quite a lot if we compare it with the situation of 1930, where the most important group was, without doubt, that of domestic servants.

For the industrial sector we must point out the important difference between the textiles and the other industries. Textiles is the subsector where we find more women, and the only one where women are more than the half of workers, giving continuation to the feminization process. On the other hand, we can notice the slight increase of female employment in some subsectors as electrics, alimentation, chemicals... So, as a result, in this phase of industrialization we can point out two different conclusions about the participation of women in the industrial sector, on the one hand, overall data show us that this economic development does not give more chances to women to work in new industries, but on the other one, we can notice a slight but meaningful diversification of female industrial work.

This two conclusions can be valid not only for the industrial sector, but also for the hole period. Even in the absence of data for the composition of the so called «others» of the services, we can notice a diversification of female employment in a period when female activity rates and the percentage of women among the labour market remains quite stable. Once more, we can point out that industrialization will not encourage female employment, and this conclusion matches quite a lot with the comparison of female activity rates of the different provinces in the Spanish State, where the higher rates are those of mostly agricultural provinces with familiar little farms, Lugo, with 51%, and

Pontevedra, in Galicia (Solsona, 1993). If we compare the Peninsular Basque Country, we can notice that the lower rate is that of the most industrialized province, Bizkaia.

POLITIC TRANSITION AND PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

During the transition to parliamentary democracy female activity rates have an important increase both in Peninsular Basque Country and in the Spanish State, passing from 29 % in 1976 to 37 % in 1996 (García, 1997). For the Basque provinces, we notice a difference between the costern and more industrialized provinces, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa, that reach a 40 % in 1997 and the more agricultural Araba and Nafarroa, with 46 % ²⁰. As we have before mentioned, Pamplona, the trends of the navarrese capital are similar to those of the province.

This data shows important changes with the franquist period, but before studying them more deeply for each economic sector, we must take into account a new factor that is influencing the data, the unemployment increase, and we must consider that to understand more properly female employment.

Because of labour market segmentation, the rise of unemployment that takes place in Spanish State during these years has a special incidence on women. So, in 1996 female unemployment rate in Spanish State, 31 %, is much higher than in European Union, 13 %. We must consider this factor if we want to explain the rise in female activity rates in this period, because unemployment rise will be one of the main components of this increase. If we take into account employment rates, and not activity rates, the increase in Spanish State from 1975 to 1995 is much slighter, from 27,5 % to 32 %.

So, before paying attention to sectorial composition of female employment in Iruñea, we have to look at the employment data that appears in table 9. On the one hand, we can notice that unemployment rates are much higher for women than for men, on the other, it is evident that unemployment rates are a determining factor for activity rates, both for men and women. The decline in male activity rate is more important if we only consider employment rates, just the contrary that happens to the female rates, because the rise in activity rates is not so important if we only consider employment rates.

20. The data for the provinces included in the Basque Autonomous Community are published by Emakunde (1997), and the Navarrese data is from the census of 1996.

Table 9: *Employment and unemployment in Iruñea-Pamplona (1975-1990)*

	1975	1986	1996
women's unemployment rates	5*	30,5	25,1
women's employment rates	25,5**	28	35,9
women's activity rates	26,8	39	47,9
men's unemployment rates	4,1*	17,9	13,8
men's employment rates	79,8**	66,7	64,1
men's activity rates	83,2	79,7	73,9

Source: census data.

* Fernández and Barandica (1995), for metropolitan area.

** based on *.

Now we will focus on the sectorial composition female employment, and the first thing we must point out is a phenomenon that can also be noticed for the whole Spanish State, the increase in importance of service sector, what has been called a tertiarization of female employment, which is concurrent with the increase of the importance of this sector in the economy of Pamplona.

In this period two of three workers in Pamplona are employed in this sector, and it is in this sector too where female employment is concentrated, mainly in trades, public administration, and financial enterprises, and where women have higher percentage among the workers of the subsector, mainly in health and education, where they are more than the 60 % of workers.

As it concerns with secondary sector, the percentage of women among the sector remains stable, but in 1996 these women are a more little percentage of employed women than they were in 1975, because of the already mentioned tertiarization of employment. Despite the loss of importance of industrial jobs for women, we must point out the increasing diversification of employment within this sector, finishing with almost concentration of industrial women in the textiles. Concurrent with the feminization of textiles, we can notice the importance of others subsectors.

After this overall look of the labour market segmentation and the female employment sectors during the last two centuries, we have to point out some important features. First of all, we must say that during this two centuries labour market has been clearly segmented, giving men and women different jobs, rights, and working conditions, and one proof of this is that during all the period service sector has been the most important for women. This importance has been stable,

but has been stressed in two different moments, during the first decades of this century, concurrent with the decline of agriculture, and for the last twenty years; on the contrary, although always dominant for female employment, service sector has had lower importance in the preindustrial years and in those of intense industrialization about 1970. Women have been half of the workers of this sector in the nineteenth century and nowadays, but from 1930 to 1975 their percentage among workers of services declined to 40 %. In the industrial sector they have been about the 14 % all over the period.

If we just take into account the difference among sectors we could think that segmentation has become stable for the two centuries, but if we look at the subsectorial composition we can notice an important diversification of female employment, mainly within service sector, where domestic servants have lost their hegemony, and also in the industrial sector, with the apparition of other subsectors of female employment apart of the increasingly feminized textiles.

FAMILY STRATEGIES: AGE AND CIVIL STATUS OF EMPLOYED MEN AND WOMEN

As it has been already pointed out, both male and female access to labour market must be understood not only as personal decisions, but as collective ones, enmarked mostly within the family, which, according to different variables, such as economic structure and moment, familiar vital cycle, gender values or some other cultural, economical or political factors, will decide the task that every family mate must take to contribute to the familiar economy (Anderson, 1988).

So, it will be indispensable to understand the changes that capitalist industrialization provokes in these strategies to understand both male and female behaviour. As a starting point, we must remaind that industrialization will encourage not only a change in familiar strategies, but also a change in the economic function of home, that will be mainly relegated as a private space, apart from public life and market, and with almost no activity addressed to increase familiar monetary incomes²¹. Of course, this process was related to the privatization of family itself, and to the rise of new ideal of «perfect woman» whose main task is to be the keeper of that private place.

21. A good summary of these changes can be found in Hareven (1991). Anyway, we must not forget that although this general evolution may be valid for the majority of families, both «putting out» system, also known in industrial times as «sweated labour», and «pupilage», will constitute an important part of many working families' incomes, being this task carried out by women working at home (Hareven, 1982; Pérez-Fuentes, 1993). In our doctoral research we will give more details about this kind of work in Iruñea.

Changes in familiar strategies will be somehow concurrent with those changes in the social meaning of home, and have been one of the major field of research in social history for the last years. Although their outline has often been questioned, there is no doubt that Scott and Tilly's book (1978) meant a great encourage for this kind of researches, as the same time that provided the historians a theoretical framework to understand them. Despite all the critics and contributions their schematic drawing of changing strategies has received, many of the ideas they developed are still useful if we know to use them in a critical way, and have been sources of sometimes fruitful and sometimes too theoretical debates. This is the case of preindustrial «family economy»²², or the «family wage»²³ that the «male breadwinner» was supposed to get to guarantee the welfare of the whole family in some moments of industrialization.

As it has been already determined by plenty researches, it is very difficult to draw a general line about the evolution of familiar strategies for all the countries involved in capitalist industrialization. Local research is still very necessary to understand the great variability of models, but this does not mean that we must reject the concepts and ideas that this rich controversy has been given us. As we can see in the following pages, some of them will be very useful in some moments to explain the reality of navarrese families.

As a starting point we are examining the different vital cycles of men and women in their participating in labour market, because this will give us some initial and indispensable information to understand family strategies.

As we can easily conclude after analyzing figures 1 and 2, employment vital cycle is very different for men and women, because meanwhile the former remain employed since entering labour market until the last years of life, the latter reach a peak in some moment in their youth, and leave labour market some years later. Anyway, this first overlook must be made more precise in the different phases on economic development, much more for women than for men. Although we can not say that every phase of industrialization has its own female

22. Perhaps one of the most fruitful contribution to the development of this scheme has been that of «adapted family economy» (Wall, 1990) to explain the transition to market economy. Even more, some authors (Hudson, 1995; Knotter, 1994) have rejected the ideal «family economy» for European Modern Age, arguing that it ignores the great dependence of most families on the preindustrial labour market.

23. A lot of literacy has been written about the extent to which that ideal type of family became real for working class (Meyering, 1990) August (1994); and about the causes that made it be a dominant idea in the second half of XIXth century and the first decades of XXth century. Surely, the best summary of all this debate can be the articles by Jordan (1989) and Creighton, 1996).

employment cycle, it is true that these two aspects are very closely related.

In figure 1, we can distinguish three kind of behaviours in this matter, although all of them presents one common feature, the peak that activity rates reach during some moments in youth. First of all, we have to mention the preindustrial behaviour of 1843 and 1887, when after the peak reached between 15 and 14 years (activity rate around 40 and 50 %) we have an important fall that leaves activity rates around 30 % during all the adult ages, with some ups and downs that show us the importance of the employment for widows. It has to be pointed that in 1860 we find even a more important rise of activity rates in adult women that is surely due to the lethal effects of 1855 cholera epidemic²⁴ (Mendiola, 1998a).

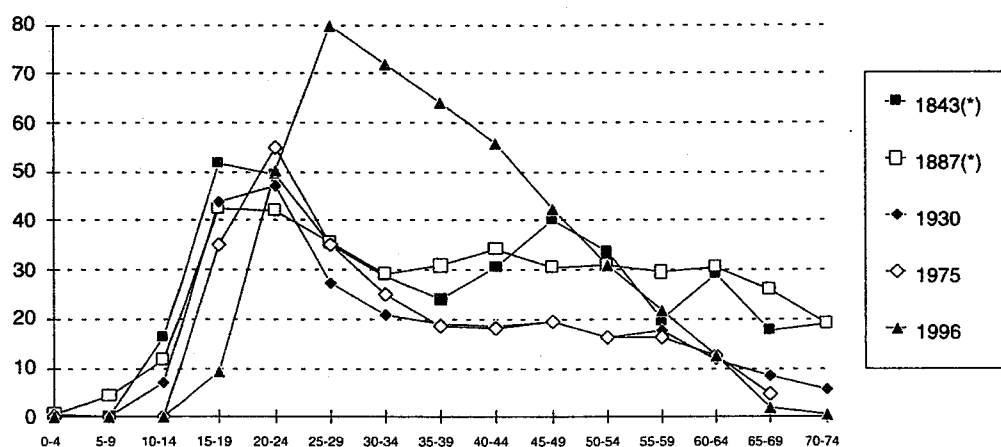


Figure 1 : Female activity rates according to age.

Source : census data.

(*) head family and married peasant's wives are considered as active.

As industrialization goes on we can find an important change, that can be seen both in 1930 and 1975. In these years we can also appreciate a peak during youth, around 50 %, but later on the decline is stronger than in preindustrial moments, with an activity rate for adult women around 20 %, so that we can conclude that industrialization had an important effect in reducing employment in adult women, as it has been determined for the special cases of laundresses and textiles workers (Mendiola, 1998). This conclusion, that was also contrasted with the photograph section of Council Archive of Iruñea, has always

²⁴ Arbaiza (1996) has found the same phenomenon in 1860 in another basque town, Durango.

been validated in another Basque city, Bilbao (Pérez-Fuentes, 1998), or in the comparison of industrial age activity rates with agriculture and protoindustrial Basque villages age activity rates (Arbaiza, 1996). Anyway, we should not understand this long period as a uniform one, because in 1975 we can appreciate the beginning of an important change that will be more evident in 1996, the delay in the age of entering labour market.

This trend becomes stronger in the last twenty years, with the lowest rates for the 15-19 interval in 1996. As we can notice in the figure 2, in this we find a radical change in female employment cycle, because now the peak is much higher, around 80 %, and because, despite the decline after the peak, we find in this year the highest rates for adult women until the age of 50. Later on, the decline is clear, and we find lower rates than in preindustrial years.

Male employment is much more stable during all the studied period, but, anyway, there are two important changes that we have also appreciated in female behaviour during the last twenty years, evident in 1975 and even more in 1996. On the one hand, the delay in entering labour market²⁵, and on the other hand, the advance in the age of leaving it, with the consequent shortening of employment cycle.

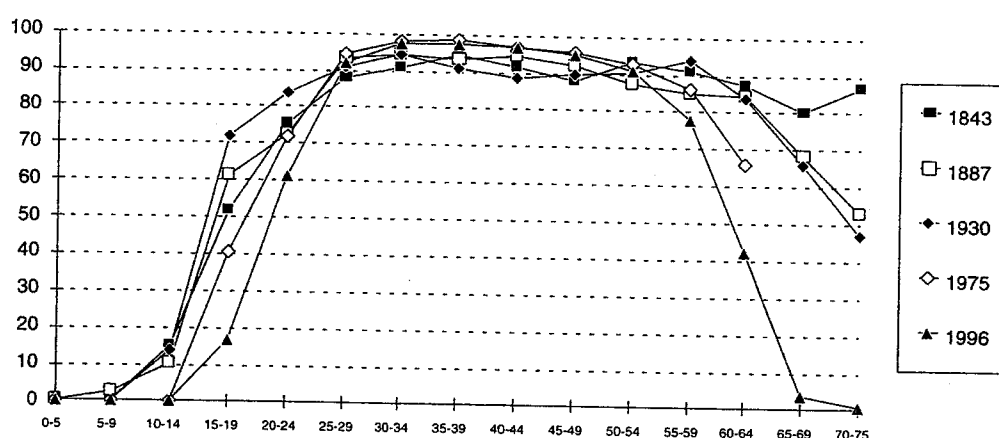


Figure 2: Male activity rates according to age.

Source: census data.

25. In this point we must make clear the contradiction that could seem that between 1843 and 1930 the process is the opposite, although much softer. I think that in 1843 the work by sons and daughters in many familiar workshops seems to be underregistrated, while the job out of home, very habitual in 1930, and a signal of proletarianization, is easier to be registrated.

This kind of analysis based on age is completely necessary for understanding women employment, but if we want to study in deep family strategies we must also take into account the different employment trends according to civil status.

Female activity rates change quite a lot along these last two centuries in most of civil status. Beginning with a general overlook, we can easily notice that single women have the highest activity rates almost every studied year, with the exception of divorced ones. Single women's rates have always been around 50 %, excepting for 1940, when it decreases to 40 %, and the last twenty years, when it almost reached 60 %. Married women, on the contrary, have had the lowest rates, except in the last ten years, when they have reached much higher rates. If we try to situate this rates within the general understanding of every phase, we must first say that the information in figure 3 matches quite a lot with that about age, so that we can go beyond in our characterisation of family strategies in the different moments of industrial development.

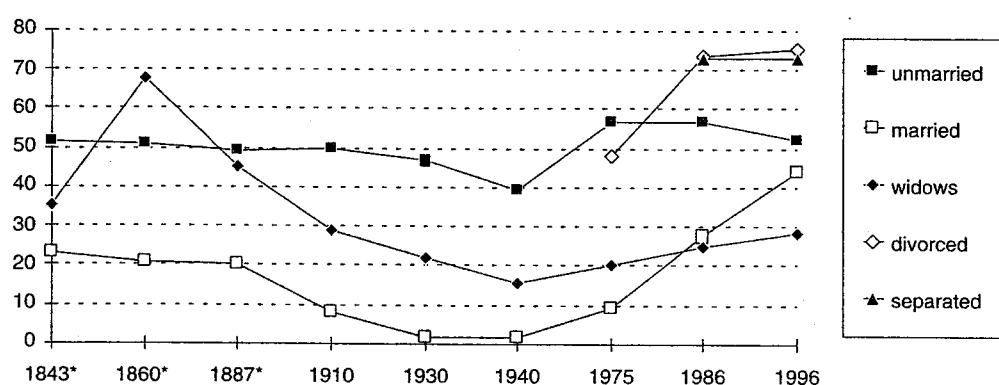


Figure 3 : Female activity rates according to marital status.

Source: census data.

(*) head family and married peasants' wives are considered as active.

During last century we can notice a stable behaviour in unmarried and married women, the former around 50 % and the later around 20 %. Among the widows the situation is somehow different, because although we find a similar rate in 1843 and 1887, around 40 %, we can see that in 1860 the rate is surprisingly high, almost 70 %, something that is surely related to the mortality effects of carlist war and 1855 colera epidemic, and that has been found in other Basque towns (Arbaiza, 1996).

In the beginning of xxth century the higher rate is that of unmarried, wich maintains around 50 %, meanwhile in this period both mar-

ried and widows' rates decline. As it is logical, this decline is closely related to the overall decline in female rates and to the decline of adult women's participation in labour market that we have noticed in the beginning of industrialization, and that will be reinforced in post-war years by the ideological offensive of the fascist régime.

During Franco's dictatorship, as we have already explained, female activity rate does not increase significantly, but this is not an obstacle for the slight increase of specific rates according to civil status. The explanation for this is, obviously, the rise in nuptiality that will be studied further on, because the rise in every specific rates is counteracted by the major percentage of married women, those who have the lowest rate.

The overall rise in female activity rates during the last twenty years can be more accurately explained if we take into account the specific rates according to civil status, and specially that of married women, whose rate's rise up to 45 % in 1996 marks a historical peak.

If we look at figure 4 to analyse men's rates, we must again say that their behaviour is much more stable during the two centuries. In this case the highest rates are those of married men, over 90 %, and the lowest ones those of single men. Here I think that we must again stress the possibility of an underregistration of young men in XIXth century, specially in 1860, those who stay working within the family unity, such as agricultural, little shops or artisanal tasks. This could help to explain the higher rates for single men in the beginning of xxth century, within the weakening or disappearance of some «family economy»²⁶. Anyway, we must take into account another change that will influence the higher rates in the beginning of xxth century, the restriction of nuptiality that will be later analysed.

During Franco's rule we can notice a decline in married and widows' rates, which will continue in the last twenty years, not only among married and widows, but also among single men. As it is logical, we can notice here the same general phenomenon that has been visible for women's employment, the shortening of employment time during life, because of the delay in entering labour market and the advance in leaving it.

26. Although this concept has been seriously criticized as a general explanation of preindustrial family strategies, there is no doubt that an important part of families went forward within this kind of strategy.

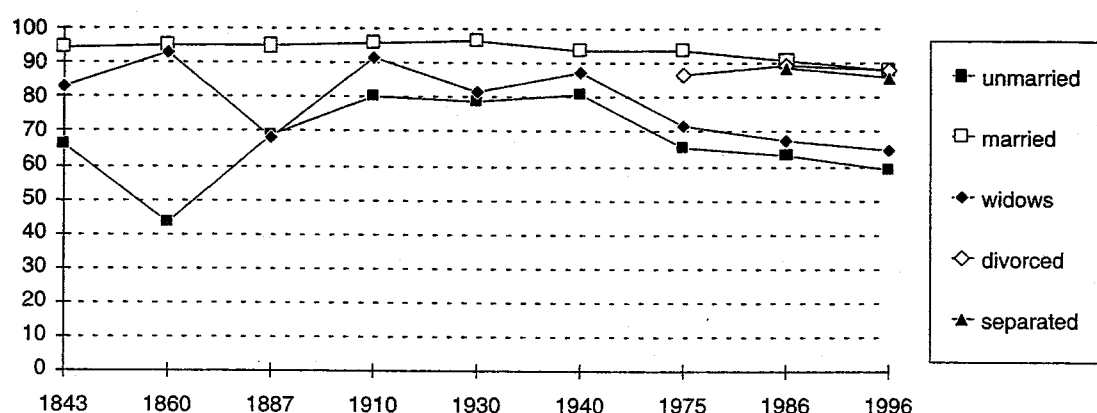


Figure 4: Male activity rates according to marital status.

Source: census data.

(*) head family and married peasants' wives are considered as active.

Thanks to the specific rates according to age and civil status, we have been able to make an overall description of the different family strategies. Now we will try to sum them up with the additional information in figure 5, which contains the composition of active population by age and civil status. We know that this overall composition will have to be compared with that of different social classes²⁷, but anyway, the general description is useful and necessary for the global understanding.

So, if we start with an overall view, we must say that the most important group in figure 5 is that of married men, but, in any case, they are less than the middle of the total active population. This makes us think that the «male breadwinner» strategy was never generally practiced in Iruñea. Meaningfully, it is in the most intense moment of industrialization, in 1975, when this strategy seems to have had its major extension. Any way, before describing general conclusions we must take into account some important changes for the different phases of capitalist development.

For the preindustrial nineteenth century we find a plural situation, with married men and single women as the most important groups, and an important percentage of married women. It is, undoubtedly, the result of different familiar situations that show us that the male breadwinner system is not valid for all the families. On the other hand, both the importance of married women and the already mentioned possible underregistration of young men can make us think that «family economy» described by Tilly and Scott (1978) was the strategy that

27. This is one of the subjects of my current doctoral investigation about family strategies in Pamplona from 1840 to 1930.

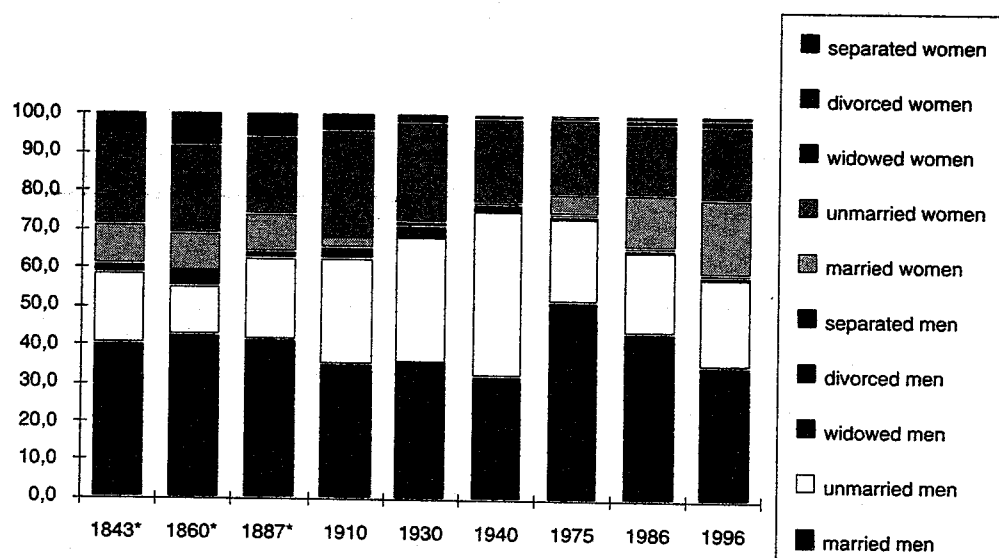


Figure 5: Sex and marital status of active population.

Source: census data.

(*) head family and married peasants' wives are considered as active.

some families, probably not the majority, had to organize their economic activities with, while some others would combine work within familiar unity with participation in labour market, what Wall (1990) called «adapted family economy».

During the first third of xxth century, the first phase of industrialization in Iruñea, we find some very revealing changes that make us change about important changes in familiar strategies. On the one hand, we can see the loss of importance of married men and women, as the same time that unmarried men become for 1940 the most important group in labour market, and all this parallel with the overall masculinization of active population. So, we can think that most of families in the first moments of industrialization combined the monetary incomes of the husband and that of sons and daughters, in a period when female participation in labour market became the lowest in the two centuries.

Although children work is scarcely recorded in census, in the autobiography by Guerendiain we can read that it was some common thing among working people. Josefina worked as errant-girl when she was younger than ten years old, and she complained that other girls «were always as nannies, and I couldn't play with them». She also tells us about her mother's work during the last decades of xixth century, and points out:

« When she was eight she carried water to the houses, because there wasn't running water. My grandfather paid for her education, but she didn't go to school because in addition to carrying water, she worked as nanny of her aunt's three children » (Guerendiain, 1996, p. 17).

This conclusion about the importance of the incomes of sons and daughters is also seen if we analyse the kinship of employed people with their family head (Mendiola, 1998). Reports about children working in textile factories were also written by the Social Reforms Commission during the first years of the century (García-Sanz, 1999).

What it has been called the most intense moment of industrialization took place in Pamplona around 1975, and it is in this moment when the « male breadwinner » model seems to have been stronger²⁸. In this moment it is already noticeable the decline of sons and daughters' participation in labour market, which can have different explanations. On the one hand, we have to take account of the major possibilities to go on studying, as a familiar investment for further better employment. On the other hand, it is clear that the extension of nuptiality implies the creation of new nuclear families where only the husband will take part in labour market. It is true that married women's rate has gone up, but it is not enough to counteract the vast majority of married men in labour market.

This model of « male breadwinner » has been very weakened for the last twenty years, not because of sons and daughters' participation in labour market, whose percentage has become stable since 1975, but because of the rise of married women's percentage. From now on, we find a great deal of families where both husband and wife take part in labour market, but, we can not forget that many of those married women that are part of active population may be looking for a job, because of the already mentioned more influence of unemployment among women.

FEMALE EMPLOYMENT, NUPTIALITY AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION

If we want to understand the logical of family economic strategies we have to take account not only of the participation in labour market, but also of the family formation and its reproduction, that is,

28. As it is known, this strategy has been weakened in many European countries after II World War, but we can find some lately industrialized places where the most intense moment of industrialization also implies the reinforcement of « male breadwinner » model. This has been shown by Almeida (1994) for Barreiro, a Portuguese city near Lisboa, where the heavy industrialization of 1950s implies the loss of employment of wives, sons and daughters, something that has been common in the beginning of the century.

of nuptiality and fertility. In this paper we will keep on with the general overlook at all the population, but we are aware that it needs specific analysis for every social group, something that is being carried out in the mentioned current investigation. By the moment, so, we will compare the general trends of female employment and familiar strategies with the data about nuptiality and demographic transition that Sanchez Barricarte (1998) has pointed out for Iruñea.

If we take a look at the two different variables that conform nuptiality, the age at marriage, SMAM, and definitive celibacy, we can easily notice that there is restriction in female nuptiality since 1840 to 1940, although the rise in celibacy is also due to the reimplantation of convents in Pamplona after the reconciliation between catholic church and liberal government. This general trends match with the SMAM trends for the Spanish State (Reher, 1996), but contrast with those of places of advanced industrialization, such as Catalonia or some parts of Basque Country, where the effects of proletarianization and industrialization led to the expansion of nuptiality (Cabr  y Torrens, 1991; Arbaiza, 1994; Gonz lez Portilla, 1996). In the case of Pamplona, the contrast between demographical increase and urbanistic and economic development in the last years of XIXth and the beginning of XXth century was source of great difficulties for people to get an own housing, and to conform a new household. This is the context in which we must understand the rise in the age of marriage and the increase in the percentage of complex families²⁹.

By the middle of this century, on the contrary, we find a change in nuptiality trends, and in the years of heavy industrialization, around 1970, we find an increment of nuptiality, resulting of the younger age to enter marriage and the decline of celibacy.

This increment of nuptiality has not been continued in the last twenty years, when the age at first marriage has been continually going up, resulting in a decline in general nuptiality indicator (Sanchez Barricarte, 1998).

So, after describing the general trends of nuptiality, what can be said about the relationship between nuptiality and female employment? Does delaying marriage give women more chances of taking part in the labour market? I think that figure 6 does not make us think of a direct and linear influence between this two variables, and we can affirm that a decline in nuptiality does not always involve a lengthening in women employment. This can be clearly seen in the first phases of industrialization, when the delay in marriage age and the rise of celi-

29. Complex families, according to the classification by Lasset, were 17,6 % in 1786 (Mikela-rena, 1994), 17,3 % in 1887, and 22,5 % in 1930.

bacy were concurrent with the decline of unmarried women's activity rate and female overall activity rate.

By the end of fascist dictatorship, during the most intense phase of industrialization, we find a very low female activity rate concurrent with the increase of nuptiality, so that we can think that in this moment high nuptiality can be seen as an obstacle for female employment, but we should not forget that we can notice a slight but meaningful increase in the activity rates of married women.

During the last twenty years, it seems to have closer relation between this two variables, because the rise in activity rates is concurrent with the reduction in nuptiality, but we have to be very cautious before taking that conclusion as valid. It is really meaningful that the rise in female activity rates is carried out by married women and not by single ones, and this makes us think that the influence of restricting nuptiality in female employment opportunities is not the lengthening of premarital employment, but the possibility of improving formation. So, further than nuptiality, we should think of some other factors to explain the rise in activity rates during the last years.

As it has been shown, we can not think of a close relation between nuptiality and female employment, but, what about fertility? This has been an important question for historians, which has led to a deep discussion whose implications are not limited to history, but also to the design of social policies.

Decline in marital fertility has been taken as the starting point of demographic transition, and, more exactly, Coale and Watkins (1986) marked the definitive reduction in 10 % as the moment in which we can think that transition has began. Based on that criterion, historians have pointed out that transition took place in most of Spanish State between 1920 and 1930, although in Catalunya it has started about the middle of last century. From then on, nuptiality loses its role in regulating social reproduction, and it will be within the couples and families where fertility control will be carried out.

This change will be very important for the conformation of new family strategies, and the mutual influence of fertility decline and female employment has become a controversial theme for historians (Szreter, 1996; Janssens, 1997). It is widely accepted that employed women have usually lower fertility, but it is not very clear which is the causal relation between this two variables. Is female employment the reason of a lower fertility, or does this decline make easier female access to employment? Szreter has stressed the importance of social and cultural values in the relation between macroeconomic changes and family strategies. This author points out gender values, the meaning of motherhood and fatherhood, and the perceptions about the costs of bearing children as the most important factors to mark the interre-

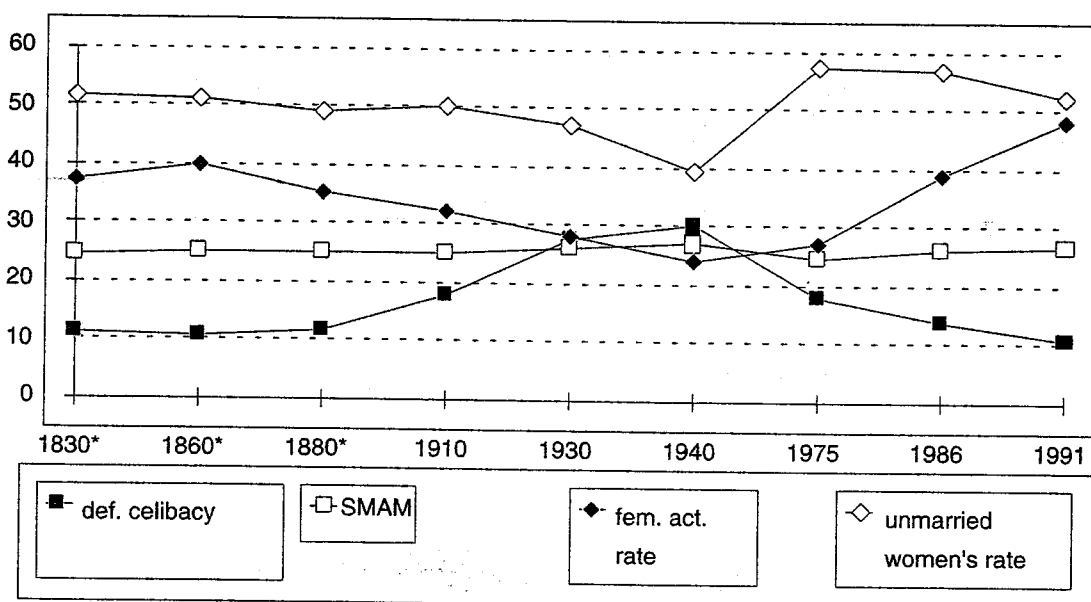


Figure 6: Female nuptiality and activity rates.

Source: SMAM and celibacy: Barricarte, 1998, activity rates: census data (for the activity rates, 1830 is 1843 and 1880 is 1887).

(*) head family and married peasants' wives are considered as active.

lation of female employment and fertility decline. We agree with Szreter that the relationships between these variables are not direct or linear at all, and the case of Iruñea will confirm us the difficulties of making simple relationships without paying attention to gender or cultural values.

For the general evolution of marital fertility we will also base on the study by Sanchez Barricarte (1998), who, in addition to the classical indicator $I'g$, has developed a new indicator, called NI_{mr}^{30} . The evolution of IN_{rm} also shows us the importance of the second decade of this century for the definitive decline in fertility, and in 1930 we find for the first time less than 3.5 sons or daughters per family.

This evolution, of course, is not the same as the evolution of sons and daughters living in each household. Another index, IN_{rm}^{*15} , tells us that the number of alive children under 15 years does not decline at the same time that demographic transition, because of the decline in child mortality that takes place in Iruñea specially for the third decade of this century (Anaut, 1998).

Besides, decline in fertility is uneven, and by the end of Franco's rule, in the moment of heavy industrialization, we find that the average number of sons and daughters per family rises, due to the reduction of

30. For an explanation about the elaboration of this indicator, see Sánchez Barricarte, (1998).

Table 10 : Female activity rates and number of sons and daughters

	Nlmr	Nlrm #15	married wom. act.r	female act.r	I'g	Ig (Spanish)
1786	4,27	1,95			590	
1803	4,47	2,04			634	
1830 (43)	3,88	1,91	23,4*	37,4*	551	
1860	4,41	2,31	20,9*	39,7*	614	654
1880 (7)	4,15	2,31	20,4*	35,2*	577	650
1910	4,72	3,2	7,83	32,1	685	623
1930	3,46	2,69	1,85	27,8	543	540
1940	3,14	2,49	1,7	24,1	551	464
1960	2,84	2,69		31,4	522	403
1975	3,36	3,27	9,3	26,8	448	365
1986	1,55	1,53	27,6	39	237	282
1991 (6)	1,54	1,52	44	47,9	228	

(*) head family and married peasants' wives are considered as active.

Nlmr : Net Index of Marital Reproduction : Number of sons and daughters per married women.

INrm#15 : Number of sons and daughters alive until 15 years old per married women.

Source : INrm Barricarte, 1998a, INrm#15 and I'g : Barricarte, 1998b. Ig (Spanish State) : Reher, 1996. Others : census data.

the mean age at marriage. From 1986 on, again, there is a new strong reduction in fertility, and for the first time the average number of children per family is less than 1.5.

The first thing we have to point out about the relation between fertility change and female participation in labour market is that the beginning of demographic transition is almost concurrent with an important decline in female activity rates, during the second and third decades of this century, in a moment when the discourse about the virtues of the mother housewife as the proper role of women is being enforced. According to that social meaning of motherhood, married women must not take part labour market, and must stay at home as the responsible for familiar health, what has been called a discourse of domesticity, which clearly implies gender values about menhood and womenhood. So, for the beginning of demographic transition, we can not say that fertility decline makes easier female employment. On the contrary, it seems that demographic transition was carried out at the same time that female employment went down.

After Civil War those ideas are even reinforced by the new fascist regime, and during its first decades fertility decline, average alive children per family and female participation in labour market do not change a lot. During the last fifteen years, with the new phase of industrialization, we can notice a fertility rise that means more alive children per family in 1975, what has been called the «baby boom». The interrelation between fertility and employment is not very clear now, because if it is true that this rise in fertility is concurrent with a new decline in female activity rate, we can see that in this very moment married women's rate has began an important change that has led to nowadays high rates.

For the years of parliamentary democracy, when economy has been oriented to services, we can notice that marital fertility decline and married women's rate rise are concurrent, but here again things are not so easy as it seems at first sight. On the one hand, we can notice a different evolution for these two variables since 1986, and, on the other hand, Solsona, using the data of the survey on fertility by Statistical National Institute, has determined that a new mentality was it possible for many women to make compatible employment with bringing up children. There is no doubt that the new gender values that feminist movement has been defending have been of great importance in this change.

As we have seen during the last two centuries, we can not find mechanic and easy relationships between fertility decline and female employment, because the economic conjuncture, the specific conditions of every social class, and, mainly, ideological conceptions based on gender values have helped to conform the different family strategies. As a matter of fact, those ideological factors explain us in a great extent the connections between fertility and employment during the beginning of demographic transition, during the baby boom about 1970, and for the last ten years.

CONCLUSIONS

As it has been explained in introduction, research like this should be completed with a deeper analysis of the socially differentiated behaviours and with some other qualitative sources, such as autobiographies or oral testimonies. Nevertheless, some general and necessary conclusions must be extracted from these general overlook on the relationships between industrialization and family strategies, mainly involving female employment.

During the preindustrial but liberal decades about 1850 women were about 40 % of the employed people, with activity rates near to 40 %,

and concentrated mainly in domestic service, and in lower importance, in agriculture. Employment is much higher among the young and unmarried women, but adult women have a relatively important activity rate, about 30 %. In these years we can find a variety of family strategies, combining work for the familiar economic unity and wage work outside home.

With the important transformations of the end of XIXth century and the beginning of XXth century female participation in labour market declines, and now one third of paid workers are women, mainly employed in domestic service and also in textiles manufacture. This decline in activity rates is especially important among married women. We notice that now most of families live thanks to the wage of the father and to those of sons and daughters. This phenomenon is closely concurrent with the decline in fertility and the reinforcement of the domesticity discourse for women, so that the beginnings of fertility transition are based on the changing role of women as mainly mother and home keeper.

Fascist winners in Civil War reinforced this trend, and nor lower fertility in the first decades of dictatorship neither industrial development in its last years rised female activity rates. Besides this, the delay in entering labour market in youth and the high nuptiality help to explain why the last years of Franco's rule are when married men have a major percentage among active population. In spite of this, the fact that they were about 50 % make us think that, even in its more intense moment, the « male breadwinner » strategy was not fully implanted.

During the last twenty years deep changes take place in Navarrese society, linked to tertiarization of economy, – where female employment is concentrated –, diffusion of feminist ideas, transition to parliamentary democracy and a new decline in marital fertility. These factors are closely related to the important increase in female participation in labour market, mainly for adult women, although this increase finds an important obstacle that reflects the already great segmentation of labour market, the major influence of increasing unemployment on women.

After this short summary, we have to analyse to wich extent the experience of Iruñea can give us some information about some of the great questions that social history faces on this subject, such as the impact of industrialization on female activity rates, the evolution labour market segmentation, the relationships between fertility transition and female employment, and, mainly, the conformation of family strategies to face the social changes.

As it has been already shown, capitalist industrialization has not meant an increase in female participation in labour market. Moreover,

during the more intense moments of industrial change, the end of xixth century and the beginning of xxth century, and about 1970, we can notice a masculinization of labour market. Women were about a 40 % of active population in 1843, and only 25 % in 1975. It has been during the last twenty years when female employment has been increased, reaching similar levels to those of the preindustrial decades of xixth century.

Although these variations, occupational segmentation has been a constant of labour market in Iruñea, ranging from a concentration on domestic service in xixth century to a concentration on services sector nowadays, with a low participation in industrial jobs, excepting the textiles.

Changes in female labour are indoubtely related to fertility changes, but not in the direct or simple way that is often thought. As it has been explained along the paper, gender and cultural values mark in an important way the relationship between these two variables. It is true that increase in activity rates has been concurrent with the falling fertility, but this has not been a historical relationship. In the case of Iruñea we can not say that declining fertility has always increased female employment. On the contrary, the beginning of demographic transition was concurrent with a masculinization of labour market and a decline of employment of adult women.

All these variables must be understood as components of changing family strategies along industrialization. Although it is very difficult, and possibly misleading, the attempt of setting a unique strategy for every phase of industrialization, we must say that some general trends can be pointed out. The variety of strategies of preindustrial times gave pass to a dominant strategy in the first third of this century, when most families combined incomes of the father with those of young sons and daughters. In the most intense moment of industrialization, about 1970 is when the male breadwinner model seems to have been stronger, but, nevertheless, it has never been the only one among the families in Pamplona. Finally, it is during the last twenty years when the increase in female participation in labour market shows us the importance of family strategies based on the incomes of both adult men and women.

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